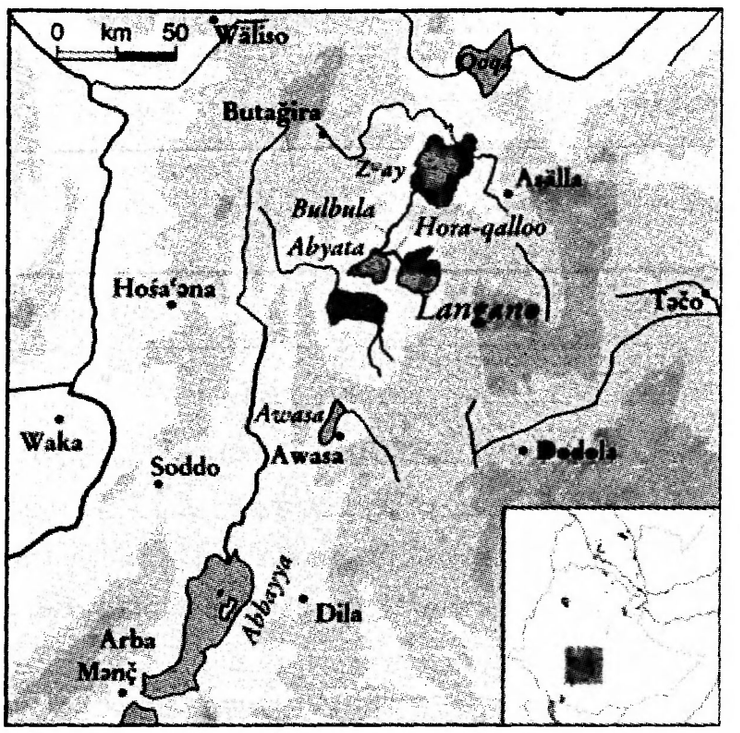
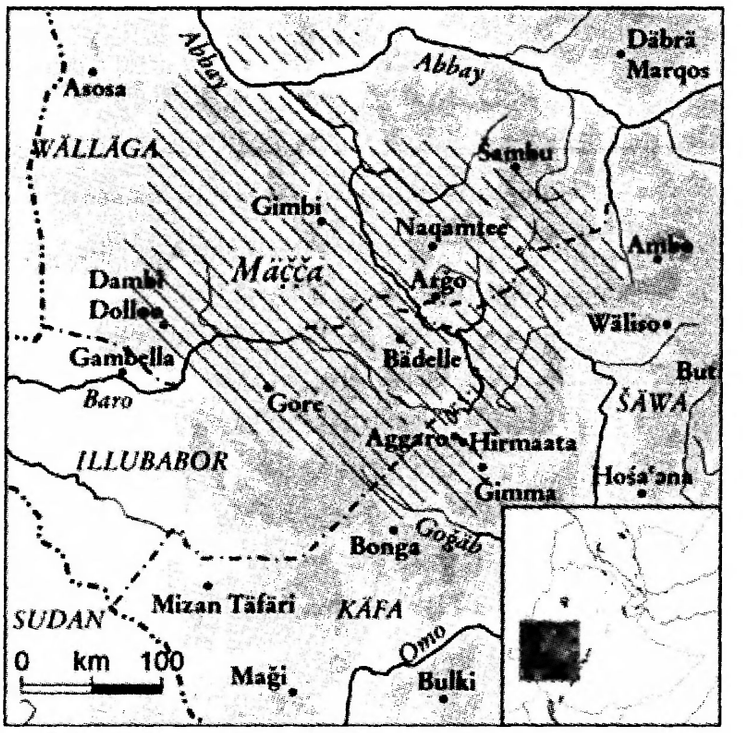
Page	Article	Map (corrected)

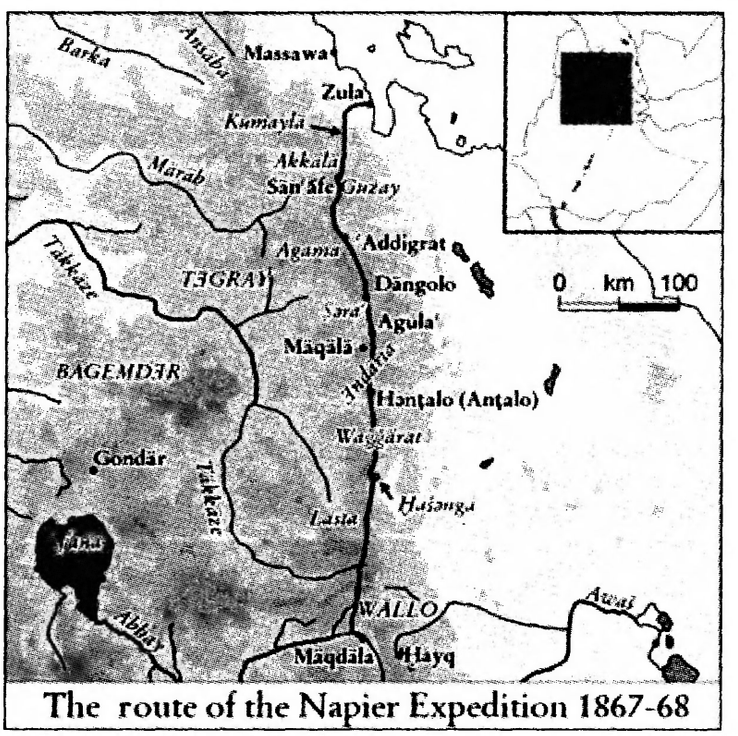
503a Langano



617b Mäčča



1139a Napier



The route of the Napier Expedition 1867-68

Encyclopaedia Aethiopica

Volume 3
He–N

Corrigenda

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Page	Line	Printed	Read
ixa	1 from bottom	Hoffmann	Hofmann
6b	8, 10 from bottom	**ሰዊሮስ**	**ሳዊሮስ**
6b	8, 10 from bottom	*Säwiros*	*Sawiros*
7a	14, 29	*Säwiros*	*Sawiros*
37b	6 from bottom	*qočč̣o*	*qoč̣č̣o*
63a	23	which may label	which many label
63a	31	types that have been	types have been
71a	6 from bottom	*Aṣe* Mənilək II,	Mənilək II's ministers,
168b	8 from bottom	*Register of Research*	*Register of Current Research*
169b	3 of Src.	*Register of Research*	*Register of Current Research*
196a	ill./caption	[ill. is to p. 196b; caption should read:]	*Abunä* Isayəyyas; miniature (detail) in ms. *Gädlä Abunä Mäzgäbä Śəllase*, fol. 5r, 17th cent., Gundä Gunde; photo 2002, courtesy of Michael Gervers
251b	caption	with their children:	and members of the Q^{w}ara clan:
278a	map	[caption missing, should read:]	Jesuit residences in Ethiopia, 1565–1632
373a	4 from bottom	Niecko	Niećko
426a	11 of Lit.	*Geographical Journal* 51, 1919, 76–77	*Geographical Journal* 53, 2, 1919, 65–79
540a	running head	Ledät	Lədät
617a	33	oral traditions and migrations from	oral traditions from
617a	6 from bottom	such as the *siiqqee* socio-religious organization as well as the cults	such as the cults
617b	1f.	periods. A man entered the system five grades, i.e. 40 years, after his father. Members of a *gadaa* class	periods, or *gadaa* grades. The members of a *gadaa* grade made up a *gadaa* class, or set, that
617b	7 from bottom	(1) Birmağı; (2) Malba; (3) Mudana; (4) Robale; (5) Dulo; Aldada; Horata; Bifole; Sabaqa; Kirole	(1) Birmağı, Aldada; (2) Malba, Horata; (3) Mudana, Bifole, (4) Robale, Sabaqa; (5) Dulom Kirole
618a	14 from bottom	Instead of war leaders	Instead, war leaders
622b	11	eight years, due	eight years, but due
628b	9 from bottom	*gíít*	*ǧíít*
629a	14f.	According to the recent administrative division, the majority	The majority
629a	last	their chair	their shrine
726b	9 from bottom	*əč̣č̣äge* Tewodros	*əč̣č̣äge* Tewoflos
767b	11 of Lit.	2007	5, 2008, in print
807b	3 from bottom	Bälässa	Bälsa
854a	Src.	[missing title]	*Roteiro do Mar Roxo de Dom João de Castro, Ms. Cott. Tib. Dix da British Library*, intr. by LUÍS DE ALBUQUERQUE, Lisboa 1991, 106f. (ill.)
926	caption	1903	1903; after *The Cambridge History of Africa*, vol. 6: *1870–1905*, Cambridge et al. 1985, 658f. and J.F. ADE AJAYI – MICHAEL CROWDER, *Historical Atlas of Africa*, Harlow 1985, no. 48
961a	10 of Lit.	ID.,	GEORG GERSTER,
1005a	10f.	Davie Vovan	Vôvan
1005b	13	Vovan	Vôvan
1037	3 of Lit.	*Geographical Journal* 38 1911, 113–38	*Geographical Journal* 38, 2, 1911, 113–39
1195a	10	Superio	Superior

Encyclopaedia Aethiopica

Volume 3
He–N

Edited by
Siegbert Uhlig

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2007

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early 4th cent. A.D., diameter 16 mm,
collection Dr. H.D. Rennau, Wien

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Introduction

Two years have passed since Volume Two of the *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica* appeared, and now, thanks to the co-operation of hundreds of scholars, the third volume of the reference work has appeared. As before, the regional scope covers the entire Horn of Africa with the focus being on Ethiopia and Eritrea, which have for centuries held the attention of European scholarship. These two countries are, however, not taken in isolation but are at the same time considered in their broader geographic context, as the latter has at all times had a marked influence on their internal development. In the first instance the principal players have been the civilizations of Arabia and the Mediterranean, and in this respect the *Encyclopaedia* offers a number of pioneering studies.

The humanities are at the centre of the *Encyclopaedia*'s thematic scope, the main axes being languages and literatures, history and culture, art and religion. Overview articles appear alongside entries devoted to specific topics, all arranged in alphabetical order. The rise to power of the Provisional Military Government, as before, offers the main *terminus ad quem* for the *Encyclopaedia*'s temporal scope, though later developments are in all cases taken into consideration.

Volume Three continues what was true for Volume Two. Authors and the editorial team in Hamburg have addressed the topics covered with increasing attention, achieving the scholarly standard that will serve as the measure for future work on the *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*.

The wide acceptance of the publication proves that it is responding to a long-felt desideratum in African and Oriental studies. The *Encyclopaedia* offers new momentum to fundamental and groundbreaking research in the field of Ethiopian Studies as well as a valuable tool for students of the discipline. The fact that both political and cultural organizations make use of the *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica* proves the value of the scholarly information it provides beyond the purely academic world. The first volume has in the meantime been reprinted, another sign of general interest in the subject and the format of the *Encyclopaedia*.

Of the over 4,500 articles that are planned to appear in the five volumes of the *Encyclopaedia* nearly 1,000 are included in the current volume, written by over 290 authors from 25 countries. The cases of particularly fruitful and intensive collaboration between authors, field specialists and the editorial team are marked by the siglum "Red.", and the authors thank all parties for their flexibility in making this possible. The total number of contributors to the Encyclopaedia has thus exceeded 470. As in the previous volumes, the textual information is enhanced by maps and illustrations.

Simultaneously with the editorial work the index to all the volumes is being created, which will occupy the larger part of Volume Five. It is planned to give active *Encyclopaedia* authors access to the preliminary version of the indices via the website *http://www.rrz.uni-hamburg.de/EAE*. The regularly updated *Addenda and corrigenda* to the published articles of the first volumes can be found on the same website. The most important corrections and additions will also be included in Volume Five.

In order to comply with the strict deadlines of the funding organizations and complete the volume on schedule those few articles that have not been received on time will appear in Volume Five. In these cases the entry titles appear in the volume in alphabetical order with the endorsement "s. vol. 5".

Acknowledgements

As with the previous two volumes, Volume Three of the *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica* is characterized by the deep commitment of its many authors to a common cause, reaching a degree rare for reference works of similar scale. Contributors have had the chance to present the results of their research in the form of encyclopaedia articles. At the same time, since many areas of Ethiopian Studies have still not been subjected to systematic research, authors have not infrequently had to venture into little-explored fields that are here treated for the first time. Future generations of scholars will undoubtedly be able to penetrate more deeply into the history, literature, anthropology and language studies of the region than it is possible for us today, and, hopefully, the *Encyclopaedia* will serve them as a starting point in their work.

I am gratified to see the large number of young scholars who have actively contributed to the current volume, and particularly those from Ethiopia and Eritrea. I would in addition like to express my sincere thanks to those colleagues who have helped us when articles already assigned have not been submitted on time, by taking on the missing items at short notice.

The *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica* is not simply a collection of the results of individual independent research, but is in the first place the fruit of intensive team-work, which does not stop the moment the texts reach the editorial team in Hamburg. I am most thankful to the authors for their trust in our editorial procedures and for their permission to verify, adjust, query and sometimes add things. Of course the authors remain in all cases the ultimate authority, whilst at the same time the final printed version shows a readiness to collaborate and conduct scholarly discussion that is often advantageous for the overall results as presented in the *Encyclopaedia*.

As in previous volumes, the "Field Specialists" have contributed a great deal to the improvement of the entries. Every article is counter-read by at least two scholars from outside Hamburg. They assure that important aspects and recent discoveries are not omitted and that all viewpoints regarding subjects treated in individual articles find due reflection in the text. Apart from the official members of this circle, listed on page x, a number of scholars have helped us with their advice, occasionally by way of informal contact. Among those who have significantly helped to maintain the scholarly quality of the volume I would like to mention Belachew Gebrewold, Manlio Bonati, Stefan Brüne, Matthew Curtis, Eloi Ficquet, Emmanuel Fritsch, Federica Guazzini, Markus Höhne, Wendy James, Andrea Manzo, Jonathan Miran, Simone Tarsitani, Tedros Abreha, Tsega Endalew and Rochus Zuurmond.

One should not underestimate the contribution of those scholars who have been able to visit the Ethiopian Studies Research Unit and stay in Hamburg for periods of various length helping the editorial team in its everyday work. The names of those whose visits were particularly productive have been included in the "Advisory Board" listed on page x. I am sincerely grateful to Jon Abbink, David Appleyard, Ewa Balicka-Witakowska, Baye Yimam, Haggai Erlich, Alessandro Gori, Steven Kaplan, Shiferaw Bekele, and, particularly, Gianfranco Fiaccadori for finding time and energy to make themselves available and be on hand.

My heartfelt thanks also go to the "First Readers" – all the co-editors as well as Rainer Voigt and Getatchew Haile – who helped check and improve the first draft of the volume.

The task of David Appleyard, who was responsible for ensuring the quality of the English used throughout the volume, has been of particular importance, and I owe him my most sincere gratitude. I am also grateful to the assistant proofreaders Joe McIntyre, David Weber and Aidan Vey for their valuable last-minute help.

I take this opportunity to thank Matthias Schulz for preparing the maps, and Thomas Rave for his technical layout skills. As before, Harrassowitz Verlag has ensured that the manuscript has been transformed into a presentable volume, in so far as the strict deadlines of the funding bodies have had to be respected.

The members of the Hamburg team have carried the main burden at all stages of prepa-

ration of the volume, and I am deeply grateful to them for their dedication. The team has become an independent discussion board who tirelessly strive to maintain the academic standard of the *Encyclopaedia* whilst respecting the spatial and temporal limits imposed; they have used their personal contacts with authors to obtain the necessary feedback and exchange editorial ideas; finally, they have in this way gained an unprecedented research potential that has considerably widened their own scholarly horizons. The publication of the current volume would have been unthinkable without the commitment of every single one of them.

I owe my profound appreciation to those many authors, colleagues, private individuals and organizations who have placed illustrations at the disposal of the *Encyclopaedia*, mostly without charge. Copyright information along with the full list of copyright holders and image providers will be included in Volume Five.

During all the years that the *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica* project has been in existence the students of the Ethiopian Studies Department of Hamburg University have supported the editorial team's work with commitment and creativity. They have taken upon themselves the many tasks for which the editorial team had no time; in some cases they have edited, or even written, their own entries. My particular thanks go to Dagmawit Kebbede, Sophia Dege, Isabel Hoffmann, Luam Tesfalidet and Alexander Meckelburg.

I owe a debt of most sincere appreciation to those authors who have passed away since the launch of the Encyclopaedia. Apart from the names mentioned in the previous volume two more, unfortunately, have to be added to the list, those of Bent Juel-Jensen, Wolf Leslau and Lanfranco Ricci.

A demanding project of the scope of the Encyclopaedia can only succeed with the institutional support of numerous organizations. For their sponsorship and endorsement I have to thank the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, the ZEIT-Stiftung Ebelin und Gerd Bucerius, the Fritz Thyssen Stiftung, the German Israeli Foundation, the Johanna und Fritz Buch Gedächtnis-Stiftung, the Karl H. Ditze Stiftung, the Sigrid Rausing Trust and last but not least the University of Hamburg and its Research Department. I am particularly grateful to the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft for providing a subsidy towards the printing costs. This subsidy and the generous pricing policy of the publishers allow us to offer the Encyclopaedia at a price low enough for scholars from less economically secure countries to be able to acquire it.

Siegbert Uhlig
Hamburg, 18 June 2007

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Before listing those who contributed to Volume Three we would like to apologize to those authors who contributed to Volume Two but due to a technical error were not listed in the previous volume. We truly appreciated the articles by:

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Seltene Seyoum, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia
Shiferaw Bekele, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia
Siebert, Ralph, Hossana, Ethiopia
Sima, Alexander †
Slenzka, Birgit, Marbach, Germany
Smidt, Wolbert G.C., Hamburg, Germany
Smith, G. Rex, Dyserth, UK
Sohier, Estelle, Paris, France
Sokolinskaia, Evgenia, Hamburg, Germany
Stella, Gian Carlo, Ravenna, Italy
Stoffregen Pedersen, Kirsten, Jerusalem, Israel
Störk, Lothar, Hamburg, Germany
Stylianoudi, M.-G. Lily, Athens, Greece
Taddese Habte Addo, Denver CO, USA
Taddia, Irma, Bologna, Italy
Taddesse Wolde Gossa, Palo Alto CA, USA
Tarsitani, Simone, Kyoto, Japan
Tasgara Hirpo, Hermannsburg, Germany
Tedros Abraha, Asmara, Eritrea
Temesgen Negassa, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia
Tesfay, Sába, Budapest, Hungary
Tesfaye Akalu, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia
Tewelde Beyene, Asmara, Eritrea
Timkehet Teferra, Berlin, Germany
Tornay, Serge, Paris, France
Tosco, Mauro, Naples, Italy
Toubkis, Dimitri, Paris, France
Tourny, Olivier, Paris, France
Treiber, Magnus, Munich, Germany
Treis, Yvonne, Cologne, Germany
Triulzi, Alessandro, Naples, Italy
Tronvoll, Kjetil, Oslo, Norway
Tsega Endalew, Hamburg, Germany
Tsegay Berhe G. Libanos, Trondheim, Norway
Tubach, Jürgen, Halle an der Saale, Germany
Turton, David, Oxford, UK
Uhlig, Siegbert, Hamburg, Germany
Unseth, Peter, Duncanville TX, USA
Uusitalo, Mirjami, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia
Van Donzel, Emeri, Oegstgeest, the Netherlands
Vanderhaeghe, Catherine, Brussels, Belgium
VanderKam, James C., Notre Dame IN, USA
Vergari, Moreno, Castelnuovo Scrivia, Italy
Vernetto, Gino, Aosta, Italy
Vestal, Theodore M., Stillwater OK, USA
Voigt, Rainer, Berlin, Germany
Volker-Saad, Kerstin, Berlin, Germany
Wagner, Ewald, Gießen, Germany
Weil, Shalva, Jerusalem, Israel
Weisser, Stéphanie, Brussels, Belgium
Wenig, Steffen, Berlin, Germany
Weninger, Stefan, Marburg, Germany
Wetter, Andreas, Mainz, Germany
Will, Hans-Georg, Gießen, Germany
Wion, Anaïs, Hamburg, Germany
Witakowski, Witold, Uppsala, Sweden
Wolf, Angelika, Potsdam, Germany
Wołk, Ewa, Warsaw, Poland
Wudu Tafete Kassu, Urbana IL, USA
Yasin Mohammed Yasin, Hamburg, Germany
Yelvington, Kevin A., Tampa FL, USA
Yeraswork Admassie, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia
Yohannes Aberra, Bahir Dar, Ethiopia
Zaccaria, Massimo, Pavia, Italy
Zach, Michael, Vienna, Austria
Zanetti, Ugo, Chevetogne, Belgium
Zelealem Leyew, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia
Zemede Asfaw, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia
Zewde Gabre-Sellassie, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia
Zibelius-Chen, Karola, Tübingen, Germany
Ziethen, Gabriele, Worms, Germany
Zinner, Dietmar, Göttingen, Germany
Zitelmann, Thomas, Berlin, Germany
Zuurmond, Rochus, Faringdon, UK

Notes for the User

The *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica* uses several conventions that on the one hand standardize the appearance of the articles, and on the other hand facilitate their understanding by the readers. For the transcription and transliteration rules followed in the *Encyclopaedia* s. the corresponding tables in the *Notes for the User* section in Volumes One and Two. A key to the standard Encyclopaedia detail map can also be found in either of the previous two volumes. The section devoted to *Abbreviation Rules* is reproduced in the current volume due to the fact that more bibliographic titles and general abbreviations have been incorporated.

Abbreviation Rules

The *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica* works with different types of abbreviations. First and foremost, the main heading is always abbreviated throughout the entry, to one letter if it consists of one or more than two words, and to two letters, if of two words (e.g., "Kunama" - "K.", "Läga Gora" - "L.G.", "Lämma Gäbrä Ḥəywät" - "L.") . The subheadings and titles of subarticles are not abbreviated. If the entry title can have both singular and plural forms, both are abbreviated by the same syglum, the grammatical meaning being elicitable from the context (e.g., "I." in the article "Inscriptions" and its subarticles stands for both "inscription" and "inscriptions").

In order to keep the texts compact, a limited set of general abbreviations is used. The frequently used bibliographic references are also abbreviated. The clues are provided in tables on the following pages.

General Abbreviations

abbr.	abbreviation; abbreviated
A.D.	*Anno Domini*
Afr.	African
A.M.	*Anno Misericordiae*; *ʿAmäta Məḥrät* (year in Ethiopian calendar)
A.Mart.	*Anno Martyrum*
Amh.	Amharic
ANLin	Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Roma
annot.	annotated
anon.	anonymous
Arab.	Arabic; Arabian
art.	article
A.S.L.	above sea level
b.	born
B.A.	Bachelor of Arts
B.C.	Before Christ; Before Common Era
BFBS	British and Foreign Bible Society
bibl.	bibliography; bibliographical
BN	Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris
BritLib	British Library, London
BritMus	British Museum, London
B.Sc.	Bachelor of Sciences
B.S.L.	below sea level
C	Celsius
ca.	*circa*
cent.	century
cf.	confer
ch(s).	chapter(s)
cm	centimetre(s)
col(s).	column(s)
comm.	commented
Copt.	Coptic
cp.	compare
d.	died, dead
D.Sc.	Doctor of Sciences
ead.	*eadem* (the same, fem.)
ed(s).	editor(s); edition; edited
e.g.	*exempli gratia* (for instance)
Engl.	English
et al.	*et alia* (and others)
etc.	*et cetera*
Eritr.	Eritrean
esp.	especially
Eth.	Ethiopian; Ethiopic
f(f).	(the) following
fasc.	fascicle
fem.	*femininum*
fig(s).	figurative(ly); figure(s)
fl.	flourished
fol(s).	folio(s)
Fr.	French
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
geogr.	geography; geographical
Germ.	German
Gr.	Greek
H.	*hiğrī* (year of Hiğra, i.e. in Arab. calendar)

ha	hectar(s)
Har.	Harari
HMML	Hill Monastic Manuscript Library, USA
ibid.	*ibidem* (in the same place)
id.	*idem* (the same, masc.)
i.e.	*id est* (that is [to say])
ICES	International Conference of Ethiopian Studies
IES	Institute of Ethiopian Studies, Addis Ababa
iid.	*iidem* (the same, pl.)
ill.	illustration
incl.	including; inclusive(ly)
intr.	introduced; introduction
Ital.	Italian
IUO	Istituto Universitario Orientale (= Università degli studi di Napoli "L'Orientale")
km	kilometre(s)
Lat.	Latin
lit.	literature; literal(ly)
l(l).	line(s)
m	metre(s)
M.A.	Master of Arts; Magister Artium
masc.	*masculinum*
mf(s).	microfilm(s)
ml	millilitre(s)
mm	millimetre(s)
M.Sc.	Master of Sciences
ms(s).	manuscript(s)
n(n).	note; footnote
n.d.	no date
N.N.	*nomen nominandum*
no.	number
n.p.	no place
obv.	obverse
op.cit.	*opus citatum*
orig.	original(ly)
p(p).	page(s)
p.a.	*per annum*
pers.	person(al) [grammatical]
Ph.D.	Doctor of Philosophy; Philosophiæ Doctor
pl.	plural; plate
pol.	political; politics
pron.	pronoun
r	*recto*
r.	rule(d); reign(ed)
repr.	reprint(ed)
rev.	reverse
s.	see
ser.	series; série
sg.	singular
sp.	spelling; spelled
spec.	specifically; special
src.	source(s)
St.	Saint
sth.	something
s.v.	*sub voce*
suppl.	supplement(ary)
syn.	synonym(ous)
Syr.	Syriac; Syrian
Tgn.	Təgrəññña
Tgr.	Təgre
theol.	theology; theological
tr.	translation; translator; translated
trad.	traditional
v	*verso*
var(s).	variant(s); variation(s)
VatLib	Vatican Library; Biblioteca [Apostolica] Vaticana
vol(s).	volumes
vs.	*versus*

Bibliographic Abbreviations

AAP	*Afrikanistische Arbeitspapiere*, Köln 1985–2002
Abbay	*Abbay. Documents pour servir à l'histoire de la civilisation éthiopienne*, Paris 1977–86/87
AbbCat	ANTOINE D'ABBADIE, *Catalogue raisonné de manuscrits éthiopiens appartenant à Antoine d'Abbadie*, Paris 1859
AbbGeogr	ANTOINE D'ABBADIE, *Géographie de l'Éthiopie, ce que j'ai entendu, faisant suite à ce que j'ai vu*, Paris 1890
AbbSéjour	ARNAULD D'ABBADIE, *Douze ans de séjour dans la Haute-Ethiopie (Abyssinie)*, vol. 1, Paris 1868 [repr. Città del Vaticano 1980 (Studi e testi 286)]; vols. 2–4, ed. by JEANNE-MARIE ALLIER, Città del Vaticano 1980, 1983, 1999 (Studi e testi 287, 304, 391)
AbPrince	MORDECHAI ABIR, *Ethiopia: the Era of the Princes. The Challenge of Islam and the Re-Unification of the Christian Empire, 1769–1855*, New York 1968
AbSea	MORDECHAI ABIR, *Ethiopia and the Red Sea: the Rise and Decline of the Solomonic Dynasty and Muslim-European Rivalry in the Region*, London 1980
ABoll	*Analecta Bollandiana*, Bruxelles 1882ff.
AE	*Annales d'Éthiopie*, Paris 1955ff.
AeF	*Aethiopistische Forschungen*, Stuttgart – Wiesbaden 1977ff.
Aethiopica	*Aethiopica. International Journal of Ethiopian and Eritrean Studies*, Wiesbaden 1998ff.

Abbreviation rules

AfrHorn	WALTER RAUNIG – STEFFEN WENIG, *Afrikas Horn: Akten der Ersten Internationalen Littmann-Konferenz 2. bis 5. Mai 2002 in München*, Wiesbaden 2005 (Meroitica 22)
AfrZion	*African Zion: the Sacred Art of Ethiopia*, catalogue by MARILYN HELDMAN – STUART C. MUNRO-HAY, essays by DONALD CRUMMEY et al., ed. by RODERICK GRIERSON, New Haven – London 1993
AmhChurchD	SERGEW HABLE SELLASSIE (ed.), **የአማርኛ፡ የቤተክርስቲያን፡ መዝገበ፡ ቃላት**. *Amharic Church Dictionary*, 6 vols., Heidelberg – Addis Ababa 1981–82 A.M. [1989–90 A.D.]
Annali IUO	*Annali dell'Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli*, Napoli 1940ff.
ArEvang	GUSTAV ARÉN, *Evangelical Pioneers in Ethiopia. Origins of the Evangelical Church Mekane Yesus*, Stockholm – Addis Abeba 1978 (Studia Missionalia Upsaliensia 32)
AsmGada	ASMAROM LEGESSE, *Gada: Three Approaches to the Study of African Society*, New York 1973
AuÜ	*Afrika und Übersee*, Berlin 1910ff.
AWTarik	ASFA-WOSSEN ASSERATE, *Die Geschichte von Šawa (Äthiopien) 1700–1865 nach dem Tārika Nagašt des Belāttēn Gētā Ḫəruy Wäldä Śəllase*, Wiesbaden 1980 (SKK 53)
BaetDic	JOSEPH BAETEMAN, *Dictionnaire amarigna–français. Suivi d'un vocabulaire français–amarigna*, Dire-Daoua 1929
BartOrom	LAMBERT BARTELS, *Oromo Religion: Myths and Rites of the Western Oromo of Ethiopia: an Attempt to Understand*, Berlin 1983 (Collectanea Instituti Anthropos 8)
BassDic	FRANCESCO DA BASSANO, *Vocabolario tigray–italiano e repertorio italiano–tigray*, Roma 1918
BassÉt [I, II]	RENÉ BASSET, "Études sur l'histoire d'Éthiopie. Première Partie: Chronique éthiopienne, d'après un manuscrit de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris", *JA* 7e sér. 17, 1881, 315–434 [I]; 18, 1881, 93–183, 285–389 [II]; repr. Paris 1882
BassHist [I, II]	ŠIHĀBADDĪN AḤMAD IBN ᶜABDALQĀDIR, *Futūḥ al-Ḥabaša. Histoire de la conquête de l'Abyssinie (XVIe siècle) par Chihab Eddin Aḥmed ben ʿAbd el-Qāder, surnommé Arab-Faqih, Texte Arabe* [I]; *Traduction Française et notes* [II], ed., tr. by RENÉ BASSET, 2 vols., Paris 1897 (Publications de l'École des lettres d'Alger 19, 20)
BauEr I–III	ALESSANDRO BAUSI, "Su alcuni manoscritti presso comunità monastiche dell'Eritrea" [I. Dabra Māryām], *RSE* 38, 1994 [1996] 13-69; [II. Dabra Bizan]", *ibid.* 39, 1995 [1997], 25-48; [III. Dabra Libānos – Dabra Abuna Beṣu'a Amlāk], *ibid.* 41, 1997 [1998], 13–56
BauSen	ALESSANDRO BAUSI (ed., tr.), *Il Sēnodos etiopico. Canoni pseudoapostolici: Canoni dopo l'Ascensione, Canoni di Simone Cananeo, Canoni Apostolici, Lettera di Pietro*, Lovanii 1995 (CSCO 552, 553 [SAe 101, 102])
BeckHunt-Alm	CHARLES FRASER BECKINGHAM – GEORGE WYNN BRERETON HUNTINGFORD (ed., tr.), *Some Records of Ethiopia, 1593–1646; being extracts from the History of High Ethiopia or Abassia by MANOEL DE ALMEIDA, together with BAHREY's History of the Galla*, London 1954 (Hakluyt Society Works, ser. 2, vol. 107); repr. Nendeln, Liechtenstein 1967
BeckHunt-Alvar	CHARLES FRASER BECKINGHAM – GEORGE WYNN BRERETON HUNTINGFORD (eds.), *The Prester John of The Indies. A True Relation of the Lands of the Prester John; being the Narrative of the Portuguese Embassy to Ethiopia in 1520, written by Father FRANCISCO ALVAREZ*, tr. by Lord STANLEY OF ALDERLEY (1881), Cambridge 1961 (Hakluyt Society Works, ser. 2, vols. 114, 115)
BecRASO I–XV	CAMILLO BECCARI (ed.), *Rerum Aethiopicarum scriptores occidentales inediti a saeculo XVI ad XIX*, vol. I: *Notizia e saggi di opere e documenti inediti riguardanti la storia di Etiopia durante i secoli XVI, XVII e XVIII*, Romae 1903; vol. II: P. PETRI PAEZ S.I., *Historia Aethiopiae*, Liber I.II, Romae 1905; vol. III: ID., *Historia Aethiopiae*, Liber III, Romae 1906; vol. IV: P. EMMANUELIS BARRADAS S.I., *Tractatus tres historico-geographici*, Romae 1906; vol. V: P. EMMANUELIS D'ALMEIDA S.I., *Historia Aethiopiae*, Liber I-IV, Romae 1907; vol. VI: ID., *Historia Aethiopiae*, Liber V-VIII, Romae 1907; vol. VII: ID., *Historia Aethiopiae*, Liber IX et X, Romae 1908; vol. VIII: Patriarchae ALPH. MENDEZ S.I., *Expeditionis Aethiopicae*, Liber I et II, Romae 1908; vol. IX: ID., *Expeditionis Aethiopicae*, Liber III et IV, Romae 1909; vol. X: *Relationes et Epistolae variorum*, Pars Prima, Liber I, Romae 1910; vol. XI: *Relationes et Epistolae variorum*, Pars Prima, Liber II, Romae 1911; vol. XII: *Relationes et Epistolae variorum*, Pars Prima, Liber III, Romae 1912; vol. XIII: *Relationes et Epistolae variorum*, Pars Prima, Liber IV, Romae 1913; vol. XIV: *Relationes et Epistolae variorum*, Pars Secunda, Liber Unicus, Romae 1914; vol. XV: *Index analyticus totius operis*, Romae 1917
BegCron	FRANCESCO BÉGUINOT, *La Cronaca abbreviata d'Abissinia, nuova versione dall'etiopico e commento*, Roma 1901
BendLang	MARVIN LIONEL BENDER et al., *Language in Ethiopia*, London 1976
BendNon-SLang	MARVIN LIONEL BENDER et al., *The Non-Semitic Languages of Ethiopia*, East Lansing, MI 1976

BerTarik	BƎRHANÄ MÄSQÄL TÄSFAMARYAM, *ታሪክ፡ ገዳማት፡ ዘምድረ፡ አግአዚት፡ ኤርትራ፡ ወስርዓተ፡ ብሕትውና፡ ንኑም፡ ወዋልድባ፡ ካብ፡ ጥንቲ፡ ክሳብ፡ ሕጂ* (*Tarik gädamat zämədrä ag'azit Ərətra wäsər'atä bəḥtəwənna nənum wäwaldəbba kab ṭənti kəsab ḥəgĝi*, 'The History of the Cloisters of the Country of *Ag'azit* of Eritrea, and the Customs of the Asceticism of the "Nənum" [lit. 'Let us Sleep'] and Waldəbba, from the Origins till Nowadays'), Aśmära [2]1996 A.M. [2003/04 A.D.]
BerkAdwa	GEORGE FITZ-HARDINGE BERKELEY, *The Campaign of Adowa and the Rise of Menelik*, Westminster 1902; London [2]1935; New York [3]1969
BezKebr	CARL BEZOLD (ed.), *Kebra Negest: Die Herrlichkeit der Könige*, München 1905
BeyRodRép	ROBERT BEYLOT – MAXIME RODINSON, *Répertoire des bibliothèques et des catalogues de manuscrits éthiopiens*, Paris - Turnhout 1995
BHO	[PAULUS PEETERS (ed.)], *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Orientalis*, Bruxelles 1910 (Subsidia hagiographica 10)
BHTOrom	PAUL TREVOR WILLIAM BAXTER – JAN HULTIN – ALESSANDRO TRIULZI (eds.), *Being and Becoming Oromo: Historical and Anthropological Enquiries*, Uppsala – Lawrenceville, NJ 1996
BiOr	*Bibliotheca Orientalis*, Leiden 1943ff.
BlunChr	HERBERT WELD BLUNDELL (ed., tr.), *The Royal Chronicle of Abyssinia, 1769–1840*, Cambridge 1922
BrakKirche	HEINZGERD BRAKMANN, *Τὸ παρὰ τοῖς βαρβάροις ἔργον θεῖον. Die Einwurzelung der Kirche im spätantiken Reich von Aksum*, Bonn 1994
BrHad	ULRICH BRAUKÄMPER, *Geschichte der Hadiya Süd-Äthiopiens: von den Anfängen bis zur Revolution 1974*, Wiesbaden 1980 (SKK 50)
BrKam	ULRICH BRAUKÄMPER, *Die Kambata. Geschichte und Gesellschaft eines südäthiopischen Bauernvolkes*, Wiesbaden 1983 (SKK 65)
BruNile	JAMES BRUCE OF KINNAIRD, *Travels to Discover the Source of the Nile in the Years 1768, 1769, 1770, 1771, 1772 and 1773*, 5 vols., Edinburgh 1790
BSO[A]S	*Bulletin of the School of Oriental [and African] Studies*, London 1917ff.
BTafA	BAIRU TAFLA (ed., tr.), *Aṣma Giyorgis and His Work: History of the Gāllā and the Kingdom of Šawā*, Stuttgart 1987 (AeF 18)
BTafY	BAIRU TAFLA (ed., tr.), *A Chronicle of Emperor Yohannes IV (1872–89)*, Wiesbaden 1977 (AeF 1)
BudHist	ERNEST ALFRED THOMPSON WALLIS BUDGE, *A History of Ethiopia (Nubia & Abyssinia), according to the Hieroglyphic Inscriptions of Egypt and Nubia, and the Ethiopian Chronicles*, 2 vols., London 1928; repr. Oosterhout 1966
BudSaint	ERNEST ALFRED THOMPSON WALLIS BUDGE (ed.), *The Book of the Saints of the Ethiopian Church*, 4 vols., Cambridge 1928; repr. Hildesheim – New York 1976
BZHist	BAHRU ZEWDE, *A History of Modern Ethiopia, 1855–1974*, London – Athens – Addis Ababa 1991
CANT	MAURITS GEERARD (ed.), *Clavis apocryphorum Novi Testamenti*, Turnhout 1992 (Corpus Christianorum)
CE	AZIZ S. ATIYA (ed.), *The Coptic Encyclopedia*, 8 vols., New York 1991
CecZeila	ANTONIO CECCHI, *Da Zeila alle frontiere del Caffa*, 3 vols., Roma 1886–87
CentAddis	AHMED ZEKARIA – BAHRU ZEWDE – TADDESE BEYENE (ed.), *Proceedings of the International Symposium on the Centenary of Addis Ababa: November 24–25, 1986*, Addis Ababa 1987
CentAdwa	ABDUSSAMAD HUSAIN AHMED – RICHARD PANKHURST (eds.), *Adwa: Victory Centenary Conference, 26 February – 2 March 1996*, Addis Ababa 1998
CerDLib [I–III]	ENRICO CERULLI, "Gli abbati di Dabra Libānos, capi del monachismo etiopico, secondo la « lista rimata » (sec. XIV–XVIII)", *Orientalia* n. ser. 12, 1943, 226–53 [I]; *ibid.* 13, 1944, 137–82 [II]; "Gli abbati di Dabra Libānos, capi del monachismo etiopico, secondo le liste recenti (sec. XVIII–XX)", *ibid.* 14, 1945, 143–71 [III]
CerEt	ENRICO CERULLI, *Etiopia occidentale. Dallo Scioa alla frontiera del Sudan. Note del viaggio 1927–28*, 2 vols., Roma 1930, 1933 (Collezione di opere e di monografie a cura del Ministero delle Colonie 6, 16)
CerFolk	ENRICO CERULLI, *The Folk-Literature of the Galla of Southern Abyssinia*, Cambridge, MA 1922 (Harvard African Studies 3)
CerIslam	ENRICO CERULLI, *L'Islam di ieri e di oggi*, Roma 1971 (Pubblicazioni dell'Istituto per l'Oriente 64)
CerLett	ENRICO CERULLI, *La letteratura etiopica: L'Oriente cristiano nell'unità delle sue tradizioni*, Milano [3]1968 (La letterature del mondo 30)
CerMaria	ENRICO CERULLI, *Il libro etiopico dei Miracoli di Maria e le sue fonti nelle letterature del Medio Evo latino*, Roma 1943
CerPal	ENRICO CERULLI, *Etiopi in Palestina. Storia della comunità etiopica di Gerusalemme*, 2 vols., Roma 1943, 1947 (Collezione scientifica e documentaria a cura del Ministero dell'Africa italiana 12, 14)
CerPeople	ERNESTA CERULLI, *Peoples of South-West Ethiopia and its Borderland*, London 1956 (Ethnographic Survey of Africa, North Eastern Africa 3)

CerStud I–IV	ENRICO CERULLI, *Studi Etiopici*, vol. 1: *La lingua e la storia di Harar*, vol. 2: *La lingua e la storia dei Sidamo*, vol. 3: *Il Linguaggio dei Giangerò ed alcune lingue Sidama dell'Omo (Basketo, Ciara, Zaissè)*, vol. 4: *La Lingua Caffina*, Roma 1936, 1936, 1938 [repr. 1963], 1951
ChAbb	MARIUS CHAÎNE, *Catalogue des manuscrits éthiopiens de la collection Antoine d'Abbadie*, Paris 1912
ChMonV	MARIUS CHAÎNE, *Catalogue des manuscrits éthiopiens de la collection Mondon-Vidailhet*, Paris 1913
ChojPaint	STANISŁAW CHOJNACKI, *Major Themes in Ethiopian Painting: Indigenous Developments, the Influence of Foreign Models and their Adaptation from the 13th to the 19th Century*, Wiesbaden 1983 (AeF 10)
ChRep	MARIUS CHAÎNE, "Répertoire des Salam et Malke'e contenus dans les manuscrits éthiopiens des bibliothèques d'Europe", *ROC* 2ème sér. 8 [18], 1913, 183–203, 337–57
ChTana	ROBERT ERNEST CHEESMAN, *Lake Tana and the Blue Nile, an Abyssinian Quest*, London 1936; repr. 1968
CIH	*Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*. IV: *Inscriptiones Himyariticas et Sabaeas continens*, Paris, 1889–1932
ClapHS	CHRISTOPHER CLAPHAM, *Haile Selassie's Government*, London 1969
ColSyn VI–XIV	GÉRARD COLIN, *Le synaxaire éthiopien. Mois de Maskaram*, Turnhout 1986 (PO 43, fasc. 3) [VI]; *Mois de Ṭeqemt*, Turnhout 1987 (PO 44, fasc. 1) [VII]; *Mois de Ḫedār*, Turnhout 1988 (PO 44, fasc. 3) [VIII]; *Mois de Ṭerr*, Turnhout 1990 (PO 45, fasc. 1) [IX]; *Mois de Yakkātit*, Turnhout 1992 (PO 45, fasc. 3) [X]; *Mois de Maggābit*, Turnhout 1994 (PO 46, fasc. 3) [XI]; *Mois de Miyāzyā*, Turnhout 1995 (PO 46, fasc. 4) [XII]; *Mois de Genbot*, Turnhout 1997 (PO 47, fasc. 3) [XIII]; *Index généraux, annexes*, Turnhout 1999 (PO 48, fasc. 3) [XIV]
ConzGal	WILLIAM EL. CONZELMAN (ed., tr.), *Chronique de Galâwdêwos (Claudius): Roi d'Éthiopie*, Paris 1895 (Bibliothèque de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études, Sciences philologiques et historiques 104)
CPG I–V, Suppl.	MAURITIUS GEERARD (ed., tr.), *Clavis patrum Graecorum, qua optimas quaeque scriptorum patrum Graecorum recensiones a primaevis saeculis usque ad octavum commode recluduntur*, vol. 1: *Patres antenicaeni*, Turnhout 1983 [I]; vol. 2: *Ab Athanasio ad Chrysostomum*, Turnhout 1974 [II]; vol. 3: *A Cyrillo Alexandrino ad Iohannem Damascenum*, Turnhout 1979 [III]; vol. 4: *Concilia. Catenae*, Turnhout 1980 [IV]; vol. 5: *Indices, initia, concordantiae*, Turnhout 1987 [V] (Corpus Christianorum); JACQUES NORET – MAURITS GEERARD, *Clavis Patrum Graecorum. Supplementum*, Brepols 1998 (Corpus Christianorum) [Suppl.]
CRAbb [I–IV]	CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Notice sur les manuscrits éthiopiens de la collection d'Abbadie", *JA* ser. 10, 19, 1912, 551–78 [I]; 20, 1912, 5–72, 449–94 [II]; ser. 11, 2, 1913, 5–64 [III]; 6, 1915, 189–238, 445–93 [IV]; repr. Paris 1914
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KTMast	KÄBBÄDÄ TÄSÄMMA, **የታሪክ፡ ማስታወሻ** (*Yätarik mastawäša*, 'Historical Memoirs'), Addis Abäba 1962 A.M. [1969/70 A.D.], ²1963 A.M. [1970/71 A.D.]
KurMoa	STANISLAS KUR (ed., tr.), *Actes de Iyasus Moʾa, abbé du couvent de St-Etienne de Ḥayq*, Louvain 1965 (CSCO 259, 260 [SAe 49, 50])
KWKDic	KIDANÄ WÄLD KƎFLE, **መጽሐፈ፡ ሰዋስው፡ ወግስ፡ ወመዝገበ፡ ቃላት፡ ሐዲስ። ንባቡ፡ በግዕዝ፡ ፍችው፡ ባማርኛ** (*Mäṣḥafä säwasəw wägəss wämäzgäbä qalat ḥaddis. Nəbabu bägəʿəz fəčč̣əw bamarəñña*, 'A Book of Grammar and Verb, and a New Dictionary. Gəʿəz Entries, Amharic Definitions'), Addis Abäba 1948 A.M. [1955/56 A.D.]
LefAbyss	CHARLEMAGNE THEOPHILE LEFEBVRE, *Voyage en Abyssinie exécuté pendant les années 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842, 1843 ...*, 6 vols., Paris [1845–51]
LesCDic	WOLF LESLAU, *Comparative Dictionary of Geʿez (Classical Ethiopic): Geʿez – English / English – Geʿez with an Index of the Semitic Roots*, Wiesbaden 1987
LevWax	DONALD NATHAN LEVINE, *Wax & Gold. Tradition and Innovation in Ethiopian Culture*, Chicago – London 1965
LewJimm	HERBERT SAMUEL LEWIS, *A Galla Monarchy: Jimma Abba Jifar, Ethiopia, 1830–1932*, Madison, WI 1965
LewPeople	IOAN MYRDDIN LEWIS, *Peoples of the Horn of Africa: Somali, Afar and Saho*, London 1955 (Ethnographic Survey of Africa, North Eastern Africa 1); repr. 1994
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LöfUpp	OSCAR LÖFGREN, *Katalog über die äthiopischen Handschriften in der Universitätsbibliothek Uppsala*, Uppsala 1974
LudHist	HIOB LUDOLFUS, *Historia Æthiopica sive brevis & succincta descriptio regni Habessinorum, quod vulgò malè Presbyteri Johannis vocatur ...*, Francofurti ad Moenum 1681
LusStud	GIANFRANCESCO LUSINI, *Studi sul monachesimo eustaziano (secoli XIV–XV)*, Napoli 1993 (StAfEt 3)
MahHorse	*Blattén Géta* MAHTÄMÄ-SELLASÉ WÄLDÄ-MÄSQÄL, "A Study of the Ethiopian Culture of Horse-Names", *JES* 7, 2, 1969, 195–303; first printed as ፍ፡ በለው (*Če bäläw*), Addis Abäba 1961 A.M. [1968/69 A.D.]
MahZekr	*blatten geta* MAḪTÄMÄ ŚƎLLASE WÄLDÄ MÄSQÄL, ዝክረ፡ ነገር (*Zəkrä nägär*, 'Memorable Things'), Addis Abäba ²1962 A.M. [1969/70 A.D.]
MaqIlmam[²]	AḤMAD IBN ʿALĪ AL-MAQRĪZĪ, *Kitāb al-Ilmām bi-aḫbār man bi-arḍ al-Ḥabaša min mulūk al-Islām. Historia regum Islamiticorum in Abyssinia*, ed. by FRIEDRICH THEODOR RINCK, Leiden 1790; *Kitāb al-Ilmām bi-aḫbār ...*, ed. by ĞIRĞĪ ZAYDĀN, Cairo ²1895
MarAmdS	PAOLO MARRASSINI (ed., tr.), *Lo scettro e la croce. La campagna di 'Amda Ṣeyon I contro l'Ifāt (1332)*, Napoli 1993 (StAfEt 4)
MasMis	GUGLIELMO MASSAJA, *I miei trentacinque anni di missione nell'alta Etiopia*, 12 vols., Roma – Milano 1885–95
MasMis²	GUGLIELMO MASSAJA, *Memorie storiche del Vicariato Apostolico dei Galla 1845–1880*, ed. by ANTONIO ROSSO, 6 vols., Città del Vaticano 1984 (Collectanea Archivi Vaticani 10–15)
MesfAtlas[²]	MESFIN WOLDE-MARIAM, *An Atlas of Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 1970; revised Asmara ²1971
MesfGeogr	MESFIN WOLDE-MARIAM, *An Introductory Geography of Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 1972
MHAksum	STUART C. MUNRO-HAY, *Aksum. An African Civilisation of Late Antiquity*, Edinburgh 1991
MHAlex [I], II	STUART C. MUNRO-HAY, *Ethiopia and Alexandria*, vol. 1: *The Metropolitan Episcopacy of Ethiopia*, Warszawa 1997 [I]; vol. 2, *The Metropolitan Episcopacy of Ethiopia from the Fourteenth Century to the Zemana Mesafint*, Warszawa 2005 [II] (Biblioteca nubica et aetiopica 5, 9)
MHasOr	MOHAMMED HASSEN, *The Oromo of Ethiopia: a History 1570–1860*, Cambridge 1990 (African Studies Series 66)
MiscAethKur	MIECZYSŁAW LUBAŃSKI et al. (eds.), *Miscellanea Aethiopica Reverendissimo Domino Stanislao Kur septuagenario professori illustrissimo viro amplissimo ac doctissimo oblata*, Warszawa 2000 (= Warszawskie Studia Teologiczne 12, 2, 1999)
MockWar	ANTHONY MOCKLER, *Haile Selassie's War: the Italian-Ethiopian Campaign, 1935–1941*, New York 1984, Oxford ²2003
MolLit	REIDULF KNUT MOLVAER, *Black Lions: the Creative Lives of Modern Ethiopia's Literary Giants and Pioneers*, Lawrenceville 1997
MonVidMus	FRANÇOIS MARIE CASIMIR MONDON-VIDAILHET, "La musique éthiopienne", in: ALBERT LAVIGNAC (ed.), *Encyclopédie de la musique et Dictionnaire du conservatoire*, Paris 1922, vol. 5, 1, 3179–96
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MorDicAfar	DIDIER MORIN, *Dictionnaire historique afar (1288–1982)*, Paris 2004
MorTeod	MARTINO MARIO MORENO, "La Cronaca di Re Teodoro Attribuita al Dabtarà Zaneb", *RSE* 2, 2, 1942, 143–80
MRALm	*Memorie della Reale Accademia dei Lincei, classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*, Roma 1898ff. [after 1947: *Memorie della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei ...*]
MuhTarih	MUḤAMMAD ʿUṮMĀN ABŪ BAKR, *Taʾrīḫ Īrītriyā al-muʿāṣir: arḍan wa-šaʿban* ('The Contemporary History of Eritrea: Land and People'), Cairo 1994
MunSt	WERNER MUNZINGER, *Ostafrikanische Studien*, Schaffhausen 1864
NadEr	SIEGFRIED FREDERICK NADEL, *The Races and Tribes of Eritrea*, Asmara 1944
NÆ	*Nubica et Æthiopica. Internationales Jahrbuch für koptische, meroitisch-nubische, äthiopische und verwandte Studien*, Warszawa 1987ff.
NEASt	*Northeast African Studies*, East Lansing, MI 1979ff.
OMahPh[²]	KEVIN O'MAHONEY, *"The Ebullient Phoenix". A History of the Vicariate of Abyssinia*, 3 vols., Asmara 1982, 1987, 1991 [ID., *The Ebullient Phoenix: a History of the Vicariate of Abyssinia 1839 – 1916: Revised as one Book*, Addis Ababa ²2002]
OrbAethChoj	PIOTR O. SCHOLZ – RICHARD PANKHURST – WITOLD WITAKOWSKI (eds.), *Orbis Aethiopicus: Studia in honorem Stanislaus Chojnacki natali septuagesimo quinto dicata, septuagesimo septimo oblata*, Albstadt 1992 (Bibliotheca nubica 3)
OrChr	*Oriens Christianus*, Leipzig – Roma – Wiesbaden 1901ff.

OrChrA	*Orientalia Christiana analecta*, Roma 1923ff.
OrChrP	*Orientalia Christiana periodica*, Roma 1935ff.
PankBord	RICHARD PANKHURST, *The Ethiopian Borderlands: Essays in Regional History from Ancient Times to the End of the 18th Century*, Lawrenceville, NJ 1997
PankEcon	RICHARD PANKHURST, *Economic History of Ethiopia, 1800–1935*, Addis Ababa 1968
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PankHist I, II	RICHARD PANKHURST, *History of Ethiopian Towns: from the Middle Ages to the Early Ninteenth Century*, Wiesbaden 1982 (AeF 8) [I]; ID., *History of Ethiopian Towns: from the Mid-Nineteenth Century to 1935*, Stuttgart 1985 (AeF 17) [II]
PankSoc	RICHARD PANKHURST, *A Social History of Ethiopia: The Northern and Central Highlands from Early Medieval Times to the Rise of Emperor Téwodros II*, Addis Ababa 1990
PerChron	FRANCISCO MARIA ESTEVES PEREIRA, *Chronica de Susenyos, rei de Ethiopia*, 2 vols., Lisboa 1892–1900
PerGov	MARGERY PERHAM, *The Government of Ethiopia*, London 1948
PerrAmdS	JULES PERRUCHON (ed., tr.), "Histoire des guerres d'ᶜAmda-Ṣeyon, roi d'Éthiopie, traduite de l'Éthiopien", *JA* 8 sér., 14, 1889, 271–363, 381–493; repr. Paris 1890
PerrEsk	JULES PERRUCHON (ed., tr.), "Histoire d'Eskender, d'ᶜAmda-Ṣeyon II et de Nâ'od, rois d'Éthiopie. Texte éthiopien inédit comprenant en outre un fragment de la chronique de Ba'eda-Mâryâm, leur prédécesseur, et traduction", *JA* 9 sér., 3, 1894, 319–66
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PNCES 1	TADESSE BEYENE – RICHARD PANKHURST – AHMED ZEKARIA (eds.), *Proceedings of the First National Conference of Ethiopian Studies, April 11–12 1990*, Addis Ababa 1990
PO	*Patrologia Orientalis*, Paris 1907ff.
PollEr	ALBERTO POLLERA, *Le popolazioni indigene dell'Eritrea*, Bologna 1935
PrRosDic	CHRIS PROUTY – EUGENE ROSENFELD, *Historical Dictionary of Ethiopia and Eritrea*, Metuchen, NJ ²1994
QSE	*Quaderni di Studi Etiopici*, Asmara 1980–87
RaiCer	OSVALDO RAINERI, *Inventario dei manoscritti Cerulli etiopici*, Città del Vaticano 2004 (Studi e testi 420; Cataloghi sommari e inventari dei fondi manoscritti 8)
RANLmor	*Rendiconti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei. Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*, Roma 1947ff.
RasTheo	HORMUZD RASSAM, *Narrative of the British Mission to Theodore, King of Abyssinia*, 2 vols., London 1869
RevSem	*Revue sémitique d'épigraphie et d'histoire ancienne*, Paris 1893–1914
RicEnbYoh I-V	LANFRANCO RICCI, "Le *Vite* di Ěnbāqom e di Yoḥannĕs, abbati di Dabra Libānos di Scioa", *RSE* 13, 1954 [1955], 91–120 [I]; *ibid.* 14, [1955-58] 1959, 69–107 [II]; *ibid.* 22, 1966, 75–102 [III]; *ibid.* 23, 1967–68 [1969], 79–219 [IV]; *ibid.* 24, [1969-70] 1971, 134-232 [V]
RicLett	LANFRANCO RICCI, "Letterature dell'Etiopia", in: OSCAR BOTTO (ed.), *Storia delle letterature dell'Oriente*, vol. 1, Milano 1969, 801–911
RIÉ I–III	ETIENNE BERNAND – ABRAHAM JOHANNES DREWES – ROGER SCHNEIDER, *Recueil des inscriptions de l'Éthiopie des périodes pré-axoumite et axoumite*, I: *Les documents*, II: *Les planches*, Paris 1991; III: *Traductions et commentaires*, A. *Les inscriptions grecques*, par ÉTIENNE BERNARD, Paris 2000
ROC	*Revue de l'Orient chrétien*, Paris 1896–1946; repr. New York 1966
RRALm	*Rendiconti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei, Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*, Roma 1892ff. [after 1947: *RANLmor*]
RSE	*Rassegna di Studi Etiopici*, Roma 1941ff.
RSO	*Rivista degli studi orientali*, Roma 1907ff.
RubActa I–III	SVEN RUBENSON (ed.), *Correspondence and Treaties, 1800–1854*, Evanston – Addis Ababa 1987 (Acta Aethiopica 1) [I]; ID. (ed.), *Tewodros and his Contemporaries, 1855–1868*, Lund – Addis Ababa 1994 (Acta Aethiopica 2) [II]; ID. (ed.), *Internal Rivalries and Foreign Threats, 1869–1879*, Addis Ababa – Lund – New Brunswick, NJ 2000 (Acta Aethiopica 3) [III]
RubInd	SVEN RUBENSON, *The Survival of Ethiopian Independence*, London 1976 (Lund Studies in International History 7)
RubTew	SVEN RUBENSON, *King of Kings, Tewodros of Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa – Nairobi 1966 (Haile Sellassie I University Department of History: Historical Studies 2)
SalTrav	HENRY SALT, *A Voyage to Abyssinia and Travels into the Interior of that Country, Executed under the Orders of the British Government in the Years 1809 and 1810*, London 1814; repr. 1967
S.L.L.E. linguistic reports	*Survey of Little-known Languages of Ethiopia. Linguistic Reports*, Addis Ababa 1992–95

SAe	*Scriptores Aethiopici* (within CSCO)
SawHist	SAWĪRUS IBN AL-MUQAFFAᶜ [et al.], *History of the Patriarchs of the Egyptian Church, Known as the History of the Holy Church*, tr. by ᶜAZIZ SURYAL ATIYA – YASSA ᶜABD AL-MASIḤ – OSWALD HUGH EWART BURMESTER, Cairo 1948–59; tr. by ANTOINE KHATER – OSWALD HUGH EWART BURMESTER, Cairo ²1968–70
SegBodLes	STANISLAV SEGERT – ANDRÁS J.E. BODROGLIGETI (eds.), *Ethiopian Studies: Dedicated to Wolf Leslau on the Occasion of his Seventy-Fifth Birthday, November 14th, 1981, by Friends and Colleagues*, Wiesbaden 1983
SerHist	SERGEW HABLE SELLASSIE, *Ancient and Medieval Ethiopian History to 1270*, Addis Ababa 1972
ShGurage	WILLIAM A. SHACK, *The Gurage. A People of the Ensete Culture*, London – New York – Nairobi 1966
SihFutuh	ŠIHĀBADDĪN AḤMAD IBN ᶜABDALQĀDIR (ᶜARAB FAQĪH), *Tuḥfat az-zamān, aw Futūḥ al-Ḥabaša, aṣ-ṣirāʾ aṣ-ṣūmālī al-ḥabašī fī l-qarn as-sādis ʿašar al-mīlādī* ('The Gift of the Epoch, or the Conquest of Abyssinia, the Somali-Abyssinian Struggle in the 16th Cent. A.D.'), ed. by FAHĪM MUḤAMMAD ŠALTŪT, Al-Qāhira 1394 H. [1974 A.D.]
SimDillmChr	JEAN SIMON, "Notes bibliographiques sur les textes de la «Chrestomathia Aethiopica» de A. Dillmann", *Orientalia* nuova ser. 10, 1941, 285-311
SixBay	VERONIKA SIX, *Äthiopische Handschriften* 2: *Die Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek*, ed. by ERNST HAMMERSCHMIDT, Stuttgart 1989 (VOHD 20, 5)
SixDeu	VERONIKA SIX, *Äthiopische Handschriften*: Teil 3: *Handschriften deutscher Bibliotheken, Museen und aus Privatbesitz*, Stuttgart 1994 (VOHD 20, 6)
SixTana III	VERONIKA SIX, *Äthiopische Handschriften vom Ṭānāsee*, Teil 3: *Nebst einem Nachtrag zum Katalog der äthiopischen Handschriften deutscher Bibliotheken und Museen*, ed. by ERNST HAMMERSCHMIDT, Stuttgart 1999 (VOHD 20, 3)
SKK	*Studien zur Kulturkunde*, Stuttgart – Wiesbaden 1933ff.
SNR	*Sudan Notes and Records*, Khartoum 1918ff.
StAfEt	*Studi Africanistici. Serie Etiopica*, Napoli 1992ff.
StrANL	STEFAN STRELCYN, *Catalogue des manuscrits éthiopiens de l'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei. Fonds Conti Rossini et Fonds Caetani 209, 375, 376, 377, 378*, Roma 1976 (Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei: Indici e sussidi bibliografici della biblioteca 9)
StrBritLib	STEFAN STRELCYN, *Catalogue of Ethiopian Manuscripts in the British Library: Acquired since the Year 1877*, London 1978
StrGriaule	STEFAN STRELCYN, *Catalogue des manuscrits éthiopiens (collection Griaule)*, Tome IV, *éthiopien 373 (Griaule 69) – éthiopien 674 (Griaule 366) – Nouvelles acquisitions: éthiopien 301–304, 675–687*, Paris 1954
StStud	VOLKER STITZ, *Studien zur Kulturgeographie Zentraläthiopiens*, Bonn 1974 (Bonner geographische Abhandlungen 51)
StudAeth	VERENA BÖLL et al. (eds.), *Studia Aethiopica. In Honour of Siegbert Uhlig on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday*, Wiesbaden 2004
TadTChurch	TADDESSE TAMRAT, *Church and State in Ethiopia 1270–1527*, Oxford 1972
TedEthPrel I, II	SALVATORE TEDESCHI, "Ethiopian Prelates", in: *CE*, vol. 3, 999–1003 [I]; vol. 4, 1005–44 [II]
THMDic	TÄSÄMMA HABTÄ MIKAʾEL, **ከሣቴ፡ ብርሃን፡ ተሰማ። የዐማርኛ፡ መዝገበ፡ ቃላት** (*Käśate Bərhan Täsämma. Yäʿamarəñña mäzgäbä qalat*, 'Täsämma, the Light Revealer. An Amharic Dictionary'), Addis Abäba 1951 A.M. [1958/59 A.D.]
TilDic	TILAHUN GAMTA, *Oromo–English Dictionary*, Addis Ababa 1989
TrIslam	JOHN SPENCER TRIMINGHAM, *Islam in Ethiopia*, London – Oxford – New York 1952
TSTarik I-IV	TÄKLÄ ṢADƏQ MÄKᵂƏRIYA, **የኢትዮጵያ፡ ታሪክ። ኑብያ – አክሱም፡ ዛጒይ፡ እስከ፡ ዐፄ፡ ይኩኖ፡ አምላክ፡ ዘመነ፡ መንግሥት። ፩ኛ፡ መጽሐፍ** (*Yäʾityopya tarik. Nubəya - Aksum Zagʷəye əskä ʿaṣe Yəkʷənno Amlak zämänä mängəśt. Andäñña mäṣḥaf*, 'History of Ethiopia. Nubia, Aksum, Zagʷe till the Time of Reign of *aṣe* Yəkunno Amlak. Book I'), Addis Abäba 1951 A.M. [1958/59 A.D.]; ID., **የኢትዮጵያ፡ ታሪክ። ፪ኛ፡ መጽሐፍ፡ ከዐፄ፡ ይኩኖ፡ አምላክ፡ እስከ፡ ዐፄ፡ ልብነ፡ ድንግል** (*Yäʾityopya tarik. Hulättäñña mäṣḥaf: käʿaṣe Yəkʷənno Amlak əskä ʿaṣe Ləbnä Dəngəl*, 'History of Ethiopia. Book II: from *aṣe* Yəkunno Amlak to *aṣe* Ləbnä Dəngəl'), Addis Abäba 1951 A.M. [1958/59 A.D.]; ID., **የኢትዮጵያ፡ ታሪክ። ከዐፄ፡ ልብነ፡ ድንግል፡ እስከ፡ ዐፄ፡ ቴዎድሮስ** (*Yäʾityopya tarik. Käʿaṣe Ləbnä Dəngəl əskä ʿaṣe Tewodros*, 'History of Ethiopia. [Book III:] From *aṣe* Ləbnä Dəngəl to *aṣe* Tewodros'), Addis Abäba 1953 A.M. [1960/61 A.D.]; ⁵1965 A.M. [1972/73 A.D.]; ID., **የኢትዮጵያ፡ ታሪክ። ከአፄ፡ ቴዎድሮስ፡ እስከ፡ ቀደማዊ፡ ኃይለ፡ ሥላሴ** (*Yäʾityopya tarik. Käʾaṣe Tewodros əskä qädämawi Ḫaylä Śəllase*, 'History of Ethiopia. [Book IV:] From *aṣe* Tewodros to Ḫaylä Śəllase I'), Addis Abäba 1946 A.M. [1954/55 A.D.]

TurIz	BORIS TURAEV, *Izsledovanija v oblasti agiologičeskih istočnikov istorii Efiopii* ('A Study on the Hagiographic Sources for the History of Ethiopia'), St. Petersburg 1902
UhPal	SIEGBERT UHLIG, *Äthiopische Paläographie*, Stuttgart 1988 (AeF 22)
UllBibl	EDWARD ULLENDORFF, *Ethiopia and the Bible*, London 1968 (The Schweich Lectures of the British Academy 1967)
UmMasSezg	IBN FAḌLALLÂH AL-ʿUMARĪ, *Masālik al-abṣār fī mamālik al-amṣār*, *'Routes toward insight into the capital empires'*, ed. by FUAT SEZGIN, Frankfurt/Main 1988 (Publications of the Institute for the History of Arabic-Islamic Science, Series C, Facsimile Editions 46, 4)
UmMasGaud	IBN FAḌLALLĀH AL-ʿUMARĪ, *Masālik al-abṣār fī mamālik al-amṣār*, 1: *L'Afrique, moins l'Égypte, traduit et annoté avec une introduction et 5 cartes*, tr. by MAURICE GAUDEFROY-DEMOMBYNES, Paris 1927 (Bibliothèque des géographes arabes 2)
USCES	HAROLD GOLDEN MARCUS – JOHN HINNANT (eds.), *Proceedings of the First United States Conference on Ethiopian Studies, Michigan State University, 2–5 May 1973*, East Lansing, MI 1975 (Monograph no. 3, Occasional Papers Series, Committee on Ethiopian Studies)
VelMaw	BERNARD VELAT, "Le Mawāsəʾət et les livres de chant liturgique éthiopien", in: *Mémorial du Cinquantenaire de l'Ecole des Langues Orientales Anciennes de l'Institut Catholique de Paris*, Paris 1964 (Travaux de l'Institut Catholique de Paris 10), 159–70
VelMe I–II	BERNARD VELAT (ed., tr.), *Məʿəraf. Commun de l'office divin éthiopien pour toute l'année. Texte éthiopien avec variantes*, Paris 1966 (PO 34, fasc. 1–2) [I = text]; *Études sur le Məʿəraf, commun de l'office divin éthiopien. Introduction, traduction française, commentaire liturgique et musical*, Paris 1966 (PO 33) [II = tr.]
VelSoDe I–II	BERNARD VELAT (ed., tr.), *Ṣoma Deggua. Antiphonaire du carême. Quatre premières semaines*, Paris 1966 (PO 32–1, 32–2 [no. 151, 152]) [I = text]; Paris 1969 (PO 32–3, 32–4 [no. 153, 154]) [II = tr.]
VOHD	*Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland*, Wiesbaden – Stuttgart 1961ff.
VSAe I–III	ADOLF ELLEGARD JENSEN (ed.), *Altvölker Süd-Äthiopiens*, mit Beiträgen von EIKE HABERLAND – ADOLF ELLEGARD JENSEN – W. SCHULZ-WEIDNER – ELISABETH PAULI, Stuttgart 1959 (Völker Süd-Äthiopiens. Ergebnisse der Frobenius-Expeditionen 1950–52, 1954–56, Teil 1) [I]; EIKE HABERLAND, *Galla Süd-Äthiopiens*, mit einem Beitrag von K. REINHARDT, Stuttgart 1963 (Völker Süd-Äthiopiens. Ergebnisse der Frobenius-Expeditionen 1950–52, 1954–56, Teil 2) [II]; HELMUT STRAUBE, *Westkuschitische Völker Süd-Äthiopiens*, mit einem Beitrag von W. SCHULZ-WEIDNER, Stuttgart 1963 (Völker Süd-Äthiopiens. Ergebnisse der Frobenius-Expeditionen 1950–52, 1954–56, Teil 3) [III]
WagFath	EWALD WAGNER (ed., tr.), *Legende und Geschichte. Der Fatḥ Madīnat Harar von Yaḥyā Naṣrallāh*, Wiesbaden 1978 (Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes 44, 3)
WagHand	EWALD WAGNER, *Afrikanische Handschriften*, Teil 2: *Islamische Handschriften aus Äthiopien*, Stuttgart 1997 (VOHD 24, 2)
WagHar	EWALD WAGNER, *Harar: Annotierte Bibliographie zum Schrifttum über die Stadt und den Islam in Südostäthiopien*, Wiesbaden 2003 (AeF 61)
WenDAE I	STEFFEN WENIG (ed.), *In kaiserlichem Auftrag: Die Deutsche Aksum-Expedition 1906 unter Enno Littmann*, vol. 1: *Die Akteure und die wissenschaftlichen Unternehmungen der DAE in Eritrea*, Aichwald 2006
WrBriMus	WILLIAM WRIGHT, *Catalogue of the Ethiopic Manuscripts in the British Museum acquired since the Year 1847*, London 1877
YaqMist I–II	YAQOB BEYENE, *Giyorgis di Saglā: il libro del Mistero* (*Maṣḥafa Mesṭir*), Louvain 1990 (CSCO 515, 516 [SAe 89, 90]) [I]; Louvain 1993 (CSCO 532, 533 [SAe 97, 98]) [II]
ZA	*Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und verwandte Gebiete*, Leipzig 1886–1938
ZanBibl	SILVIO ZANUTTO, *Bibliografia etiopica in continuazione alla "Bibliografia etiopica" di G. Fumagalli. Secondo contributo: manoscritti etiopici*, Roma 1932
ZanLitTheod	*däbtära* ZÄNNÄB, *The Chronicle of King Theodore of Abyssinia*, ed. by ENNO LITTMANN, Princeton 1902
ZDMG	*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Leipzig – Wiesbaden – Stuttgart 1847ff.
ZerÉth	ADRIEN ZERVOS, *L'empire d'Éthiopie. Le miroir de Éthiopie moderne*, Alexandria 1936
ZewYohan	ZEWDE GABRE-SELLASSIE, *Yohannes IV of Ethiopia: a Political Biography*, Oxford 1975
ZotBNat	HERMAN ZOTENBERG, *Catalogue des manuscrits éthiopiens* (*Gheez et Amharique*) *de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris 1877.
ZREritra	ZÄWDE RÄTTA, የኤርትራ ጉዳይ 1941–1963 (*Yäʿerətra guday* 1941–1963, 'The Eritrean Question 1941–1963'), Addis Abäba 2002
ZSem	*Zeitschrift für Semitistik und verwandte Gebiete*, [Leipzig] 1922–35

Biblical Abbreviations

O.T.	Old Testament
Gen	Genesis
Ex	Exodus
Lev	Leviticus
Num	Numbers
Deut	Deuteronomy
Josh	Joshua
Judg	Judges
Ruth	Ruth
1 Sam	1 Samuel
2 Sam	2 Samuel
1 Kgs	1 Kings
2 Kgs	2 Kings
1 Chr	1 Chronicles
2 Chr	2 Chronicles
Ezra	Ezra
Tob	Tobit
Jdt	Judith
Neh	Nehemiah [= 2 Ezra]
3 Ezra	Apocryphal Book of Ezra
4 Ezra	Apocalypse of Ezra
Esth	Esther
1 Mac	1 Maccabees
2 Mac	2 Maccabees
Job	Job
Ps	Psalms
Prov	Proverbs
Ecc	Ecclesiastes
Song	Song of Songs
Wis	Wisdom
Sir	Sirach
Ba	Baruch
Is	Isaiah
Jer	Jeremiah
Lam	Lamentations
Ezek	Ezekiel
Dan	Daniel
Hos	Hosea
Joel	Joel
Am	Amos
Obad	Obadiah
Jon	Jonah
Mic	Micah
Nah	Nahum
Hab	Habakkuk
Zeph	Zephaniah
Hag	Haggai
Zech	Zechariah
Mal	Malachi
En	Enoch
Jub	Jubilees

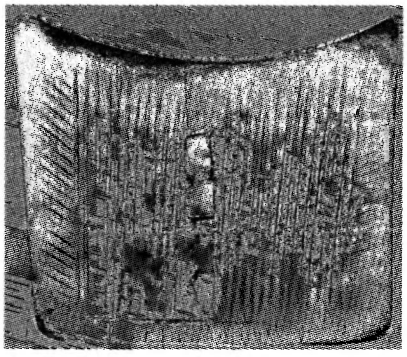
N.T.	New Testament
Mt	Matthew
Mk	Mark
Lk	Luke
Jn	John
Acts	Acts
Rom	Romans
1 Cor	1 Corinthians
2 Cor	2 Corinthians
Gal	Galatians
Eph	Ephesians
Phil	Philippians
Col	Colossians
1 Thes	1 Thessalonians
2 Thes	2 Thessalonians
1 Tim	1 Timothy
2 Tim	2 Timothy
Tit	Titus
Phlm	Philemon
Heb	Hebrews
Jas	James
1 Pet	1 Peter
2 Pet	2 Peter
1 Jn	1 John
2 Jn	2 John
3 Jn	3 John
Jude	Jude
Rev	Revelation

Headrest(s)

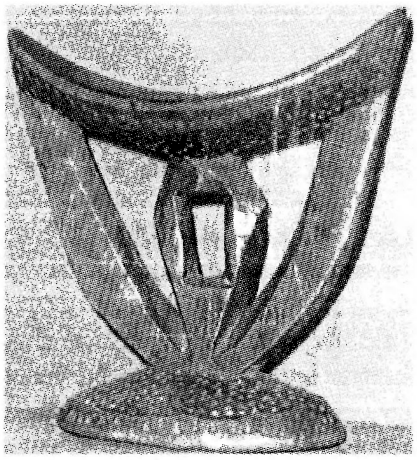
H. are wooden artefacts of everyday life used as a kind of cushion to protect special hairstyles, and in some cases additionally used as a small stool. Their use is known throughout many countries in sub-Saharan Africa (e.g., Ethiopia, Sudan, Kenya, Tanzania, Mozambique, South Africa, Zimbabwe, Kongo, Nigeria), Oceania and the Pacific region and East and South-east Asia (Indonesia, China, Japan). Even in some European alpine areas (Piedmont, Aosta valley) the use of H. was known. In ancient Egypt noble people were buried with their H.

In Ethiopia H. are (or were) used in many regions except in extensive parts of the Christian highlands. They are (or were) the individual possessions of a person. All types of Ethiopian H. have in common that they are made of one single piece of wood. They are stable and fit to the shape of the human head and neck. Some are decorated with engravings of geometrical ornaments or parallel grooves. Others are covered with pearls or paint, decorated with leather straps or metal inlays. Most of them are worked in a careful way and have a very smooth surface. The wood of the H. is often polished with certain kinds of leaves to smoothen the surface, and rubbed with castor oil (*Ricinus communis*) to achieve a dark colour and enhance the patina. The size ranges from 10 cm to 36 cm in height and 10 cm to 30 cm in width. Most of them are nearly the same size in height and width, but some have a broad (e.g., Ñaŋatom) or a high shape (e.g., Somali).

Ethiopian H. show an enormous variety in shape. They can roughly be divided into the following types:



Headrest in concave form (type 1), from Hadiyya; photo by the author, courtesy of the Frobenius-Institut (inventory no. 3642)

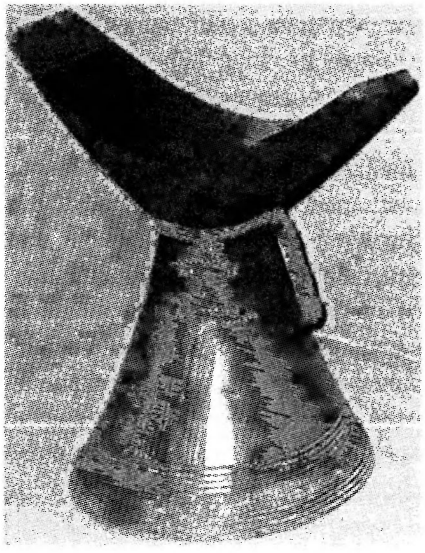


Headrest with several "pillars" (type 2); collection of the Ethnographic Museum of the IES, photo by Wolbert Smidt, courtesy of the IES

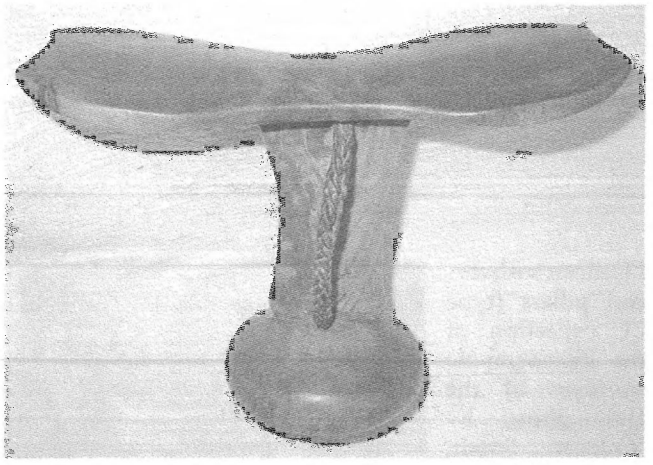
1) H. with the upper side simply carved in a concave form; sometimes the upper part is more elaborate (e.g. Oromo, Sidaama) or has two short legs (e.g. Đáasanač, Bäšada).

2) H., where parts of its body are carved out so that several columns are formed (e.g., Gurage, Arsi Oromo). These columns can be vertical or diagonal. It can be made of a four-sided piece of wood with small depth or of one foot, linked with the upper part by two (s. ill.) or more columns.

3) Another type of H. consists only of a leg and the upper part. A common variant of this type is that with a conical leg (see ill.). This conical leg is often hollow and may be used to store small pieces of chewing-tobacco or butter, which is used to smoothen the skin.



Headrest with a conical leg (type 3); collection of the Ethnographic Museum of the IES, photo by Wolbert Smidt, courtesy of the IES



Headrest with a narrow leg (type 4), Ñaŋatom type; photo courtesy of Serge Tornay

4) This type consists of three elements: one narrow leg with a broader foot and an optically separate upper part. The foot may be flat and rectangular, but can also be spheric (e.g., Hamär; Ñaŋatom, see ill.). The upper part is either rectangular or waisted with rounded ends. It is usually flat or concave and broader than the foot (e.g., Oromo, ᶜIssa, ᶜAfar, Gurage, Arsi, Mursi, Suri, Ñaŋatom, Hamär, Banna, Bäšada, Kara, Arbore, Bodi). The leg of the H. often has a handle made of fibre, leather or a thick metal wire to carry it (mainly in southern Ethiopia). Small containers with tobacco or small knives can be fixed to this handle, or the foot might be hollow and used as a container itself.

5) H. with three legs made out of a naturally formed piece of bough (e.g., ᶜAfar). Other ethnic groups use the same type as a stool only (e.g., Suri, Kara). This is also the case with the stools of the Meᵓen which resemble the H. of type 3.

Beside its practical use (protection of hairstyles, seat) the H. has the function of marking the social status of its owner. For example, the size of the H. does not necessarily correspond to the height of its owner. Among some ethnic groups (e.g. Hamär, Arbore) married men use bigger H. than other men. In Hamär the H. (*borkoto*) are connected to the male sphere; they are an essential part of male decoration. The men use them for sleeping and sitting. It is considered to be important not to sit on the dusty ground like women and children. Women use, if at all, flat, polished pieces of wood to sleep on.

Similar to the Hamär, is the use of H. among the Ñaŋatom, who call it *akičolong*, and the Arbore, where small boys, who do not use H. (*kara galeba*) for sleeping, sit on them. In contrast to the Hamär, the Hadiyya (and Gurage) men and women both used H. (*barkumma*), which were not suitable for sitting. The Hadiyya H. were made by local woodworkers or they used imported ones from Sidaama, Arsi and Gurage. Since beds and cushions of Amhara style were introduced they (like the neighbouring ethnic groups) stopped using H. Today these types of H. are only found in museums. Those H. found on the tourist market are mostly produced for the souvenir shops.

Lit.: JON ABBINK, *The Meᵓen of South-Western Käfa: Material Culture of an Ethiopian Shifting-Cultivator People*, Addis Ababa 1992; MUSÉE ROYAL DE L'AFRIQUE CENTRALE TERVUREN (ed.), *Æthiopia, Objets d'Ethiopie. Catalogue de l'exposition 'Aethiopia, Peuples d'Ethiopie'*, Tervuren 1996 (Annales Sciences Humaines 151); SERGE TORNAY, "La culture matérielle des Nyangatom (Basse vallée de l'Omo, Gemu Goffa)", in: *Éthiopie d'Aujourd'hui: la Terre et les Hommes*, ed. by MUSÉE DE L'HOMME, Paris 1975, 45–52.

Alke Dohrmann

Headrest with three legs (type 5), from Kibiš at the Nakua (Ñaŋatom); photo 1975, courtesy of Serge Tornay

Healers

In the African Horn, as elsewhere in Africa, alternative forms of healing exist alongside the modern bio-medical system. In case of ↗disease and other kinds of affliction it has been and still widely is the norm that people first had recourse to H. (often referred to as ሐኪም, *ḥakim*, 'doctor') and traditional ↗medicine, before they looked for assistance from modern medicine (s. also ↗Hospitals). The concept of H. includes various types of specialists, most of them connected to ↗magic and/or the religious sphere. H. may be herbalists, spirit mediums (↗Possession cults), priests or traditional scholars, but also ↗marginalized people (s. EAE vol. 5) with special skills and a certain connection to the supernatural. However, traditional healing is not only of a spiritual nature, but also includes methods such as the use of bleeding, herbal medicine and massage, which are widely practised and can be most efficacious.

Stories about Christian monks and ↗saints acting as H. play an important role in the Christian tradition. *Abunä* ↗Zämikaʾel Arägawi is credited with many miracles of healing in and around ↗Däbrä Damo, the important monastery he founded (Kriss – Kriss-Heinrich 1975). Miraculous healing is an essential ingredient of most ↗hagiographies, perhaps because the ability to cure through prayer is an example of the mediatory role of the saint. The overwhelming impression created by the texts is that ↗holy men were valued as H. because of the special relationship they enjoyed with God and the power which was believed to reside in their religious paraphernalia. Their importance is exemplified by events such as the dramatic clash between monastic and pre-Christian clergy in the *Gädlä Täklä Haymanot*'s description of the attempts to heal the "evil" King ↗Motälämi.

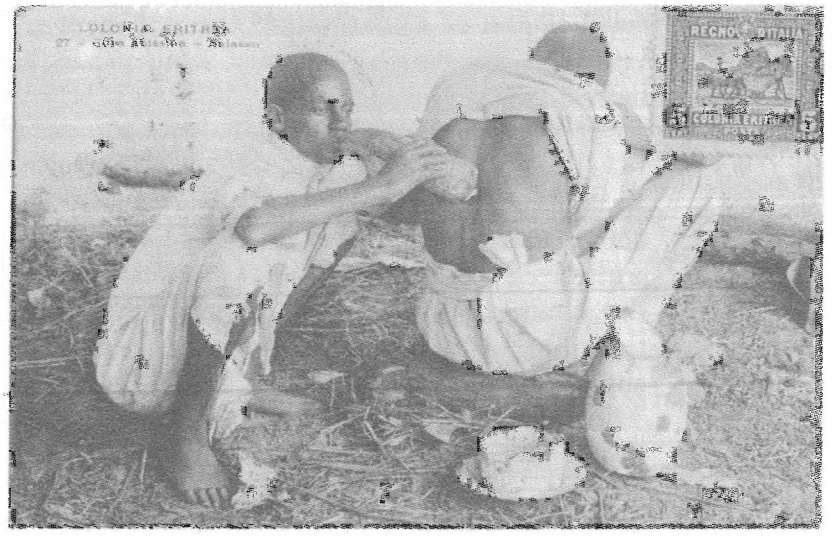
In their miraculous healing, Christian holy men commonly employed holy water (↗*Ṣäbäl*) and the soil from saintly places, prayer, human saliva, the Eucharist, the monastic garb and the cross as curative devices (KapMon 84). Holy men could just as effectively call down some frightening disease by cursing those who offended or disobeyed them, as they could heal. *Aṣe* ↗ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon I is said to have blamed a serious illness upon the wrath of *abba* Bäṣälotä Mikaʾel and asked the saint to forgive and heal him (Conti Rossini 1905:37).

Within the Ethiopian Orthodox Church there is a variety of healing traditions that can be defined as part of a continuum; some of them are central to the church's ministry, while others lie beyond the authorization of the church. Three models of healing help to define this continuum:

1. The first model might be described as "priestly healing", because it is fully endorsed by the church authorities. Priests and monks or others authorized by them might act as H. This includes the administration of the sacraments, the recitation of hagiographies and liturgies for the sick, the application of holy relics (e.g., the leg-bone of St. Täklä Haymanot) and the ingestion of or immersion in holy ash, holy mud and holy water. These elements are taken from the church compound and are considered efficacious against disease because of their sanctity. The reception and application of holy water form the heart of priestly healing. Holy springs are located within the church compound or at some distance from the church, where people who have found H. offer alms and prayers. The healing is effected primarily through exorcism, as the demonic source of the disease (↗Demons) is expelled by the purity of the water and provoked to evacuate the body of the victim.

2. The second model concerns the healing activities of the ↗*däbtära*, some of whom engage in occult or herbal healing. The method of healing that *däbtäras* perform predominantly is prohibited by the church authorities and the *däbtäras* are prevented from receiving holy communion if they are known to be occultists. However, they still can fulfil duties as church musicians. Thus a tension exists because a healing praxis that is conducted by clergy is condemned by church authorities. *Däbtära*-H. often are believed to nurture evil and other ↗spirits, who are said to advise them on appropriate treatment options for clients. Sometimes such a spirit might direct a *däbtära* to concoct a herbal remedy, or make an amulet that the patient can wear around his/her waist or neck, or write a ↗magic scroll that may be attached to the body or placed in the house of the afflicted individual. The *däbtäras* also cast horoscopes and on some occasions the astrological prediction (↗Oracles and divination; ↗ᶜ*Awdä nägäśt*) indicates that the client should make confession to his/her father-confessor or travel to a certain holy spring.

3. A third model is represented by spirit-possession cults, the practitioners of which are commonly women (s., e.g., ↗Mälkam Ayyahu). These cults are condemned by the Church, and women afflicted by *zar* spirits, for example, would be sub-



Healer at work, applying a horn for bloodletting; postcard from the Italian Colonia Eritrea, early 20th cent., collection of Alberto Valle

jected to exorcism if they apply to the first model of H. However, many women (and some men) prefer to nurture the spirits through ceremonies in which sacrifices, ↗coffee, ↗incense and ↗*čat* are offered to placate the spirits and deter them from making too many demands on their hosts.

There is also a fourth model, that of the H. without any religious function but with special knowledge of treatments, normally passed from father or mother to son and/or daughter (s. also *wägešša* below). Herbs, butter, parts of animals, stones, powder might be applied by them. Not only disease are treated but also infertility, contraception and abortion.

The *däbtära* play a mediating role between priestly healing and healing through spirit possession cults. *Däbtära*, for example, offer women amulets to placate their spirits, unlike the priests who exorcise the spirits. They provide in secret contraceptive herbs and magic to women. They do this contrary to church prohibition against contraception and in subversion of the priestly immersion ceremonies in which barren women are publicly bathed in holy water. H. within the Ethiopian Orthodox Church is thus a complicated web of practices that inform, contradict and complement each other.

The ↗Betä Ǝsraʾel H. followed healing practices virtually identical to the Orthodox Christians before coming under foreign Jewish influence. Many of the practices have survived their emigration to Israel, where traditional H. remain much in demand.

H. play an eminent role also in the Islamic cultures of Ethiopia and Eritrea. The popular devotion to Muslim ↗Holy men and woman, as well as the influence of pre-Islamic customs contributed to this. The Muslim holy man, at once an Islamic intellectual, a mystic and occasionally a H., cuts across analytical boundaries (Ishihara in PICES 13:391). Traditional folk-Islam venerated certain "saints" or *awliyāʾ* who were respected for their learning, ability to work miracles (*karāma*) and to cure. Their descendants, mostly with the title of ↗*šayḫ*, often formed "holy families" who inherited this *bäräka* (Arab. *baraka*, 'blessing power') and exploited it, sometimes acting as religious functionaries or wonder-workers and H. In areas such as Gondär, Muslims seeking a H. sometimes consult Christian holy men.

Christian, Muslim as well as Betä Ǝsraʾel H. also combine the use of the local pharmacopoeia with the healing power of the Bible or the Qurʾān. Both prescribe amulets with religious texts for preventive and curative purposes. Another method of treatment is dissolving an ink-written text in water and serving the solution as a drink to the patient. Thereby they establish a link between the spirit of the formula and the body of the patient (Slikkerveer 1990:200).

The emphasis in most traditional local religious systems (Religion, traditional) is upon maintaining a state of harmony between man and the spiritual world, often involving propitiatory rituals such as sacrifices by religious specialists. The state of harmony is connected with good health and the fertility of the natural world. For example, the ↗Sidaama of the past tried to live in peace with the spirits mainly through ritual specialists, called *kilančo* or ↗*qalləčča*. Consulted in case of illness, they looked into the smoke of incense and gave instructions. Often the ritual included an offering and the curse of the person who was accused to have evoked the disease by "evil eye" (↗*Buda*). They also chanted and made music till they fell into a trance and were considered to be possessed by a spirit (Lonfernini 1997:142).

Throughout Ethiopia, healing is often one of the functions assigned to special clans or so-called marginalized people (Freeman – Pankhurst 2003). Among the ↗Gurage, the ↗Fuga served as H., dentists and veterinarians, while among the ↗Gamo, the Degala perform medical work as part of their services. Činaśa (Činaśaša) potters among the ↗Wälaytta H. are experts in

bone-setting and prepare and administer medicine for both humans and animals. Pastoralist peoples such as the ↗Hamär also have clearly defined religious practitioners, often connected with specific clans, who play a role in maintaining ritual harmony and ensuring good health. The *wakati emba* (lit. 'butter man') was the one who drove away illness by anointing with butter (↗Milk and milk products), fat or even dung. The clan of Mišna was said to be "hot" and best able to perform the ritual of destruction used against enemies, sickness and pests. The maintenance of harmony, peace and unity concern prime values (O'Toole 1997:174).

A good example for a type of H. who, at least partially, uses healing techniques based more on empirical knowledge than on spiritual concepts is the *wägešša,* who offers assistance in the case of obvious bodily ills such as skin infections, abscessed teeth, cuts or broken bones. He or she as well may carry out simple surgery and operations like ↗circumcision, clitoridectomy and infibulation. Techniques they use are counter-irritation and cauterization. They are often illiterate, but have a broad knowledge of medicinal plants and roots. Their medical bag is simple: butter used as an ointment or laxative, a sharp knife, razor blade, pliers and a small screwdriver for surgery and tooth extractions, the horn of an antelope or cow for cupping blood after an incision etc. The *wägešša* is usually highly skilled in the administration of the wide variety of traditional drugs.

Src.: MARCEL HENRI GRIAULE, *Le livre de recettes d'un dabtara abyssin*, Paris 1930 (Université de Paris. Travaux et mémoires de l'institut d'ethnologie 12); MAXIME RODINSON, *Magie, médecine et possession à Gondar*, Paris – La Haye 1967.

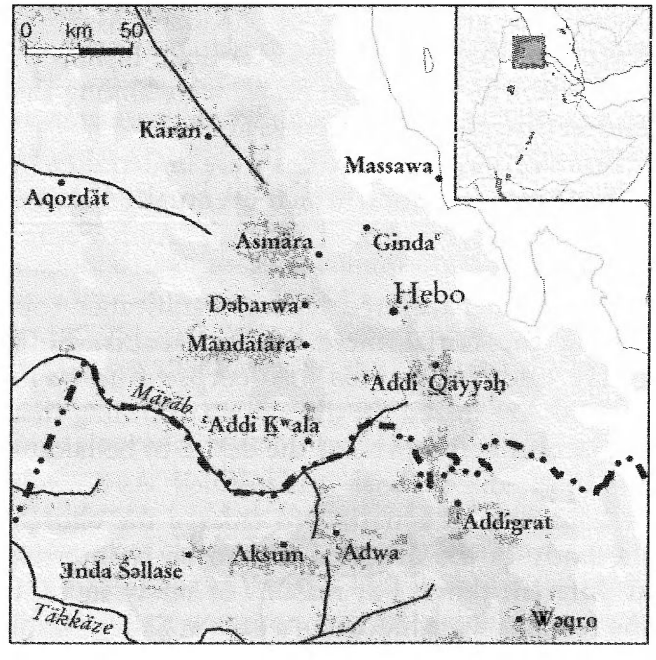
Lit.: HARALD ASPEN, *Amhara Traditions of Knowledge. Spirit Mediums and their Clients*, Wiesbaden 2001 (AeF 58); DAN BAUER, "The Sacred and the Secret: Order and Chaos in Tigray Medicine and Politics", in: WILLIAM ARENS – IVAN KARP (eds.), *Creativity of Power: Cosmology and Action in African Societies*, Washington, DC – London 1989, 225–43; BeckHuntAlvar 509; BELACHEW DESTA, "Ethiopian Herbal Drugs: Potentiality and Appropriate Utilisation", in: *PICES* 8, 763–65; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI (ed.), *Acta S. Basalota Mika'el et S. Anorewos*, Romae et al. 1905, (CSCO 28, 29, SA 20), 42 (text) = 37 (tr.); DENA FREEMAN – ALULA PANKHURST (eds.), *Peripheral People: the Excluded Minorities of Ethiopia*, London 2003, 42, 192, 204, 223, 226, 255, 309; RICHARD M. HODES, "Cross-cultural Medicine and Diverse Health Beliefs: Ethiopians Abroad", *Western Journal of Medicine* 166, 1997, 29–36; MINAKO ISHIHARA, "The Life History of a Muslim Holyman: *Al-Faki* Ahmed Umar", in: *PICES* 13, vol. 2, 391–402; KapMon 84; RUDOLPH KRISS – HUBERT KRISS-HEINRICH, *Volkskundliche Anteile in Kult und Legende äthiopischer Heiliger*, Wiesbaden 1975; IOAN MYRDDIN LEWIS, *Religion in Context: Cults and Charisma*, Cambridge ²1996, 43–74; BRUNO LONFERNINI, "The Vision of Man and Society in Sidama Culture", *Faith and Culture in Ethiopia: Ethiopian Review of Culture* 6–7, 1997, 133–44; JACQUES MERCIER, *Art that Heals: the Image as Medicine in Ethiopia*, New York 1997; ID., *Ethiopian Magic Scrolls*, New York 1979; ID., *Le roi Salomon et les maîtres du regard: Art et médecine en Éthiopie*, Paris 1992; SIMON DAVID MESSING, *The Target of Health in Ethiopia: a Holistic Reader in Applied Anthropology*, New York 1972, 142–284; BIRGIT NEGUSSIE, "Some Indigenous Medicine Uses during Childbirth in South-West Ethiopia", in: *PICES* 9, vol. 3, 152–72; *abba* BRIAN O'TOOLE, "Evangelisation and Nomadism: the Hammar Concept of Man", *Faith and Culture in Ethiopia: Ethiopian Review of Cultures* 6, 7, 1997, 191–202; ASTRID OTTO, *Das kulturspezifische Wissen und seine Anwendung im Medizinsystem der däbtära in Gondär, Äthiopien*, Hamburg – Münster in Westfalen 2003; LEENDERT JAN SLIKKERVEER, *Plural Medical Sytems in the Horn of Africa*, London 1990; STEFAN STRELCYN, *Medicine et plantes d'Ethiopie*, [I]. *Les Traités medicaux éthiopiens*, Warsaw 1968, II. *Enquête sur les noms et l'emploi des plantes en Éthiopie*, Napoli 1973; TrIslam 263f.; NORBERT L. VECCHIATO, "Traditional Medicine", in: HELMUT KLOOS – ZEIN AHMED ZEIN (eds.), *The Ecology of Health and Disease in Ethiopia*, Boulder, CO 1993, 157–78; ALLAN YOUNG, "Magic as a 'Quasi-Profession': the Organization of Magic and Magical Healing among Amhara", *Ethnology* 14, 245–65; ID., *Magical Beliefs and Practices of Begemder Amhara*, Ph.D. thesis, University of Pennsylvania 1970.

Ronald A. Reminick – Rachel Chambers – Joachim Persoon

Health care system ↗Healers; ↗Medicine

Ḥebo

Ḥ. (ሐቦ, 15° 4' 40 N, 39° 14' 1 E) is the name of a village, its surrounding area and its population situated in a hilly area in ↗Akkälä Guzay



The presently destroyed Orthodox church of Ḥebo with *abunä* De Jacobis's grave; from Teclè Haimanot 1915

awraǧǧa, ca. 75 km from Asmära at an altitude of 1815 m A.S.L. The village gained prominence due to the shrine of the Lazarist missionary Giustino De ↗Jacobis.

In mid-1851 De Jacobis agreed to go north into exile in the hope that his absence might save the people of ↗ᶜAlitena and ↗Gʷalᶜa from persecution. He went to Ḥalay, where *abba* ↗Ǝmnätu had purchased a plot of land in July 1850, and visited the surrounding villages of Akkälä Guzay. The people of Ḥ. begged him to bless the foundation stone of a church, which they would build with their own hands. When the small church was completed in 1853, De Jacobis blessed it on the feast of the Assumption, 22 August. Later that same year the bishop ordained five priests in that church, and from then on H. became the second centre of the Vicariate of Abyssinia (↗Catholicism). The grandparents of ↗Kidanä Maryam Kaśa, who became the first Catholic bishop of Ethiopian rite in modern times, were among the earliest disciples of De Jacobis at Ḥ.

From Ḥ. pastoral activities were undertaken in four nearby localities, which eventually became parishes: ↗Aḳrur, ᶜAddi Qʷənṣi, ᶜAddi Fənniᵓ and Mäylaᶜ.

In 1860 Ḥ. acquired lasting significance following the burial there of De Jacobis. Both Ḥalay and Ḥ. wanted his corpse but *näᵓib* Ḥamad Are solved the dispute by affirming that De Jacobis had expressed the desire to be laid to rest in Ḥ. and his wish was fulfilled. As a result of construction activities to enlarge the church the body of the deceased had to be re-interred at different times. For reasons of safety in 1871 the remains were hidden in a cave at Ṣällim Ǝmni and only brought back to Ḥ. in 1873. The body was then reburied twice, in September 1889 and on 31 July 1916.

Src.: GIUSTINO DE JACOBIS, *Scritti*, vol. 1. *Diario*, Frascati 2000, 931f., 934, 936, 941f., 946, 949f., 1035ff.

Lit.: ANDREA D'AGOSTINO, *Storia della Vita del Venerabile Giustino De Jacobis, Apostolo dell'Abissinia*, Napoli 1910; MAURICE DEMIMUID, *Vie du Vénérable Justin De Jacobis de la Congrégation de la Mission (dite des Lazaristes), Premier Vicaire apostolique de l'Abyssinie*, Paris 1905; GABRIEL LARIGALDIE, *Héraut du Christ: le Vénérable Justin De Jacobis, Prêtre de la Mission, premier Vicaire apostolique de l'Abyssinie (1800–1860), d'après des documents inédits*, Paris 1910; METODIO DA NEMBRO, *La Missione dei Minori Cappuccini in Eritrea (1894–1952)*, Roma 1953; OMahPh; *abba* TÉKLA-HAÏMANOT, *Abouna Yacob, ou le Vénérable De Jacobis, scènes de sa vie d'apostolat racontées par un témoin*, Paris 1914; TECLÈ HAIMANOT, *Episodi della vita Apostolica di Abuna Jacob*, Asmara 1915 (ill.).

Kevin O'Mahoney

Ḫədar ↗Calendar

Ḫədar: Mäṣḥafä ḫədar

Ethiopian theologians often refer to a M.ḫ. (መጽሐፈ: ኀዳር, 'Book [to be read in the month] of *Ḫədar*') by Sawīros b. al-Muqaffaᶜ, Bishop of Ašmunayn (↗Severos of Ašmunayn). However, two collections of treatises on theology by Severos are known in ↗Gəᶜəz literature and it is unclear to which one they are referring. The first collection (MS1), generally styled as the *Treatise on the First Four Councils*, is the Gəᶜəz version of the Arabic *Kitāb al-Maǧāmiᶜ*. The other collection (MS2), or the *Twelve Treatises by Severos*, is the Gəᶜəz version of the Arabic *Kitāb al-Īḍāḥ*.

A M.ḫ. is listed in ms. EMML 1601 (no. 99), in an inventory of Gəᶜəz works. Unfortunately, the compiler of the list did not describe it – so we are unable to identify the work unequivocally. Furthermore, his list contains two works ascribed to Severos, the መጽሐፈ: ሰዊሮስ (*Mäṣḥafä Säwiros*, 'Book of Severos', no. 149) and the መጽሐፈ: ሰዊሮስ: ካልእ (*Mäṣḥafä Säwiros kalᵓ*, 'Second Book of Severos', no. 178). From the compiler's cryptic description of the *Mäṣḥafä Sawiros kalᵓ* – "it speaks about the unity (in faith) of Egypt [i.e. Copts] and Ethiopia [i.e. Ethiopians]", with a reference to what is found in the last of the four treatises "on the Councils" (s. EMML 1833, fol. 113b) – one can surmise that he is describing MS1.

When cataloguing the d'Abbadie collection, Conti Rossini noted that the *Treatise of Severos* (MS1), ms. Abbadie 92 (CRAbb no. 129), fol. 77a–110a (?), is called M.ḫ. Yet it is unclear which of the several known manuscripts of this text supports this assertion. Other cataloguers agree with him (e.g., Hammerschmidt's description of Ṭānāsee 52 = Kebrān 52, fol. 66a–91a, which is another copy of MS1). However, this is probably a mere repetition of what Conti Rossini had said and not the result of personal observation.

There are reasons why these two collections (MS1 and MS2) are confused under the same names: M.ḫ. and *Mäṣḥafä Säwiros*. Both collections are Severos's, they deal with the defence of the Coptic Orthodox Faith and are answers to a certain devotee. Moreover, since neither has a clearly distinct and widely accepted Gəʿəz title, and the translators have omitted their Arabic titles, it is understandable that they could be confused with each other.

In the colophon of a recent copy of MS2 – EMML 1195 – the collection is called ክብረ፡ ሃይማኖት (*Kəbrä haymanot*, 'Glory of the Faith'), but this seems to be a title given to it by either the scribe of this particular manuscript or by whoever commissioned its copying. *Glory of the Faith* is more descriptive than the title of the M.ḫ. or *Mäṣḥafä Säwiros*. However, it is by either of these two names that MS2 is popularly known and referred to.

The original M.ḫ. seems to be the entire collection in ms. Abbadie 92 rather than MS1 alone. The reason for its name is obvious: the collection, which includes MS1, must be read during the month of *Ḫədar*. That the name M.ḫ. refers to the whole collection is the view of Chaîne (ChAbb 59).

According to the three important testimonia of this text (Abbadie 92; EMML 1833 and BritLib Orient. 691), the collection includes:

1. the history of the Prophet Habakkuk (3 *Ḫədar*);
2. a brief Synaxary-mention of Eleazar, the son of Aaron (3 *Ḫədar*);
3. the Homily of Theophilus, Patriarch of Alexandria, on the sojourn of the Holy Family in Egypt (6 *Ḫədar*);
4. an anonymous Homily on the Finding of the Cross by Empress Helen, numbered 5 in Abbadie 92 (8 *Ḫədar*);
5. eleven Miracles of St. George, numbered 4 in Abbadie 92 (7 *Ḫədar*);
6. an anonymous Homily on the Finding of the Cross, not found in EMML 1833, probably a repetition of no. 4 above, s. Abbadie 92 which has only one homily on the Cross;
7. a Homily on the Four Living Creatures by John (possibly Chrysostom), Patriarch of Constantinople (8 *Ḫədar*);
8. MS1 (9 *Ḫədar*);
9. a Homily on the Archangel Michael, by a Patriarch of Antioch, possibly Severos (12 *Ḫədar*);
10. a Homily on the Martyrdom of Askänafər, a Roman governor, by Epiphanius, Bishop of Cyprus, not found in Orient. 691 and EMML 1833;
11. the Martyrdom of Menas (15 *Ḫədar*);
12. the Martyrdom of Cosmas and Damian and their brothers (22 *Ḫədar*);
13. an Admonition by Severos of Ašmunayn to the clergy, a Homily on the 24 Elders of Heaven, *kahnatä sämay* (24 *Ḫədar*);
14. the Martyrdom of Mercurius (25 *Ḫədar*);
15. the Martyrdom of James Intercisus (27 *Ḫədar*).

Orient. 691 has, in addition, excerpts from the *Acts of the Apostle Philip* (18 *Ḫədar*, s. Acts of ↗Apostles) and *Discourses* on Mt 10:37–39, and Lk 9:23–25. Neither the *Martyrdom of Eustatius* nor the subsequent *Martyrdom of Eustatius, his Wife and Two Children* (23 *Mäskäräm*) in the same manuscript belong, most probably, to the M.ḫ.

Src.: CRAbb 150f., no. 129 [ms. Abbadie 92]; ChAbb 59; HamTana I, 203 [ms. Ṭānāsee 52 = Kebrān 52]; EMML IV, 152f., ms. 1195; EMML V, 81–87, ms. 1601; 302–05, ms. 1833; WrBriMus 162ff., no. 255 [Orient. 691].

Lit.: SYLVAIN GRÉBAUT, *Sévère ibn al-Moqaffaʿ, évêque d'Aschmounaïn, Histoire des conciles (second livre)*, vol. 2: *Étude de la version éthiopienne*, Paris 1911 (PO 6), 601–39; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Il discorso su monte Coscam attribuito a Teofilo d'Alessandria nella versione etiopica", *RRALm* ser. 5ª, 10, 1912, 395–471; GrafLit vol. 2, 306ff., 309f.; ANAÏS WION, "The Manuscripts Library of Qoma Fasilädäs Monastery", in: *PICES* 14, vol. 1, 275–300.

Getatchew Haile

Ḥədaräb

Ḥ. (also Ḥədareb, Ḥaḍāriba, Ḥaḍārib, Ḥadāriba, Hadareb) is an "ethnic" label used in a variety of contexts in eastern Sudan, Eritrea, and Ethiopia. In modern Eritrea, "Ḥ." refers to the ↗Beğa-speaking sections of the ↗Beni ʿAmər who are concentrated in the north-eastern part of ↗ʿAnsäba region. By extension, it commonly applies to Beğa speakers in general. In 2003, these were estimated at 160,000, or 3.9 % of Eritrea's population.

Historically, however, the centre of the Ḥ. lay further north, in the present-day Sudan. According to popular etymology, "Ḥadārib(a)" is a Beğa corruption of "Ḥaḍārima", that is, 'people from Ḥaḍramōt (↗Ḥaḍramawt)'. Local genealogists sometimes claim that Ḥ. immigrated from southern Arabia to the Red Sea hills in the first century of Islam – a common way of claiming "ancient

H., as well as (b) the association of both terms with the governorship of Bale, it is tempting to regard "Dägano" as a variant or distorted rendering of H. which the chronicler moreover mistook for a proper name, while at the same time simply assuming familiar *gärad* to be the official's title (cp., however, also ↗*Däğän*).

By the beginning of the 16th cent. at the latest H. had also found its way into Muslim ↗ᶜAdal, as evidenced by the ↗*Futūḥ al-Ḥabaša*. This Arabic account of the *ğihād* of ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī ("Grañ") against the Christian Kingdom gives *hayğan* (or in one case *hağan*) as the – apparently rather modest – title of three of his *muğāhidūn* (cp. BassHist I 72, 124, 246). In the 1570s and 1580s *hayğan* is then documented as the title of a certain Hāšim, Adalite governor in charge of ↗Awsa (Cerulli 1931:62, 68, 77). In this context H. might function as the vernacular equivalent of Arab. ↗*ḫalīfa*.

In view of the outlined trajectory it is not surprising that among contemporary languages ↗Harari provides the lexemes most clearly related to H. Its lexicon thus comprises a verb *ḥēgäna*, 'to replace, compensate', as well as the nouns *ḥēgän*, 'deputy', and *ḥīgāña*, 'replacement' (Leslau 1963:80, Abdurahman Garad–Wagner 1998: 451; note the word-initial sound shift due to Harari phonology). The obviously also related Gurage verbs *ēgänä* (Səlṭe) and *egänä* (Wälane), both 'to change' (*ibid.* and Leslau 1979:26, 799), presumably reflect a strong historical Harari influence and do not derive directly from the original Cushitic etymon.

Src.: BassHist I 72, 124, 246 (text) = 142, 201, 346 (tr.); ENRICO CERULLI, "Documenti arabi per la storia dell'Etiopia", *MRALm* ser. 6ª, 4, 2, 1931, 39–101, here 62, 68, 77 and n. 1 [repr. in: *CerIslam* 136–206]; CRHist 83 (text) = 95 (tr.); DillmZarY 12f., 33; GROVER HUDSON, *Highland East Cushitic Dictionary*, Hamburg 1989 (Cushitic Language Studies 7), 198, 245, 282, 321, 371; WOLF LESLAU, *Etymological Dictionary of Harari*, Berkeley, CA – Los Angeles, CA 1963, 80; ID., *Comparative Dictionary of Gurage*, vol. 3, Wiesbaden 1979, 26, 799; PerChron 15 (text) = 12 (tr.); PerrZarY 14f., 100f., 111f.; ABDURAHMAN GARAD – EWALD WAGNER, *Harari-Studien: Texte mit Übersetzung, grammatischen Skizzen und Glossar*, Wiesbaden 1998, 451.

Lit.: DombrChr 300; PankBord s. index; EWALD WAGNER, "Neues Material zur 'Ausa-Chronik'", in: ULRICH HAARMANN – PETER BACHMANN (eds.), *Die islamische Welt zwischen Mittelalter und Neuzeit. Festschrift für Hans Robert Roemer zum 65. Geburtstag*, Beirut 1979 (Beiruter Texte und Studien 22), 657–73.

Michael Kleiner

Ḥəgg[i] ↗Law

Ḥəggi Hab Səllus Gärä Ḫəstos

The Ḥ. (ሕጊ፡ ሀብ፡ ስሉስ፡ ገረ፡ ኽስቶስ, 'Law [Code of] Hab Səllus [and] Gäbrä Krəstos', s. KolTrad II, 55, also *Śərᶜat nay Habśəllus nay Gäbrä Krəstos nay Däqqätäššəm*, 'Customs of Habśəllus, of Gäbrä Krəstos [and] of the ↗Däqqi Täššəm') is the ↗law code established in the late 17th cent. during the co-regency of *däggiyat* ↗Hab Śəllus and his son *däggiyat* Gäbrä Krəstos over the ↗Märäb Məllaš and the ↗Bambolo Məllaš. It was enforced in ↗Ḥamasen, their power base. According to tradition, the Ḥ. was the product of the regular court both rulers held at May Bela. The code depends on more ancient law-traditions and is a result of local developments, Ḥamasen elders possibly being involved in the drafting process. Ḥamasen, like other northern provinces and descent-groups in Säraye and Akkälä Guzay, had acquired a high degree of legal autonomy, which made a judicial system necessary which would not depend directly on the *nəguśä nägäśt* and the ↗*Fətḥa nägäśt*.

It was probably transmitted orally for several generations until it was written down; by then it had already undergone several revisions through law-assemblies. The Ḥamasen villages, however, belonging to the Däqqi Täššəm descent-group and unified under this common law, traditionally use the names of the law's first drafters to refer to it. During the Italian colonial administration of Eritrea, it retained its validity and was printed in 1918 on 18 pages in Asmära to be used by local judges. This version was signed by local representatives of the villages of ↗Ṣäᶜazzäga, ᶜAddi Musa, Qušät, Ṣaᶜda Krəstiyan, Wəkkidəbba and ᶜAddi Asfäda, together with the responsible *qäššı* (↗*qes*) of ᶜAddi Qonṣi. Due to the recognition of ↗customary law by the present Eritrean government, the civil-law traditions of the Ḥ. are still preserved, and are the basis for court sessions on village level in Ḥamasen even today. There are several manuscripts containing Ḥ., sometimes accompanied by or amended by other legal provisions.

Within the juridical confederacy of villages following the Ḥ., only a limited number of villages (the "*ᶜaddi ḥəggi*") keep a copy of the Ḥ.; in cases of litigation, the parties have to go to these settlements. This principle of *ᶜaddi ḥəggi* can also be found among other Təgrəñña-speaking groups. The *ᶜaddi ḥəggi* were not seats of governors, e.g., the traditional capital of Ḥamasen and residence of the dynasty of Hab Səllus and Gäbrä Krəstos, Ṣäᶜazzäga, had no copy of the Ḥ. Possibly this is

a traditional way to control power by separating the legislative from the executive branch.

The formal procedure, which is the precondition for a court session on the basis of the Ḥ., is of particular interest. Three persons from the village in possession of the law code have to collaborate: the appointed judge (↗*Daññа*), a peasant and the *qäššï*. The *daññа* may not keep the code at home, the Ḥ. has to be provided by an (illiterate) peasant from the family of law-holders; the *qäššï* then must be the one to read the law. Thus, without the peasant and the *qäššï*, the *daññа* cannot judge. This division can be seen as reflecting three social groups or institutions: the secular power, the church and the peasantry. This system of checks-and-balances ensures that the law cannot be manipulated.

Src.: interview with *daññа* Arᵓaya Kidane, ᶜAddi Qonṣi, August 2000; ሥርዓት፡ ናይ፡ ሀብሥሉስ፡ ናይ፡ ገብረ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ ናይ፡ ደቀተኽም (*Śərᶜat nay Habśəllus nay Gäbrä Krəstos nay Däqqätäššəm*, 'Customs of Hab Səllus, of Gäbrä Krəstos [and] of the Däqqi Täššəm'), Asmära 1910 A.M. [1918 A.D.];(repr. in: ZÄRᵓA-YAᶜƎQOB ƎSṬIFANOS – WÄLDÄ MARYAM ABRAHAM – *inž.* GÄRIMA GÄBRÄMÄSQÄL, ሕግን፡ ሥርዓትን፡ ናይ፡ መሬት፡ ዓደቦ፡ ትግርኛ/ትግሬ – *Codes and Bylaws of Eritrean Regions and Counties: Tigrinia/Tigre Version*, n.p. [West Germany] 1990, 381–400); YAQÒB BEYENÉ, "[Diritto consuetudinario di Habsellus]", *RSE* 43, 1999, 153–210.

Lit.: KolTrad I, II; FRIEDERIKE KEMINK, *Die Tegreñña-Frauen in Eritrea: Eine Untersuchung der Kodizes des Gewohnheitsrechts 1890–1941*, Stuttgart 1991 (SKK 101); WOLBERT SMIDT, "Tigrinnya, Soziale Kohäsion, Landrecht und lokale Geschichte der Tigrayer in Äthiopien und der Hochland-Eritreer", in: *WenDAE* I, 63–72.

Wolbert Smidt

Heliodorus

H. (Gr. Heliodoros) of Emesa (today Ḥimṣ, Syria), about whom we have no biographical information, was the author of the *Αἰθιοπικά* (*Aithiopiká*, 'Ethiopian Story', in ten books), the longest and structurally most complex, and yet one of the oldest and most debated, of the extant Greek romances. Scholars date it from 2nd to 4th cent. A.D.

Staged against the background of a conflict between the Meroitic king Hydaspes and the Persian satrap Oroondates, this may allude to the remote expedition led, after 529 B.C., by the Persian king Cambyses against the "longlived" Ethiopians, i.e. Nubians (Herodotus, VII, 17–22; ↗Iran).

In spite of recent attempts to trace the text to either the second half of the 4th or the end of the 3rd/beginning of the 4th cent. (Bowersock 1994: 149–60, resp. Cracco Ruggini 2004:215f., 221), a thorough enquiry into its historical matter rather suggests dating within the 3rd cent. (s. already Merkelbach 1962:234): the siege of the Egyptian town of Syene (medieval Aswān) by the "Ethiopians", i.e. the Meroites (interested in its emerald mines), is not necessarily reminiscent of that of Roman Nisibis by the Persians in 350 as described by Emperor Julian the Apostate (Or., I and III [II], s. Szepessy 1972 and 1976). Likewise, the whole story seems to mirror the manifold world of travel, trade, international diplomacy and religion that was characteristic of the 3th cent. (Ziethen 1998, passim) – like the imitation of Thucydides, deeply affecting Heliodorus's style.

H. was clearly writing under the influence of the relationships enjoyed by the city of Emesa with the Eastern Mediterranean, ↗Meroë, ancient Persia (↗Iran), ↗Egypt, the Upper ↗Nile, ↗Nubia and the ↗Horn of Africa (Cracco Ruggini 2004:217). The representation of the Aksumites ('Αξιομῖται, *Axiomîtai*) is also in accordance with this chronology: they are introduced as "friends and allies" of the Meroitic king, to whom their ambassadors pay homage at his capital town after he seized Syene (Conti Rossini 1919–20:235f.; Cracco Ruggini 2004:215f.). In keeping with this picture, the Blemmyes (↗Beğa) appear as vassals of the Meroitic king and great warriors in his service. The last mention of Meroë as an independent state is found in 254, the conquest of the country by the Aksumites being usually placed in 260 or 269 (Fiaccadori 2004:116f., 125f.) – which suggests an even earlier chronology, if not for the composition, at least for the sources of H.'s romance.

The main characters of this truly Hellenistic story – a garbled love affair with a happy end despite several obstacles – are the priestess Chariklea, the whiteskinned daughter of the ruler of "Ethiopia", i.e. Meroë, and the Greek envoy Theagenes, a Thessalian nobleman. The text opens on a scene depicting them shipwrecked in the proximity of the Red Sea. Hence they embark on a series of adventures – indeed appropriate to the genre – ending in Meroë, Chariklea's birthplace. Here the two are united in wedlock and become priest and priestess of the Sun. In his lively narrative, H. cleverly resorts to a variety of stylistic devices. For instance, elements from Greek and Roman theatre frequently show in the plot, and such ancient sources as ↗Herodotus are employed. In addition, H. skilfully

created the characters of priests, Persian and "Ethiopian" aristocrats, philosophers, servants, thieves, pirates, fishermen, eunuchs, envoys and merchants (s. Ziethen 1999). Almost all figures, though taken from Greek models, are given characters featuring those posited for the relevant countries – e.g., "Ethiopia" or Persia. The novel entered the circle of world culture and was often utilized, imitated or referred to in later works, especially by Byzantine authors (cp. the qualified 11th-cent. reading glosses published by Conca 1989:235–41), its plot – a love affair – being allegorically understood as the soul's quest for virtuous life, and thus meeting with wide approval.

Src.: ARISTIDE COLONNA (ed.), Heliodori *Aethiopica*, Romae 1938; ROBERT MANTLE RATTENBURY – THOMAS WALLACE LUMB (eds.) – JEAN MAILLON (tr.), Héliodore, *les Éthiopiques (Théagène et Chariclée)*, Paris ²1960, I–III; MOSES HADAS (tr.), *An Ethiopian Romance*, Ann Arbour, MI 1957; JOHN ROBERT MORGAN (tr.), "Heliodorus: an Ethiopian Story", in: BRYAN P. REARDON (ed.), *The Collected Ancient Greek Novels*, Berkeley, CA 1989, 349–588; WALTER LAMB (tr.), Heliodorus, *Ethiopian Story*, ed. with new introd. and notes by JOHN ROBERT MORGAN, London 1997.

Lit.: NUNZIO BIANCHI, *Il codice del romanzo: tradizione manoscritta e ricezione dei romanzi greci*, Bari 2006 (Paradosis 12), 7–81, 245–54; JOHN WILLIAM BIRCHALL, *Heliodoros 'Aithiopika' 1: a Commentary with Prolegomena*, Ph.D. thesis, University of London 1996; GLEN W. BOWERSOCK, *Fiction as History: Nero to Julian*, Berkeley, CA – Los Angeles, CA – London 1994 (Sather Classical Lectures 58), 149–60; FABRIZIO CONCA, "Scribi e lettori dei romanzi tardo antichi e bizantini", in: ANTONIO GARZYA (ed.), *Metodologie della ricerca sulla tarda antichità: Atti del primo Convegno dell'Associazione di Studi Tardoantichi (16–17 ottobre 1987)*, Napoli 1989 (Collectanea 2), 223–41, here 225ff., 235–41; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Meroe ed Aksum nel romanzo di Eliodoro", *RSO* 8, 1919–20, 233–39; CRStor 125; LELLIA CRACCO RUGGINI, "La Persia e il mondo tardoellenistico nelle «Etiopiche» di Eliodoro", in: *Convegno internazionale: la Persia e Bisanzio (1418 ottobre 2002)*, Roma 2004 (Atti dei Convegni Lincei 201), 197–221 (Lit.); ALBRECHT DIHLE, *Die griechische und lateinische Literatur der Kaiserzeit: von Augustus bis Justinian*, München 1989, 247, 374 (Lit.); GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, "Sembrouthes 'gran re' (*DAE* IV 3 = *RIÉth* 275): per la storia del primo ellenismo aksumita", *La Parola del Passato* 59, 2004 [2005], 103–57, here 116f., 125f.; EMILE FEUILLÂTRE, *Études sur les Éthiopiques d'Héliodore: Contribution à la connaissance du roman grec*, Paris 1966 (Publications de la Faculté des Lettres et Sciences Humaines de Poitiers 2); VICTOR HEFTI, *Zur Erzählungstechnik in Heliodors Aethiopica*, Wien 1950; HERBERT HUNGER, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner*, München 1978 (Byzantinisches Handbuch 2), vol. 2, 121–25 (Lit.); REINHOLD MERKELBACH, *Roman und Mysterium in der Antike*, München – Berlin 1962, 234–98, here 234; JOHN ROBERT MORGAN, *A Commentary on the Ninth and Tenth Books of the Aithiopica of Heliodoros*, Ph.D. thesis, Oxford University 1978; ID., "The *Aithiopika* of Heliodoros: Narrative as Riddle", in: ID. – RICHARD STONEMAN (eds.), *Greek Fiction: the Greek Novel in Context*, London – New York 1994, 97–113; ID., "Heliodorus", in: GARETH SCHMELING (ed.), *The Novel in the Ancient World*, Leiden 1996, 417–56 (Lit.); T. SZEPESSY, "Die Neudatierung des Heliodorus und die Belagerung von Nisibis", in: *Actes de la XIIe Conférence internationale d'études classiques 'Eirene', Cluj-Napoca, 2–7 octobre 1972*, Bucureşti – Amsterdam 1975, 279–87; ID., "Le siège de Nisibe et la chronologie d'Héliodore", *Acta antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 24, 1976, 247–76; GABRIELE ZIETHEN, "Günstige Winde, sichere Häfen – Zur Darstellung des Handels in Heliodor's *Aithiopika*", in: *Äthiopien und seine Nachbarn: 3. Wissenschaftliche Tagung des Orbis Aethiopicus, Gniew 25.–29. September 1997*, Frankfurt am Main 1998, 93–120; EAD., "Heliodor's *Aithiopika* und die Gesandtschaften zu den Aithiopen", *Klio* 81, 1999, 455–90 (Lit.).

Gabriele Ziethen – Gianfranco Fiaccadori

Həllawe ↗ Christology

Ḥəmbərti

Ḥ. (Tgn. ሕምብርቲ, lit. 'navel, centre') is a town and an archaeological site ca. 28 km from Asmära (13° 55 N, 37° 8' 60" E), between the south-western Gaš Barka lowlands and the Ḥamasen highlands to the east (*zoba* Maʾkäl; for location s. Ḥərgigo).

According to local oral tradition, the town was founded in the traditional ↗ Kunama settlement area during the 13th cent. by a certain Gäbrä Maryam, a Christian from Wällo, and his two sons, Tanti and Çumata. Tanti and his four sons controlled Ḥ. village whereas Çumata and his descendants had the nearby Ṭef hill in their hands.

Mountain slopes east of Ḥ. serve as grazing land; lowland plains are used for farming, with red soil cultivated in the north and east and black soil south and west of the town. Wheat, barley, beans and other crops are cultivated. An important cattle market lies south of the village. Traders arrive every Friday from all over the south-western lowlands. Some vendors buy cattle here and resell them on Saturday in Asmära.

Ḥ. town had ca. 8,700 inhabitants in 2000; it is estimated to have grown to ca. 11,000 since. The overwhelming majority of the population is Christian Orthodox (over 10,000). The main local church is dedicated to St. Mary, and the town used to be known as Maryam Ḥəmbərti in the past. There are three other Orthodox churches, one Protestant and one Catholic church. There is also a mosque at Ḥ. The Muslim community, numbering ca. 200 members, is believed to have descended from immigrants from Šire.

During a recent University of Asmära archaeological mission (Werede Okubay 2000),

extensive pieces of archaeological evidence were discovered at Ḥ., including blades and scrapers manufactured from ↗obsidian, quartz and chert; grindstones, pestles and mortars in basalt; quartz hammer-stones and ↗pottery with different decorated motifs. Evidence of stone-wall structures and ash deposits at several locations on the Ḥ. archaeological site suggest that the site may have been the location of an early farming community, perhaps dating to the ↗pre-Aksumite period. A stream, fed by seasonal rains, locally called *mäsno*, once flowed down Mt. Ǝmba Täk̲ärra (ca. 2,579 m A.S.L.) past Ḥ., perhaps, contributing to the development of an ancient sedentary farming community.

The Ḥ. site can be compared to other ancient sites in the surrounding area of Eritrea, such as ᶜAddi Gäbray, ↗May Näfḥi, ↗Qoḥayto, Daᶜro Ṗawlos, ↗Sämbäl, Qʷəšät, ᶜAddi Ḥawəša and Säläᶜ Daᶜro.

Src.: interview with *ato* Mähari Gäbräḥəywät.

Lit.: WEREDE OKUBAY, *Himbirti-1 Archaeological Site Survey*, ms., Asmära University 2000.

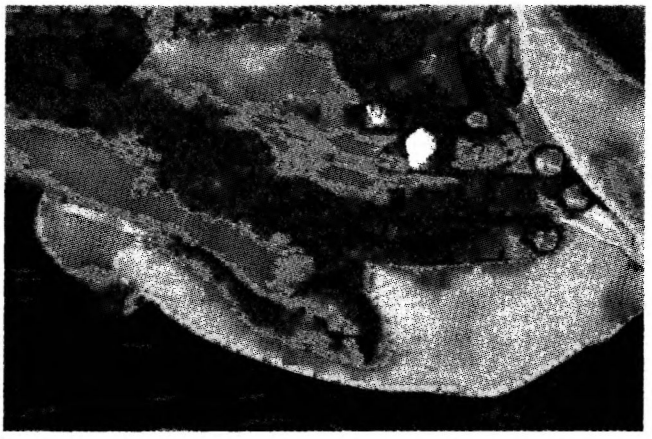
Krishna Rao

Henna

H. (Amh. ሕና, *ḥənna*, from Arab. حناء, *ḥinnāʾ*; *Lawsonia inermis*) is a slowgrowing indigenous shrub or small tree with sweetscented creamy-white flowers. In Ethiopia it grows along river-courses and in semiarid parts of the country. It is mainly used as a dye of a range of orangered colours extracted from crushed and powdered leaves and young shoots. Traditionally, the dye was released with lemon juice, and was used to dye leather and clothing.

H. was, and still is, used for cosmetic purposes, mainly among Muslims in eastern Ethiopia, where women's arms, hands and sometimes feet are decorated with H. ornaments. Sometimes this kind of ↗body ornamentation is combined with tattoos. It is also used to colour and condition hair. Muslim men, especially the elderly, may colour their beard as, allegedly, Prophet Muḥammad did. In northern Ethiopia and Eritrea among Christians, too, H. is well known. It serves to stain women's hands, finger and toenails and feet. Today H. powder is in widespread and popular use throughout the country as a natural dye, giving women's hair a variety of red tinges.

In traditional medicine, H. leaves, when heated and placed on the body, are believed to relieve rheumatism; the smoke from heated leaves, used



Hand of a Somali woman decorated with henna mixed with black hair dye, custom typical for a wedding ceremony, Dərre Dawa; photo 2000, courtesy of Peri Klemm

to fumigate the whole body, is said to act as an aphrodisiac; a mixture of powdered leaves and old butter is believed to help heal wounds and a paste of honey and powdered bark, eaten once, is said to induce or accelerate labour. H. is also used as a perfume, made from its sweetsmelling volatile oil, for thatching and for fodder.

In ↗Harari culture H. plays a significant role in customs connected to the wedding ceremonies. On the Friday before the marriage, the bride invites people to attend her wedding. In doing this she is accompanied by her *hinna gēlāč*, her 'H. friends', who are members of the bride mother's ↗*afōča* organization. The *hinna gēlāč* act as her representatives, inviting her future in-laws whom she is obliged to avoid until the completion of the first phase of the wedding. On the next day a special dish called *hinna uḫāt* ('H. bread'), Harari bread and beef stew coloured by H. dye, is brought from the bride mother's house to the groom's household as an initial gift in a series of exchanges between the two parties. In return, the groom's party makes a ritualised visit, during which its female members try to paint the hands of the bride with H. By pretending to defend against this, the bride performs her shyness.

↗Colours; ↗Cosmetics; ↗Medicine, traditional

Lit.: AZENE BEKELE TESEMMA, *Useful Trees and Shrubs for Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa – Nairobi 1993 (Swedish International Development Authority. Regional Soil Conservation Unit, Technical Handbook Series 5), 290f.; DAWIT ABEBE – AHADU AYEHU, *Medicinal Plants and Enigmatic Health Practices of Northern Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 1993, 47, 149, 247, 309; CAMILLA C.T. GIBB, *In the City of the Saints: Religion, Politics and Gender in Harar, Ethiopia*, Ph.D. thesis, University of Oxford 1996, 48f., 147, 151, n. 79, 159f.; STEFAN STRELCYN, *Médecine et plantes d'Ethiopie*, vol. 1: *Les traités médicaux éthiopiens*, Warszawa 1968, 52, 148; vol.

2: *Enquête sur les noms et l'emploi des plantes en Éthiopie*, Napoli 1973, 75 (text), 182f. (tr.), no. 130; PATRICIA IRVIN TOURNERIE, *Colour and Dye Recipes of Ethiopia*, London 1986 [privately publ. by the author], 87ff.

Rita Pankhurst

Henok: Mäṣḥafä Henok ↗Enoch

Heraclius

H. (Gəᶜəz: ሄራቅሊ, Hərqal, also Ḥarqal, Eraqəl, b. ca. 575, d. February 641, Constantinople), emperor of Byzantium from 5 October 610, was the son of the exarch of Carthage, who sent him with a fleet to overthrow the "tyrant" Phokas. After seizing power by that, H. was to fight, until the end of his life, against the Slavs and Avars in the northern Balkans, and especially against the Persians and then the Arabs on the eastern frontier of the ↗Byzantine Empire. The Persians captured ↗Jerusalem and the relic of the True Cross in 614, and occupied Egypt from ca. 619; the Arabs invaded Syria and defeated the Byzantines at the banks of the river Yarmuk (a tributary of the Jordan) in 636. As a result of his victorious campaigns against the Persians, H. was able to free Egypt in 629, and to recover Jerusalem and the True Cross one or two years later (↗*Mäsqäl*). The fame of his military deeds won him the titles of "New Alexander" and "New Constantine", and was widely spread all over the Near East and the Horn of Africa (Fiaccadori 1987:132f. and nn. 52f.). An immediate Ethiopian reflection of that are the Holy Sepulcher and the Cross represented on the obverse of the silver and, resp., copper coinage of *nəguś* ↗Armaḥ, possibly the king who, according to Theophanes (*Chronographia*, A.M. 6123, ed. de Boor 1883, I, 335), in 630/31 sent to H. an embassy – the last one received at the Byzantine court – for congratulating on his success (s. Fiaccadori 2006:140f. and n. 53–56, 58f., on Krivov 1990). H.'s connection with Egypt is mentioned in the ↗*Sənkəssar* (8 *Tərr*, s. ColSyn IX, 64–71; s. Marrassini 1983: 385 and n. 9); in the chronicle of *aṣe* ↗Śärṣä Dəngəl, H.'s struggle for the "Cross of Christ" provides a significant parallel to the Emperor's campaign against the rebel ↗Yəsḥaq (CRHist 59; s. Fiaccadori 1987:133 n. 53).

On account of his rescuing Jerusalem, H. became a legendary, quasi-apocalyptic figure – the last emperor of the Byzantine *Reichseschatologie*. As a "New Alexander", esp. in the non-Chalcedonian and Monothelete world (Reinink 1985; for Islam s. Cook 1992), he is most likely behind the commemoration of ↗Alexander the Great in Ethiopia (s. *Sənkəssar* on 29 *Gənbot*, ColSyn VIII, 346f.). H.'s policy in Africa in the early 630s is reflected in the so-called *Doctrina Jacobi nuper baptizati* ('Indoctrination of Jacob Recently Converted': CPG no. 7793; s. Dagron – Déroche 1991), a piece of anti-Jewish polemics with strong eschatological overtones, known in Ethiopian tradition as ↗Särgis Abərgawi (Grébaut 1909, 1919).

H. was also the Emperor whose repentance for the massacre of Jews in Jerusalem in 630/31 became the alleged reason for adding an (eighth) extra week to the ↗Lent: the Greek *tyrinē* or *tyrophágos hebdomás* ('Cheesfare Week'), *ṣomä Hərqal* ('fast of Heraclius') in Ethiopic. A peculiar version of this story is found in the ↗*Anqäṣä amin* by *əčč̣äge* ᶜƎnbaqom (DonEnbAnq 216–21, cp. 122–26; for other versions s. Peri 1963:56–62).

Src.: THEOPHANIS *Chronographia*, ed. C. DE BOOR, I, Lipsiae 1883 [repr. Hildesheim 1963; Roma s.d.], 335; *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor: Byzantine and Near Eastern History AD 284–813*, tr. by C. MANGO – R. SCOTT, Oxford 1997, 466; CPG no. 7793; CRHist 59 (text) = 68f. (tr.); GILBERT DAGRON – VINCENT DÉROCHE, "Juifs et Chrétiens dans l'Orient du VIIe siècle", *Travaux et mémoires* 11, 1991, 17–273; SYLVAIN GRÉBAUT (ed., tr.), *Sargis d'Aberga* (*Controverse judéo-chrétienne*), [I], Paris 1917 (PO 3/4), 551–643; [II], Paris 1917 (PO 13/1), 5–109; ColSyn VIII, 346f.; IX, 64–71; BudSaint 470–73, 944; DonEndAnq 107, 111, 245–49, 265–69.

Lit.: MICHAEL ALLAN COOK, "The Heraclian Dynasty in Muslim Eschatology", *al-Qanṭara. Revista de estudios árabes* 13, 1, 1992, 3–23; GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, "Costantino ritrovato", *Felix Ravenna* 133–34 [4ª ser., 1/2], 1987 [1990], 121–36, here 132f. and n. 52f.; ID., "ʾElla Gabaz/(ʾElla) Ḥētāzā", *La Parola del Passato* 61, 2006 [2007], 115–41, here 140f. and nn. 53–56, 58f.; MIHAIL V. KRIVOV, "«Indijskoe» posol'stvo v Vizantii" ('The «Indian» Embassy in Byzantium'), *Vizantijskij vremennik* 51, 1990 [1991], 211–12; VADIM LOURIÉ, "Aleksandr Velikij – 'Poslednij Rimskij Śar'. K istorii eshatologičeskih konṣepṣij v epohu Iraklija" ('Alexander the Great – "The Last Roman Emperor". Towards the History of Eschatological Views during the Age of Heraclius'), *Byzantinorossica* 2, 2003, 121–49; PAOLO MARRASSINI, "Giustiniano e gli imperatori di Bisanzio nella letteratura etiopica (*Riassunto*)", in: *XXX Corso di cultura sull'arte ravennate e bizantina*, Ravenna 1985, 383–89, here 385 and n. 9; DAVID MICHAEL OLSTER, *The Politics of Usurpation in the Seventh Century: Rhetoric and Revolution in Byzantium*, Amsterdam 1993; VITTORIO PERI, "La durata e la struttura della Quaresima nell'antico uso ecclesiastico gerosolimitano", *Aevum* 37, 1963, 31–62; GERRIT J. REININK, "Die Entstehung der syrischen Alexanderlegende als politisch-religiöse Propagandaschrift für Herakleios' Kirchenpolitik", in: CARL LAGA – JOSEPH A. MUNITIZ – LUCAS VAN ROMPAY (eds.), *After Chalcedon: Studies in Theology and Church History Offered to Albert van Roey for his Seventieth Birthday*, Leuven 1985 (Orientalia

Lovaniensia analecta 18), 263–81; ID. – BERNARD H. STOLTE, *The Reign of Heraclius (610–641): Crisis and Confrontation*, Leuven 2002 (Groningen Studies in Cultural Change 2); DAVID WOODS, "On the Health of Emperor Heraclius c. 638–641", *Byzantinoslavica* 64, 2006, 99–110 (Lit.).

Basil Lourié – Gianfranco Fiaccadori

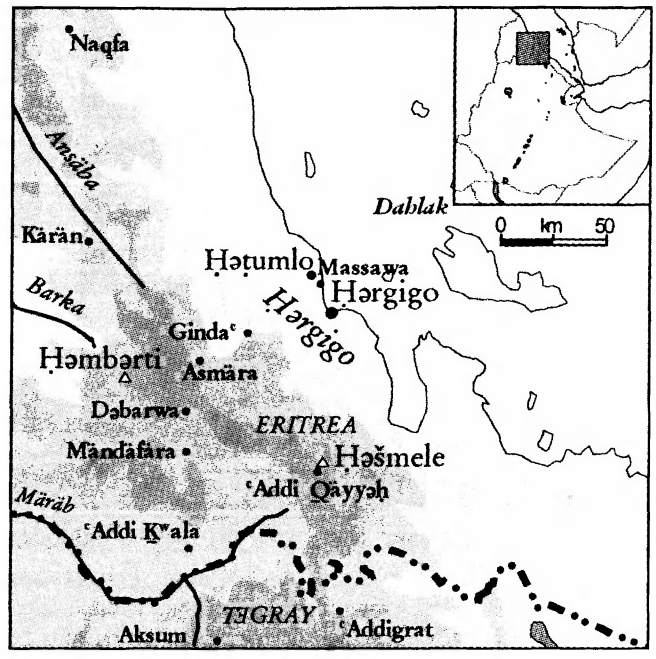
Herbs ↗Spices and Herbs

Ḥərgigo

Ḥ. (ሐርጊጎ, Arab. Ḥarqīqū) was a Red Sea mainland port opposite the island port of ↗Massawa, with which it enjoyed long-term close contacts. The approximated forms of the name, Arkiko and Arqiqo, are regularly employed in sources (e.g., Arabic, Portuguese, etc.). Local people used to call the place Däḥono, a word etymologically connected with the Sāho *dakano* ('elephant'; cp. Dəkänämo in ↗Asaorta; s. ↗Elephants). Here, in fact, according to the 2nd-cent.-B.C. Greek writer Artemidorus (quoted by Strabo 16, 4, 8) there was "a place for elephant hunting", immediately after "the port Saba" (possibly modern Gärar, north of Massawa). Still in the 19th cent., as travellers report, elephants came to the area around Ḥ., as it had plenty of water, due to streams coming from the highlands.

Though Ḥ., unlike Massawa, was not mentioned by early Arab writers (who were more familiar with the Red Sea islands than the mainland), it is probable that it dates back, like Massawa, at least to early medieval times. By the early 16th cent., its port was described by the Portuguese as a major commercial centre. Plentifully supplied with provisions, as well as export articles, from the interior, but lacking good harbour facilities, it was avoided by sea-going vessels, which made their way instead to Massawa. The two ports were, however, symbiotically linked by small local craft, which plied between them, constantly transporting export and import articles.

The Ḥ. area, which was relatively well supplied with often brackish water, was likewise the source of most of Massawa's water supply. Despite their economic interdependence, politically the two ports were often divided. Ḥ., in the 1520s, was thus under the control of the Christian ↗*baḥər nägaš*, whereas Massawa belonged to the Muslim ruler of the ↗Dahlak sultanate. Later, in 1557, both ports fell under the control of the ↗Ottoman Empire, which, seeking to advance inland, established a fort at Ḥ. with an Ottoman garrison (s. ↗Ḥabeš). This proved so



impregnable that *aṣe* ↗Śärṣä Dəngəl's attempt to capture it in 1589 was in vain.

Ḥ., though the smaller of the two settlements, had a significant population. James ↗Bruce, in the late 18th cent., wrote that it had "about 400 houses", which would imply a population of about 2,000 inhabitants, while early-19th-cent. travellers put it at between 1,000 and 1,500. Ḥ. had owed its importance, throughout this time, to its intermediary position between Massawa and the mainland, but this was destroyed when the Egyptians, in the 1870s, constructed a causeway linking island and mainland. Circumvented by the causeway, Ḥ. thus lost its *raison d'être* and rapidly declined. The place was described in 1938 as no more than a "large village" (*Guida* 331), albeit one with a 370-metre-long landing-stage and some warehouses.

Src.: BeckHuntAlm passim; BruNile passim; *Guida* 331.
Lit.: CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Commenti a notizie di geografi classici sovra il Sudàn egiziano e l'Etiopia", *Aegyptus* 6, 1925, 5–26, here 15–20 [§5]; PankHist I passim; PankHist II 127f., 141, 354.

Richard Pankhurst

Hermannsburger Mission

The H.M., or Missionsanstalt Hermannsburg, now Evangelical Lutheran Mission (ELM), in Ethiopia known as German Hermannsburg Mission, was founded in 1849 by Pastor Ludwig (Louis) Harms (1808–65) at Hermannsburg, Germany. Inspired by reports of Johann Ludwig ↗Krapf, Harms sent his missionaries to East Africa on a mission-owned ship called the Candace, to reach the Oromo. But the attempts made in

Missionaries Wassmann (left) with his family, Bahlburg (second from right) and the Wassmann family and staff; photo courtesy of the author

1853/54 and 1857/58 failed because the *sulṭān* of Zanzibar (Muscat), Sayyid Saᶜīd, did not grant the missionaries permission to enter East Africa. Instead, the H.M. started work in Southern Africa, later also in India, Australia, New Zealand, America, the Middle East and other regions.

In 1927 two missionaries, Hermann Bahlburg and Dietrich Wassmann, and two craftsmen, Hermann Grabe and Adolf Müller, started work in Addis Abäba, Aʾira (Western Wälläga), and Buunoo Beddellee (Illubabor). More missionaries, teachers, nurses and craftsmen followed. The Italian invasion interrupted the work in the interior, but it continued in Addis Abäba, where the missionaries also cared for the German-speaking Protestant congregation. The Beddellee station was destroyed, but the station in Aʾira was kept by local Christians led by ↗Dafaa Ğammoo. In 1942 the remaining Hermannsburg missionaries in Ethiopia were interned by the British.

In 1951 the Ethiopian Government permitted Wassmann and another missionary to return to Ethiopia. They continued the work in Aʾira, from where in the meantime a number of congregations had been founded and an independent national Church had been organized under the leadership of Dafaa Ğammoo ("Gimbii Board"). New stations were opened in Addis Abäba, Ç̣alliya, Beddellee and Daapoo Gaačoo with schools, handicraft-training centres, clinics, student hostels etc. At Aʾira, a hospital, a dresser-school, a boarding-school (elementary and secondary) and a Bible school were opened. After congregations, with support from Swedish, Norwegian, German and American Lutheran Missions, had formed the ↗Ethiopian Evangelical Church Mekane Yesus (EECMY) in 1959, all H.M. stations and institutions were handed over to the EECMY between 1970 and 1973 under an Agreement on Integration Policy signed in 1969. At present, the H.M. continues to be a partner of the EECMY, supplying finances and personnel to different synods and institutions of the Church.

Src.: Archive of the Evangelisch-Lutherisches Missionswerk, Hermannsburg, Germany.

Lit.: ArEvang 105–14; GUSTAV ARÉN, *Envoys of the Gospel in Ethiopia: in the Steps of the Evangelical Pioneers 1998–1936*, Stockholm 1999, 497–528; HERMANN BAHLBURG, *Aufbruch in der Heimat zum Gallaland*, n.d.; JOHNNY ERIK BAKKE, *Christian Ministry: Patterns and Functions within the Ethiopian Evangelical Church Mekane Yesus*, Atlantic Highlands, NJ 1987, 94–98; ERNST BAUEROCHSE, *Ihr Ziel war das Oromoland, Die Anfänge der Hermannsburger Mission in Äthiopien*, Münster 2006; ID., *In Dienst genommen, Erinnerungen eines Missionars*, Hermannsburg 2007; ID., "Die Arbeit in Äthiopien", in: ERNST-AUGUST LÜDEMANN (ed.), *Vision: Gemeinde weltweit*, Hermannsburg 2000, 585–709; GEORG HACCIUS, *Hannoversche Missionsgeschichte*, vol. 2, Hermannsburg 1907, 1–274; JOHANNES LAUNHARDT, *Evangelicals in Addis Ababa (1919–1991): with Special Reference to the Ethiopian Evangelical Church Mekane Yesus and the Addis Ababa Synod*, Münster 2005 (Studien zur Orientalischen Kirchengeschichte 31); REINHART MÜLLER (ed.), *Der Auftrag geht weiter*, Hermannsburg 1979, 137–78; CHRISTOPH SCHOMERUS, *Die Mission – meine Freude*, Hermannsburg 1987, 139–58; FIONA SCHULTE, *Heil und Heilung: Entwicklung und Bedeutung der medizinischen Arbeit in der Hermannsburger Mission von 1849 bis 1945*, Ph.D. thesis, Marburg 1998, 26–40, 72–77, 84–129; HENNING UZAR (ed.), *Mit wachsender Begeisterung*, Hermannsburg 1998; DIETRICH WASSMANN, *Pionierdienst unter den Galla in Westabessinien*, Hermannsburg 1938; ID., *Der Durchbruch des Evangeliums im Gallaland*, Hermannsburg 1948; WINFRIED WICKERT, *Männer und Zeiten*, Hermannsburg 1987, 139–68, 268–88.

Ernst Bauerochse

Hermas

H. (ሄርማስ) is the title of the Ethiopic version of the Greek apocryphal document known as "The Shepherd of Hermas", written in Rome during the middle of the 2nd cent. The work is best described as a compilation of different elements: visions, commandments and parables given by a "shepherd" (who is not Jesus Christ but the angel of repentance) to the author, who calls himself Hermas and speaks in the first person. The numerous versions of the text – Latin, Coptic (Sahidic and Akhmimic fragments), Middle Persian fragments and Gəᶜəz

– suggest that it was well known throughout the ancient world. The Ethiopic version, made in Aksumite times, appears to be the only complete text of the work. For the recently discovered important new Greek texts s. Lusini (2001b).

The ancient catalogue of Christian works called "Muratorian fragment" (3rd cent.) suggests that the author was a brother of Pius, Bishop of Rome. The author's claims about himself are probably fictional, serving rather to emphasize the theme of repentance in the book. Through revelations and moral instruction the reader is urged to maintain the hope for his salvation. At the time of writing, the Church was enthusiastically waiting for the imminent arrival of the Kingdom of God, of which it was the prefiguration. But, with time, moral decay had seeped into the Church. As a response to this situation, the book of H. does not attempt to enforce an extreme moral strictness upon the Church – unlike the Encratites who reject the sinner and his sin – instead, it offers the option of repentance, which results in perpetual hope.

The diffusion of this book, around the Mediterranean and into Africa as far as Ethiopia, reveals the widespread need for Christianity to find an alternative solution for immorality within its ranks. Rather than adopting an attitude of exclusion, H. prefers forgiveness and repentance.

The only two known manuscripts of the Ethiopic version, translated directly from the Greek Vorlage, come from ↗Gundä Gunde. In the same place the only extant copy of the *Antichrist* by ↗Hippolytus was found, a fact indicating the special role played by this monastery in the preservation of literary works going back to the Aksumite age. The first and the oldest manuscript dates to the 15th cent. and has a text closer to the Greek original. It was brought to Italy by Antonio ↗Mordini and is now kept in Parma, Biblioteca Palatina (ms. Parm. 3842 olim Mordini 9; with a photographic reproduction in the Vatican library, Vat. fot. 133, s. Fiaccadori 1994:90, 102 n. 88).

The other manuscript, dating to 1531 and unrelated to the former, was copied in 1847 (by Antoine d'↗Abbadie on a machine by De Jacobis at Gundä Gunde; now in Paris, BN Abbadie 174). In 1860, d'Abbadie, with the assistance of August ↗Dillmann, edited this copy and made a Latin translation.

Src.: Eth.: ANTOINE D'ABBADIE, *Hermae Pastor: Aethiopice primum edidit et aethiopica latine vertit Antonius d'Abbadie*, Leipzig 1860 (Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes 2); ROBERT BEYLOT, "Hermas: Le Pasteur. Quelques variantes inédites de la version éthiopienne", in: R.-G. COQUIN (ed.), *Mélanges Antoine Guillaumont*, Genève 1988 (Cahiers d'Orientalisme 20), 155–62; CRAbb 61f., no. 33 [Abbadie 174]; OSVALDO RAINERI, "Il Pastore di Erma nel secondo testimone etiopico", *OCP* 59, 1993, 427–64; Copt.: LOUIS-THÉOPHILE LEFORT, *Les pères apostoliques en copte*, Louvain 1952 (CSCO 135 [Copt. 17]).

Lit.: AUGUST DILLMANN, "Bemerkungen zu dem äthiopischen Pastor Hermae", *ZDMG* 15, 1861, 111–25; GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, "Prototipi miniati dell'Ottateuco etiopico", *Bollettino del Museo Bodoniano di Parma* 8, 1994 [1995], 69–102, here 90, 102 n. 88; ENZO LUCCHESI, "Le Pasteur d'Hermas en Copte: Perspective nouvelle", *Vigiliae Christianae* 43, 4, 1989, 393-96, GIANFRANCESCO LUSINI, "Elementi romani nella tradizione letteraria aksumita", *Aethiopica* 4, 2001a, 42–54; ID., "Nouvelles recherches sur le texte du Pasteur d'Hermas", *Apocrypha* 12, 2001b, 79–97 (Lit.); PIERLUIGI PIOVANELLI, "Nouvelles perspectives dans l'étude des 'apocryphes' éthiopiens traduits du grec", in: *PICES* 10, 323–30; GEORGE H. SCHODDE, *Hêrmâ nabî: the Ethiopic Version of Pastor Hermae Examined*, Leipzig 1876.

Jacques-Noël Pérès

Hermits

H., or anchorites (monks who retire and live in solitude), have been one of the most remarkable features of Ethiopian ↗monasticism since its very beginnings. Among the earliest H. was, e.g., *abba* ↗Pänṭälewon (one of the ↗Nine Saints), who lived as a recluse (hence his attribute *zä-ṣomaᶜət*, 'of the cell') to the north-east of Aksum in the first decades of the 6th cent.

The Ethiopian H. (Gəᶜəz **ባሕታውያን**, *baḥtawəyan* [sg. *baḥtawi*], lit. 'solitaries', or **ኅቡኣን**, *ḫəbuʾan*, lit. 'hidden' [cp. ↗*Səwwuran*], also **ናዝራውያን**, *nazrawəyan*, 'hermits', from *nazrawi*, 'Christian', lit. 'one from Nazareth', cp. LesCDic 412) themselves trace their origins back to O.T. prophets (e.g., Elijah) and to such significant personalities of the Christian Egyptian tradition as ↗Anthony the Great and Paul of Thebes, whose hagiographical account was translated into Gəᶜəz from Greek between the 4th and 6th cent. Later, the works of ↗monastic literature were also a paramount source of inspiration.

The H. were revered both by the common faithful and in monastic circles, being admired for the full implementation of the Christian ideal of holiness. The particular distinctive features of their asceticism, still practised by Ethiopian H., are the life in the "desert" and complete seclusion, full rejection of participation in worldly activities and extreme practices of self-mortification. H. are ↗holy men and women, who are believed to be close to God and worthy of receiving

Hermit, Wälläga, 1920s; archives of the Hermannsburg Mission, Hermannsburg (no. 162)

divine revelations; they are able to act as prophets (↗Prophecy) and charismatic preachers. They are also characterized by extraordinary behaviour or even an asocial way of life and distinctive dress (animal skins, yellow robes, or even nudity). In general, they lead a life beyond the authority of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church. In Ethiopia the ancient lavriotic regime seems to survive: there is no clear distinction between cenobitic and eremitic traditions. H. may be affiliated to a monastic community; and monks, after many years of contending in the community, may settle outside their monastery in order to lead an eremitic life (as, e.g., is usual in ↗Waldəbba, famous because of its H. and cenobitic communities, s. Girma Elias 1977), moving eventually further to areas particularly suitable for seclusion (and sometimes traditionally reserved for H.), building their own settlements (s., e.g., Paulos Asrat – Melake Hiywet Baysassie – Bekele Gayid 1954).

H. were always numerous in Ethiopia. However, only a few of them have been included in the category of the ↗saints generally recognized and venerated in the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥədo) Church. The half-mythic ↗Gäbrä Mänfäs Qəddus, "head of the H.", is, however, one of the most venerated Ethiopian saints; in Ethiopian ↗hagiography H. are referred to with awe and admiration and sometimes described as superior to coenobitic monks. As a recent example of the Ethiopian eremitic tradition, one can recall the famous ᶜAbdalmasīḥ al-Ḥabašī, an Ethiopian H. in Egypt who resided in the 1950–60s near Dayr al-Barāmūs and exercised strong spiritual influence on some senior ecclesiastics of the ↗Coptic church (Meinardus 1961:153–56).

In Ethiopian society, H. play a peculiar role: "violating the rules of etiquette, they exhort men to good deeds, symbolically uniting order with disorder they intervene in politics" (Bauer 1989: 236; concerning politics s.: van der Vlist 2004: 8). Exemplifying the "three key concepts contributing to prophetic social change: alienation, communitas and charisma" (Asmarom Legesse 1994:315), they emerge from their liminal zones especially during times of crises and wars, sharply reacting to current developments. Prophetic leaders such as Ǝsa Lale (arrested by the governor of Č̣änč̣a in 1924), Abbaye of Kambaata (1930s) and Č̣äläke of Gofa (1930s) witness to a similar phenomenon among the people of the South (Balisky 1997:115–32). There are also parallels with the "Spirit or prophetic Churches", which reinforced African views of the essentially unified and "spiritual nature of human existence and the ever-continuing, renewed interpretation of revelation" (Gray in GetLRubMiss 14).

Src.: LesCDic 412; Francisco Maria Esteves Pereira, *Vida de S. Paulo de Thebas primeiro eremita. Versão ethiopica*, Lisboa 1903; Id., *A Vida de S. Paulo de Thebas primeiro eremita segundo a versão ethiopica*, Coimbra 1904; Paolo Marrassini (ed., tr.), *"Vita", "Omelia", "Miracoli" del santo Gabra Manfas Qeddus*, Lovanii 2003 (CSCO 597, 598 [SAe 107, 108]); Id., *Gadla Yoḥannes Mesrāqāwi. Vita di Yoḥannes l'Orientale*, Firenze 1981 [1982] (Quaderni di semitistica 10), here LXXXII-CIX.

Lit.: Asmarom Legesse, "Prophetism, Democharisma, and Social Change", in: Thomas D. Blakely – Walter E.A. van Beek – Dennis L. Thomson (eds.), *Religion in Africa: Experience and Expression*, London – Portsmouth, N.H. 1994, 314–41; Paul Balisky, *Wolaitta Evangelists: a Study of Religious Innovation in Southern Ethiopia, 1937–1975*, Ph.D. thesis, Aberdeen 1997, 115–32; Dan Bauer, "The Sacred and the Secret: Order and Chaos in Tigray Medicine and Politics", in: William W. Arens – Ivan Karp (eds.), *Creativity of Power: Cosmology and Action in African Societies*, Washington, DC – London 1989, 225–43; Girma Elias, "The Monastery of Abrentant in Waldibba", *Abbay* 8, 1977, 93–117; Richard Gray, "The Missionary Factor: an African Perspective", in: *GetLRubMiss* 9–16; Friedrich Heyer, *Die Kirche Äthiopiens: eine Bestandsaufnahme*, Berlin – New York 1971 (Theologische Bibliothek Töpelmann 22), s. index; Paulos Asrat – Melake Hiywet Baysassie – Bekele Gayid, "The Hermits of Männagäsa", *Ethnological Society Bulletin* [Addis Ababa University College] 4, 1955, 78–80; Rudolf Kriss – Hubert Kriss-Heinrich, *Volkskundliche Anteile in Kult und Legende äthiopischer Heiliger*, Wiesbaden 1975,

s. index; DEENA NEWMAN, "Prophecies, Police Reports, Cartoons and other Ethnographic Rumours in Addis Ababa", *Etnofoor* 11, 2, 1998, 105–17; EDWIN VAN DER VLIST, *Bahitawian in Opstand*, M.A. thesis, Africa Institute Leiden 2004, 8; UGO ZANETTI, "Moines et ermites: des Pères du désert d'Égypte à ceux de l'Éthiopie contemporaine", *Acta orientalia Belgica* 12, 1999, 89–104.

Joachim Persoon

Herodotus

H. (Gr. Hēródotos; b. ca. 485 B.C., Halikarnassos [Bodrum], d. 425 B.C., Thurioi) was the first Greek historian: in Cicero's famous words, "the father of history" (*Leg.* I, 1, 5).

Between 431 and 425 B.C., he wrote the *Historíai* (lit. 'Inquieries', the word was adapted to Latin then meaning 'history') into the places and peoples he encountered during his wide-ranging travels around the Mediterranean. His work became a valuable literary source for scholars from Antiquity to the Middle Ages (from the 10th cent. at least, the Byzantine authors entertained a direct familiarity with it), and was rediscovered in the West during the early Renaissance, when it was soon translated into Latin (Eleuteri 1996). With all the debatability of H.'s authority, many of his statements have been confirmed by modern archaeological and historical research (s., e.g., Pugliese Carratelli 2005 and D'Oriano 2005).

H. was in fact a *lógios*, i.e. a reciter of *lógoi* or 'stories' in prose: the *Historíai* – with almost theatrical elements about battles, political incidents of note and, especially, the marvels of foreign lands – were first presented orally in the Greek cities during major religious and athletic festivals at which he offered performances (and expected payment). They were then arranged into a continuous narrative focusing on the theme of Persia's imperial progress and the threat to the freedom of the Greek as typified by the conflict between the latter and the Persians or "Medes" in the 5th cent. B.C. (↗Iran). Later editors divided the work into nine books, named after the nine Muses (starting from Clio, the "Muse of History").

H.'s many travels across the ancient world encompassed Asia Minor, the Black Sea, Thrace and Macedonia, Tyros, ↗Greece and Sicily, Kyrene and ↗Egypt, and in the *Historíai*, he dwells on descriptions of European, Asian and African milieus, with a strong emphasis on geographic, ethnographic, anthropologic and even linguistic details.

In Egypt, H. ventured as far as Elephantine and the first ↗Nile cataract. Here he reports that the annual flooding of the Nile was said to be the result of melting snows far to the south, and comments that he cannot understand how there can be snow in Africa, the hottest part of the known world – an example of his method of comparing the theories known to him.

Also in Egypt H. collected information on ↗Aithiopía and its customs (*Hist.* II, 2–182 and III, 20–24): rather than with ↗Ethiopia, this country, far to the south, is to be identified with ↗Nubia – the first new material to appear on that place since Homer's poems (↗Greek literature; ↗Historiography). H. thus contributed to the fortunes of the name and notion of "Ethiopia" as a symbolic representative of Africa. Yet, his primary goal was to explain the reasons behind the great war between Greece and Persia, and how Greek and non-Greek cultures were coming into initial contact with Iran, for which he strove to use every available resource: historical details, dreams, oracles, novels, tales, accounts from wise men and priests, and anonymous individuals. The ethnographic (religious and cultural) description of the Ethiopians themselves, who belonged to the geographic edges of the Mediterranean world, formed an integral part of H.'s narrative about the Persian king Kambyses's expedition to Egypt.

Src.: HERODOTUS, *Histories*, tr. by ARTHUR D. GODLEY, London ²1926 [repr. ¹⁰2004]; *Herodoti Historiae*, ed. by CHARLES HUDE, Oxford 1927, 2 vols.; *Herodoti Historiae*, ed. by HAIIM B. ROSÉN, 2 vols., Lipsiae 1987–97.

Lit.: EGBERT BAKKER – IRENE J.F. DE JONG – HANS VAN WEES (eds.), *Brill's Companion to Herodotus*, Leiden – Boston, MA – Köln 2002; REINHOLD BICHLER – ROBERT ROLLINGER, *Herodot*, Hildesheim – Zürich – New York 2000 (Studienbücher Antike 3); FRANK BUBEL, *Herodot-Bibliographie 1980–1988*, Hildesheim – Zürich – New York 1991 (Altertumswissenschaftliche Texte und Studien 20) [Lit.]; ALBRECHT DIHLE, *Die Griechen und die Fremden*, München 1994; RUBENS D'ORIANO, "I Serdaioi da Olbia?", *La Parola del Passato* 60, 2005, 58–74; PAOLO ELEUTERI, "Erodoto", in: GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI – PAOLO ELEUTERI (eds.), *I Greci in Occidente: la tradizione filosofica, scientifica e letteraria (dalle collezioni della Biblioteca Marciana)*, Catalogo della mostra, Venezia 1996, 3 (Lit.); HARTMUT ERBSE, *Studien zum Verständnis von Herodot*, Berlin – New York 1992 (Untersuchungen zur antiken Literatur und Geschichte 38); JAMES ALLAN STUART EVANS, *Herodotus: Explorer of the Past*, Princeton, NJ 1991; JOHN HART, *Herodotus and Greek History*, London – Canberra – New York 1982; FRANÇOIS HARTOG, *The Mirror of Herodotus: the Representation of the Other in the Writing of History*, Berkeley, CA – London 1988; FELIX JACOBY, "Herodotos", in: *Paulys Realencyclopaedie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Suppl. 2, Stuttgart 1913, cols. 205–520; ANDREA MANZO, *Culture ed ambiente: l'Africa nord-orientale nei dati archeologici e nella letteratura geografica ellenistica*, Napoli 1996 (Annali IUO 56, 2, Supplemento 87); WALTER MARG (ed.), *Herodot: Eine Auswahl aus der neueren*

Forschung, Darmstadt ³1982 (Wege der Forschung 26); KLAUS MEISTER, "Herodotos", in: *Der Neue Pauly*, vol. 5, Stuttgart – Weimar 1998, 469–75; WILFRIED NIPPEL, "Ethnographie und Anthropologie bei Herodot", in: ID., *Griechen, Barbaren und 'Wilde': Alte Geschichte und Sozialanthropologie*, Frankfurt a.M. 1990; W. KENDRICK PRITCHET, *The Liar School of Herodotos*, Amsterdam 1993; GIOVANNI PUGLIESE CARRATELLI, "Oinotroi, Serdaioi e Thespiadai", *La Parola del Passato* 59, 2004, 161–69; OLIVER REVERDIN (ed.), *Hérodote et les peuples non grecs: Entretiens sur l'Antiquité classique*, Genève 1990; JAMES S. ROMM, *The Edges of the Earth in Ancient Thought*, Princeton, NJ 1992; KENNETH H. WATERS, *Herodotos the Historian: His Problems, Methods and Originality*, London – Sydney 1985.

Gabriele Ziethen – Red.

Ḫəruy Giyorgis

The church of Ḫ.G. (ኀሩይ ጊዮርጊስ) was constructed in 1876–79 under the patronage of *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV when he chose the town of ↗Däbrä Tabor in Bägemdər as his capital. It was erected south of the new site, called Sämära, established by Yoḥannəs to the north-east of the former settlement of the governors of Bägemdər and *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II. The rectangular stone church, measuring ca. 26 m long and 16 m wide, was constructed with the apparent assistance of the Italian craftsman Giacomo ↗Naretti.

The church's ↗*aläqa* seems to have had some control over the Saturday market held at Sämära, which may have gained prominence at that time (Pankhurst 1977:261f.; PankHist II, 77f.). During the first third of the 20th cent., under the patronage of *ras* ↗Gugsa Wäle, governor of Bägemdər, the church was redecorated (ChTana 47f.); this work, possibly done by local church-painters, like *aläqa* Kaśa, ᶜAlämu, Bäyyänä and Amrot, was then destroyed by fire (PankHist II, 349; Hammerschmidt – Jäger 1968, pl. 34). Today, the church houses the throne, flag, spear and hand-bell of its royal founder *aṣe* Yoḥannəs IV (Pankhurst 1977:261; PankHist II, 77).

Src.: ChTana 47f.

Lit.: ERNST HAMMERSCHMIDT – OTTO JÄGER, *Illuminierte äthiopische Handschriften*, Wiesbaden 1968, pl. 34; RICHARD PANKHURST, "The History of Däbrä Tabor (Ethiopia)", *BSOAS* 70, 1977, 235–66, here 261f., 264; PankHist II, 77f., 349.

Claire Bosc-Tiessé

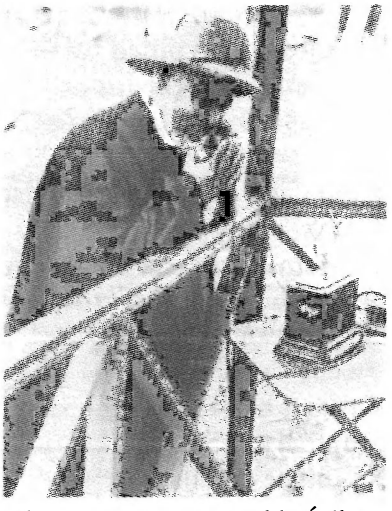
Ḫəruy Wäldä Śəllase

Ḫ. (ኀሩይ ወልደ ሥላሴ, birth name Gäbrä Mäsqäl; b. 8 May 1878, Märḥabete, d. 19 September 1938, Bath, England) was a prominent politician and a leading intellectual of the ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I era. Ḫ.'s personality was shaped by both traditional and modern education. After being initiated in traditional church education in Mänz and Sälale, he joined the then famous school of ↗Ǝnṭoṭṭo Raguᵓel. It was his mentor and teacher there, *mämhər* Wäldä Giyorgis, who gave him the name Ḫ., by which he has come to be known in history. In Ǝnṭoṭṭo Raguᵓel, he also won the patronage of *ṣäḥafe təᵓəzaz* ↗Gäbrä Śəllase who, impressed by Ḫ.'s liturgical and in particular ↗*aqʷaqʷam* skills, entrusted him with administrative tasks.

Later Ḫ. got acquainted with foreign ideas and languages. He learned English at the Swedish mission school in the northern outskirts of Addis Abäba as well as through his association with Dr. Charles Martin, known as *ḥakim* ↗Wärqənäh. Ḫ. even started taking some lessons in Arabic, but had to abandon them in face of rumours that he had become a Muslim. He was also able to acquire some French through association with a French veterinary team.

Equally significant in broadening Ḫ.'s outlook were his frequent travels abroad. This started in 1911 when he accompanied *däğğazmač* (later *ləᶜul ras*) ↗Kaśa Ḫaylu to the coronation of King George V of England. Subsequent travels took him once again to England and to the United States in 1919 (as a member of the delegation sent to congratulate the Allies on their victory in World War I); to Jerusalem in 1920 and 1923; again to Europe in 1924 as part of the entourage of *ras* ↗Täfäri Mäkʷännən (future Emperor Ḫaylä Śəllase); and finally and most memorably to Japan in 1931.

Ḫ. started the career that eventually elevated him to Foreign Minister in 1914/15 as a secretary in the Addis Abäba municipality. In 1916, following the change of regime, he rose first to the post of director-general and served as acting mayor in 1919–21. His next post was as chief judge of the ↗Special Court (the court set up to hear cases involving foreigners and nationals), with the title of *blatta*. This title



Blattengeta Ḫəruy Wäldä Śəllase; from Farago 1935:127

was elevated to that of ↗*blatten geta*, which has since been associated with his name, when Ḥ. was made director-general of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1927, a prelude to the attainment of the pinnacle of his career on 19 April 1931, when he became Foreign Minister. He kept that post until the Italian invasion in 1936. Although Ḥ. was one of those who had opposed the Emperor's decision to go into exile, he accompanied him to England, where he died.

Ḥ. has left his mark on national life, not only as a diligent civil servant, but also as a prolific writer. He has to his name over 20 books and booklets. These cover a wide range of subjects: history, biographical dictionary, travelogue and fiction. His literary accomplishments won him international recognition, including honorary membership of the German Oriental Society in 1929 and, during his exile in England following the Italian invasion, a post as teacher of Amharic and Gəᶜəz at the School of Oriental Studies (later ↗School of Oriental and African Studies).

Src.: AWTarik; HerTar; HerNägäst; ḤƎRUY WÄLDÄ ŚƎLLASE, **ኢትዮጵያና፡ መተማ፡ የአፄ፡ ዮሐንስ፡ ታሪክ፡ ባጭሩ** (*Ityopyanna Mätämma. Yäᵓaṣe Yoḥannəs tarik baṭṭəru*, 'Ethiopia and Mätämma: a Short History of *aṣe* Yoḥannəs'), Addis Abäba 1910 A.M. [1917/18 A.D.]; ID., **በኢትዮጵያ፡ የሚገኙ፡ በግዕዝና፡ ባማርኛ፡ ቋንቋ፡ የተጻፉ፡ የመጻሕፍት፡ ካታሎግ** (*Bäᵓityopya yämmiggäññu bägəᶜəzənna bamarəñña qʷanqʷa yätäṣafu yämäṣaḥəft katalog*, 'A Catalogue of the Books Written in Gəᶜəz and Amharic which can be Found in Ethiopia'), Addis Abäba 1920 A.M. [1928 A.D.]; ID., **የኢትዮጵያ፡ ታሪክ፤ ከንግሥት፡ ሳባ፡ እስከ፡ ታላቁ፡ የአድዋ፡ ድል** (*Yäᵓityopya tarik: känəgəśt Saba əskä tallaqu yäᵓadwa dəl*, 'The History of Ethiopia: from the Queen of Sheba until the Great Victory of Adwa'), Addis Abäba 1999 A.M. [2006/07 A.D.]; ID., **ድርሳቶች** (*Dərsatoóó*, 'Works'), 2 vols., Addis Abäba 1983 A.M. [1990/91 A.D.].

Lit.: BAHRU ZEWDE, *Pioneers of Change in Ethiopia: the Reformist Intellectuals of the Early Twentieth Century*, Oxford 2002, 70–73, 149–52, 160f.; ESHETU ASSEN, *History of the Municipality of Addis Ababa 1910–1941*, B.A. thesis, History Department, Addis Ababa University 1986, 25–28; LADISLAS FARAGO, *Abyssinia on the Eve*, London 1935, 127 (ill.); LUIGI FUSELLA, "Abissinia e Metemma in uno scritto di Belatta Heruy", *RSE* 3, 2, 1943, 200–13; ID., "Le biografie del Blātengētā Ḫeruy Wâlda Sellāsē", *RSE* 30, 1984–86 [1987], 15–52 and *ibid.* 31, 1987 [1988], 23–67; LÄMMA WÄLDÄ MARYAM, **የብላቴን፡ ጌታ፡ ኅሩይ፡ ወልደ፡ ሥላሴ፡ ሕይወት፡ ታሪክ፡** 1871–1931 (*Yäblatten geta Ḫəruy Wäldä Śəllase ḥəywät tarik, 1871–1931*, 'The Biography of *blatten geta* Ḫəruy Wäldä Śəllase, 1871–1931'), B.A. thesis, Department of Ethiopian Languages and Literature, Haile Selassie I University 1963 A.M. [1970/71 A.D.]; SALVATORE TEDESCHI, "La carrière et les idées de Heruy Wäldä Sellase", in: LUIGI FUSELLA – SALVATORE TEDESCHI – JOSEPH TUBIANA, *Trois essais sur la littérature éthiopienne*, Paris 1984, 39–104.

Bahru Zewde

Ḫəṣan Moᵓa

Ḥ.M. (**ሕፃን፡ ሞኣ**, also known as Gäbrä Ǝgziᵓabəḥer, fl. under *aṣe* ↗Bäᵓədä Maryam, 1468–78) was a holy monk. He was the son of Arkəledis and his wife Təbe Ṣəyon, from the small village of Därdärre, in Tägulät (Šäwa). His hagiography (e.g., EMML 2353) has not yet been published. According to some traditions, he entered the monastery of ↗Däbrä Bäggəᶜ in Šäwa, where he became a monk and lived in the time of the abbots Yoḥannəs and Zärᵓa Abrəham. He was ordained as a priest by *abunä* ↗Gabrəᵓel. Having heard about Ḥ.M.'s sanctity, Bäᵓədä Maryam requested him to come to the court to teach his son, and he was appointed *qalä nəguś* (lit. 'voice of the king'), i.e., Emperor's spokesperson.

Other traditions, including one circulating today in Däbrä Bäggəᶜ, claim that it was Ḥ.M. who founded this monastery; some others stress his relationship to the line of *abba* ↗Taklä Haymanot of Šäwa or shift his court activities to the time of *aṣe* ↗Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob (cp. also another account on Ḥ.M.'s life, cited by Sergew Hable Sellase, in ChojPaint 471, n. 6). The church of Däbrä Bäggəᶜ is devoted to Ḥ.M. and his annual feast is celebrated in the monastery on 24 *Ḥamle*, on which day he is inscribed into the *Sənkəssar* (GuiSyn I [404] 388).

Src.: EMML VI, 417ff. [mf. 2353, fol. 3a–35b (*gädl*), fol. 36b–40a (*mälkəᵓ*), 40ab (*sälam*)]; 414f. [mf. 2349 (miniature)]; EMML IX, 121 [mf. 3733, fol. 80b–82b (*mälkəᵓ*)]; EMML X, 84 [mf. 4242 (*gädl*)]; 126 [mf. 4368 (*sälam*)]; GuiSyn I [404] 388.

Lit.: AmhChurchD vol. 1, 111; ChojPaint 471, n. 6; KinBibl 78 [no. 82].

Steven Kaplan

Ḥəšmele

H. (**ሕሽሜሌ**, also locally known as Bäᶜatti Abgər) is an ancient archaeological site area in Akkälä Guzay (today in the *zoba* Däbub), Eritrea, approximately 2 km north-east of ↗ᶜAddi Qäyyəḥ (s. map for Ḥərgigo). The H. area is known for ↗rock art, prominent mound features with architectural rubble and ceramic scatters, and the ruins of an ancient building.

Rock paintings at H. are found in two small rockshelters just east of the Asmära road. Descriptions of these paintings were first published by Vincenzo ↗Franchini in 1958 and Paolo Graziosi in 1964. The first rockshelter (referred to as Ḥ.I) is 1.8 m deep and ca. 2.4 m high and contains at least 17 humpless cattle figures (*Bos taurus*) with pincer-like horns and a row of seven

human figures also painted in red color. The second rockshelter (referred to as Ḥ. II) is 2 m deep and 1.6 m high and contains at least one human figure, a series of black-colored bovid figures that may represent long-horned cattle, and a possible elephant figure. The rock paintings at Ḥ. contain elements that are generally similar to both the Sorre Hanakiya and early Dahthami stages of the so-called Ethiopian-Arabian style of rock art documented in the ↗Horn of Africa and possibly dating to between the 3rd and 1st millennium B.C. (Brandt – Carder 1987; Agazi Negash 1997; cp. Červiček 1979).

The preservation of the rock paintings at Ḥ. has been affected by natural exposure to moisture and light, and, in recent years, by vandalism and the smoke of temporary cooking fires placed within the rockshelters.

In the early 1990s the ruins of an ancient roughly rectangular-shaped building made of closely fitted stone were revealed by rock quarrying and construction activities in the Ḥ. area. This building may date to the first millennium B.C. or early first millennium A.D. and was documented by the National Museum of Eritrea, the German Archaeological Mission to Eritrea, and the University of Florida between 1995 and 1997. A protective fence was constructed around the building ruins in 1996.

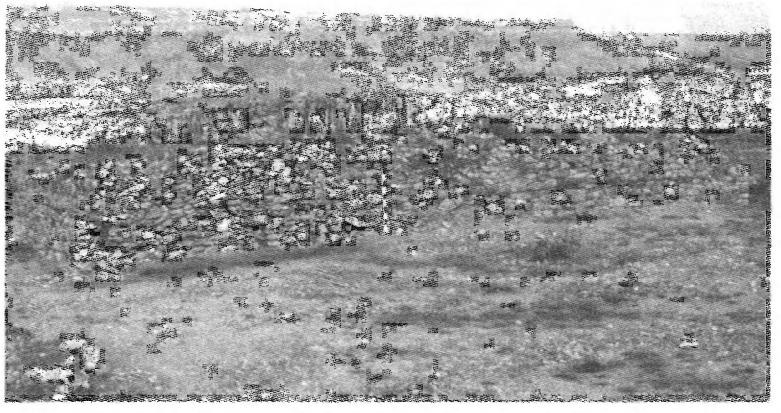
In 1997 archaeologists from the National Museum of Eritrea and the University of Florida documented and mapped 27 ancient archaeological mound sites via a systematic transect survey in a 2.5 km² area on the north-eastern portion of the ᶜAddi Qäyyəḥ plateau that included the Ḥ. area. Similarities in mound composition, architectural elements, and ceramic traditions among these sites and the ancient urban center of Qoḥayto, located a few kilometers west of Ḥ., tentatively suggest the integration of these sites into a common cultural system. The pottery, for example, shows affinity to that excavated on some of the sites near Asmära (e.g., Daᶜəro Qawlos; Fattovich 1983). Diversity in mound site size and placement on the landscape also is apparent and may be indicative of specialization and interdependence among ↗Qoḥayto and hinterland communities in the ᶜAddi Qäyyəḥ and Ḥ. areas.

Rock painting showing red cattle at the site Ḥəšmele I; photo 2001, courtesy of Matthew C. Curtis

↗Aksumite culture; ↗ᶜOna culture; ↗Pre-Aksumite culture

Src.: JEHESKEL SHOSHANI – M. BOZA, *Final Report on the Faunal Analysis of Zoo-archaeological Material from Sembel Qushet Site, Asmara, Eritrea*, ms., National Museum of Eritrea, Asmara 1999.

Lit.: AGAZI NEGASH, "Rock Art of Ethiopia and the Horn", in: JOSEPH O. VOGEL (ed.), *The Encyclopedia of Precolonial Africa: Archaeology, History, Languages, Cultures, and Environments*, Walnut Creek, CA 1997, 357–61; ROGER BLECH, "Ethnographic and Linguistic Evidence for the Prehistory of Africa Ruminant Livestock Horses and Ponies", in: THURSTON SHAW et al. (eds.), *The Archaeology of Africa: Foods Metals and Towns*, London – New York 1993 (One World Archaeology 20), 71–103; STEVEN A. BRANDT – NANNY CARDER, "Pastoral Rock Art in the Horn of Africa: Making Sense of Udder Chaos", *World Archaeology* 19, 2, 1987, 194–213; GIULIO CALEGARI, "L'arte rupestre dell'Eritrea: repertorio ragionato ed esegesi iconografica", *Memorie della Società Italiana di Scienze Naturali e del Museo Civico di Storia Naturale di Milano* 29, 1, 1999, 3–175; PAVEL ČERVIČEK, "Some African Affinities of Arabian Rock Art", *RSE* 27, 1979, 5–12; MATTHEW CHAD CURTIS – YOSEPH LIBSEKAL, "Archaeological Survey in the Adi Qeyeh Area, Eritrea", *Nyame Akuma* 51, 1999, 25–35; RODOLFO FATTOVICH, "I 'rilievi' rupestri di Daᶜar Caulos presso Asmara (Etiopia)", *Annali IUO* 43, 1983, 241–47; VINCENZO FRANCHINI, "Altre pitture rupestri nell'Akkelè Guzay", *Bollettino, Istituto di Studi Etiopici, Asmara* 2, 1958, 1–12, 47–51; STEFFEN WENIG, "Enno



The ruins of an ancient building at Ḥəšmele; the Qoḥayto plateau in the background; photo 1997, courtesy of Matthew C. Curtis

Littmanns Deutsche Aksum-Expedition 1906 und die German Archaeological Mission to Eritrea (G.A.M.E.) 90 Jahre später", *Archäologie* 18, 2001–02, 79–98; ZELALEM TEKA, "Rock Art Sites in the Area of Addi Keyih, Eritrea", *Journal of Eritrean Studies* 1, 1, 2002, 1–28.

Krishna Rao – Matthew C. Curtis

Hess, Robert Lee

H. (b. 18 December 1932, d. 12 January 1992) was an American scholar of contemporary colonial and Ethiopian history. H. attended Yale University, earning his B.A. (1954), M.A. (1955) and a Ph.D. (1960) in African History. He also attended the University of Rome (1956-58). He taught at the Carnegie Mellon University, Mount Holyoke College, Northwestern University and the University of Illinois at Chicago, where he also chaired the History department and acted as a Vice-chancellor promoting the study in African and Middle Eastern studies. Among his major scholarly interests were relations between ↗Italy and the Horn of Africa, Ethiopian politics and the history of the ↗Betä Ǝsraʾel, areas on which he published articles, reviewed books and supervised dissertations. He also edited the volume of the *Dictionary of African Biography* dedicated to Ethiopia (EncAfr). H. conducted field research in both Somalia and Ethiopia and worked in Italian archives. He was also one of the convenors of the Fifth ↗International Conference on Ethiopian Studies in Chicago and edited its proceedings (PICES 5b).

From 1979 until his death in 1992, he was President of the Brooklyn College of the City University of New York, which, under his leadership, developed into one of the United States' leading public institutions of higher education. The Hess Collection on Ethiopia and the Horn of Africa and the Robert L. Hess Collection on the continent of Africa of the Brooklyn College Library contain some 5,000 volumes from the late 18th to mid-20th cent., largely devoted to colonial issues and the colonial period. A foundation bearing H.'s name was created at the Brooklyn College.

Src.: EncAfr (ed.); ROBERT LEE HESS, *Italian Colonialism in Somalia*, Chicago, IL 1966; ID., *Ethiopia: the Modernization of Autocracy*, Ithaca, NY 1970; ID., "An Outline of Falasha History", in: *PICES* 3, 99–112; ID., "Towards a History of the Falasha", in: D.F.McCALL et al. (eds), *Eastern African History* ..., New York 1969, 107–32; ID. – GERHARD LOEWENBERG, "The Ethiopian No-Party State: A Note on the Functions of Political Parties in Developing States", *The American Political Science Review* 58, 4, 1964, 947–50; ID. – D.M. COGER (eds.), *Semper ex Africa: A Bibliography of Primary Sources in Nineteenth Century Africa*, Stanford 1972; PICES 5b (ed.).

Lit.: JOHN HARBESON – ALBERTO SBACCHI – H. WEISS, [obituary], *African Studies Association News* 25/2, 1992, 5; ALBERTO SBACCHI, "The Late Robert L. Hess and the Memoirs of Giacomo Naretti at the Court of Emperor Yohannes IV", in: *PICES* 12, vol. 2, 899–918 (Lit.).

Steven Kaplan

Ḥəṭumlo

Ḥ. (Tgn. ሕጡምሎ, Arab. حطملو Ḥuṭumlū, Ital. Otumlo) is one of the mainland settlements of ↗Massawa, located some 4 to 5km north-west of the port town (s. map for Ḥərgigo). The name Ḥ. refers to the halophile *ḥuṭum* shrubs (*Suaeda Fruticosa*) that grew in abundance in the area. In ʿAfar, *ḥudúmlu* means 'there are *ḥuṭum* trees'.

The foundation of Ḥ., possibly between the late 18th and early 19th cent., seems to be associated with the migration of settlers from neighbouring ↗Ǝmkullu as a result of deforestation around the latter. In any case Ḥ. owed its existence first and foremost to the availability of water. In the late 1860s Henry Blanc noted that both Ǝmkullu and Ḥ. had about 20 water wells and that new ones were constantly dug. Ḥ. served as the caravan station closest to Massawa and therefore catered to landward or coastward caravans for supplies, provisions and labour. As the population of Massawa island grew beyond the islet's capacity to provide enough housing space, Ḥ. also provided extra residential space for the port's merchants and brokers. The population of Ḥ. was traditionally composed of a fixed urban population that included many families of the coastal commercial and political elite, as well as a "floating" population of pastoralists and agro-pastoralists from around the region (e.g., ʿAd ʿAsker, ʿAd Šuma, Gädäm Sikta) who cultivated in the *wadi* basins near Ḥ. between October and March. This configuration epitomized Ḥ.'s role as a brokerage centre, linking the coast and the interior through a variety of commercial, transportation and labour networks.

An Egyptian report from 1866 stated that Ḥ. comprised 507 stone and wood hut constructions, four water wells and 30 *faddān* (ca. 120 km²) of agricultural land. During the rainy season, Ḥ. provided the Massawa conurbation with vegetables, melons, tobacco, dhurra, maize, cucumbers and bultuc (bulrush millet).

In the early Italian period Ḥ. and Ǝmkullu held one of the most important weekly markets of the colony, where camels, cattle, sheep, butter, hides and other commodities destined for export

Shrine of *sayyid* Hāšim al-Mīrġānī and *šarīfa* ᶜAlawīya at Ḥəṭumlo; photo 2000, courtesy of the author

via Massawa were sold. According to oral data, Ḥ. proper was and still is traditionally distinguished from its northern part, Ḥ. *maᶜəday* (Tgr. 'further away', 'on the other side'). The latter, also called *Otumlo superiore* by the Italians, was inhabited by a floating population, mainly the ↗Ḥabab and the Mäsḥalit. The fixed population, among which were some wealthy and notable Massawans, lived in *Otumlo inferiore*, sometimes in stone houses and residential compounds known as *darät* (Tgr.). In 1938 Ḥ.'s population was estimated at 6,000.

A central aspect of Ḥ.'s importance was its role as a religious centre in the eastern Eritrean region. It was in Ḥ. that the Ḫatmīya brotherhood (↗Islamic brotherhoods) established its centre/headquarters in ↗Sämhar. *Sayyid* Hāšim al-Mīrġānī (1849–1901), the first "official" representative of the order in the Eritrean area, settled in Ḥ. and lived there until his death. He was buried in Ḥ. and a shrine was built in his honour with the financial support of the Italian administration. To this day Muslims from all over the region perform the ↗*ziyāra* to the shrine on 2 *Ġumādā l-āḫira*. Another *ziyāra* commemorating his daughter, *šarīfa* ᶜAlawīya (d. 1940), is performed on 22 *Šawwāl*. The tombs of two other local holy men are found in Ḥ.: *šayḫ* Aḥmad Naǧāš (d. 1872) who was associated with the Qādirīya order and *šayḫ* Muḥammad ᶜUṯmān b. Muḥammad (d. 1898) of the influential ↗ᶜAd Šek family. In the early 20th cent. an Italian colonial manual identified five coral stone ↗mosques and twelve other straw or wooden hut mosques in Ḥ. On the basis of their names, several of these mosques were associated with the Ḫatmīya, Šāḏilīya and Qādirīya Ṣūfī brotherhoods.

Ḥ. was almost totally destroyed during the repressive campaigns of the Ethiopian forces between the 1960s and 1990.

Lit.: DouinIsm III.1 281; *Guida* 189; JONATHAN MIRAN, *Facing the Land, Facing the Sea: Commercial Transformation and Urban Dynamics in the Red Sea Port of Massawa, 1840s–1900s*, Ph.D. thesis, Michigan State University 2004, 178, 194ff.; MuhTarih 298-302; DANTE ODORIZZI, *Il Commissariato Regionale di Massaua al 1° Gennaio 1910*, Asmara 1911, 164–71; RICHARD PANKHURST, "Some Notes on the Historical and Economic Geography of the Mesewa Area (1520–1885)", *JES* 13, 1, 1975, 89–116.

Jonathan Miran

Hetzron, Robert

H. (b. Róbert Herzog, 31 December 1938, Budapest, d. 13 August 1997, Santa Barbara CA) was an eminent linguist, who mainly contributed to Cushitic, Semitic and comparative Afro-Asiatic studies, with a general interest in linguistics and in Hungarian.

Having received a general and Jewish-religious schooling, H. joined the University of Budapest to study Hungarian, Hebrew, Semitic Philology and Arabic. After the defeat of the uprising of October 1956, he moved to Vienna and Paris, where he studied general linguistics with André Martinet, and Amharic with Joseph ↗Tubiana. Later he went to Jerusalem to become a student of Hans Jacob ↗Polotsky and wrote his M.A. thesis on "Object Suffixes in Amharic". H.'s doctoral dissertation, guided by Wolf ↗Leslau in Los Angeles, was on Southern ↗Agäw (1969). He was then appointed professor at the University of California in Santa Barbara, where he remained until his retirement.

H. published several books and numerous articles on various subjects in Cushitic and Semitic linguistic comparison and classification and specific studies on ↗Ethio-Semitic languages, with particular attention to Gurage. In his work *Ethiopian Semitic: Studies in Classification* (Hetzron 1972) he suggested a new systematic classification of Gurage and Ethio-Semitic, based mostly on common morphological innovations (↗Gurage languages). H. significantly contributed to the thorough linguistic description and grammatical analysis of various Ethiopian languages.

Src.: ROBERT HETZRON, *The Verbal System of Southern Agaw*, Berkeley, CA – Los Angeles, CA 1969; ID., *Ethiopian Semitic: Studies in Classification*, Manchester 1972; ID., "The Agaw Languages", *Afroasiatic Linguistics* 3, 3, 1976,

31–75 (1–45); ID., *The Gunnän-Gurage Languages*, Napoli 1977; ID., "La rection du thème factitif en amharique", *Le Muséon* 76, 1963, 425–39; ID., "La voyelle du sixième ordre en Amharique", *Journal of African Languages* 3, 1964, 179–90; ID., "Main Verb-Markers in Northern Gurage", *Africa* 38, 1968, 156–72; ID., "The Limits of Cushitic", *SUGIA – Sprache und Geschichte in Afrika* 2, 1980, 7–126.

Lit.: ANDRZEJ ZABORSKI, "Robert Hetzron: Bibliography", in: ID. (ed.), *New Data and New Methods in Afroasiatic Linguistics: Robert Hetzron in Memoriam*, Wiesbaden 2001, xi–xix; GIDEON GOLDENBERG, "In memoriam Robert Hetzron (1938–1997)", *Aethiopica* 2, 1999, 198–200; ALAN S. KAYE, "Robert Hetzron as Afroasiaticist – The Career of a Genius: a Review Article", *Aethiopica* 5, 2002, 215–23.

Gideon Goldenberg

Heuglin, Martin Theodor von

H. (b. 20 March 1824, Hirschlanden, Württemberg, d. 5 November 1876, Stuttgart) was a German diplomat, naturalist and traveller.

H. came to Egypt in 1850/51 to explore the area between the Nile and the Red Sea coast as well as the Sinai peninsula. Appointed Austrian consular agent to Khartoum (1852), he left with the vice-consul Konstantin Reitz for Ethiopia to conduct negotiations with *ras* ↗Ali of Gondär and *däǧǧazmač* ↗Wəbe Ḫaylä Maryam of Təgray to extend Habsburgs' sphere of economic influence. Crossing the border near Mätämma into the Ethiopian highlands, they proceeded via Wähni and Č̣əlga to Dämbəya province, where they spent some days at the court of *däǧǧazmač* Kaśa Ḫaylu (later *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II) in Gända. A trade agreement was signed, and Austrian subjects were granted exemption from duty in Kaśa's territories in expectation of support for his claim to the imperial crown. Waiting in vain for more than two months for audiences with Ali and Wəbe during the last stops of their journey (Gondär and Däbrä Ǝski), H. conducted zoological studies in the northern Lake ↗Ṭana region and ↗Tämben. Under the threat of the approaching military conflict between Kaśa and Ali, the mission was abandoned and they left for the Nile Valley.

When Reitz died on the way back the following year, H. assumed the Austrian consular duties in the Sudanese capital and was officially appointed vice-consul in 1855. He explored the Bayuda steppelands, the area round Khartoum, the White Nile region and Kordofan, in the latter case exploiting new trade routes to Darfur. In 1857 H. accompanied captain Wilhelm von Tegetthoff on an espionage mission along the African coast from Quṣayr (Egypt) to Berbera (Somalia), exploring the possibilities of creating an Austrian colony with special attention to the hinterland of ↗Massawa and the ↗Danakil shore.

On resigning from the diplomatic service in 1858, H. returned to Europe and headed the German expedition to discover the fate of Eduard Vogel who had previously disappeared in Wadai (Tchad). With obvious colonial intentions, he chose the route by the Red Sea and through Ethiopia. He arrived at Massawa in summer 1861 and conducted an extensive survey of the ↗Dahlak archipelago. Due to severe conflicts along the projected route, the mission failed, and the team split in Kärän. H. remained in Ethiopia, travelling to ↗Ḫamasen, ↗ᶜAdwa, the ↗Səmen highlands and Gondär to Ǝčäbäd south of Mäqdäla, accompanying Tewodros II on a military campaign against the Oromo. Returning via Gondär, Č̣əlga, Wähni and Mätämma to Khartoum in early 1863, he joined the expedition of a Dutch woman Alexandrina P.F. Tinné to the Upper White Nile, exploring the lower reach of the Sobat and the Bahr al-Ghazal. He left with the remainders of the mission via Berber and Sawākin, arriving in Germany in 1865.

In the following years, he investigated Spitzbergen and Novaja Zemlja (1870–71) and participated in a hunting trip to the Sudanese Red Sea coast and northern Ethiopia (1874–75). H. died while preparing for a journey to the island of ↗Soqoṭra.

Src.: [MARTIN] THEODOR VON HEUGLIN, *Reisen in Nord-Ost-Afrika: Tagebuch einer Reise von Chartum nach Abessinien, mit besonderer Rücksicht auf Zoologie und Geographie, unternommen in dem Jahre 1852 bis 1853*, Gotha 1857; ID., "Reise längs der Somáli-Küste im Jahre 1857", *Mittheilungen aus Justus Perthes' geographischer Anstalt über wichtige neue Erforschungen auf dem Gesammtgebiete der Geographie von Dr. A. Petermann* 6, 1860, 418–37; ID., "Reise in Nordost-Afrika und längs des Rothen Meeres im Jahre 1857", *ibid.* 6, 1860, 325–58; ID., *Die Tinne'sche Expedition im westlichen Nil-Quellgebiet 1863 und 1864, nebst ethnographischen, zoologischen und kartographischen Anhängen und einer Originalkarte* (Ergänzungsheft 15 zu Petermann's Geographischen Mittheilungen), Gotha 1865; ID., *Reise nach Abessinien, den Gala-Ländern, Ost-Sudán und Chartúm in den Jahren 1861 und 1862*, Jena 1868; ID., *Reise in Nordost-Afrika: Schilderungen aus dem Gebiete der Beni Amer und Habab nebst zoologischen Skizzen und einem Führer für Jagdreisende*, 2 vols., Braunschweig 1877.

Lit.: BAIRU TAFLA, *Ethiopia and Austria: a History of their Relations*, Wiesbaden 1994 (AeF 35) (Lit); WALTER SAUER, "Schwarz-Gelb in Afrika. Habsburgermonarchie und koloniale Frage", in: ID. (ed.), *K.u.k. kolonial: Habsburgermonarchie und europäische Herrschaft in Afrika*, Wien – Böhlau 2002, 17–78, 292–308; JOHANN WAGNER, *Österreichische Kolonialversuche in der zweiten Hälfte des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts*, Ph.D. thesis, Wien 1955.

Michael H. Zach

Hewett Treaty

The H.T. or Treaty of ᶜAdwa was signed on 3 June 1884 between Ethiopia, Britain and Egypt, Britain acting as the protectorate power of Egypt. It was popularly named after the head of the British mission sent for the purpose, Rear Admiral Sir William Hewett.

The H.T. was the result of a British initiative to dismember the already collapsing Egyptian dominion over the Nile and the Red Sea, and rescue the Egyptian garrisons besieged in eastern Sudan by the then victorious Mahdīya forces (↗Mahdists). As Britain had already occupied Egypt, and its forces proved unable to face the Mahdists, London decided to turn to Ethiopia to help rescuing the Egyptians in the towns of Qallābāt (↗Mätämma), Ǧira, Amidib, and ↗Kassala. In late December 1883 William Hewett was sent to Massawa together with the American Mason *bey*, Egyptian governor of Massawa Province, who subsequently acted as the representative of Egypt. Throughout January to May 1884 Hewett and his envoys conducted preliminary negotiations with *ras* ↗Alula Ǝngəda, the governor of ↗Märäb Məllaš in his new capital ↗Asmära. In return for Ethiopian rescue missions they offered to turn Kassala and the country of Bogos (↗Bilin) over to the Ethiopians. They also promised Ethiopia free access to the port of ↗Massawa, leaving the impression that Britain would remain there. The whole arrangement was supposed to turn the Märäb Məllaš into a solidified and expanded Ethiopian province, and Alula, according to the British reports, was all for it. *Aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV, however, was apparently sceptical. It was only in the last week of May that he agreed to meet with the mission in ᶜAdwa and, finally, to sign the treaty on 3 June 1884.

The H.T. proved a turning point in the history of the whole theatre. Ethiopian expeditions did manage to relieve the small garrisons of Qallābāt, Ǧira and Amidib, and in return the country of Bogos, including the Egyptian fort of ↗Kärän, was handed over to Alula's men. The much larger garrison of Kassala, however, was beyond Alula's reach. His attempts at capturing the town, continuing to late 1886, proved disastrous to all concerned, and diverted his attention away from Massawa. Moreover, the vital port was not to be used by the Ethiopians. The British interpreted the wording of the treaty as an Ethiopian abandonment of their old claim to Massawa. Disengaging themselves, they, in fact, enabled the Italians to take Massawa in February 1885.

The H.T. was the only international agreement signed by *aṣe* Yoḥannəs. The man who had sought British (anti-Muslim) partnership in the aftermath of the British intervention of 1868, was led to believe the partnership was finally coming. For the British, however, it was at that time a disengagement enterprise. They mobilised the Ethiopians to fight the Mahdīya while the Italians, from the London point of view, filled the vacuum created in the Red Sea and prevented French domination following the Egyptian retreat. Yoḥannəs thus ended up trading one weak enemy, the Egyptians, for two strong ones. He undertook to provoke the Mahdīya and found himself facing Italians who rather than running a free port soon began their ambitious encroachment from Massawa. Thus, instead of solidifying an Ethiopian Märäb Məllaš, the H.T. began a quick countdown towards the fall of Yoḥannəs and the establishment of Italian ↗Eritrea.

Lit.: ErlAlula ch. 5; SVEN RUBENSON, "The Adwa Peace Treaty of 1884", in: *PICES* 3, vol. 1, 225–36; RubInd 353–62; AUGUSTUS B. WYLDE, *83–87 in the Soudan*, London 1888, vol. 1, chs. 8–14, vol. 2, chs. 1–3; ZewYohan.

Haggai Erlich

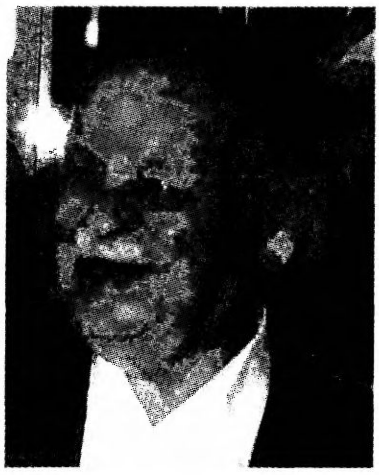
Hexaemeron ↗Aksimaros

Heyer, Friedrich

H. (b. 24 January 1908, Darmstadt, d. 10 April 2005, Schleswig) was a German historian of the Orthodox and Oriental churches. His research was initially focused on Eastern Orthodoxy and his postdoctoral thesis was devoted to the Church in Ukraine (1951). From 1951 to 1964 he taught at Kiel University. From 1964 to 1976 he held the chair of Konfessionskunde at Heidelberg University.

From 1951 onwards H.'s research centred upon the non-Chalcedonian churches; he began to develop an interest in Ethiopia. He organized conferences on Orthodoxy at the Evangelische Akademie Schleswig-Holstein, which he headed, and invited Coptic and Ethiopian representatives. In 1963 H. went to Ethiopia himself. Thanks to his good contacts with the officials of the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥədo) Church his visit was particularly fruitful; the result was his book about the Ethiopian Church (1971).

H. played a significant role in the theological relations between Germany and Ethiopia. During



Friedrich Heyer; photo 1999, courtesy of Monika Schilling

his numerous travels to Ethiopia he developed a deep knowledge of traditional ↗education. After the ↗Revolution in 1974, H. decided to support the church schools and monasteries. He established the Tabor Society, Deutsche Gesellschaft zur Förderung orthodoxer Kirchenschulen in Äthiopien e.V. at Heidelberg, a German society that since 1976 has supported (five) traditional church schools in Gondär (Mädḫane ᶜAläm) and Bägemder (Maḫdärä Maryam, Mäkanä Iyäsus and Zuramba, also Betlehem in Gayənt). He also launched the related journal *Kirche und Schule in Äthiopien* in 1975. Together with ↗Śərgəw Hablä Śəllase and a group of Ethiopian students of theology, H. edited the five volumes of the *Amharic Church Dictionary* (AmhChurchDic), and published over 660 articles and monographs during his long academic career.

In 1998 he received an honorary doctoral degree in Theology from the University of Sibiu-Hermannstadt.

Src.: Lockot I, II (Lit.); FRIEDRICH HEYER, *Die Kirche Äthiopiens: eine Bestandsaufnahme*, Berlin – New York 1971 (Theologische Bibliothek Töpelmann 22); ID., *Debra Tabor: Berichte von Friedrich Heyer*, Heidelberg 1972; ID., "Äthiopische monophysitische Kirche", in: ID., *Konfessionskunde*, Berlin 1977, 233–44; ID., *Die Kirche in Däbrä Tabor*, Erlangen 1981 (Oikonomia 13); ID., *Die Heiligen der Äthiopischen Erde*, Erlangen 1998 (Oikonomia 37); KEFELEW ZELLEKE – FRIEDRICH HEYER, *Das orthodoxe Äthiopien und Eritrea in jüngster Geschichte*, Aachen – Heidelberg 2001; *Kirche und Schule in Äthiopien* 1–56, 1975–2003.

Lit.: VERENA BÖLL, "In memoriam Friedrich Heyer (1908–2005)", *Aethiopica* 9, 2005, 229–31; MARTIN TAMCKE (ed.), *Blicke gen Osten: Festschrift für Friedrich Heyer zum 95. Geburtstag*, Münster 2004 (Studien zur Orientalischen Kirchengeschichte 30); CHRISTIAN WEISE, "Bibliographie Friedrich Heyer", in: MICHAEL KOHLBACHER – MARKUS LESINSKI (eds.), *Horizonte der Christenheit: Festschrift für Prof. Heyer zu seinem 85. Geburtstag*, Erlangen 1994 (Oikonomia 34), 587–620.

Verena Böll

Heyling, Peter

H. (b. 1607/08, Lübeck, d. 1652, Sawākin, also መዐልም፡ ጴጥሮስ *mäᶜalləm* Ṗeṭros, in Catholic sources Pietro Leone) was a German Protestant traveller. The son of a goldsmith from Lübeck, he attended a gymnasium and was educated in the doctrines of the Evangelical Lutheran Church. He studied the writings of Martin Luther, Johann Arndt, Johann Tauler and Thomas of Kempis.

At the age of 20 H. left Lübeck to study law in Paris. There he met Hugo Grotius, who became his teacher and friend. During the height of the Thirty Years War, H. made a journey to Egypt planning to revitalise the ↗Coptic Church with the evangelical teachings of the Lutheran Reformation (↗Protestantism). By then, the ↗Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide, exploiting the inert state of the Coptic Church, was dispatching ↗Capuchin friars to Egypt to unite the "schismatic" Copts with the Apostolic See of Rome.

In 1633–34, H. was in Egypt, where he faced the animosity of the Capuchin missionaries encountered at the Coptic monasteries of Wādī an-Naṭrūn. He studied Arabic and Syriac at the monasteries of St. Macarius and ↗Dayr as-Suryān, being the last visitor who met Syrian monks there in 1634. Known by the Copts as *muᶜallim* Buṭrus, he criticised the "theological errors" and "corrupt practices" of the Coptic Church. In Cairo, he discussed the reformation theology with the Greek Orthodox Archbishop of Jerusalem and joined a group of Coptic and Syrian pilgrims to the Holy Land.

In October 1634 *aṣe* ↗Fasilädäs, returning to the teachings of the Church of Alexandria after his father's alliance with the ↗Jesuits, requested a new metropolitan from the Coptic patriarch Matthew III (1631–46). H. used this as an opportunity to accompany the new *abunä* ↗Marqos on his way to Ethiopia. Whereas the anti-Catholic politics of Fasilädäs, supported by the new metropolitan, led to a tragic end of the Jesuit mission in Ethiopia in 1632, H., who became known in Ethiopia as "*mäwalimu* Ṗeṭros" (and similar), could carry on his Lutheran preaching. He worked for 17 years as educator, missionary, physician and theologian, most of the time in the Gondär area, particularly in ↗Azäzo. Thanks to his friendship with the metropolitan and his anti-Catholic feelings, he was introduced into the royal court and accepted by the nobility. Fasilädäs offered him his only daughter in marriage. It is, however, not clear

which political position he acquired at the court; there are indications that he was nominated *bəḥt wäddäd* (↗*bitwäddäd*; Kropp in PICES 7) It was under his advice that the Emperor convened an ecclesiastical council. H. translated the Gospel of St. John into Amharic, which was then in high demand, but seems to be lost today (Samuel ↗Gobat, however, reported to have seen it still in 1830). H.'s disapproval of Ethiopian piety, however, earned him the expulsion from the country in 1652 via ↗Dəgsa and Massawa. He then moved to the island of ↗Sawākin, where the Turkish *pasha* ordered him to be executed (s. LudHist III, XIV, 366).

H. had in Ethiopia a group of followers, led by Zämaryam of Azäzo and called መናፍቃን፡ ደቁ፡ ለጀርመን (*mänafqan däqqu läğärmän* 'heretic disciples of the German', s. Kindeneh Endeg 2004; cp. ↗Germany). They participated in a synod convened by Fasilädäs, after which they were excommunicated. However, in the 31st year of Fasilädäs's reign, another synod was held in which the group of Zämaryam was in the majority and enjoyed royal support. Throughout the 17th cent., the followers of the ↗*qəbat* polemically styled the *ṣägga ləğ* doctrine (↗*Yäṣägga ləğ*) as *mänafqan däqqu läğärmän*. During the reign of ↗Iyasu I the group was still active. The traces of H.'s missionary activities are still felt in the ↗Ethiopian Evangelical Church Mekane Yesus.

↗Missions

Src.: JOHANN MICHAEL WANSLEBEN, *Brief Account of the Rebellions and Bloodshed, Occasioned by the AntiChristian Practices of the Jesuits ...*, London 1679; LudHist III, xiv, 366.

Lit.: AbbSéjour, vol. 2; ArEvang 34–37, 409f.; TEODOSIO SOMIGLI DI DETOLE, *Etiopia Francescana nei documenti dei secoli XVII e XVIII*, vol. 1, 1: *1636–43*, Roma 1927; KINDENEH ENDEG MIHRETIE, *The Role of Qebatoč in the Christological Controversy within the Ethiopian Orthodox Church (1620–1764)*, M.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University, School of Graduate Studies, 2004; OTTO F.A. MEINARDUS, "Peter Heyling, History and Legend", *Ostkirchliche Studien* 14, 1965, 305–26; ID., "Peter Heyling in the Light of Catholic Historiography", *ibid.* 18, 1969, 16–22; JOANNES HEINRICUS MICHAELIS, *Sonderbarer LebensLauff Herrn Peter Heylings*, Halle 1724; MANFRED KROPP, "Ein äthiopischer Text zu Peter Heyling: ein bisher unbeachtetes Fragment einer Chronik des Fāsiladas", in: *PICES 7*, 243–52 (Lit.).

Otto F. A. Meinardus

Ḥəzbä Nañ ↗Täklä Maryam

Ḥəzqəyas

Ras Ḥ. (ሕዝቅያስ, fl. 1696–1711) was a person of rank at *aṣe* ↗Iyasu I's court. In 1696, *däğğazmač* Ḥ. publicly accused *blatten geta* Yoḥannəs of corruption. The latter was then kept in the background for several years, neither totally out of favour, nor really condemned. In the first year of his reign, *aṣe* ↗Tewoflos appointed Ḥ. *ras* of Bägemdər, but dismissed him a year later.

The reports on H.'s death diverge. The "short chronicle" states that he died suddenly on 22 August 1711 (BassÉt II, 180 [tr.]; cp. Schneider 1990:119), whilst according to Bruce he was put in prison and tortured after having been involved at Gondär in a conspiracy against *aṣe* ↗Yosṭos (BruNile vol. 2, 546).

Ḥ. had at least two sons: the first was arrested and tortured by Yosṭos in July 1712; the second, *baša* Gäbrä Mädḫən, took part in *aṣe* ↗DawitIII's succession to the throne against ↗Bäkaffa (BassÉt II, 131, 135, 181; DombrChr 270–73). Ḥ. was buried in Ṣädda (BassÉt II, 180).

Src.: BassÉt II, 131, 135, 180f., 191, 195; BegCron 142; BruNile vol. 2, 546; DombrChr 270–73; GuiIohan.

Lit.: ROGER SCHNEIDER, "Notes éthiopiennes", *AE* 15, 1990, 113–40, here 119.

Dimitri Toubkis

Ḥəzqəyas

Ḥ. (ሕዝቅያስ, d. 26 March 1813), one of a series of puppet kings of Ethiopia during the ↗*Zämänä mäsafənt*, reigned 1788–94. After the death of his father *aṣe* ↗Iyasu II, he was confined to the royal prison ↗Wähni Amba together with all other possible pretenders to the throne. In 1788 *ras* ↗Aligaz of the Yäğğu Oromo dynasty, one of the king-makers of the epoch, quarrelled with the then king *aṣe* ↗Täklä Giyorgis I. Aligaz deposed Täklä Giyorgis and exiled him to ↗Ǝmäkina in Lasta, putting Ḥ. on the throne instead.

The natural outcome of the political success of *ras* Aligaz was the growing rivalry of other mighty feudal lords within his family. His own brother-in-law *ras* ↗Ḫaylu Wänd Bäwäsän became his most formidable foe. Ḥ.'s ephemeral reign was not only full of rivalries, it was also a pathetic story of how a puppet king who was manipulated by feudal lords tried to manipulate his puppeteers. Such attempts by a powerless king lacking any local power base were doomed to failure. When in 1792 Ḫaylu Wänd Bäwäsän proceeded to Ǝmäkina and released Täklä Giyorgis, this was practically the end of Ḥ.'s reign. His main supporter Aligaz was defeated and had to withdraw into his native province of Yäğğu. In 1794, Ḥ. finally ceased to be a sig-

nificant figure. He was buried in ↗Gondär at the church of Adäbabay Täklä Haymanot.

Src.: BTafA 427, 437, 926, 929f., 975; BlunChr 135–41, 151, 153f., 197 (text) = 396–404, 418, 421f., 484 (tr.).

Lit.: ANDRZEJ BARTNICKI – JOANNA MANTEL-NIEĆKO, *Historia Etiopii*, vol. 2, Wrocław – Warszawa 1987, 192; EDUARD RÜPPEL, *Reise in Abessinien*, vol. 2, Frankfurt am Main 1840, 378.

Sevir Chernetsov

Hiddii

H. is the Oromo name for a thorned solanaceous plant (*Solanum campylacanthum*, *Solanum coagulans*, *Solanum adoense*, *Solanum unguiculatum*, Amh. *ənbʷay*) that bears prolific quantities of hard fruits, which look rather like small yellow and orange tomatoes. The main types of H. are *h. fardaa*, *h. gaagaa*, *h. loonii*, *h. re'ee* and *h. Waatitti*.

Sprays, handfuls or containers of the fruits are a common Oromo symbol of fertility and fecundity (cp. ↗*Asennaa*). H. represent livestock in children's games and in the semi-serious game of young adults a game called *hiddii looni hirratani*, as well as in some rituals. It has been reported that H. could be used as a sacrifice if no suitable animal was available. Crushed H. are used to soften ↗leather. The cooked pulp can be used to soften the hair. An infusion of one variety is used against coughing and diarrhoea in children. An apotropaic quality was ascribed to H.

Lit.: BERND HEINE – MATTHIAS BRENZINGER, *Plant Concepts and Plant Use: an Ethnobotanical Survey of the Semi-Arid and Arid Lands of East Africa*, part 4: *Plants of the Borana (Ethiopia and Kenya)*, Saarbrücken 1988, 153–57, 162 n. 3; BartOrom 244–46; TON LEUS, *Aadaa Boraanaa. A Dictionary of Borana Culture*, Addis Ababa 2006, 326; STEFAN STRELCYN, *Médecine et plantes d'Éthiopie*, vol. 2: *Enquête sur les noms et l'emploi des plantes en Éthiopie*, Napoli 1973, 162; VSAe II, 767.

Paul Trevor William Baxter

Ḥiğāz ↗Arabia

Highland East Cushitic

According to the most widely accepted classification, the H.E.C. languages form a subgroup of the East Cushitic languages, in their turn a branch of the ↗Cushitic language family. The second largest group within East Cushitic is the ↗Lowland East Cushitic languages. Hetzron (1980) classified H.E.C. together with the ↗Agäw languages (Central Cushitic) in a group which he labelled Highland Cushitic languages, but this classification has been rejected by Hudson (1981) and later by Tosco (2000).

The H.E.C. languages are ↗Burği, ↗Gideʾo, ↗Hadiyya (including ↗Libido), ↗Kambaata (including ↗Allaaba, ↗Qabeena, and ↗Ṭimbaaro) and ↗Sidaama. They are spoken by probably ca. 6,000,000 people living in southern central and south-west Ethiopia. The largest number of speakers accounts for Sidaama (ca. 2,000,000) followed by Hadiyya (ca. 1,000,000), Gideʾo (ca. 650,000) and Kambaata (ca. 500,000). Allaaba has ca. 130,000 speakers and Ṭimbaaro ca. 80,000. The smallest languages are Burği, Libido, and Qabeena, which total less than 40,000 each. In addition, Burği is spoken in northern Kenya by a group of ca. 7,000 people who immigrated from Ethiopia. For location s. maps for separate languages.

The classification of Burği within H.E.C. had been a topic of discussion in the first half of the 20th cent. This language was not considered to be related to H.E.C. by several scholars (for an overview of the discussion s. Hudson in Bend-NonSLang 237ff.). The affiliation of Qabeena remained unclear until Crass (2001) classified it within the Kambaata-group, the closest related language being Allaaba.

According to Hudson (1981) the H.E.C. languages spread from the south, i.e. the Burği area, to the north, i.e. the area now settled by the Kambaata and Hadiyya. The first split produced Burği and Gideʾo. In the course of time Sidaama split off from Gideʾo, Kambaata from Sidaama and Hadiyya from Kambaata. This process took place some 1,500 to 2,500 years ago (Hudson 1981:121).

Today, most of the H.E.C. languages are written in primary education and in publications with a modified version of the Latin alphabet. The Ethiopic ↗script (*fidäl*) is used only for primary education in Qabeena.

Phonological characteristics of H.E.C. are a five-vowel system (*i*, *u*, *e*, *o*, *a*), a phonemic distinction between short and long in vowels and consonants, ejective plosives and affricates, and (at least in some languages) whispered vowels as allophones of short vowels in word final position. Hudson (1989:11f.) reconstructs the following consonants for Proto-H.E.C.: *tt*, *d*, *k*, *g*, *č*, *č̣*, *ʤ*, *h*, *l*, *ll*, *r*, *rr*, *m*, *mm*, *mʾ*, *n*, *nn*, *nʾ*, *w*, *ww*. Stress is phonemic in Allaaba, Hadiyya, Kambaata, Libido, Qabeena, Sidaama and probably in the other H.E.C. languages. Morphonological characteristics are an epenthetic vowel *i*,

partly nasal metathesis in the first person plural of the verbs and different kinds of assimilations.

Verb derivation includes the suffixes *-am* for passive, *-s* and *-siis* for causative, and *-d/-ʾ* and *-aqq* for medial. Subject agreement is marked by morphemes suffixed directly to the verb stem. The morphemes follow the Afro-Asiatic subject agreement pattern, namely 1st pers. sg. *-ø/-y*, 2nd pers. sg. and 3rd pers. sg. fem. *-t*, 3rd pers. sg. masc. *-ø/-y*, 1st pers. pl. *-n*, 2nd pers. pl. *-t* and 3rd pers. pl. *-ø*. 2nd and 3rd pers. pl. are marked by additional morphemes to distinguish them from 2nd and 3rd pers. sg. masc., respectively, e.g. *-ak* in Libido and *-oon/-een* in Qabeena. Tense/aspect is marked by vowels following the subject-agreement markers. In main predication other suffixes follow the aspect vowels in most of the persons. Typical are *-mm* or *-nn* for 1st pers. sg. and 1st pers. pl. The occurrence of these suffixes led to a "new compound suffixal conjugation" which is considered to be the main innovation of H.E.C. (Tosco 2000:94).

Furthermore, a remarkable number of sequential and adverbial converbs must be distinguished. Sequential converbs are used mainly to describe sequential events; adverbial converbs refer to temporal, conditional and other adverbial relations.

Verbs composed of an ideophone and the verb 'say' for intransitives and 'do' for transitives are found in all H.E.C. languages. The verb *y-/i-* 'say' fuses phonologically with the ideophone so that it is sometimes difficult to distinguish a compound verb from an ordinary verb. In Libido this is the case, e.g., for the verbs *baqimma* 'accroach' vs. *baq(y)imma* 'awaken', *qullimma* 'be bald' vs. *qul(y)imma* 'be afraid', *lappimma* 'grease oneself' vs. *lap(y)imma* 'recline' and *wiṭimma* 'sprinkle' vs. *wiṭṭ(y)imma* 'assemble'.

Nouns are marked for case, gender and number. Concerning case, the most prominent feature is the fact that the accusative is the unmarked case. It is used in citation and for marking objects of transitive verbs and predicates of nominal sentences. Some scholars call this case "absolutive". The nominative, however, is restricted to marking subjects of both intransitive and transitive verbs. Languages of this type (called "Marked Nominative Languages") are found quite often in southern Ethiopia and neighbouring countries, but are extremely rare in the rest of the world. The masculine gender is unmarked, whereas feminine is often marked by the suffix *-ta* (derived from the feminine demonstrative determiner *ta*). Number is generally unmarked in citation but may be marked by special suffixes for singular and plural.

Verbal nouns do not change their behaviour regarding case assignment, i.e. case-marking of the argument(s) does not change in relation to the verb from which the verbal noun is derived. Case marking of the verbal noun depends on its syntactic function in the matrix clause. The Libido sentence *mánči*$_1$ *waasa*$_2$ *ʾangan*$_3$ *ʾituko*$_4$, 'The man$_1$ (NOM) ate$_4$ the food$_2$ (ACC) with his hands$_3$ (INSTR)' shows after nominalization as *mánči*$_1$ *waasa*$_2$ *ʾangan*$_3$ *ʾitimma*$_4$ *mooʾummo*$_5$, 'I saw$_5$ the man$_1$ eating$_4$ the food$_2$ with his hands$_3$'. The accusative of the verbal noun *ʾitimma* 'eating (ACC)' is assigned by the verb *mooʾummo* 'I saw'.

The unmarked word order in H.E.C. languages is Subject – Object – Verb. Modifiers precede the head noun. Nominalized verbs are used frequently, especially in focus constructions. Nominalization on fully inflected verbs is marked by morphemes derived from the demonstrative determiners: *ka/ha* (masc. acc.), *ku/hu* (masc. nom.), *ta* (fem. acc.), *ti* (fem. nom.), e.g. Qabeena *ta karšíta ʾasseemmáa-hu ʾabba-há-ʾi*, 'The one who gave me the money is my father' vs. *ta karšíta ʾasseemmáa-ti ʾeezé-ta-ʾi*, 'The one who gave me the money is my mother'.

The reconstructed ten-word list is: 'one' **mitto*, 'two' **lamo*, 'three' **sase*, 'fire' **giira*, 'water' **waʾa*, 'blood' **ṭeega*, 'sun' **arre* (not attested in Burǧi), 'moon' **agana*, 'tooth' **inqo*, 'tongue' **arrabo* (Hudson 1989).

Src.: RAYMOND G. GORDON (ed.), *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*, Dallas, TX ¹⁵2005, 116.

Lit.: JOACHIM CRASS, "The Position of K'abeena within Highland East Cushitic", *AAP* 67, 2001, 5–60; ROBERT HETZRON, "The Limits of Cushitic", *Sprache und Geschichte in Afrika* 2, 1980, 7–126; GROVER HUDSON, "Highland East Cushitic", in: *BendNonSLang* 232–77; ID., "The Highland East Cushitic Family Vine", *Sprache und Geschichte in Afrika* 3, 1981, 97–124; ID., *Highland East Cushitic Dictionary*, Hamburg 1989 (Cushitic Language Studies 7), 11f.; MAURO TOSCO, "Cushitic Overview", *JES* 33, 2, 2000, 87–121.

Joachim Crass

Hiǧra

H. (Arab. هجرة, 'emigration') most commonly is the name by which the emigration of the Prophet ↗Muḥammad from ↗Mecca to ↗Medina in 622 A.D. is known. In Ethiopian context, however, the particular importance is associated with the so-called "first H." (*al-hiǧra al-ūlā*, after ↗Ibn Isḥāq), i.e. the emigration of a group of early followers of Muḥammad to al-Ḥabaša, most

probably to ↗Aksum (although the town is not mentioned in the sources) in and after 615 A.D.

In his youth in Mecca, Muḥammad may have learned about Ethiopia through his paternal grandfather ᶜAbdalmuṭṭalib, who is said to have been in contact with ↗Abraha, and to have entertained commercial relations with Ethiopia. Muḥammad also met with Christian Ethiopians and even spoke some Gəᶜəz (Ibn Saᶜd 1906:72; Jeffery 1938:305ff.).

Unable to protect his followers against the ↗Qurayš, as Ibn Isḥāq puts it, Muḥammad sent them to the safety of Ethiopia for fear of apostasy. Recent western research has considered further reasons to account for the emigration to Ethiopia. Thus, certain hints in the sources may be interpreted as signs of strong frictions between two rivalling groups in the young Muslim community, the schismatic danger which Muḥammad counteracted by his recommendation to one of the two groups to emigrate (cp. Watt 1953:113–16).

Among the first emigrants were the later *ḫalīfa* ᶜUṯmān b. ᶜAffān, Muḥammad's daughter Ruqayya, and Baraka Umm Ayman, his former nurse, who was of Ethiopian origin. After three months a rumour that the Qurayš leaders had accepted ↗Islam brought this group back to Mecca. Ibn Isḥāq attributes the first remigration movement to the easing of the Muslim community's situation in Mecca owing to Muḥammad's temporary acknowledgement of the three goddesses (in the "satanic verses"; s. aṭ-Ṭabarī ed. de Goeje et al. 1879–1901, vol. 1, 1193; Ibn Isḥāq tr. Guillaume 1955:165ff.). But when the rumour turned out to be false, a second group of at least 132 Muslims went to Ethiopia in 616 A.D. According to Ibn Isḥāq (tr. Guillaume 1955:148), the total number of migrants was 83 or 84 adult men. Most Western historians are of the opinion that there were not two streams of emigrants, but only one (cp., e.g. Buhl 1906:13–22). Whatever the case, Muslim and Western scholars alike consider the first H. as a historical event (cp., e.g., Nöldeke 1914:163f.). H. is not mentioned in the Qurᵓān, but is confirmed by a relatively old document the authenticity of which has never been doubted: the letter of ᶜUrwa b. az-Zubayr (d. around 712 A.D.) to the *ḫalīfa* ᶜAbdalmalik (r. 685–705), quoted by aṭ-Ṭabarī (ed. de Goeje 1879–1901, vol. 1, 1181).

The emigrants were well received by the *nəguś* (*an-↗naǧāšī*, as he is referred to in Islamic sources, ↗Aṣḥam[a] b. Abǧar/↗Ǝllä Ṣäḥam), who resisted the appeals of emissaries from the Qurayš to send them back. During an audience Muḥammad's cousin ↗Ǧaᶜfar b. Abī Ṭālib explained the Prophet's teaching. He quoted from *sūra* 4:171, "Jesus, son of Mary, is the apostle of God and His word, which He cast into Mary, and a spirit proceeding from Him", and from the first part of *sūra* 19, which is a paraphrase of Luke 19:16–34. On the other hand, Ǧaᶜfar also underlined the Oneness of God. The *naǧāšī* declared that the difference between Islam and Christianity was not greater than a stick (cp. DonHaySirat 242, n. 16) and allowed the Muslims to stay in his country under his protection. According to Islamic tradition, the *naǧāšī* eventually embraced Islam.

According to Ibn Isḥāq (tr. Guillaume 1955: 169), the number of the emigrants who returned to Mecca before Muḥammad's H. to Medina, was 33. Some of them took part in the Prophet's H., some stayed in Mecca. Ibn Saᶜd (1906:79) mentions that a group of emigrants returned to Arabia while the Prophet was in Ḫaybar, thus in the year 7 H. [628 A.D.]. The emigrants who returned from Ethiopia and came to Muḥammad were recognized by the Prophet as participants of two H. and as *muhāǧirūn* ('emigrants'; s. Ibn Saᶜd 1906:79, 1904:205; cp. also Rodinson 1961:143).

Some 20 Muslims had died in Ethiopia, and their tombs are venerated in ↗Nägaš.

H. played the role of a "foundation myth" for the Muslims of the Horn of Africa in general and for the inhabitants of the coastal lowlands (↗Sāho, ↗Iɽafalo) and the ↗Ǧäbärti in particular. The myth is alive in contemporary Islamic discourse as shown by a considerable number of booklets published in Addis Abäba (cp., e.g., Ahmäd Ahmädin n.d.; Mäḥmud Šakir 1995/96; Muḥammäd Ṭoyyəb 1998/99). The H. to Ethiopia plays also a crucial part in the discussion of modern Muslim theologians. The "Abyssinian model" is the main argument for adherents of the doctrine that Muslims can emigrate to countries dominated by non-Muslims (cp. e.g., Masud 1990:42ff.).

The high esteem Ethiopia initially enjoyed in Islam is reflected in the great number of Muslim traditions dealing with the theme of the first H. They are found in the classical collections of traditions, codified in the 3rd cent. H. [9th cent. A.D.]. By that time, however, the memory of the privileged position of Ethiopia in regard to Islam had faded away. Already by the end of the 1st cent. H. [7th cent. A.D.] the attention of Islam shifted from Ethiopia to the east, and by the beginning of

the 3rd cent. H. [9th cent. A.D.] to the Turks. The special relation with Ethiopia became a memory of the past (cp. van Donzel in StudAeth 109–14). During the following centuries, tensions between Islam on the African coast and Christian Ethiopia grew, and culminated in the wars of ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī.

↗Arabia

Src.: Abū Muḥammad ʿAbdalmalik Ibn Hišām, *as-Sīra an-nabawīya* ('The Life of the Prophet'), Beirut 1987; Ibn ʿInaba, *ʿUmdat aṭ-ṭālib fī ansāb āl Abī Ṭālib* ('Support of the One Searching the Origins of the Family of Abū Ṭālib'), Beirut n.d., 53ff.; Ibn Saʿd Katib al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb aṭ-Ṭabaqāt al-kabīr* ('The Great Book of Classes'), ed. Edward Sachau, vol. 4, 1, Leiden 1917, 72; Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq, *The Life of Muḥammad: a Translation of Ibn Ishāq's Sīrat Rasūl Allāh*, ed. by Alfred Guillaume, Lahore – Karachi – Dacca ²1968, 146; an-Nawawī, *Tahḏīb al-asmāʾ wal-luġāt* ('Improvement of Names and Words'), Beirut n.d., vol. 1, 148ff.

Lit.: Joseph Cuoq, *L'Islam en Éthiopie: des origines au XVIe siècle*, Paris [1981], 27–32; DonHaySirat 242, n. 16; ErlEth 5ff.; Alessandro Gori, "Una tradizione sulle origini dell'Islam in Etiopia: la nota storica dello Šayḫ Imām e Ḥāfiẓ al-Lahabī", *Oriente Moderno* nuova ser. 21 [82], 2, 2002, 431–40; Hussein Ahmed, "Aksum in Muslim Historical Traditions", *JES* 29, 2, 1996, 47–66; Arthur Jeffery, *The Foreign Vocabulary of the Qurʾān*, Baroda 1938 (Gaekwad's Oriental Series 79), 305ff.; Maxime Rodinson, *Mahomet*, Paris 1961, 142f.; Emeri J. van Donzel, "'Leave the Ethiopians Alone as Long as they Leave you Alone', *utrukū l-ḥabaša mā tarakūkum*. Some Reflections on a *ḥadīṯ*", in: *StudAeth* 109–14; William Montgomery Watt, *Muhammad at Mecca*, Oxford 1953, 108f., 113–16; Arent Jan Wensinck et al., *Concordances et indices de la tradition musulmane*, 7 vols., Leiden 1936–79.

Emeri van Donzel – Gregor Schoeler

Ḥimyar

The term Ḥ. originally designated a tribe of ancient Yemen and the region of its settlement; later on the Ḥ. became the leading people of the last South Arabian empire. They are frequently mentioned as *ḥmyr-m* in the Epigraphic South Arabian ↗inscriptions of the middle and late periods and in the royal ↗Gəʿəz inscription in monumental South Arabian script from ↗Aksum, from the time of king ↗WʿZB (RIÉ no. 192.5); as *ḥmr-m* in the royal inscriptions from Aksum of the time of King ↗ʿEzana in Gəʿəz in monumental South Arabian script (RIÉ nos. 185/I.1; 185bis I.1; 186.2); in non-vocalized Ethiopic script as **ሐምየረ**, *ḥmyr* (RIÉ no. 185/II.1) and **ሐምረ**, *ḥmr* (RIÉ no. 185bis II.1).

The Arab tradition knows them in the rare morphological form حِمْيَر, *ḥimyar*. Both the form **ሐምር**, *ḥəmer*, found in two Gəʿəz inscriptions from Aksum of the time of King ʿEzana (RIÉ nos. 188.2; 189.2–3) and in a fragment from South ↗Arabia (RIÉ no. 266.2), and the variant **ሐምር**, *ḥamer*, attested in the Gəʿəz inscription from Mārib (RIÉ no. 195 II.17), point to an original pronunciation *Ḥamēr* or **Ḥumēr/Ḥumayr* respectively. The last forms are the base of Greek Ὁμηρῖται, attested, e.g., in the Greek inscriptions from Aksum of the time of King ʿEzana (RIÉ nos. 270.2; 270bis.1; 271.6–7) with the variant Ὁμηρεῖται in a fragmentary text from Meroë (RIÉ no. 286.1).

The Ḥ. originally settled in the south-western part of South Arabia. Towards the end of the 2nd cent. B.C. they freed themselves from the authority of Qatabān and gradually established an autonomous realm. The first mention of the Ḥ. is to be found towards the end of the 1st cent. B.C. in the Ḥaḍramitic inscription RÉS 2687 on the defensive wall of al-Bināʾ which protected the access to ↗Ḥaḍramawt from the seaport Qanaʾ on the Erythraean Sea, on the coast of which the Ḥ. had gained ground. In many campaigns the Ḥ. conquered the southern parts of the Sabaean territory, and founded their capital Ẓafār in one of the most fertile regions of the Yemenite highlands. The ↗*Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* (ch. 23), an early 1st-cent. Greek handbook for seafaring merchants, referred to Ẓafār as a *metropolis* and the residence of the legitimate king of the Ḥ. and of the Sabaeans. In his *Natural History* (VI, 161) ↗Pliny "the Elder" remarks that the Homeritae are a tribe whom Aelius Gallus during the Roman campaign in the year 25 B.C. found to be the most numerous of the South Arabian peoples. In the struggle for supremacy that took place in Yemen in the first two centuries A.D. between Sabaʾ, Ḥ. and other dynasties of the highlands, Ḥ. succeeded in strengthening its dominant position, so that its rulers could be justified in bearing the title of "king of Sabaʾ and Ḏū-Raydān" (*mlk/sbʾ/wḏrydn*). Ḏū-Raydān ('the master of Raydān', lit. 'he/the one of Raydān') was the title by which the rulers of Ḥ. styled themselves after the castle Raydān sheltering their capital Ẓafār. This name is also found in the titles of the Ethiopian kings in the royal inscriptions from Aksum of the time of King ʿEzana, as *rydn-m* in Gəʿəz in monumental South Arabian script (RIÉ 185 I.1; 185bis I.1) beside *zm/rydn-m* (RIÉ 186.2), and in non-vocalized Ethiopic as *rydn* (RIÉ 185 II.2) and *rd* (RIÉ 185bis II.1), furthermore as *zä/räydan* in Gəʿəz inscriptions from Aksum of the same king (RIÉ

nos 188.3; 189.3) and two centuries later in the inscription of King WʿZB from Aksum in Gəʿəz in monumental South Arabian script as *ḏrdn* (RIÉ no. 192.6). The Greek versions of the "trilingual" inscriptions from Aksum of King ʿEzana offer the transcription Ῥαεισδᾶν (RIÉ nos. 270.2; 270bis.2) and Ῥεεισδᾶν respectively (RIÉ no. 271.7).

From approximately 200 to 270 A.D. there is plenty of South Arabian epigraphic evidence of Abyssinian presence in the western coastal plain of Yemen and of Abyssinian military activities there. The Sabaean king ʿAlhān Nahfān allied himself with the Aksumite ruler Gadarat (↗GDR[T]) against Ḥ. (CIH 308), probably to restrain the latter from controlling seafaring on the Red Sea. Once even Ẓafār had to be defended from the attack of an Ethiopian army which had marched to the town.

Later on, Ḥ. sought assistance from King ʿAḏebah with the Ethiopian allies from Sahratān, i.e. the Yemeni Tihāma, against the Sabaeans. It is obviously a historical reminiscence of this period that in the middle of the 4th cent. King ʿEzana's titulary includes Ḥ. with its castle Raydān and Sabaʾ with its castle Salḥīn (e.g., RIÉ 187.2; 188.2–4).

Around the year 280 A.D., during the reign of the Ḥimyarite king Yāsirum Yuhanʿim, the traditional Sabaean dynasty in Mārib ceased to exist, and towards the end of the 3rd - beginning of the 4th cent. the Ḥimyarite king Šammar Yuharʿiš and his successors succeeded in conquering Ḥaḍramawt, through which he became the sole ruler in South Arabia. He and his successors could therefore claim the title of kings of "Sabaʾ and Ḏū-Raydān and Ḥaḍramawt and Yamanat" (e.g., Ja 656).

About the year 342 A.D. the Byzantine Emperor Constantius II sent ambassadors under the leadership of a certain ↗Theophilos "the Indian" to the ruler of the Ὁμηρῖται, and as a result of the mission three churches were built between the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf, one of them in the Ḥimyarite capital Ẓafār (s. also ↗Byzantine Empire). Jewish and Christian missionary work gradually caused the decline of the traditional worship of the mainly astral deities. The first testimonies to Ḥimyarite monotheism are to be found in two inscriptions from Ẓafār dated to 378 A.D., in which King Malkikarib Yuhaʾmin and two of his sons record the building of palaces in their capital "through the power of their Lord, the Lord of Heaven" (Gl 389 = RÉS 3383; Bayt al-Ašwal 2 = Ga 3). In the first third of the 5th cent. under the reign of the mighty ruler Ab(u)karib Asʿad, the Asʿad Kāmil of the Arab tradition, the royal title was upgraded to "(king) of the Arabs of the highland and of the lowland" (Ry 509). This formula is evidence of the expansion of the Ḥimyarite realm to the north and of the integration of Bedouin tribes of central Arabia into the Ḥimyarite dominion.

When King ↗Yūsuf Asʾar Yaṯʾar, who professed the Jewish faith, came to power, probably in 517 A.D., he launched military operations against both the Ethiopians in Southern Arabia and their allies, the local Christians. According to the testimony of three Late Sabaic rock-inscriptions (Ry 508, Ja 1028 and Ry 507), the Ethiopians in Ẓafār, three hundred in number, were killed and the church there was burnt. King Yūsuf rejected the long titulary and named himself simply "king of all the tribes" (Ja 1028.1), whereas the institutional term "kingdom of Ḥ.", on which God's salvation is called down, is epigraphically attested once (Ry 507.11). In 518 or 523 A.D. the besieged town of ↗Nağrān was taken and the persecution of the Christians occurred during which many died a martyr's death. The ↗martyrdom of the Ḥimyarite Christians caused a great consternation in the Christian Orient and prompted military intervention and an invasion by an Ethiopian army in 523 or 525 A.D. The expedition was led by the Ethiopian King ↗Kaleb Ǝllä Aṣbəḥa himself and was supported by the Byzantine emperor ↗Justin who put ships at the disposal of the Ethiopians to cross the Red Sea. The South Arabian troops were defeated, King Yūsuf was killed and the Yemen became an Ethiopian protectorate. Christian parishes were founded, churches were built and a local Christian nobleman named ↗Sum(u)yafaʿ Ašwaʿ (Ἐσιμιφαῖος) was chosen to reign as a vassal of the Ethiopian king (Procopius, Bell. I, 20).

Later on, ↗Abraha, an officer of the Aksumite army, came to power through a revolt (he is epigraphically attested in four Late-Sabaic inscriptions dated between the years 543 and 553 A.D.). Abraha claimed the long titles of the former Ḥimyarite dynasty, and according to the long inscription set up by him at the dam of Mārib his troops consisted of Ethiopians and Ḥimyarites (CIH 541.25f., 75). During his reign ↗Gregentius was appointed archbishop of Ẓafār, to whom the Leges *Homeritarum* ('Laws of the Ḥimyarites') are attributed, a collection of regulations which mainly reflect administrative practice and circumstances of life in the Byzantine Empire in later times.

Between 570 and 575 A.D. the Abyssinians were expelled from the Yemen by the Persians with the help of the legendary Sayf b. Ḏī Yazan, and South Arabia became a province of the Sassanian Empire. In the year 628 A.D. the then Persian governor converted to Islam and the Yemen turned into a Muslim country. Since the time of the spread of Islam the terms Ḥ. and Ḥimyaritic were still current among the population of the Yemen, the Arab writers called all inhabitants of pre-Islamic South Arabia Ḥimyarites and the epigraphic documents in *musnad*-writing, which they had left, Ḥimyaritic. For the Yemeni author al-Hamdānī in the first half of the 10th cent. Ḥimyaritic was still a living and familiar speech in some parts of the Yemen, but he obviously meant under this name either a dialect of Yemeni Arabic or an unwritten local language, different both from Arabic and Old South Arabian. Centuries after the fall of the realm of Ḥ. another Yemeni patriot, Našwān b. Saʿīd al-Ḥimyarī (d. 1177), in his famous *Ḥimyarite Ode* (*al-Qaṣīda al-Ḥimyarīya*) celebrated the might and grandeur of the Ḥimyarite kings who had once ruled over (South) Arabia.

Src.: RIÉ; CIH; RÉS (= *Répertoire d'Épigraphie Sémitique*, 8 vols., Paris 1900-1968); Ry (= GONZAGUE RYCKMANS, "Inscriptions sud-arabes. Dixième série", *Le Muséon* 66, 1953, 267–317); Ja (= ALBERT JAMME, *Sabaean Inscriptions from Mahram Bilqîs* [*Mârib*], Baltimore, MD 1962 [Publications of the American Foundation for the Study of Men 3]); Ga (= GIOVANNI GARBINI, "Una bilingue sabeo-ebraica da Ẓafar", *Annali IUO* 30, 1970, 153–65); LIONEL CASSON (ed., tr.), *The Periplus Maris Erythraei*, Princeton, NJ 1989, ch. 23; ALFRED VON KREMER (ed., tr.), *Die Himjarische Kasideh*, Leipzig 1865.

Lit.: ANNA G. BELOVA, *Himjaritskij jazyk. Areal'nye issledovanija k istorii arabskogo jazyka* ('The Himyaritic Language. Areal Studies in the History of the Arabic Language'), Moskva 1996; WALTER WILHELM MÜLLER, "Himyar", in: *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*, vol. 15, Stuttgart 1989–90, 303–31; ATHANASSIOS N. PAPATHANASSIOU, "Homeritarum Leges: an Interpretation", *Proche-Orient Chrétien* 46, 1996, 27–71; CHAIM RABIN, *Ancient West Arabian*, London 1951, 42–53 [ch. 5: "Ḥimyar"]; CHRISTIAN ROBIN, "Le judaïsme de Ḥimyar", *Arabia. Revue de Sabéologie* 1, 2003, 97–172; HERMANN VON WISSMANN, "Ḥimyar, Ancient History", *Le Muséon* 77, 1964, 429–99; YŪSUF MUḤAMMAD ʿABDALLĀH, "Ḥimyar", in: AḤMAD ĞĀBIR ʿAFĪF et al. (eds.), *al-Mawsūʿa al-Yamanīya* ('The Encyclopaedia of Yemen'), Ṣanʿāʾ ²2003, vol. 2, 1213–19.

Walter W. Müller

Ḥimyarites, Book of the

In 1924 Moberg published the fragments of 49 chapters of a previously unknown Syriac work: chs. 1–7 are lost, a summary of the contents alone being preserved. The work, conventionally cited as the "B.Ḥ.", describes events of the years ca. 518–23 A.D. (Beaucamp et al. 1999–2000:73–77, 80; cp. Fiaccadori 2003:184f., 232f.): namely, the spread of ↗Judaism and ↗Christianity in South Arabia (chs. 1–3); the first Aksumite intervention in South Arabia (chs. 4–7); the persecution of Christians at Ẓafār, ↗Naǧrān and ↗Ḥaḍramawt (chs. 8–36/37); the second Aksumite intervention and the establishment of Aksumite sovereignty in South Arabia (chs. 38–49).

The text of the B.Ḥ. is preserved in only one single fragmentary manuscript, copied in Qarya(t)ên on 10 April 932 (colophon in Moberg 1924:xxf.). The description seems to depend on eyewitnesses, with no use of written sources, and the author is unknown: neither Moberg's (1924: lxvif.) nor Shahîd's (1963 and 1989:166–71) identifications, with Sergios/Georgios of Ruṣāfa and ↗Simeon of Bê(t) Aršâm respectively, are totally convincing. The text – however relying upon the two famous Letters of Simeon (Beaucamp et al. 1999–2000:19–24) – might have been composed in Syria not long after the events.

In connection with Ethiopia, chs. 4–7 and 38–49 of the B.Ḥ. are of major importance. In ch. 4 the Aksumites, informed by Bishop Thomas about the events in South Arabia, are triggered to intervene there on account of a first persecution of Christians, about which otherwise nothing is known. The heading of ch. 5 mentions the Aksumite commander *Ḥywnʾ*, identified by Drewes (1978) with *Ḥyn* in the Ethiopic inscription RIÉ no. 199.34f. – both names loosely recalling that of the Aksumite king ↗Eon. After restoring peace in the Yemen, the Ethiopian army leaves the country (ch. 7). Some Abyssinians stay in Ẓafār, keeping their own church. The second persecution (chs. 8–36/37, connected with the name of Ḏū-Nuwās (↗Yūsuf Asʾar Yaṯʾar), starts with the burning of the Ethiopian church in Ẓafār (ch. 8, confirmed by the Sabaic inscriptions Ry 507.3, Ry 508.3, Ja 1028.3, s. Beaucamp et al. 1999–2000:34).

Within chs. 38–49, reporting about the second Aksumite intervention, only chs. 42–49 are preserved, albeit heavily damaged. After the death of the Jewish king is recounted in ch. 42, the subsequent parts of the text do not contain much historically relevant material. The end of ch. 48 states that the Aksumite king ↗Kaleb stayed in South Arabia for seven months, built a number

of churches (a detail also found in the Vita of Archbishop ↗Gregentius of Ẓafār), appointed priests and a viceroy, and left there some Abyssinian notables when he returned to Ethiopia.

Src.: ALBERT JAMME, *Sabean and Ḥasaean Inscriptions from Saudi Arabia*, Roma 1963 (Studi semitici 23), 39–42 [Ja 1028]; AXEL MOBERG (ed., tr.), *The Book of the Himyarites: Fragments of a Hitherto Unknown Syriac Work*, Lund 1924 (Acta Reg. Societatis humaniorum litterarum Lundensis 7); RIÉ no. 199; MAXIME RODINSON, "Ethiopien et Sudarabique", *Annuaire de l'Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes*, IVe Section, 1965/66, 125–41, here 131f. [Ry 507], and 1966/67, 121–39, here 122–31 [Ry 508]; GONZAGUE RYCKMANS, "Inscriptions sud-arabes. Dixième série", *Le Muséon* 66, 1953, 267–317, here 284–303 [Ry 507, 508].

Lit.: JOËLLE BEAUCAMP et al., "La persécution des chrétiens de Nagrān et la chronologie ḥimyarite", *Aram* 11–12, 1999–2000, 15-83, here 23f., 73–77, 80; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, [review of Moberg 1924], *RSO* 11, 1926, 110f.; ABRAHAM JOHANNES DREWES, "Kaleb and Himyar: Another Reference to ḤYWN'?", *Raydān* 1, 1978, 27–31; ID., "Addenda", *ibid.* 2, 1979, 105; GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, "Πρόσωψις, non πρόωψις: Efeso, Gerusalemme, Aquileia (Nota a *IEph* 495, 1 s.)", *La Parola del Passato* 58, 2003 [2004], 182–249, here 184f., 232f.; WALTER WILHELM MÜLLER, "Himyar", in: *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*, vol. 15, Stuttgart 1989–90, 303–31, here 315ff.; JACQUES RYCKMANS, "Les rapports de dépendance entre les récits hagiographiques relatifs à la persécution des Himyarites", *Le Muséon* 100, 1987, 297–305, here 302–05; ID., "A Confrontation of the Main Hagiographic Accounts on the Najrān Persecution", in: MOAWIYAH M. IBRAHIM (ed.), *Arabian Studies in Honour of Mahmoud Ghul, Symposium at Yarmouk University, Irbid, December 8–11, 1984*, Wiesbaden 1989 (Yarmouk University Publications, Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology Ser. 2), 113–33, here 120–26, 130f.; IRFAN SHAHÎD, "Further Reflections on the Sources for the Martyrs of Najrān", *ibid.*, 161–72, here 166–71; ID., "The Book of the Himyarites: Authorship and Authenticity", *Le Muséon* 76, 1963, 249–62; ID., *The Martyrs of Najrân. New Documents*, Bruxelles 1971 (Subsidia hagiographica 49), 131–58; ID., "The Martyrs of Najrān. Further Reflexions", *Le Muséon* 103, 1990, 151–53.

Alexander Sima

Hinnario ↗ Ǝnnarya

Hippolytus

H. (Gəᶜəz ሂጶሊጦስ, Hepoliṭos, directly from Gr. Ἱππόλυτος; or አቦሊድስ, Abolidəs, also አቡሊድስ, Abulidəs, አቡሊዲስ, Abulidis, አቡሊዳስ, Abulidas, ባልዳስ, Balədas, via Arab.), traditionally a Roman presbyter or even a bishop and antipope, also a martyr (d. 235 A.D.), one of the most important Christian writers of his time, flourished between the second half of the 2nd and the first half of the 3rd cent. H., once identified with the character represented in a statue discovered in Rome in 1553 and now in the Vatican Library, was traditionally credited with the authorship of Greek homilies, commentaries, and exegetical, canonico-liturgical (the ↗*Traditio Apostolica*) as well as chronographical (a *Chronicon* up to the year 235) and other writings mentioned in various sources, from ↗Eusebius of Caesarea to later exegetical collections (*Catenae*; for full list, including the spurious works, cp. CPG I, 256ff., nos. 1870ff.).

The traditional view assigning to one single author the whole corpus of works once classified as "Hippolytean" has been severely criticized by numerous scholars since the mid-20th cent. (cp. Simonetti 2000; Potestà Rizzi 2005) and is no more tenable; however, there is no generally accepted new hypothesis. A popular (Simonetti's) alternative suggestion is that there were at least two writers, both named H. and active in Rome at the beginning of the 3rd cent.: (1) the Oriental bishop known to Eusebius and Hieronymus, i.e. the author of the anti-heretical writing *Contra Noetum*, the treatise *On Christ and the Antichrist*, a commentary on the Biblical book of Daniel and of other exegetical works; (2) the author of the *Elenchos* ('Refutation' in Gr.) and of the Biblical chronology. Their relationship with H. the martyr is still to be ascertained. It is also generally acknowledged that the *Traditio apostolica*, lost in its original (Greek) text but preserved in Ethiopic (cp. Horner 1904; Duensing 1946) and in other versions, is to be considered a writing of its own. Partially derived from it, and explicitly attributed to H., the *Canons of Hippolytus*, are also an original Greek canonico-liturgical work (CPG no. 1742). They were composed later in Egypt (4th or first half of the 5th cent.), and are fully preserved only in the Arabic version in 38 canons (cp. Coquin 1966 [text, tr.]; Bradshaw – Bebawi 1987 [tr.]). Contrary to the statement made by Ludolf (1691: 304) and reiterated by scholars depending upon him, and in spite of the mention of 38 canons of H. in the so-called "Coptic index" preserved in some mss. of the ↗*Senodos* (cp. BauSen I, 7 [text]), as well as among the sources of the ↗*Fəṭḥa nägäśt* (cp. Guidi 1897–99:13 [text] = 14 [tr.], no Ethiopic version of the *Canons of Hippolytus* has been discovered so far (cp. Bausi 1991:13f., nn. 40–43; 2003:25). The traditional understanding of H.'s character is reflected in the *Sənkəssar* entry for 6 *Yäkkatit* (BudSaint 596; ColSyn X, 492–95; already in the Copto-Arabic Synaxarium), where there is to be found the half-legendary story of the invention of the relics of the martyr H., "patriarch of Rome", man of learning, author of homilies and of "38 canons on the law of the

Church", who was cast into the Red Sea and died on 5 *Yäkkatit* (cp. BudSaint 596).

Ethiopian literary tradition has preserved two writings of H., both belonging to the period of the early Aksumite translations: (1) the most important is the treatise *On Christ and the Antichrist*, which like other rare items preserved in books from ↗Gundä Gunde (here from ms. no. 151 [according to a checklist different from Mordini 1953; cp. Caquot 1965:166], fols. 90r–143v), was directly translated from Greek, probably by a non-Greek speaker, and entitled መጽሐፈ ምሥጢር ዘሄጶሊጦስ በእንተ ክርስቶስ ወበእንተ ሐሳዌ መሲሕ (*Mäṣḥafä məṣtir zäHepoliṭos bä'əntä Krəstos wäbä'əntä Ḥassawe Mäsiḥ*, 'Book of the Mystery of H. on Christ and on the False Messiah'; cp. Caquot 1965 [text]; Beylot 1991 [tr.]; Lusini 2001:45ff.). The original Greek text is preserved (CPG no. 1872), and also Slavonic and Georgian versions are known, as well as Syriac and Armenian fragments (cp. Norelli 1987); (2) a second writing circulated under the name of Philo or Theophilus of Carpasia and published from mss. BritLib Orient. 8192, fols. 72va–77ra, and EMML 1763, fols. 201v–204v (cp. Raineri – Tedros 2003; but also attested by ms. EMML 8509, fols. 99r–102r, as earlier noted by Fiaccadori 1989:150; for fols. cp. Sergew Hable Sellasie 1987–88:17) has been recently identified with the important spurious Hippolytean homily "In sanctum Pascha" (CPG no. 1925 = 4611; cp. Voicu 2004). The erroneous mention of an *Abulidəs* in the ↗*Haymanotä abäw* is due to confusion with *Yolios*, 'Julius' (cp. LöfUpp 119).

Src.: BauSen I, 7 (text); ROBERT BEYLOT, "Hippolyte de Rome, *Traité de l'Antéchrist*, traduit de l'éthiopien", *Semitica* 40, 1991, 107–39 (tr.); PAUL FREDERIC BRADSHAW – CAROL BEBAWI, *The Canons of Hippolytus*, Nottingham 1987 (Alcuin/GROW Joint Liturgical Study 2; tr.); BudSaint 596; ANDRÉ CAQUOT, "Une version ge'ez du Traité d'Hippolyte de Rome sur l'Antéchrist", *AE* 6, 1965, 165–214 (text); ColSyn X 492–95; RENÉ-GEORGES COQUIN, *Les Canons d'Hippolyte*, Paris 1966 (PO 31/2; text); CPG I 256ff., nos. 1870ff. (Lit.); HUGO DUENSING (ed., tr.), *Der äthiopische Text der Kirchenordnung des Hippolyt*, Göttingen 1946 (Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen. Philologisch-historische Klasse. Dritte Folge 32); IGNAZIO GUIDI, *Il "Fetha Nagast" o "Legislazione dei Re": Codice ecclesiastico e civile di Abissinia*, Napoli 1897, 13 (text) = 1899, 14 (tr.); GEORGE HORNER (ed., tr.), *The Statutes of the Apostles or Canones Ecclesiastici*, London 1904; ENRICO NORELLI, *Ippolito. L'Anticristo*, Firenze 1987 (Biblioteca Patristica 10) (Gr. text, tr.) (Lit.); GIAN LUCA POTESTÀ – MARCO RIZZI, *L'Anticristo*, vol. 1: *Il nemico dei tempi finali*, Milano 2005, 109–89 (Gr. text, tr.) (Lit.); OSVALDO RAINERI – TEDROS ABRAHA, "Filone di Carpasia: un'omelia pasquale trasmessa in etiopico", in: VINCENZO RUGGERI – LUCA PIERALLI (eds.), *Εἰκοσμία. Studi miscellanei per il 75° di Vincenzo Poggi S.J.*, Soveria Mannelli (Catanzaro) 2003, 377–98; SEVER J. VOICU, "Filone di Carpasia e Pseudo Ippolito: di un'omelia pasquale tramandata in etiopico", *Augustinianum* 44/1, 2004, 5–24.

Lit.: ALESSANDRO BAUSI, "I manoscritti etiopici di J.M. Wansleben nella Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze", *RSE* 33, 1989 [1991], 5–33; ID., "San Clemente e le tradizioni clementine nella letteratura etiopica canonico-liturgica", in: PHILIPPE LUISIER (ed.), *Studi su Clemente romano. Atti degli Incontri di Roma. 29 marzo e 22 novembre 2001*, Roma 2003 (OrChrA 268), 13–55; GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, "Aethiopica Minima", *Quaderni Utinensi* 7 (13/14), 1989 [1993], 145–65, here 150, 161ff. (§ IV. *EMML 7602: il «Libro dei Santi» di Tullu Guddo*); LöfUpp 119; HIOB LUDOLFUS, *Ad suam historiam Aethiopicam antehac editam Commentarius*, Francofurti ad Moenum 1691, 304; GIANFRANCESCO LUSINI, "Elementi romani nella tradizione letteraria aksumita", *Aethiopica* 4, 2001, 42–54; ANTONIO MORDINI, "Il convento di Gunde Gundiè", *RSE* 12, 1953, 29–63; SERGEW HABLE SELLASIE, "An Early Ethiopian Manuscript EMML 8509", *QSE* 8–9, 1987–88, 5–27; MANLIO SIMONETTI, *Ippolito. Contro Noeto*, Bologna 2000 (Biblioteca Patristica 35), 70–139 (Lit.).

Alessandro Bausi

Hippopotamus

The H. (*Hippopotamus amphibius*, Amh. ጉማሬ, *gumare*, also *bəhemot*, Oromo *roobii*) was traditionally widespread in many of Ethiopia's rivers and lakes, and played a significant role in the country's economic life. Since the 18th–19th cent. the H. has been extinct in the territory of Egypt and Nubia, and has become rare or is disappearing in many regions of Ethiopia.

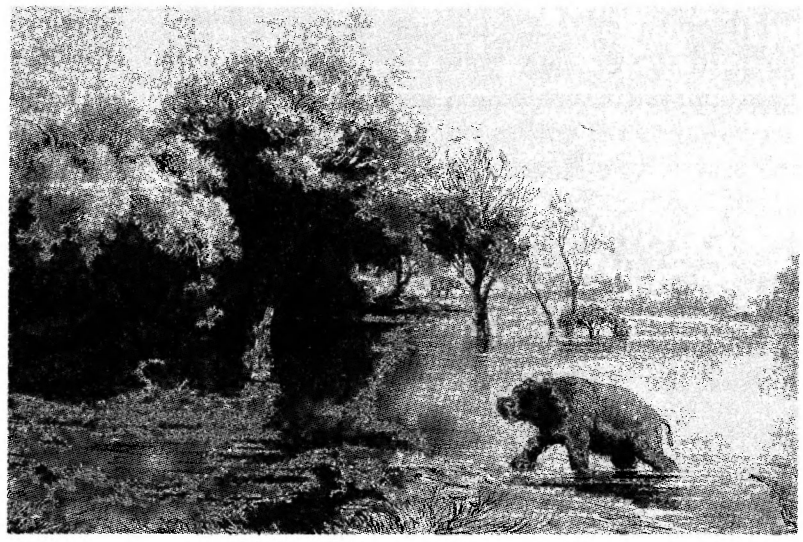
A representation of a H. found its way into the *Christian Topography* of ↗Cosmas Indicopleustes (Wolska-Conus 1973:332f., 388 fig. 5). H. hides, according to Pliny (1952, vol. 6, 34), were an export of the Aksumite port of ↗Adulis (PankHist I, 18). The importance of H. was observed in the early 16th cent. by ↗Almeida, who noted that those of Lake Ṭana came out to graze and did considerable damage to crops. Some of the inhabitants of the area, he added, killed and ate these animals, and out of their skins made *alänga*, or whips, with which they drove their mules and horses, as, unlike the Europeans, they did not use spurs (Beck-HuntAlm 35f.).

H. were for centuries hunted with spears (s. engraving in PankHist II, 249), but from the middle of the 19th cent. were increasingly more effectively killed with firearms. Christians were not allowed to taste the flesh of H., which was considered impure (cp. Lev 11), but the animal was extensively eaten by the ↗Wäyṭo, ↗Harro and other groups living near its habitat, who were on that account generally despised by the majority of the

population – and sometimes accused of "smelling of H.". Among the ↗Hadiyya the H. was regarded as a quasi-sacred animal and whips made of its skin played a central role in ceremonies of ritual purification ↗*Fandaanano*.

H. skins were extensively used in the manufacture of circular convex shields, much employed in warfare, as well as whips, which by the early 20th cent. were transported from Lake Ṭana to Addis Abäba, where two or three of them sold for 1/16 of a Maria Theresa thaler (Mérab 1929:412f.).

H. are only rarely mentioned in hagiographic texts. St. ↗Yafqərännä Ǝgziᵓ was once attacked on Lake Ṭana by a H. (here ቢሕ *biḥ*) who overturned his boat; the saint, however, saved himself by walking upon his cloak (Wajnberg 1936:81). Likewise, St. ↗Wälättä Ṗeṭros was threatened by a H. (here *gumari*), as she was crossing Lake Ṭana in a boat. The saint prayed to the angels and fearlessly counted the teeth in the open mouth of the beast, after which the H., which had already grasped with its forelegs at the edge of the boat, disappeared again (tr. Ricci 1970:30). A story of a miraculous salvation of a monk of the monastery of ↗Rema from a H. is inserted on fol. 2r of the 18th-cent. ms. with the Vita of ↗Mäbaᵓa Ṣəyon (Ṭānāsee 107 = Rēmā 18), and a drawing illustrates the story (fol. 1v). The Chronicle of ↗Iyasu I mentions H. (here *anabərtä baḥr*, 'lake monsters/whales' [erroneously translated by Conti Rossini as 'leopardi del lago', cp. Bausi 2007:201]) accompanying the Emperor's body during his funeral (Conti Rossini 1942:91 and 65 n.1 on the miniature illustrating the scene). The chronicles mention a H.-shooting by Iyasu II.



Hippopotami in the Awaš river, drawing by Johann Martin Bernatz, 1840/43, courtesy of the Frobenius-Institut, Frankfurt am Main (no. 2405 β B)

Src.: BeckHuntAlm 35f.; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI (ed., tr.), "Iyasu I, re d'Etiopia e martire", *RSO* 20, 1, 1942, 65–128, here 65 n. 1, 91 (text) = 121 (tr.); HamTana II, 156ff., ms. Ṭānāsee 107 = Rēmā 18; LesCDic 90, 93, 195; LudHist ch. XI, comm. 155ff. [= JOB LUDOLF, *A New History of Ethiopia*, London 1684, 60 (ill.)]; PLINY, *Natural History*, ed., tr. by HARRIS RACKHAM, vol. 6, London ²1952, 34, 465, 467; LANFRANCO RICCI (tr.), *Vita di Walatta Ṗeṭros*, Louvain 1970 (CSCO 315, 316 [SAe 60, 61]), 30 (tr.); ISAAK WAJNBERG (ed., tr.), *Das Leben des hl. Jafqerana 'Egzi'*, Roma 1936 (OrChrA 106), 81; WANDA WOLSKA-CONUS (ed.), *Cosmas Indicopleustès. Topographie chrétienne*, vol. 3., Paris 1973 (Sources chrétiennes 197), 332f., cp. Appendix, 388, fig. 5 (= pl. 81).
Lit.: ALESSANDRO BAUSI, "'Illustre e caro collega': a Letter of Carlo Conti Rossini to Enno Littmann on April 25th, 1943", *Aethiopica* 10, 2007, 199–206, here 201; VINIGI LORENZO GROTTANELLI, *Missioni di studio al Lago Tana*, 2: *Ricerche geografiche ed economiche sulle popolazioni*, Roma 1939, 176; PAUL MÉRAB, *Impressions d'Ethiopie*, vol. 3, Paris 1929, 412f.; VIRGINIA MORELL, *Der Blaue Nil: Eine Schlauchbootexpedition auf Äthiopiens geheimnisvollem Fluß*, Hamburg 2001, 108, 240, 285f.; RICHARD K.P. PANKHURST, *The Ethiopian Royal Chronicles*, Addis Ababa – Nairobi – Lusaka – London 1967, 130; PankHist I, 18; PankHist II, 249; LOTHAR STÖRK, "Nilpferd", in: *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, vol. 4, Wiesbaden 1982, 501–06; VSAe I, 416; VSAe II, 700f.

Lothar Störk – Richard Pankhurst

Hirmaata

H. was the name of the important Thursday market on the outskirts of ↗Ǧirän, the residence (*masaraa*) of the kings of ↗Ǧimma Abbaa Ǧifaar (for location s. Hossaᵓəna).

In the mid 19th cent., ↗Abbaa Ǧifaar I, the son of the founder of the kingdom, turned H. into the largest market south of the Blue Nile. It kept its importance under the long reign of ↗Abbaa Ǧifaar II, who managed to preserve his autonomy by paying tribute to Ethiopia. Trade brought him high income through the taxes collected by the ↗*näggadras* (chief of merchants) appointed by the sovereign. Spices, musk, ivory, hides and skins, *qoččo* (bread made of ↗*ənsät*) and slaves were exchanged at this market. Caravans crossed the Abbay and proceeded to the Red Sea ports. Between the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th cent. there were as many as 30,000 merchants and caravans of up to 200 mules (Montandon in PerGov 305; Traversi in LewJimm XVII, 57, 69ff., 74, 77f., 97, 109, 112n). Traders in transit had to use another market called Mandaraa Seṭᵓo.

Ethiopian markets did not necessarily give birth to towns; they were open-air areas with basic infrastructure which grew or disappeared according to the wishes and needs of the authorities and traders. Borelli, for example, who stayed several months in Ǧirän in 1887, referred to this market as "Gifti" and used the word H. for the plain where the market took place (Borelli 1890: 304f. [map]).

According to Zervos (ZerÉth 339f.), H. remained the capital of the province of Ǧimma, which was annexed by Ethiopia after Abba ǦifaarII's death. It was also decided, in 1935, to rebuild the town and rename it Ḫaylä Śəllase (ZerÉth 338). The Italians, who had reinstated ↗Abbaa Ǧoobir Abbaa Ǧifaar, the late king's successor, to Ǧirän included the site of H. within the perimeter of their new town of Ǧimma, which was given the status of capital of the "Governo dei Galla e Sidama". 40 years ago Lewis (LewJimm) treated H. as a part of Ǧimma and noted the decay of Ǧirän. At present there are no remains of what was once the largest market in Ethiopia.

Lit.: JULES BORELLI, *Éthiopie méridionale, journal de mon voyage aux pays amhara, oromo et sidama, septembre 1885 à novembre 1888*, Paris 1890, 280–318, 334f., 338–56; CerEt vol. 1, 107ff.; *Guida* 526; LewJimm xvif., 41, 49, 56f., 66, 69–72, 74n., 77f., 94f., 97, 108f., 112; MHasOr 111f., 135, 148, 158, 181; PerGov 305; ZerÉth 338ff.

Alain Gascon

Ḫirutä Amlak

Ḫ.A. (ኂሩተ፡ አምላክ, fl. 13th cent.) is known as a follower of *abba* ↗Iyäsus Moʾa of ↗Däbrä Ḥayq Ǝsṭifanos and as the founder of the ↗Daga Ǝsṭifanos monastery on Lake Ṭana. According to the Vita of Iyäsus Moʾa, Ḫ.A. witnessed his master's meetings with *aṣe* ↗Yəkunno Amlak at the time they concluded their "pacts" (KurMoa 28ff.; cp. ↗*Kidan*). The same source shows Ḫ.A. spreading "his master's teaching" from "the land of Sarka up to Gazge and in all the land of Aläfa and that of the ↗Agäw" (KurMoa 34), i.e. in the areas west and south of Lake Ṭana. A note in the so-called Gospels of Ḥayq – the manuscript commissioned by Iyäsus Moʾa himself – dates Ḫ.A.'s arrival at Daga to the Year of Mercy 237 (EMML 1832, fol. 12v), interpreted by Taddesse Tamrat as 437 = 1252/53 A.D. (1970:89, n. 12). A ↗*sälam* devoted to Ḫ.A. (ms. Dägä Eṣṭifänos 5, fol. 85vb–88va) credits him with 60 years of activity, which leads Six to the conclusion that he died in 1312/13 (Six in MiscAethKur 243).

Ḫ.A. is locally commemorated on 8 *Näḥase* according to a note found in the margin of a Daga Ǝsṭifanos copy of the ↗*Sənkəssar* (ms. Dägä Eṣṭifänos 17, fol. 173v). His *sälam* is read on the 8th of each month; another *sälam* celebrates him together with several other members of the community (ms. Dägä Eṣṭifänos 5, fol. 85v–88v, 8r).

A closer analysis of the available documents has raised several questions concerning the historical character of Ḫ.A. For example, the mentioned note in the Gospels of Ḥayq says that Iyäsus Moʾa of Ḥayq conferred the title of ↗*ʿaqqabe säʿat* on Ḫ.A. the same year he sent him to Daga. But the title of *ʿaqqabe säʿat* had not yet been conferred on the abbots of Ḥayq in ca. 1252/53, the date suggested by Taddesse Tamrat. Furthermore, this dating contradicts the chronology of the Vita of Iyäsus Moʾa which shows Ḫ.A. still at Ḥayq after Yəkunno Amlak's ascension to throne in 1270.

Ḫ.A. occupies a special place in Iyäsus Moʾa's hagiography. The passages featuring Ḫ.A. as a witness to his teacher's "pacts" with the Emperor, however, pose still another problem as their character reveals that the Vita consists of several layers going back to different times. The text could be dated, at the earliest, to the second part of the 15th cent. (Cerulli in KurMoa XV [tr.]), or even to the late 16th/early 17th cent. (Kropp 2003 and in HirKrSaints 195ff. demonstrates how the Vita was compiled at a later date from different documents).

Ḫ.A. is not mentioned in either of the two known copies of the Homily (↗*Dərsan*) in honour of Iyäsus Moʾa (one ms. in Däbrä Ḥayq and one in Daga Ǝsṭifanos), which is older than the Vita (Kropp 2003). Another element of the Vita, the list of Iyäsus Moʾa's followers sent in mission throughout Ethiopia (KurMoa 34), is not present in the Homily. The analysis of this list (partly similar to a monastic ↗genealogy) reveals that information from different periods was placed at the same chronological level; the enumerated "spiritual sons" of Iyäsus Moʾa did not live at the same time. This text fragment possibly reflects Däbrä Ḥayq's domain of influence at the time when the Vita was written and not at the time of the events narrated in the vita (13th cent.; DerDom 110–21). The list uses the same words to talk about Ḫ.A. as the note on the preaching of other Iyäsus Moʾa's followers in ms. EMML

2093 (fol. 85v–86r). Like the notes on the "pacts" in the Vita, it may well have belonged to the collection of different pieces used to write down the Vita of Iyäsus Moʾa at a much later time.

Other relevant Daga documents equally reveal several textual layers. The oldest ones mention a certain *mämhər* of Daga Ǝsṭifanos, *abba* Ḫirut (identical to Ḫ.A.?). As such, he appears in the oldest copy of the local *Sənkəssar*, on the upper margin of the folio with the entry for 8 *Näḥase* (ms. Paris, BN d'Abbadie 66–66bis, fol. 311ra). In further documents with the names of the fathers commemorated by the community, this Ḫirut is often associated with a certain Səmᶜon (mss. Paris, BN d'Abbadie 126, fol. 129v; 135, fol. 135v), with whom he is also paired as Ḫ.A. (Dāgā Esṭifānos 2, fol. 3r; cp. Dāgā Esṭifānos 5, fol. 8r: *Ḫirutä Amlak wäSəmᶜon*).

Two other texts claim that Ḫ.A. was the spiritual son of Iyäsus Moʾa, sent to found the monastery of Daga during the reign of Yəkunno Amlak. They recount the history of Daga till the reign of *aṣe* ↗Śärṣä Dəngəl, which allows to date them to the end of the 16th cent. at the earliest. One of these texts is preserved in ms. Dāgā Esṭifānos 2 (fol. 1va–2ra), the other in ms. Dāgā Esṭifānos 16 (fol. 275r). On the verso, a third text offers a different version of the story (fol. 275v): Ḫ.A. brings the *tabot* of St. Stephen, blessed by *abunä* ↗Täklä Haymanot, to Daga; at the end a list of kings supposed to have been buried at Daga by the 18th cent. is appended. These contradictory pieces of evidence might predate the final composition of the Vita of Iyäsus Moʾa, reflecting hesitations in local collective memory and monastic ↗historiography (Bosc-Tiessé 2001:54–60).

Ḫ.A. is now fully recognized by the Daga Ǝsṭifanos monastery as its founder. The seal of the church, applied on a document of 1966 A.D., names the monastery "[Daga Ǝsṭi]fanos Ḫirutä Amlak" (SixTana III, 153 [ms. Dāgā Esṭifānos 27, fol. 219v]). During the last decades of the 20th cent., the monastery has also reinforced its association with Ḫ.A. by erecting a little mausoleum with his relics in the *qəddəst* of the present church (Bosc-Tiessé 2000:263); an image of Ḫ.A. has recently been painted on the western wall of the ↗*mäqdäs*.

Src.: KurMoa 28, 30, 34 (text) = 22, 24, 28 (tr.); SixTana III, 58f., no. 2 [ms. Ṭānāsee 113 = Dāgā Ǝsṭifānos 2], fol. 1v–2r, 3r; 69, 71, 75, no. 5 [ms. Ṭānāsee 116 = Dāgā Esṭifānos 5], fol. 8r, 85v–88v; 119f., 122, no. 16 [ms. Ṭānāsee 127 = Dāgā Esṭifānos 16], fol. 275rv; no. 17 [ms. Ṭānāsee 128 = Daga Esṭifānos 17], fol. 173v; 153, no. 27 [ms. Ṭānāsee 138 = Daga Esṭifānos 27], fol. 219v; mss. EMML 1832, fol. 12v; 2093, fol. 85b–86a; CRAbb 129f., no. 95 [ms. d'Abbadie 135], fol. 135v; 168–71, no. 157/58 [ms. d'Abbadie 66–66bis], fol. 311ra; 185f., no. 174 [ms. d'Abbadie 126], fol. 129v.

Lit.: Claire Bosc-Tiessé, "Notes sur l'histoire et l'art des églises du lac Tana. Rapport de mission (27 décembre 1997–28 janvier 1998)", *AE* 16, 2000, 207–70, here 263; Ead., *Art, Église et royauté en Éthiopie aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles: écriture de l'histoire et «fabrique» des images dans les églises du lac Ṭānā*, Ph.D. thesis, University of Paris-I 2001, 54–60; DerDom 110–21; Manfred Kropp, "In Search of Identity, Historical and Political Roles. Hagiographical Literature in Hayq monastery", paper presented at the conference *Identités composées. Dynamiques linguistiques et religieuses en Afriques*, University of Paris-I 24–26 November 2003; Id., "Die dritte Würde oder ein Drittel des Reiches? Die verschiedenen Versionen der Biographie des Hl. Iyäsus Moʾa als Ausdruck sich wandelnder Funktionen des Textes", in: *HirKrSaints* 191–205; Veronika Six, "Kurzer Abriss zur Geschichte und Bedeutung des Klosters Daga Ǝsṭifanos im Ṭanasee", in: *MiscAethKur* 241–52, here 243; Ead., "The Rim Documents of Lake Ṭana Manuscripts", in: Alessandro Bausi – Gianni Dore – Irma Taddia (eds.), *Materiale antropologico e storico sul "rim" in Etiopia ed Eritrea*, Torino 2001, 123–39; Veronika Six, "Warum gibt es keine Vita des Ḫirutä Amlak?", *OrChr* 86, 2002, 73–86; Taddesse Tamrat, "The Abbots of Däbra Hayq 1248–1535", *JES* 8, 1, 1970, 87–117, here 89, n. 12.

Claire Bosc-Tiessé

Historical Books, biblical

The H.B. follow upon the ↗Octateuch in the ↗Old Testament; they share the particularities of text development with the O.T. The H.B. included in the Gəᶜəz ↗Bible are: 1 and 2 Sam (in the Greek Septuagint version [hereafter: LXX] 1 and 2 Kings), 1 and 2 Kings (3 and 4 Kings in the LXX), Ezra and Neh (altogether, 2 Ezra in the LXX), Esth (the Gəᶜəz version of which exhibits the same peculiar additions as the LXX recension, cp. Pereira 1911:11ff.), and 1 and 2 Chr (1 and 2 Paralipomena in the LXX, also with the prayer of Manasses at 2 Chr 33:13, cp. Grébaut 1932:8, 227ff.). The Gəᶜəz Bible comprises also 3 Ezra (or Greek Ezra or Apocryphal Ezra), the contents of which corresponds to 2 Chr 35–36, almost the entire Ezra, Neh 7:72–8:13, and the history of the three young men at the court of Darius, which is not found elsewhere. 3 Ezra is missing in the Hebrew Bible, but is found in the LXX, where it is named 1 Ezra (2 Ezra of the LXX comprising Ezra and Neh altogether; note that all references to biblical H.B. in DillmLex are made according to the LXX terminology). As to 4 Ezra – or the Apocalypse of ↗Ezra, which

is lost in the original Greek text, but preserved in numerous versions, including the Gəᶜəz Bible, where it is attributed to "ᶜƎzra Sutaʾel" (or Sutuʾel, or Sutəʾel, cp. DillmLex 1413) – the name can be properly used only for chs. 3–14 (cp. Haelewyck 1998, no. 180), while chs. 1–2 and 15–16 are later additions (respectively labelled by the scholars 5 and 6 Ezra, cp. Haelewyck 1998, nos. 182, 183). However, 4, 5 and 6 Ezra belong to the apocalyptic, not to the biblical H.B., besides, neither 5 or 6 Ezra are known to exist in Gəᶜəz. The Gəᶜəz Bible does not include 1–4 Mac known from the LXX; another, non-biblical text has become generally known as the "Ethiopic book of ↗Maccabees".

The fortune of the biblical H.B. in the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox Church may be appreciated from the number of Gəᶜəz and ↗*andəmta* Amharic commentaries: there are few Gəᶜəz manuscripts (cp. Cowley 1988:435f.), e.g., BN d'Abbadie 39, fols. 156r–197v, 201v–202r (on 1–2 Sam, 1–2 Kings, 1–2 Chr and Ezra), d'Abbadie 157, fols. 51r–69v (on 1–2 Sam and 1–2 Kings), and fragments in BritLib Orient. 743 (1–2 Sam and 1–2 Kings); much more numerous are the *andəmta* manuscripts (*ibid.* 456ff., including those on the "Ethiopic book of Maccabees").

Src.: CARL BEZOLD, [review of Pereira 1911], *OrChr* 12, 1912, 157–59; JOHN W. CLEAR, *The Ethiopic Version of II Chronicles*, Ph.D. thesis, Toronto 1971; ID., "A List of Corrections for Sylvain Grébaut's Edition of Ethiopic II Chron.", *Le Muséon* 85, 1972, 259–68; ID., "A List of Corrections for Sylvain Grébaut's Edition of Ethiopic I Chron.", *ibid.* 87, 1974, 207–21; AUGUSTUS DILLMANN, *Biblia Veteris Testamenti Aethiopica. Veteris Testamenti Aethiopici* II: *sive Libri Regum, Paralipomenon, Esdrae, Esther*, Lipsiae 1871, V: *quo continentur Libri Apocryphi, Baruch, Epistola Jeremiae, Tobith, Judith, Ecclesiasticus, Sapientia, Esdrae Apocalypsis, Esdrae Graecus*, Berolini 1894; DillmLex 1413; FRANCISCUS A BASSANO, *Vetus Testamentum cum antiquis codicibus necnon cum versionibus Syriaca, Graeca et Arabica comparatum* II: *Regum, Paralipomenon et Esdrae*, Asmarae 1924, III: *Tobiae, Iudith, Esther, Iob, Psalmorum, Proverbiorum, Ecclesiastes, Canticum Canticorum, Sapientiae, Ecclesiastici*, Asmarae 1925, IV: *Prophetarum et Maccabaeorum*, Asmarae 1926; HENRY S. GEHMAN, "The Old Ethiopic Version of 1° Kings and its Affinities", *Journal of Biblical Literature* 50, 1931, 94–114; SYLVAIN GRÉBAUT, *Les Paralipomènes. Livres I et II*, Paris 1932 (PO 23, 4, fasc. 115) [repr. Turnhout 1974]; FRANCISCO MARIA ESTEVES PEREIRA, *Le livre d'Esther*, Paris 1911 (PO 9, 1, fasc. 41) [repr. Turnhout 1982]; ID., *Le troisième livre de Ezra (Esdras et Néhémie canoniques)*, Paris 1919 (PO 13, 5, fasc. 66) [repr. Turnhout 1988].

Lit.: ALESSANDRO BAUSI, "Alcune considerazioni sul «Sēnodos» etiopico", *RSE* 34, 1990 [1992], 5–73, here 46–51; PETER BRANDT, "Geflecht aus 81 Büchern. Zur variantenreichen Gestalt des äthiopischen Bibelkanons", *Aethiopica* 3, 2000, 79–115; ROGER W. COWLEY, *Ethiopian Biblical Interpretation. A Study in Exegetical Tradition and Hermeneutics*, Cambridge 1988 (University of Cambridge Oriental Publications 38); GrafLit I, 221ff.; GuiSLett 15, 50; JEAN-CLAUDE HAELEWYCK, *Clavis Apocryphorum Veteris Testamenti*, Turnhout 1998 (Corpus Christianorum), nos. 180, 182, 183; MICHAEL A. KNIBB, *Translating the Bible: The Ethiopic Version of the Old Testament*, Oxford 1999 (The Schweich Lectures of the British Academy 1995; Lit.); STEFAN WENINGER, "Gəᶜəz Bible editions", in: *EAE* I, 569–71; UllBibl.

Alessandro Bausi

Historiography

The term H. designates both the writing of history and the principles of historical writing. A developed historiographic tradition is one of the most peculiar features of Ethiopian culture, where H. is represented by a substantial number of works, many of them being not only valuable documentary sources, but also outstanding literary masterpieces.

Foreign H. was also focusing on Ethiopia since classical antiquity, producing what can be now considered a rather uneven series of sources and critical reflections, ranging from Arabo-Islamic to European modern and contemporary writings, that greatly contributed to the understanding of the country and its culture as well as, in some cases, to the shaping and development of Ethiopic H.

On account of their peculiar scholarly character within the framework of the so-called Orientalism, western H. works after the 16th cent. shall be dealt with under ↗Research, historical. There, Arabic H. since the late 19th cent. shall be also treated, as a witness to the enduring attention of Near- and Middle-Eastern scholars over Ethiopian historical matters.

Ethiopian historiography

The beginnings of historiography in Ethiopia

The sources of Ethiopian H. can already be found in the ↗Aksumite period. The earliest examples are the royal ↗inscriptions; scant traces are also extant of Egyptian historical texts translated into ↗Gəᶜəz from Greek at that time: e.g., the fragmentary *Alexandrian History* – from a lost original only known through partial Latin versions (CPG 1641 and 1667) – transmitted within the so-called *Aksumite Collection*, a set of canonico-liturgical works found in a newly discovered Ethiopic manuscript from Təgray (Bausi in PICES 15, 536, and 2006, n. 2: "the earliest text of truly histori-

cal character in Aksumite Ethiopic literature"). A proper H. tradition only developed after the reinstatement of the ↗Solomonic dynasty ca. 1270. An opinion still to be proved has it that H. emerged under the influence of translations from ↗Arabic of such foreign works as the *Yosippon* (↗*Zena Ayhud*), the Chronicle of ↗John of Nikiu and those devoted to ↗Alexander the Great.

Ethiopian H. started being perceived as such by contemporary readers only in the 14th cent., when the country was inscribed into the major framework of Christian world history thanks to the ↗*Kəbrä nägäśt*, the Ethiopian national epic intended to continue the biblical ↗Historical Books of Kings. The fact that in the Bible the Kings are followed by the Books of Chronicles prompted modern scholars to style all subsequent works of official Ethiopian H. as "royal chronicles" – a title hardly fitting before the late 17th cent. These "chronicles" were traditionally titled *tarik* (ታሪክ, lit. 'history'), or ዜና (*zena*, 'narrative, story'), and written in an Amharicized form of Gəᶜəz called *ləssanä tarik*, 'language of the chronicles'.

The (incomplete) list of published Ethiopian historiographies (including both Gəᶜəz and more recent Amharic texts) is:

BlunChr; BTafA; BTafY; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Iyasu I re d'Etiopia e martyre", *RSO* 20, 1942, 65–128; ID., "Due squarci inediti di Cronaca Etiopica", *RRALm* ser. 4ª, 1, 2, 1893, 804–18; ID., "Storia di Lebna Dengel re d'Etiopia sino alle prime lotto contro Ahmad ben Ibrahim", *RRALm* ser. 5ª, 3, 1894, 617–40; ID., "L'autobiografia di Pāwlos, monaco abissino del secolo XVI", *RRALm* ser. 5ª, 27, 1918, 279–96, here 284–89; CRHist 221–31; CRNuov; CRReal; ConzGal; MARIUS CHAÎNE, "Histoire du règne de Iohannes IV roi des rois d'Éthiopie (1868–1889)", *RevSem* 21, 1913, 178–92; AUGUST DILLMANN, *Die Kriegsthaten des Königs ᶜAmda-Sion gegen die Muslim*, Berlin 1884 (Sitzungsberichte der königlich preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin 43); FESSEHA GIYORGIS, *Storia d'Etiopia*, ed. by YAQOB BEYENE, Napoli 1987; FusTeo; GebMollyas; FotiCr; GETAČČÄW ḪAYLE, የአባ፡ ባሕርይ፡ ድርሰቶች፡ ኦሮሞችን፡ ከሚመለከቱ፡ ሌሎች፡ ሰነዶች፡ ጋራ (*Yäᵓabba Baḥrəy dərsätočč Oromoččən kämmimmäläkkätu leločč sänädočč gara*, 'The Works of *abba* Baḥrəy with Other Documents concerning the Oromo'), Collegeville, MN 2002; GSMen; GueCopMen; HSLife; HuntAmd; KrAmdS; KrLebD; MANFRED KROPP, *Die äthiopischen Königschroniken in der Sammlung Däğğazmač Ḫaylu*, Frankfurt am Main – Bern – Paris 1989 (Heidelberger Orientalische Studien 13); MahZekr; MarAmdS; MHasOr; MorTeo; MonVidTheo; FRANCISCO MARIA ESTEVES PEREIRA, "Zena Minas. Historia de Minás, Además Sagad", *Boletim da Sociedade de Geographia de Lisboa* ser. 7, 12, 1887, 743–827; PerrAmdS; PerrEsk; PerrZarY; LANFRANCO RICCI, "Una cronaca breve in amarico sul regno Yohannes IV, re d'Etiopia", *RSO* 22, 1947, 47–59; BORIS TURAIEV, ዜና፡ ደብረ፡ ሊባኖስ. *Povestvovanije o Dabra-Libanosskom monastyre* ('*Zena Däbrä Libanos*. The History of the Monastery of Däbrä Libanos'), St. Petersburg 1906 (Pamjatniki efiopskoj pismennosti 4), 345–63; ZanLitTheod.

14th–17th century

The first known work of royal H. is devoted to *aṣe* ↗ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon I's victorious campaigns against the Muslim states of the south (PerrAmdS; Dillmann 1885; for recent editions, s. KrAmdS; MarAmdS). The time of composition of this work, only transmitted in later manuscripts, is still open to discussion: whether it is the work of a witness to the events or a later (15th-cent.?) elaboration upon an unknown earlier source. It can, in any case, be considered as epic lore, focusing on one single series of events, in literary garb (with frequent addresses to the listeners: "now, hear ye ...").

The next known royal H., describing the reign of the 15th-cent. *aṣe* ↗Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob, is a less consistent text formed by (originally independent?) parts written by different authors (PerrZarY). The narrative concentrates on the ruler's administrative deeds. Royal H. seems to take shape as a literary genre here – distinct from ↗hagiography, albeit often bordering upon it. This is also evident in the case of the *History* of *aṣe* ↗Bäᵓədä Maryam, the son and successor of Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob (PerrZarY 105–92). The work bears no similarity to the previous one, though it also consists of two separate parts: the first, written by the Emperor's confessor, is a well-organized text that begins before Bäᵓədä Maryam's coming to power and ends in the seventh year of his reign; the second, very short, is not a continuation of the first, but describes the Emperor's administrative reforms and the most important events of his reign. The *Histories* of Bäᵓədä Maryam's sons and successors – *aṣe* ↗Ǝskəndər and *aṣe* ↗Naᶜod – are preserved only in excerpts (PerrEsk).

During the 16th cent., official H. tended to compile independent royal "histories" into larger collections, like the *History* of *aṣe* ↗Ləbnä Dəngəl, explicitly defined as such at its very beginning (Conti Rossini 1894:617; KrLebD 3). Stories of the Emperor's predecessors were compiled and integrated anew. This method proved to be viable, so that the *History* of Ləbnä Dəngəl became, in turn, a first chapter of a larger compilation that included the accounts of the reigns of ↗Gälawdewos, ↗Minas and ↗Śärṣä Dəngəl. The *History* of Ləbnä Dəngəl (the authors of which, according to a *Sənkəssar* notice, were Śənnä

Krəstos and Zäṗärakliṭos; Duensing 1900:47) was supposed to be comprehensive, but it only describes the favourable period of reign, omitting ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī's invasion and Ləbnä Dəngəl's death. The disturbances during the reign of Gälawdewos never let the work be properly completed.

The "royal chronicles", written rather accurately during the emperors' lifetime, were often left unfinished after their death. The *History* of *aṣe* Gälawdewos (ConzGal) is an exception. A eulogy with high pathos and sincere feeling that ends with verses in the style of Jeremiah's *Lamentations*, with marked hagiographic overtones, it was completed on 2 April 1560, i.e. four days before the anniversary of Gälawdewos's death (Guidi [1899] believed it had been composed by *əčč̣äge* ↗ʿƎnbaqom not so much as a secular writing, but rather as a lamentation for the commemoration day of the Emperor-martyr).

The *History* of Gälawdewos's brother, *aṣe* Minas (Pereira 1887), though a panegyric, has a secular character. It is divided into two distinct parts: the larger one dealing with the vicissitudes of Minas's life before his enthronement, and the shorter one, called by its author the "story of the kingdom's division", concentrating mainly on political troubles during his reign; it is continued in the *History* of Minas's son and successor *aṣe* Śärṣä Dəngəl (CRHist). The *History* of Minas was probably begun immediately upon his enthronement in 1559: the first part was completed during his lifetime; the second, during the reign of Śärṣä Dəngəl – as an introduction to the latter's own *History*, which appears thus but a concluding part of the compilation cycle opened by the Chronicle of Ləbnä Dəngəl. In fact an independent text, it is typical for its time and long enough to reveal the erudition of its authors (s. Chernetsov in PICES 9).

Monastic historiography

Quite a different H. work, *The History of the Galla* (↗*Zenahu lägalla*, CRHist 221–31) by the monk ↗Baḥrəy dates to the end of the 16th cent. It describes the structure of the main ↗Oromo tribes, as well their wars against the Ethiopians. Unusually objective for its time, Baḥrəy thoroughly analyzes Oromo victories and Ethiopian defeats while also comparing both societies. Equally unusual are the notes by the monk ↗Ṗawlos (Conti Rossini 1918:284–89). The yearly records of a private eye-witness to the events from 1523 to 1578, they bear no specific title and start with the words "Ṗawlos saith ...". In this sense, the text is indeed an "autobiography", as Conti Rossini called it, as well as a piece of evidence for the growing interest in recording current events.

A precedent to monastic H. are probably the "Golden Gospels" (↗*Wängelä wärq*), found in almost every church. Here, land grants, donations, etc. were recorded, more often on specially added pages. Important current events were sometimes also mentioned, the notes, thus, developing into a kind of chronicle. Sometimes a scribe's interests went beyond the limits of his native community producing annals less official than royal H.: e.g., in the *Narration of Däbrä Libanos*, compiled probably in 1654 (Turaiev 1906: 345–63). Its text can be divided into three parts: the internal regulations of ↗Däbrä Libanos of Šäwa, the latter's history and the stories on the local "fathers". The second part, ending with the events of 1593, is better preserved.

Alongside the influence of Arabic Christian H., among the triggers of the developments of Ethiopian monastic H. was the idea that Ethiopia alone had preserved the Orthodox faith and was, thereby, the acme of civilization since the creation of the world. Thus H., asserting Ethiopia's great past, was particularly important in times of trouble.

Gondärine period

During the 17th cent. the works of official H. were gradually transforming into "royal chronicles" proper. In the *History* of *aṣe* ↗Susənyos the narrative becomes chronological, being carefully structured according to the years of reign (PerChron). A new feature is the mention of the names of the authors. The first 22 chs. were written by *abba* ↗Məhərkä Dəngəl, whilst the continuation belongs to *azzaž* ↗Täklä Śəllase "Ṭinno" and the ending to a third, anonymous author. ↗Fasilädäs, who reinstated Orthodoxy and founded the capital city of ↗Gondär, was not honoured in Ethiopian H. with a long chronicle (Kropp 1986). The theological controversies of the time put Fasilädäs at odds with the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥədo) Church, and he was punished with literary silence. His son *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs I enjoyed cordial relations with the clergy, and was "rewarded" not only with a chronicle but also with a special text, the ↗*Bəʿälä nägäśt*, perceived by contemporaries as a piece of H.

In the ↗Gondärine kingdom, official H. became the leading literary genre, producing royal chronicles in the full sense of the word. Following a strict chronological principle, the texts were divided into as many chapters as the years of reign. The language of the texts was standardized and adjusted, e.g., through ↗Amharic loanwords, to describe matters and events of secular life. The first such work was the lengthy chronicle of *aṣe* Yoḥannəs I (GuiIohan), written by ↗Ḥawarya Krəstos. The historical element prevails in it over the literary: the narration is rather concise, but royal edicts are all rendered in great detail, for the author is first and foremost keen on royal interests. The last part of the chronicle lacks detail, as on Yoḥannəs's death in 1682 Ḥawarya Krəstos immediately proceeded to write the Chronicle of the new ruler, *aṣe* ↗Iyasu I. After the death of Ḥawarya Krəstos in 1700, the work was continued by ↗Zäwäldä Maryam, until 1704, when Iyasu launched his Gibe campaign and sent Zäwäldä Maryam back to Gondär. A younger royal scribe, ↗Sinoda, carried on the Chronicle until Iyasu's dethronement by ↗Täklä Haymanot, when Sinoda lost his appointment. Later, when ↗Tewoflos decided to honour the memory of Iyasu and canonize him on the second anniversary of his death, Sinoda was reappointed to write the Vita of Iyasu, a piece of hagiography rather than H. (Conti Rossini 1942). Because of theological controversies, Sinoda did not become Tewoflos's chronicler; he resumed his activities only in 1721, during the reign of *aṣe* ↗Bäkaffa. In 1723, he was granted the title of *↗ṣäḥafe tə'əzaz*. After Sinoda's death, Bäkaffa's Chronicle was continued by ↗Kənfä Mika'el, who wrote its last 14 chs. In 1730, Bäkaffa's son *aṣe* ↗Iyasu II was enthroned by the kinsmen of his mother *ətege* Məntəwwab (↗Bərhan Mogäsa). The weakness of royal power was reflected by H.: when Iyasu II died and was succeeded by his son *aṣe* ↗Iyo'as I, the chronicler continued writing as if no change had taken place.

Historiography during the *Zämänä mäsafənt*

The decline of monarchy was marked by changes in official H. Local rulers, formerly subordinate figures in the background, now became politically independent, a fact official historiographers could not ignore, while royal chronicles became much less "royal" in essence (Chernetsov in PICES 11). The second part of the *History of Iyo'as* is actually a distinct work, with a title of its own, *History of Däğğazmač Mika'el*. It is a genuine chronicle featuring *ras* ↗Mika'el Səḥul as the actual ruler. In 1769, in Gondär, he ordered Iyo'as to be strangled and enthroned the 70-year-old *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs II. This was the end of both royal authority and royal chronicles in Gondär. However, no chronicles of provincial rulers were written afterwards. A few works reflected instead a growing need for the revival of the old H. tradition, of which at least two instances are known. The first is the vast compilation *däğğazmač* ↗Ḫaylä Mika'el Ǝšäte and his friend *abeto* ↗Abägaz made from a number of manuscripts in monastic libraries (Kropp 1989:25) so as to retrieve what had been lost after the burning of Gondär by Mika'el Səḥul. Most extant versions of that compilation span from ↗Bä'ədä Maryam till its own times. The second instance concerns a similar compilation accorded to *däğğazmač* Goššu Wädağe (BlunChr 228f.).

A genre of H. different and rather independent from the royal chronicles appeared in the late 17th/early 18th cent. Wider historiographic writings were produced to be later styled by scholars as "short chronicles". They present a general history of Ethiopia from its legendary beginnings, with the full range of Ethiopian "historical legends", "king lists", notes from the Church history, and briefly report on the Solomonic emperors, from ↗Yəkunno Amlak to Ləbnä Dəngəl. They were followed by a comparatively detailed and well-written H. on the 16th-cent. Muslim wars, and even more detailed accounts on the later Ethiopian emperors. The last part of these texts forms a real chronicle, ending in most versions with the death of Bäkaffa in 1730, which was probably the original close. However, continuations (up to ↗Mənilək II) as well as interpolated versions with additional works exist. Here the chronological framework could have been provided by either monastic H. or tables with historical notes from private or monastic circles (Kropp 1986:360).

Mid-19th–20th-cent. historiography

Official H. reappeared with the restoration of the royal power, i.e. during the reign of *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II. Three texts dealing with his reign are known. The first is the official chronicle written by *ṣäḥafe tə'əzaz* ↗Zännäb (ZanLitTheod; MorTeod). The narrative adopts the style of the royal Gondärine chronicles, yet with the crucial

difference of being written in Amharic, marking a new stage in the development of Ethiopian H. The second work, also in Amharic, was authored by ↗Wäldä Maryam, a cleric from the entourage of *abunä* ↗Sälama (MonVidTheo). Written 15 years after Tewodros's suicide, it was rather a series of personal recollections than a proper chronicle. The third work is a collection of historical anecdotes about the Emperor (FusTeo). Whilst the language is Amharic, the anonymous author, a native of Təgray, quotes some of the stories in ↗Təgrəññña as he had heard them.

The conservative *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV ordered his own chronicle be written in Gəᶜəz (BTafY). To this end a special committee was created that included Yoḥannəs's own historiographer, *liqe* Märᶜawi Täklä Ǝsṭifanos (ca. 1838–99), *mälakä bərhanat* Bərhan (d. 1882), the dean of ↗Däbrä Bərhan Śəllase church of ᶜAdwa and *nəburä əd* Iyasu (d. 1891).

The increasing interest for national H. during the time can be proved by the existence of at least six chronicles of Yoḥannəs IV, all more or less contemporary but different in nature, written in both Gəᶜəz and Amharic. H.-writing moved again away from the court, mainly to churches and monasteries. The short chronicles took a new shape, describing the reign of *aṣe* Yoḥannəs IV within the general context of the history of Ethiopian emperors (s. BTafY 15–21; Chaîne 1913; Ricci 1947). In the politically ambitious province of Šäwa, this genre was developed under the influence of the apocalyptic ↗*Dərsanä Raguᵓel*, which, at least in its Šäwan version, predicted the fall of the Gondärine branch of the Solomonic dynasty and the rise of the latter's Šäwan branch, which traced its ascent to *abetohun* ↗Yaᶜ[əqob], the younger son of Ləbnä Dəngəl (cp. ↗Mänz).

These were the so-called "interpolated chronicles", where the Gəᶜəz narration, typical for the "short chronicles", was integrated with special Amharic stories belittling the Gondärine rulers in order to praise the Šäwan descendants of *abetohun* Yaᶜəqob (Guidi 1926:358).

In the period of monarchy revival during the reign of *aṣe* Mənilək II, his chronicle was written by *säḥafe təᵓəzaz* ↗Gäbrä Śəllase (Bairu Tafla 1967). Although in Amharic, the work is reminiscent of the official chronicles from the turn of the 16th cent.

The end of the 19th cent. witnessed the composition of the *Yägalla tarik* (s. BTafA), the most remarkable composition of *aläqa* ↗Aṣmä Giyorgis Gäbrä Mäsiḥ harking back to Baḥrəy's *Zenahu lägalla* (BTafA 61). Aṣmä Giyorgis, well-acquainted with Western culture, intended to recreate Baḥrəy's work in keeping with the new – European – methods and sources.

During the first decades of the 20th cent., the number of authors engaged in H. grew considerably, among whom ↗Afäwärq Gäbrä Iyäsus, author of ↗*Dagmawi Mənilək*, *aläqa* ↗Tayyä Gäbrä Maryam, who wrote the *History of Ethiopian People*, and ↗Gäbrä Ḥəywät Baykädañ, with the pamphlet *Emperor Mənilək and Ethiopia*. The latter two were Protestant converts, which possibly accounts for their attitude towards God, the Ethiopian monarchs and society. Their writings were, however, not part of royal H.: their aim was not so much to serve their monarch as to educate him. Mention should also be made of the works of *aläqa* ↗Fəśśəḥa Giyorgis ᶜAbiyä Ǝgziᵓ, the founder of Təgrəññña literature.

In the progress of time, as Ethiopia was modernizing and a new court life and administrative system were taking shape, there was no longer room for traditional *ṣäḥafe təᵓəzaz* officials. Although there were some flashbacks, such as the *Chronicle of Abeto Iyasu and Empress Zäwditu* by ↗Gäbrä Ǝgziᵓabəḥer Elyas (GebMolIyas), modern developments soon brought an end to the age-long tradition of royal H. in Ethiopia.

The next decades of the 20th cent. saw instead the birth of a more up-to-date H. A pioneer work was the remarkable autobiography of *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I, written mostly during his exile at Bath, with the help of ↗Maḫtämä Śəllase Wäldä Mäsqäl and ↗Ḫəruy Wäldä Śəllase. There, in an archaic and simple language, the Emperor offers a moralistic, and yet effective, view of the "progress" achieved by his state during its early decades (HSLife XVIII–XIX, XXXI). Maḫtämä Śəllase is also responsible for the *Zəkrä nägär*, a collection of recollections and anecdotes featuring leading historical figures (MahZekr). Also *qesä gäbäz* Täklä Haymanot is worth mentioning here as a representative of the old tradition: he is the author of an unpublished "Chronicle of Ethiopia", a vast compilation of documents in Gəᶜəz from several monasteries and churches (SerHist 226 n. 66). Recent and ambitious writings in European languages – most French and English – have introduced scholarly standards of historical ↗research into local H.: so, e.g.,

the works by ↗Täklä Ṣadəq Mäkʷəriya (TSTarik I–IV), Taddesse Tamrat (TadTChurch) and Mohammed Hassen (MHasOr).

↗Amharic literature; ↗ Gəᶜəz literature

Src.: for the list of chronicles s. the text of the entry.

Lit.: BAHRU ZEWDE, "A Century of Ethiopian Historiography", *JES* 33, 2, 2000, 1–26; ID., *Pioneers of Change in Ethiopia: the Reformist Intellectuals of the Early Twentieth Century*, Athens, OH 2002, 141ff.; BAIRU TAFLA, "Three Portraits: Ato Aṣmä Giyorgis, Ras Gobäna Dači and Ṣäḥafé Tezaz Gäbrä Selassé", *JES* 5, 2, 1967, 133–50; ALESSANDRO BAUSI, "The Aksumite Background of the Ethiopic 'Corpus Canonum'", in: *PICES* 15, 532–41, here 536; ID.,"La *Collezione aksumita* canonico-liturgica", in: ALBERTO CAMPLANI (ed.), *Il Patriarcato di Alessandria nella tarda antichità*, Roma 2006 (= *Adamantius* 12), 43–70; ANDRÉ CAQUOT, "Les chroniques abrégées d'Éthiopie", *AE* 2, 1957, 187–92; SEVIR CHERNETSOV, "Medieval Ethiopian Historiographers and their Methods", in: *PICES* 9, vol. 5, 191–200; ID., "The Crisis of Ethiopian Official Royal Historiography and its Consequences in the 18th Century", in: *PICES* 11, 87–101; CHRISTOPHER CLAPHAM, "Rewriting Ethiopian History", *AE* 18, 2002, 37–54; DONALD CRUMMEY, "Ethiopian Historiography in the Latter Half of the Twentieth Century: a North American Perspective," *JES* 34, 1, 2001, 7–24; MARIE-LAURE DERAT, "Censure et réécriture de l'histoire du roi Zarᵓa Yaᶜeqob (1434–1468): analyse des deux versions de la 'chronique' d'un souverain Éthiopien", *L'archive ouverte HAL-SHS*, 31 March 2006; DerDom 329–45; HUGO DUENSING, *Liefert das äthiopische Synaxar Materialien zur Geschichte Abessiniens? ...*, Göttingen 1900; IGNAZIO GUIDI, "Di due frammenti relativi alla storia d'Abissinia", *RRALm* ser. 5ª, 2, 1, 1893, 579–605; ID., "La cronaca di Galāwdēwos o Claudio, re di Abissinia", in: *Actes du 12ᵉ Congrès International des Orientalistes*, Roma 1899 [Firenze 1902], vol. 3–1, 111–15; ID., "Due nuovi manoscritti della 'cronaca abbreviata' di Abissinia", *RRALm* ser. 6ª, 2, 1926, 357–421; MANFRED KROPP, "An Hypothesis Concerning an Author or Compiler of the 'Short Chronicle' of the Ethiopian Kings", in: *PICES* 6, 359–72; ID., "Zur 'Kurzen Chronik' der äthiopischen Könige" [part] 1, *OrChr* 65, 1981, 136–47 and [part] 2, *ibid.* 66, 1982, 144–88; ID., "La réédition des chroniques éthiopiennes: perspectives et premiers résultats", *Abbay* 12, 1982–83, 49–69; ID., "Gab es eine große Chronik des Kaisers Fasilädäs von Äthiopien?", *ibid.* 70, 1986, 188–91; ID., "Petite histoire de Yohannes Ier 'retrouvée dans un autre pays'", *AE* 15, 1990, 85–109; ID., "Un cas de censure politique en Éthiopie au XVIIᵉ siècle: chapitres 8 et 9 de la chronique de Śärṣä-Dəngəl", *AE* 16, 2001, 257–77; ID., "La théologie au service de la rébellion: chroniques inédites du Ras Mikaᵓel Sehul", in: *PICES* 10, vol. 1, 225–36; SerHist 226 n. 66; GIANFRANCESCO LUSINI, "Documenti per la storia degli Oromo", *Egitto e Vicino Oriente* 14–15, 1991–92, 163–69; ID., "Tradizioni amariche sulle origini degli Oromo", *Annali IUO* 53, 1993, 267–77; MHasOr; SHIFERAW BEKELE, "The Chronicle of Tecle Giyorgis I (First r. 1779–1784): an Introductory Assessment", in: *StudAeth* 247-58; HERVÉ PENNEC, *Des Jésuites au Royaume du Prêtre Jean (Éthiopie). Stratégies, rencontres et tentatives d'implantation (1495–1633)*, Paris 2003, 287–97; TadTChurch; TSTarik I–IV; EDWARD ULLENDORFF, *The Autobiography of Emperor Haile Sellassie of Ethiopia*, Roma 1974 (ANLin, Problemi di Scienza e di Cultura 197).

Sevir Chernetsov – Red.

Foreign historiography on Ethiopia

Ancient Greek and Roman historiography

From classical times, in keeping with its (alleged) Greek etymology, the name "Ethiopia(n)" loosely applied to all countries with "burnt-faced" peoples from the Atlantic to the Indian Ocean (↗Aithiopía) – also due to the geographical idea of a land connection between the Indian peninsula and Africa, turning the Indian Ocean into a large lake (↗Ptolemy). This ambiguity, doomed to last well into the Middle Ages, was fostered by both Ethiopia's position on the way to ↗India – a term then often coextensive with Ethiopia, and encompassing ↗Nubia and South ↗Arabia as well (cp. ↗"India" as name of Ethiopia) – and its legendary character in ancient poetry: e.g., in Homer and Aeschylus, where the Ethiopians are said to live at the extreme (southern) boundaries of the world (↗Greek literature on Ethiopia). Not even the "father of History", ↗Herodotus, had a clear perception of the geographical situation: his "Ethiopia", to which an interesting excursus of his *Histories* is devoted (II, 1, 28ff.), is a country far remote to the south, mainly coinciding with Nubia. Later on, in Hellenistic and Roman times respectively, the name Ethiopia became a specific designation for the kingdoms of ↗Meroë, in Nubia (bordering upon ↗Egypt), and then ↗Aksum, centred in the Ethiopian highlands (cp. ↗Ḥabašāt). Under Ptolemy II, through the intensive presence and activities of ↗Greeks or Hellenized Egyptians in the ↗Red Sea area, actual Ethiopia(ns) entered Greek H. and, to a more sensible extent, the interlinked geographical and ethnographical literature focusing on the ↗Nile and the regions and peoples along it. In the 2nd cent. B.C., Agatharchides of Cnidus wrote ten books *On Asia*, with a description of "Ethiopia" (i.e. Nubia) repeating that of the 3rd-cent. geographer Artemidorus, and five books *On the Red Sea*, as well as *Eklogaì historiôn* ('Select Histories') equally bearing on Ethiopia: all of them survive in fragments chiefly transmitted by the 1st-cent. B.C. historian Diodorus of Sicily (*Bibliotheca*, III, 2–10) and the 9th-cent. A.D. Byzantine patriarch and erudite Photius (*Bibliotheca*, codd. 213 and 250).

However, only in the age of Augustus (with the expedition of Elius Gallus to South Arabia,

25 A.D.) did a series of direct contacts with the present-day Eritrean and Ethiopian areas develop that were soon reflected in Greek and Latin sources somehow complementing the scarce H.: from ↗Pliny the Elder, whose description of ↗Adulis is, however, depending upon a lost work by the Greek geographer Dalion (3rd cent. B.C.), to the ↗*Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*, with the first mention of Aksum hitherto known. The Aksumites were again to be remembered by the ↗*Scriptores historiae Augustae* on the occasion of the triumph of Emperor Aurelian (270 A.D.). In the next century, Christian Ethiopia attracted the obvious attention of contemporary or slightly later ecclesiastical H.: the writings by ↗Rufinus of Aquileia, in Latin, and ↗Philostorgius, in Greek, offer invaluable accounts on Frumentius (*abba* ↗Sälama Käśate Bərhan) and the evangelization of Aksum and, respectively, on the Arian mission of ↗Theophilos the Indian.

The trade with India and the events in 6th-cent. ↗Nağrān led then to a keener interest in Ethiopia and the relevant game of alliances on the side of either the ↗Byzantine empire or Sasanian Persia (↗Iran). This is witnessed in detail by the coeval Greek narratives of ↗Cosmas Indicopleustes, also transmitting the ↗Monumentum Adulitanum, an example of 2nd–3rd-cent. local H., of Nonnosus, a diplomat who journeyed to ↗Arabia and Aksum (his work, now lost, is transmitted by Photius, cod. 3); and of Procopius of Caesarea, a historian who had access to the imperial archives in Constantinople and speaks about *nəguś* ↗Kaleb, his military expeditions against ↗Ḥimyar, and his successor(s). The same matter, intermingled with other episodes, was dealt with by the chronicler John ↗Malalas, and later resumed by his middle-Byzantine successors, e.g., ↗Theophanes (d. 817 A.D.), confusedly drawing upon late antique H. and hagiographical sources alike.

Lit.: LELLIA CRACCO RUGGINI, "Leggenda e realtà degli Etiopi nella cultura tardoimperiale", in: *PICES* 4, vol. 1, 141–93 (Lit.); CRStor 56f.; ALBRECHT DIHLE, *Umstrittene Daten: Untersuchungen zum Auftreten der Griechen am Roten Meer*, Köln – Opladen 1965 (Wissenschaftliche Abhandlungen der Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Forschung des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen 32); JEAN DESANGES, "Les sources de Pline dans sa description de la Troglodytique et de l'Éthiopie (*NH* 6, 136–97)", in: IACOBUS PIGEALDUS NAMNETENSIS – IOSEPHUS OROZIUS SALMANTICENSIS (eds.), *Pline l'Ancien témoin de son temps. Conventus Pliniani internationalis Namneti 22–26 Oct. 1985 habiti Acta*, Salamanca – Nantes 1987, 277–92; GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, "Ethiopians", in: ALEXANDER KAZHDAN et al. (eds.), *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, New York – Oxford 1991, vol. 2, 733; ID., "Sembrouthes 'gran re' (*DAE* IV 3 = *RIÉth* 275). Per la storia del primo ellenismo aksumita", *La Parola del Passato* 59, 2004 [2005], 103–57 (Lit.); PHILIPPE LUISIER, [review of Schneider 2004], *OCP* 73, 2007, 262–65; SANTO MAZZARINO, "Gli Aksumiti e la tradizione classica", in: *PICES* 4, vol. 1, 75–84 [repr. in: ID., *Il basso impero. Antico, tardoantico ed èra costantiniana*, vol. 2, Bari 1980 (Storia e civiltà 14), 104–18]; J. YVAN NADEAU, "Ethiopians", *The Classical Quarterly* 64, new ser. 20, 1970, 339–49; ID., "Ethiopians again – and again", *Mnemosyne* 30, 1977, 75–78; RICHARD PANKHURST, "Ethiopia Revealed: Merchants, Travelers and Scholars", in: *Afr-Zion* 19–31, here 19 and n. 1; [RICHARD] PIETSCHMANN, "Aithiopia", in: *Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, vol. 1, 1, Stuttgart 1893, 1095–102; PIERRE SCHNEIDER, *L'Éthiopie et l'Inde: interférences et confusions aux extrémités du monde antique (VIIIe siècle avant J.-C.–VIe siècle après J.-C.)*, Rome 2004 (Collection de l'École française de Rome 335), 269–361 (Lit.); SERGEW HABLE-SELASSIE, *Beziehungen Äthiopiens zur griechisch-römischen Welt*, Bonn 1964; FRANÇOIS THELAMON, *Païens et chrétiens au IVe siècle. L'apport de l'"Histoire ecclésiastique" de Rufin d'Aquilée*, Paris 1981, 31–83; GIOVANNI VANTINI, "La conoscenza del Nilo nei classici greci e romani", *NÆ* 4/5, 1999, 337–46; GABRIELE ZIETHEN, "*Legationes externae* in der frührömischen Kaiserzeit: Indi – Αἰθίοπες – Σῆρες", *Nubica* 3, 1, 1989–93 [1994], 140-97, here 167–86 [§2. "Diplomatische Beziehungen zwischen Rom und den Αἰθίοπες"].

Gianfranco Fiaccadori

Classical Arabic historiography on Ethiopia

Historiographic production in ↗Arabic represent one of the most substantial and complex manifestations of ↗Arabic literature (for a general introduction s. Rosenthal 1952), and a number of texts provide sources for Ethiopia's history. These texts are heterogeneous: they belong to different genres of Arabic literature, have diverse nature, shape and content, some even mix different traditions. For our purpose, of interest are: the great historical works (world histories, annals); local historical works (e.g. of Egypt and the Yemen); biographical dictionaries (*ṭabaqāt*, i.e. the chronological "categories" of illustrious personages in some field or another); ethnological texts (e.g. on the different human races of the world); handbooks for the chancelleries; as well as such religious forms of literature as *aḫbār* and *ḥadīṯ* (historical traditions and sayings of the Prophet ↗Muḥammad), *asbāb an-nuzūl* (writings devoted to the explanation of the circumstances in which a verse or a group of verses of the ↗Qurʾān was revealed), hagiography (*manāqib*, *faḍāʾil*, *ʿilm ar-riğāl*) and even sections of *tafsīr al-qurʾān* (Qurʾānic commentaries).

Early texts on the life of the Prophet often contain information about the so-called first ↗*hiğra* to al-Ḥabaša (615). They also give us hints regarding the knowledge the Arabs had of the Ethiopians and their king and about the relationships existing between ↗Arabia and Ethiopia in the late pre-Islamic and early Islamic periods. Among the most important late 8th-early 9th cent. texts are *as-Sīra an-nabawīya* by ↗Ibn Hišām; the *Kitāb al-maġāzī* of al-Wāqidī; *aṭ-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā* by Ibn Sa^{c}d; the *Ta$^{\circ}$rīḫ ar-rusul wal-mulūk* and the *Tafsīr* of aṭ-↗Ṭabarī. The first *hiğra* is also among the subjects of prophetic *ḥadīṯ* (in such collections as *aṣ-Ṣaḥīḥ* by al-Buḫārī, *aṣ-Ṣaḥīḥ* by Muslim, the *as-Sunan* by at-Tirmiḏī, *as-Sunan* by Abī Dāwūd, *as-Sunan* by Ibn Māğa, *as-Sunan*by an-Nasā$^{\circ}$ī); the *Muwaṭṭa$^{\circ}$* of Mālik b. Anas; and the *Musnad* of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal. The collection of verses and biographical information on poets in the 10th-cent. The *Kitāb al-Aġānī* by Abū l-Farağ al-Iṣfahānī also provides data on early contacts between Arabia and al-Ḥabaša.

Later works devoted to the biographies of Muḥammad's companions also contain valuable pieces of information, e.g., the 13th-cent. *al-Usd al-ġāba* by Ibn al-Aṯīr and the 15th-cent. *al-Iṣāba fī tamyīz aṣ-ṣaḥāba* by Ibn Ḥağar al-^{c}Asqalānī. Finally, the books by al-Wāḥidī and as-↗Suyūṭī should be mentioned. These sources are imbued with a strong theological tone as preservers of the sacred history of the beginnings of ↗Islam. However, they still contain a historically reliable core (s. Raven 1988; Hussein Ahmed 1996).

As Islam established itself in the Arabian Peninsula, in the Near East, and in North Africa, the relationship between the Islamic states and Christian Ethiopia assumed a different character. This was also enhanced by the spread of Islam in Ethiopia itself and by the emergence of several Islamic principalities in the Horn of Africa, which often led to wars. ↗Egypt and the ↗Yemen were the two Islamic countries which were in closer touch with Ethiopia and Arabic H. concerning Ethiopia originated almost entirely from these countries.

Ethiopia, both the Christian state and the Islamic parts, did not draw Arab historiographers' attention as much as other regions of the world. Thus, there is only one monograph recorded exclusively devoted to the history and, partially, the geography of Ethiopia, the 15th-cent. The *Kitāb al-ilmām bi-aḫbār man bi-arḍ al-Ḥabaša min mulūk al-Islām* by al-↗Maqrīzī (ed. as MaqIlmam^{1,2}; Guidi 1910).

At the same time, quite a few Arabic historiographical sources offer details on the country. Among the 9th–15th cent. Arab authors whose works have already been successfully used by scholars of Ethiopia were Muslim and Christian alike (s. EI^{2}, GrafLit and Brockelmann 1943–49, CerPal for details) al-↗Ya^{c}qūbī, Patriarch Eutychius (Sa^{c}īd b. Biṭrīq), Agapius of Manbiğ (Maḥbūb b. Quṣṭanṭīn), Maḥbūb b. Manṣūr b. Mufarriğ and ↗Severos of Ašmunayn with their continuators, aṭ-Ṭabarī, al-Mas^{c}ūdī, ^{c}Umāra al-Yamanī, ↗Abū Sāliḥ al-Armanī, Ibn ^{c}Abd aẓ-Ẓāhir, Ǧirğis al-Makīn b. al-^{c}Amīd (↗Giyorgis Wäldä Amid), al-↗^{c}Umarī, Ibn Nāẓir al-Ǧayš (Taqīddīn al-Muḥibbī), ↗Ibn Ḫaldūn, al-Ḥazrağī, al-↗Qalqašandī, al-Maqrīzī, Ibn Ḥağar al-^{c}Asqalānī, Abū l-Maḥāsin b. Taġrībirdī, as-Saḫāwī, ↗Ibn Iyās.

In more recent times, Ethiopia was even less present in Arabic H. Only sources originating from the nearby Yemen continued to deal with Ethiopian events and persons. Such was the case with ↗Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-Ḥaymī, Muḥammad b. ^{c}Alī aš-Šawkānī and Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Zabāra aṣ-Ṣan^{c}ānī. The famous 19th-cent. Egyptian historian al-Ǧabartī includes a section devoted to Ethiopians in his *^{c}Aǧā$^{\circ}$ib al-āṯār fī t-tarāğim wal-aḫbār* to clarify his "African" origins.

The relatively little attention paid by Arab writers is paralleled by the small amount of Arabic works dealing with Ethiopians and other peoples of the Horn (*al-Ḥabaš*) as a whole, including history, customs and ethnographical characteristics. It also should be underlined that in some cases the terms *ḥabaš* and *ḥabašī* were not used in their narrower meaning 'Abyssinia(ns)', but had a broader sense of country of the Blacks. Belonging to this genre are works by al-Ǧāḥiẓ, ↗Ibn al-Ǧawzī, as-Suyūṭī and ↗Muḥammad b. ^{c}Abdalbāqī al-Buḫārī al-Makkī (s. van Donzel in StudAeth).

Src.: MaqIlman^{1}; MaqIlman^{2}.

Lit.: EI^{2}, s.v. for all names; CARL BROCKELMANN, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*, 2 vols. and 3 suppl. vols., Berlin 1902, Leiden ^{2}1943–49, passim (Lit.); CerPal; ENRICO CERULLI, "L'Etiopia medievale in alcuni brani di scrittori arabi", *RSE* 3, 1943, 237–94 [= CerIslam 257–80]; ErlEth; DonHaySirat; GrafLit; IGNAZIO GUIDI, "Sul testo dell' 'Ilmâm' d'al-Maqrîzî", in: *Centenario della nascita di Michele Amari*, Palermo 1910, 387–94; HERIBERT HORST, "Berichte frühmamlukischer Historiker über Äthiopien", in: BRIGITTE BENZING – OTTO BÖCKER – GÜNTER MAYER

(eds.), *Wort und Wirklichkeit: Studien zur Afrikanistik und Äthiopistik. Eugen Ludwig Rapp zum 70. Geburtstag*, vol. 1, Meisenheim 1976, 170–85; GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, "Bâlî", *La Parola del Passato* 47, 1992, 439–58, here 443; HUSSEIN AHMED, "The Historiography of Islam in Ethiopia", *Journal of Islamic Studies* 2, 1, 1992, 15–46; ID., "Aksum in Muslim Historical Traditions", *JES* 29, 1996, 47–66; MHAlex; ETIENNE M. QUATREMERE, *Mémoires géographiques et historiques sur l'Egypte et sur quelques contrées voisines*, vol. 2, Paris 1811; WIM RAVEN, "Some Early Islamic Texts on the Negus of Abyssinia", *JSS* 33, 1988, 197–218; FRANZ ROSENTHAL, *History of Muslim Historiography*, Leiden 1952, ²1968; SALVATORE TEDESCHI, "L'Etiopia nella Storia dei patriarchi alessandrini", *RSE* 23, 1967-68 [1969], 232-71; EMERI J. VAN DONZEL, "'Leave the Ethiopians Alone as Long as they Leave you Alone', *utrukū l-ḥabaša mā tarakūkum*. Some Reflections on a *ḥadīṯ*", in: *StudAeth* 109–13; ID., "Ibn al-Jawzī on Ethiopians in Baghdad", in: CLIFFORD EDMUND BOSWORTH – CHARLES ISSAWI – ROGER SAVORY – ALBERT L. UDOVITCH (eds.), *Essays in Honor of Bernard Lewis. The Islamic World From Classical to Modern Times*, Princeton, NJ 1989, 113–22; GASTON WIET, "Les relations égypto-abyssines sous les sultans mamlouks", *Bulletin de la Société d'Archéologie Copte* 4, 1938, 115–40.

Alessandro Gori

Portuguese historiography

Modern European H. on Ethiopia, albeit surfacing in a few 14th–15th-cent. works (s., e.g., CRStor 9ff.), properly began with the embassies and religious missions sponsored by the crown of ↗Portugal in the 16th and 17th cents. They produced an important corpus of texts on Ethiopia, mostly written in Portuguese, but also in Latin, Italian and Spanish.

In 1540 the account by Francisco ↗Alvares was published. That offered the most accurate description of Ethiopian religious and secular life to the time. Alvares described at length "Aquaxumo" (↗Aksum) and the lands and peoples forming and surrounding the Christian kingdom (e.g., BeckHuntAlvar ch. 37–39). In the same year, Damião de ↗Góis' *Fides, religio, moresque Aethiopum* appeared, the central part of which was the translation of an Ethiopic text on the history and faith of Christian Ethiopia (↗Ṣägga Zä°ab). Further information on Ethiopia is found in the monumental *Decadas* of Diogo do ↗Couto.

It was, however, only with the circa 80-years long presence of ↗Jesuits in Ethiopia, between 1556–1632, that a proper European H. on the country fully developed. Indeed, it could be argued that H. was a central element in the mission. On the one hand, Ethiopian Christianity earned the respect of the missionaries, who were somehow fascinated by its traditions and, albeit biased by their Catholic position, strove to know and report about them. On the other hand, they also thought that these traditions had been corrupted throughout the ages, namely by the contacts with the Muslim neighbours and the distance from Rome. Hence, in the years of utmost expansion (1603–32), the missionaries carried out a global programme aimed at "freeing" Ethiopia's Christian history from such "alien" elements, their reformation mission being thus helped by the hermeneutics of local history.

In the annual letters sent to India and Europe, the missionaries often gave hints about both the societies hosting them and their history. Likewise, as their first residence in ↗Fəremona lay not far away from Aksum, they had several opportunities to visit the city and to write on its origin, its most remarkable sites and antiquities. Alfonso ↗Mendes noted that a number of obelisks (↗stelae) lying down had been made to fall by the "Turks" (i.e. the troops of ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī, or "Grañ"; BecRASO VIII, 26f.). His fellow Tomás ↗Barneto described the church of ↗Ənda Maryam Ṣəyon rebuilt by ↗Śärṣä Dəngəl, and suggested that the obelisks could be related to sepulchres, an idea somehow anticipating their modern definition as "tomb markers". He also traced the origins of Ethiopia's "Judaic errors" to the Queen of Sheba (↗Makəda) and Solomon (ibid. XII, 189, 202–05). The rite of ↗coronation of ↗Susənyos in 1609 was also described in detail by ↗Paez who, whilst in Fəremona, had direct information from Portuguese present at the ceremony (ibid. XI, 258ff.), by Manoel de ↗Almeida (ibid. V, 87–90) and by Barneto (ibid. XII, 203f.; for samples of Aksum described by Jesuits s. Monneret de Villard 1938:63–77, and Munro-Hay in StudAeth 186–91).

Aksum was also repeatedly visited by missionaries as part of their project to reinterpret in Catholic terms Ethiopia's written tradition (BecRASO XI, 107). Almeida was the most proficient in this hermeneutic enterprise. He made a lengthy description of the town, calling the obelisks "barbarian and monstrous machines" and hinting at a monumental Greek ↗inscription (probably ↗°Ezana's; BecRASO V, 83ff.). With a skilled use of the texts preserved at the church of Aksum Ṣəyon (including probably a copy of the ↗*Kəbrä Nägäśt*), Almeida also offered a critical interpretation of the history of the Queen of

Sheba (↗Makəddа) and the origins of Aksum (BecRASO V, 93f.).

The missionaries also worked on historical religious texts, translating them into Portuguese or reshaping them in the original language. In translating they were often helped by members of the Catholic community of natives and Ethio-portuguese (↗Portugal), like João ↗Gabriel, who had been gathering at Fəremona and ↗Gorgora. António ↗Fernandes censured some points of the ↗*Haymanotä Abäw* in order to "get rid for good of their errors" (Cohen 2004:13); with similar purposes, he worked on passages from the Ethiopic OT and NT (↗Bible translation). Likewise, Paez, Almeida and ↗Barradas also tried to amend a number of ↗*gädl* of important indigenous saints (↗Täklä Haymanot, ↗Samu'el, ↗Gärima, ↗Gäbrä Krəstos; s. Cohen 2004:12f.).

Finally, a paramount contribution of the mission were the major historical treatises written by Nicolao ↗Godinho (1615), Paez (ca. 1622), Mendes (1561), de Almeida (ca. 1645; summarized later by ↗Tellez) and Barradas (ca. 1633). Conceived as quasi-encyclopaedias with full details on the mission and Ethiopia, they were all, to the exception of Paez's, written out of Ethiopia (cp. ↗Beccari's excellent introductions to each single work, BecRASO I–IX). These treatises, especially those by Paez and Almeida, combined such local elements as ↗hagiography and royal chronicles with modern European narrative methods, thus offering the first coherent accounts on the "Empire of Ethiopia" and the mission. Paez's *História da Etiópia* is also remarkable in that it served not only the mission (by refuting ↗Urreta's text) but the enlightened *aṣe* Susənyos, to whose deeds most of book IV was dedicated (Pais 1945–47, vol. 3).

Portuguese and Jesuit information on Ethiopia was often accurate as to local names and historical events. Thanks to modern printing press, which the Jesuits used heavily, it also reached a larger public. Quite often the annual letters were quickly selected, amended, translated and published in different European languages and collections: the *Annuae Litterae Societatis Jesu*, first printed in Rome in 1583 (then in Guerreiro, Lisbon 1611, and delle Pozze, Naples 1621). Later authors such as ↗Ludolf and ↗Bruce were to exploit these sources thoroughly and also to compare the different historical interpretations put forward by the Jesuit authors (on ↗Prester John, Aksum, hagiography, etc.). Today, most of the Portuguese–related texts (annual letters, treatises), both by secular and religious authors, have been published (BecRASO) or reissued, whilst a few remain unpublished, mainly at the Arquivo Municipal de Braga, Portugal, and at the Archivio Romano della Compagnia di Gesù.

Src.: BeckHuntAlvar ch. 37–39, 158 n. 3; BecRASO V, 83ff., 87–90, 93f.; VIII, 26f.; XI, 107, 258ff.; XII, 189, 202–05; FERNÃO GUERREIRO, *Relaçam annal das cousas que fizeram os padres da Companhia de IESVS ...*, Lisboa 1611; *Annuae Litterae Societatis Jesu ...*, Romae et al. 1583ff.; LORENZO DELLE POZZE (tr., ed.), *Lettere annue del Giappone, China, Goa, et Ethiopia*, Napoli 1621; PÊRO PAIS, *História da Etiópia*, Porto 1945–46, 3 vols.; UGO MONNERET DE VILLARD, *Aksum. Ricerche di topografia generale*, Roma 1938 (Analalecta Orientalia 16), 63–77.

Lit.: LudHist; BruNile; LEONARDO COHEN, "The Jesuit Missionary as Translator (1603–1632)", in: VERENA BÖLL et al. (eds.), *Ethiopia and the Missions: Historical and Anthropological Insights*, Berlin – Hamburg 2005, 7–30, here 12f.; CRStor 9ff.; STUART MUNRO-HAY, "The 'Coronation' of the Emperors of Ethiopia at Aksum", in: *StudAeth* 177–201, here 186–91.

Andreu Martínez

HIV/AIDS

Almost one million people infected with the Human Immunodeficiency Virus/Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome are estimated to live in Ethiopia at present. In Amh. AIDS (*edəs*, also in other local languages) is also referred to indirectly as **የጊዜያው** or **ዘመኑ፡ በሽታ** (*yä-gizeyaw* or *zämänu bäššəta*, 'disease of the times') or **ቀሳፊ፡ በሽታ** (*qäsafi bäššəta*, 'the disease that kills').

The first AIDS cases were diagnosed in Addis Abäba in 1986 (Lester et al. 1988). Lack of information and awareness, together with war and population movements, especially during the war between Eritrean and Təgrayan liberation movements and the *Därg* (until 1991), contributed to a rapid rise of HIV in urban centres and garrisons. In that situation ↗prostitution (as in Asmära) further aggravated the situation. Even today, recruits run a higher risk of infection.

AIDS has become the leading cause of adult mortality (Garbus 2003:60). In the Ethiopian age group 15–49 the prevalence rate is 3.5 % (Federal Ministry of Health of Ethiopia 2006), whereas in Eritrea it is 2.4 % (UNAIDS 2006). Although these numbers are low compared to other sub-Saharan countries, their social impact is disturbing: an estimated number of 720,000 children under 17 had lost their mother or father or both parents to AIDS by the end of 2003 (WHO - UNAIDS 2004; Kloos et al. 2004; ↗Epidemics).

HIV wall painting in the centre of Mäqälä, with the motto [*nəkkälaḳäl*] *eds wälläd*o *käyəbärrəs* ('let us fight back AIDS [so that] the offspring will not be wiped out'); photo 2004, courtesy of Michael Gervers

Heterosexual contact is the primary mode of transmission, followed by perinatal mother to child transmission. Data on age distribution show relatively high rates among children under five and low prevalence of AIDS cases among children aged between 5 and 15 years.

The AIDS crisis is a serious threat to both Ethiopia and Eritrea, although a declining trend can be observed: whereas by the end of 1999 the World Health Organization (WHO) estimated the number of people with HIV infection in Ethiopia to be 3 million (UNAIDS – WHO 2000), in 2003 1.5 million people were said to be living with the virus in Ethiopia. The epidemic is more severe in urban areas, were the infection levels are five times higher than in rural areas (UNAIDS 2006; about 10 % of the adult Addis Abäba population was estimated to have HIV in 2002, s. Yared Mekonnen et al. 2002:120). "The share of AIDS deaths in the adult population (20–54) is estimated at 68 % [at Addis Abäba], without noticeable differences between men and women" (Tekebash Araya et al. 2004:178). In 2000, overall HIV prevalence among rural military recruits was 3.8 % compared to 7.2 % among urban recruits.

Traditional ↗healing plays a role in local responses to epidemics. It is widely believed at Addis Abäba, e.g., that holy water (↗*ṣäbäl*) from Ǝnṭoṭṭo Maryam can cure HIV. However, no cure based on traditional ↗medicine has ever been confirmed. People are generally reluctant to talk about HIV, as the discourse on this disease is still marked, to a certain extent, by stigma and denial (Garbus 2003: 52). "Lung disease and cold, in particular, have become well-known euphemisms for AIDS"; those who allegedly died of these diseases might in fact have died of AIDS (Tekebash Araya et al. 2004:178). Antiretroviral therapy is now available; however, of 30 countries in sub-Saharan Africa Ethiopia has the lowest percentage of women under treatment (UNAIDS 2006).

Anti-HIV campaigns, especially focusing on behavioural change, have been carried out both in Ethiopia and Eritrea since the mid-1990s. They seem to be comparatively successful. Data from Ethiopia suggest that the prevalence among pregnant women aged 15–24 declined from 24 to 15 % between 1995 and 2001 (Aster Tsegaye et al. 2002). As HIV is spread especially in urban contexts and in settlements along routes, awareness campaigns focus on these areas, and also on the military. Public events like music festivals today regularly make HIV a central topic or at least include it in the programme. Wall-paintings and panels showing the consequences of HIV and unprotected sexual intercourse are found along routes. However, awareness about the use of condoms is still deficient (↗Sexuality). In Eritrea, condoms are called Abu Sälama (lit. 'dolphin') in order to create positive connotations.

Throughout the country the Ethiopian government has appointed counsellors, who carry on the official HIV awareness campaigns at the local *qäbälä* level, both in urban and rural areas. Government agencies, church organizations and NGOs have established local health centres, orphanages, organizations to help mothers affected by HIV and other institutions in Addis Abäba

and other urban centres. However, the country's health care system is still "shockingly ill equipped to carry out a national anti-HIV/AIDS program" (Shinn 2001).

Inevitably, some Ethiopians who have emigrated have been HIV/AIDS carriers. Although none of the Ethiopians who arrived in Israel in the early 1980s via the Sudan were infected, subsequent migrations via Addis Abäba had an every increasing rate of infection. There was a major scandal and violent demonstration in early 1996 when it was revealed that Israeli blood banks had been routinely discarding Ethiopian blood donations because of fear of contamination. Since then the topic has continued to evoke concern, but has been dealt with under the general rubric of countries with high HIV/AIDS rates.

Src.: ASTER TSEGAYE – TOBIAS F. RINKE DE WIT – YARED MEKONNEN et al., "Decline in Prevalence of HIV-1 Infection and Syphilis among Young Women Attending Antenatal Care Clinics in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia: Results from Sentinel Surveillance, 1995–2001", *JAIDS Journal of Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndromes* 30, 2002, 359–62; FEDERAL MINISTRY OF HEALTH OF ETHIOPIA, *AIDS in Ethiopia, 6th Report, National HIV/AIDS Prevention and Control Office*, Addis Ababa 2006; LISA GARBUS, *HIV/AIDS in Ethiopia*, San Francisco, CA 2003 (Country AIDS Policy Analysis Project, University of California San Francisco), 52, 60; GILLES PISON, "Tous les pays du monde (2001)", *Population et Societés* 370, juillet 2001, 2, 7; ID., "Tous les pays du monde (2003)", *Population et Societés* 392, juillet–aout 2003, 7; DAVID H. SHINN, "HIV/AIDS in Ethiopia: the Silence is Broken, the Stigma is Not", *Africa Note* 1 [Washington], July 2001; UNAIDS, *AIDS Epidemic Update: Special Report on HIV/AIDS*, Geneva 2006; WHO – UNAIDS, *Ethiopia. Epidemiological Fact Sheet on HIV/AIDS and Sexually Transmitted Infections*, Geneva 2000; *ibid.*, Geneva 2004.

Lit.: ASTATKE HAILE – ROBERT SERPELL, "Testing the Application of a Western Scientific Theory of AIDS Risk Behavior Among Adolescents in Ethiopia", *Journal of Pediatric Psychology* 25, 6, 2000, 367–79; GETACHEW HAILEMARIAM et al., "Intestinal Parasitic Infections in HIV/AIDS and HIV Seronegative Individuals in a Teaching Hospital, Ethiopia", *Japanese Journal of Infectious Diseases* 57, 2, 2004, 41–43; HELMUT KLOOS – MESFIN S. MULATU – PAUL J. CONVERSE, "Bibliography on HIV/AIDS in Ethiopia and Ethiopians in the Diaspora, 2003 Update", *The Ethiopian Journal of Health Development* 18, 2004, 57–64; FRANCES T. LESTER – SEYOUM AYEHUMIE – DEBREWORK ZEWDIE, "Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome: Seven Cases in an Addis Ababa Hospital", *Ethiopian Medical Journal* 26, 1988, 139–45; TEKEBASH ARAYA – GEORGES RENIERS – AB SCHAAP et al., "Lay Diagnosis of Causes of Death for Monitoring AIDS Mortality in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia", *Tropical Medicine & International Health* 9, 1, January 2004, 178–80; YARED MEKONNEN – REBECCA JEGOU – ROEL A. COUTINHO – JAMES NOKES – ARNAUD FONTANET, "Demographic Impact of AIDS in a Low-Fertility Urban African Setting: Projection for Addis Ababa, Ethiopia", *Journal of Health, Population and Nutrition* 20, 2002, 120–29.

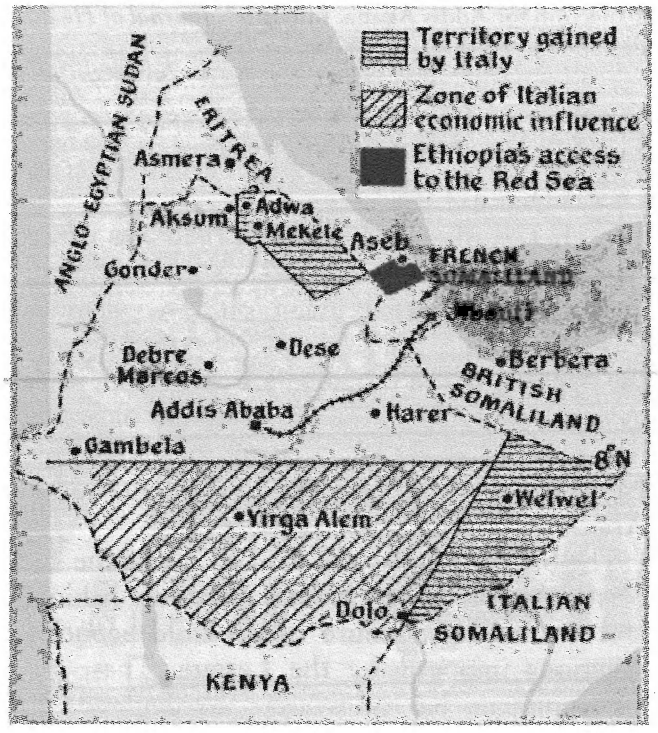
Angelika Wolf

Hoare-Laval Plan

The H.-L.P. of early December 1935 was named after the British Foreign Minister Sir Samuel Hoare and the French Head of the Government Pierre Laval. Formulated some two months after the opening of the Italian Fascist invasion, it was designed to bring about a termination of hostilities, without either an extension of ↗League of Nations' sanctions, or the implementation of Article 19 of the League Charter.

The background to the H.-L.P. lay in the successful Italian advance into northern Ethiopia and the manifest failure of the mild economic sanctions imposed by the League. These two developments led to widespread demands for the full implementation of Article 19 of the Covenant. It stated that any League member "which had resort to war" in "disregard" of the Covenant should be deemed "to have declared war against all other Members". There were also demands for the extension of sanctions to include petrol, without which the Italian air-force could not fly, and for the closing of the Suez Canal, through which Italian soldiers and their weapons had to pass. However, both the British and French Governments were reluctant to alienate Italy by meeting these demands, the more so as Mussolini had threatened, bombastically, to attack the British Navy if sanctions were applied to petrol.

The H.-L.P., which was designed to satisfy Italy, was largely drafted by the head of the Foreign Office's Ethiopia department, Sir Maurice Peterson, in collaboration with Laval, and was finalized in Paris by the British and French ministers on 7 and 8 December 1935. The proposals were revealed to Mussolini before being disclosed to either *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I or the League. The H.-L.P. proposed that Ethiopia should surrender most of ↗Təgray and ↗Ogaden and accept an Italian sphere of economic interest in all southern Ethiopia up to 110 km of Addis Abäba. To sweeten the pill, Ethiopia was to be given the Italian Eritrean port of ↗ᶜAsäb or the British Somaliland port of ↗Zaylaᶜ, with, however, the provision that no railway should be built to link the latter with the Ethiopian interior (Dugan – Lafore 1973:217f.; Hardie 1974:169f.; Waley 1975:48–70).



Robson's map illustrating the agreement made in December 1935 to divide Ethiopia between the European powers; from Pankhurst – Last 1974:47, courtesy of Eric Robson

The H.-L.P., which was immediately leaked to the press, was rejected by both ↗Mussolini, who wanted a spectacular military victory, and by the Emperor, who felt that it endangered Ethiopian sovereignty. British – and much neutral – public opinion was outraged by the fact that the H.-L.P. rewarded the aggressor at the expense of its victim, and revealed the apparent hypocrisy of earlier British Government expressions of loyalty to the League (Salvemini 1953:385–407; Hardie 1974:164–200; Waley 1975:44–70). Hoare was obliged to resign, and Britain's international prestige plummeted (Baer 1967:329). Moves for the extension of the all-important petrol sanction were, however, abandoned.

↗Italian war 1935–36; ↗Treaties

Src.: HSLife 252–57.

Lit.: GEORGE W. BAER, *The Coming of the Italian-Ethiopian War*, London 1967, 329; THOMAS M. COFFEY, *Lion by the Tail: the Story of the Italian-Ethiopian War*, London 1974; ANGELO DEL BOCA, *The Ethiopian War 1935–1941*, Chicago, IL 1969; JAMES DUGAN – LAURENCE DAVIS LAFORE, *Days of Emperor and Clown: the Italo-Ethiopian War 1935–1936*, Garden City, NY 1973, 217f.; FRANK HARDIE, *The Abyssinian Crisis*, London 1974, 164–200; STEPHEN HEALD, *Documents on International Affairs 1935*, vol. 2, London 1937; RICHARD PANKHURST – GEOFFREY CHARLES LAST, *A History of Ethiopia in Pictures*, Addis Ababa 1974, 47 (ill.); GAETANO SALVEMINI, *Prelude to World War II*, London 1953, 385–407; DANIEL WALEY, *British Public Opinion and the Abyssinian War 1935–6*, London 1975, 44–70.

Richard Pankhurst

Hobyo

H. (5° 21' N, 48° 31' E) is a mud and wattle settlement on the Indian Ocean, roughly 480 km north-east of ↗Mogadishu. Some Somalis suggest, especially the Habar Gidir sub-lineage of the ↗Hawiye clan-family who pasture their herds in the environs of H., that its name means 'Here is the place of water'.

Despite its humble visage today and hot arid locale, H. played a significant role in Somali history as the seat of the once-prosperous sultanate of H., established in 1878 by the enterprising Yūsuf ᶜAlī (Yuusuf Calii "Keenadiid" ['He who would not submit to subjugation']). The descriptive nickname refers to the fact that some time in the 1870s Yūsuf ᶜAlī, a scion of the great ruling family of the ↗Mağeerteen sultanate to the east in the town of ᶜAluula on the Gulf of Aden, openly rebelled against his uncle and father-in-law, the *boqor*, or *sulṭān* (*suldaan*), ᶜUṯmān Maḥamūd (Cusmaan Maxamuud). A massive civil war erupted in which Yūsuf ᶜAlī's motley of mercenary Ḥaḍramīs and Indians proved no match for the *boqor*'s much stronger and battle-hardened warriors. Yūsuf ᶜAlī made a perilous flight with his followers southwards to descend on the pastoral Habar Gidir clans, hastily constructed a *garesa*, or watch tower, a massive building to overawe the local people. The Habar Gidir counterattacked, and a bloody slaughter ensued. Although the Habar Gidir clans bravely charged repeatedly, they failed to storm in Yūsuf ᶜAlī's massive fortifications, and they were repulsed with heavy losses. This defeat and consequent occupation was to leave a bitter memory of hostility on the part of the now-dominated Habar Gidir towards the ↗Daarood, Yūsuf ᶜAlī's clan-family. This unfolded with a fearful vengeance more than a century later in the 1990s when, in the wake of Somalia's collapse as a state, the Habar Gidir under the late General Maḥammad Faaraḥ ᶜAydiid, took heavy reprisals against the now-vulnerable Daarood.

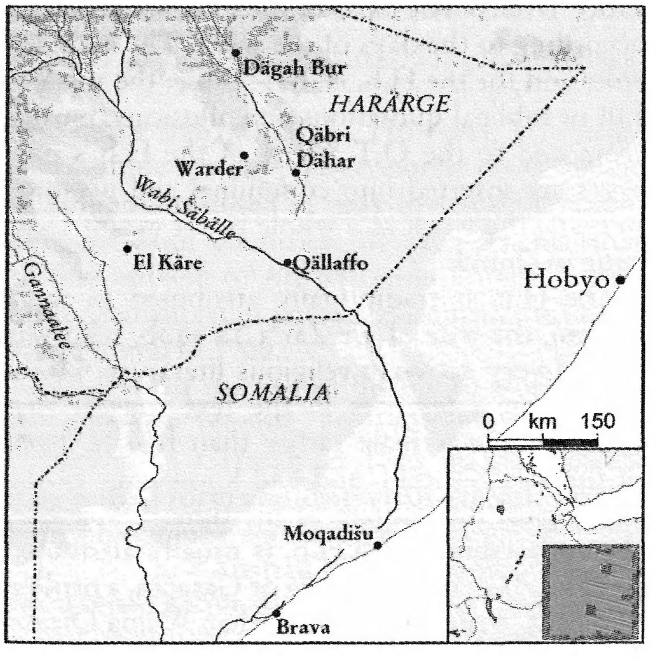
Meanwhile intermittent forays continued between the Mağeerteen and H. sultanates until 1907 when the Dervish Somali anti-colonial movement, under the leadership of *sayyid* ↗Muḥammad ᶜAbdallāh Ḥasan, mystic, poet

and warrior, moved their capital to the town of Eyl on the Indian Ocean, thus occupying a swathe of territory on the coast midway between the two warren sultanates.

The presence of the dervishes in the intervening coast and continued skirmishes between them and the Mağeerteen sultanate gave Yūsuf ᶜAlī's hard-won, desert patrimony a period of peace and prosperity. Trade in hides and skins, ↗ostrich feathers and, above all, the aromatic products of myrrh and frankincense (↗incense) in return for fabrics, household utensils and grains from ↗India, as well as the voluminous importation of the famous Maraykani, or American cotton cloth, gave H. a considerable measure of prosperity near the end of the 19th cent. The town experienced something of a transformative building boom with stone houses and Indian-style porticos replacing the mud and wattle of erstwhile days in the dwellings of the nascent middle class and Yūsuf 's hitherto humble court was transformed into a modern royal house of literacy, record-keeping clerks, courtly hangers-on and learned divines. This, however, was not to last.

With the advent of European ↗colonialism Italians appeared at the Somali coast in the 1880s, encroaching on Yūsuf's kingdom of H., and declared a protectorate over it in 1889. With the expansion of Italian colonial ambitions under ↗Mussolini H. was brought under complete Italian control in 1925.

With the collapse of the Somali state (1991; ↗Somalia) and consequent cataclysmic social upheavals, H. has become a battle ground between various and sundry clans, leaving the city ravished and despoiled, especially in 2005 when a lethal feud between the ᶜAyr and Saleebaan branches of the Habar Gidir, devastated the town, returning it to its erstwhile forlorn state of mud and wattle humble dwellings.



Lit.: CAMERA DI COMMERCIO, INDUSTRIA ED AGRICOLTURA DELLA SOMALIA, *Bibliografia Somala*, Mogadiscio 1958; FRANCESCO S. CAROSELLI, *Ferro e fuoco in Somalia: venti anni di lotta contro Mullah e i dervisci*, Rome 1931; MARGARET CASTAGNO, *Historical Dictionary of Somalia*, Metuchen, NJ 1975; SAID SAMATAR, *Somalia: A Nation in Turmoil*, London 1991; ROBERT LEE HESS, *Italian Colonialism in Somalia*, Chicago, IL 1975; YAASIIN CISMAAN KEENADIID, *Qaamuuska Af-Soomaaliga*, Mogadishu - Firenze 1976; ID., *Ina Cabdille Xasan e la sua attività letteraria*, Napoli 1984.

Said Samatar

Hodson, Arnold Wienholt

Sir Arnold H. (b. 1881, Bovey Tracey, Devonshire, Great Britain, d. 1944) was a military officer and author of travel accounts on Ethiopia. He reached the rank of lieutenant and between 1904–12 he served in the Bechuanaland Protectorate (later Botswana) as a policeman and magistrate. From 1914 to 1927 he was British consul in southern Ethiopia, first working in the region of Boräna and later being assigned to a consular post in Mağı, on the border with British-controlled Sudan.

As an intrepid traveller being well-accepted by the local population (Dizi, Meʾen and Boorana, among others), H. attempted to enhance British interests – delineating and observing borders, opening trade routes and discouraging slave-trading – in the volatile region along the borders of the Sudan and Kenya. In the process he became more and more involved in local affairs, protecting the indigenous people against ↗*šəfta* attacks and Ethiopian imperial maladministration. H. participated in armed campaigns against bandits and poachers and often urged his British superiors to use their influence with the Ethiopian government to improve the country's administration.

During his exploits, which included trekking, butterfly-collecting and big game hunting, H. mapped much of south-western Ethiopia. His detailed sketches and cartographic information, while not always completely accurate, proved to be valuable, and for many decades were to provide helpful data to researchers and military personnel. H. left Ethiopia just before *aṣe*

Ḫaylä Śəllasse's accession to the throne. In his last book, *Where Lion Reign,* he expressed the hope that the young monarch might improve the state of the nation. H. later served as a governor of the Falkland Islands (1929–30), Sierra Leone (1930–34) and the Gold Coast (1934–41), and was knighted in 1934.

H.'s travel accounts (1927, 1929) are a fascinating and readable source on local societies, sites and on the cause of numerous conflicts, as well as on patterns of raiding and trading in the Maği and Boorana regions in the early 20th cent. They contain detailed geographical and ethnographic information about the local ethnic groups, their leaders and their relationship with the state agents, foreign adventurers and raiders who settled down in the area during this period.

Src.: ARNOLD WIENHOLT HODSON, *Trekking the Great Thirst: Sport and Travel in the Kalahari Desert*, London 1912; ID., *Seven Years in Southern Abyssinia*, London 1927; ID., *Where Lion Reign: an Account of Lion Hunting and Exploration in S.W. Abyssinia*, London 1929; ID., "Journeys from Maji, Southwest Abyssinia", *Geographical Journal* 73, 1929, 401–28.

Jon Abbink

Höfner, Maria

H. (b. 11 October 1900, Linz an der Donau, d. 5 November 1992, Graz) was an Austrian Orientalist. She studied Semitic Philology and Ancient History in Graz with Nikolaus Rhodokanakis, a Semitist who worked on South Arabian inscriptions. After obtaining a doctorate she researched on ↗Epigraphic South Arabian and published Sabaean and Qatabanian inscriptions. In 1940 she became a lecturer in Semitic Philology, at the University of Vienna, with particular emphasis on South Arabian and Ethiopic languages. The further stages of her academic career were, from 1944, in Tübingen, where she was appointed extraordinary professor in 1954, and, after 1964, in Graz, where she held the chair of Oriental Studies.

H. was well-known for her *Altsüdarabische Grammatik* (1943). She devoted much of her time to the edition of South Arabian inscriptions collected by Carl Rathjens and especially by Eduard ↗Glaser. The publication of *Das Feteḥ Maḥārī* contains her translation of the Təgre text recorded by Karl Gustaf Rodén. In 1956 appeared the first fascicle of the *Wörterbuch der Tigrē-Sprache*, by Enno ↗Littmann and H., who after the death of Littmann in 1958 continued and completed the work. The first volume of the *Wörterbuch der Mythologie: Götter und Mythen im Vorderen Orient* includes chapters on Northern, Central and South Arabia as well as one on "Die Semiten Äthiopiens" by H.

Src.: MARIA HÖFNER, *Altsüdarabische Grammatik*, Leipzig 1943; EAD., *Das Feteḥ Maḥārī: Sitten und Recht der Mänsaᶜ*, Wiesbaden 1951; HANS WILHELM HAUSSIG (ed.), *Wörterbuch der Mythologie: Götter und Mythen im Vorderen Orient*, vol. 1, Stuttgart 1965; ENNO LITTMANN – MARIA HÖFNER, *Wörterbuch der Tigrē–Sprache, Tigrē–Deutsch–Englisch*, Wiesbaden 1962.

Lit.: WALTER WILHELM MÜLLER, "Maria Höfner", *Archiv für Orientforschung* 40–41, 1993–94, 311–34; ROSWITHA GERMANA STIEGNER, "Die Veröffentlichungen von Maria Höfner", in: EAD. (ed.), *Al-Hudhud: Festschrift Maria Höfner zum 80. Geburtstag*, Graz 1981, 1–23.

Walter W. Müller

Ḫoğa Murād ↗Murād, *ḫoğa*

Ḫoḫətä bərhan

Ḫ.b. (ኖኅተ፡ ብርሃን, 'Gate of the Light') is the title of a Marian hymnological composition (↗Hymns) known also as ፀዳለ፡ ብርሃን (*Ṣädalä bərhan*, 'The Splendour of the Light') or ፀዳለ፡ ፀሐይ (*Ṣädalä ṣäḥay*, 'The Splendour of the Sun'). Since in this work St. ↗Mary is metaphorically considered to be the gate through which the Light, or Sun (i.e. Christ) came to illuminate the world, the Ḫ.b. can also receive the name ሙፃእ፡ ፀሐይ (*Muṣaᵓa ṣäḥay*, 'The Exit of the Sun').

The Ḫ.b. is a composite work of prose and poetry, a large part of which contains invocations, prayers and praises, mainly addressed to Mary. There is also a section of prayers and praises addressed to God the Father, to Christ and to the Holy Trinity. The parts of the Ḫ.b. are arranged according to the days of the week. The main inspiration for the Ḫ.b. is the ↗Bible; the work is full of biblical quotations and allusions, mostly from and to the O.T. Many of the Ḫ.b.'s passages are inserted into communal and personal prayers; the work as a whole is not meant to be sung in church.

The Ḫ.b. is traditionally attributed to *ətege* ↗Əleni, the wife of *aṣe* Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob, who was indeed very active in religious literature. However, some references in the text suggest that the author was male rather than female, lived in the 16th/17th cent. and had knowledge of the theological discussions of his time. Otherwise, the authorship of the Ḫ.b. is usually attributed to *abba* ↗Giyorgis of Sägla or Gasəčča, a prolific 15th-cent. writer (s. Aklilä Bərhan Wäldä Qirqos

1945:83; Wäldä Hanna Täklä Haymanot 1959: 51; Getatchew Haile 1981:129, n. 93).

Src.: *liqä ṭäbbäbt* Aklilä Bərhan Wäldä Qirqos, መርሐ፡ ልቡና (*Märḥa ləbbuna*, 'The Guide of the Conscience'), Addis Abäba 1945 A.M. [1952/53 A.D.], 83; Marcus van den Oudenrijn (ed.), *Helenae Aethiopicum Reginae quae feruntur preces et carmina*, Louvain 1960–61 (CSCO 208, 211 [SA 39, 40]), 94–134 (text) = 85–112 (tr.); Osvaldo Raineri, *La spiritualità etiopica*, Roma 1996; Wäldä Hanna Täklä Haymanot (ed.), መጽሐፈ፡ አርጋኖን (*Mäṣḥafä arganon*, 'The Book of the Organ'), Addis Abäba 1959 A.M. [1966/67 A.D.] 1–8, 69–75, 134–44, 203–11, 272–81, 335–41, 371–78.

Lit.: Getatchew Haile, "Religious Controversies and the Growth of Ethiopic Literature in the 14th and 15th Centuries", *OrChr* 65, 1981, 102–36, here 129, n. 93; Genevieve Nollet, "Le culte de Marie en Éthiopie", in: Hubert Du Manoir de Juaye (ed.), *Maria, études sur la Sainte Vierge*, vol. 1, Paris 1949, 395–413, here 403f.; Osvaldo Raineri, "L'Effigie di Maria 'Patto di Misericordia'. Note per un 'Mariale Aethiopicum'", *Ephemerides Liturgicae* 103, 1989, 92–109, here 107; RicLett 828.

Habtemichael Kidane

Höhnel, Ludwig Ritter von

H. (b. 6 August 1857, Preßburg/Bratislava, d. 23 March 1942, Vienna) was an Austrian naval officer and explorer. In 1876, he entered the Austro-Hungarian navy. Between 1886–89, he participated in the Ostafrika-Expedition led by Count Samuel Teleki von Szék and established under the auspices of Crown Prince Rudolf. During the expedition, which was to discover Lakes Rudolf (↗Turkana Lake) and Stefanie, he was in charge of the geographical section and carried out scholarly research.

Between 1899–1903, H. was aide-de-camp of Emperor Franz Joseph, and in 1905 he was appointed to head the Austro–Hungarian delegation sent to ↗Mənilək II to conclude a treaty of commerce and friendship. However, H.'s negative attitude towards the economic development of Ethiopia resulted in only low-scale relations between both countries. In 1905–09, he led a further mission to Australia and Polynesia until his retirement from active service with the title of rear-admiral in 1909.

He devoted the rest of his life to working on his scholarly records. His memoirs were first published in German in 1926 in a somewhat abbreviated form and then in an English version with a biography and annotations.

↗Austria, relations with; ↗Treaties

Src.: Ludwig Ritter von Höhnel, *Mein Leben zur See, auf Forschungsreisen und bei Hofe: Erinnerungen eines Österreichischen Seeoffiziers (1857–1909)*, Berlin 1926 (Engl.: *Over Land and Sea: Memoirs of an Austrian Rear Admiral's Life in Europe and Africa, 1857–1909*, ed. by Ronald E. Coons – Pascal James Imperato, New York 2000).

Lit.: Bairu Tafla, *Ethiopia and Austria: a History of their Relations*, Wiesbaden 1994 (AeF 35), 86–107, 281f.

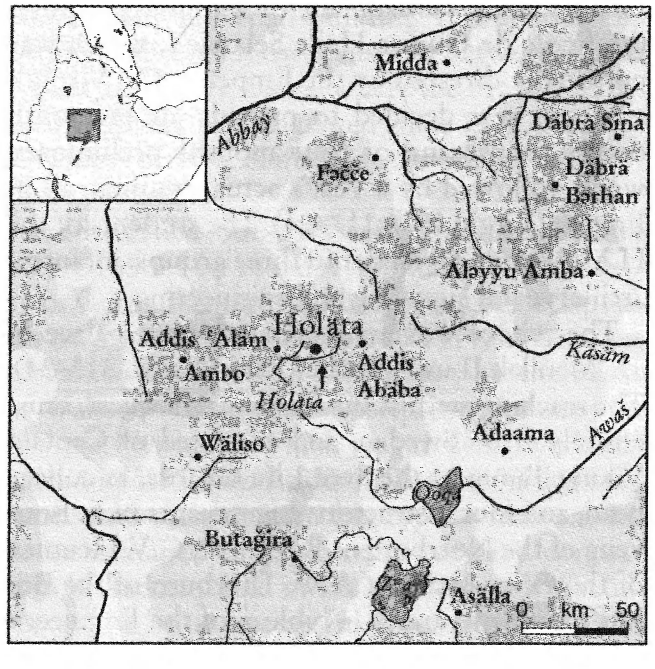
Wolfgang Hahn

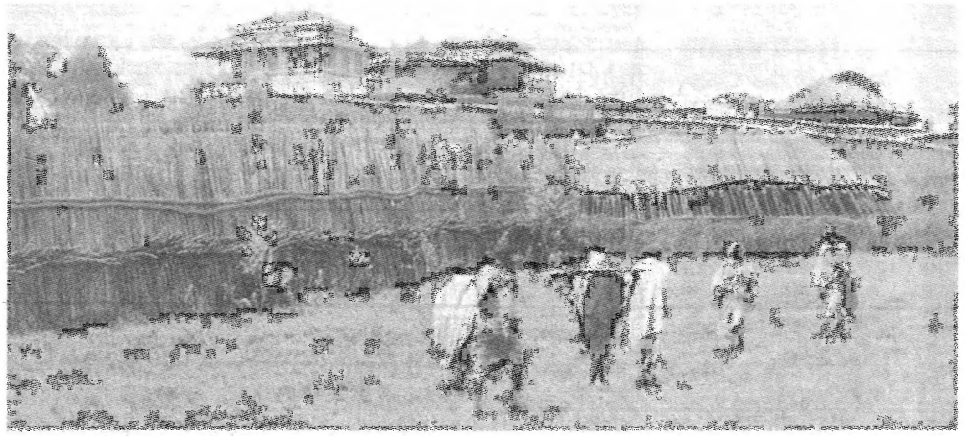
Holäta

H. (ሆለታ, Oromo sp. Hoolota) is the name of a river and a town (09°04' N, 38°30' E 2,450 m A.S.L.), now also known as Gännät or Holäta Gännät, ca. 45 km west of Addis Abäba.

The settlement was established by *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II and *ətege* ↗Ṭaytu in 1902 after Mənilək abandoned his plan to move his capital to ↗Addis ʿAläm, and decided instead to solve the wood shortage in ↗Addis Abäba by building a road between it and Addis ʿAläm. This road, one of the first in the country, ran for part of its route by the H. river, where the settlement of ʿAynä ʿAläm ('Eye of the World'), later renamed after the river, came into existence. There Mənilək ordered to erected a fine palace, on a nearby elevated site. His wife, seated in her purple tent, supervised the town's development. This included some canalization of river water. H. soon had a population of some 15,000 inhabitants, and, because of the Emperor's frequent presence there, was nicknamed by Germans the "Potsdam of Ethiopia".

The town declined in importance after Mənilək's death, but regained some prominence in 1935 when *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I chose H. as the site for the country's first military academy





The Holäta palace of *aṣe* Mənilək II; photo early 20th cent., from *Die Woche* 1910:1440

(↗Holäta Military Academy). In 2000 the town had a population of 22,554 inhabitants.

Src.: GueCopMen 499f.; CSA 2000.

Lit.: PankHist II, 313f., 360; *Die Woche* 34, 1910, 1440.

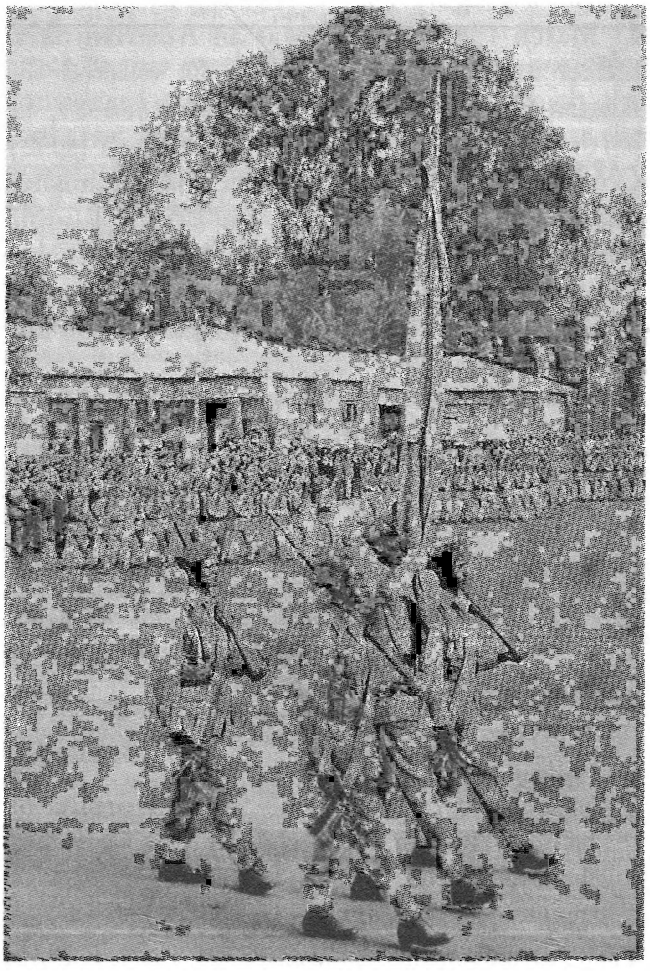
Richard Pankhurst

Holäta Military Academy

The H.M.A. (**ሆለታ፡ የጦር፡ ትምህርት፡ ቤት**, *Holäta yäṭor təmhərt bet*, later *Gännät yäṭor təmhərt bet*) 45 km west of Addis Abäba, was established in 1935 on the eve of the Italian fascist invasion (↗Italian war 1935–36). Following his European visit of 1924, which had taken him to Sweden, *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I, faced with the threat of invasion – and the need to modernize the Ethiopian army, asked the Swedish government in 1933 to find him a military adviser (↗Sweden, relations with). A Swedish general, Eric ↗Virgin, was duly appointed, and was asked by the Emperor to advise on the establishment of a military school: the École de Guerre Haile Selassie I, which was personally directed by the Emperor. On Virgin's advice it was decided to provide an 18-month course, consisting of four months preliminary work, followed by a year's actual training, all in French (Virgin 1936:117–24). The students of the H.M.A. were divided into three groups: infantry; artillery; and signaling and engineering.

The school was housed in a former palace of *aṣe* Mənilək II in ↗Holäta (PankHist II, 313–34). The teaching staff, at the Emperor's request, came entirely from Sweden, and consisted of Captain Viking Tamm of the Svea Life Guards, as college head, and four instructors: Lieutenants N.E. Bouveng of the Norrbottens Regiment, G.V. Heuman of the Göta Artillery, A.W. Thorburn of the Bohus Regiment, and A. Nyblom of the Engineers. Teaching, of 105 cadets later increased to 148, began at the end of January 1935 and the school was officially opened at the end of March – only six months before the beginning of the war to which the cadets were duly despatched: 17 were killed in battle and 24 executed after capture (Halldin-Norberg 1977: 137ff.). A monument was later erected to those who had fallen.

The school was re-opened and expanded soon after Ethiopia's liberation in 1941, when it was run by officers of the British Military Mission in Ethiopia, who used English as the language of instruction. They were replaced, in 1948, by members of the United States Military Assistance Advisory Group, who were later in their turn withdrawn.



Cadets of the Gännät Military Academy (the former Holäta Military Academy) around 1960; from Hamere Selassie Bette Mariam 1964:300

The H.M.A. was expanded after the ↗Revolution of 1974, during the *Därg* period. It was renamed after General ↗Mulugeta Buli (a H.M.A. cadet of 1935) who was assassinated in the palace, together with other officials and dignitaries, when the ↗coup d'état 1960 (s. EAE II, 1081f.) failed. After the change of regime in 1991, the new government took it over and used it as a place of political education for political and military prisoners for a short period. Then it was re-established as a military school. It was renamed after General Ḫayyälom Arʾaya upon his death in 1998.

Src.: HSLife 107.

Lit.: VIVECA HALLDIN-NORBERG, *Swedes in Haile Selassie's Ethiopia, 1924–1952: a Study in Early Development Co-operation*, Uppsala 1977, 130–41; HAMERE SELASSIE BETTE MARIAM, *የልማት፡ ዕድገት፡ በኢትዮጵያ. Development in Ethiopia: la mise en valeur de l'Ethiopie. ፲፱፻፴፫–፲፱፻፺፯ 1941–1964*, ed. by the MINISTRY OF INFORMATION, Addis Abeba 1957 A.M. [1964 A.D.], 300 (ill.); IMPERIAL ETHIOPIAN GOVERNMENT, MINISTRY OF NATIONAL DEFENCE, *In Memory of the Silver Jubilee Celebration of the Genet Haile Selassie I Military School*, Addis Ababa, 1952 A.M. [1959/60 A.D.]; MAMMO ESHETU HAILE MARIAM, *The History of Haile Selassie Military Academy since its Foundation to 1977*, Ph.D. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1990, 5–8; PankHist II, 313f.; ERIC VIRGIN, *The Abyssinia I Knew*, London 1936, 117–24.

Richard Pankhurst

Holland, Trevenen James

Colonel H. (b. 1836, d. 1910) was a British officer who participated in the ↗Napier expedition of 1867–68 and co-authored the official British Government history thereof. The son of a colonel, H. studied at Oxford before joining the army. He served in the Crimean war, in India, where he was involved in crushing the Indian Mutiny and in several other British campaigns. Head of the Intelligence Department in the Mäqdäla expedition, he was mentioned in dispatches and immediately afterwards appointed a Companion of the Bath.

H. wrote extensively on military matters and is remembered for his remarkably detailed and exhaustively documented two-volume *Record of the Expedition to Abyssinia*, which he co-authored with the British officer ↗Hozier (1870). In 1910, shortly before H. died, he stood, unsuccessfully, as a Conservative Parliamentary candidate.

Src.: CLEMENTS MARKHAM, *A History of the Abyssinian Expedition*, London 1869; TREVENEN JAMES HOLLAND – HENRY MONTAGUE HOZIER, *Record of the Expedition to Abyssinia*, London 1870.

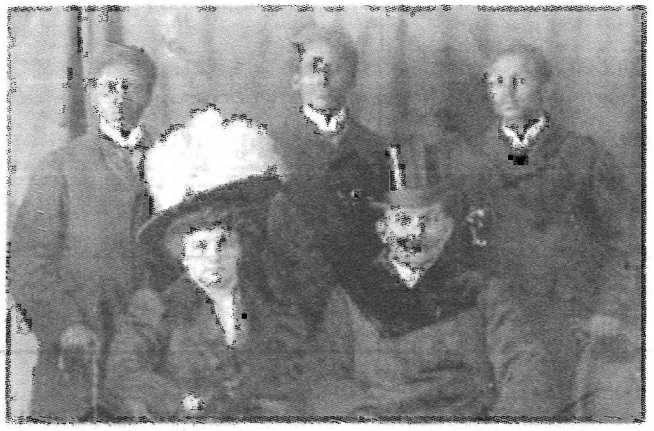
Richard Pankhurst

Holtz, Arnold

H. was an early 20th-cent. German financial adventurer and, at times, diplomatic agent who epitomized the "concession-hunters", a prominent feature of post-↗ᶜAdwa Ethiopia. He first came to Ethiopia in 1902. In March 1904, he acquired a mining concession, the first of his many concessions. A company by the name of the Abessinische Bergwerks- und Handelsgesellschaft was formed in Berlin in November 1905 to exploit the concession. The company fizzled out barely a year later amidst mutual recriminations. H. then turned his full attention to the Abyssinian Mining Syndicate, that he had been instrumental in forming. Although it seemed to enjoy some degree of imperial favour (one of its important meetings actually being held in the German Reichstag), the initial euphoria could not be matched by any concrete results in the realm of mining.

Part of the problem for H.'s business undertakings was that the German government (↗Germany), and, particularly, the Legation in Addis Abäba, viewed him with considerable circumspection, not to say downright hostility. Although H. might have played some role in the advent of the ↗Rosen mission to Ethiopia in 1905, which effectively marked the beginning of Ethio–German diplomatic relations, he later fell out with the leaders of that mission. However, like most of the concession-hunters, he managed to ingratiate himself with the Ethiopian rulers. He particularly endeared himself to *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II when he brought a motor car to Ethiopia in 1908. He followed this up with concessions for road-building throughout the empire and for motor-transport between Addis Abäba and Dərre Dawa, where the Franco–Ethiopian railway had stagnated since 1902. As with so many of H.'s concessions, nothing came of these two, either.

As it turned out, H.'s record of total failure was redeemed by two developments in the history of German enterprise that form a postscript to his own futile undertakings. In 1914, he brought to Ethiopia a German pharmacist by the name of Walter ↗Zahn, who subsequently opened St. George Pharmacy, which was to remain a landmark in downtown Addis Abäba for quite a long time. And although, in his typical fashion, H. never managed to exploit the brewery concession he had acquired in 1913, it became a precursor to the more-successful concession acquired



Arnold Holtz with Täsämma Ǝšäte, Astaṭqe and Wäldä Ṣadəq, on the day of their departure for Germany; photo courtesy of Tadele Y. Tesemma

and exploited by his compatriot, David ↗Hall, after World War I.

Src.: ARNOLD HOLTZ, *Im Auto zu Kaiser Menelik*, Berlin 1908; ID., *Am Tor der Tränen (Bab el Mandeb): afrikanische Erlebnisse eines deutschen Kuriers*, Berlin 1929; Zentrales Staatsarchiv (Potsdam), Auswärtiges Amt 406, 1924; diary of Hermann ("Opa") Götz, ms.

Lit.: BAHRU ZEWDE, "Concessions and Concession-Hunters in Post-Adwa Ethiopia: the Case of Arnold Holtz", *Africa* [Roma] 45, 1990, 365–83; BAIRU TAFLA, *Ethiopia and Germany: Cultural, Political and Economic Relations, 1871–1936*, Wiesbaden 1981 (AeF 5), 100–04, 127f., 134ff., 167f.

Bahru Zewde

Holy Land ↗Jerusalem

Holy men

Although most traditions attach special significance to the activities of religious specialists, the phenomenon of H.m. and holy women (↗Saints) in Ethiopia is most prominent in the monotheistic faiths. Often the H.m. are viewed as individuals who represent the living incarnation of the values of a particular religious tradition. While some H.m. are viewed as models to be imitated, in other cases a two-tiered system exists in which the H.m. represent a standard of devotion beyond that expected of average believers. In addition to the messages conveyed by their conduct, H.m. also have a vital function in assisting believers in their daily lives through the performance of both mundane and miraculous deeds.

A complex relationship exists between the living H.m. and the ↗saints who are commemorated after their death through ritual and literature. Although H.m. are venerated in their own lifetimes, in many cases the only records of the H.m.'s activities are posthumous accounts. Thus, the knowledge which survives of the living H.m. is often derived from the commemoration of the deceased saints through oral traditions, written texts, and their commemoration in ritual. This is particularly noteworthy in Ethiopia where none of the religious traditions appear to have formal rites of canonization. Thus, while it is convenient to distinguish between the living H.m., who are present in the lives of the believers, and the saints (Eth. ቅዱሳን, *qəddusan*; Arab. اولياء, *awliyāʾ*), who are venerated after their death, our knowledge of the former is usually available because of the special honour accorded to the latter. This distinction is also important, because it reminds us that not every H.m. venerated in his lifetime is commemorated later as a saint. Moreover, some saints of the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥədo) Church were not H.m.

Christian holy men

Most H.m. of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church were either monastic leaders or ↗hermits. By virtue of their monastic vocation and ascetic life style, these Christian H.m. acquired a unique status which enabled them to fill a vital mediatory role in Ethiopian society. In the process of becoming monks, the H.m. stripped themselves of their secular identity and were reborn as new social beings. This was most prominently symbolized by the assumption of a new garb and a new name (↗*Śərʿatä mənkʷəsənna*); the H.m.'s special status was further augmented by the separation from their bonds of kinship and the norms of secular society. Most conspicuous among the ascetic labours were celibacy and virginity. Dietary restrictions (especially abstinence from prepared foods) and ↗fasting were also common among H.m. Sleeplessness, restricted movement such as standing in one place for long periods, and the wearing of uncomfortable garments were among the other formative ascetic practices associated with the H.m.

Through their initiation and ascetic practices H.m. acquired a unique multi-faceted religious persona. Stripped of their original social identity, they were able to re-enter society as new beings, "strangers" with neither family nor native region. In this "stranger" role they were able to intervene with an air of impartiality in both political and domestic disputes. From a position outside and somewhat above normal human society, they offered the possibility of just and unbiased verdicts to parties in dispute.

Both as monks and as ascetics the H.m. were believed to have achieved a status similar to that of ↗angels. Hagiographic texts make frequent comparisons between the appearance, character, behaviour and garb of the H.m. and those of the angels. Most importantly, the monastic H.m. were believed to be like angels and St. Mary as mediatory figures capable of communicating between man and a remote, unreachable God.

One important expression of the H.m.'s special relationship with God was that their prayers were believed to be especially efficacious in achieving cures. Plagued by a variety of ailments and medical complaints, people travelled to the H.m. in the hope of being healed (↗Healers). Such cures as were achieved, resulted not from the H.m.'s application of any special medical knowledge or training, but rather of his use of religious techniques and objects including prayer, the Cross, the Eucharist, holy water, and their monastic garb. In addition to protecting men from ↗demons and disease, the H.m. also guarded them and their property from the attacks of animals. Lions, snakes, locusts and other wild creatures, were driven off and even killed by power of the H.m. Since such animals were frequently perceived of as emissaries of Satan or even Satan himself (↗Devil), the holy man's victory represented not only a practical achievement, but also a triumph over the demonic forces which threatened human society.

The H.m.'s encounters with the members of the natural world were not confined to conflicts alone. Some H.m. were believed to be able to communicate with a wide variety of creatures. The H.m., who scorned human kinship and prepared food in order to live in the wilderness and eat food in its natural state, were capable of mediating between the realms of man and beast, enjoying a coexistence with the animal kingdom reminiscent of the period before the Fall.

The tensions within society were frequently expressed in the dramatic idiom of "Satanic" possession (↗Possession cults). In their role as exorcists, the monastic H.m. attempted to pinpoint, isolate, and resolve such areas of tension. In dramatic confrontations, the demonic forces which threatened society were challenged head on and defeated by the forces of good and the representatives of order as presented by the H.m.

The vast majority of the H.m. commemorated in the hagiographic literature of the Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church were the leaders of monastic communities (↗Monasticism). In their role as abbots, these H.m. assumed many of the responsibilities of other leaders of local communities. Like the representatives of regional polities, the H.m. had to be constantly on guard in order to protect his community of loyal followers from the kings' attempts to centralize the administration of the kingdom. The recruitment of disciples and the selection of a new abbot were two areas that were especially vulnerable to royal interference.

The influence of the H.m. was not confined to their monastic communities. Often the H.m. are remembered for championing particular causes. This was especially the case in the 14th and 15th cent. when they headed monastic movements with a strong regional character. However, it was also an important theme during the encounter with the ↗Jesuit missionaries and during the theological controversies of the ↗*Zämänä mäsafənt*. Numerous H.m. played an active role in the political life of the court forming alliances with local rulers and members of the royal family, and seeking to influence the succession process. The H.m. also played an active role in the incessant military campaigns that characterized the history of the Christian empire. The prayers of H.m. were believed to have an enormous impact on the outcome of a battle.

In return for predictions and blessings before a battle and encouraging the troops on the battlefield, the H.m.'s monastic community received gifts of land, booty and established valuable relationships with rulers, military leaders, and common soldiers. Thus, even in the military sphere, the H.m. can be seen to have played a role not unlike that of local rulers and nobles.

In summary, the monastic H.m.'s exalted position in Christian Ethiopia was based upon his ability to perform a wide variety of functions for the benefit of those who followed and believed in them. Some of these functions carried with them no inherent religious significance and were, in essence, similar to the activities and responsibilities of secular chiefs and rulers. As leaders of monastic communities, many H.m. had responsibility for multi-faceted institutions with political, military, social and economic functions. However, it would be misleading and reductionist to view the monastic H.m. as nothing more than nobles in monk's clothing. Their unique status was also based on their role as the

most accessible representatives on a decidedly "this-worldly" religious ethos. Explanations of and solutions to many of the problems which confronted believers in their daily lives were provided by the H.m. whose monasticism and distinctive lifestyle were believed to have equipped them to serve as exorcists, mediators, healers, subduers of wild animals, and most important, intercessors before God.

Betä Ǝsraʾel holy men

Like their Christian counterparts, ↗Betä Ǝsraʾel H.m. are drawn from the monastic clergy. This institution appears to have emerged among the Betä Ǝsraʾel around the 14th or 15th cent. and is attributed to the activities of *abba* ↗Sabra and his disciple ↗Ṣägga Amlak. It continued to be a central element of their religious life until the 20th cent. Betä Ǝsraʾel H.m. are remembered for introducing important elements of their religious practice such as literary works and purity laws and for the miracles they performed. Many are also recalled as defenders of the faith versus Christianity. They are commemorated at numerous holy places in Ethiopia, which often served as pilgrimage sites, but not in written texts. A small number of sites are associated with Betä Ǝsraʾel holy women.

Muslim holy men

The history of Muslim H.m. in Ethiopia has yet to receive extended scholarly attention. Partially, at least, the lack of attention appears to be due to the tendency to emphasize the role of traders and warriors in the spread of ↗Islam in Ethiopia at the expense of clerics and leaders of ↗Islamic brotherhoods. It also appears to be linked to the fact that in contrast to the Christian case, the deeds of Muslim H.m. in Ethiopia are remembered far more prominently in oral traditions than in the written sources. Only in recent years has the crucial role of Muslim H.m. possessing *karāma* (Arab. 'divine favour') and capable of transmitting *baraka* (Arab. 'holiness, blessing') begun to emerge. On the basis of this preliminary material it is possible to trace the main points in the lives of some H.m. and to offer some preliminary generalizations regarding their characteristics.

One feature which distinguishes Muslim H.m. from their Christian counterparts is their inherently international character. While the major Ethiopian monastic houses were local entities confined to Ethiopia, Muslim H.m. were often part of a wider network of ↗Islamic brotherhoods. In a similar fashion the emergence of *Ṣūfī* (Muslim mystic) H.m. in Ethiopia appears to be intimately linked to contacts with the wider Muslim world, most notably the Ḥiǧāz (↗Arabia). In contrast to the Christian H.m., who were celibate and had only spiritual descendents, Muslim *šayḫs* often had both spiritual and physical descendents (↗*Šayḫ*). Thus holy families are a common phenomenon. The ↗ʿAd Šek, for example, were a holy family in Eritrea, who were composed of descendants of *šayḫ* al-Amīn b. Ḥāmid b. Nāfʿūtāy, who arrived in the region in the 19th cent. The reputation of the *šayḫ* and his descendants for preaching and miracle working attracted many followers to Islam.

Finally, because of the existence of a clearly articulated code of religious law in Islam ((↗Šarīaʿ), much of the Muslim H.m.'s reputation rested on their personal observance and obedience to this code. These differences notwithstanding, many of the characteristics attributed to Christian H.m. are also found in traditions regarding the Muslim H.m., including ascetic behavior and the performance of miracles.

Ḥāǧǧī šayḫ sayyid Bušrā b. ʿAlī (1756–1855) is one of many Muslim H.m. commemorated at various sites by the ↗Argobba people, the possible remnants of the population of ↗Ifat. He was a contemporary of *šayḫ* Sulaymān Dağdağ, who himself was a great-grandson of *šayḫ* ↗Ḥusayn of Bale. Oral tradition credits him with a significant role as arbitrator in solving local conflicts and with having gone without drinking for 72 days during a period of drought until a heavy rain fell. Indeed, this was only one of the many miracles he is said to have performed. Others included: blinding lions, producing harmony between hyenas and donkeys, paralyzing his enemies and reading a chapter of the Qurʾān from a distance of six feet.

The Wällo of the 19th cent. was also home to a number of important *Ṣūfī* H.m, who are remembered for their high level of religious observance and their clashes with those who favored a less rigorous adherence to Islamic law. The earliest of these, *šayḫ* ↗Muḥammad Šāfī, is said to have divided his time between teaching, prayer and ↗*ǧihād*. He is remembered for having turned horses into oxen to feed his troops and calling down God's wrath on a local chief who confiscated his land. *Šayḫ* ↗Ǧaʿfar Bukko was the son of a well-known mystic and miracle worker,

Ṣiddīq Bukko. *Šayḫ* Ǧaᶜfar had a reputation as an ascetic and missionary as well as a reformer who criticized both religious officials who deviated from Islamic law and secular rulers who lived in luxury while their communities suffered. *Ḥāǧǧī* ↗Bušrā āy Muḥammad is remembered for his unrelenting struggle against non-Islamic practices including the *zār* cult (↗Possession cults), excessive consumption of ↗*čat*, and ritual ↗sacrifices under trees known as *gobadan*. Although there is a tradition that he was killed at the behest of *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II who feared his popularity, he appears to have died of natural causes.

↗Christianity; ↗Islam; ↗Monasticism; ↗Saints

Lit.: SHOSHANA BEN-DOR, "Meqomot ha-qodašim šel yehudey Etiyopia" ('The Holy Places of Ethiopian Jewry'), *Peamim* 22 1985, 32–35; WILLIAM BUSHELL – BAIDEMARIAM DESTA – KIM BUSHELL, "From Hagiography to Ethnography via Psychophysiology Towards an Understanding of Advanced Ethiopian Christian Ascetics", in: *PICES* 11, vol. 2, 41–60; EncSan; HirKr-Saints; JAMES HOWARD-JOHNSTON – PAUL ANTHONY HAYWARD (eds.), *The Cult of Saints in Late Antiquity and Middle Ages. Essays on the Contribution of Peter Brown*, Oxford 1999; HUSSEIN AHMED, "Introducing an Arabic Hagiography from Wallo", *PICES* 8, vol. 1, 185–97; ID., "The Life and Career of Shaykh Balha Ja'far", in: *PICES* 10, 567–76; HusIslam; MINAKO ISHIHARA, "The Life History of a Muslim Holyman: *Al-Faki* Ahmad Umar", in: *PICES* 13, vol. 2, 391–402; STEVEN KAPLAN, "The Ethiopian Holy Man as Outsider and Angel", *Religion* 15, 1981, 107–23; KapMon (Lit.); KinBibl; WOLF LESLAU, "Taamarat Emmanuel's Notes on Falasha Monks and Holy Places", in: SAUL LIEBERMAN (ed.), *Salo Wittmayer Baron Jubilee Volume*, vol. 2, Jerusalem 1974, 623–37; PAOLO MARRASSINI, *Gadla Yoḥannes Mesrāqāwi. Vita di Yoḥannes l'Orientale*, Firenze 1981 [1982] (Quaderni di semitistica 10), introduction.

Steven Kaplan

Holy women ↗Saints

Holy Trinity Theological College

The H. (ቅድስት፡ ሥላሴ፡ መንፈሳዊ፡ ኮሌጅ, *qəddəst śəllase mänfäsawi kolleǧ*) was the first modern theological school of the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥədo) Church (EOTC). It was established on a site constructed during the Italian occupation adjacent to the ↗Qəddəst Śəllase cathedral and inaugurated in December 1944 by *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I. The Emperor was eager to see more competent clergymen, and prior to the establishment of the H., 20 church scholars had been chosen to receive modern theological education at the ↗Gännätä Ləᶜul Palace under the guidance of Professor Bäträ Ṣadəq Kaśa (Shenk 1972:241f.). Later, the Emperor financed the H. from his private treasury until the Ministry of Education assumed responsibility.

The H.'s main goals were to enable traditionally educated priests and scholars to acquire modern ↗education, both religious and secular; to train qualified teachers of religion and morals who could interpret the Christian faith in a way more meaningful and acceptable to the contemporary society; and to teach the young people Ethiopia's spiritual and cultural heritage alongside modern western education.

Initially a theological school serving elementary level, the H. later expanded to cover secondary and university level and was arranged in four sections. In the first, the three- (later four-) year Priests Section, traditional scholars graduated in one or more fields took part and emphasis was given on secular subjects. In the six- (later eight-) year Deacons Section, deacons with some background in elementary traditional education were trained in more advanced traditional church education and modern education. These sections were later integrated into Elementary School which continued until 1960. In the High School section, students – mostly coming from St. Paul (serving as a seminary) and Harär Ras Mäkʷännən church boarding schools – were instructed in secular subjects to qualify for the Ethiopian School Leaving Certificate Exam. The fourth, Religion Teachers' Training Section was opened to answer the need of the Ministry of Education for morals teachers in its elementary schools.

In October 1960, the College Section was opened by the Ministry of Education in consultation with Church authorities. A year later, the H. became one of the six chartered units of the newly opened Ḫaylä Śəllase I University (↗Addis Abäba University). In line with the University's administrative system, the H. continued to train young theologians who could occupy important positions both in the Patriarchate and governmental institutions.

During the initial years of the school, it was administered by the board of governors headed by *abunä* ↗Tewoflos, the then spokesman to the Patriarch and Archbishop of Harär, with representation from the Ministry of Education, the government, and the church. The everyday activity of the school was headed by Marcos Daoud (b. 1897, d. 1986) of the ↗Coptic Church with the Ethiopian and Coptic teaching staff (Shenk 1972:243). The college section was

The Library and Secretariat of Holy Trinity College, previously the Office for the Abolition of Slavery; photo 2007, courtesy of Tilmann Chromer and Miriam Amine

administered by scholars from other sisterly churches like Bishop Terenig Poladian of the Armenian Church (1960–63), Dr. K.C. Joseph (1963–67), Father A.T. Gabriel (1967–69) and Dr. V.C. Samuel (1969–?) from the Indian Orthodox Church (Shenk 1972:244).

With the coming of the *Därg* (↗Provisional Military Administrative Council) the H. was put, first, under three years of sanction; later its property was fully confiscated. Despite the attempts by various Church officials, including the Patriarch, to recuperate the H., it stayed under the control of the military government for 17 years, loosing most of its students and functions. When the EPRDF came to power, in October 1994 the Church under the Patriarch *abunä* Ṗawlos was able to regain control of the H. that was reopened in 1995, with 12 academic staff members and some 150 students, including women, offering degree and diploma program.

Today, the H. offers baccalaureate, diploma and certificate programs and is on the way to offer postgraduate studies. It is headed by a dean, appointed by the Patriarch, and is ruled by an executive board, accountable to the Holy Synod of the EOTC.

Src.: ESUBALEW WOLDE SELLASSIE, "The Holy Trinity Theological College in Retrospect", *The Ethiopian Herald* LVL, 18, 2 October 1999; የቅድስት፡ ሥላሴ፡ መንፈሳዊ፡ ኮሌጅ፡ የዜና፡ ሠሌዳ። *Bulletin of the Theological College*, Addis Abäba.

Lit.: Bishop TERENIG POLADIAN, *Recommendations Concerning the Strengthening and Perpetuation of the Theological College*, Addis Ababa 1963; MÄRŠA ALÄḴÄÑÑ, "የኢትዮጵያ፡ ኦርቶዶክስ፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ ከፍተኛ፡ ትምህርት፡ ተቋማት" (*Yä'ityopya ortodoks betä krəstiyan käftäññä təmhərt täqʷamat*, 'The High Education Institutions of the Orthodox Church of Ethiopia'), *Ḥamär Zä'ortodoks Täwaḥədo* 2 [20–23], 1995 A.M. [2002/03 A.D.]; ENDALE ASHAGRE, *A Comparative Analysis of the Holy Trinity Theological College Academic and Extra/Co-Curricular Activities in the pre 1977 and post 1994*, B.A. thesis, Holy Trinity Theological College, Addis Ababa 2000; CALVIN E. SHENK, *The Development of the EOTC and its Relationship with the Ethiopian Government from 1930 to 1970*, Ph.D. thesis, New York University 1972, esp. 241–56 (Lit.).

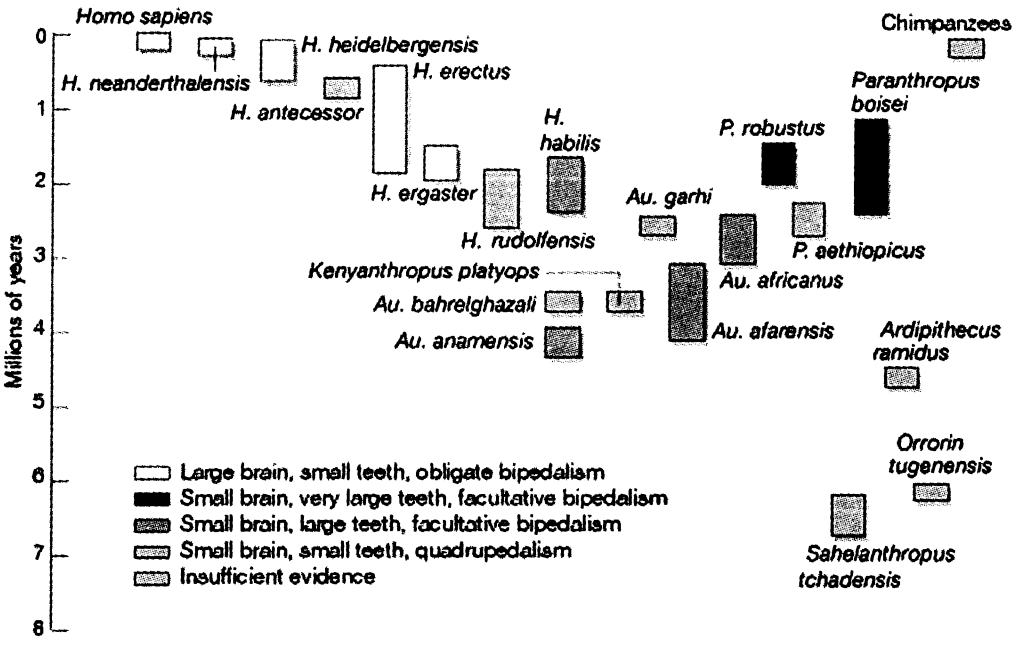
Mersha Alehegne

Homily ↗Dərsan

Hominids

The term H. comes from the Latin family name *Hominidae* and in the common usage it includes modern humans and our evolutionary ancestors back to the separation of our line from that leading to the African apes. Yet due to intensive research and continual new findings, phylogenetic relations and even classification criteria are in a state of flux. Most traditional taxonomists would argue that, on the basis of the unique features of our mind and behaviour, only humans now belong to the family. However, recent advances in cladistic taxonomy and genetic analysis have

shown that modern humans are closer to African apes (gorillas and chimpanzees) than either of these are to orang-utans (the Asian apes), not to mention ↗monkeys. Thus, many biologists today consider *Hominidae* to include the African apes and thus restrict the family *Pongidae* to the orang-utan. A rather unsatisfactory outcome of such a scheme is that H. may now mean "African apes and humans" (a super-family previously known as *hominoidea*) or "humans and their direct ancestors" (a tribe which may label *homininae*). Only the second group, whether it is referred to as H. or Hominines, is described in this entry. Three genera are usually included in the H. family: ↗*Ardipithecus*, *Australopithecus* (e.g., ↗*Australopithecus aethiopicus*, ↗*Australopithecus afarensis*, ↗*Australopithecus garhi*) and ↗*Homo*. Bone remains belonging to the three types that have been discovered in Ethiopia.



Timeline of hominid species; after Wood 2002 (modified)

Three general features have been recognized as characteristic of the *Hominidae*: a relatively large brain size in relation to body size, reduced dentition and bipedality. The first two appeared relatively late, after the emergence of the genus ↗*Homo* 2.4 million years ago [mya], and only the latter clearly defines the members of the earlier genus *australopithecus* (4.2–1.1 mya) as H. Since all modern apes have different patterns of locomotion, walking on two legs has become the touchstone feature of the first H. The other H. genus found in Ethiopia, *Ardipithecus* (5.8–4.4 mya), has not been fully studied yet. However, available published material indicates that its locomotion type might be controversial, though it is largely accepted as a facultative bipedal and thus part of the H. family. Academic discussion continues on other earlier taxa, such as *Sahelanthropus*, found in Chad (7–6 mya), and *Orrorin*, discovered in Kenya (6 mya), whose condition as part of the human lineage is much debated. Since most theories explaining the origin of bipedalism take into account the shift of the first H. from a wooded environment, where apes like their ancestors have remained until today, to an open savannah setting, palaeoenvironmental data indicating a more forested and wooded habitat for *Ardipithecus* have puzzled researchers. However, recently-published data from ↗Gona suggest that those H. lived in a mosaic of environments.

According to the most favoured model of H. evolution, a series of successive adaptive radiations (branching) has taken place in response to environmental changes, in which anatomical features appeared mixed in a "mosaic" manner. Homoplasy (independent acquisition of similar shared characters) was probably very frequent and thus key H. adaptations such as bipedalism, manual dexterity and a large brain could have evolved more than once. Therefore parallel features are not enough to link one species with another, let alone to identify any of them as the direct ancestor of modern humans.

The following *Australopithecus* taxa have been recorded in Ethiopia – main sites are indicated. *Ardipithecus* has been found in ↗Aramis, Gona and Alayla (ᶜAfar); *Australopithecus afarensis* in ↗Hadar, Maka (ᶜAfar) and Omo ("Southern" region); *Australopithecus garhi* in Buri (ᶜAfar); *Australopithecus aethiopicus* has been documented in the Šungura Formation of the lower Omo; another variant of the "robust" australopithecines, *Australopithecus boisei*, was found in Šungura, Omo and ↗Konso-Gardula (Southern Ethiopia).

Skull of the newly discovered skeleton of a 3-year old *Australopithecus afarensis* child, nicknamed "Sälam", from Pliocene sediments at Diqiqa, south of Hadar; photo 2006, courtesy of Zeray Alemseged, Department of Human Evolution ("Dikika Research Project"), Max-Planck-Institut für Evolutionäre Anthropologie, Leipzig

Lit.: BERHANE ASFAW et al., "Remains of *Homo erectus* from Bouri, Middle Awash, Ethiopia", *Nature* 416, 2002, 317–20; IAN MCDOUGALL et al., "Stratigraphic Placement and Age of Modern Humans from Kibish, Ethiopia", *ibid.* 433, 2005, 733–36; SILESHI SEMAW – SCOTT W. SIMPSON – JAY QUADE et al., "Early Pliocene Hominids from Gona, Ethiopia", *ibid.* 301–05; GEN SUWA – TIM D. WHITE – F. CLARK HOWELL, "Mandibular Postcanine Dentition from the Shungura Formation, Ethiopia: Crown Morphology, Taxonomic Allocation, and Plio-Pleistocene Hominid Evolution", *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 101, 1996, 247–82; GEN SUWA et al., "The First Skull of *Australopithecus boisei*", *Nature* 389, 1997, 489–92; BERNARD WOOD, "Palaeoanthropology: Hominid Revelations from Chad", *ibid.* 418, 2002, 133–35 (ill.); ID. – BRIAN G. RICHMOND, "Human Evolution: Taxonomy and Paleobiology", *Journal of Anatomy* 197, 2000, 19–60.

Víctor M. Fernández

Homo

H. (Lat. 'human, man') refers to the biological genus to which the only living species, *H. sapiens*, and several extinct species belong. Its single most important feature is considered to be a large brain, most members having a volume of more than 700 ml, larger than that of the biggest *Australopithecus* or living apes. The number of ancient species is uncertain but at least five forms are currently recognized: *habilis*, *erectus*, *heidelbergensis*, *neanderthalensis* and *sapiens*.

H. habilis, which existed between 2.4 and 1.5 million years ago [= mya] in eastern and perhaps also southern Africa, is a controversial species and some scientists believe that it should be assigned to either the australopithecines or *H. erectus*; it is also widely thought that its specimens have too wide a range of variation for a single species and the larger forms are classified as *H. rudolfensis*. *H. erectus* lived between 1.8 and 0.3 mya in Africa, continental Asia and Indonesia. Its presence in Europe is discussed, as the oldest confirmed European ↗hominids have been labelled *H. antecessor* and *H. heidelbergensis*. The *erectus* brain size was larger than *habilis*, varying between 750 and 1,225 ml, and its body proportions varied; however, some specimens were taller and more slender than earlier ones. Some scientists classify the first African *erectus* specimens as belonging to a separate species, *H. ergaster*, which differs from the Asian fossils in the shape of the brow ridges and the brain profile. After approximately 0.5 mya, the European *H. heidelbergensis* is considered an ancestor only to the Neanderthals – which became extinct some 30 thousand years ago [=tya], – genetic and archaeological data pointing to the African "archaic" forms of *H. sapiens* (sometimes labelled *H. rhodesiensis*) as the only precursors of modern humans. Thus, all the morphological variations (races) known today among us are the result of rapid adaptations to different environments of one single species having originated in Africa sometime around 200.000 years ago.

The earliest known fossil of *H.* in Ethiopia is the palate with partial dentition AL 666–1 found in ↗Hadar (ᶜAfar) and dated to 2.3 mya, which represents the palaeontological evidence for the projection of the *habilis* well back into the Pliocene. The date agrees with that of the oldest stone tools hitherto discovered (2.5–2.6 mya in ↗Gona, ᶜAfar and to 2.3 mya at the ↗Omo river, Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples' Region [SNNPR]), yet their connection with *habilis* is far from clear since several hominid species with variable foraging strategies are also known to be associated with early stone tools.

A number of bone fragments, mostly teeth, classified as nonrobust australopithecines or early *H.*, have also been found in the Šungura Formation of the Omo river, dated to between 2.4–2 mya. Some are similar to *H. rudolfensis* in size and morphology and are thus likely to represent the ancestral condition of the genus. Remains attributed to *H. erectus* were found in ↗Mälka Qunṭure (Oromiyaa), ↗Konso-Gardula (SNNPR) and ↗Buri (ᶜAfar). Mälka Qunṭure re-

mains include a humerus dated to 1.7–1.6 mya, and a mandible and teeth dated to 1.5 mya. The fragmented remains unearthed at Konso are associated with one of the earliest known occurrences of Acheulian stone hand-axes, dated to 1.6–1.4 mya. The calvaria and postcranial relics from Buri are dated to 1mya and resemble the Asian specimens of *erectus*, thus supporting the hypothesis of only one widespread palaeospecies in both continents. Bones attributed to early *H. sapiens* were discovered at Herto, Bodo (ᶜAfar) and Omo-Kibiš (SNNPR). The Herto skulls, two adults and a child, are dated to 160 tya and have been labelled an independent subspecies, *H. sapiens idaltu*. The two crania from Kibiš, Omo-I and II, have been redated recently to 195 tya, thus constituting the oldest known modern humans. The earlier Bodo cranium from the middle Awaš, dated to ca. 600 tya, is a nearly complete skull and a controversial find since some scientists argue that it is a *H. erectus* (or *heidelbergensis*) specimen with *H. sapiens*-like characteristics. Cutmarks on the skull are interpreted as evidence of cannibalism.

Lit.: BERHANE ASFAW – YONAS BEYENE et al., "The Earliest Acheulian from Konso-Gardula", *Nature* 360, 1992, 732–35; J. DESMOND CLARK – YONAS BEYENE et al., "Stratigraphic, Chronological and Behavioural Contexts of Pleistocene *Homo sapiens* from Middle Awash, Ethiopia", *ibid.* 423, 2003, 747–52; GLENN C. CONROY – C.J. JOLLY – D. CRAMER – JON E. KALB, "Newly Discovered Fossil Hominid Skull from the Afar Depression, Ethiopia", *ibid.* 276, 1978, 67–70; WILLIAM H. KIMBEL – DONALD C. JOHANSON – YOEL RAK, "Systematic Assessment of a Maxilla of Homo from Hadar, Ethiopia", *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 103, 2, 1997, 235–62; IAN MCDOUGALL – FRANCIS H. BROWN – JOHN G. FLEAGLE, "Stratigraphic Placement and Age of Modern Humans from Kibish, Ethiopia", *Nature* 433, 2005, 733–36.

Víctor M. Fernández

Honey

Introduction

H. (Amh. **ማር**, *mar*, Gəᶜəz, Tgn. **መዓር**, *mäᶜar*, Orom. *damma*) is the sweet substance produced by bees (↗bees and beeskeeping) from the nectar of blossom or from the secretion of parts of plants and stored in honeycombs. It is valued for its taste, healing properties and economic value. It is generally considered to strengthen the body and facilitate a long life.

Due to wide climatic variability, Ethiopia is endowed with diverse and unique flowering plants which are suitable for bee colonies. Such plant species include trees, shrubs, herbs and cultivated crops. The most common plants preferred by bees are *Bindens spp.*, *Trifolium spp.*, and *Guizotia spp. Acacia spp.*, *Cordia africana* (↗Acacia). Ethiopia is one of the ten major producers of H., 23,000 metric tonnes being produced annually. The export value of H. is by far less than that of beeswax.

↗Bees and Beekeeping

Lit.: ADMASSU ADDI – REINHARD FICHTL, *Honey Bee Flora of Ethiopia*, Weikersheim 1994; EVA CRANE (ed.), *Honey: a Comprehensive Survey*, London 1976 (International Bee Research Association).

Admassu Addi

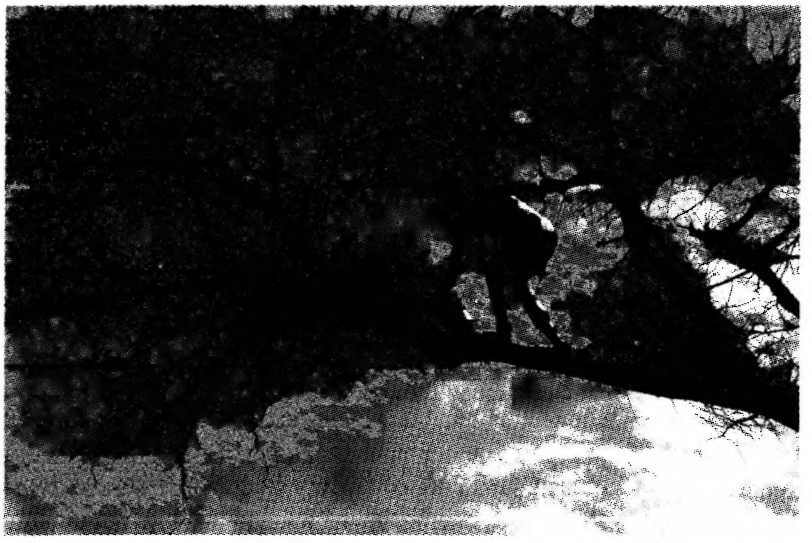
Concept and role of honey in Ethiopian culture

H. has been important historically in the Ethiopian plateau and lowlands, the particular techniques used to collect it giving rise to specific knowledge in the fields of ethnozoology and ethnobotany.

In Təgray H. was collected from wild bees (Tgn. **ንህቢ፡ ጥርቀ**, *nəhbi ṭərqä*), from beehives in trees, from fissures in rocks or from old termite nests, or from underground in the case of earth-dwelling bees, **ጭዳናይ** (*č̣ädänay*); not much H. came from domestic bees. It was the custom to combine the preparation of the beehives with the ceremonies of the first day of the Ethiopian New Year. On the plateau three varieties of H. were distinguished, based on specific, dominant flora and identifiable by colour and taste, and named in connection with their place of origin *baryani* (Barka, ᶜAnsäba and Sahəl), *salima* (Asaorta), *ḥabäši* (plateau).

H. is used in both food and drink. After pressing it is used for the preparation of mead and, as a by-product, to wax. The preparation of mead, in its regional varieties, Tgn. *mes*, Orom. *daadhii*, Amh. ↗*ṭäğğ*, is undertaken by men or women according to social context, area and time. The regulation of the proportion of H. to water, the dosage of aromatic herbs (*gešo*, lat. *Rhamnus prinoides*; *ṭäddʷo*, lat. *Rhamnus staddo*) and the preparation and fermentation time define its alcoholic, gustative and social values, differentiating between good domestic *mes* and commercial *mes*, from white to red to black to a bitter one, *din*, the cheapest and most unpleasant. A typical *ṭäğğ* can have around 14 % alcohol.

H. is used in traditional therapeutic practices. H. and mead have taken on a high cultural position in the alimentary code and have a symbolic value at important occasions of consumption and feasting, at birth ceremonies, at cultural events



K"egu smoking out a bee-hive to obtain honey; photo 1989, courtesy of Matsuda Hiroshi

in monasteries, at ↗burial or commemoration (↗*täzkar*) banquets, where relatives and friends bring large vases of *suwwa* and *mes*. Mead, often reserved for the chiefs, as sumptuary consumption, has symbolized a line of social demarcation: its presence in the retinues of the chiefs in war and in the shared feasting at the banquets of the élite symbolized the rank of the host and his table-companions, giving rise also to specialized roles (Amh. *ṭäğğ* [*mes*] *asallafi*, 'servant who serves *ṭäğğ*' or *ṭäğğ mälkäññä*, 'official charged with brewing, storing and serving *ṭäğğ*'). Its status as a superior drink is seen by its relationship with *suwwa* or ↗*ṭälla*, which are consumed by the lower social strata. Nevertheless, *ṭäğğ* has lost some status due to its association with *ṭäğğ bets*, mead houses frequented by the poor.

Mead also expresses cultural and religious boundaries and identities: the Muslims drink *bərz* (ብርዝ), water flavoured by H., unfermented.

Historically H. was present in circuits of exchange, in local markets (Massawa, Gondär, Mäqälä, etc.) as well as externally; and additionally in the form of mead in the sexual-economic exchange (women who sold both the drink and their sexuality). It has been an exchange product in the taxation system which bound the peoples from the lowlands with the regional chiefs of the plateau, as well as in internal socio-economic relationships, in the levying of the chiefs, in land taxation such as "land of H.", *yä-mar märet*, in Wällo, or as *yä-mar əšät*, in Wälläga, or in Harär, where the *mälkäññä* had to hand over the *asrat*, the *arafa* and half the tribute of H. they had collected to the government.

H. and mead are symbolic referents in rhetoric of discourse and in the oral literature, as metaphors or metonymies in songs and in proverbs, where social, aesthetic and conversational aspects are united. Thus in Təgrəññä proverbs: *mäᶜar kəsäfru mäᶜar yənnagäru*, 'while they measure the H. (to pay the tax), they talk about H.' (sweetly to conquer the soul of the measurer; Conti Rossini 1942, n. 203 = Fusella n. 43); *qäṭinu əmbär mes əyyu*, 'even though it has been watered down, it's still mead' (good qualities are not lost because of sudden misfortunes; *ibid.* n. 125); *zəḥazä yərättəᶜ, zəbärbärä yəbättəᶜ*, 'he who has taken wins his case, he who has taken the mead from the beehive dilutes it in water to make mead' (*ibid.* n. 338).

↗Medicine, traditional

Src.: [MANOEL BARRADAS], *Il Tigrè, descritto da un missionario gesuita del XVII secolo*, ed., tr. by CAMILLO BECCARI, Roma ²1912; QUALITY AND STANDARDS AUTHORITY OF ETHIOPIA, *Test Report CTR/1393/04*, Addis Ababa 2004.

Lit.: ENRICO BROTTO, "Il regime delle terre nel governo dell'Harar", *Rivista di diritto coloniale* 2, 2–3, 1939, 349–65, *ibid.* 2, 4, 1939, 389–608; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, *Proverbi, tradizioni e canti tigrini*, Roma 1942; EUGENIO DI SAVOIA-DUCA D'AOSTA – GIOVANNI SIMONINI, "Proverbi tigrini", *RSE* 3, 1, 1943, 3–35; LUIGI FUSELLA, "Proverbi amarici", *ibid.* 2, 1, 1942, 282–311; ALBERTO POLLERA, "L'apicoltura nei Baza", *Bollettino agricolo e commerciale della colonia Eritrea* 3, 8–9, 1903, 556–59; FREDERICK J. SIMOONS, *Northwest Ethiopia: Peoples and Economy*, Madison, WI 1960; STEFAN STRELCYN, *Médicine et plantes d'Éthiopie*, vol. 2, Napoli 1973; A.M. TANCREDI, "Una cucina barbara: come mangiano gli abissini d'Eritrea", *Bollettino della Reale Società Geografica Italiana* ser. 4ª, 7, 10, 1907, 960–82 and *ibid.* 11, 1907, 1088–113.

Gianni Dore

Hoora

H. is the Oromo name given to naturally occurring mineral ↗water and to the source, usually a spring, of that water. H. are essential to the well-being of herds and flocks and are considered by pastoralists to be a crucial gift from God without which stock would wither away; they may also be taken as a cure by people internally and/or as a bath. Some springs, such as Hora ↗Finfinnee in the area of the present Gəyon Hotel in Addis Abäba, became well-known Oromo watering places and seasonal cultural and ritual centres.

The word has pastoral and poetic associations, like its derivatives *hoori-ni*, 'wealth, stock, property' and *hoora-ta*, 'to possess, multiply, bear fruit, prosper', and is commonly used in proverbs, prayers and word-play, e.g., *hoora alee hinhoran/horii maklee hintolan* ('without mineral water (cattle) will not breed/without wealth (people) will not be happy', cf. Cotter 1990:198). H. with its resonances is one of the items from which the cultural consciousness of pastoral Oromo was constructed.

Lake H. is a crater lake in ↗Däbrä Zäyt. A pilgrimage site on its shores is the place of traditional yearly celebrations for the Oromo deity Waaqa in September. It is also a popular nature tourism destination.

Src.: oral information from Oromo elders; GEORGE COTTER, *Salt for the Stew: Proverbs and Sayings of the Oromo People*, Debra Zeit 1990, 198; TilDic 309f.; CHARLES TUTSCHEK, *Dictionary of the Galla Language*, München 1844, 202.

Lit.: JOSEPH VAN DE LOO, *Guji Oromo Culture in Southern Ethiopia*, Berlin 1991.

Temesgen Negassa

Hor ↗Arbore

Horn of Africa

The geographical term H.A. is an alternative or sometimes parallel designation for North-east Africa (cp., e.g., Lewis 1966:6: "North-eastern Africa and the Horn"). In a more restrictive sense, it applies to the large peninsula ("horn") that juts for hundreds of kilometres into the Arabian Sea, between the Gulf of ↗Aden to the north and the Indian Ocean to the south, as the easternmost projection of the African continent. The ↗Bāb al-Mandab straits separate it from the Arabian highlands, a bank of the Red Sea rift.

History of the term

As coined in the 1950s, the term chiefly indicated the ↗Somalia and ↗Djibouti region, and those areas inhabited by ethnic groups linked with them, as in Lewis's book on the Somali, ʿAfar and the related Sāho (LewPeople; cp. also TrIslam 1–31). With reference to Somalia and north-eastern ↗Ethiopia alone, the term H.A. was first used in the 1900s by the French geographer Fernand Maurette in reporting about the Mission scientifique du ↗Bourg de Bozas (Gascon 1999). By extension, since the mid-1970s, H.A. has certainly earned a weightier status than a mere cartographic term, assuming the general, now more prevalent meaning of North-east Africa, with special reference to the vast region including, beside Ethiopia, ↗Eritrea and Somalia (with the island of ↗Soqoṭra, which belongs politically to ↗Yemen), the countries of Djibouti and, sometimes, ↗Sudan and ↗Kenya (and even ↗Uganda and ↗Tanzania), all culturally interconnected by common features – first and foremost ↗Islam (Gori 2006:8f.). As such, the H.A. covers an extension of 1,885,000km².

Borrowed from European languages, the modern Amharic term የአፍሪካ ቀንድ (*yäʾafrika qänd*; Tgn. *nay afriqa qärni*) is used in Ethiopia to refer to the wider H.A. (Berhanou Abebe – Ficquet 2003:111). In Arabic, the same expression is rendered as *al-Qarn al-Ifrīqī* (which is, e.g., the title of the official bulletin of the ↗Somali National League) or, more elegantly, *Qarn Ifrīqiyā*, which mainly denote the Muslim Somali regions, but also Ethiopia in contemporary discourse. The Amharic journal *Yäʾityopya yäʾafriqa ṭənat mäṣhet bätäläyyəm bäʾafriqa qänd lay yämmiyatäkkur – Ethiopian Journal of African Studies, with Special Emphasis on the Horn of Africa*, published in the 1980s at the Institute of African Studies of ↗Asmara University, displays an even wider notion of H.A. encompassing ↗Egypt as well. In the Ethiopian context, the term H.A. became especially popular in modern ↗historiography, as it allows one to cover the history of "wider Ethiopia" including the immediate neighbours of this country (cp. Bahru Zewde 1998; s. already Marcus 1972), and is a neutral synonym of the disputable "Greater Ethiopia". Yet, this use of the term H.A. is still foreign to those scholars (mainly Somalists) who are bound to the original meaning of the geographical "horn", corresponding to Somali territories alone.

The H.A. understood as North-east Africa roughly coincides with ancient ↗India maior (i.e. Somalia, which faces ↗India media, i.e. Arabia Felix), as well as with the undefined *Aromatophóros chōra* or *Regio aromatica* to which the Greeks and Romans sent for frankincense, myrrh, dragon's blood or cinnabar, taking these commodities back along the ↗incense route.

It also largely overlaps with the fairly recently coined term ↗Orbis Aethiopicus used to describe a culturally inter-linked region, in implicit reference to the ancient Greek term ↗Aithiopía as corresponding to ↗Kuš (but cp. ↗Ḥabašat, ↗Abyssinia) and thus approximately to North-east Africa.

H.A. is in this sense the successor of the older terms that fell out of use or changed their meaning. It is understood as absolutely neuter, without implying or denoting any cultural or political dominance of any particular region over others (as may be the case with "Aithiopía" in certain contexts).

Geography and history

The H.A. is one of the most ancient locations of the "hominidation" process, as proved by such discoveries as "Lucy" or "Dənqənäš" (↗Hominids) in the ↗ʿAfar Depression. Like the people of the Middle East, the inhabitants of the H.A. have used the ↗plough, practised animal husbandry, and kept the Arabian dromedary (↗Camels) as a domestic animal since before the Christian era.

The geographical position of the H.A., at a crossroads of sea routes, has made it a crossroads of cultures and of long-distance ↗trade since antiquity. As *Regio aromatica*, it was a destination for Greek and Roman merchants. The H.A., believed to include the Land of ↗Punt, was already known and important to ancient Egypt, and was then served by a network of ports that, from Ptolemaic times at least, stretched down the coast of Africa and the Persian Gulf as part of the ancient sea route along the greater Indian Ocean rim. Along this route, the kingdom of ↗Aksum, strategically located in the H.A., with ↗Adulis as its "port of trade", played an important role from the 1st to the 7th cent. (Fiaccadori 2004:112, 118ff., 154).

The political map of the H.A. has been continually redrawn in the course of history. Most of the modern ↗boundaries are as they were established after the end of the colonial period in mid-20th cent. (↗Colonialism), while ↗Africa Orientale Italiana covered most of the H.A. Some of the borders are still being redefined.

Population

Apart from the coastal countries of the Gulf of Guinea, the H.A. is the most densely populated region in Africa. With ca. 40 million inhabitants recorded in 1975, over 75 million in 2000, and 84 million in 2005, the ↗population has doubled in less than 30 years. According to several estimates, 130–140 million people will be living there by 2025 (Peltre 2003). Population is particularly dense in the areas above 2,000 m A.S.L., free from malaria and sleeping sickness.

Throughout the last millennium, the region has been regularly struck by natural catastrophes, such as droughts (in Ethiopia) or flood (in Somalia and Ethiopia, e.g., most recently in 2006 in the Dərre Dawa area), resulting in recurrent ↗famines. These crises have particularly affected the lowlands – 2/3 of the whole H.A., where only 20 % of the population live, mainly nomadic pastoralists (with the exception of the Benaadir, which is regularly flooded by the Wabi Šäbälle river). The highlands – 1/3 of the total area that contains 4/5 of the peninsula's total population – have also been prone to famines, most recently in 1958–59, 1973–74 and 1985–86. The combination of famine and war, always present at least in parts of the region, cost ca. 2 million lives during the decade 1982–92.

The peoples of the H.A. share a few common cultural features with those of the highlands of ↗Arabia (esp. Yemen) and the ↗Middle East. Numerous ↗inscriptions witness ancient relationships between the two shores of the Red Sea. The *fidäl* ↗script used by several languages in Ethiopia developed from the ↗Epigraphic South Arabian script. The northern Sudanese regions were since ancient times culturally interwoven with the regions further south, the ↗megalithic culture being an example for that.

Most of the languages spoken in the H.A. belong into the ↗Afro-Asiatic phylum (↗Ethiopian language area), ↗Ethio-Semitic, ↗Cushitic and ↗Omotic being the best represented families. ↗Nilotic languages are also spoken. For a comprehensive overview of the linguistic and ethnic landscape s. ↗Languages and peoples (s. EAE vol. 5), as well as the entries for separate countries.

The many traditional ↗religions of the H.A. have been gradually replaced either by ↗Christianity, which has been present in the highlands of Ethiopia and Eritrea since its introduction into Aksum in the 4th cent. and has since been advancing from the north to the south, or by Islam, which penetrated from the coast as early as the 7th cent., spreading through the lowlands (the ʿAfar Triangle and Ogaden), and then expanding into the highlands of Somaliland, Harär, Arsi and southern Ethiopia. The confrontation of these two great religions has largely shaped the ethnic, cultural and political history of the region.

↗Climate; ↗Environment; ↗Geography; ↗Population

Src.: CSA 1998; CSA 2004; BERHANOU ABEBE – ÉLOI FICQUET, *Dictionnaire français-amharique. Färansayəñña-amarəñña mäzgäbä qalat*, Addis Abäba 2003, 111; *Yäʾityopya yäʾafriqa ṭənat mäṣḥet bätäläym bäʾafriqa qänd lay yämiyatäkur – Ethiopian Journal of African Studies, with Special Emphasis on the Horn of Africa.* 1–4, 1984.

Lit.: BAHRU ZEWDE (ed.), *A Short History of Ethiopia and the Horn*, Addis Ababa 1998; GIAMPAOLO CALCHI NOVATI, *Il Corno d'Africa nella storia e nella politica. Etiopia, Somalia, Eritrea fra nazionalismi, sottosviluppo e guerra*, Torino 1994; LEE VINCENT CASSANELLI, *The Shaping of Somali Society: Reconstructing the History, of a Pastoral People. 1600–1900*, Philadelphia, PA 1982; JEAN DORESSE, *Histoire sommaire de la Corne orientale de l'Afrique*, Paris 1970; EMAtlas; GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, "Sembrouthes 'Gran re' (*DAE* IV 3 = *RIÉth* 275). Per la storia del primo ellenismo aksumita", *La Parola del Passato* 59, 2004 [2005], 13–57, here 112, 118ff., 154 (Lit.); ALAIN GASCON, "La Corne de l'Afrique: une nation sans État", in: ALAIN DUBRESSON – JEAN-PIERRE RAISON – JEAN-YVES MARCHAL (eds.), *Les Afriques au sud du Sahara*, Berlin – Paris 1994, 286–94; ALAIN GASCON – MARCEL DJAMA (eds.), *La Corne dans tous ses états*, Paris 1997 (= *Cahiers d'études africaines* 146, 38, 2); GasEth; ALESSANDRO GORI, *Contatti culturali nell'Oceano Indiano e nel Mar Rosso e processi di islamizzazione in Etiopia e Somalia*, Venezia 2006, 7f., 60 (Lit.); DAVID LAITIN – SAID SAMATAR, *Somalia: Nation in Search of a State*, Boulder, CO 1987; DONALD N. LEVINE, *Greater Ethiopia*, Chicago, IL, ²2000; IOAN MYRDDIN LEWIS, *A Modern History of Somalia: Nation and State in the Horn of Africa*, Harlow ²1982; ID., *A Pastoral Democracy, A Study of Pastoralism and Politics Among the Northern Somali of the Horn of Africa*, Oxford 1961; LewPeople; HAROLD GOLDEN MARCUS, *The Modern History of Ethiopia and the Horn of Africa: A Select and Annotated Bibliography*, Stanford, CA 1972; MesfGeogr; PIERRE PELTRE, *Population et développement durable: des cartes pour voir*, Paris 2003; ALAIN ROUAUD (ed.), *L'Homme et l'Animal dans l'Est de l'Afrique*, Bièvres (France) 2006; XAVIER VAN DER STAPPEN et al. (eds.), *Æthiopia: pays, histoire, populations, croyances art et artisanat*, Bruxelles 1996; TEKLE T. MEKOURIA, "The Horn of Africa", in: MOHAMMED EL FASI (ed.), *UNESCO General History of Africa* vol. 3: *Africa from the 7th to the 11th Century*, London 1988, 558–74; TADDESSE TAMRAT, "Ethiopia, the Red Sea and the Horn", in: ROLAND OLIVER (ed.), *The CambridgeHistory of Africa* vol. 3: *From c. 1050 to c. 1600*, Cabridge 1977, 99-182; TrIslam 1–31.

Alain Gascon

Horn(s)

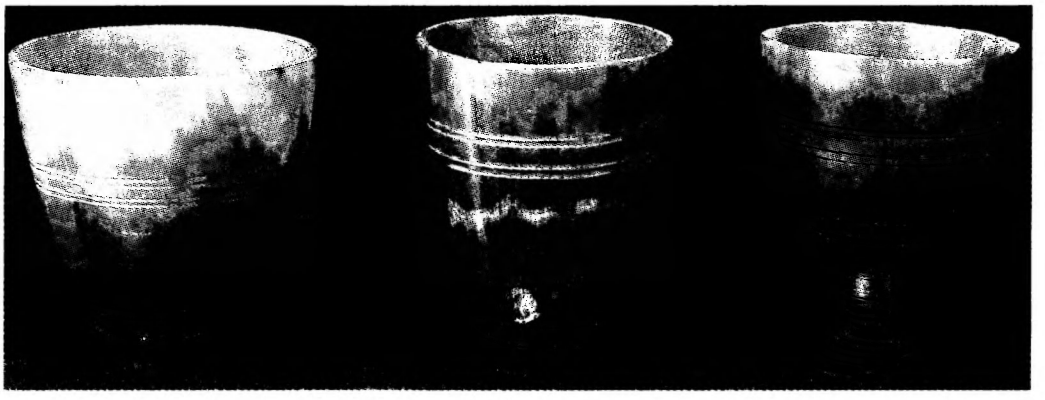
H., obtained from a number of ↗animals found in Ethiopia, notably oxen, goats, buffalo, ibex, antelope, deer and rhinoceros, contributed significantly to the country's material culture. The abundance of cattle throughout much of the country and the immense size of the H. of the Sanga breed (dramatically depicted in SalTrav 259), made H. widely available and relatively cheap. Specialized H.-workers were to be found in many areas, particularly in places of some affluence; and ox, buffalo and antelope H. were on sale at most of the more important markets.

Drinking H., in Amharic ዋንጫ (*wanča*), were so generally used for the drinking of ↗*ṭälla*, or beer, that the word *wanča* was often used virtually as a synonym for the drink. Other articles of hornware included goblets for drinking spirits, knife-handles, spoons (particularly in the south), some trumpets, plectra for harps, the tips of reeds used in weaving, part of the nozzles of traditional bellows, snuff-containers, ink-H., and chess-men. Buffalo and rhinoceros H. was especially prized for the making of goblets. Several ↗musical instruments made of H. were widely used, notably the *hulduduwa*, a horn with a bamboo mouthpiece, played in the south to announce funerals (Tesfaye Lemma 1975:23). H., as can be seen to this day at the entrance to the thermal bath in the palace compound at Gondär, were likewise also sometimes set in the walls as pegs on which to hang clothes. The long black H. of the *sala* antelope served for the manufacture of earrings, while rhinoceros H. was used for the manufacture of sword handles. Rhinoceros and hippopotamus H. constituted a valuable export, the former already mentioned in the ↗*Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* in the 1st cent. A.D.

Src.: CHARLES JOHNSTON, *Travels in Southern Abyssinia, through the Country of Adal to the Kingdom of Shoa*, vol. 2, London 1844, 332–35, 350; SalTrav 259; GEORGE ANNESLEY VISCOUNT VALENTIA, *Voyages and Travels to India, Ceylon, the Red Sea, Abyssinia and Egypt*, vol. 3, London 1809, 149; GEORGE WYNN BRERETON HUNTINGFORD (tr., ed.), *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, London 1980 (Hakluyt Society 2nd ser., part 2, 151); TESFAYE LEMMA, *Ethiopian Musical Instruments*, Addis Ababa 1975, 23.

Lit.: PankSoc 362 and s. index.

Richard Pankhurst



Drinking cups (*wanča*) made of horn; Gondär market; photo 1993, courtesy of Ken Jones

Horo Guduru ↗Guduru

Horologium ↗Säᶜatat: Mäṣḥafä säᶜatat

Horse names ↗Names

Horse(s)

H. were highly regarded in traditional Ethiopian society and played a major role in ↗warfare. One of the earliest Ethiopian historical documents to mention the use of H. in war is the 6th-cent. Martyrium of ↗Arethas mentioning the equestrian troops (↗Cavalry) of the Aksumite king ↗Kaleb (Bausi – Gori 2006:33; MHAksum 219). Early evidence of the Ethiopic term ፈረስ (*färäs*, 'horse') is to be found, e.g., in the *Mäṣḥafä ↗Aksum* and in the Golden Gospel of ↗Däbrä Libanos of Šəmäzana (CRDLib no. 6a, 186.15; CRAxum). The existence of highly prized cavalry can be traced to the Aksumite period (MHAksum 259). Valued for their manoeuvrability, H. were mainly employed in battle: warriors rode ↗mule-back to the site of an engagement and then made use of H. in combat (BeckHuntAlm 50f.). In the early Solomonic centuries they were considered so important that quality animals were imported, as Alvares reported in the 16th cent., from Arabia, Egypt and the neighbouring Sudanese lowlands. Many noblemen also bred H. from mares brought from Egypt (the colts, separated from their mothers, were fed from milk cows). H. from Təgray and the country of the *baḥər nägaš* were particularly esteemed (BeckHuntAlvar 429, 518; BeckHuntAlm 50f.; Foster 1949:146). They were also a notable item of tribute: Goğğam, for example, yielded *aṣe* ↗Ləbnä Dəngəl 3,000 H. annually (BeckHuntAlvar 326, 425f.).

Nobleman on a horse, early 20th cent.; postcard from the collection of André Evalet

Steeds of royalty and high dignitaries often wore beautiful saddle-cloths, extending almost to the ground (BeckHuntAlvar 401f.; BeckHuntAlm 81; Foster 1949:118). Horse-riding, according to Baḥrəy's *History of the Galla*, was not practised by the Oromo until the time of the *luba mučale* (1554–62; ↗*gadaa*), who "made men who went on three legs [i.e. their two feet and a spear], ride on four [i.e. those of the horse]" (BeckHuntAlm 117, 137); later, however, Oromo cavalry became known for its strength.

H. featured in many areas of Ethiopian life: at palaces and royal capitals, in the countryside, at markets and, with cavalry, on military campaigns. *Aṣe* ↗Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob, in the 15th cent., had H. bridled all-day at his palace at Däbrä Bərhan, (PerrZarY 42), while the ᶜAfar ruler Kamil, in the 17th cent., kept H. within his sight at his residence (Lockhart 1984:124). Gondär, in imperial days, had a ፈረስ፡ ቤት (*färäs bet*, 'stables'), or area allocated for ፈረስ (*färäs*, 'horse'; Rüppell 1840:80), while *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV, in the 19th cent., had two favourite chargers tethered within his palace at Däbrä Tabor (Winstanley 1881:204). Capitals, among them Däbrä Bərhan and Däbrä Tabor, were situated beside fields used for equestrian exercises (IsKrapf 274; Bianchi 1884:64f.), including ↗*gugs*, or mock-warfare (Parkyns 1953:80).

H. were sold at many rural markets, where they were taxed (PankEcon 521–31). Their cultural importance is evinced by the practice of naming kings and important personages after their steeds (MahHorse 195–303; ↗Names).

Addis Abäba's first race-course was established by *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II in 1903 (Mérab 1922:134f.), whilst in 1933 *aṣe* Ḫaylä Śəllase I founded a polo-club (ZerÉth 141; ↗Ğan Meda). After the Liberation in 1941 he also set up several important, and highly regarded stables in Addis Abäba.

↗Animals

Src.: ALESSANDRO BAUSI – ALESSANDRO GORI, *Tradizioni orientali del 'Martirio di Areta'. La prima recensione araba e la versione etiopica. Edizione critica e traduzione*, Firenze 2006, 33; BeckHuntAlm 50f., 81, 117, 137, 326, 425f.; BeckHuntAlvar 326, 401f., 425f., 429, 518; CRDLib no. 6a, 186.15; CRAxum [for index cp. ALESSANDRO BAUSI, "Un indice del Liber Aksumae", *Aethiopica* 9, 102–43, here 119]; GUSTAVO BIANCHI, *In Abissinia: alla terra dei Galla: narrazione della spedizione Bianchi in Africa*, Mi-

lano 1896, 64f.; IsKrapf 274; WILLIAM FOSTER (ed., tr.), *The Red Sea and Adjacent Countries at the Close of the Seventeenth Century*, London 1949, 118, 146; JERÓNIMO LOBO, *The Itinerário of Jerónimo Lobo*, tr., ed. by DONALD LOCKHART, London 1984, 124; PAUL MÉRAB, *Impressions d'Éthiopie: l'Abyssinie sous Ménélik II*, vol. 2: *La capitale et ses environs, la cour et la peuple: une page d'histoire contemporaine (1908 a 1914)*, Paris 1921–29, vol. 2, 134f; MANSFIELD PARKYNS, *Life in Abyssinia: being Notes Collected during Three Years' Residence and Travels in that Country*, London 1853, 80; PerrZarY 42; EDUARD RÜPPELL, *Reise in Abyssinien*, vol. 2, Frankfurt 1840, 80; WILLIAM WINSTANLEY, *A Visit to Abyssinia: an Account of Travel in Modern Ethiopia*, vol. 2, London 1881, 204.

Lit.: MahHorse; MHAksum 259; PankEcon 521–31; ZerÉth 141.

Richard Pankhurst

Hospital(s)

The first modern H. in Ethiopia was established by the Russian Red Cross in the immediate aftermath of the ↗ᶜAdwa war (1896). Wishing to support a fellow Orthodox Christian country in difficulty, but unable to provide assistance before the end of hostilities, the Russians, upon *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II's request, set up an all-purpose H. in Addis Abäba. It opened in 1897, and operated for ten years, until 1906 (Shvedov 1897; Pankhurst 1965:124–29).

The Russian initiative was soon followed by Italians, French and British, all three of whom began to provide medical assistance of one kind or another at their Legations (de Castro 1915, vol. 1, 361–66; Pankhurst 1965:131f.). The French Capuchins, under André ↗Jarosseau, meanwhile established a leprosarium (↗Leprosy, lepers) at Harär in 1901 (Jennings – Addison 1905:43–46; Pankhurst 1965:134). Two years later the local governor, *ras* Mäkʷännən, founded the country's first provincial H., but, finding it difficult to administer, handed it over to the French, who considered the climate of the Harär highlands preferable to the heat of their nearby port of Djibouti (Jennings – Addison 1905:41f.; Pankhurst 1965:134f., 147f.). Later, in 1911, the Franco–Ethiopian railway opened the second provincial H., a small one in Dərre Dawa (Pankhurst 1965:135).

Aṣe Mənilək II, distressed by the closing of the Russian H., took steps meanwhile to found the country's first government H., to which he gave his name. Located on the site of the former Russian establishment, it was inaugurated in 1910. Administered by a series of different directors, it was staffed almost entirely by nurses and made use of private physicians and surgeons brought in from the town on a consultancy basis (Mérab 1912:211f.; ZerEth 255; Pankhurst 1965:156).

The period between the *ras* Täfäri Mäkʷännən regency and the pre-war ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I monarchy witnessed a somewhat accelerated growth in the number of H. The old Mənilək Hospital was modernized (ZerEth 255) and a new, and more modern, government institution, the Bet Sayda Hospital, was founded in 1924. Unlike the Mənilək Hospital, it was fully staffed and run throughout the pre-war period by a politically influential Swede, Kurt Hannar (Farago 1935:132f.; ZerEth 255f.; Pankhurst 1965:140).

Three missionary H. were also set up in Addis Abäba around this time (↗Missions): the United Presbyterian Church of North America founded the George Memorial H., run by Thomas ↗Lambie, in the Gullallee district in 1923 (Bergsma 1932:294 and s. index; Pankhurst 1965:140f.); the Seventh Day Adventists established the Zäwditu Memorial H., called after the former empress, in the Fəlwəha area in 1934 (Sandford 1946:65; Pankhurst 1965:141); and the Italian Catholic Mission, in the same year, founded another H. at Gullallee. This, called the Ḫaylä Śəllase Hospital, was by far the best-equipped of the three (Farago 1935:197; Pankhurst 1965:141). A second leprosarium was opened by the ↗Sudan Interior Mission in 1934 (ZerEth 256; Pankhurst 1965:142). Several H. and/or clinics, mainly run by missionaries, were also in existence in the provinces by 1935, notably at Däse, Däbrä Marqos, Ǧiǧǧiga, Näqämte, Gore, Dämbi Dollo and Ayra, as well as in Bägemdər, Wälaytta and Arsi (ZerÉth 257; Pankhurst 1965:143f., 148f.).

After the Italian invasion of 1935–36, the three principal Addis Abäba H. were expanded, renamed, and reserved for Europeans. The Bet Sayda Hospital thus became the Vittorio Emanuele military Hospital; the Ḫaylä Śəllase I Hospital became the Principessa di Piedmonte Hospital; and the Zäwditu Hospital became the American Hospital. The old Mənilək II Hospital, renamed the Duca degli Abruzzi Hospital, on the other hand became a segregated H., with wards for both Europeans and "natives". Two additional H. for Europeans were also established: the Regina Elena military Hospital, in the former Mänän girls' school; and the Luigi Razza Hospital, in the house of *ras* ↗Mulugeta Yəggäzu, the pre-war Minister of War. Later, in

The former Ḫaylä Śəllase I (now 12 Yäkkatit) Hospital at Səddəst Kilo, Addis Abäba; photo 1988, courtesy of Paul B. Henze

1938, the old Presbyterian Hospital at Gullallee was re-opened as a H. for Native Chiefs and Notables; and an entirely new H. also for "natives", the Emanuele, was established in the city's Täklä Haymanot area. Pre-war provincial H. were maintained, most notably at Harär, Gondär, and Däse, and a new one set up at Ǧəmma. All four, however, catered mainly for Europeans (Pankhurst 1973:110–13).

After the Liberation in 1941 the above H. were renamed, desegregated, and largely converted, or re-converted, for general Ethiopian use. The old Mənilək H. and Zäwditu H. regained their former names. The former Bet Sayda, later the Principessa di Piedmonte, became the Ḫaylä Śəllase H. The former Italian H., sometimes called the Ḫaylä Śəllase H., was called after the latter's son-in-law Ras Dästa H. The Emanuele, which had been established by the Italians for "natives", retained its name, and became a H. for people suffering from mental disorders (Pankhurst 1973:110). The former Italian H. for Native Chiefs and Notables was on the other hand converted into the Pasteur Institute.

Several new H. were also established in Addis Abäba in the next two decades. The first was a Russian Red Cross H., whose roots dated back to Mənilək's day. Situated on the Ǧəmma road, far away from the earlier Russian H., it was named after the former Ethiopian patriot, *däǧǧazmač* ↗Balča Safo, who was said to have been killed in battle near the H. site. The next H. founded at this time was the Princess Ṣäḥay Memorial H., named after the Emperor's daughter ↗Ṣäḥay, who had served as a nurse in Britain during World War II. This H. was largely financed internationally, with funds raised in Britain by Sylvia ↗Pankhurst. It became the country's first teaching H. (Pankhurst 2003:268, index). Other hospitals established in this period included a free H., called after St. Peter and St. Paul; and a maternity hospital named after Mahatma Gandhi. Two gynaecologists, Reginald and Catherine Hamlin, a New Zealand–Australian couple, set up a much-praised ↗Fistula H., just outside the town. The last important Addis Abäba H. to be opened during the reign of Ḫaylä Śəllaseı was the Duke of Harär Hospital, named after his son Mäkʷännən. After the 1974 ↗Revolution it was renamed the Ṭəqur Anbässa, or Black Lion, Hospital, called after the patriotic Black Lion Organization of 1936. By the eve of the Revolution the capital's hospitals had a little over 2,700 beds (*Directory* 1972:5).

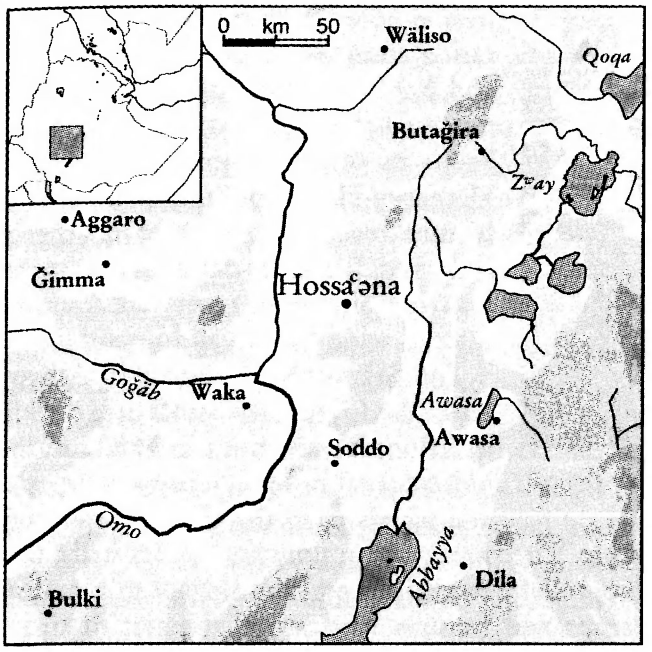
↗Medicine, modern

Lit.: ATNAFU MAKONNEN, *Ethiopia Today*, Tokyo 1960, 255–61; STUART BERGSMA, *Rainbow Empire: Ethiopia Stretches out her Hands*, Grand Rapids, MI 1932, 294, s. index; LINCOLN DE CASTRO, *Nella terra dei Negus, pagine raccolte in Abissinia*, vol. 1, Milano 1915, 361–66; ETHIOPIA, MINISTRY OF PUBLIC HEALTH (ed.), *Directory of Public Health Institutions*, Addis Ababa 1972; LADISLAS FARAGO, *Abyssinia on the Eve*, London 1935, 132f., 197; CATHERINE HAMLIN – JOHN LITTLE, *The Hospital by the River: a Story of Hope*, Sydney 2001; JAMES JENNINGS – CHRISTOPHER ADDISON, *With the Abyssinians in Somaliland*, London 1905, 41–46; PAUL MÉRAB, *Médecins et Médecine en Éthiopie ...*, Paris 1912, 211f.; RICHARD PANKHURST, "The Beginnings of Modern Medicine in Ethiopia", *EthObs* 9, 1965, 114–60; ID., "The Medical History of Ethiopia during the Italian Fascist Invasion and Occupation (1935–1941)", *ibid.* 16, 1973, 108–17; ID., *An Introduction to the Medical History of Ethiopia*, Trenton, NJ 1990; ID., *Sylvia Pankhurst, Counsel for Ethiopia*, Hollywood, CA 2003; CHRIS PROUTY ROSENFELD, "The Medical History of Menilek II, Emperor of Ethiopia, 1844–1913: a Case of Medical Diplomacy", *Munger Africana Library Notes* 45–46, October 1978, 3–43; CHRISTINE SANDFORD, *The Lion of Judah Hath Prevailed, being a Biography of His Imperial Majesty Haile Sellassié*, London 1955, 140ff.; N.E. SHVEDOV, *Russkij Krasnyj Krest v Abissinii v 1896 g.* ('Russian Red Cross in Abyssinia in 1896'), St. Petersburg 1897; ZerEth 255ff.

Richard Pankhurst

Hossaᶜəna

H. (also Hossanna, Hossäyna, Hadiyya: Waaččamo; 2,450m A.S.L.) was established as the capital of ↗Kämbata province by *ras* ↗Abatä Bʷayaläw, the governor from 1896 to 1911. This area had been conquered by *aṣe* ↗MənilәkII's troops between 1886 and 1893. According to oral traditions the new settlement was named H., because its foundation was instituted on Palm Sunday (ሆሣዕና, *Hośaᶜəna*). This event can be dated



to 1904, when Abatä moved from his former residential ↗*kätäma* of Angača to Šeešduuna (Hadiyya: 'bee hill') in the Waaččamo district of the Leemo-Hadiyya. At the same time the ↗*tabot* of the Maryam church was transferred from the top of ↗Ambäriččo mountain to the new capital.

During the ↗Italian war of 1935–36 H. became a stronghold of Amhara settlers (↗*Näfṭäññä*) against the rebellious local population. It was later made the capital of Kämbata *awraǧǧa* – in 1977 renamed Kämbata–Hadiyya *awraǧǧa* – within the province of ↗Šäwa. After the territorial restructuring of Ethiopia in the early 1990s H. became the capital of Hadiyya Zone in the "Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples' Region". Among the local population the old name Waaččamo is increasingly used, although Amharic has remained the dominant language of the town population.

H. is an important administrative, educational, religious and commercial centre in a densely populated rural area of central-southern Ethiopia. Surplus products, which are traded in the big Saturday market, mainly consist of agricultural items, grain and livestock, and of local handicrafts. Industrial firms do not yet exist. In the early 1970s H.'s population was estimated to ca. 11,000. The census of 1994 listed 31,701 inhabitants (s. CSA 1996), half of them ↗Hadiyya and one fourth people of Amhara origin. Since then the town population has considerably increased (43,091 inhabitants in 1999, s. CSA 2000).

Src.: CSA 1996, vol. 1, part 1, 152, 194, 270; CSA 2000.
Lit.: BrHad 297f., 306, 354f.

Ulrich Braukämper

Hotel(s)

Hotels in Ethiopia

H. in Ethiopia traditionally did not exist. Travellers expected to obtain hospitality from peasants or others in the countries through which they passed, and monarchs on occasion issued written documents authorizing their bearers to demand ↗*dərgo* ('provisions'), en route. Soldiers, on the other hand, lived very largely by pillage, or enjoyed great banquets given from time to time by their leaders. Ludolf (1882:393f.) tells the amusing story of a group of Ethiopians, arriving in Rome in the early 17th cent., who partook of a meal at an eating house, and expected to offer their host eloquent thanks rather than actual cash payment.

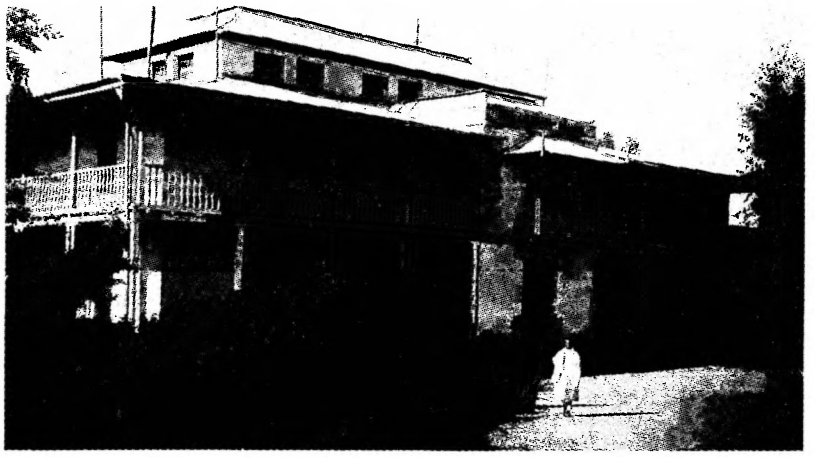
The subsequent development of H. in Ethiopia was a function of the country's urbanization and modernization. The first H. in ↗Addis Abäba, opened in the early 20th cent., was the Ṭaytu Hotel, called after its founder, *ətege* ↗Ṭaytu (but also for a time known as the Bollolatos Hotel – a reference to its Greek manager), which catered mainly for Ethiopians, including those who had studied abroad; and the Hôtel de France, owned by a Frenchman, M. Terras, which was frequented mainly by Europeans.

The Ǝtege Ṭaytu Hotel remained the town's leading H. up to the ↗Italian war of 1935–36. It was popular with the educated elite, with its restaurant serving European as well as traditional Ethiopian dishes. Over the years, it had put up several two-storey buildings.

The Hôtel de France was housed in a two-storey building, designed by an Armenian architect, and spacious for its time. There was a billiard room and a cinema hall in it. Terras also organized dances and hunting and other expeditions. Accommodation was provided for between 15 and 30 Maria Theresa thalers per month.

Another early H., run by an Ethiopian, was at Čoba, on the Addis Abäba–Awaš road. The development of the Addis Abäba–Djibouti Railway led soon afterwards to the opening of Greek-run H. at Dərre Dawa and Awaš stations. H., as might be expected, later expanded greatly during the ensuing Italian fascist and post-liberation periods.

Other private H. included the Greek-run Splendide, the Empire and the German-owned Deutsches Haus, in which Evelin Waugh (1936:64ff.) stayed at the time of the Italian invasion.



Hôtel Impérial in Addis Abäba, early 20th cent.; postcard from the collection of Lorenz Jensen

The Italians built a chain of H. in Addis Abäba and in many towns throughout the country called CIAAO, after the Compagnia Immobile Alberghi Africa Orientale that constructed and ran the H. The CIAAO H. were spacious, had good en-suite bathrooms and offered, as can be expected, Italian cuisine in their restaurants.

After the Liberation in 1941, a number of Ethiopian H. came into existence. Those established in Addis Abäba in the first decades included the "Ras", the "Gännät", the "Gəyon", the "Afrique", the "Wabi Šäbälle", the "Ethiopia" and the "Hilton", as well as others in provincial towns. An innovative Gurage hotelier, Bäqqälä Molla, also opened a number of hotels in the Rift Valley area.

Src.: LINCOLN DE CASTRO, *Nella terra dei negus, pagine raccolte in Abissinia*, Milano 1915, vol. 2, 232; JACQUES FAITLOVITCH, *Quer durch Abessinien: Meine zweite Reise zu den Falaschas*, Berlin 1910, 119; GueCopMen vol. 2, 530; LudHist [= JOB LUDOLPHUS, *A New History of Ethiopia*, London 1882, 393f.]; PAUL MÉRAB, *Impressions d'Éthiopie: l'Abyssinie sous Ménélik II*, vol. 2: *La capitale et ses environs, la cour et la peuple: une page d'histoire contemporaine (1908 a 1914)*, Paris 1929, 122f.; EVELYN WAUGH, *Waugh in Abyssinia*, London 1936, 64ff.; ZerÉth.

Lit.: PankEcon 280f.

Richard Pankhurst

Hotels in Eritrea

Modern H. were introduced in Eritrea by the Italian colonial regime to cater for the needs of colonial administrators. Traditionally, people travelling did not stay in H., but rather pitched their tent or slept under a tree or in the shade of the village merchant's veranda. A few H. began to appear around the turn of the century.

The oldest existing H. was the Albergo Italia, built by Italians in 1899 in ↗Asmära, according to a modern eclectic style, incorporating elements from the renaissance and baroque. Although it was later renamed the "Kärän Hotel", today it keeps its original name. In 1914 the Ḥamasen H. was built, with an architecture resembling that of northern Italy and Tyrol. Its distinctive feature was the suite in the tower with wrap-around windows on all four sides.

The Sälam Hotel, formerly Albergo CIAAO, (cp. the subarticle on H. in Ethiopia) was built in 1937 by the old colonial holding company for H. and tourism, in the classical rational style. The sparse and simple lines of its halls, the bas-relief decorations and the elegant minimalist lamps and fixtures have stood the test of time. It is in this refurbished H. that the result of the referendum for Eritrea's independence was announced on 27 April 1993.

Nowadays H. account for a still insignificant portion of Eritrea's economy.

Lit.: *Guida* 197; ZerÉth.

Naigzy Gebremedhin

Hoti Šeroči

↗*Tato* H.Š. (also Hoti Ginoč, Hoti Heroči, Hoti Gaoči, Galli Terri or Belli; r. ca. 1802–21), king of ↗Käfa, consolidated the territorial expansion realized by previous kings, especially Šagi Šeroči (r. ca. 1775–95), and added to it by defeating the ↗Gurage and ↗Ğimma Oromo in battle and expanding toward the north-east. The background of this was the long-standing competition for the trade in ↗slaves and ↗coffee with neighbouring kingdoms.

Despite his historical importance as a "warrior king" and strong ruler, not much is known about H.Š.'s reign. Belonging to the Bušašo Miŋǧo dynasty (↗Käfa dynasties) that had ruled since the 14th cent., H.Š., in conflict with emerging political formations such as the ↗Benç and the Oromo kingdoms, forced several surrounding chiefdoms and kingdoms into a vassal relationship with Käfa, e.g., Šeka, Še, ↗Boša, Nao (↗Nayi), ↗Yäm, ↗Konta and ↗Dawro, effectively making Käfa an imperial state. Local informants consulted by Orent (1970:277) confirm that this was the heyday of Käfa's power and expansion. H.Š. reorganized the political structure of the kingdom, increasing central control and appointing

political representatives (*rašo*) in the newly subdued areas. He also divided the kingdom into 18 regions (*worafo*) and 134 districts (*worbo*). His reign was probably marked by more social equality. The repression of the ordinary farming population generated resistance (cf. Lange 1982:206).

In H.Š.'s reign Orthodox Christianity had entered Käfa, and because of its impact on sections of the elite it became an important religious factor next to the widespread spirit cults (↗Possession cults), e.g. around the *ašelločči* and *deoče* spirits. Lange's (1982:202) historical work on Käfa society mentions that H.Š. converted to Christianity and banished the chief ritual leader ("priest") of the Käfa traditional ↗religion, who was supported by the older, landed elite. Christian immigrants and Christianized Käfiččo tried to monopolize the trade routes (slaves, coffee, ↗ivory, cardamom, ↗zibeth) and thus caused resentment and intra-elite struggle. In 1820–21 H.Š.'s half-brother and pretender to the throne Bedi (Gaha Nečočči) led a revolt with the support of more traditional-minded, anti-Christian people and took power in 1821, exiling H.Š. to Wota in Benç ("Gimira") country, where he died. This struggle was reflected in Käfa oral traditions recorded by Lange (1982:204f.), where the incumbent king H.Š. was reputed to have tried to physically injure Bedi so that he could not become king (Käfa kings were supposed to be without physical blemishes). This plan miscarried and the "prophecy" that his brother would chase him out and succeed him was realized.

Lit.: FRIEDRICH JULIUS BIEBER, *Kaffa: Ein altkuschitisches Volkstum in Inner-Afrika*, Münster 1920, Wien 1923; Cec-Zeila; HuntGal; WERNER JÜRGEN LANGE, *History of the Southern Gonga (South West Ethiopia)*, Wiesbaden 1982 (SKK 61); AMNON ORENT, "Refocusing on the History of Kafa Prior to 1897: a Discussion of Political Process", *African Historical Studies* 3, 2, 1970, 263–93.

Jon Abbink

House(s)

Houses in ancient Aksum and Təgray

Architectural remains of residential and cult buildings (palaces and churches) are the most impressive archaeological evidence in the ↗Aksum area.

Most residential buildings discovered at Aksum are elite palaces or parts of elite palace complexes. These complexes were square or rectangular in plan, and consisted of a central building, surrounded by open courtyards and enclosed by a range of rooms.

Residential buildings were built on a stepped podium (i.e., a constructed platform usually about 3.5 m high) with an indented plan. The podium was approached by staircases, and sustained a building with two or more stories. The external walls of the central building and surrounding range of rooms were "indented", i.e., they presented an alternately recessed and projecting surface with projecting corners.

The podium consisted of a platform with an external stone wall strengthened with corner blocks, and internally divided by walls and filled with soil. The stone walls of the upper building were strengthened with wooden beams which projected on the exterior (the so-called "monkey's head" construction technique, Tgn. *rəʾsi həbäy*). The walls were built with a core of small, flat stones in a clay mortar, and were reinforced at regularly spaced intervals of ca. 50 cm with timbers let into the inside and outside of the wall and small cross poles projecting outside.

Stone columns and wooden poles supported the upper stories inside the buildings. Pillars made with small stones embedded in the soil fill of the podium supported the columns at the ground floor. Evidence of frequent restoration, reinforcement and reconstruction at the residential "palace" of ʿOna Nägäśt (↗Betä Giyorgis) suggests some structural instability of these buildings and a need for constant maintenance to prevent building deterioration.

Today, only the podiums and sometimes the lower part of the elevated walls are preserved. They are frail structures because the construction stones were not well laid. Large concentrations of small stones from collapsed structures often indicate the occurrence of ancient buildings on the surface.

The remains of the "palace" excavated at ʿOna Nägäśt serve as an example of the state of preservation of the ancient buildings. The walls range in width from about 0.5–1.25 m and are composed of a combination of flat, tabular, and polygonal rocks (some showing signs of rough hammering) laid uncoursed in a thin application of mud mortar. In many instances small pieces of rock were set in the mortar between larger rocks for added stability.

Stepped walls are characterized by a series of recessed sections about 0.48 m high, each of which is set back about 5–6 cm, and is separated from other recessed sections by a thin course of

Remains of an Aksumite residencial building at Dungur near Aksum; photo 2006, courtesy of Wolbert Smidt

finely worked slate or schist, which forms the "step". In the course of the excavation, a large number of dressed stone blocks were uncovered in fill deposits: none were found in intact walls. Fragments of fired clay bricks were also numerous in the fill deposits. No large dressed stone blocks, such as those used in the construction of Dungur and other Aksumite site residential structures, have yet been found in wall construction at ʿOna Nägäśt.

The evidence of rural H. dating to Aksumite times is very scarce. Some remains at Mäzəbər, near Aksum, consist of a rectangular building, about 9 m long, with two rooms on a small platform about 50 cm high and a step at the entry to the south. One room was slightly projecting. A similar building was also recorded in ↗Qoḥayto.

Two clay models of huts from ↗Ḥawəlti, to the east of Aksum, represent a rectangular building with a flat top sustained by projecting wood beams, and a cylindrical hut with a conical top. These models are tentatively dated to the late 1st millennium B.C., and suggest that the same basic types of rural houses we can see today in Təgray already existed over 2,000 years ago.

Lit.: FRANCIS ANFRAY, "L'archéologie d'Axoum en 1972", *Paideuma* 18, 1972, 60–78; DAE I–IV; STUART MUNRO-HAY, *Excavations at Aksum*, London 1989; MHAksum; DAVID W. PHILLIPSON, *The Monuments of Aksum*, London 1997.

Rodolfo Fattovich

Houses of the Amhara

The traditional Amhara H. (ቤት, *bet*) is built of stone or wattle and daub; the term ጎጆ (*goǧǧo*) refers to less prestigious huts or H. and is associated with young couples' or poor people's dwellings. The round H. with their conical grass roofs, topped with an earthenware dome (ጉልላት, *gulləlat*) provide maximum protection from wind and rain and integrate well with the landscapes of the Amhara highlands.

Amhara households live on their land, or close to it, often in fenced compounds (ግቢ, *gəbbi*) with at least one dwelling H. which accommodates the household members and, occasionally, some of their animals. The result is a scattered settlement pattern, although in some regions (e.g., Wällo) one may find larger clusters of households forming small hamlets. The compound commonly contains a number of H. in addition to the main one which belongs to the household head – some used as dwellings for married sons or retired parents, others simple constructions for the household's animals. In previous times the nobles would have a number of H. with different functions in their compounds, such as kitchen (ማድ፡ ቤት, *mad bet*), reception H. (አዳራሽ, *addaraš*) and guest H. (እንግዳ፡ ቤት, *əngəda bet*). Such specialized H. are no longer common.

The Amhara highlands vary in altitude and climate, which is reflected in the H. people live in. The extreme highlands (*däga*), which are populated at altitudes up to 3,600 m A.S.L., are often exposed to frost. Dwellings are consequently constructed to keep their inhabitants warm, typically with thick stone walls, often with two layers of stones with clay in-between. At lower altitudes (*wäyna däga*) the climate is milder and timber is more readily available. Here the walls of the H. are built with strong saplings or split trunks (mainly of eucalyptus) which stand upright from the ground, each quite close to the next. They are bound together with horizontally placed wood or ↗bamboo. The walls are then plastered on both sides with a mix of mud (ጭቃ, *č̣əqa*) and straw. In the lowlands (*qʷälla*), the climate is warm and dry and H. are even simpler constructions, with less use of plastering, which provides airy shelters.

For the Amhara peasant the H. is one of his most valuable material possessions. H. building is men's work, usually done in the dry season by communal work (↗*Däbo*) in which neighbours and friends of the host participate. People known

Houses near Hamusil in Wällo; photo 1993, courtesy of Michael Gervers

to have special competence will be called on for thatching and for preparing the *č̣əqa* mixture which is used for plastering. There is no advanced carpentry work involved, since the wooden parts are tied together with strips of bark, but specialists in construction of the walls and roof are still needed. A circular ditch is dug for the round wall which the roof rests on. Trunks and saplings (↗Eucalyptus) are cut for pillars and the beams used for the roof and walls (if not stone walls), and grass for thatching is collected or bought. Depending on the local availability, grass and wood represent the highest costs. The standard grass for thatching is **ሰንበሌጥ** (*sänbäleṭ*), while **ጓሳ** (*gʷassa*), the most valued grass, is only found in the highlands. The cheapest alternative, straw, is more rarely used.

The H. has one entrance with a simple door made of rough wood boards; windows are not common in traditional grass-thatched H. Light comes in through the door opening and through non-plastered sections of the wall, where it meets the roof. Smoke from the hearth disperses through these openings and through the grass-thatched roof. The smoke from the fireplace can be dense and irritating, particularly in wood-deficit areas where dung is used as fuel. Women in particular, who spend much of their time in the H. and close to the fireplace, can be seriously bothered with eye catarrh and respiratory trouble. Accumulated soot deposit can also serve to impregnate and insulate the building (Pankhurst 1992:92). The outer walls are protected from heavy rain and hail by the overhanging roof, but repairs may be needed after each rainy season. With good maintenance a H. can last for 20 years (Messing 1985:32).

Inside the building the floor, walls and the clay benches that run along a part of the wall are smeared with a mixture of *č̣əqa*, dung, ↗*ṭef*, straw and ashes. This makes a smooth and hard surface which needs regular maintenance; cracks tend to develop over time and serve as refuge for insects and fleas. Daily brushing of the floor and occasional application of new layers of fresh dung/mud are consequently important household chores, done by women. Fresh grass or reeds can be spread on the floor at religious holidays or other festive occasions as a symbol of life. Besides being refreshing and decorative, the grass also has a sanitary effect as it is thrown out after some days, together with the dirt and fleas which have accumulated in it.

The H. may be divided into several rooms by semi-permanent walls of bamboo or cloth, but the central room is the main one, where the hearth is placed at a good distance from the wall and the central pole. Damage by fire is rather common. About half of the room has clay benches along the walls, where household members and guests can sit on sheepskins. The benches also provide sleeping places for the children. There is little furniture; small straw trays (**ሙሶብ**, *mäsob*) are used for serving meals, and most residential H. have at least one master bed (↗*Alga*), consisting of a wooden frame with interlaced strips of hide.

The smallest H., typically occupied by widows, newly married couples, or poor families, have only one room, where grain is stored, food is made, and family members sleep. Full-fledged households, with two or more generations, tend to occupy bigger H. These usually have a wall which runs inside the outer one and makes a section (**ጓዳ**, *gʷada*) with partitions for storage of grain and equipment, and a part used as a kitchen, where cooking utensils are stored and the heaviest cooking, particularly *ənǧära*-bread baking, is done. A part can also be used as the master bedroom. Cattle, if the household has any, are kept at night in separate sheds in the compound or in a part of the *gʷada*. In some highland areas with a cold climate, two-story buildings (**ፎቅ፡ ቤት**, *foq bet*) exist. These are stone buildings where animals are kept on the ground floor and the living quarters are on the first floor, benefiting from the warmth of the animals downstairs.

The H. for the Amhara has great symbolic significance. Residence has represented the main

House construction, Ethiopian highlands; photo courtesy of the Peter the Great Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography of the Russian Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg (I 349–228)

common also in rural areas. A consequence of this shift in roofing materials is that H. are built in a rectangular form.

Lit.: AMARE DAWIT – FASIL GHIORGHIS, "Early Architectural Development in Addis Ababa", in: *CentAddis* 173–98; HARALD ASPEN, *Amhara Traditions of Knowledge*, Wiesbaden 2001 (AeF 58); ALLAN HOBEN, *Land Tenure among the Amhara of Ethiopia*, Chicago – London 1973; JILL LAST, *Ethiopians and the Houses they Live in*, Addis Ababa 1981; LevWax; SIMON DAVID MESSING, *Highland Plateau Amhara of Ethiopia*, New Haven, CT 1985 (Lit.); PAUL OLIVER (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Vernacular Architecture of the World*, Cambridge 1997 (Lit.); HELEN PANKHURST, *Gender, Development and Identity: an Ethiopian Study*, London – Atlantic Highlands, NJ 1992.

Harald Aspen

means to claim land (Hoben 1973). This made the H. a symbol of connection to the land over generations, and the family (**ቤተሰብ**, *betäsäb*, lit. 'people of the house') is closely associated with the land and the H. Ideally, family members who have moved to other places are expected to visit their homeland and parents regularly, and preferably on religious occasions, such as ↗*Fasika* and ↗*Ṭəmqät*. This obligation does not cease with the death of parents. Descendants are supposed to continue to celebrate memorial rites, which are of great importance for many Amhara.

The round form of the traditional Amhara H. has been compared with the tent of the king (Messing 1985:35) – and with the church, seeing the circular room around the central pole as the "domestic inner sanctum" (LevWax 74). The central pole holds symbolic meaning and represents the protective spirit of the household (**የቤት፡ አድባር**, *yäbet adbar*). Before a H. is inhabited blood sacrifices may be presented to the *adbar*, by smearing blood from the sacrificial chicken or animal on the central pole and the door (Aspen 2001:103).

The Addis Abäba–Djibouti ↗railway facilitated the importation of corrugated iron sheets and these gradually replaced thatched roofs, especially in Addis Abäba in the first decades of the 20th cent. (Amare Dawit – Fasil Giorghis in CentAddis, 192). In rural areas this process was slower but today it is common to see H. with corrugated iron sheets (**ቆርቆሮ፡ ቤት**, *qorqorro bet*). While this may have signified relative wealth in earlier times, locally manufactured sheets are now available and iron sheet roofs have become

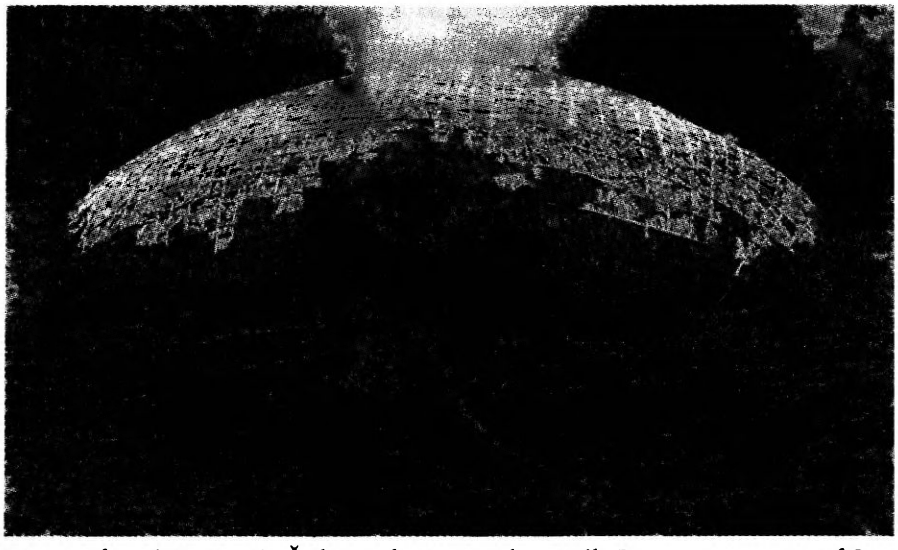
Houses in southern Ethiopia

Corresponding to the multiplicity of peoples and cultures the southern parts of Ethiopia possess a considerable variation of architectural styles and types of H. Regarding their layout and technical details they are basically dependent on the environmental conditions, ranging from cool and wet highlands to dry and hot lowlands, and on the respective availability of construction materials. The functional principles differ according to economic orientations, intensive and extensive farming, agropastoralism and nomadism.

Since it is impossible in this context to present information concerning the H. of approximately 50 ethnic groups, a limited number of models will be sketched which can be regarded as representative examples of larger regions or culture areas. These are the cases of the ↗Oromo, ↗Somali, ↗ᶜAfar, ↗Gurage, ↗Wälaytta, ↗Sidaama, ↗Dorze, ↗Dizi, ↗Gimira (↗Benǧ), ↗Konso and ↗Añwaa. The ↗architecture of the ↗*kätäma*, the (fortified) towns and market centres with rectangular tin-roofed houses, has spread everywhere in southern Ethiopia after the imperial, Amhara-led conquest of the late 19th cent. and will not be analyzed here.

For the most widespread types of circular H. with conical roofs the general label *tukul* became common in Ethiopia. The Oromo, who have spread over large parts of southern and central Ethiopia, developed different types of settlement patterns and H. The ↗Mäčča in the west usually live in circular H. with conical roofs the eaves of which are stretched and supported on poles thus

forming a small veranda, where firewood, household items etc., can be kept. The interior is mostly partitioned into two or more rooms. One contains the fireplace and a sleeping platform modelled out of mud and others are used as bedrooms for husband and wife and for storing kitchen utensils and foodstuffs. The main house is surrounded by grain stores (↗Granary), and a hedge of living ↗euphorbia or of ↗acacia boughs commonly fences the whole compound.



House of Arsi Oromo in Šedom; photo 1901 by Emile Brumpt, courtesy of Service des Archives de l'institut Pasteur, Fonds Émile Brumpt, Paris (Boîte 4 no. 172/Mission du Bourg de Bozas)

The Arsi formerly lived in beehive shaped H. with three to four small pillars supporting the roof, which were constructed around enclosures of thorn fences. These have meanwhile been replaced by circular constructions with conical roofs overhanging at some distance. Milk containers made of grass and wood are fixed to the central pillar supporting the roof. Livestock is kept outside in kraals surrounded by thorn fences or walls of cow dung.

Other Oromo groups, such as the ↗Guğği and the Baarentuu on the Harär plateau, mostly follow comparable patterns of H. construction although considerable differences are visible in the details. Among the ↗Arsi of the highlands near the spring of the Wabi Šäbälle a huge type of H. is found which looks like a horizontally halved barrel. It is mainly constructed of ↗bamboo and consists of separate rooms for men, animals and equipment. The ↗Boorana in the utmost southern parts of Ethiopia and adjacent Kenya are mostly cattle-breeders leading a semi-nomadic way of life. The H. they live in are made of a wooden framework of bent sticks, often with the lower walls reinforced with a screen of branches. The roof and parts of the walls are thatched with grass. Small calves, lambs and kids are kept inside the H. whereas adult livestock stays in enclosures of thorn fences during the night. When people move for their cycles of nomadic transhumance they carry along only the essential parts of the wooden frame; the materials for tying and thatching are usually collected in the new place. In this respect the Boorana H. differs from the true nomadic dwellings of their neighbours such as the ↗Gabra and the ↗Somali.

Peoples in the arid lowlands of the Ogaden and the ᶜAfar Triangle are largely camel nomads who need to be very mobile. Their dwellings have to be transportable and therefore constructed and dismantled quickly. They consist of a cupola-shaped frame of bent boughs on which mats of palm fibre or tarpaulins of plastic are fixed. Half a dozen of these tents belonging to related people usually encircle a space where the animals stay overnight. Walls of thorn twigs and/or stones mostly surround the whole compound. Within the tent a small platform is erected on wooden pillars which serves as a bed and for storing parts of the equipment. The tent is the property of the women who take full responsibility for its construction and transport. Some ᶜAfar nomads possess stone dwellings near the escarpment of the highlands which they temporarily inhabit during their seasonal migrations.

H. of most highland populations are solidly built dwellings of the *tukul* type. They have to provide protection against cold and abundant rainfall and shelter people as well as domestic animals. The H. of the ↗Gurage are circular with an average diameter of 8–10 m. A circular pillar with additional buttresses fixed at its upper part support the beautiful thatched steep roof. For these parts species of wood are preferred which are more or less resistant to termites. The walls constructed of poles (usually ↗Eucalyptus at present) vertically dug in the ground are horizontally connected with wooden bars and split bamboo sheets. The specially ornamented piece of ceramic on the apex has largely been replaced by a broken clay or metal pot. The space right of

Boorana hut-building; photo 1950/52 by Eike Haberland, courtesy of the Frobenius Institut, Frankfurt am Main (23–Ha216–06)

the entrance is usually the domicile for humans, whereas the animals, cattle, sheep, goats, horses, mules, donkeys and chickens are stalled in the left part behind a wooden barrier. The kitchen is either at the back of the H. or, less frequently, in a small extra hut. The grain is stored in huge baskets within the H.

The Gurage type of dwelling was widely adopted by their southern neighbours, the ↗Hadiyya and ↗Kambaata. These peoples live in scattered hamlets, which is a characteristic pattern of settlement for all groups in the southern highlands relying on intensive agriculture with *Ensete ventricosum* (↗*Ənsät*) as basic foodstuff. It fits perfectly to the necessity of permanent care of the gardens and plantations surrounding the H.

Such conditions basically relate to the ↗Wälaytta, ↗Sidaama and ↗Dorze as well. The Wälaytta H. equals the Gurage type of dwelling in size, but the roof is usually less steep and often extends to the ground as a kind of second wall. The composition of the interior is similar to the Gurage H. but is usually subdivided into more compartments by screens of bamboo. The furniture consists of wooden bedsteads covered with ox hides and stools. The custom of decorating the apex with ostrich eggs, which is principally widespread in Ethiopia, seemed to have been particularly frequent in Wälaytta.

The traditional H. of the Sidaama is extraordinary by the fact that it is mainly constructed of bamboo. In its diameter and inner division it does not differ much from the Gurage and Wällaytta type, but it is flatter and its roof is supported by usually three oblique poles instead of one vertical pillar in the middle. The split bamboo sheets horizontally cover the roof as well as the walls down to the ground. The spaces in between are carefully filled with grass and *ənsät* leaves. Thus, the interior is well isolated and kept warm. Above the entrance there is an extended shelter (a "nose" of the roof). The compounds, gardens and *ənsät* plantations are commonly surrounded by bamboo fences. Like the Sidaama, the Dorze and other peoples of the Gamo highlands use bamboo as a basic material for constructing their H. The shape, however, is remarkably different. The Dorze H. is a beehive shaped building of sometimes more than 5 m height. In this construction the roof and the walls are no longer distinguishable. It is furnished with two benches and provides a special place of reception for guests.

In its shape, the Dizi H., on the utmost southeastern promontory of the Ethiopian highlands, is similar to that of the Dorze, but being 5 m in diametre, it is considerably smaller. The left part is paved with pebbles as a stall for the animals and roofed with a platform for storing utensils and provisions. A higher platform in the middle above the hearth carries household equipment and at the right side people sit and sleep.

The H. of the Gimira peoples (↗Šeko, ↗Nayi, ↗Čara, Še, Benč) on the escarpment of the southwestern highlands are comparatively small and with low entrances. The eaves of the steep roofs are often stretched and form a narrow veranda. The walls painted with white colour often carry a mural decoration of red geometric ornaments. (With regard to Christian motives this custom has recently been introduced to other parts of Ethiopia.) H. in the southern highlands may last for about 40 years, provided their dilapidated parts are regularly repaired. When they are finally dug up, some parts such as central pillars may be used again.

At the escarpment of the southern highlands in the direction of the semiarid plains of eastern Africa the Konso have invented a peculiar type of settlement and H. Unlike the areas of *ənsät*-cultivation these people live in compact villages practising intensive agriculture (mainly of millet varieties) on terraced fields. The H. are built on basements made of stone – including the walls of

the relatively small H. (diameter usually less than six meters). The roofs are thatched with reed and shelter a veranda surrounding the H. There are separate grain stores and stone walls with gates surrounding and securing the villages and graveyards with wooden effigies showing the deeds of deceased persons.

The ecology of lowlands west of the south-western escarpment of the Ethiopian highlands offers extremely different conditions with respect to architectural conventions. The Me'en-Surma peoples dwell in semi-permanent hamlets and villages and temporary herding settlements. The shape of their H. is circular. Livestock is always kept outside the house. ↗Suri houses often have a defensive double wall and a fireplace at the centre. The Añwaa are sedentary along the rivers living on agriculture and fishing. Their circular H. have many-tiered reed roofs and the walls are often painted with geometric or figurative ornaments. Provisions and domestic animals such as chickens and sheep are mostly kept inside whereas fireplaces and grain stores are outside. Among numerous peoples of southern Ethiopia the gathering of building materials and the construction of traditional H. is a kind of social event in which many adult members of a local community participate.

Several groups such as the Gurage, Hadiyya and Kambaata possess special associations of mutual aid for H. building at the clan level.

Lit.: ULRICH BRAUKÄMPER, *Hadiya: Bauern in Äthiopien*, Frankfurt am Main 1979 (Interim 3); EIKE HABERLAND, *Hierarchie und Kaste: Zur Geschichte und politischen Struktur der Dizi in Südwest-Äthiopien*, Stuttgart 1993; ADOLF ELLEGARD JENSEN (ed.), *Im Lande des Gada*, Stuttgart 1936; WERNER JÜRGEN LANGE, *Gimira (Remnants of a Vanishing Culture)*, Frankfurt am Main 1975; JILL LAST, *Ethiopians and the Houses they Live in*, Addis Ababa 1981; PHILIP LEBEL, "On Gurage Architecture", *JES* 7, 1, 1969, 21–30; JUDITH V. OLMSTEAD, "The Dorze House: a Bamboo Basket", *ibid.* 10, 2, 1972, 27–36; LABELLE PRUSSIN, *African Nomadic Architecture: Space, Place and Gender*, Washington, DC – London 1995; VSAe I, s. index; VSAe III, 24, 152, 216f., 220, 228, 285.

Ulrich Braukämper

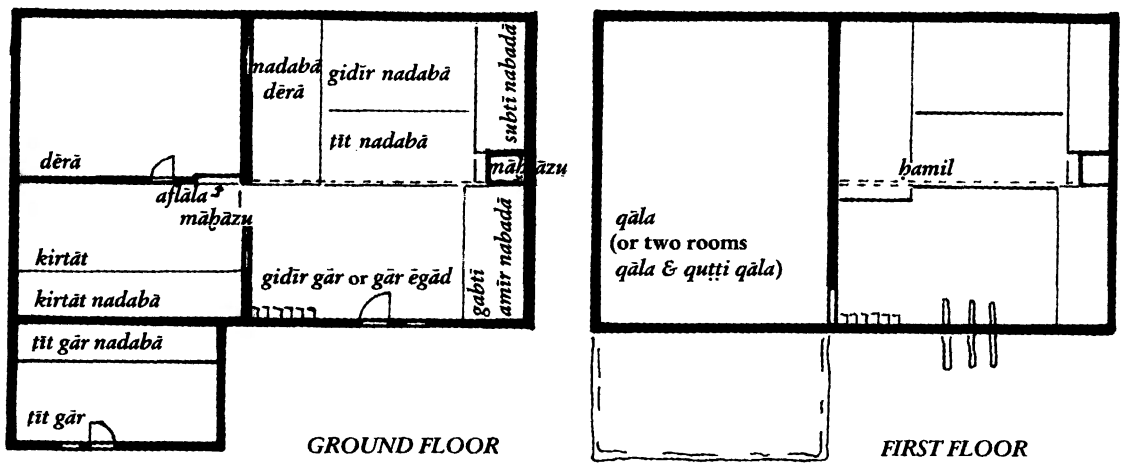
Traditional houses in Harär

In ↗Harär, there are usually several H. (*gār*) within one compound, the kitchen being housed in a separate room and shared by all households. The dwellings are rectangular and windows face the courtyard. The building materials are stones found around the city and pounded stones, mixed with clay, serve as mortar and as plaster for the exterior and the interior of the walls.

Today, walls are whitewashed with lime, *naṣīḥ āfar*, while the floor and the visible parts of the platforms – *nadabā* – are painted red. The ceilings of older H. are made of thin tree trunks stripped of their bark and then whitewashed. One beam (the *ḥamil*) above the first and lowest platform is thicker. An ostrich egg used to be hung there to protect the H. against lightning.

One enters through a large living-room, *gidīr gār*, which is the centre of the H. Every room in the H. has a *nadabā*; the living-room has several of them on all sides serving as seats or beds. These are covered with Somali mats or oriental rugs brought from the pilgrimage to Mecca. Shoes are permitted to be worn only in the space between the entrance door and the first and lowest platform, the *ṭīt nadabā*. Next to the highest platform, the *amīr nadabā*, which is only for the master of the H. and for honoured guests, there is the "pillar of the house", the *māḫāzu*, with a spearholder, *wåram mōraǧā*. Above the entrance door there is a shelf for Somali mats.

In the far corners of the living-room there are one or two built-in cupboards or wardrobes.



Ground-plan of a *gār* in Harär; courtesy of the author

The walls have several niches for trinkets and books. The walls of the living-room are decorated in a prescribed manner with Harari basketwork, wooden porringers and Chinese enamel plates. From the living-room a doorway leads into a small side-room, the *kirtat*, the "women's room". Adjoining, there is a small store room, *dērā*. Both are half as high as the living-room. The wall at the side of the *dērā* has a special niche, where the black, long-necked pottery containers, *aflāla*, covered with elongated basketry lids, *aflāla uffa*, are placed. These containers are for keeping ↗jewellery and valuables, while the *aflāla uffa* contain the umbilical cords of the children of the family.

A staircase next to the *kirtat* leads to a room above the *kirtat* and the *dērā*, called the *qāla*. It used as a storeroom for agricultural tools and for hay and foodstuffs. Together, the *kirtat* and *qāla* are as high as the living-room. Nowadays the *qāla* is partitioned from the living-room by a delicately carved wooden screen, the main room of the *qāla* serving as a separate bedroom, while the *quṭṭi qāla* still serves as a storeroom. Attached to the H. at the front there is often a small room with an entrance of its own, the *ṭīt gār*, for the youngsters of the H.

A latrine surrounded by a wooden structure is separate from the dwellings. Once filled up it is covered with earth and left to dry, while a second latrine is built. After a while the first latrine is opened and its contents are used as manure for fields.

Src.: RICHARD FRANCIS BURTON, *First Footsteps in East Africa or: the Exploration of Harar*, London 1856, ²1894.
Lit.: ELISABETH-DOROTHEA HECHT, "The City of Harar and the Traditional Harari House", *JES* 15, 1982, 57–78; PHILIPP PAULITSCHKE, *Harar: Forschungsreise nach den Somâl- und Galla-Ländern Ost-Afrikas*, Leipzig 1888; RICHARD WILDING, "Harari Domestic Architecture", *Art and Archaeology Research Papers* 9, 1976, 31–37.

Elisabeth-Dorothea Hecht

Houses in Eritrea

Traditional buildings in Eritrea are as diverse as the ethnic composition of the society. In the highlands, two main types prevail: the rectangular-type **ሀድሞ** (*hədmo*) and the round-type **አጉዶ** (*ag^{w}do*, both used by ↗Təgrəññña speakers). In other regions, rectangular huts (↗ᶜAfar, ↗Sāho), circular-type *dasa* and *áre* (Sāho), round *tukul* (↗Bilin, ↗Kunama, ↗Nara, ↗Hədaräb, Sāho), *həmmär* (↗Təgre-speaking groups), and *beyt* (↗Rašāʾida) have been described.

Hədmo are the traditional H. of the Təgrəññña peasants of the highlands of ↗Akkälä Guzay and ↗Ḥamasen. The H., sometimes also called *naši*, are rectangular and have a flat roof. Similar H. also exist in Təgray. Trunks of big trees are used as pillars for the main construction and the ceiling enforcement. The side walls can be filled with layers of stones and mud or with branches, straw and mud. The trunks on the roof are covered with soil on which grass may grow. The inside walls and the floor are covered with a mixture of animal dung and soil and painted white. They have up to 200 m² space (ca. 10–18 m long, 6–10 m wide and about 3 m high). Their sizes and aesthetic differ from each other within one village and also within the region. There are several regional types of *hədmo* which vary as to floorplan, size and functional areas. Dainelli and Marinelli (1912: 396–406) distinguish and provide schematic drawings for the *hədmo* of the Asmära area, of ᶜAddi Sogdo, of ↗ᶜAd Täkälezan, of Ǝmba Dərho, of Ḥalay etc. In the areas on the fringe of the Eritrean highlands, such as ↗Sänᶜafe and ↗Mäṭära, *hədmo* take modified forms under the influence of the neighbouring peoples (ibid. 413–18).

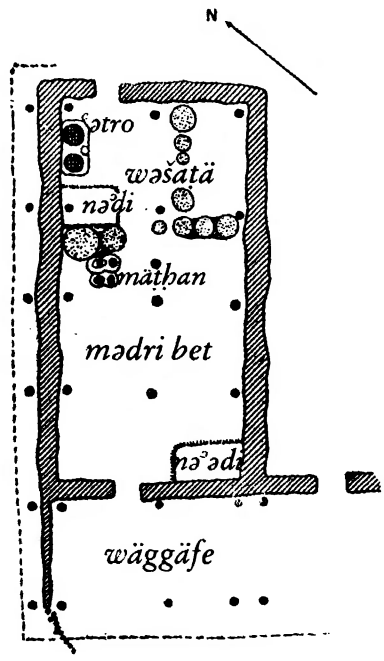
The Eritrean *hədmo* interior usually consists of three separate sections: **ገበላ** (*gäbäla*, 'entrance', sometimes also called **ወገፈ**, *wägäfä*), **ምድሪ፡ ቤት** (*mədri bet*, 'antechamber') and **ውሻጠ** (*wəšaṭä*, 'kitchen'). The *gäbäla* is a roofed but open fronted veranda, sometimes fitted with mud benches (**ንእዲ**, *nəʾədi*, and **መደብ**, *mädäb*) and then used as the men's bedroom, for storing farming tools, for meeting family members publicly, playing with children and as an animals' rest area. The semipublic middle section, *mədri bet*, is the place where guests are received and entertained, where the family takes their meal and where a newly married couple sleeps for the first time. After the birth of children, the wife and children sleep here. This is the place where most of the H. work is done and the new born animals as well as unthreshed grain are kept. The *mədri bet* is furnished with stools (**መንበር**, *mänbär*) and a table for eating meals, with *mädäbs* and *nəʾdis* as seating and sleeping facilities. Further, a grinding stone (*mäṭḥan*) and water container (**ዕትሮ**, *ᶜətro*) may be set on the ground.

The high ↗granary (**ቆፎ**, *qofo*), made out of mud, separates the *mədri bet* from *wəšaṭä*, the innermost and very dark part of the *hədmo*. In this room, where only women are admitted, a wife

keeps her properties and hides herself when she quarrels with her husband. The oven is placed and most of the meals are cooked in *wəšaṭä*.

Round holes are left in the walls to fit in cylindrical beehives (*qofo*) with the ↗bee entrance outside the wall. The bee colonies (usually several in each H.) are maintained and the ↗honey is collected by the wife (Fichtl ms., 1). The traditional beekeeping practice allows honey harvesting without destroying the colony.

Hədmo are built and maintained by ወፈራ (*wäfära*, 'neighbourhood help'). When a *hədmo* must be built or repaired, women cook, brew sorghum beer (*səwwa*) and invite neighbours, friends and relatives to collect the building material and work on the H. The *hədmo* are usually inherited by the youngest son, or, if the family has no male children, by the closest relative of the man.



Ground-plan of a *hədmo* in Asmära, scale 1:200; after Dainelli-Marinelli 1912:399, fig. 108a

The *agʷdo* is a round structure with a conical roof formerly wide-spread in the rest of the Eritrean highlands (↗Säraye), it also exists in Təgray, especially in the Aksum area and Abärgalle (a similar type is also known as ሰቐላ, *säqäla*). In the past decades, however, *hədmo* became the dominant H. type almost everywhere. In *agʷdo*, too, one can see a clear division between the *mədri bet* in front and *wəšaṭä* inside. The walls are made of stone kept together by earth and mud. A trunk in the middle of the room supports the conical roof made out of branches covered by thatch (*sahari*, or *walid*). Several *agʷdo*-H. are usually grouped together forming a large yard (*dämbe*) in their midst (Dainelli – Marinelli 1912:407–12).

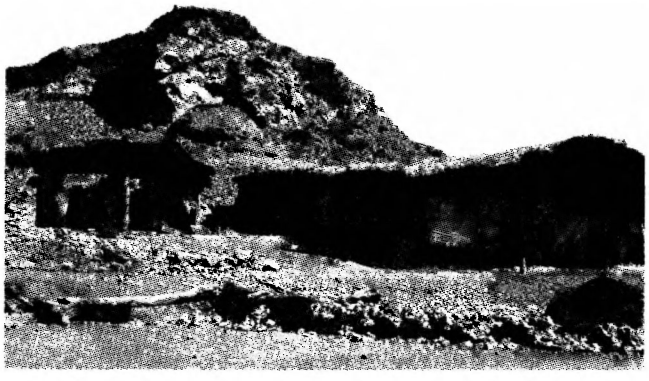
The Bilin, Kunama and Nara – sedentary ethnic groups – construct the walls of their H. of mud bricks which have been plastered with mud and occasionally painted white. The pastoralist Ḥədaräb construct the walls from small-size tree trunks and brushwood or reeds without plaster. For the roof, branches, brush wood or palm leaves are put in rows one over the other up to the top. In the interior the "furniture" is movable, like the bed (ᶜ*angäräb*, cp. ↗*alga*), shelves, the fire place, the grinding stone, the granary. The fireplace was traditionally a three-stone-stove which ws sometimes replaced by a mud stove (Dainelli – Marinelli 1912:437f.).

The *dik*-compounds (ibid. 418f.) are characteristic for the ↗Mīnifire Sāho. They consist of a large oval hut for goats (*abur*) and a conical H. made of branches for the shepherd (*dasa*). In Asaorta, *dasa* are somewhat larger and better constructed; round *áre* H. – similar to *dasa* but bigger and with a low wall – are also found there (ibid. 422f.). *Dasa* is also the most wide-spread H. type in ↗ᶜAfar, and one of the H. types favoured by the Təgre ↗Marya.

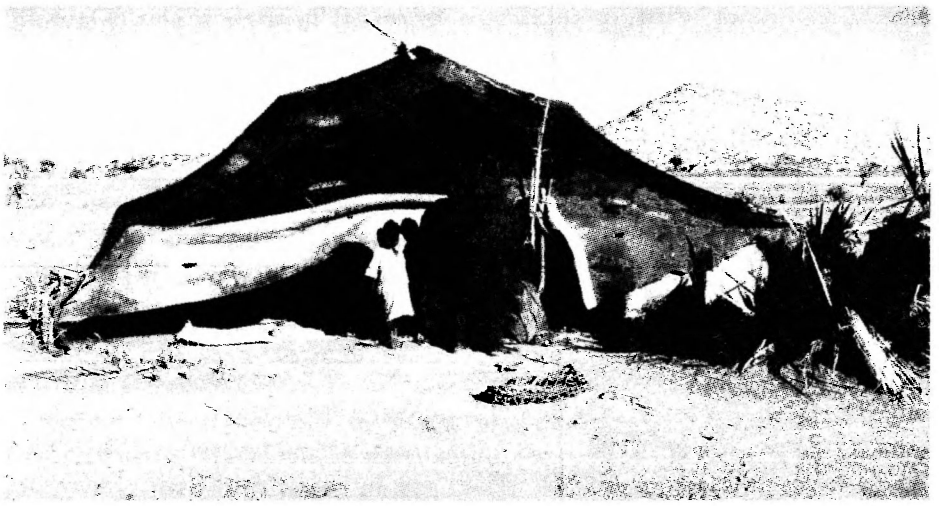
The Sāho inhabiting mountain slopes adjust grottoes for their H. A stone façade with a door closes up the hollow or cave within which the rooms have been divided up for living, sleeping and for the animals (ibid. 424f.).

The rectangular hut (called *ariš* in ᶜAfar) is common among the pastoralist Sāho and the ᶜAfar who live along the Red Sea coast. It is also found in ↗Massawa and other coastal and island settlements. It can be ca. 7–8 m long and 3–4 m tall and is made of natural material like brush wood/reeds, twigs or grass. The roof consists of ↗doum palm leaves. Inside is the movable furniture like bed (ᶜ*angäräb*), the three-stone-stove, granary (a sack made of doum palm leaves), shelves. The *ariš* are put up like tents every time the pastoral nomads choose to make a stop (ibid. pl. XXXII).

Ḥəmmär is a tent-like structure shaped like a beehive (cp. ibid. 434ff.). This H. type is used by the transhumant pastoralist Təgre-speaking peo-



Hədmo in Hamasen, photo 1915 by Leo Frobenius, courtesy of Frobenius-Institut (no. 07-8179)



Ḥəmmär of Beni ʿAmər, Gaš-Barka, Eritrea, photo 1997, courtesy of Kerstin Volker-Saad

ples of the north-eastern highlands and the western lowlands. H. of these ethnic groups belong to the women, who are responsible for organizing the building material (small trunks, robes, mats), for putting the tent up and for dismantling it, when the village moves to the next grazing area. A *ḥəmmär* consists of five straight wood (*fot*) posts (*takyat*), wood pegs (*mičāl*), ten to twelve doum palm mats as well as robes, which have been made from doum palm fibre. A H. can be set up or dismantled by four women within two hours. The small tree trunks have to be shaped like a semicircle by the women individually, so that the scaffold will ultimately gain the beehive shape. For two weeks the young and freshly cut trunks are put between pegs that force the trunk into the semicircle. These *fot* will become the roof, they are fixed with robes onto the *mičāl* which are punched in the earth. The *takyat* are posts with a bifurcate ending supporting the individual *fot*. The mats – about eight to ten meters long – are pleated by women in neighbourhood help collectively. It takes several months, sometimes up to one year, for them to be produced. As a natural fibre harvested from doum palms, the mats are susceptible to insect damage. Thus the women put the mats above a charcoal fire and smoke them, which gives them the dark brown, almost black colour and destroys the insect larvae. Approximately every two to three years new mats have to be produced to replace the old ones. Inside the H. the bed – measuring about 2.5 x 3 m – is placed vis-a-vis the entrance, the "kitchen" with a three-stones-cooking area, grinding stone, cooking utensils, milk container is placed on the right hand side with a smoke outlet. Next to the bed, on the left hand side on a shelf, the granary – a pleated doum palm container - is located. In front of the *ḥəmmär*, a shelter (*rakuba*) is built, as a storage for fodder and tools. After children have been born, the husband sleeps under the *rakuba*, for he leaves the big bed for the woman and her children.

The H. (*beyt*) of the Rašāʾida people of the Red Sea coastal plains and in the western lowlands along the border of Sudan are similar to the *ḥəmmär*. The Rašāʾida use self-woven blankets made from goat skin instead of doum palm fibre mats as a roof.

↗Architecture; ↗Asmära

Src.: author's own field notes from Eritrea; field notes of Rodolfo Fattovich from Aksum, Təgray; personal communication from Bərhanä Täsfay, Däqqämḥare, Ǝggäla, Eritrea.

Lit.: GIOTTO DAINELLI – OLINTO MARINELLI, *Risultati scientifici di un viaggio nella Colonia Eritrea*, Firenze 1912, 396–463, figs. 107a–38a, pl. XXIV–XXXIII (Lit.); REINHARD FICHTL, *Tigrigna – Schwarzafrikas älteste Imkereikultur*, ms.; THEODOR VON HEUGLIN, *Reise nach Abessinien ...*, Jena 1868, 52, 143; ALBO VON KATTE, *Reise in Abyssinien im Jahre 1836*, Stuttgart 1838, 43; EDUARD RÜPPELL, *Reise in Abyssinien*, vol. 1, Frankfurt am Main 1838, 262, 309f., 329f.

Kerstin Volker-Saad

Hozier, Henry Montague

H. (b. 1838, Bothwell, Scotland, d. 1907, Panama), Colonel, Knight Commander of the Order of the Bath, third son of the financial secretary and military writer James C. Hozier, distinguished himself as an active British officer and as one of the best military-writers of his time.

After education at the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich, H. was assistant to Robert ↗Napier in the expedition to Beijing and in the campaign against *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II. H. proved a skilled advisor on tactical aspects and received a medal for the Ethiopian operation (Hozier 1869; Hozier – Holland 1870).

Afterwards, H. was promoted Lieutenant-Colonel and received the Iron Cross for his role in the Franco–German war. In 1874, removed from active duties in the army, he was appointed Secretary of Lloyd's insurance company, where he introduced many beneficial reforms. H. was

also active in the Masonic world. He was senior Grand Deacon of England, member of the Grand Lodge of Scotland, Past Master of the Ubique Lodge and member of the Westminster Quaystone and Household Brigade Lodge and one of the founders of the Latine Lodge.

↗Napier expedition

Src.: HENRY MONTAGUE HOZIER, *The British Expedition to Abyssinia, Compiled from Authentic Documents*, London 1869; ID. – TREVENEN HOLLAND, *Record of the Expedition to Abyssinia*, London 1870.

Lit.: DAVID BANK – THERESA MCDONALD, *British Biographical Index*, vol. 4, München ²1998, 1553; EDWARD HERTSLET, *Recollections of the Old Foreign Office*, London 1901; JOHN FOSTER KIRK, *Supplement to Allibones Critical Dictionary of English Literature and British and American Authors*, vol. 2, Philadelphia, PA – London 1891; *Who Was Who, a Companion to "Who's Who", Containing the Biographies of those who Died during the Period 1897–1916*, London 1920, 357.

C. Detlef G. Müller

Hozo-Sezo

H.-S. (self-names: Hooz Wandi and Seezi Waaŋi or Seezo Waanä, also called "Northern Mao") is an ↗Omotic dialect cluster of extreme western ↗Wälläga, near the town of Begi (for exact location s. map for Mao). There are about 30 clans of local people in the area who claim to be members of a "Hozo moiety" and about 18 who claim to be "Sezo", making up the *Beg-mawa*, 'Begi-people' (Atieb Ahmed Dafallah – Bender 1974). The name ↗Mao (*ma^{w}o*; *ma^{w}* in Hozo, *ma^{y}* in Sezo) is applied to many peoples of the area. An earlier ethnological study of the area by Grottanelli (1940) contains a Hozo word list and an inaccurate list of supposed clan names (Atieb and Bender notes). *Ethnologue* estimates Hozo and Sezo populations as about 3,000 each (Gordon 2005:115, 118). There is no literature in H.-S.

The lexical resemblance between Hozo and Sezo is about 65 % of basic lexicon, implying a low degree of mutual intelligibility and a possible time-depth of differentiation of about 1,000 years in the "normal" case, although it is quite possible that this may be an "abnormal" case of rapid or very slow divergence. The material collected by Atieb Ahmed Dafallah and Bender are the only significant sources on the H.-S. languages up till the S.L.L.E. In S.L.L.E. 15, Siebert and Wedekind (1994:10–18) present 320 lexical items of Hozo and two varieties of Sezo: Seze I and II. Bender 2000 summarizes the grammatical data on H.-S. in ch. 8 and passim and Bender 2003 contains a summary of lexical data.

The segmental phonemes of H.-S. (Bender notes) are:

labials: *p*ʔ, *p*, *b*, *m*, *w*
alveolars: *ṭ*, *t*, *d*, *s*, *ṣ*, *z*, *n*, *l*, *r* ~ *l*
palatals: *š*, *y*
velars: *q*, *k*, *g*
post-velars: *h*-
vowels: *i*, *e*, *a*, *o*, *u* (*u* rare finally, *o* non-final; *e* ~ *a* is common)

p is rare medially and *g* is rare medially, except after *ŋ*. *ṭ* is rare, *ṣ* is rare initially, *s* has variant [*ʦ*] medially, *r* ~ *l* is medial only. *ŋ* occurs only before velar. *f*, *č*, *ǧ* occur only in loans. Suprasegmentals have not been analyzed.

Ten-word-list of H.-S. (phonemicized from Bender 1983:342f.): 'one' *onna/išile*; 'two' *dombo/noombe*; 'three' *siyazi/siize*; 'water' *haani/haanṣi*; 'fire' *taami/taame*; 'sun' *abbi/awe*; 'moon' *emti/emse*; 'blood' *hambli/hamble*; 'tongue' *winṭile/yanṣile*; 'tooth' *atṣe/aatṣe*.

Except for having different lexemes for 'one' and interesting variation in 'tongue', this very basic lexicon shows the difference between Hozo and Sezo to be at the dialect level. There are other pronounced lexical differences, however, e.g., 'big' *etsi/gatti*, 'black' *ṭuuṭa/qiqini*, 'claw' *tuumi/ṣuqumi*. Siebert and Wedekind largely agree with the above items (their Seze II is close to the Sezo above) except for 'sun', e.g., Seze I *ʾàʷkálí* (one suspects this is a compound of form 'sun-X').

The independent pronouns of Hozo and Sezo are rather different from each other. There are no gender or inclusivity distinctions. From Atieb and Bender notes and S.L.L.E. 15: Hozo: 1st/2nd/3rd pers. sg.: *naŋ+ga/hiiŋ+ga/aŋ+ga*, 1st/2nd/3rd pers. pl.: *nuŋ+ga/duŋ+ga/neŋ+ga*; Sezo: sg.: *haa+še/hin+še/han+še*, pl. *dul+še/nam+ še/hel+še*. The suffixes *+ga* in Hozo and *+še* in Sezo are probably old copulas 'it is' (s. Bender 2000:183, 198ff.). Similarities to other Omotic are slight (best is Hozo 1st pers. pl.). Demonstratives are: Hozo near/far: *zan(g)a/zaŋaŋá*, Sezo: *heti/ya*. Interrogatives in H.-S. are: 'who?' *hayéŋgà/kínàa*, 'what?' *kinebià/kínàa*, 'when?' *hinià/díngàwtàa*, 'where?' *indéša/híntèe*, 'why?' *kinegošaa/kínàa*, 'how?' *hiŋgonàa/díŋkínàa*. There are still doubts about several of the above forms. In both Hozo and Sezo, existence and location are indicated by the copula *+iti* ~ *+(i)te*. Identity/attribution are marked by *+š* in both and also zero morpheme in Hozo. The connective 'and' is *+na* in Hozo and *+ne* ...*+ne* (suffixed to both constituents) in Sezo. Negatives are *+ke* in both and also *+wa*

in Hozo. For more details and variant forms, s. Bender 2000 (ch. 8).

Src.: ATIEB AHMED DAFALLAH – M. LIONEL BENDER, field notes from the "Mao" area, ms. 1974; RAYMOND G. GORDON (ed.), *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*, Dallas, TX [15]2005, 115, 118.

Lit.: M. LIONEL BENDER, *Comparative Morphology of the Omotic Languages*, München 2000 (Lincom Studies in African Linguistics 19); ID., *Omotic Lexicon and Phonology*, Carbondale, IL 2003; ID. (ed.), *Nilo-Saharan Language Studies* (Monograph 13, Committee on Northeast African Studies), East Lansing, MI 1983; HAROLD C. FLEMING, "The Importance of Mao in Ethiopian History", in: *PICES* 7, 31–38; ID., "Mao's Ancestor: Consonant Phonemes of Proto-Mao. Stage One", in: *PICES* 9, vol. 5, 35–44; VINIGI LORENZO GROTTANELLI, *I Mao*, Roma 1940 (Centro di studi per l'Africa Orientale Italiana: Missione Etnografica nel Uollega Occidentale 1); RALPH SIEBERT – KLAUS WEDEKIND – CHARLOTTE WEDEKIND, "Third S.L.L.E. Survey on Languages of the Begi/Asosa Area", *S.L.L.E. Linguistic Reports* 15, 1994.

M. Lionel Bender

Ḥudūd al-ʿālam

The Ḥ. (حدود العالم, 'The Limits of the World') is an anonymous Persian geography composed towards the end of the 10th cent. It was dedicated in 982 to the *amīr* of Gūzgān (Afghanistan), Abū l-Ḥāriṯ Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Farīġūn. The work exists in a unique manuscript from the 13th cent. First edited by Wilhelm Barthold (Vasilij Bartol'd) in 1930, it was translated in 1937 into English, with a commentary, by Vladimir Minorsky.

The Ḥ. is very important for the historical geography of Afghanistan and the adjacent Turkish steppes. As to Ethiopia, it contains only a short paragraph which runs in Minorsky's translation as follows: "Discourse on the country of Abyssinia and its towns: East of it live some Zanǧ; south and west of it is a desert; north of it lie the sea and some parts of the Barbarī Gulf. [The inhabitants of] this [country] have faces of average size. The people are black and lazy, but with high aspirations, and obedient to their king. The merchants of ʿUmān, Ḥiǧāz and Baḥrayn come here. 1. Rāsun, a town on the sea coast and the king's residence. 2. Sawār, the town where the army of the Abyssinian king is stationed. 3. Rīn, the town where the commander-in-chief resides with (his) army. In this province gold is abundant". Minorsky identifies Rīn tentatively with ↗Zaylaʿ. The paragraph that follows, on the country of the Buǧa (↗Beǧa), is so much mutilated that it makes any quotation useless.

Src.: VASILIJ BARTOL'D (ed.), *Khudūd al-ʿālem, rukopis' Tumanskogo*, Leningrad 1930, fol. 39a; MANŪČIHR SATŪDA (ed.), *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, Tihrān 1340 H. [1962 A.D.] (Intišārāt-i Dānišgāh-i Tihrān 727), 198; VLADIMIR MINORSKY (tr.), *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam. 'The Regions of the World': a Persian Geography, 372 H., 982 A.D.*, London 1937 (E.J.W. Gibb Memorial, new ser. 11), 164 (tr.), 473f. (commentary).

Lit.: CLIFFORD EDMUND BOSWORTH, "*Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*", in: *EI*[2] suppl. fasc. 5/6, 1982, 376; VLADIMIR MINORSKY, "Ibn Farīġhūn and Ḥudūd al-ʿālam", in: WALTER BRUNO HENNING – EHSAN YARSHATER (eds.), *A Locust's Leg: Studies in Honour of S. H. Taqizadeh*, London 1962, 189–96.

Ewald Wagner

Hulätt lədät

The H.l. (**ሁለት፡ ልደት**, 'two births') was a Christological formula within the ↗*Karra* denomination of Ethiopian Christian Orthodoxy (↗Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church [EOTC]). The H.l. supporters, in opposition to the followers of the ↗*Śost lədät*, maintained that in the mystery of the second Person of the Holy Trinity there were two births: the first from the Father (without a mother) "before [the creation of] the world", **ወልደ፡ አብ፡ በመለኮቱ፡ ቅድመ፡ ዓለም** (*wäldä ab bämäläkotu qədmä ʿaläm*); the second from the Holy Virgin Mary (without a father or more literally "without man's seed") at the fullness of time, **ወልደ፡ ማርያም፡ በትስብእቱ** (*wäldä Maryam bätəsbəʾtu*). According to this doctrine Jesus Christ was "the natural Son of God" and not **የጸጋ፡ ልጅ** (*Yäṣägga läǧ*, 'Son of grace'), as the followers of the triple birth sustained.

The issue about the "births of Jesus Christ" did not emerge in Ethiopian chronicles until the death of *aṣe* Iyoʾasi in 1769 and it is not clear yet why and when it surfaced at all. However, there is no doubt that the immediate context in which the debate about "the births" was conceived was the acrimonious controversy on the Union and Unction of the Son of God. It is widely believed that the followers of H.l. were the adherents of the *Karra* and ↗*Qəbat* groups (which otherwise had substantial differences in their Christological teachings, yet shared the H.l. formula), based mainly in Təgray and in Goǧǧam, whereas the *Śost lədät* party was primarily associated with the monastery of ↗Däbrä Libanos in Šäwa (↗*Ṣägga*).

These two slogans, which often became a battle-horse used for political purposes by different rulers, witnessed alternating fortunes. During the rule of *märəd azmač* ↗Asfa Wäsän of Šäwa

(1795–1808), the *Śost lədät* party was strongly opposed and condemned by the Metropolitan ↗Yosab II. Yosab excommunicated all the followers of the *Śost lədät* doctrine, starting from the abbot of Däbrä Libanos, *əṣṣäge* Wäldä Yona, one of the most vociferous representatives of the triple birth creed. This extreme measure was dictated by the hope of unifying the Church under a single H.l. belief. The result was, however, a large rebellion by the clergy, which forced the Metropolitan to go into exile on an island on Lake Ṭana. Later on, he retracted the excommunication and was given back his episcopal see. Soon after, however, following his death, *əṣṣäge* Wäldä Yona issued an excommunication on all those who would not accept the doctrine of the *Śost lədät*.

Events took another twist with the advent of Metropolitan *abunä* ↗Qerəllos in 1816 who, in line with the position of the Coptic Church, was a staunch supporter of the H.l. doctrine. Qerəllos enjoyed an unflinching allegiance among the clergy of Təgray, where he stayed from 1816 to 1819. With his arrival on 23 June 1819 in Gondär, where many of the monks were sympathizers of the *Śost lədät* creed, the capital witnessed a rekindling of the Christological disputes. The Metropolitan, asked to air his position on the matter, declared that the *Śost lədät* doctrine was wrong and excommunicated its adherents. The move prompted an uproar from the local monks and clergy; a synod was then held in Gondär in the presence of *aṣe* ↗Iyoʾas II toward the beginning of 1820. The Metropolitan lost his case to the longstanding rival of his predecessor, *əṣṣäge* Wäldä Yona. During the quarrelsome debate the latter acted as the chief spokesman and defender of the *Śost lədät* doctrine. Qerəllos was abused, excommunicated and forced by *əṣṣäge* Wäldä Yona to seek refuge in Təgray, which remained a stronghold of the "twin birth" creed.

In the first half of the 19th cent., the rulers of Šäwa banned from their lands the *Karročč*, including the H.l. The measure responded not only to theological but also to political concerns emerging from the perennial rivalry between the Šäwans and the northern Təgrayans. When ↗Śahlä Śəllase became *nəguś* of Šäwa, he outlawed the *Karročč* and declared the doctrine of the *Śost lədät* the official belief of the state. In 1845, *abunä* ↗Sälama III excommunicated both *əṣṣäge* Mahṣäntu and his mentor Śahlä Śəllase (Conti Rossini 1916b:478). In Sälama's wake, a complete reversal of the situation took place with the emergence of *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II, who proclaimed *Karra* as the official religion of the entire empire. Here too, the choice of Tewodros was dictated by the political aim of attracting to his side the rivals of his Šäwan contenders.

After Tewodros, the Šäwan *nəguś* Mənilək (later *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II) reinstated for a short while the position of the Däbrä Libanos *Śost lədät* party, but was compelled to abolish it when the Təgrayan-born *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV, a fervent advocate of *Karra* and H.l., became Emperor. The latter called a synod in May 1878 at ↗Boru Meda in Wällo, a "neutral place" chosen as a good-will gesture to reassure people that the synod would be even-handed. A large gathering took place in the presence of Yoḥannəs IV, *əṣṣäge* ↗Tewoflos and several dignitaries and ecclesiastical authorities.

The Emperor wanted the rulers ↗Täklä Haymanot of Goğğam and Mənilək of Šäwa to be present and ordered them to sit at his right and left during the synod. The representatives for the H.l. were *aläqa* Täklä Śəllase and Mälʾakä Bərhan Wäldä Yoḥannəs and the spokesman was *aläqa* Kidanä Wäld. The triple-birth was represented by *aläqa* Habtä Wäld, *aläqa* Wəbe and *aläqa* Betä Läwi, their spokesman being *aläqa* Śənä Giyorgis. Being granted priority to address questions, the H.l. spared no effort in putting under pressure the *Śost lədät* delegates, who, according to the chronicles of the proceedings, did not argue as effectively as the H.l.

The Emperor too, despite his good will, was from the start clearly determined to put the triple-birth out of his way. The besieged triple-birth representatives tried in vain to mumble a few words to defend their Christological perspective. They were "soundly beaten" by the superior rhetoric of their opponents and by the ill-concealed hostility of the Emperor towards them. The *Karra* doctrine, and consequently the H.l., easily "won" the day. At least two prominent members of the triple-birth party received physical punishments at the order of the Emperor; they had their tongues cut out and their upper and lower limbs amputated. *Aläqa* Śənä Giyorgis and several others declared that they would have professed H.l.

Boru Meda marked the irreversible decline of the triple-birth doctrine. Mənilək II, who succeeded Yoḥannəs IV, pursued a policy of religious tolerance, recognizing for all the freedom

to embrace either Christological position. Religious tolerance was also the path followed by *aṣe* ↗Ḥaylä Śəllase I. However, at the end it was the H.l. formula which survived, asserting itself as the official Christological formula of the EOTC. The overwhelming majority of catechetical handbooks, texts with expositions of the dogmas of the EOTC and the published ↗*Andəmta* Corpus reflect the doctrine of the H.l. The standard way of describing the mystery of the second Person of the Holy Trinity is that "the first birth" occurred: ቅድመ፡ ዓለም፡ አካል፡ ዘእምአካል፡ ባሕርይ፡ ዘእምባሕርይ፡ ወልደ፡ አብ፡ በመለኮቱ (*qədmä ʿaläm akal zäʾəmʾakal baḥrəy zäʾəmbaḥrəy wäldä ab bämäläkotu*, 'begotten from the Father in his divinity before the [creation of the] world, person from person, nature from nature'). The "second birth": ፭ሺህ፡ ፭፻፡ ዘመን፡ ሲፈጸም፡ ከእመቤታችን፡ ከድንግል፡ ማርያም፡ ከሥጋዋ፡ ሥጋ፡ ከነፍስዋ፡ ነፍስ፡ ነስቶ፡ ሰው፡ ሁኖ፡ ተወለደ (*5 ših 500 zämän siffäṣṣäm käʾəmmäbetaccən kädəngəl Maryam käśəgawa śəga känäfsəwa näfs nästo säw huno täwälladä*, 'he was born of the virgin Mary taking up flesh from her flesh and soul from her soul at the completion of the 5,500 years from the creation of the world'; Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church 1983:28).

Some of the recent quasi-official theological manuals have gone out of their way to list the *Ṣägga* and, by implication, the *Śost lədät* among the "sects dissenting from the established church" (Aymro Wondmagegnehu – Joachim Motovu 1970:132).

↗Christology

Src.: ADMASU ĞÄMBÄRE, መጽሐፈ፡ ቅኔ (*Mäṣḥafä qəne*, 'The Book of *Qəne*'), Addis Abäba 1963 A.M. [1970/71 A.D.], 279–83; *aläqa* AZZÄZÄ TÄDLA, ነገረ፡ ሃይማኖት (*Nägärä haymanot*, 'Discourse about Faith'), ms. at the Holy Trinity Cathedral, Addis Abäba, n.d.; BlunChr; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "La cronaca reale abissina dall'anno 1800 all'anno 1840", *RRALm* ser. 5ª, 25, 1916a, 779–922; ID., "Fonti storiche etiopiche per il XIX: I. Vicende dell'Etiopia e delle missioni cattoliche...", *ibid.* 1916b, 425-550, here 577f.; MÄNGƎŚTU LÄMMA, መጽሐፈ፡ ትዝታ፡ ዘአለቃ፡ ለማ (*Mäṣḥafä təzzəta zäʾaläqa Lämma*, 'The Book of *aläqa* Lämma's Reminiscences'), Addis Abäba 1959 A.M. [1966/67 A.D.].

Lit.: *abba* AYELE TEKLEHAYMANOT (MARIO DA ABIY-ADDÍ), *La Chiesa Etiopica e la sua dottrina cristologica*, Roma 1973; AYMRO WONDMAGEGNEHU – JOACHIM MOTOVU (eds.), *The Ethiopian Orthodox Church*, Addis Ababa 1970, 132; CrumMis; EOTC (ed.), *A Short History: Faith and Order of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church*, Addis Ababa 1983, 28; IGNAZIO GUIDI, "La chiesa abissina", *Oriente moderno* 2, 1922–23, 123–28, 186–90, 252–56; መዝገበ፡ ሃይማኖት (*Mäzgäbä haymanot*, 'The Treasure of Faith'), Aśmära 1969 A.M. [1976/77 A.D.]; TedEthPrel II; YAQOB BEYENE, *L'Unzione di Cristo nella teologia Etiopica: contributo di ricerca su nuovi documenti etiopici inediti*, Roma 1981 (OrChrA 215).

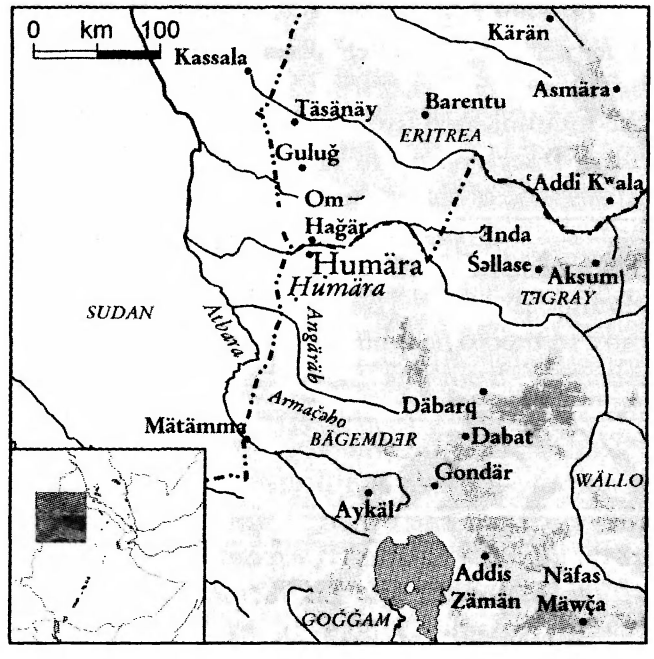
Tedros Abraha

Ḥumära

H. (ሑመራ, Tgn., Tgr.: Ḥəmora, Beni ʿAmər: Ḥəmärin, Kunama: ʾƎhəmärin) is an Ethiopian town at the Eritrean border close to the Sudan (14°18' N , 36°37' E), located at the Setit (↗Täkkäze) River in Qaftä Ḥumära *wäräda* (formerly Setit-Ḥumära *wäräda*). Etymologically the name might be linked with the Ḥumrān (↗Ḥamrān), Sudanese arabophone nomads. There might also be a connection with the *ḥumär* tree, growing in the lowlands and carrying (non-edible) fruit; a nearby settlement in the area of the ↗Ṣällim Bet, May Ḥumär, is named after this tree.

Ḥ. has about 50,000 inhabitants, mostly farmers and plantation workers. About 1,000 local investors own the greatest part of the surrounding plantations. The plantations are mainly known for their oil seeds, especially sesame, but also nug. Ḥ. lies in the ↗Atbara River Basin; all the rivers of the region flow into the Atbara. Four roads connect Ḥ. with ƎndaŚəllase Šire, Gondär, Mätämma (via ʿAbdärrafiʿ) and Eritrea (via ↗ʿOm Hağär to Guluğ).

During the Italian occupation Ḥ. started to become a centre of commercial farming, and thus surpassed ʿOm Hağär on the other side of the Setit. Oil milling had been carried on in the region. Traditionally, semi-sedentary highlanders migrated to the region twice a year for sowing and harvesting, the unhealthy climate (e.g., Ma-



laria being endemic) preventing most from settling permanently. However, as in other western regions up to Qʷara to the south, commercial farming had expanded in the times of *aṣe* Ḫaylä Śəllase I, especially during the 1960s, Ḥ. having a high potential for intensive agriculture. The "Humera Agricultural Development Project" was then set up in a vast region starting from the river Gärgäf near Guluğ, following the Sudanese border, until the environs of the ᶜAngaräb to the south. The project area extended, from north to south, over around 200 km (*wärädas* ᶜOm Hağär, Setit-Ḫumära, Wälqayt, Ṣägädä and Tačč Armaçəho). Many farmers were organized in large co-operatives, which, through loans, for example helped to enhance mechanical farming, especially around H. (the first being the "Walqait-Setit-Humera Multipurpose Agricultural Cooperative", registered in 1969, with ca. 990 members in 1972, cp. Humera Agricultural Development Project 1973:128). Others kept the traditional credit system (the *šayl*, originally known from ↗Sinnār, s. O'Fahey – Spaulding 1974:82f.), a local merchant advancing a sum in planting time and setting a price for the expected crop of ca. 30–50 % below the market price (ibid. 123f.).

Humära in the early 1970s; photo from Humera Agricultural Development Project 1973

H. also has an old market, probably predating the modern plantations, when Ḥ. was only a caravan post at the river, with products from the Sudan, Ethiopia, Eritrea and oversees. Handicrafts traditionally included blacksmithing and jewellery manufacture. The economic connection with the Sudanese lowlands is very important. Merchants from Ethiopia take cattle, butter, grains, spices to the border settlement Ḫamdayt, coming via Ḥ., which are exchanged for clothes, soap, perfumes, detergents etc. from the Sudan. Caravans also transport *gešo* (leaves for producing local beer) from Ethiopia to Sudan and Eritrea.

Ethnically Ḥ. and its environs are diversified. Nomadic Təgre, Beni ᶜAmər and Ḫamasen herders – the Ḫamasenay from Šire and Eritrea – are migrants, as are animal farmers from the Wälqayt and Ṣägädä highlands, and some South Armaçəho from the ᶜAngäräb in the south. Due to the intensification of farming and the exclusive reservation of grasslands south of the Setit by the highlanders, it became increasingly difficult for the Beni ᶜAmər to find grazing land starting from the 1960s. Earlier the once numerous Sudanese nomads had found alternative grazing areas within the Sudan (cp. Humera Agricultural Development Project 1973, fig. 9–1, 160ff.). Between June and October the population of Ḥ. and environs increases considerably mainly due to migrant workers (by 130 % around 1973, ibid. 120). The agricultural projects attract people from all bordering regions, e.g., migrant Sudan Arabs, and farmers from all over Təgray. Most of the Sudanese and even Nigerian (↗Hausa) agricultural workers settle nearby Ḥ. in Bäräk̲ät and May K̲adra.

Cotton growing is traditional. A state-owned cotton plantation has been enlarged in recent years as a development project, with German development aid and in collaboration with the nearby Danša settlement, a 1990's settlement of demobilized soldiers (cp. Armbruster – Berhane Belay 1997). The fertile environs of H. and the whole *wäräda* of Qaftä Ḫumära are today the scene of new resettlement programmes for poverty reduction, peasants from ecologically degraded regions, especially from central Təgray, settling on newly distributed land.

Src.: interview with Hayliye Maharya from Ḫumära, July 2004.

Lit.: HUMERA AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT PROJECT, MINISTRY OF AGRICULTURE (ed.), *The Humera Report, Resources and Development Planning*, Addis Ababa 1973; THOMAS ARMBRUSTER – BERHANE BELAY, *Report on Agricultural Economy (Draft), Dansha Settlement Project, Technical Cooperation Ethiopia–Germany*, Addis Ababa 1997, 8–19; SEAN O'FAHEY – JAY SPAULDING, *Kingdoms of the Sudan*, London 1974, 82f.

Habtom Gebremedhin – Wolbert Smidt

Humbanaa ↗Baarentuu

Ḥúmmad b. Lo'oytá

Sulṭān Ḥ. (b. ca. 1830, Afᶜási, d. 17 October 1902, Đoḍá near Dorrá) was the political chief of the Debné, an autonomous subgroup of the ↗ᶜAfar. Ḥ. is the ancestor of the Ḥummaddó, a subgroup of the Debné Arbāhintó. He was the son of *sulṭān* Loᶜoytá (from *loᶜó* 'day, sun') b. Arbāhim, the *sulṭān* of the Debné (until ca. 1866). This *sulṭān* served as ↗Rochet d'Héricourt's guide during his first journey to Šäwa in 1839, and in 1862 agreed to the cession of ↗Obock to Napoléon III by the leading ᶜAfar chiefs (in the Traité de Paris, s. Morin 2004:264f.). In those days the Debné were located east of the *wadi* ↗Gobaᶜad in the vicinity of ↗Zaylaᶜ.

The first time that Ḥ. appears in historical records was in 1867 in the battle of Mári, when he helped the *sulṭān* of ↗Awsa, ↗Maḥámmad "Illaltá", to defend the Awsa oasis against the ↗ᶜIssa. In 1875, together with the Awsa *sulṭān* Ḥ. directed the Egyptian troops headed by Werner ↗Munzinger *bāšā* into the Awsa sultanate. These troops were led from Giifu, at the entry of Awsa, to the ambush of the south-eastern shore of Lake ᶜUddúmma where Munzinger and his followers were nearly all killed by the soldiers of the Awsa *sulṭān*. Ḥ.'s relationship with the *sulṭān* of Awsa was, however, mainly marked by competition. In 1884 Ḥ. signed the Treaty with the French Governor Léonce ↗Lagarde, that established the French colony in Obock (Hertslett 1967). Already in 1882 Ḥ. had conceded the sea shore of Sāgállu to the traveller ↗Soleillet, who ceded his rights to France in 1884. Oral tradition explains that Ḥ. wanted to use the French to extend the influence of the Debné over Awsa itself – a project already followed by his father. Due to a conflict with the ᶜAsahyammára of Baᶜádu in 1886 he helped *däğğazmač* ↗Mäkʷännən Wäldä Mikaʾel in a raid against Baᶜádu. Ḥ. was also said to have encouraged the ᶜIssa in their attacks against Awsa. In 1890, however, Ḥ. publicly declared the acceptance of the sovereignty of the *sulṭān* of Awsa over "all the ᶜAfar". In 1899 Ḥ. was recognized as the official Debné leader at the French colony of Obock and also travelled in the same function to the Eritrean Colony.

Lit.: EDWARD HERTSLETT, *The Map of Africa by Treaty, Revised and Completed to the End of 1908 by R.W. Bryant – H.L. Sherwood*, vol. 2: *Abyssinia and Great Britain and France*, London ³1967; DIDIER MORIN, *Dictionnaire historique afar (1288–1982)*, Paris 2004, 71, 194ff., 212f., 240, 264f., 268f. (Lit.).

Didier Morin

Ḥunayn b. Isḥāq ↗Fälasfa ṭäbiban, Mäṣḥafä

Hunting

H. in Ethiopia has been the subject of considerable scholarly debate and speculation. Initially, scholars, basing themselves on the reports of 19th-cent. travellers, suggested that H. groups were racially, linguistically and culturally different from their neighbours and represented a different and earlier "cultural layer" (MasMis; Biasutti 1905). This argument was later further elaborated with some variations by Cerulli (CerFolk 200–04; CerEt vol. 1, 233–38). Jensen (VSAe I, 63–66), rather than seeing such groups as remnants of original H. peoples, saw them as cultivators who were subjugated and forced to adopt H. by more powerful immigrants with superior agricultural technology (cp. Huntingford 1955; Haberland 1962; 1964). Others have seen H. groups as "failed" farmers or herders who have adopted H. as a survival strategy.

More recent research indicated that several craft groups (↗Handicrafts) in Ethiopia were in the past H. who adopted crafts as the opportunities to sustain themselves as H. declined. The ↗Wäyṭo were a formerly autonomous H. group who, during the 20th cent., became a marginalized caste-like artisan group on the periphery of Amhara society (Gamst 1979). In the 19th cent. the Wäyṭo were ↗hippopotamus hungers on the shores of Lake Ṭana. The introduction of rifles and the steady trade in hippopotamus tusks led to a dramatic decline in the area's hippopotamus population. The Wäyṭo began to take up crafts and agriculture. Similar traditions among the ↗Fuga suggest that they used to be H. groups, but like the Wäyṭo were transformed into craftsmen. This may reflect a kernel of truth, but the

Elephant tails as hunting trophies, on display in Wälläga; from Leichner 1936:112f.

diversity of H. techniques and rituals found among different marginalized groups would seem to mitigate against them all being of the same origin. Mana and ↗Manǧo hunt using bows and arrows (sometimes with poison tips), spears, nets and dogs. In some regions they hunt hippopotami and gazelle and in other porcupines. While groups that depend heavily on H. for their sustenance have well organized hunts and are clever trackers, others, such as the ↗Mağaŋir, come upon animals rather randomly and show comparatively little skill in the enterprise.

Although some H. groups are considered to have a positive influence on the fertility of the land and their neighbours, they are often viewed by their neighbours as ritually polluting largely due to their diet of wild meat. This rejection of meat which has not been ritually slaughtered seems to lie behind Alvares's claim that (in Ethiopia) "many kinds of games they do not kill because they do not eat them, others because they do not know how, and have no devices for that purpose" (BeckHuntAlvar 131).

Given the evidence cited above for the existence of H. in Ethiopia from antiquity, we must be cautious in accepting Alvares's report that in Ethiopia "nobody hunts or fishes [cp. ↗Fish], nor have they the wit nor a way, nor the will to do it; on this account the game is very easy to kill, because it is not pursued by the people" (ibid. 113). This should perhaps be understood as a reference to the Christian Ethiopian agricultural populations. However, even within this cultural limit his report is surprising in light of evidence coming, e.g., from the ↗hagiography, that H. was part of the training of a young man. The Acts of *abunä* ↗Täklä Haymanot report that the young saint-to-be learned to ride and hunt with bows and weapons of all sorts (Budge 1906:62). Similarly, the Acts of ↗Zäyoḥannəs report that the Saint hunted wild animals including ↗lions (Schneider 1972:7f. [text] = 8 [tr.]).

Whatever the status of H. prior to the 15th and 16th cent., the introduction of ↗firearms had a dramatic effect on the social organization, geographic spread and intensity of H. During the Gondärine period (ca. 17th and 18th cent.), royal hunts became a notable feature of court life. These are well documented in the chronicles of the period. *Aṣe* ↗Iyasu I was referred to in his chronicle as a skilled rifleman, and by Poncet as "the best marksman in his dominions". In 1683 he and his courtiers went down to the Abbay valley in search

The ruler of Šäwa, Wäsän Sägäd, hunting an elephant; miniature in ms. EMML 2097, fol. 182v; photo courtesy of HMML

of wild animals, and killed two buffalos. This was only the first of his many H. expeditions. Several of his successors including ↗Täklä Haymanot I, ↗Yosṭos and particularly ↗Iyasu II carried out similar hunts. Bruce recalls that it was the constant practice of this period for the rulers to make a public H. expedition at the start of his reign.

In Ethiopia as elsewhere in East Africa the early 19th cent. also witnessed a great expansion of the ↗ivory trade. Professional ↗elephant hunters using modern weaponry gradually devastated the countryside. The decline of game animals in the northern parts of the country led hunters to move southward, where they were often among the first representatives of the northern peoples in that part of the country. The expansion of H. and the subsequent decline in the availability of wild animals appears to have led some H. groups to pursue crafts.

The spread of firearms and the evolution of H. have continued in Ethiopia to the present day. The Mağaŋir of south-west Ethiopia continued to hunt using spears, arrows, and traps until the beginning of the 20th cent. Only from the 1940s onward were rifles numerous enough for them to have a significant impact and even then their use in forested areas was restricted because of

the limited visibility among the trees. Even so, wild game form only a minor part of the Maǧanjir diet.

Src.: BassÉt [I], 383 = [II], 335; BeckHuntAlvar 113, 131; BlunChr 71ff., 101 (text) = 305ff., 348 (tr.); ERNEST ALFRED WALLIS BUDGE, *Life and Miracles of Takla Haymânôt*, London 1906, 62; GuiIohan 64, 76, 98f., 103, 107ff., 118, 120f., GuiIyas 86 (text) = 92 (tr.), 108, 170ff., 232f. (text); MADELEINE SCHNEIDER (ed., tr.), *Actes de Za-Yohannes de Kebrān*, Louvain 1972 (CSCO 332, 333 [SAe 64, 65]), 7f. (text) = 8 (tr.); MasMis vols. 6, 7.

Lit.: ABDUSSAMAD H. AHMAD, "Hunting in Gojjam: the Case of Matakal 1901–1932", in: *PICES* 8, 1, 237–44; PAUL TREVOR WILLIAM BAXTER, "Giraffes and Poetry: Some Observations on Giraffe Hunting among the Boran", *Paideuma* 32, 1986, 45–63; RENATO BIASUTTI, "Pastori, agricoltori e cacciatore nell'Africa Orientale", *Bolletino della Società Geographica Italiana* 6, 1905, 155–79; CerFolk part 3, 200ff.; CerEt vol. 1, 233-38; CrumLand 132 (ill.); DENA FREEMAN – ALULA PANKHURST, *Peripheral People: the Excluded Minorities of Ethiopia*, London 2003; FREDERICK GAMST, "Wayto Ways: Change from Hunting to Peasant Life", in: *PICES* 5b, 233–38; EIKE HABERLAND, "Zum Problem der Jäger und besonderen Kasten in Nordost- und Ostafrika", *Paideuma* 8, 1962, 136–55; ID., "König und Pariah in Africa", in: ID. – MEINHARD SCHUSTER – HELMUT STRAUBE (eds.), *Festschrift für Ad. E. Jensen*, München 1964, vol. 1, 155–66; GEORGE WYNN BRERETON HUNTINGFORD, "Free Hunters: Serf-Tribes and Submerged Classes in East Africa", *Man* 31 1931, 261–66; GEORG LEICHNER, *Gefahrvolles Abessinien: Wie ich es erlebte*, Leipzig 1936, 112f. (ill.); PankSoc 289–92; JACK STAUNDER, *The Majangir: Ecology and Society of a Southwest Ethiopian People*, Cambridge, MA 1971, 14–18; JAMES WOODBURN, "Indigenous Discrimination: the Ideological Basis for Discrimination against Hunter-Gatherer Minorities in Sub-Saharan Africa", *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 2, 1997, 345–61; VSAe I, 29-86.

Steven Kaplan

Huntingford, George Wynn Brereton

H. (b. 1901, d. 1978) was a British scholar of Ethiopian history and culture, associated with London University's ↗School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS). H. came from a family of scholarly clergymen; a relative had been Bishop of Gloucester and his father had been a rector and Professor of Classics in Canada, before retiring to Kenya. H. studied classical Greek before going to school, but after his father's move to Kenya, became a coffee-planter there. He was, however, also an authority on the archaeology, social anthropology and material culture of the area.

On the outbreak of ↗World War II H. joined the British army and served in the British-occupied ↗Ogaden. At the close of the war, he joined SOAS and taught Semitic and Cushitic languages and anthropology, but became increasingly interested in Ethiopia. H. also collaborated with his friend Charles ↗Beckingham in publishing *Some Records of Ethiopia 1593–1646* (BeckHuntAlm) and *The Prester John of the Indies* (BeckHuntAlvar). Several of his unpublished writings are preserved in the SOAS archives. His posthumous *Historical Geography* (HuntGeogr), though at times ideosyncratic and based on only minimal field work, is a useful reference work for the identification of Ethiopian place-names.

Src.: BeckHuntAlm; BeckHuntAlvar; GEORGE WYNN BRERETON HUNTINGFORD, "The 'Wealth of Kings' and the End of the Zague Dynasty", *BSOAS* 28, 1965, 1–23; ID., "The Lives of Saint Takla Hāymānot", *JES* 2, 4, 1966, 35–40; ID., "Lost Provinces of Ethiopia", in: *PICES* 3, 113–15; ID., "Saints of Medieval Ethiopia", *Abba Salama* 10, 1979, 257–341; ID. (ed., tr.), *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea, by an Unknown Author; with some Extracts from Agatharkhidēs "On the Erythtaean Sea"*, London 1980 (Works issued by the Hakluyt Society 2nd ser., 151); HunAmdS; HuntGal; HuntGeogr; HuntLand.

Lit.: CHARLES BECKINGHAM, "Biographical Notes", *Abba Salama*, 1979, 10.

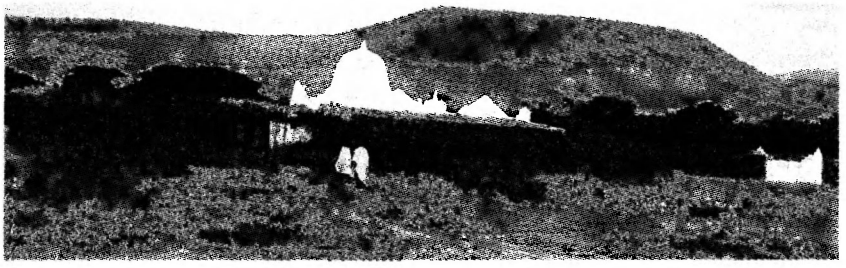
Richard Pankhurst

Ḥusayn

Usually referred to as *šayḫ* Nūr Ḥusayn of Bale, Ḥ. is one of the most-venerated Muslim "saints" (↗Holy men; ↗*Walī*) in Ethiopia. The cults devoted to him, particularly the great ↗pilgrimage to his shrine at Anaağina in Bale, are described in the article ↗Šayḫ Ḥusayn.

Ḥ.'s devotees believe in the active and beneficial spiritual presence of the *šayḫ* and seek his blessings by his *baraka*. This is kept alive by a rich corpus of oral and written hagiographical traditions referring to the deeds and miracles of *šayḫ* Ḥ. The most lively of these traditions are in the form of litanies in praise of the *šayḫ* sung (or heard on cassettes) by groups of pilgrims all the way to the shrine, and more widely recited at religious meetings of Muslims, not only in Ethiopia, but also in Kenya and Somalia (Andrzejewski 1972; 1974; Baxter 1987). A collection of various materials made up of popular legends and genealogical facts referring to the *šayḫ* was edited in three anonymous booklets in Arabic: *Kitāb Rabīᶜ al-qulūb fī ḏikr manāqib wa-faḍā'il sayyidinā aš-šayḫ Nūr Ḥusayn* ('Book of the Spring of Hearts in the Memory of the Virtues and Merits of our Lord *šayḫ* Nūr Ḥusayn'); *Kitāb Nuzhat al-asrār wa-ṭahārat al-aqḏār* ('Book of the Delight of Souls and the Purification of Filth'); *Nasabuhū š-šarīf* ('His [i.e. Ḥusayn's] Noble Genealogy'), published in one volume in Cairo in 1927 (Cer-

ulli 1928) and reprinted in 1948–49 (s. Gori 1997:57f.). Parts of these texts have been translated and analyzed by European scholars (Cerulli 1938; Andrzejewski 1974; Gori 1997). A manuscript containing the same hagiographies (or a version very similar to them) is BN Éth. Abb. 161 (ChAbb 97, CrAbb 107; s. Schneider 2006).



Grave of *šayḫ* Nūr Ḥusayn of Bale at Anaağina; photo 1972/74 by Ulrich Braukämper, courtesy of the Frobenius-Institut, Frankfurt am Main (37-Br025-63)

From this corpus emerges the fact that Ḥ. became a saint in Ṣūfī Islam due to his ability to work a wide range of miracles, his benevolence towards the poor and his strong sense of humility. The mystic light (Arab. *nūr*) emanating from him is the sign of his prominence among saints. Some features of his saintliness are also characteristic of indigenous forms of religiosity, particularly his power over snakes (↗Serpents) and other reptiles.

There do not seem to be any clues in these texts and in the related traditions as to the probable existence of Ḥ. as a historical figure (Andrzejewski 1971; Braukämper 1989). One hypothesis asserts that he was the agent for the Islamization of Bale at the turn of the 13th cent. According to tradition, Ḥ. was born in the Wabi Šäbälle valley in Anaağina, where he lived, preached and died, and which later became his shrine. His mother, Maḫida, is venerated during the celebration of Ḥ.'s birth, which is pivotal in the worship of the saint. On his father's side, Ḥ. is from an Arabian Šarific lineage who settled in the Horn of Africa. His grandfather, *sayyid* ᶜAbdallāh migrated from Arabia to Marka, on the coast of the Indian Ocean in Somalia. Following the course of the Wabi Šäbälle, his father, *šayḫ* Ibrāhīm, went inland and settled in Bale.

Such evidence on Ḥ.'s genealogy could indicate a wider Islamic missionary-movement from the Indian Ocean coasts to the eastern Ethiopian highlands between the 13th and the 15th cent. However, it could also be interpreted, in part, as a later construction intended to prove how deeply rooted were the links between the devotees of *šayḫ* Ḥ. from Bale and Somalia, reactivated in the 19th cent. by the adherence of the custodians of the shrine to the Aḥmadīya–Idrīsīya *ṭarīqa* (↗Islamic brotherhoods), which was founded in 1837 and introduced in ↗Merka by *šayḫ* ᶜAlī b. Muḥammad "Maye" Durogba (d. 1917; Cerulli 1971:346–52; Gori 2004). Such complex data are a hindrance for the historical reconstruction of the figure of *šayḫ* Ḥ., but also reveal more recent developments associated with the history of his shrine.

Src.: BOGUMIL W. ANDRZEJEWSKI, "Allusive Diction in Galla Hymns in Praise of Sheikh Hussein of Bale", *African Language Studies* 13, 1972, 1–31; ID., "Sheikh Ḥussēn of Bālī in Galla Oral Traditions", in: *PICES* 4, vol. 1, 463–80; ID., "A Genealogical Note Relevant to the Dating of Sheikh Hussein of Bale", *BSOAS* 37, 1, 1975, 139–40; CerStud 1–37 [repr. in: *CerIslam* 104–07, 329–63]; ENRICO CERULLI, "Pubblicazioni recenti dei Musulmani e dei Cristiani d'Etiopia", *Oriente moderno* 8, 1928, 429–32; ChAbb 97; CRAbb 107.

Lit.: ABBAS HAJI, "Le rôle du culte du chaikh Hussein dans l'islam des Arssi", *Islam et Sociétés au sud du Sahara* 5, 1991, 21–42; PAUL TREVOR WILLIAM BAXTER, "Some Observations on the Short Hymns Sung in Praise of Shaikh Nur Hussein of Bale", in: AHMED EL SHAHI (ed.), *The Diversity of the Muslim Community*, London 1987, 139–52; ULRICH BRAUKÄMPER, "The Sanctuary of Shaykh Husayn and the Oromo-Somali Connections in Bale (Ethiopia)", *Frankfurter Afrikanistische Blätter* 1, 1989, 108–33; ENRICO CERULLI, "Le popolazioni del bacino superiore della Uabi Scebelli", in: LUIGI AMEDEO DI SAVOIA-AOSTA, *La esplorazione dello Uabi-Uebi Scebeli dalle sue sorgenti nella Etiopia meridionale alla Somalia italiana (1928–1929)*, Milano 1932, 133–81 [repr. in: ID., *Somalia: scritti vari editi ed inediti*, vol. 2, Roma 1959, 123–70]; ESHETU SETEGN, *Shaikh Hussein of Bale and his Followers*, Senior essay in History, Haile Selassie I University 1973; ALESSANDRO GORI, *Studi sulla letteratura agiografica islamica somala in lingua araba*, Firenze 2004 (Lit.); ID., "First Studies on the Texts of Shaykh Husayn's Hagiographies", *RSO* 70, 1, 2, 1996 [1997], 53–82; TrIslam 253ff.; ELISA PELIZZARI, "L'Islam popolare in Etiopia. Il pellegrinaggio di shaikh Husayn", *Africa* 48, 3, 1993, 382–95; ALAIN ROUAUD, "Shaykh Husayn", in: *EI²*, vol. 9, 398–99; MADELEINE SCHNEIDER, "Sur la route de Šayḫ Ḥusayn du Bale (Ethiopie méridionale): une inscription en Arabe", *Aethiopica* 9, 2006, 92–101.

Éloi Ficquet

Ḫʷāğalī

Šayḫ Ḫʷ. al-Ḥasan (also Khojele; b. Asosa, d. 1938, Addis Abäba) was a ruler of ↗Beni Šangul (the so-called as-Saᶜīd). Ḫʷ. or Hoğalee sometimes also served as a name for the ↗Berta of

↗Asosa. Ḫʷ.'s father al-Ḥasan Muḥammad, a ↗*Waṭāwīṭ* of the Rikābī clan, was ruler of Aqoldi in the southern Berta region. He came to prominence by marrying the Berta daughter of a local ↗Funǧ lord. Al-Ḥasan established the base of his sheikdom around Asosa. He was imprisoned by the ↗Mahdists for refusing to join their expedition to Wälläga in 1888 which was repelled by *ras* ↗Gobäna Daṭi. Ḫʷ. succeeded his father.

The Mahdist rule over the region ended de facto around 1889/90 after an Arab-Sudanese army raided the area, with the exception of Asosa which stayed neutral. At the end of the 19th cent. the as-Saᶜīd was dominated by the competing *Waṭāwīṭ* sheikdoms of *šayḫ* Ḫʷ. of Asosa, *šayḫ* Maḥmūd of Ḫʷomoša and *šayḫ* ᶜAbdarraḥmān of Qebeš (Beni Šangul proper).

In 1898 Ḫʷ. was the first to surrender to *ras* ↗Mäkʷännən Wäldä Mikaᵓel's military expedition, while the other Beni Šangul leaders continued to fight the invaders. The collaboration of Ḫʷ. facilitated the Ethiopian intrusion into the region. Ḫʷomoša and Qebeš were looted and, after a second expedition by *däǧǧazmač* Dämissäw in the same year, were subdued.

In 1903 Ḫʷ., like the other Saᶜīd rulers, was imprisoned in Addis Abäba because he had sought recognition and protection from the British. He was released in 1908. Two years later Mənilək II gave him autonomy expecting regular tributes of gold, ivory and slaves (later also coffee). Under Ḫʷ. slave raiding increased, and the rich gold resources of his country were intensively exploited by slave labour. Asosa became an important centre for slave trade, connected with the old trade route to the market of ↗Kurmuk on the Ethio-Sudanese border. Ḫʷ., who himself joined several raiding campaigns, founded a post for the slave trade. Also Ḫʷ.'s wife, *asit* Amna, became heavily engaged in slave-trade and established trading posts in the Sudan. Ḫʷ., acting virtually independently in his realm, became one of the richest provincial governors in Ethiopia. His *gəbbi* in Addis Abäba, still extant today, is unusually large and surpasses the *gəbbi* of all other nobles by far.

Šayḫ Ḫʷāǧalī al-Ḥasan; from de Jumilhac 1933:32/33

Slaves were mainly raided among the ↗Mao and Koma whose territories were in the hands of ↗Ǧootee Tulluu, the ruler of ↗Qälləm and Sayyoo (↗Dambi Doolloo), but was taken over by Ḫʷ. in 1910. There Ḫʷ. introduced a so-called "child tribute" (*ləǧ gəbər*). The child slaves which were collected by this kind of "tax" were sent to Addis Abäba as tribute after they became mature. A great number of slave children were also sold to the Sudan.

On the eve of the Italian occupation of Wälläga Ḫʷ. submitted to the Italians after the "Western Galla Confederation", which he joined with Habtä Maryam Gäbrä Ǝgziᵓabəḥər and Yoḥannəs Ǧootee, failed to be recognized by the British. The Italians confirmed him as *sulṭān* of Beni Šangul. Ḫʷ. died after being wounded during a punitive Italian expedition in Ḫʷomoša to which he had been recruited.

Lit.: ABDUSSAMAD H. AHMAD, "Trading in Slaves in Bela-Shangul and Gumuz, Ethiopia: Border Enclaves in History, 1897–1938", *JAH* 40, 1999, 433–46; ATIEB A. DAFALLAH, *Sheik Khojele al-Hassan and Bela Shangul (1825–1938)*, 4th year essay, Department of Education, Haile Selassie I University, Addis Ababa 1973; [ESTELLE] COMTESSE DE JUMILHAC, *Éthiopie moderne*, Paris 1933, 32/33 (ill.); RASHED MOHAMMED, *A Biography of Abdulrahim Khojele*, 4th year essay, Department of History, Addis Ababa University 1995; ALESSANDRO TRIULZI, *Salt, Gold and Legitimacy: Prelude to the History of a No Man's Land, Bela Shangul, Wallaga, Ethiopia (ca. 1800–1898)*, Napoli 1981, s. index, ill.: fig 12.

Dirk Bustorf

Ḫʷarasa ↗Kəmant

HWBS

Among the Sabaean deities brought by South Arabian colonists to Ethiopia only four – ↗ᶜAstär, ↗Almaqah, ↗Ḏāt Ḥimyam and H. (Hawbas) – were really worshipped by the local population, who made offerings and erected sanctuaries to perform their cults. Although mentioned very early in Sabaic ↗inscriptions, H. was included in the official pantheon of Sabaᵓ much later in the 2nd half of the 1st millennium B.C. However, in the list of the five supreme deities of the Ethiopian kingdom of ↗DᶜMT (8th–7th cent. B.C.) H. occupies the second place, between ᶜAstär and Almaqah (RIÉ 1:5–6; 5 B:2; 6:2; 9:6–7, 10:13–14). The rulers of DᶜMT, the king WᶜR-N ḤYWT of the clan BN SLM-M and his 'companion' (prob-

ably his wife: *ʿrkt-n*) SMʿT-M, daughter of ṢBḤ-N, inaugurated a temple of H. (*ḥḫdsw/byt/hbs*, RIÉ 1:3–4), the location of which is not given. The name of the temple obviously occurs in the deity's epithet 'Lord of ʿIḏḏat/ʿIzzat' (*bʿl*|ʿ*ḏt*; RIÉ 1:4), which proves that H. was a god, not a goddess as it has been previously assumed. Another type of sanctuary designated with an obscure Ethio–Sabaic term *mṯry-n* is also associated with the cult of H. (RIÉ 62:2).

The veneration of this god is attested at the sites of ↗Yəḥa (RIÉ 35) and ↗Mäṭära (RIÉ 62), near the villages of Dibdib (RIE 69; 70) and ↗Toḵonda^{c} (RIÉ 85 I) and in the grotto of Gobo Fənṣəḥ (RIÉ 153; 155). In Ethiopia, as well as in Saba$^{\circ}$, two spellings of the name of H. were used simultaneously and with no apparent regularity: HWBS and HBS. If the latter represents the *scriptio defectiva* of the former, the transcription of this proper noun should be Hūbas or Hōbas.

The identification of H. with the Moon god proposed by some Muslim scholars of mediaeval Yemen is not corroborated by epigraphic materials or other ancient sources. At the same time, the ↗Aksumite god of land attested in the pre-Christian inscriptions of ↗ʿEzana as BḤR-M (RIÉ 185 I:21; 185bis I:22–23), BḤR (RIÉ 185bis II C:35–36) and Bəḥer (RIÉ 188:25–26) might correspond to H., since in invocations both are mentioned directly after ʿAstär.

↗Inscriptions

Src.: RIÉ.

Lit.: BrakKirche 40f.; MHAksum 196, 199; RIÉ 17–64, esp. 46 [FRANCIS ANFRAY, "Introduction"]; CHRISTIAN ROBIN, "Sheba. II: dans les inscriptions d'Arabie du Sud", in: *Supplément au Dictionnaire de la Bible*, vol. 12, Paris 1996, 1156–57, 1160–61; ID. – ALESSANDRO DE MAIGRET, "Le grand temple de Yéha (Tigray, Éthiopie), après la première campagne de fouilles de la Mission française (1998)", *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, juillet–octobre 1998, 737–98, here 784, n. 61, 788f., 794f., n. 94f.

Serguei Frantsouzoff

Hyatt, Harry Middleton

H. (b. 1896, Quincy, Illinois, d. 1978, Quincy, Illinois) was an American folklorist and the author of *The Church of Abyssinia*. H. studied at a number of colleges before graduating from Bexley Hall, Kenyon College, Ohio in 1920. He was ordained in the Episcopal Church (deacon 1920; priest 1921) and held appointments in Cincinnati and Columbus. In 1924 he married Alma Egan Altenberg and, after travelling in Europe and North Africa, studied at Oxford University for two years, gaining an M.A. in 1926. On his return to the United States, H. and his wife settled in New York City, where H. served as Associate Rector of the Church of the Holy Spirit from 1930 to 1965. In 1972 his research in the field of American folklore was honoured by the American Folklore Society.

Despite an ambition to do so, H. never visited Ethiopia, and his *The Church of Abyssinia* (1928) was based primarily on secondary literature; it offers a basic introduction to the history and the institutions of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church. Together with Samuel A. B. Mercer, H. provided financial support for the journal ↗*Aethiops*, founded by Sylvain ↗Grébaut, from 1930 to 1932, both being listed as editors alongside Grébaut for that period. H. was also the Director of the Alma Egan Hyatt Foundation, which published the journal ↗*Aethiopica* which replaced *Aethiops* from 1933 until it ceased publication in 1936.

Src.: HARRY MIDDLETON HYATT, *The Church of Abyssinia*, London 1928 [review by GENEVIÈVE NOLLET, *Aethiops* 3, 1, 1930, 15–16].

Lit.: MICHAEL EDWARD BELL, "Harry Middleton Hyatt's Quest for the Essence of Human Spirit", *Journal of the Folklore Institute* (Indiana University) 16, 1–2, 1979, 1–27; "Hyatt, Harry Middleton", in: *Who Was Who in America* [Chicago] 8, 1982–85.

Michael A. Knibb

Hyena(s)

The spotted H. (Amh. ጅብ *ǧəb*, Tgr. ዝብኢ *zəbʾi*, Orom. *waraabessa*), *Crocuta crocuta* [*habessynica*] of the *Hyaenidae* family is, after the ↗lion, the second largest carnivore in Ethiopia and Eritrea. A large female H. (up to 120 cm) can be bigger than a male (up to 110 cm). The colour (reddish brown to light brown) and the dark spotting of the coat changes with age, growing lighter and less spotted. Characteristic are large ears set high on top of the head. The distinction between female and male is difficult to observe until the female has given birth because the female reproductive organs appear nearly similar to those of the male. The elongated clitoris can be erected and the openings of the vaginal and urinary tracts are situated within it (Kruuk 1972: 210f.).

The striped H. (*Hyaena hyaena dubbah*) is less common than the spotted H. It lives singly or in pairs and is exclusively nocturnal. Its size

is smaller and its tail longer. The coat is longer, with black stripes on the sides. H. are adapted to nearly all ecological conditions in the Horn of Africa up to 4,000 m A.S.L. and during the night even include human settlements and towns within their territory.

Zoologists describe the social life of H. in metaphors taken from social anthropology. According to researchers H. are organized in "matriarchal clans" comprising up to 100 individuals. Such "clans" have a territory defined by scent-marks made by both sexes with an anal secretion. H. are organized around communal dens of cubs and their mothers, who mainly care for them. The dominant animals are the females. In competition over food with males they usually are successful.

H. command a high variety of eleven intergrading calls (e.g., whooping, grunting, giggling, growling, whining; Amh.: እሙኝ, *əmmuñ*, onomatopoetic for the 'sound of a H.'; እሙኝ፡ አለ, *əmmuñ alä*, 'to produce the sound of a H.'). H. keep their social relations by visiting each other throughout the night. They greet each other by sniffing and licking the face and the genital area (Kruuk 1972:220ff.).

H. are most active at night. During daytime they sleep in earths or caves in cliffs, e.g., in the river valleys. In areas with low population density, e.g., in the ᶜAfar savannahs, they can be active in daytime as well. H. hunt individually or in packs led by a leader. Their prey (weak or injured mammals, especially ungulates, organic waste; ca. 14.5 kg per meal) is attacked by all members at once and often killed by ripping out the bowel. H. are most effective carrion-eaters. With their large and heavy teeth and extremely strong jaws they are able to crush all kinds of remains. Sometimes carcasses are carried away or even stored (Kruuk 1972:63ff.).

The importance of H. in urban refuse removal is reported in many traveller's reports (compiled in PankEcon 619, 715). Till today H. play a significant role as scavengers in rural as well as semi-urban dwellings and even towns. H. can be dangerous to man and livestock. To prevent them from attacking, during night-time people walk in groups or armed with spears and keep their livestock in the house or within thick thorn bush fences.

Hyenas: cultural aspects

The Gəᶜəz translation of the *Physiologus* (↗Fisalgos) interprets the H. as hermaphrodite (s. above for the physical appearance of the female genitals) and impure animal. It warns not to "be like the hyena, but follow the Law". This argues against women who "left their nature" practising "sinful" sexual intercourse or behaving "like a man" (Hommel 1877:70; cp. Sumner 1982:77, 90, 166f., 199; cp. also VSAe II, 632).

The Egyptian saint *abba* Matewos of Asfoni is associated with H., for he saved a H. cub which fell into a hole. This legend, in theological terms, is probably meant to demonstrate the overwhelming compassion of the Saint or Christianity in general, which is said to teach the love even for the most sinful being. Matewos's prestige was raised by his ability to control the dangers of nature; in the legend a mother H. even licks his feet (BudSaint 334–37).

The H. plays a significant role in many socio-religious systems, as well as in folk literature. Most commonly, impurity, danger and a voracious character are ascribed to the H. Consequently, eating the flesh of a H. is considered a taboo. According to Haberland (VSAe II, 505, 630ff.) an Oromo who killed a H. and feared the spirit of the animal, had to go through a special purification ceremony. In fables the H. is often the outlaw counterpart of the more splendid lion and other predators (cf. Jensen 1936:36, 48, 90, 106, 557f.; VSAe I, 327, 382, 384; Leslau 1982, s. index). In folklore an albino H. is called "King of H." and an extraordinary magical power is ascribed to it. Occasionally food is laid out for them to calm their temper (von Rosen 1953:23).

A "pan-Ethiopian" feature in folk-religions is the close relation between ↗*buda* and H. Members of different marginalized groups, such as, e.g., blacksmiths and potters, as well as certain individuals, are believed to be able temporarily to change their shape into that of a H. Such "werehyenas", e.g., the *gooromooticcco* in ↗Hadiyya and ↗Kambaata, are said to bring harm and death, or defile graves and eat the flesh of the deceased during the night (Braukämper 1983:267). In some cases "possession" by a H./*buda* seems to have been an observable altered state of consciousness or a symptom of mental illness (s. Parkyns cited in PankSoc 263f.).

Beside such accusations there exists in different traditional cultures the idea that certain clans or persons are related to H. The clan of Gosage (Azärnät-Bärbäre sub-group, s. ↗Səlṭi) is said to have kinship ties with H. and to have migrated from "Arabia" or "Harär" riding on the back of

H. In Gurage and Səlṭe (Səlṭi) H. are, still today, occasionally fed to maintain "neighbourly relations" between human society and H. At such events elders talk to the H. gathered around the meat offered to them and ask them, not to attack the livestock (author's own observation; oral informants). Among the ↗Dorze, the highest *demuṣa*-priest is reported to have had the power to control the H. and to send them to punish defaulting debtors (VSAe III, 197f.). Jensen documents in his description of the ↗Aari that there was a certain ritual-leader with the title of *godiri babi* ('H. king') who used to carry out ceremonies to prevent wild animals from entering the fields. Among the ↗Šangama and the ↗Basketo there were priests with a similar duty. According to legend, such friendly relations between man and H. were based on a kind of contract (VSAe I, 47, 129, 219). Such pact, allegedly dating back to a famine in the 19th cent., is the origin of the tradition of the "H.-men" of ↗Harär, who are intended to prevent H. from attacking people and livestock in times of hunger. The ritual in which flesh is provided for the H. takes place outside the gates of Harär after sunset. Some of the "H.-men" distribute the flesh by holding it between their teeth. Today the tradition has become a tourist attraction. According to Harari "folk-Islam", the H. are represented by a supernatural patron, the *waraba šayḫ* ('*šayḫ* of the H.', Gibb 1996:62).

Young "hyena man" feeding a hyena at Harär; from Nehberg 2003

Often significance as a prophetic sign is ascribed to the H. or its sounds. Among the Oromo to hear the sound of H. was a bad omen (↗Oracles and divination). Haberland (VSAe II, 405, 504) records the belief among the Arsi that if a H. howls twice, it is a good sign, while a H. howling three times meant mischief. The members of the magically skilled Kallaččum clan of the Yäm were said to turn into H. or dogs and to prophesy the imminent death of people by howling in front of their houses (VSAe III, 306). In Basketo and neighbouring groups, a H. sleeping in the house of a candidate for kingship was seen as a sign that he should be chosen (VSAe I, 202, 204ff.).

Taking into account all said here, the H. symbolizes the danger and power of nature. It stands for death and decay and is an ambivalent and hybrid counterpart of the human order.

Src.: interviews with *abägaz* Yassin Muhammäd, Mugo (Səlṭe Zone), 23 October 2005 and Abdälla Oumer, Mugo and Addis Abäba, 20 November 2005; authors own observations in Wuriro (Səlṭe Zone).

Lit.: ULRICH BRAUKÄMPER, *Die Kambata: Geschichte und Gesellschaft eines Südäthiopischen Bauernvolkes*, Wiesbaden 1983 (SKK 65), 267; FRANCISCO JAVIER GOZÁLBEZ ESTEVE – DULCE MARÍA CEBRIÁN FLORES, *Touching Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 2004, 354ff.; GENEVRIÈRE CALAME-GRIAULE – ZIEDONIS LIGERS, "L'homme-hyène dans la tradition soudanaise", *L'Homme* 2, 2, 1961, 89–118; THEODOR VON HEUGLIN, *Systematische Übersicht der Säugethiere Nordost-Afrikas* ..., Wien 1866, 17f. (repr. from *Sitzungsberichte der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Erste Abtheilung* 54, 1866, 537–611, here 553f.); KAY E. HOLEKAMP, "Mechanisms of Maternal Rank 'Inheritance' in the Spotted Hyena, *Crocuta crocuta*", *Animal Behavior Journal* 60, 3, 2000, 323–32; FRITZ HOMMEL (ed., tr.), *Die äthiopische Uebersetzung des Physiologus, nach je einer Londoner, Pariser und Wiener Handschrift*, Leipzig 1877, 70; SUSAN M. JENKS – MARY L. WELDELE – LAURENCE G. FRANK, "Acquisition of Matrilineal Rank in Captive Spotted Hyenas: Emergence of a Natural Social System in Peer-reared Animals and their Offspring", *Animal Behaviour* 50, 1995, 893–904; ADOLF ELLEGARD JENSEN, *Im Lande des Gada: Wanderungen zwischen Volkstrümmern Südabessiniens*, Stuttgart 1936, 36, 48, 90, 106, 557f.; HANS KRUUK, *The Spotted Hyena: a Study of Predation and Social Behavior*, Chicago, IL 1972, 63ff., 119, 144, 210f., 220ff.; WOLF LESLAU, *Gurage Folklore*, Wiesbaden 1982 (SKK 63), s. index; RÜDIGER NEHBERG, *Abenteuer am Blauen Nil: Drei Mann, ein Boot, zum Rudolfsee*, München 2003 (ill.); PankSoc 223, 263f.; PankEcon 619, 715; JOHN PICKRELL, "Rebranding the Hyena: Researchers Unravel the Private Life of this Weird, Wonderful Carnivore", *Science News*, 161, 17, 2002, 267; BJÖRN VON ROSEN, *Game Animals of Ethiopia: a Short Guide for Hunters and Animal Lovers* ..., Addis Abeba 1953, 22f.; HAGAR SALAMON, *The Hyena People: Ethiopian Jews in Christian Ethiopia*, Berkeley, CA – Los Angeles, CA 1999, 35–39; CLAUDE SUMNER, *Ethiopian Philosophy*, Addis Ababa 1982, vol. 5, 77, 90, 166f., 199; ID., *Classical Ethiopian Philosophy*, Addis Ababa 1985, 36; VSAe I, 47, 129, 202, 204ff., 219, 327, 382, 384; VSAe II, 405, 504f., 630ff.; VSAe III, 197f., 306.

Dirk Bustorf

Hylander, Fride

H. (b. 2 February 1898, Raus, Helsingborg, d. 21 December 1988, Sörby Runtuna, Nyköping) belonged to a three-generation family of Ethio–Swedes (↗Sweden, relations with). Parents Nils and Edla Hylander (b. 1861 and 1860) had started an ↗Oromo mission in ↗Harär (↗Swedish Evangelical Mission), from where they were expelled in 1896 in the context of the battle of ↗ᶜAdwa. Out of a dozen of "Ethio-Hylanders", H. was second generation. Most representative of the third is his son Nils-Olof Hylander who was Provincial Medical Officer in Wälläga 1965–71. Even a fourth generation was involved in Ethiopia.

H. got his medical doctor's certificate (med. lic.) in 1926, married Naemi née Helgstrand (b. 1890) and then immediately went to Harär for the Bibeltrogna Vänner ('Friends True to the Bible') mission. Doctors H. and Gunnar Agge together built the mission station and hospital. H. put in his own share of manual labour and even painted the altar picture in the church.

During 1931 H. and Naemi, with their small twins and Nils-Olof being born during the "year in tent", travelled exploring new mission fields, resulting in the decision to settle at Munässa and Kofälä towards Lake ↗Zʷay. H. gathered much information about Oromo culture and beliefs and discussed with Muslims at ↗Šayḫ Ḥusayn (cp. especially Hylander 1934, 25–66, 122–85, 198–207, 233–92). German researchers like Eike ↗Haberland later acknowledged what they had learnt orally from H. by dedicating his book *Galla Süd-Äthiopiens* (= VSAe II) to him.

In late 1935 H. was selected as leader of the Swedish ↗Red Cross Ambulance in late 1935. When the Italians bombed it on 30 December, H.' stomach was wounded. After an operation in Addis Abäba, he worked again in a field hospital on the southern front by April 1936. Their escape to Kenya in July to August was difficult.

As a civilian, after involvement in war ambulance work in Finland until 1940, H. took part in planning the maternity ward in the large new Södersjukhuset in Stockholm. In 1945–46 he served as Ethiopian consul in Stockholm while Swedish experts were recruited. He was then appointed General Inspector and soon Principal Medical Adviser in the Ethiopian Ministry of Public Health in 1947–65. *Aṣe* Ḫaylä Śəllase I reserved for himself to be Head of that Ministry and sometimes communicated directly with H., without any intermediary. H. tried to make health services reach everybody, and opposed the decision that Swedish aid started with a children's hospital in the capital, instead of health stations in the countryside.

Swedish missionaries came to regard H. as the grand old man, although he held no high formal position in the mission. When consulted on religious questions he kept an independent attitude and sought answers directly from the Bible. He was always eager to achieve things, e.g., artistically to the extent of designing a set of Ethiopian postage ↗stamps, which were issued November 1951. As handicraft hobby he liked carpentry, e.g., copying Ethiopian crosses in wood from churches. After his retirement he built a museum hut at his home in Sörby Runtuna, simulating traditional Ethiopian building elements.

H. wrote much and published at least 20 books and booklet-size articles, and was an energetic editor in several contexts. He liked to keep up many relations with friends, often by letter, and in 2005 his extensive personal papers were deposited at the Sörmlands Museum near his home in Runtuna.

Src.: NILS HYLANDER, *Morgonljuis: Femtioårigt missionsarbete på natthöljd jord 1865–1916* ('Morning light: Fifty years of mission labour on night-dark land 1865–1916'), Stockholm 1917; FRIDE HYLANDER, *Ett år i tält bland hedningar, muhammedaner och tabotister* ('One year in tent among heathens, mohammedans and tabotists'), Stockholm 1934 (Danish ed. *Fra Lægeteltet i Abessinien*, København 1936); ID., *I detta tecken: med Svenska Röda Korset i Abessinien* ('In this sign: with the Swedish Red Cross in Abyssinia'), Stockholm 1936; ID. (ed.), *Bortom bergen*, vols. I–III, Stockholm 1953–60 [with H. writing 1/5 of vol. I, 1/3 of vol. II, and 1/3 of vol. III: *Sjukvård och hälsovård, regeringsproblem och missionsprinciper i Etiopien* ('Medical and health care, government problems and mission principles in Ethiopia')]; ID., "WHO, SIDA och sömnsjukan i Etiopien: Hälsocentralerna måste prioriteras" ('WHO, Swedish Int. Dev. Authority and sleeping sickness in Ethiopia: the health centres must be given priority'), *Läkartidningen* 67, 1970, 16, 1808–12; ID., "35 års läkarverksamhet i Etiopien: 'Basic health services' i u-länder!" ('35 years of medical work in Ethiopia: "Basic health services" in developing countries!'), *Läkartidningen* 68, 1971, 1, 53–63; ID., "U-landssjukvård från mottagarlandets synpunkt" ('Medical care in developing areas from the point of view of the receiving country'), *Läkartidningen* 69, 1972, 33, 3726–33; ID., "Medmänsklighet i u-landshälsovård" ('Compassion in health services of developing countries'), *Jordemodern* 1973, 1, 1–14; ID., *Crabatto, Missionspionjärer berättar om revolutionens Etiopien med återblickar på gången tid* ('Crabatto. Mission pioneers tell about Ethiopia of the revolution, with retrospect of time that passed'), Stockholm 1980; VSAe II.

Lit.: GUNNAR AGGE, *Med Röda korset i fält: Minnen och intryck från svenska abessinienambulansen 1935–1936*

('With the Red Cross in the field: Memories and impressions from the Swedish Abyssinia ambulance 1935–1936'), Stockholm 1936; ROBERT JOSEPHSSON (ed.), *Svenskmannagärning: Den svenska ambulansens verksamhet, öden och äventyr i Abessinien* ('Deeds of Swedish men: Actions, fortunes and adventures of the Swedish ambulance in Abyssinia'), Stockholm 1936; VIVECA HALLDIN NORBERG, *Swedes in Haile Selassie's Ethiopia, 1924–1952*, Uppsala 1977, 26, 113–294; *Vem är det* ('Who is that'), Stockholm 1983; GUNNAR ULLAND, *Under Genferkorset i Etiopia. Med den norske ambulanse* ('Under the Geneva Cross in Ethiopia. With the Norwegian ambulance'), Oslo 1936; ANNA-BRITTA WALLENIUS, *Africana Suecana 1945–1965: an Analytical Approach to Swedish Printed Material on Africa*, Ph.D. thesis, Uppsala 1975.

Bernhard Lindahl

Hymns

General introduction

H. are a most important liturgical element in the Ethiopian tradition and are to be found in all liturgical books. Ethiopian H. are numerous and appear with various styles, topics and structures.

Many H. function as interpretative keys to liturgical hours, ↗feasts, or liturgical periods celebrated throughout the year (↗Calendar). Often of great poetic beauty and theological richness, they have primarily a liturgical function and are sung (or recited) mainly during liturgical celebration (↗*Qəddase*), and as such are generally rhyming and rhythmic compositions. H. include also verses written for private devotional purposes.

The origins of the hymnody in ↗Gəʿəz are thought to date back to between the 6th and 9th cent. and are connected by the tradition to St. ↗Yared. According to the traditional scholars, the Aksumite saint composed the H., and different authors, organizing them according to the liturgical calendar, used them in the Liturgy of the Hours (Divine Office; cp. ↗*Säʿatat*). Whilst the oldest Ethiopian H. may indeed be dated to the Aksumite era, the whole hymnody belongs to different periods and different authors.

H. are mainly inspired by the Holy Scriptures (↗Bible). All H. inherited by the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church (EOTC) were originally composed following the model of the Psalms of David (↗Psalter). Later they were elaborated and lost their simplicity and severity (Grébaut 1909:90ff.). In Ethiopian liturgical usage canticles are extracted from the O.T. and N.T. (cp. ↗*Mäḥalәyä näbiyat*).

Religious controversies also encouraged the composition of H., which were adapted for the liturgical purposes and became part of the liturgy. Their purpose was to strengthen the religious position of one side and to combat the position of the opponent. They are contained in such liturgical books as the (*Mäzgäbä*) ↗*Dəggʷa*, ↗*Məʿəraf*, ↗*Mäwaśəʾt*, ↗*Zəmmare* and others. Non-liturgical H. are mostly found in books of orations or readings.

Typologies

The Ethiopian poetical H. employed in the liturgical service are divided into fixed and improvised H. The fixed collections of H. for the whole liturgical year and used only in the celebration of the Divine Office are found in the books listed above. Others, such as the ↗*mälkəʾ*, *nägś* (↗*Ǝgziʾabəḥer nägśä*), ↗*sälam* etc., and especially those dedicated to the Virgin Mary, are also inserted in the *Mäṣḥafä säʿatat* attributed to Giyorgis "of Gasəčča" (↗Giyorgis of Sägla). The improvized H. find their largest expression in the ↗*qəne* compositions.

a) Fixed hymns

Brief mention will be made here of the H. belonging to prayers celebrated in common, such as the Divine Office, the *Säʿatat*, etc.:

1. The H. found in the *Mäzgäbä dəggʷa* (lit. 'the treasury of the *Dəggʷa*', i.e. *Dəggʷa* and *Ṣomä dəggʷa* together) are arranged according to the liturgical calendar. The *Dəggʷa*, for the most part, was an Ethiopian creation and not a translation or adaptation of material imported from elsewhere (Jeffery 1993:208f.).

The attribution of the nucleus of the composition to Yared is supported by the emphasis of tradition on his authorship which is likely to be based on truth and by the fact that the time was a period of development and flourishing of hymnography in other Eastern Christian churches.

The H. of the *Dəggʷa* may be divided into the *betäññä* and the *betä alba* (from *bet*, pl. *abyat*, lit. 'house', also 'rhyme, verse'), those with and those without rhyme, respectively (s. Godet 1983-84:131ff.). They can also be classified according to the elements used: either with or without biblical quotations (psalms and canticles; HabUff 189–98).

2. The *Ǝgziʾabəḥer nägśä* represents a specific genre in Ethiopian liturgical and hagiographic literature. The aim of the *nägś*-H. is to praise the ↗saints of each day as recognized by the EOTC calendar. The *nägś*-H. are employed during the

Dəggʷa; 15th cent. ms. Vat. Aeth. 28, fol. 9r; courtesy of the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Rome

celebration of the *Śərᶜatä ↗maḫlet*. There are the *nägś* of Zärᵊa Yaᶜəqob, the *nägś* of Giyorgis and the *Mäzmurä fəśśuḥan*. Each of these follows different composition rules. Generally speaking, the H. of the *Ǝgziᵊabəḥer nägśä* consist of five rhyming and rhythmic metric lines.

3. The *mälkəᵊ* (lit. 'physiognomy, external aspect, effigy') forms a literary genre in itself and is very much developed in Gəᶜəz liturgy. This H. comprises several strophes of five rhythmic verses. Each strophe is addressed to one part of the body. Thus, it is at the same time a descriptive and laudative H. a saint, stressing the saint's holiness, virtues and powers.

The *mälkəᵊ* is also much used for private devotion amongst Ethiopian Christians who recite the *mälkəᵊ* of their favourite saint at least on the feast or on the monthly commemoration day of that particular saint, or even on a daily basis (s. Pedersen in PICES 8, vol. 2).

4. The *↗sälam* is another genre of Ethiopian hymnography. These short rhymed H. of salutation of one strophe with five verses all start with the word *sälam*, and are composed by traditional scholars. The *sälam* incorporated in the *Sənkəssar* can be the main source of information on a saint where no other reading is provided.

5. The *↗ᶜArke* are short H. or *sälam* sung after the daily reading of a saint's life in the *↗Sənkəssar*, named after their composer, ↗ᶜArkä Śəllus.

6. As the title itself shows, the *Sälamä ḫəmamat(ihu)* ('salutation to [his] sufferings') are H. of praise or greeting to Jesus Christ, who bore

the sufferings of the Cross, and to St. ↗Mary, who shared her Son's sufferings. In the H. there are also pieces addressed to the ↗Trinity. These H. are employed during the canonical hours of the Holy Week (Mogäs ᶜƎqʷəbä Giyorgis 1987:218–48; ↗*Gəbrä Ḥəmamat*).

b) Improvized hymns: *qəne*

The basic difference between *qəne* poems and other H. is that these improvized H. are intended to be used once, in a particular church and for a particular occasion. They cannot be used again, even by the same author. Some of them, however, are preserved, learnt by students (future ↗*däbtära*) and transmitted to posterity through the memory of *qəne* teachers (Admasu Ǧämbäre 1970/71).

In Ethiopian hymnody, the ↗*qəne* stands in a privileged position. Even if the first appearance of this poetic form dates from the 15th cent., during the reign of *aṣe* ↗ƎskəndƏr, the *qəne* in its simplest and most naïve form dates from long before. The verse must be rhymed and set for music (in the modes ↗*gəᶜəz* and ↗*ᶜəzəl*). Scholars do not agree on the question whether these verses are rhythmical or numerical. The *bet* is simple and it is enough that the final syllables are identical, ending with the same consonant in the same order. The length of the verses is variable. The structure of the *qəne* is very rigid and fixed, which does not leave much room for the author/poet's creative freedom. Different schools of *qəne* vary in their approach, way of thinking and teaching methods.

While some of *qəne* H. (↗*gubaʾe qana*; ↗*zäʾamlakəya*; ↗*wazema*; ↗*śəllase*; ↗*zäyəʾəze*; ↗*mäwäddəs*; ↗*saḫləkä*) are composed and sung during the celebration of the Divine Office, others (↗*ᶜətanä mogär*; ↗*kəbr yəʾəti*; ↗*asärä nəguś*) are supposed to be improvized and sung in the Eucharistic liturgy. The last three *qəne* must always be about the body and the blood of Christ and their effect on the communicants (s. HabUff 218f.).

Qəne are generally sung along with psalms and canticles. They can also be panegyrics or eulogies of political and religious authorities, take the form of admonitions or castigations or have the character of a prayer. They are addressed to a saint, king, governor, head of a church or some place etc. A poetic element of the EOTC, *qəne* can be used for praising or insulting persons (Alemayyehu Moges 1973:107; Getatchew Haile 1995:53ff.).

Education in hymnody

H. in traditional ↗education were and still are transmitted to new generations orally. Whilst some H. are taught already in ↗*nəbab bet*, the hymnody is only studied in depth in ↗*zema bet* (where *Dəggʷa*, *Məᶜəraf*, *Zəmmare*, *Mäwaśəʾt*, *Qəddase* etc. are taught) and ↗*qəne bet*, when students have left home for major cultural and religious centres (monasteries, churches), the *betä maḫbär* ('communal hall'), where the teacher transmits to them the religious patrimony (Alemayyehu Moges 1973:90f.). Students can attend any school of their choice, and education is free.

Hymns and music

Inseparable from the discussion of H. is the discussion of the origin of EOTC ↗music, ↗dance and musical ↗instruments. Although Yared may well have played an important role, it is not historically accurate to consider him, as Ethiopian traditions do, as the sole origin of all that is related to Ethiopian church music. Only a complex variety of influences can provide the full picture.

Music may be divided into three areas, according to the particular religious ceremony and to the various occurrences in the church calendar, which are related to the liturgical feast and to the liturgical time of the year (Tito Lepisa in PICES 3, vol. 2). Liturgical H. sung during the celebration of the mass or at the time of the communion are found in the *Zəmmare* (HabUff 112ff.). The *Mälkəʾa qʷərban* is another eucharistic H. that is sung just after the distribution of the communion (after the prayer *Ḫaddafe näfs*; s. Dəmeṭros Gäbrä Maryam – Ṭəbäbu Bäyyänä 1966/67:175; for the edition of this text s. DillmChr 131–36, and also MG no. 6; for a study s. Fritsch 2002).

Other compositions and collections of hymns

There exists another category of H. not associated with the psalmody or canticles. Among the most popular and important H. that do not form part of the Divine Office are, e.g., the ↗*Ləssanä säbʾ* (Grébaut 1935), the several compositions entitled ↗*Mäzmurä Krəstos* and combining H. with the Psalter (the best known dates back to the 16th cent.; Getatchew Haile 1995:55f.), the ↗*Ṭäbibä ṭäbiban* (dated by the scholars to the 17th and ascribed by the *liqawənt* to the 15th-cent. *abba* Giyorgis of Sägla; ChRep no. 364; MG no.

6; DillmChr 108–31); the ↗*Wəddase amlak* (a H. arranged according to the days of the week and composed with passages taken from patristic works, characteristic in spirit of the post-↗Jesuit time). A very large group of H. is devoted to St. ↗Mary.

The H. mentioned in this entry do not exhaust completely the richness of the Ethiopian hymnody. The spiritual poetry has been a vividly developing part of the ↗Gəʿəz literature, and still lacks comprehensive studies.

Src.: ADMASU ĞÄMBÄRE, መጽሐፈ፡ ቅኔ (*Mäṣḥafä Qəne*, 'The Book of Hymns'), Addis Abäba 1963 A.M. [1970/71 A.D.]; ChRep; DAVID COHEN, "Un poème éthiopien: Le Malkeʿ du Christ "Sauveur du monde" (*madḥânē ʿalam*)", *JA* 245, 1957, 147–83; DillmChr 108–36; *liqä mäzämmərən* MOGÄS ƎQʷƎBÄ GIYORGIS (ed.), መድበል፡ ዘማኅሌት (*Mädbäl zämaḥlet*, 'The Collection of Canticles'), Asmära 1980 A.M. [1987 A.D.], 218–48; StrANL no. 125, XXVI, 2; TÄSFA GÄBRÄ ŚƎLLASE (ed.), መልክአ፡ ጉባኤ (*Mälkəʾa gubaʾe*, 'The Collection of *Mälkəʾ*'), Addis Abäba 1959 A.M. [1966/67 A.D.] [=MG].

Lit.: ALEMAYYEHU MOGES, "Language Teaching and Curricula in Traditional Education of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church", *The Ethiopian Journal of Education* 4, 1, June 1973, 87–114, here 90f., 107; MARCEL COHEN, "La métrique de l'éthiopien classique", *JA* 206, 1925, 110; ID., "Sur le poème éthiopien d'Emmanuel", *ibid.* 239, 1951, 311–33; ID., "Sur la notation musicale éthiopienne", in: *Studi Orientalistici in onore di Giorgio Levi della Vida*, Roma 1956, vol. 1, 199–206; *nəburä əd* DƎMEṬROS GÄBRÄ MARYAM – *məkəttəl afä nəguś* ṬƎBÄBU BÄYYÄNÄ (eds.), ቅዳሴያተ፡ ማርያም፡ [ጕሥዓ – መዓዛ፡ ቅዳሴ] (*Qəddaseyatä Maryam* [*gʷäsʿa – mäʿaza qəddase*], 'The Anaphoras of Mary [eructavit – the Pleasant of Consecration']), Asmära 1959 A.M. [1966/67 A.D.], 175; EMMANUEL FRITSCH, "Une hymne eucharistique éthiopienne: le Malkʾa Qʷerbān ou 'Portrait de l'Eucharistie'", *Irénikon* 75, fasc. 2, 3, 2002, 195-229; *abba* GÄBRE IYÄSUS ḪAYLU, "Considérations théologiques sur le Malkeʾa-Sellassie de Abba Sebhat Leʾab", in: *PICES* 3, vol. 2, 272–79; GETATCHEW HAILE, *The Different Collections of Nagś Hymns in Ethiopic Literature and their Contributions*, Erlangen 1983 (Oikonomia 19); GEZAHEGN GETACHEW, "Is Latin the Origin of the *Mälkiʾ*?", in: *PICES* 14, vol. 3, 1936–62; SILVAIN GRÉBAUT, "Note sur la poésie éthiopienne", *ROC* 14, 1909, 90–98, here 90ff.; ID., "L'hymne-invocation Lesâna sabʿe", *Aethiopica* 3, 1, 1935, 6–12; HabTent; HabUff 112ff., 189–204, 218f.; PETER JEFFERY, "The Liturgical Year in the Ethiopian Deggʷa (Chantbook)", in: EPHREM CARR et al. (eds.), *Eulogema: Studies in Honor of Robert Taft, S.J.*, Roma 1993 (Studia Anselmiana 110 [Analecta Liturgica 17]), here 199–234, 208f.; *abba* MÄLKÄ ṢEDEQ, ትምህርተ፡ ክርስትና፡ ፪ኛ፡ መጽሐፍ (*Təmhərtä krəstənna. hulättäññä mäṣḥaf*, 'The Christian Teaching. The Second Book'), Addis Abäba 1984 A.M. [1991/92 A.D.]; FRANCISCO MARIA ESTEVES PEREIRA, *A Poesia Ethiopica*, Lisboa 1915; LANFRANCO RICCI, "Un dignitario etiopico tra passato e presente", *RSE* 36, 1992 [1994], 117–34, here 118; ANTON SCHALL, *Zur äthiopischen Verskunst: Eine Studie über die Metra des Qene auf Grund der Abhandlung "al-Qenē Laun min aš-šiʿr al-ḥabašī" von Dr. Murad Kamil*, Wiesbaden 1961; KIRSTEN STOFFREGEN-PEDERSEN, "The Malkeʿ: an Ethiopian Prayer of Latin Origin?", in: *PICES* 8, vol. 2, 547–60; TITO LEPISA, "The Three Modes and the Signs of the Songs in the Ethiopian Liturgy", in: *PICES* 3, vol. 2, 162–87; BERNARD VELAT, "Hymnes Eucharistiques Ethiopiens", in: *Rythmes du Monde*, Paris 1953, 26–36; VelMe II, 236–39; UGO ZANETTI, "Parallèles antiques au malkeʾe éthiopien", in: ROBERT F. TAFT – GABRIELE WINKLER (eds.), *Acts of the International Congress "Comparative Liturgy Fifty Years After Anton Baumstark (1872–1948)", Rome, 25–29 September 1998*, Roma 2001 (OrChrA 265), 1005–20.

Habtemichael Kidane

I

Iathlia ↗Ḥataz

Ibn al-ᶜAmīd ↗Giyorgis Wäldä ᶜAmid

Ibn al-ᶜAssāl ↗Fətḥa nägäśt

Ibn al-Ǧawzī

I.Ǧ. (ابن الجوزى, full name Abū l-Faraǧ ᶜAbdarraḥmān b. ᶜAlī b. Muḥammad b. al-Ǧawzī, b. 1126, d. 1200, Baghdad) was an Arabic author, Ḥanbalī jurist, traditionist, preacher and historian of Baghdad. He was the most eminent Muslim scholar of his time.

Among I.Ǧ.'s numerous works there is *Tanwīr al-ġabaš fī faḍl as-sūdān wal-ḥabaš*, a small treatise written in defence of black Muslims and in reproach of racial prejudice. There, after a discussion about the origins of the "blacks", the author sets forth their good qualities, arguing that "whites" cannot claim superior merits because of their whiteness and that merits are earned by piety. He also dwells on the role of Ethiopians in the beginning of Islam (↗Hiǧra), Ethiopic words in the ↗Qurᵓān and anecdotes illustrating pious deeds by blacks (Lewis 1990:33).

Similar works are *Rafᶜ šaᵓn al-ḥubšān* ('The Raising of the Status of the Ethiopians') by as-↗Suyūṭī (d. 1505) and *aṭ-Ṭirāz al-manqūš fī maḥāsin al-ḥubūš* ('The Coloured Brocade on the Good Qualities of Ethiopians'), written in 1583 by ↗Muḥammad b. ᶜAbdalbāqī al-Buḫārī al-Makkī. Both repeat much of the content of I.Ǧ.'s book (s. Weisweiler 1924; van Donzel in StudAeth 111f.).

Src.: IBN AL-ǦAWZĪ, *Tanwīr al-ġabaš fī faḍl as-sūdān wa-l-ḥabaš* ('Lighting the Morning Twilight on the Excellent Qualities of the Blacks and the Ethiopians'), ed. by MARZŪQ ᶜALĪ IBRĀHĪM, ar-Riyāḍ 1419 H. [1998 A.D.]; AL-BUḪĀRĪ, *Buntes Prachtgewand: Über die guten Eigenschaften der Abessinier*, tr. MAX WEISWEILER, Hannover 1924, 7–10.

Lit.: CARL BROCKELMANN, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*, Leiden 1937–49, vol. 1, 656-66, Supplementband 1, 914-20; EMERI VAN DONZEL, "Ibn al-Jawzī on Ethiopians in Baghdad", in: CLIFFORD EDMUND BOSWORTH et al. (eds.), *The Islamic World from Classical to Modern Times. Essays in Honor of Bernard Lewis*, Princeton, NJ 1989, 113–20; ID., "Quelques remarques sur le Tanwīr al-ghabash", in: *Actas del XII. Congreso de la U.E.A.I. (Málaga, 1984)*, Madrid 1986, 243–55; ID., "'Leave the Ethiopians Alone as Long as they Leave you Alone': *utrukū l-ḥabaša mā tarakūkum* – Some Reflections on a *ḥadīṯ*", in: *StudAeth* 109-14; HENRI LAOUST, "Ibn al-Djawzī", in: *EI²*, vol. 3, 751–52; BERNARD LEWIS, *Race and Slavery in the Middle East. An Historical Enquiry*, New York – Oxford 1990; GERNOT ROTTER, *Die Stellung des Negers in der arabisch-islamischen Gesellschaft bis zum XVI. Jahrhundert*, Bonn 1967, passim.

Stefan Weninger

Ibn al-Ḥakīm ↗Mənilək I

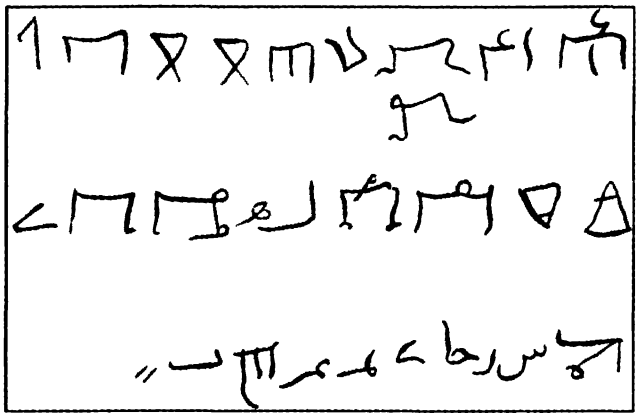
Ibn an-Nadīm

I.N. (ابن النديم, full name Abū l-Faraǧ Muḥammad b. Abī Yaᶜqūb Isḥāq al-Warrāq al-Baġdādī b. an-Nadīm, b. ca. 935, d. between 990 and 998) was an author of the well-known *Kitāb al-Fihrist* ('Book of the Catalogue'), an index of Arabic books completed, according to the author's own statement, in 987 (*Kitāb al-Fihrist* 2.12). Of his life and family little is known, nor is it clear to whom the ancestral byname an-Nadīm ('the drinking companion', i.e. courtier of a high-ranking personage) refers. His father had the byname al-Warrāq, 'bookseller' (*Kitāb al-Fihrist* 303.24), which was obviously the profession of the son, too.

An Imāmī fellow, not popular in orthodox circles, I.N. resided in Dār ar-Rūm, a Christian quarter on the east side of Baghdad. His bookstore was a convenient meeting point for scholars and learned men, where he shared with an extensive circle of acquaintances – among them many Christians – an admiration for philosophy and the sciences (*Kitāb al-Fihrist* 247.4-14).

The *Fihrist* is intended to be an index of all books written in Arabic or translations into Arabic from Greek, Syriac and other languages available in Baghdad at the time.

The first chapter (*maqāla*, 'discourse') deals with the Holy Scriptures of Muslims, Jews and Christians, and in this connection I.N. gives some information on the different alphabets of 14 peoples (Arabs and non-Arabs) and their writing systems (*Kitāb al-Fihrist* 12ff.). The examples of the alphabets given in the *Fihrist* are rather distorted, mostly because of the ignorance



Representation of the Ethiopic script in an early copy of the *Kitāb al-Fihrist* by Ibn an-Nadīm (some of the characters distorted in the copying process); from Ibn an-Nadīm ed. Flügel 1871-72, vol. 1, 19

of later copyists. I.N. had a seemingly clear idea of the mentioned alphabets, especially of the South Arabian and the Ethiopic script, as his remarks show: "Some travelers told me that the Bijah [↗Beğa] have a script and form of writing, but it has not reached us. Those who go about mention that for religious purposes the Nubians write in Syriac, Greek, and Coptic. The Abyssinians have a script like the Ḥimyarite letters, going from left to right. They separate each of the words by means of three dots, dotted like a triangle between the letters of the two words" (*Kitāb al-Fihrist* 19.12ff.; tr. Dodge 1970:36). A remark at the end of this chapter attests that the pronunciation of some consonants (*h*/*ḥ*/*ḫ*; *ś*/*ṣ*) merged quite early in Gəᶜəz. I.N. obviously used Ethiopic mss. from the famous library of the caliph al-Maᵓmūn for copying some examples of the Ethiopic script (*Kitāb al-Fihrist* 19.15).

Src.: IBN AN-NADĪM, *Kitāb al-Fihrist*, ed. by GUSTAV FLÜGEL, 2 vols., Leipzig 1871–72; repr. Cairo 1948, Beyrouth 1964; ID., *The Fihrist of al-Nadīm*, tr. by BAYARD DODGE, New York – London 1970, vol. 1, 15-23, 35f.; IBN ḤAĞAR, *Lisān al-Mīzān*, 6 vols., Haydarabad 1329-31, vol. 5, 72; ṢALĀḤADDĪN AṢ-ṢAFADĪ, *al-Wāfī bil-wafayāt*, ed. by SVEN DEDERING, Damaskus 1953, Wiesbaden ²1981 (= *Das biographische Lexikon des Ṣalāḥaddīn Ḫalīl ibn Aibak aṣ-Ṣafadī*. Bibliotheca Islamica 6), vol. 2, 197.
Lit.: JOHANN WILHELM FÜCK, "Ibn al-Nadīm", in: *EI*², vol. 3, 895–96.

Ute Pietruschka

Ibn ar-Rāhib ↗ Abušakər

Ibn Baṭṭūṭa

I.B. (ابن بطوطة, full name Šamsaddīn Abū ᶜAbdallāh Muḥammad Ibn Baṭṭūṭa; b. 25 February 1304, Tangier, d. 1368/69 or 1377, Morocco) was the most famous Muslim traveller of the Middle Ages. There exists only a short biography of I.B. in Ibn Ḥağar al-ᶜAsqalānī's work on the important persons of the 8th cent. H. (Ibn Ḥağar 1966/67, vol. 4, 100). All further information must be taken from his travelogue (*riḥla*) which was written down not by I.B. himself, but, on the order of the Marīnid ruler Abū ᶜInān, by the scholar Ibn Ǧuzayy in 1357 from I.B.'s dictation. So, the reliability of the account is not only affected by I.B.'s inventiveness and lack of memory (I.B. admits that he lost part of his notes through shipwreck and other accidents), but also by the embellishments of Ibn Ǧuzayy. This, however, does not concern the factual information I.B. gives about his travels to East Africa, though the dates 1330–31 may be placed two years earlier according to a chronology proposed by Gibb (1958-59, vol. 2, X) as an alternative, while Hrbek (1962:441f.) confirms I.B.'s dates.

I.B.'s family was of Berber origin and belonged to the scholarly elite of his hometown. He himself received the education of a legal scholar (*faqīh*). In 1325 he started his *ḥağğ* to ↗Mecca choosing the land route via North Africa. Like other pilgrims he extended his travels to complete his education (*talab al-ᶜilm*) in the centres of Islamic learning. Later, he himself became a well known scholar so that he acquired official posts such as those in Delhi and on the Maldive Islands.

His travels led him to Syria, Iraq, the Arabian Peninsula, East Africa, Asia Minor, Constantinople, the territory of the Golden Horde, Persia, Transoxania, India, the Maldives, Ceylon, Sumatra and China. In 1349 he returned to Fez, using a Catalan ship between Tunis and Sardinia. Later, he visited the kingdom of Granada and, in 1352/53, the Niger region.

I.B. had his first contact with the Orbis Aethiopicus in 1326 when he tried to reach Mecca via the Sudan and the Red Sea. On arriving at ᶜAyḏāb he realized that al-Ḥadrabī (↗Ḥədarəb), the *sulṭān* of the ↗Beğa, had driven out the ↗Mamluk garrison and sunk the ships in the harbour. I.B. had to return to Cairo and then to take the route via Syria (Defrémery – Sanguinetti 1853–58, vol. 1, 109ff.; Gibb 1958–59, vol. 1, 68f.; Dunn 1986:53f.). From Damascus he reports that there was a special section in the famous Umayyad Mosque for the students from ↗Zaylaᶜ (the Zayāliᶜa; Defrémery – Sanguinetti 1853–58, vol. 1, 204; Gibb 1958–59, vol. 1, 128).

In 1330 I.B., coming from Mecca, took a ship at Ǧidda to get to ᶜAyḏāb. The vessel (*ǧalba*) which belonged to a Yemeni captain of Ethiopian origin, however, became stranded at Raʾs Dawāʾir between ᶜAyḏāb and ↗Sawākin. The passengers had to hire camels from the Beǧa and after a ride of two days, reached Sawākin. At that time the *sulṭān* of the town was a son of the *šarīf* of Mecca whose maternal relatives were Beǧa. The Beǧa also formed part of his armed forces. From Sawākin, I.B. was obliged to return to ↗Yemen (Defrémery – Sanguinetti 1853–58, vol. 2, 160ff.; Gibb 1958-59, vol. 2, 362ff.; Dunn 1986:110ff.).

After a stay in Aden, I.B. decided to visit East Africa. Embarking early in 1331 from Aden the ship anchored for one night before Zaylaᶜ. I.B. paid a short visit to the market of the town of which he gives an unfavourable description: "It is a large city with a great bazaar, but it is the dirtiest, most disagreeable, and most stinking town in the world. The reason for its stench is the quantity of its fish and the blood of the camels that they slaughter in the streets" (Defrémery – Sanguinetti 1853-58, vol. 2, 179f.; Gibb 1958-59, vol. 2, 373; Freeman-Grenville 1962:27; Dunn 1986:122). I.B.'s mentioning of ↗camels played some role in the controversy about their introduction in Ethiopia (Esser – Esser 1982). I.B. further says that Zaylaᶜ is the city of the Barbara (here, probably for Somali; ↗Berbera) who are a people of Negroes and who follow the Šāfiᶜite rite. Somewhat in contradiction to this statement is what he says some lines later: "The inhabitants of Zaylaᶜ are black in colour, and the majority of them are Rāfiḍīs". The term Rāfiḍī normally refers to Imāmī- or Twelver Šīᶜites. Thus, Hamdun – King (1998:76; cf. also King 1979:26) connect the information with Said Akhtar Rizvi's theory about a strong Šīᶜite influence on early East African Islam (cf. Rizvi's Appendix in Hamdun – King 1998:101–06). Perhaps, I.B. uses the word here only in a non-terminological sense for people who "reject" some of the Sunnī rites.

From Zaylaᶜ I.B. sailed for 15 days and reached ↗Mogadishu (s. EAE vol. 5). He describes (Defrémery – Sanguinetti 1853–58, vol. 2, 180–91; Gibb 1958–59, vol. 2, 373–78; Freeman-Grenville 1962:27–31; Dunn 1986:123–26) Mogadishu as a large town inhabited by rich merchants who also act as brokers (*dallāl*) for the foreign merchants coming by ship. They own big herds of camels and sheep. They export the textiles manufactured in the town to Egypt and elsewhere. I.B. was invited to the court of the *šayḫ* (the title of the *sulṭān*) Abū Bakr b. ᶜUmar, who was of Barbara (Somali) origin and whose language was *maqdišī* (Somali), but who spoke Arabic as well. I.B. gives a detailed description of the court ceremonies and the robes of honour (*ḫilᶜa*) he received from the monarch. I.B. mentions the *qāḍī* of the town, Ibn Burhānaddīn, who according to his *nisba* al-Miṣrī was of Egyptian origin, if Hrbek (1962:441) is not right in changing al-Miṣrī into al-Muqrī, which means a member of a tribe that held important religious offices in the town at that time. I.B. also describes the legal procedures in Mogadishu.

After one or two weeks I.B. left Mogadishu and sailed via Mombasa to Kilwa.

Src.: C. DEFRÉMERY – B. R. SANGUINETTI (eds., trs.), *Voyages d'Ibn Batoutah*, 4 vols., Paris 1853–58; HAMILTON ALEXANDER ROSSKEEN GIBB (tr.), *The Travels of Ibn Baṭṭūta A. D. 1325-1354*, vol. 1, 2, Cambridge 1958–62 (Works issued by the Hakluyt Society, ser. 2, no. 110, 117); GREVILLE STUART PARKER FREEMAN-GRENVILLE, *The East African Coast: Select Documents from the First to the Earlier Nineteenth Century*, Oxford 1986; ID., "Ibn Battuta's Visit to East Africa A. D. 1332", *Uganda Journal* 19, 1955, 1-6; SAID HAMDUN – NOEL KING (eds.), *Ibn Battuta in Black Africa*, new ed., Princeton, NJ 1998; ŠIHĀBADDĪN ABŪ L-FAḌL B. AḤMAD B. ᶜALĪ B. ḤAǦAR AL-ᶜASQALĀNĪ, *ad-Durar al-kāmina fi aᶜyān al-miʾa aṯ-ṯāmina* ('The Hidden Pearls on the Important People of the Eighth Century'), ed. MUḤAMMAD SAYYID ǦĀDALḤAQQ, 5 vols., Cairo 1966/67.

Lit.: ROSS E. DUNN, *The Adventures of Ibn Battuta, a Muslim Traveler of the 14th Century*, London and Sidney 1986; MONICA ESSER - OTTO ESSER, "Bemerkungen zum Vorkommen des Kamels im östlichen Afrika im 14. Jhdt.", *Sprache and Geschichte in Afrika* 4, 1982, 225-37; IVAN HRBEK, "The Chronology of Ibn Baṭṭūta's Travels", *Archiv orientální* 30, 1962, 409–86; HERMAN F. JANSSENS, *Ibn Batouta, le voyageur de l'Islam (1304-1369)*, Bruxelles 1948; NOEL KING, "Reading between the Lines of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa for the History of Religion in Black Africa", *Milla wa-milla* 19, 1979, 26-33; ANDRÉ MIQUEL, "Ibn Baṭṭūṭa", in: *EI²*, vol. 3, 735-36.

Ewald Wagner

Ibn Ḫaldūn

I.Ḫ. (ابن خلدون, full name Abū Zayd ᶜAbdarraḥmān b. Muḥammad b. Ḫaldun al-Ḥaḍramī; b. 27 May 1332, Tunis, d. 16 March 1406, Cairo) was born of an Arab family emigrated from Muslim Spain (Banū Ḫaldun). He received a thorough Muslim education that enabled him, during his adventurous life, to occupy several posts as a politician and a scholar. The ups and downs of his career took him to most of North Africa, to Muslim Spain and, at the end of his life, to Egypt, where

he was appointed and dismissed several times as *qāḍī* and *madrasa* teacher. In 1400 he had to accompany the Mamluk *sulṭān* an-Nāṣir in his Syrian expedition against Tīmūr. At the end of the campaign he played an important role in the negotiations with the Mongol leader concerning the surrender of Damascus. He died shortly after his sixth appointment as *qāḍī* of Cairo.

I.Ḫ. became famous – first in Europe and later in the Muslim world – for his *Muqaddima*, an introduction to his history, the *Kitāb al-ʿIbar*. In the *Muqaddima* I.Ḫ. developed a philosophy of history that anticipated many ideas of modern sociology and economics. The original theories of I.Ḫ. did not, however, produce any influence on his contemporaries. Even his *Kitāb al-ʿIbar* is a world history of the old style.

In this last book I.Ḫ. devotes a chapter to the description of Africa, which includes a short passage on Muslim Ethiopia. To the west of the Christian Kingdom he mentions the important state of ↗Damot. North of Damot there was the state of ↗Ifat, that converted to Islam at an unknown time. The ancestor of the ruling dynasty of Ifat, ↗Walašmaʿ, was once a vassal of Damot. The Ethiopian king, however, became envious because of the strength of Damot and occupied Ifat. From then on there were continuous conflicts with varying outcome between the Walašmaʿ rulers and the Ethiopian kings over the independence of Ifat. The last information, given by I.Ḫ. is that Ḥaqqaddīn Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Walasmaʿ (↗Ḥaqqaddīn II b. Aḥmad Ḥarb Arʿad b. ʿAlī b. Ṣabraddīn) died and was succeeded as ruler of Ifat by his brother ↗Saʿdaddīn.

Src.: ʿABDARRAḤMĀN B. MUḤAMMAD IBN ḪALDŪN, *Kitāb al-ʿIbar wa-dīwān al-mubtadaʾ wal-ḫabar* ... ('The Book of Evidence, Record of Beginnings and Events ...'), vol. 6, Būlāq 1284 H. [1867/68 A.D.], 199; ID., *Histoire des Berbères et des dynasties musulmanes de l'Afrique septentrionale*, tr. by MAC GUCKIN DE SLANE, ed. by PAUL CASANOVA, Paris 1927, vol. 2, 108.

Lit.: ENRICO CERULLI, "L'Etiopia medievale in alcuni brani di scrittori arabi", *RSE* 3, 1943, 272–94, here 284f. [repr. in: *CerIslam* 257–80, here 269–72]; MUHAMMAD TALBI, "Ibn Khaldūn", in: *EI²*, vol. 3, 1971, 825–31 (Lit.).

Ewald Wagner

Ibn Ḥawqal

I.Ḥ. (ابن حوقل, full name Abū l-Qāsim b. ʿAlī b. Ḥawqal an-Naṣībī), a 10-cent. Arab geographer, was born in Naṣībīn (Nisibis, modern Turkish Nusaybin) in Upper Mesopotamia, where he probably spent his early years. In 943 he started – as a merchant and missionary – a series of journeys which led him to North Africa, Spain, Egypt, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Iraq, Persia, and finally (973) to Sicily. It seems that he did not touch the Western coast of the Red Sea.

His main work, the *Kitāb al-masālik wa-l-mamālik* ('Book of Routes and Countries'), or *Kitāb ṣūrat al-arḍ* ('Book of the Picture of the Earth'), the last redaction of which appeared about 988, stands in the tradition of the Balḫī school of Arab geography. This school considers ↗Mecca the centre of the world – contrary to the ʿIrāqi school where Iraq is the world's centre – and confines itself to the description of Islamic and adjacent countries. Abū Zayd Aḥmad b. Sahl al-Balḫī's work *Ṣuwar al-aqālīm* ('Pictures of the Climates') which is no longer extant, consisted mostly of maps with commentaries. The maps were improved and the commentaries extended by Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Iṣṭaḫrī in his *Kitāb al-masālik wa-l-mamālik*, which in turn was the basis of I.Ḥ.'s work. Though I.Ḥ. included in his work new information from oral and written sources and from personal observation (*ʿiyān*), he is largely dependent on al-Iṣṭaḫrī (cf. the comparison of the texts in Miquel 1973–75, vol. 1, 367–90). This is especially true of the short geographic description of Ethiopia (*al-Ḥabaša*), which differs from its source only stylistically.

In this account it is said that the inhabitants of Ethiopia are Christians, even then they are at peace with the Muslims and their land cannot be considered *dār al-ḥarb* ('territory of war', against which the ↗*ǧihād* is a duty for the Muslims). Their complexion is like that of the Arabs, between black and white. They live from the area of the Beǧa (for I.Ḥ.'s account of them s. ↗Beǧa), as far as the coast opposite Aden. Ethiopia exports skins of panthers and of dappled cattle to ↗Yemen where they are tanned for making shoes. ↗Zaylaʿ is Ethiopia's port of embarkation for ↗Ḥiǧāz and Yemen (Iṣṭaḫrī 1961:32; I.Ḥ. 1938:56 [text] = 1964:54 [tr.]).

Describing the coasts of the Red Sea, I.Ḥ. also mentions the islands of ↗Dahlak, Bāḍiʿ (↗Massawa), Zaylaʿ, Naǧa (unidentified) and the town of ↗Berbera (I.Ḥ. 1938:43). The lord of the Dahlak Islands sends gifts such as slaves, amber and skins to the ruler of Yemen (I.Ḥ. 1938:24 [text] = 1964:22 [tr.]).

The most important information that I.Ḥ. added to that given by al-Iṣṭaḫrī is of a historical nature. He tells us (1938:16, 59 [text] = 1964:16,

56 [tr.]) that the southern part of Ethiopia is governed by a queen. After having killed the *ḥaḍānī* (↗*Aṣe*), she has been ruling for 30 years over a large territory in total independence, a thing somewhat contrary to what he says elsewhere (1938:24 [text] = 1964:23 [tr.]): she regularly has to send gifts to the ruler of Yemen. This fact is also confirmed by other sources (el-Chennafi 1976:119ff.).

Andersen (2000) links this information with other traditions about queens in Ethiopia (cf. ↗Badīt bint Māyā, ↗Ǝsato) and gives reasons that she was a legitimate member of the ↗Zagʷe dynasty ruling from ca. 937/38 to 977/78.

Src.: ABŪ L-QĀSIM ʿALĪ IBN ḤAWQAL, *Opus geographicum*, ed. by JOHANNES HENDRIK KRAMERS, Leiden 1938; ID., *Configuration de la terre*, tr. by JOHANNES HENDRIK KRAMERS – GASTON WIET, 2 vols., Beyrouth, Paris 1964; IBRĀHĪM B. MUḤAMMAD AL-IṢṬAḪRĪ, *Kitāb al-māsālik wal-mamālik* ('Book of Routes and Countries'), ed. by MUḤAMMAD ĞĀBIR ʿABDALʿĀL AL-ḤĪNĪ, Cairo 1961.

Lit.: KNUT TAGE ANDERSEN, "The Queen of the Habasha in Ethiopian History, Tradition and Chronology", *BSOAS* 63, 2000, 31–63; MOHAMMED EL-CHENNAFI, "Mention nouvelle d'une "reine éthiopienne" au IVe de l'hegire / Xe s. AP. J.-C.", *AE* 10, 1976, 119-21; ANDRÉ MIQUEL, "Ibn Ḥawqal", in: *EI²*, vol. 3, 286-88; ID., "Al-Iṣṭaḫrī", *ibid.* vol. 4, 222-23; ID., *La géographie humaine du monde musulman jusqu'au milieu du 11e siècle*, 4 vols., Paris 1973–75 (Civilisation et sociétés 7, 37), vol. 1, 292–312, 367–99; vol. 2, 161–67.

Ewald Wagner

Ibn Hišām

I.H. (ابن هشام, full name Abū Muḥammad ʿAbdalmalik b. Hišām; d. 833 or 828, Egypt) was an Arabic scholar famous for his knowledge of genealogy and grammar, best known for his work on the biography of the Prophet ↗Muḥammad. His principal work is the edition of *as-Sīra an-nabawīya* ('The Life of the Prophet') by Muḥammad b. Isḥāq (d. 767 or 761). I.H. omitted some parts of Ibn Isḥāq's text and added his own material. I.H.'s edition of the *Sīra* became the basic work of the genre (Sezgin 1967:297ff.; Schoeler 1996:49ff.). On various occasions I.H. gives information relevant for Ethiopian history. Most noteworthy is the account of the Ḥimyarite king Ḏū Nuwās (↗Yūsuf Asʾar Yaṯʾar) and the martyrdom of the Christians at ↗Nağrān, the subsequent Aksumite invasion in Yemen, the Ethiopian viceroyalty in Yemen and King ↗Abraha's abortive attack on ↗Mecca (ed. Wüstenfeld 1859–60:20–41; as-Saqqāʾ et al. 1955, vol. 1, 31–62; Guillaume 1955:14–30; cf. SerHist 128ff.; Conrad 1987), and also the account of the so-called "first ↗*hiğra*", the flight of a group of Muḥammad's early followers to the court of the Aksumite *nəguś*, to escape oppression in Mecca (ed. Wüstenfeld 1859–60:208–24; Saqqāʾ et al. 1955, vol. 1, 321–41; Guillaume 1955:146–55; cf. SerHist 180ff.; Raven 1988). The *Sīra* is also a major source for the history of Ethiopians in Arabia during the early years of Islam, e.g., ↗Bilāl b. Rabāḥ, Muḥammad's *muʾaḏḏin*.

Src.: ABŪ MUḤAMMAD ʿABDALMALIK IBN HIŠĀM, *Kitāb Sīrat rasūl Allāh = Das Leben Muhammeds*, ed. by HEINRICH FERDINAND WÜSTENFELD, 2 vols., Göttingen 1859–60; ID., *as-Sīra an-nabawīya* ('The Life of the Prophet'), ed. by MUṢṬAFĀ AS-SAQQĀʾ – IBRĀHĪM AL-IBYĀRĪ – ʿABDALḤAFĪẒ ŠALABĪ, 2 vols., Cairo 1375 H. [²1955 A.D.] (and reprints); ALFRED GUILLAUME (tr.), *The Life of Muhammad: a Translation of Ibn Isḥāq's Sīrat Rasūl Allāh*, Oxford 1955 (and reprints).

Lit.: LAWRENCE I. CONRAD, "Abraha and Muḥammad: Some Observations apropos of Chronology and Literary *Topoi* in the Early Arabic Historical Tradition", *BSOAS* 50, 1987, 225–40; HUSSEIN AHMED, "Aksum in Muslim Historical Traditions", *JES* 29, 2, 1996, 47–66; WIM RAVEN, "Some Early Islamic Texts on the Negus of Abyssinia", *JSS* 33, 2, 1988, 197–218; GREGOR SCHOELER, *Charakter und Authentie der muslimischen Überlieferung über das Leben Mohammeds*, Berlin 1996 (Studien zur Sprache, Geschichte und Kultur des islamischen Orients. Neue Folge 14), 49ff.; SerHist 128ff., 180ff.; FUAT SEZGIN, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*, vol. 1, Leiden 1967, 297ff.; W. MONTGOMERY WATT, "Ibn Hishām", in: *EI²*, vol. 3, 800–01.

Stefan Weninger

Ibn Iyās

I.I. (ابن اياس, full name Abū l-Barakāt Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Iyās; b. 9 June 1448, d. 1524) was an Egyptian historian. His main work, the *Badāʾiʿ az-zuhūr fī waqāʾiʿ ad-duhūr* ('The Wonderful Flowers on the Events of the Times'), is a survey of Egyptian history and includes information about Ethiopia (scattered throughout the work and accessible through indices by Wiet 1955–60 and Schimmel n.d.).

I.I. relates that the story of the Ethiopians blocking off the ↗Nile dates from the time of the Fāṭimid caliph al-Ḥākim bi-Amr Allāh (996–1021) – the same issue is dealt with another work by I.I., the *Našq al-azhār fī-ʿağāʾib al-aqṭār* ('The Smelling of Flowers on the Miracles of the Countries'). The caliph sent the Patriarch to the Emperor of Ethiopia, who ordered the dam to be opened. This fact was noted down in the history of ↗Egypt. I.I. also repeats the story found in Muslim tradition according to which

the Ethiopians will destroy ↗Mecca, but will be eliminated by an earthquake (cp. Qurʾān VII/91, 155; cp. ↗Abraha).

I.I. mentions six of the eleven embassies reported by Arabic sources to have been exchanged between Egypt and Ethiopia in ↗Mamlūk times.

1. In 1381 *aṣe* ↗Dawit II invaded Egypt at Aswan. Patriarch Matthew I (1378–1409) was ordered to write a letter of protest to the Ethiopian Emperor. Another letter was entrusted to al-Burhān Ibrāhīm of Damietta, the chief Mālikī *qāḍī*, who returned to Cairo in 1384.
2. In 1386, other envoys arrived in Cairo with a letter and costly presents, among which were female slaves and eunuchs.
3. In 1443 a letter of *aṣe* ↗Zärʾa Yaᶜəqob repeated the threat of blocking off the Nile. The reason was that the Patriarch and the Christians were maltreated in Egypt. The *sulṭān* sent Yaḥyā b. Sad Bak (Beg), a black military leader with a good command of Ethiopic. Zärʾa Yaᶜəqob's answer refers to earlier friendly relations, but also repeats the threat regarding the Nile. He also requests that the Ethiopian monuments in ↗Jerusalem be restored.
4. In 1477 an Ethiopian envoy arrived to request a new ↗*abun*.
5. In 1481 an Ethiopian embassy, on its way to Jerusalem for Easter, obtained concessions for the Ethiopian community in the Holy City.
6. The reception of the Ethiopian envoy and his suite in Cairo in 1516, probably witnessed by I.I. himself, is described in detail. The presents, estimated at 5,000 dinars or less, were deemed insignificant; the *sulṭān* had the registers brought so that the value could be compared with that of earlier presents. One could see, I.I. remarks, the decline of the Ethiopian empire. Some say that the Ethiopian rulers possess six principalities on the Nile, all in peace with one another. At present, however, their situation is weak in comparison with the past. In 1312 King ↗Wədəm Räʾad (s. BassÉt n. 63, 68) had sent presents estimated at 100,000 dinars at least. After three days the envoy and his suite travelled on to Jerusalem, having caused scandal by wearing the cross in public.

I.I. relates also other stories: one about ships that, at the end of times, will bring Ethiopians to Fusṭāṭ and Memphis, from where they will take away as much of the Pharaohs' treasures as they can carry; another about an Ethiopian eunuch Sunbul, commander of the Mamlūks, who was put to death by his own troops in 1515. A noteworthy element in his work is that he uses the titles *ṣāḥib* ('ruler') and *malik* ('king') of al-Ḥabaša not only for the Ethiopian emperor but also for the *sulṭān* of ↗Ifat.

Src.: BassÉt notes 63, 68; IBN IYĀS, *Histoire des Mamlouks Circassiens*, tr. by GASTON WIET, vol. 2, le Caire 1945; ID., *Journal d'un bourgeois du Caire*, tr. by GASTON WIET, Paris 1955; ID., *Die Chronik des Ibn Ijās*, ed. by PAUL KAHLE – MOHAMED MOSTAFA – MORITZ SOBERNHEIM, Kairo 1960–63, 3 vols. (Bibliotheca Islamica 5c–5e).

Lit.: WILLIAM M. BRINNER, "Ibn Iyās", in: *EI²*, vol. 3, 812–13; ETIENNE MARC QUATREMÈRE, "Mémoire sur les relations de l'Abyssinie", in: ID., *Mémoires géographiques et historiques sur l'Égypte et sur quelques contrées voisines*, Paris 1811, vol. 2, 267–83; TadTChurch 255; TrIslam 82; GASTON WIET, "Les relations égypto-abyssines sous les Sultans Mamlouks", *Bulletin de la Société d'Archéologie Copte* 4, 1938, 115–46.

Emeri van Donzel

Ibn Saᶜīd al-Maġribī

I.S. (ابن سعيد المغربي, full name Abū l-Ḥasan ᶜAlī b. Mūsā b. Muḥammad b. ᶜAbdalmalik b. Saᶜīd; b. 1213, Granada, d. 1286, Tunis) was an Andalusian poet, anthologist, historian and geographer, whose geographical works contain information on 13th-cent. Ethiopia (cp. Brockelmann 1937–42, vol. 1, suppl. 1, 410f.). The well-known Ayyūbid prince Abū l-Fidā (d. 1331), although of the opinion that I.S.'s work was full of errors (cp. Pellat, in EI²), preserved important sections of it in his *Taqwīm al-Buldān* ('Geography of the Countries', Abū l-Fidā 1883:229; cp. al-Qalqašandī 1933, vol. 5, 325; Gibb in *EI²*). Most of the material on Ethiopia found in ↗Ibn Ḫaldūn's *Kitāb al-ᶜibar* (1284 H., vol. 2, 107f.) is derived from I.S.

Of particular importance is the information I.S. provides on ↗Walašmaᶜ, and on the state called ↗Ifat in Ethiopian sources (PerrZarY 112) and Wafāt or Awfāt by Arab writers. According to I.S., Ifat, also called Ǧabartī, is the capital of an autonomous king, whose royal palace and citadel are situated upon an elevated place. Its population is Muslim and said to be very mixed. Below is a valley through which flows a little stream. The country is very fertile since it rains almost every night and the inhabitants cultivate the banana and sugar cane. I.S. calculates that the astronomical position of Ifat is 8° N 57° E, according to Arab computation, i.e. on the eastern edge of Šäwa (TrIslam 58). He relates that the ↗Beğa were partly Christian, partly Muslim (Ibn Ḫaldūn 1867, vol. 2, 109; vol. 6, 199) and that

there were "Abyssinian" Muslims living on the Red Sea coast (Abū l-Fidā 1883:225).

As does the Arab geographer ↗Ibn Ḥawqal, I.S. (Ibn Ḫaldūn 1867, vol. 4, 213) relates that the ↗Dahlak Islands and the towns of the coastal plain were Muslim places tributary to the Ethiopians. ↗Merka, capital of the ↗Hawiye Somali, is a Muslim town (Abū l-Fidā 1883:232). I.S. also describes the al-Ḫasa tribe of the Beğa, who lived north of Sahart (↗Säharti), between the Nile and the Sämhar (ibid. 210, 227).

I.S. speaks of the "Barābra tribes" (Abū l-Fidā 1883:232; cp. Ibn Ḫaldūn 1867, vol. 2, 106f.), Nubian-speaking Muslims who lived along the banks of the Nile between the first and third cataracts (cp. Holt in EI²). He is the first to mention the ↗ᶜAfar under the form Dankal, "a type of blacks" (Abū l-Fidā 1883:128 ↗Dankali), who possessed ↗Mogadishu, a town on the Indian Ocean inhabited by Muslim merchants. I.S. is also the first to mention Hadīya (↗Hadiyya), an important centre of trade in southern Ethiopia, in particular of slaves, who were collected in the surrounding region and were prepared there for exportation, many of them being rendered eunuchs in a nearby village (ibid. 229), called Waṣilu by the Mamlūk official and Ibn Faḍlallāh al-↗ᶜUmarī (UmMasGaud vol. 1, 16; cp. TadTChurch 86, n. 6).

Src.: ᶜABDARRAḤMĀN B. MUḤAMMAD IBN ḪALDŪN, *Kitāb al-ᶜibar wa-dīwān al-mubtadaʾ wal-ḫabar* ... ('The Book of Evidence, Record of Beginnings and Events ...'), Būlāq 1284 H. [1867 A.D.], vol. 2, 106–09, vol. 4, 213, vol. 6, 199; ID., *Histoire des Berbères et des dynasties musulmanes de l'Afrique septentrionale*, tr. by MAC GUCKIN DE SLANE, ed. by PAUL CASANOVA, Paris 1927; ABŪ L-FIDĀ, *Géographie d'Aboulféda*, tr. by JOSEPH TOUSSAINT REINAUD – STANISLAS GUYARD, vol. 2, s, Paris 1883, 128, 210, 227, 225, 229, 232; ABŪ L-QĀSIM ᶜALĪ IBN ḤAWQAL, *Opus geographicum*, ed. JOHANNES HENDRIK KRAMERS, Leiden 1938, 24, 43; ID., *Configuration de la terre*, tr. JOHANNES HENDRIK KRAMERS – GASTON WIET, 2 vols., Beyrouth – Paris 1964, 22, 42; AḤMAD B. ᶜALĪ AL-QALQAŠANDĪ, *Ṣubḥ al-aᶜšā fī ṣināᶜat al-inšāʾ* ('The Morning of the Night-Blind on the Art of Writing Official Letters'), al-Qāhira 1933, vol. 5, 325; UmMasGaud vol. 1, Paris 1927, 16; PerZarY 112.

Lit.: CARL BROCKELMANN, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*, Leiden 1937–42, vol. 1, Suppl. 1, 410f.; HAMILTON ALEXANDER ROSSKEEN GIBB, "Abu l-Fida", in: *EI²*, vol. 1, 118–19; PETER MALCOLM HOLT, "Barābra", *ibid.* 1028–29; CHARLES PELLAT, "Ibn Saᶜīd al-Maghribī", *ibid.*, vol. 3, 926; TadTChurch 86, n. 6; TrIslam 58.

Emeri van Donzel

Ibn Sulaym al-Aswānī

I.S. (ابن سليم الاسوانى, full name ᶜAbdallāh b. Aḥmad b. Sulaym [or Salīm] al-Aswānī [or al-Uswānī]; fl. 10th cent.) was a medieval Arabic traveller and author.

After having conquered ↗Egypt in 969, the ↗Fāṭimids wanted to renew the treaty (*baqṭ*) the Muslims had concluded with the Christian kingdom of ↗Nubia shortly after the Muslim conquest of Egypt in 632. On payment of a tribute, Nubia was granted semi-independence. For this reason, the Fāṭimid general and administrator Ğawhar as-Siqillī sent I.S. on a special mission to Nubia, probably in 975. I.S. had to persuade the Nubian king George II to renew the *baqṭ* and to become a Muslim. He was successful in the first, but frustrated in the latter.

After that, I.S. toured the southern kingdom of ᶜAlwa, but it is not sure whether he also reached the lands of the ↗Beğa. At any rate, he included this region in the book he wrote about his mission, entitled *Kitāb Aḫbār an-Nūba wal-Muqurra wa-ᶜAlwa wal-Buğa wan-Nīl* ('Book on the News about Nubia, Maqurra, ᶜAlwa, the Beğa and the Nile').

The book is no longer extant, but al-↗Maqrīzī quotes two long excerpts from I.S.'s *Aḫbār* in his work commonly known as *Ḫiṭaṭ*. Chapters 31, on the Nile and ᶜAlwa, and 32, on the Beğa, are almost entirely taken from the *Aḫbār*. The first one provides a good description of the fluvial system of the Nile and its tributaries and the second one is our main source of information on the Beğa tribes in the 10th cent. I.S. writes about the geography and the history of the Beğa lands and gives many ethnological details like nomadic life, weapons, food, circumcision of women and removing the right breast of men.

I.S. is also quoted in ↗Ibn Iyās's *Našq al-azhār fī ᶜağāʾib al-aqṭār* ('The Smelling of Flowers on the Wonders of the Countries'), but that is only via al-Maqrīzī.

Src.: AḤMAD B. ᶜALĪ B. ᶜABDALQĀDIR B. MUḤAMMAD AL-MAQRĪZĪ, *Kitāb al-Mawāᶜiẓ wal-iᶜtibār fī ḏikr al-ḫiṭaṭ wal-āṯār* ('Book of Warnings and Considerations on Mentioning the Districts and Monuments [of Egypt]'), ed. by GASTON WIET, vol. 3 (= 2me partie) [ch. I–XLIX], Le Caire 1922 (Mémoires publiès par les membres de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire 46), 252–78; ETIENNE QUATRÈMÈRE, *Mémoires géographiques et historiques sur l'Égypte, et sur quelques contrées voisines, recueillis et extraits des manuscrits coptes, arabes etc., de la Bibliothèque Imperiale*, vol. 2, Paris 1811, 6–27, 135–54.

Lit.: UGO MONNERET DE VILLARD, *Storia della Nubia cristiana*, Roma 1938, 122–29; JOHN VANTINI, *The Excavations at Faras: A Contribution to the History of Christian Nubia*, Bologna 1970, 112-19; ID. [GIOVANNI VANTINI], *Christianity in the Sudan*, Bologna 1981; YŪSUF FAḌL

ḤASAN, "Ibn Sulaym al-Aswānī", in: *EI²*, vol. 3, 949; ID., *The Arabs and the Sudan*, Edinburg 1967, 190ff.

Ewald Wagner

Ibrāhīm

I. *bāšā* (ابراهيم, *wālī*, [Turkish, *vālī*] 'viceroy', b. 1789, Nusretli, Drama [Macedonia/Greece], d. 10 November 1848, Cairo), an Egyptian general and viceroy, was the eldest son of Meḥmed Ali (also known as ↗Muḥammad ᶜAlī *bāšā*), the viceroy of Egypt (r. 1805–49). At the age of 16, I. joined his father in Egypt and was appointed by him as governor of the citadel of Cairo.

From 1807–13 I. served as Egypt's *defterdar* (director of financial administration). He succeeded his brother, Ṭūṣūn, who commanded the Egyptian forces in Arabia, and led a successful campaign quashing the Wahhābī rebellion in ↗Ḥiğaz between 1816–19. Part of his government was the Ottoman ↗*Habeş eyaleti*, the African coastal subgovernorate with ↗Massawa and ↗Sawakin as the main ports. He received the taxes from there and nominated governors, but did not interfere in the local structures of indirect government.

Subsequently, his father sent him to assist I.'s younger brother, ↗Ismāᶜīl, who had occupied Sinnār at the borders of Ethiopia early in 1821. I. organized the expedition led by Muḥammad Bey Ḫusraw that had conquered northern and central Kordofan and later joined Ismāᶜīl's expeditions in search of slaves and gold in the region west of the Blue Nile. Due to illness he returned to Cairo in February 1822.

From then on I. served as an energetic military commander of the first rank in Muḥammad Alī's expansionist campaigns, first against the Greeks in Morea and Crete (1825–28), and later in Syria. Ordered by his father, I. invaded Syria in November 1831. He took Acre, Damascus, and subsequently led his forces into Anatolia across the Taurus Mountains and halted at Konya on 21 December 1832. I. remained in Syria until 1840. He was victorious in the last battle fought against the Ottomans in Nazib on 24 June 1839, but European powers intervened to preserve the integrity of the Ottoman Empire and granted Meḥmed Ali the hereditary rule of Egypt in return for the withdrawal of his troops from Syria and other occupied lands (Treaty of London, July 1840). Due to Muḥammad ᶜAlī's sickness, I. succeeded his father as *wālī* of Egypt, but remained in that position for only a short period because he died of tuberculosis in the winter of 1848. Less interested than his father in the expansion along the African Red Sea coast, Massawa, only recently acquired again, was returned to the Sublime Porte during his short reign.

Lit.: HillBD 177; HENRY DODWELL, *The Founder of Modern Egypt: a Study of Muhammad 'Ali*, Cambridge 1931 [repr. 1967]; GEORGES DOUIN, *Histoire du Soudan Egyptien*, vol. 1: *La pénétration 1820-1822*, Le Caire 1944 (Lit.); KHALED FAHMY, *All the Pasha's Men: Mehmed Ali, his Army and the Making of Modern Egypt*, Cambridge 1997; AFAF LUTFI AL-SAYYID MARSOT, *Egypt in the Reign of Muhammad Ali*, Cambridge 1984, 27, 80–85, 196–256; MAXIME WEYGAND, *Histoire militaire de Mohammed Aly et de ses fils*, Paris 1936.

Jonathan Miran

Ibrāhīm

I. *bāšā* (ابراهيم, d. 1861) was the Ottoman governor of ↗Massawa between ca. 1854–61. He was involved in the power struggles within the ↗Nāᵓib family, between the Bayt (Bet) Ḥasan and Bayt ᶜUṯmān (Osman) lineages, and appointed Idrīs Ḥasan as the 15th *nāᵓib* of ↗Ḥərgigo (Bet Osman). However, like his cousin, the 14th *nāᵓib*, Idrīs Ḥasan also rebelled against the Ottoman authorities, abandoned his post, and took refuge among the ↗Mänsaᶜ. Subsequently, I. appointed Muḥammad ᶜAbdarraḥīm from the rival Bet Ḥasan as the 16th *nāᵓib*. I. is believed to have committed suicide by hanging himself in 1861.

Lit.: ErDizBio 168; DANTE ODORIZZI, *Il Commissariato Regionale di Massaua al 1° Gennaio 1910*, Asmara 1911, 139f., 155.

Jonathan Miran

Ibrāhīm Abū Zaḥarbūy

Šayḫ I. (ابراهيم ابو زحربوى, also called Zerbay, Zerbayn, Zarbīn, Zarbīt) was one of the most important saints who spread ↗Islam among the ↗Somali in the first half of the 15th cent.

It is said that I. was one of the 44 saints from ↗Ḥaḍramawt who, after a solemn meeting at Awliyāᵓ Kumbo, so called in commemoration of the gathering, went out to preach Islam. I. started his mission in ↗Berbera and continued in ↗Zaylaᶜ.

I. performed several miracles, among them, reportedly, his transportation by air to Mount Ḥākim south of ↗Harär. In ca. 1430 he stayed in Harär and converted many people. Later, he apparently returned to Zaylaᶜ where he died and was buried. His tomb, near Ašurbara Gate, is highly venerated, also by the ↗ᶜAfar. Burton

(1894, vol. 1, 54) visited it and found an inscription from 1741/42 on the doorway of its dome; however, it was no longer visible at the time of Paulitschke (1888:65).

I. is said to have introduced ↗*čat*, which he probably became acquainted with in Harär, to Yemen.

According to Paulitschke, the village Šayḫ Zerbay, the first settlement of the Nole (↗Qottu) on the way from ↗Ǧildessa to Harär, is named after I. Robecchi Bricchetti (1896:99), on the other hand, reports that *šayḫ* Zerbay was a brother of I. and at the same time a son of *āw* ↗Ḥākim b. Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad, the eponym of the abovementioned mountain. Since there is some evidence that *āw* Ḥākim flourished in the 13th cent., the identification meets chronological difficulties. Thus, the eponym of the village Šayḫ Zerbay may not be I. or his brother, but the saint *āw* Zarbīn (Zarbīt) mentioned in the ↗*Fatḥ madīnat Harar* as a companion of ↗Abādir ᶜUmar ar-Riḍā. On the other hand, it is entirely possible that the *Fatḥ* transferred I. (or his brother) from the 15th to the 13th cent. to make him a companion of the national saint of Harär, Abādir, as it did in other cases.

The ᶜAfar venerate a saint *šayḫ* Maḥámmad Darbên in whose honour a *mablúd* (↗*Mawlid*) was composed (Morin 1997:122ff.). Whether this *šayḫ* is identical with I. or his brother or *āw* Zarbīn, remains unclear. A legend, reported by Albospeyre (1959:153), says that Maḥámmad Darbên threw a spear from Zaylaᶜ to ↗Tagūra; at the place where the spear landed, a mosque was built. Morin (MorDicAfar 196) considers this a symbol for the union between the two towns.

Lit.: MAX ALBOSPEYRE, *Mer Rouge, Afrique orientale: Études sociologiques et linguistiques*, Paris 1959 (Cahiers de l'Afrique et de l'Asie), 153; RICHARD FRANCIS BURTON, *First Footsteps in East Africa, or an Exploration of Harar*, ed. by ISABEL BURTON, 2 vols., London 1894 [repr. 1986], vol. 1, 54; MorDicAfar 196; DIDIER MORIN, *Poésie traditionelle des Afars*, Paris 1997, 122ff.; PHILIPP PAULITSCHKE, *Harar: Forschungsreise nach Somâl- und Galla-Ländern Ost-Afrikas*, Leipzig 1888, 65; LUIGI ROBECCHI BRICCHETTI, *Nell'Harrar*, Milano ³1896, 99; TrIslam 250; EWALD WAGNER, "Eine Liste der Heiligen von Harar", *ZDMG* 123, 1973, 269–92, here 278; WagFath 98.

Ewald Wagner

Ibrāhīm al-Muḫtār Aḥmad ᶜUmar

Šayḫ I. (ابراهيم المختار احمد عمر; b. 1327 H. [1909 A.D.], Anqatū, Mount Kindid, Akkälä Guzay, d. 10 *Rabīᶜ aṯ-ṯānī* 1389 H. [25 June 1969 A.D.], Asmära) was first Italian-appointed Grand

Ibrāhīm al-Muḫtār Aḥmad ᶜUmar; photo courtesy of the family

Mufti of ↗Eritrea, Muslim leader, erudite *fiqh* scholar, and prolific writer. I. belonged to the Faqīh Ḥarak clan of the Sāho-speaking ↗Mīnifire group. *Šayḫ* I. travelled to the Sudan in 1925, studying in Omdurman and arrived to Cairo in 1926. He studied in several al-Azhar secondary institutes (1926-31) before enrolling at al-Azhar University. After following a comprehensive course in religious studies and specializing in *ḥanafī* jurisprudence, he graduated in 1937.

I. returned to Eritrea in 1940 and the same year was appointed by the Italian authorities President of the High Šarīᶜa court at Asmära, *qāḍī l-quḍāt* and *muftī lid-diyār al-iritrīya*. Under the politically liberal British administration (1941-52), *šayḫ* I. established, developed and reformed Islamic institutions, particularly in the fields of law and education. He centralized the Islamic legal system and regularized court procedures, *qāḍī* training and record keeping. He was instrumental in the foundation of new Arabic and Islamic schools in Asmära, Massawa, Mändäfära, Kärän, Aqordät and Ǝmbärämi. Through his published and unpublished writings, *šayḫ* I. promoted Islamic education, the use of Arabic language, and expressed firm independentist positions. Under Ethiopian rule, he struggled with courage against anti-Muslim discrimination and government interference with religious matters such as the appointment of *qāḍīs* and attempts to change Arabic/Islamic school curricula. *Šayḫ* I. resisted Ethiopian oppression by protesting vehemently against the government's abuse of power but maintained a wise and delicate balance between outright defiance and his role as Muslim leader within the public sphere in the framework of Ethiopian rule.

After his death, the office of *muftī* was not filled until after liberation, in August 1992.

Šayḫ I. has left a rich unpublished corpus of texts mostly on religious matters but also ca. 20 invaluable manuscripts on various historical, linguistic, biographical and cultural aspects of Eritrea and its Muslim communities and institutions. His memory is revered by Eritreans to this day.

Lit.: ErDizBio167; ᶜABDALQĀDIR ḤAQŪS AL-ĞIBIRTĪ, *al-Muftī Ibrāhīm al-Muḫtār: taḥaddiyāt wa-mawāqif* ('The Mufti Ibrāhīm al-Muḫtār: Challenges and Positions'), Cairo [n.d.]; AS-SAYYID AL-ĞAMĪLĪ, "aš-Šayḫ Ibrāhīm al-Muḫtār Aḥmad ᶜUmar: muftī ad-diyār al-iritrīya" ('Šayḫ Ibrāhīm al-Muḫtār Aḥmad ᶜUmar: the Grand Mufti of Eritrea'), *Maǧallat al-Azhar* [Cairo], *Rabīᶜ al-awwal* 1418 H. [July 1997 A.D.], 377–83; *šayḫ* SĀLIM IBRĀHĪM AL-MUḪTĀR, "aš-Šayḫ Ibrāhīm al-Muḫtār Aḥmad ᶜUmar", *al-Ittiḥād ad-dawlīya* [Cairo], 15 chapters between March and August 1997; JONATHAN MIRAN, "Grand mufti, érudit et nationaliste érythréen: note sur la vie et l'oeuvre de cheikh Ibrâhîm al-Mukhtâr (1909-1969)", *Chroniques yéménites* 10, 2002, 35-47.

Jonathan Miran

Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad ↗Hasan b. Aḥmad

Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad

I. (ابراهيم بن محمد, commonly known as Ibrāhīm b. Ziyād; d. 289 H. [902 A.D.]) was the second *amīr* of banū Ziyād in early Islamic Yemen. He inherited power directly from his father, the founder of the Ziyādid dynasty, Abū ᶜAbdallāh Muḥammad b. ᶜAbdallāh b. Ziyād al-Umawī in 245 H. [859/60 A.D.] and ruled for more than 40 years until his death in 289 H. [902 A.D.]; other dates, namely 280 H. [893/94 A.D.] in the biographical dictionary of Abū [Bā] Maḫrama (866–944 H. [1461–1537 A.D.]) or 290 H. [903 A.D.] mentioned by Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn (1035-1100 H. [1625–89 A.D.]), seem unreliable, for they disagree with the majority of sources and occur only in the late mediaeval historiography of Yemen. In spite of the Ziyādids' *nisba* al-Umawī, their origin from the Umayyad caliph Yazīd I or even from Ziyād b. Abīhī, who was officially recognized by Muᶜāwiya I as his own brother, is dubious.

Information about the reign of I. is very scarce, even in the Yemenite historical tradition. Like all the members of this dynasty, he formally recognized the supremacy of the ᶜAbbāsid caliphs bearing the title of their governor (*ᶜāmil*), but in fact was completely independent from Baghdad. His permanent place of residence was Zabīd, the capital of the Ziyādid state that had been founded by his father in *Šaᶜbān* 204 H. [January/February 820 A.D.] in the centre of Tihāma, the coastal plain of the Red Sea, which soon became one of the richest and most beautiful cities of Yemen. It is difficult to ascertain what territories I. succeeded in holding under his effective control. An apologetic tradition, which ascribes to him as well as to his father dominion over the entire Yemen and even Ḥiǧāz, "from Ḥadramawt to Mecca", is hardly credible. In all probability, the real power of both rulers was limited to Tihāma and some areas adjoining it.

The unique evidence of the commercial contacts between the Ziyādids and Ethiopia is attested in the famous encyclopaedic work *Murūǧ aḏ-ḏahab wa-maᶜādin al-ǧawhar* of al-Masᶜūdī (d. 345 H. [956 A.D.]), according to which, the ships of I. "were regularly going to the littoral of the Abyssinians (*sāḥil al-Ḥabaša*) and with traders travelling with goods aboard". The author explained that these traders took advantage of the shortest maritime route from Yemen to Ethiopia as well as of an armistice (*muhādana*) concluded between I. and the Abyssinians.

His somewhat enigmatic epithet "Lord of *Peganum harmala* [Esphand, Syrian rue]" (*ṣāḥib al-ḥarmalā*, not *al-ḥarmalī*, as it is commonly transliterated) cited first by al-Masᶜūdī, as well as his *nisba* al-Ḥarmalī, obviously derived from it, are probably connected with a kind of monopoly for the export of this medicinal plant to the central provinces of the caliphate at that time. However, the second word in this expression could be interpreted in a different way, i. e. as a name of the favourite concubine of I., for the greatest scholar of mediaeval Yemen and a contemporary of al-Masᶜūdī, al-Ḥasan al-Hamdānī (d. after 334 H. [945 A.D.]), mentions Ḥarmala in his list of female personal names derived from names of plants.

I. left the throne for his son Ziyād b. Ibrāhīm whose reign was not long. Then another son of I., Abū l-Ǧayš Isḥāq, came to power for about 80 years.

Src.: IBN AD-DAYBAᶜ, *Buġyat al-mustafīd fī taᵓrīḫ madīnat Zabīd* ('The Desire of that who Benefits from the History of the City of Zabīd') ed. by ᶜABDALLĀH AL-ḤIBŠĪ, Ṣanᶜāᵓ [1979], 40 [= *Neuf siècles d'histoire de l'Arabie du Sud: 622-1517*, ed., tr. by JOSEPH CHELHOD, Sanaâ – Beyrouth 1983]; HENRY CASSELS KAY (ed., tr.), *Yaman: its Early Mediæval History by Najm ad-Din 'Omārah al-Ḥakami, also the Abridged History of its Dynasties by Ibn Khaldūn and an Account of the Karmathians of Yaman by Abu ᶜAbd Allah Baha ad-Din al-Janadi*, London 1892, 4f., 234f., 291f.; OSCAR LÖFGREN (ed.), *Arabische Texte zur Kenntnis der Stadt Aden im Mittelalter: Abū Maḫrama's Adengeschichte nebst einschlägigen Abschnitten aus den Werken von Ibn al-Muǧāwir, al-Ǧanadī und al-Ahdal*, vol. 2: *Biographien*, Uppsala – Leiden 1950, 2f. (n° 7), 16

(n° 35), 215 (n° 272); MAÇOUDI, *Les prairies d'or*, ed., tr. by C. BARBIER DE MEYNARD et PAVET DE COURTEILLE, vol. 3, Paris 1864, 34f.; DAVID HEINRICH MÜLLER (ed., tr.), *Al-Hamdânî's Geographie der Arabischen Halbinsel*, vol. 1, Leiden 1884, 134; YAḤYĀ B. AL-ḤUSAYN B. AL-QĀSIM B. MUḤAMMAD B. ᶜALĪ, *Ġāyat al-amānī fī aḫbār al-quṭr al-yamānī* ('The Limit of the Desires in the Information on the Country of Yemen'), ed. by SAᶜĪD ᶜABDALFATTĀḤ ᶜĀŠŪR – murāğaᶜat MUḤAMMAD MUṢṬAFĀ ZIYĀDA, Cairo 1388 H. [1968 A.D.], 189, 206.

Lit.: AḤMAD IBN AḤMAD IBN MUḤAMMAD AL-MUṬĀᶜ, *Ta'rīḫ al-Yaman al-islāmī min sanat 204 h. ilā sanat 1006* ('The Islamic History of Yemen from 204 H. to 1006 H.'), ed. by ᶜABDALLĀH AL-ḤIBŠĪ, Beirut 1407 H. [1986 A.D.], 59f.; AḤMAD ḤUSAYN ŠARAFADDĪN, *Al-Yamanᶜabra t-ta'rīḫ (min al-qarn ar-rābiᶜ qabla l-mīlād ilā l-qarn al-ᶜišrīn). Dirāsāt ğuġrāfiya, ta'rīḫiya, siyāsiya šāmila* ('Yemen through the History [from the 4th Century B.C. to the 20th Century]'), [Cairo] 1382 H. [1963 A.D.], 184f.; PETER BEHNSTEDT, *Glossar der jemenitischen Dialektwörter in Eduard Glasers Tagebüchern (II, III, VI, VII, VIII, X)*, Wien 1993 (Sitzungsberichte der philosophisch-historischen Klasse der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 594; Veröffentlichungen der Arabischen Kommission 6), 56.

Serguei Frantsouzoff

Ibrāhīm Sulṭān ᶜAlī

I. (ابراهيم سلطان علي, b. 1909, Kärän [?], d. 2 September 1987, Cairo) can be regarded as one of the most important pioneers of modern Eritrean nationalism and of modern social awareness among the Muslims of the ex-Italian colony.

A ↗Təgre speaker of ↗Beni ᶜAmər background, I. was educated in Islamic and Italian schools in the town of ↗Kärän. He mastered both Italian and Arabic and was employed first as a conductor for the Eritrean railroad, and later as an interpreter in the Muslim Native Affairs section of the Italian administration (↗Africa Orientale Italiana). In May 1941, after the British expelled the fascist occupiers, I., together with ↗Wäldä Ab Wäldä Maryam and ten others, established the Eritrean Patriotic Association (↗*Maḫbär fəqri hagär*) aimed at promoting Muslim–Christian understanding and national co-operation. His main concern, however, was the issue of the ↗*təgre* serfs. Some 90 % of Təgre speakers were still under the old aristocratic system, feudal privileges of which had been enhanced by the Italians. In 1943 he left his position as an interpreter for the British and moved to ↗Täsänäy. With the help of his Muslim friends in Kärän and ↗Asmära, and in cooperation with the British, he began organizing the serfs with a view to their emancipation. This entailed a fundamental reorganization of the tribal system, a process completed by the spring of 1949.

Meanwhile, as the issue of Eritrea's future was being debated by the international community and the ↗United Nations (UN), I. began combining his social activities with Eritrean nationalist politics. On 4 December 1946 he established the ↗Muslim League in Kärän, which soon afterwards, in January 1947, adopted a platform calling for Eritrea's independence and resisting both partition and unification with Ethiopia (cp. ↗United Nations Commissions for Eritrea). The nationalist-political struggle gradually gained priority over the social *təgre* struggle. I. headed a Muslim League mission to the Arab League headquarters in Cairo and to the UN at Lake Success in April 1949. In May–July 1949 he initiated the establishment of the first significant all-Eritrean nationalist coalition. Rejoining forces with Wäldä Ab Wäldä Maryam, with other Christian nationalists, as well as with the ↗Pro-Italian Party, he established the ↗Independence Bloc.

I.'s leadership in the Independence Bloc during the two years that followed can be regarded as the pinnacle of his historical role, as well as the beginning of his political decline. As the cause of Eritrea's independence was being defeated diplomatically – Eritrea was federated with Ethiopia in 1952 (↗Ethiopian–Eritrean Federation) – I.'s cooperation with the non-Muslims and the pro-Italians, as well as his domineering personality, eroded his hegemonic leadership over the Muslim sectors. Earlier in April 1947 the National Muslim Party of Massawa seceded from the Muslim League. More significantly, in 1950 the Independent Muslim League of Western Eritrea was formed under the leadership of his rival, *šayḫ* Mūsā Radāᵓī. By December 1950 the Independence Bloc was dissolved, and in January 1951, its remaining leaders formed The Democratic Eritrean Party.

During the years of Eritrea's autonomy within Ethiopia, 1952–1962, I., as a member of the ↗Eritrean Assembly and the leader of the opposition, attempted to resist the imperial campaign to undermine the entire constitutional arrangement. He and his colleagues were subjected to systematic harassment and violence by the Emperor's agents. In 1955, accused of defaming a foreign official, he was fined and sentenced to six years probation. As ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I's imperial absolutism completely shattered Eritrea's autonomy, and as I. failed to be re-elected to the second Assembly in 1956, he fled with ↗Idrīs Muḥammad Ādam to the ↗Sudan in March 1959. He then

proceeded to Cairo to join the founders of the ↗Eritrean Liberation Front (ELF).

By the time the Eritrean nationalists entered the stage of overt and fully fledged guerrilla warfare and international struggle against Ethiopia, I. had been almost fully marginalized. His paternalistic attitudes alienated his young colleagues, and his attempts to dominate exile politics failed. He later represented the cause of the ELF in the UN, last appearing in 1963. He also participated in various inter-Arab conferences trying to present the Eritrean struggle as part of the pan-Arab revolution, equating Ḫaylä Śəlasse's Christian hegemony with Zionism. In the field itself, however, in both eastern and western Eritrea, a new generation of fighters identified him with the old, traditional guard and its methods. In Arab capitals, activists such as Idrīs Ādam and ↗ᶜUṯmān Ṣāliḥ Sabī overshadowed him. I. went on to abstain almost completely from internal Eritrean conflicts and persistently called for the avoidance of religious, ethnic and regional differences. His last message to this effect was read at Second Conference of the ↗Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF) held just prior to his death. He was buried in the Sudan.

Lit.: LLOYD ELLINGSON, "The Emergence of Political Parties in Eritrea, 1941–1950", *JAH* 1, 1977, 261–81; ErDizBio; HAGGAI ERLICH, *The Struggle over Eritrea, 1962–1978*, Stanford, CA 1983; RUTH IYOB, *The Eritrean Struggle for Independence*, Cambridge 1995, 65, 70f., 74f., 89, 101f.; KilHDic 255f.; JONATHAN MIRAN, "Grand mufti, erudit et nationaliste érythréen. Note sur la vie et l'oeuvre de cheikh Ibrâhîm al-Mukhtâr (1909-1969)", *Chroniques Yéménites* 10, 2002, 35–47; MUḤAMMAD SAᶜĪD NAWAD, *Ḥarakat taḥrīr iritrīya, al-ḥaqīqa wat-taᵓrīḫ* ('The Movement of the Liberation of Eritrea, the Truth and the History'), Jedda n.d.; DAVID POOL, *From Guerrillas to Government, The EPLF*, Oxford 2001; TEKESTE NEGASH, *Eritrea and Ethiopia: the Federal Experience*, Uppsala 1997, 38f., 53, 74, 80, 92, 94, 97, 99, 111, 117, 119; GERALD KENNEDY NICHOLAS TREVASKIS, *Eritrea: a Colony in Transition, 1941–52*, Oxford 1960, index.

Haggai Erlich

Ichthyophagoi ↗Greek literature

Iconography ↗Painting

Idda

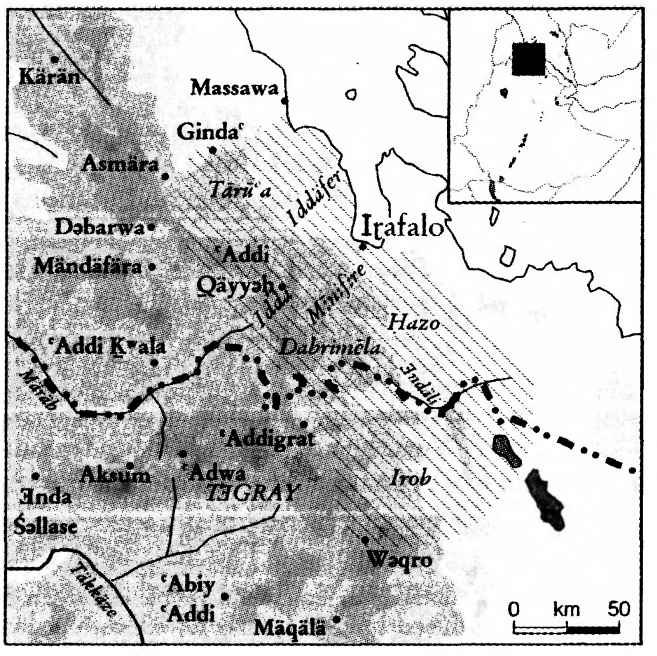
The I. (ادى) are one of the oldest ↗Sāho-speaking groups in Eritrea, as most oral Sāho tradition admits. Many Sāho tribes and sub-tribes refer to the I. as the guardians of the Sāho land, *baaṛo ᶜambaališ* (Sāho sp. *baarho cambaalish*) or *baaṛo sugus* (*baarho sugus*). They traditionally inhabit the areas of Säräwos, Märta, Gärämat and Annan. Most I. are Muslims.

Due to the expansion of the Christian Ethiopian empire in the 12th cent. and during the rule of ↗ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon, I. clans fused with ↗Təgrəñña groups of ↗Akkälä Guzay and ↗Ḥamasen and with ↗Təgre groups of ↗Barka, ↗Sämhar and ↗Saḥəl. Still today some Təgrəñña and Təgre-speaking-groups claim descent from I. tribes, e.g. in May ᶜƎdäga (Däqqämḥare). In Kʷäᶜatit, Mändäfära, the ↗Gäbärti believe that their great-grandfather was an I. Similarly, in Barka (ᶜAd Ḥasano) and Səmbar (ᶜAd Ṣäway) some Təgre clans claim I. origin.

During the Italian colonial period the I. were affiliated with the ↗Asaorta administration, having their own chief (*reedanto*), *šuum* Muḥammad. At that time the census (1931) counted 1,135 I. Today the I. form a semi-autonomous tribe.

There are different theories concerning I. origins. The word I. itself is believed by some to be a corruption of the name of the Arabic port Ǧedda (MuhTarih 221), suggesting their origin from ↗Arabia. This opinion is, however, not shared by the I. themselves.

Another tradition links the I. to Agne (or Agána), the legendary founder of the I. and some Təgrəñña groups of Akkälä Guzay (Däqqi Gäbre, ᶜAd Məqom and ƎggälaḪamus; s. Pollera 1996:79f.). Agne, according to different traditions, was either a son of *aṣe* ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon, or a child abducted from the ↗Ḥabab in the 18th cent. and raised in the court of *aṣe* ↗Bäkaffa in Gondär. Legend claims that Agne found a maiden tied to a tree where she had been



left as an offering to a ↗serpent that was terrorizing the area. He killed the serpent and liberated the maiden and the village from this subjection. The maiden belonged to the Robra and Ǝggäla Ḥaṣin tribes and her father rewarded the saviour with his daughter's hand, assigning him part of his territory. Agne had four sons by her: Te Häšənna, founder of the Arato; Šime Məre, founder of the Däqqi ᶜAd Məqom; Hanneso, founder of the Ǝggäla Ḥamus; Sälo'əba, founder of the K̲or Barya village. Agne moved later to Đi'ōt (Dhicoot) in Sāho, married Č̣idya Wätel, a Muslim of the ancient Kabota-Sāho tribe, and thus gave rise to the I. tribe (Pollera 1996:79f.). The word Agána means 'superiority', 'from the top'. Many Sāho lineages divide themselves (as the ↗Asaorta) into *agani casawurta* 'Asaorta from above', and *gubi casawurta* 'A. from below' (Morin 1999:88). "Angana" can be read on Ludolf's map (1683) as applied to the hinterland behind the Gulf of "Zulla" (↗Zula), in front of the island of "Dafalo" (↗Iṛāfálo).

Living I. oral tradition offers a still different version, according to which the I. and the Kabota were the two ancient Sāho tribes in the region. I. inter-married with Kabota and later defeated the latter clan in a war, becoming the dominant tribe in the region and extending their power to the highlands of Eritrea.

Src.: HIOB LUDOLF, *Habessinia seu Abassia, Presbyteri Johannis Regio*, Francofurti ad Moenum 1683, map.

Lit.: DIDIER MORIN, *Le texte légitime: pratiques littéraires orales traditionnelles en Afrique du nord-est*, Paris 1999, 88; MuhTarih 221; ALBERTO POLLERA, *The Native Peoples of Eritrea*, tr. by LINDA LAPPEN, Lawrenceville, NJ 1996 [= tr. of PollEr], 79f.

Abdulkader Saleh

Iddäfer

I. (Sāho Iddefir, 'sons of Idda [or Idde]') is one of the well-known semi-autonomous ↗Sāho tribes in the ↗Sämhar region (for location s. Idda). They are agro-pastroralists who live scattered in the plains of Afta, Zula, Fatar and Ala, with the traditional centre in Gädäm, and migrate between Agambusa and the ↗Ḥamasen highlands in search of pasture. There are several I. descent groups, Bet (or Beyt) Alula, Bet Raqi, Bet Yaḥyā, Bet ᶜUmar ᶜĀli, Bet Sulēman, and Bet Danyā. The latter claim descent from the eldest son of the founder of the I. and thus occupy the leading position among other lineages. The I. are bilingual in Sāho and ↗Təgre.

The origin of the I. is unclear. The name I. suggests that they originated from the ↗Idda, whose men married women from other tribes such as Bet Danyā (Sāho), Bet Sayyid Ḥamedu (Beğa), Bet Ankala (ᶜAfar), and Bet Dimbágo (one of the seven Sāho "holy families" who spread Islam among the others; s. Pollera 1996:161, MorDic-Afar 222).

One of the versions of I. history claims ↗ᶜAfar origin and suggests they migrated to their present habitat after long conflicts and tensions between the ᶜAfar clans of Dankáli and Ankala. According to the legend, the former moved to the north and gave birth to new Sāho tribes of ↗Idda and I.

Sāho oral tradition says that the I., like Idda and ᶜAsaboora, are one of the oldest original Sāho tribes, who had settled in the Sämhar area already before the ↗Beğa expansion into the area during the 5th cent. Oral tradition also has it that I. share the same origin with the Bet Tawkal and Bet Ḥalifa descent groups (today known as lowland ↗Asaorta, with centres in Afta and Zula). Later, I. are believed to have mixed with Təgre-speaking groups in the Sämhar region, and that is why the Bet Tawkal and Bet Ḥalifa became Təgre speakers while preserving their knowledge of the Sāho language. Even today, some highland Təgre and Təgrəññña-speaking groups claim their descent from the I. The I. are related to the Bet Tawkal and Bet Ḥalifa through inter-marriage.

During the 19th cent., the region experienced numerous inter-ethnic conflicts. The Egyptian administration tried to settle the unrest and bring the region under civil administration through the system of indirect rule. Traditional leaders of each group were selected to be accountable to the Egyptian administration for mediating and resolving the disputes. Within the Egyptian system, they received the title *šuum*. One of the most famous representatives of the I. was *šuum* Ḥummad ᶜĀli Danyā. After his death in 1905, he was succeeded by his son *šuum* ᶜĀli Ḥummad ᶜĀli Danyā.

During the Italian colonial period and the British Military Administration, the I., along with all other Sāho tribes living in the Red Sea coastal region such as Idda, ↗Ṭarūᶜa, Baradotta, and Ḥasabat ᶜAre, were administered by Nāṣir *bey*. In the second half of the 20th cent., another famous I. leader, *šayḫ haǧǧi* ᶜUṯmān Alula, was an active member of the ↗Muslim League (MuhTarih 331). The 1931 Italian census gave a total number of 1,045 I.

Lit.: ABDULKADER SALEH MOHAMMED, *Die Afar-Saho Nomaden in Nordost-Afrika: die sozio-ökonomischen und politischen Bedingungen des Nomadentums und der Ver-*

such einer Sesshaftmachung der Nomaden am Beispiel der Afar-Saho in Nordost-Afrika, Münster 1984; LewPeoples; MorDicAfar 222; MuhTarih 331; ALBERTO POLLERA, *The Native Peoples of Eritrea*, tr. by LINDA LAPPEN, Roma 1996 [=tr. of PollEr], 161.

Abdulkader Saleh

Idrīs Muḥammad Ādam

I. (ادريس محمد آدم, also Idrīs Ādam, Idrīs Muḥammad Ādim, b. 1918, d. 29 August 2003, Mecca) was a founding father of Eritrean modern nationalism and the most prominent leader of the ↗Eritrean Liberation Front (ELF) during the period of 1960 to 1975.

I. was a member of the ↗Təgre-speaking ↗Beni ᶜAmər clans who had been converted in the 19th cent. to Islam by the *Mīrġanīya* brotherhood, centred on the Sudanese ↗Kassala and connected historically to Egypt. Educated also in Arabic and being an activist in the ↗Muslim League he accepted the Eritrean autonomy arrangement of 1952 (↗Ethiopian-Eritrean Federation) and acted as the chairman of the ↗Eritrean Assembly as of 1955. He soon clashed with the Chief Executive, *bitwäddäd* ↗Asfəḥa Wäldä Mikaʾel, who systematically undermined the autonomy and worked for putting Eritrea under ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I's absolutism. In 1957 I. resigned in protest and his property was confiscated. He fled to Kassala and in 1959 proceeded to Cairo, where, already as of 1955, Eritrean veteran activists and young students were hosted by President Ǧamāl ᶜAbdannāṣir.

In July 1960 I. and his colleagues proclaimed in Cairo the establishment of the ↗Eritrean Liberation Front (ELF) under his chairmanship, and began inspiring the actual revolt in western Eritrea. Meanwhile a rival ↗Eritrean Liberation Movement representing mostly Muslims from eastern, coastal Eritrea, which had been established in 1958, was practically dissolved. As more members joined the ELF in the field, a Supreme Council headquartered in Kassala was proclaimed in 1963, still dominated by the Beni ᶜAmər activists and headed by I. In the same 1963 the ↗Organization of African Unity was inaugurated in Addis Abäba and Ǧamāl ᶜAbdannāṣir decided to stop his overt aid to the Eritreans. By that time the ELF, with Nāṣirist inspiration, had already begun developing the identity of Eritrea's Arabism, and conceived the anti-Ethiopian struggle as an integral part of the pan-Arab revolution. I. responded to the Egyptian betrayal by orienting the ELF on Damascus, where in the same 1963 the pan-Arab Baᶜṯ party took over. The secular, revolutionary pan-Arabism of the Baᶜṯ further influenced the ELF Arab-Eritrean ideology. Damascus also increased its military aid in 1966 when the Baᶜṯ army officers took over. After the 1967 defeat by Israel the Syrians lost much of their interest in Eritrea, but in 1968 another branch of the Baᶜṯ captured power in Iraq, and I. moved there. He went on roving between Baghdad, Damascus, Kassala and his units in Eritrea. Meanwhile the field fighters grew in number and in 1969 the ELF was restructured, the Supreme Council was substituted by a General Command. Though I. was re-elected as chairman of the new body, there mounted tensions between the field commanders and the men in Arab capitals. Moreover, the movement split now from all angles and in the same 1969 there emerged the rival ↗Eritrean Peoples Liberation Front (EPLF). It was combined of non-Beni ᶜAmər fighters and of exile leaders dependent on Arab countries (and the Palestinian Liberation Organization) rivalling the Baᶜṯ regimes. In late 1971 the ELF, amid war with the Ethiopians and amid fratricidal strife with his Eritrean opponents, was again restructured. A Revolutionary Council was established and I. was again voted chairman.

The 1970s saw a significant change in the relations between the Eritrean movements and the Arab countries. The age of secular, revolutionary pan-Arabism in the Middle East was over, and each Arab regime began solidifying its own, separate continuity. The general Middle Eastern interest in Eritrea's Arab revolution was gradually diminishing, and it nearly disappeared following the fall of Ḫaylä Śəlasse and the coming of the revolutionary *Därg* (↗Provisional Military Administrative Council). In both the ELF-RC and the EPLF the actual leadership was taken by the field commanders. In May 1975 the ELF leadership abroad was denounced in a Revolutionary Council congress as "opportunistic and bourgeoisie" and I. was replaced by Aḥmad Nāṣir. (The same had been the fate of ↗ᶜUṯmān Ṣāliḥ Sabī of the EPLF). After some short, futile manoeuvrings I. faded away. He moved to Saudi Arabia from where he followed the ensuing developments, culminating with the demise of the ELF in the early 1980s and the hegemony of the Christian-led EPLF in achieving Eritrea's independence in 1991. The new regime in Asmära made no effort to appease the defeated and scattered ELF veterans who had founded Erit-

rea's modern identity. The aging I., in Mecca, was meanwhile closing his life circle, abandoning the secular pan-Arabism he adopted in the 1960s and returning to political Islam.

Src.: WOLDEYESUS AMMAR, *Woldeab Woldemariam has Returned Home, but Not Yet Idris Mohammed Adem*, ms., 30 August 2003.

Lit.: HAGGAI ERLICH, *The Struggle over Eritrea*, 1962–1978, Stanford, CA 1983; ID., *Ethiopia and the Challenge of Independence*, Boulder, CO 1986; ID., *The Cross and the River. Ethiopia, Egypt and the Nile*, Boulder, CO 2002; ErlEth; RUTH IYOB, *The Eritrean Struggle for Independence*, Cambridge 1995; KilHDic 256f.

Haggai Erlich

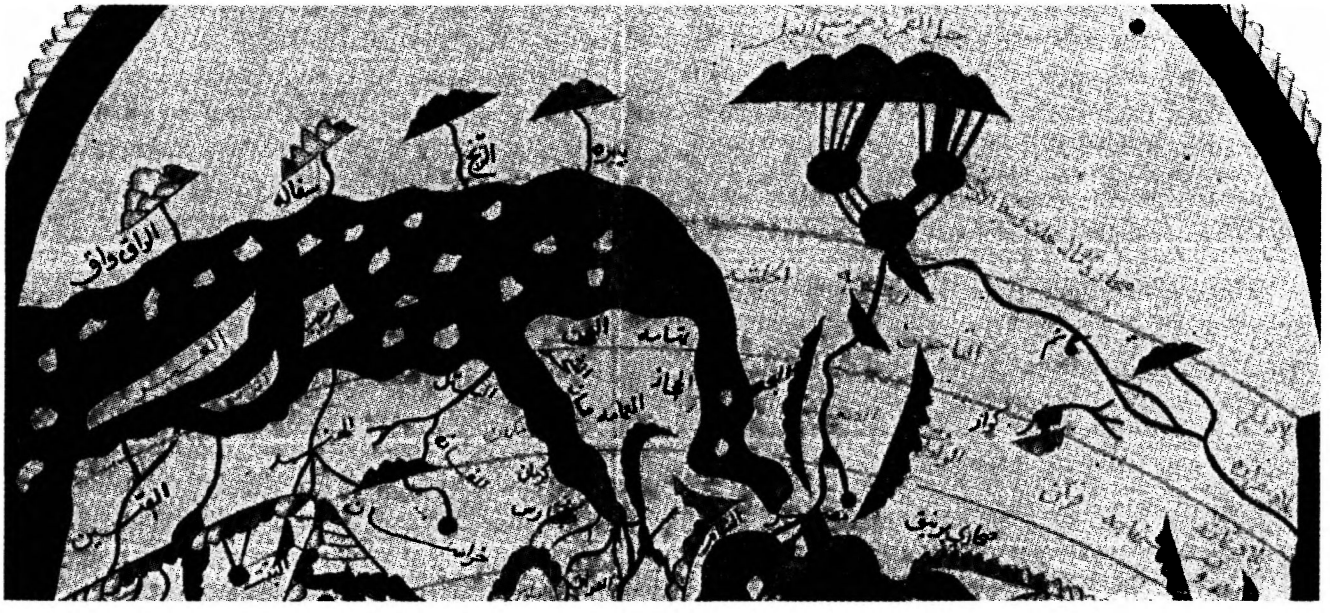
Idrīsī, al-

I. (الإدريسي full name Abū ᶜAbdallāh Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Idrīsī) was an Arab geographer who lived at the court of Roger II (r. 1130–54), the Norman king of Sicily. Information about his life is scarce, probably because Arabic biographers regarded him as a renegade.

I.'s main work is a descriptive geography called *Nuzhat al-muštāq fī iḫtirāq al-āfāq* ('Recreation for Him who Desires to Travel through the Countries') or *Kitāb Ruǧār* ('Book of Roger'), finished in 1154. I. adopted the Ptolemaic division of the world into seven climates (*aqālīm*, sg. *iqlīm*) and subdivided each climate into ten sections (*aǧzāʾ*, sg. *ǧuzʾ*). The description of Ethiopia is in the 4th and 5th sections of the 1st climate of this book; the neighbouring regions of the East, in the 6th section (ed. Dozy – de Goeje 1866:14–27; ed. Cerulli et al. 1970–84:32–57). I. describes several towns with their products and their relevance to trade in terms of distances and quality. While parts of his report are quite detailed, e.g. his description of the Nile fauna, he also includes such legendary material as, e.g., the source of the Nile in the Mountains of the Moon. As already noted by Ludolf (*Commentarius*, quoted by Hartmann 1796:88), many of the Ethiopian towns mentioned by I. are hard to find in other sources. To each of the 70 geographical sections of the *Kitāb Ruǧār* a map was attached, all of these maps then being put together to make up a rectangular world map similar to the Ptolemaic one (*Tabula Rogeriana*). A smaller circular world map was further supplied, which became the more famous one, (cf. Conti Rossini 1943:167–71).

In 1161 I. allegedly wrote another more detailed text accompanied by a map for Roger's son William I. This book is presently lost, but an abridged version of it, *Uns al-muhaǧ wa-rawḍ al-furaǧ* (also known as the *Little Idrīsī*), is extant. The work has the same theoretical structure of the *Kitāb Ruǧār* but the text is arranged as in an itinerary book, and supplemented by 73 maps in the form of an atlas. The *Uns al-muhaǧ* has a short section on Ethiopia (1984:26ff. [in ms. Hekimoğlu 688], 18ff. [in ms. Hasan Hüsnü 1289]; cf. already Conti Rossini 1921–23:450ff., § 14).

Information on Ethiopia contained in both I.'s works was translated into Italian and thoroughly discussed by Conti Rossini (CRStor 324ff.), who confirmed the heavy dependence of the Arab ge-



World map from the *Kitāb Ruǧār* by al-Idrīsī (1154; oriented with South at the top); copy of 1500 (detail showing northern and north-eastern Africa with the Red Sea and southern Mediterranean); from Klemp 1968

ographer on Ptolemy, and tentatively suggested a few explanations for the obscure names occurring in the texts.

Src.: ABŪ ʿABDALLĀH MUḤAMMAD B. MUḤAMMAD AL-IDRĪSĪ, *Ṣifat al-Maġrib wa-arḍ as-Sūdān wa-Miṣr wa-l-Andalus maʾḫūḏ min Kitāb Nuzhat al-muštāq fi iḫtirāq al-āfāq = Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne*, ed., tr. by REINHART PIETER ANNE DOZY – MICHAEL JAN DE GOEJE, Leyde 1866 [repr. Amsterdam 1969, Frankfurt 1992]; ID., *Opus geographicum, sive Liber ad eorum delectationem, qui terras peragrare studeant*, ed. by ENRICO CERULLI et al., 9 fasc., Napoli – Leiden 1970–84; ID., *Géographie d'Édrisi*, tr. by PIERRE AMÉDÉE JAUBERT, 2 vols., Paris 1836–40 [repr. Frankfurt 1992]; ID., *Uns al-muhağ wa-rawḍ al-furağ* ('The Entertainment of Hearts and Meadows of Contemplation'), Frankfurt 1984 (Publications of the Institute for the History of Arabic-Islamic Science. Ser. C: Facsimile Editions 7).

Lit.: CARL BROCKELMANN, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*, Leiden 1937–49, vol. 1, 477, Supplementband 1, 876f.; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Aethiopica", *RSO* 9, 1921–23, 365–81, 449–68; ID., "Geographica", *RSE* 3, 1943, 167–99; CRStor 342ff.; JOANNES MELCHIOR HARTMANN, *Edrisii Africa*, Gottinga 1796; EGON KLEMP (ed.), *Africa auf Karten des 12. bis 18. Jahrhunderts*, Leipzig 1968; GIOVANNI OMAN, "Notizie bibliografice sul geografo arabo al-Idrīsī (XII seculo) e sulle sue opere", *Annali IUO* nuova ser. 11, 1961, 25–61; ID., "al-Idrīsī", in: *EI²*, vol. 3, 1032–35; FUAT SEZGIN, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*. Band 10–12: *Mathematische Geographie und Kartographie im Islam und ihr Fortleben im Abendland*, Frankfurt 2000, s. index.

Stefan Weninger

Ifat

I. (ኢፋት, also ዊፋት, Wifat in Gəʿəz sources) was a historical region and sultanate in central Ethiopia. An integral part of the ↗Rift Valley, the area of I. served for millennia as a point of contact between the pastoral/nomadic economic formations of the eastern lowlands and the ancient agricultural societies of the Ethiopian highlands. The lines of communication and trade routes from the Red Sea, the Gulf of Aden and the Indian Ocean converged in the area of I. making it a region where important historical developments took place.

↗Islam must have been introduced into the region in early times. The religion spread along with the development of the local statehood. In the late 9th cent. the precursor of I., the Sultanate of ↗Šäwa emerged, run by the ↗Maḫzūmī dynasty. The ↗Walašmaʿ dynasty, claiming the same Arab origin as the Maḫzūmī, appeared in the region as a rival force, destroyed the Sultanate of Šäwa and formed that of I. in ca. 1285 A.D. (for a while early Walašmaʿ-rulers were the subjects of ↗Damot, s. Cerulli 1943:284).

The works of such Arab authors as ↗Ibn Saʿīd al-Maġribī (transmitted by the 14th-cent. geographer Abū l-Fidā), Ibn Faḍlallāh al-↗ʿUmarī, al-↗Maqrīzī, ↗Ibn Ḫaldūn and al-↗Qalqašandī provide a relatively detailed description of the Sultanate of I. (Wafāt, or Awfāt in the Arabic sources). In these works I. appears as the most powerful among the states of the so-called Muslim fringe (the others being ↗Arabäbni, ↗Därа, ↗Däwaro, ↗Hadiyya, ↗Šarḫa, Bali [↗Bale]) in the period between 1285 and the second half of the 15th cent. It comprised a territory adjacent to the trade routes south of historical ↗Gədəm, including a part of the high plateaux of north-east Šäwa and stretching into the lowland beyond ↗Awaš as far east as ↗Zaylaʿ that, according to al-ʿUmarī, was also subject to the rulers of I. (hence the name "kingdom of Zaylaʿ" on some European maps; s. CerStud I, 5f.; ↗Carthography).

The population of I. seems to have been mixed: in particular, al-Maqrīzī says that the language of the people of I. was "Abyssinian" (cp. ↗Ethio-Semitic) and ↗Arabic (MaqIlmam² 7; cp. CerStud I, 19f.). The core of I.'s population must have been composed of the distant precursors of the ↗Argobba and related peoples such as the ↗Dobaʾa. Ibn Saʿīd significantly identified I. as a citadel of Islam in the region; the majority were *šāfiʿīs* (but in the 15th *ḥanafīs* were probably dominating, s. MaqIlmam² 7; cp. Cerulli 1943:286). Al-ʿUmarī lists seven "cités mère" of I. – most probably I.'s tributary districts (UmMasGaud 8f.) – and provides valuable data on I.'s economy and culture, mentioning wide cultivation of ↗*ṣat* and the circulation of the traditional iron ↗currency called ↗*ḥakunu* (CerStud I, 17–22).

The importance of I. is attested by the latter's link with ↗Ğäbärti. According to Ibn Saʿīd, Ğabara/Ğabart was an alternative name of I. and its population (Abū l-Fidā 1883:229); it was also used in other Arabic sources (Cerulli 1943:293f.), and then generally extended to the Muslims of the Horn of Africa. In his *Kitāb al-ilmām* (written 1435–36) al-Maqrīzī says that Ğabara or Ğabart was a name of a district in I. (s. UmMasGaud 37; cp. Cerulli 1943:286; cp. ʿAbdalkader Hagos Muḥammad 1991:11–25).

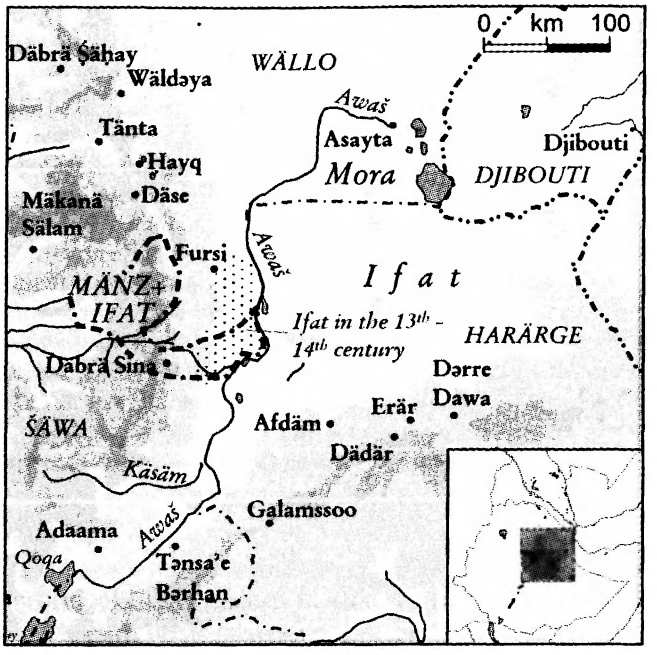
The growth of the power of I. came to a halt in the 14th cent. The strategic importance of I. placed it against the Christian state consolidated by the rulers of the ↗Solomonic dynasty, whose ambition was to control the caravan trade to the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean. The consequence

was a protracted conflict sometimes taking the shape of a religious war (↗*Ǧihād*). It culminated during the reign of *aṣe* ↗ʿAmdä Ṣəyon I, when ca. 1332 ↗Ṣabraddīn b. Dalḥuy b. Manṣūr of I. led a Muslim coalition against the Christian Emperor, but was defeated. I. and allied sultanates were then ravaged, their status as tributaries of the Christian empire confirmed.

In the following period Christian monarchs had to apply the entire spectrum of political means in order to keep I. under their sway: using internal strife among the members of the Walašmaʿ dynasty on the one side and applying military power on the other, in the time of such rulers of I. as ↗Ṣabraddīn Muḥammad b. Dalḥuy, ↗ʿAlī b. Ṣabraddīn, ↗Aḥmad Ḥarb Arʿad b. ʿAlī b. Ṣabraddīn, ↗Ḥaqqadin II b. Aḥmad Ḥarb Arʿad (d. 1386). Thereafter, I. was able to consolidate its power again and even incorporated ↗ʿAdal and some other neighbouring principalities. In 1415 *aṣe* ↗Yəsḥaq defeated the rebellious *sulṭān* of I. (before him the rulers of I. had the title *qaṣ*; in ʿAmdä Ṣəyon's time probably *ambäl*, s. Guidi 1889:62), the famous ↗Saʿdaddīn Abū l-Barakāt Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, and killed him at Zaylaʿ. *Aṣe* ↗Zärʾa Yaʿəqob appointed his governors in I. and settled there a contingent of the ↗*ṣäwa*. I. was too much exposed to the power of Christians, and *sulṭān* ↗Aḥmad Badlāy, the representative of the Walašmaʿ dynasty's militant wing, moved his capital to ↗Dakar in 1435–36, I. thereby loosing its central political importance. After a series of battles, Aḥmad Badlāy was defeated by *aṣe* Zärʾa Yaʿəqob in 1445. His son *sulṭān* Muḥammad b. Badlāy sent a diplomatic mission to Egypt in 1452 hoping for help, but in vain; soon, *sulṭān* Muḥammad submitted to *aṣe* ↗Bäʾədä Maryam (Cerulli 1943:293f.), who appointed in I. a governor with the title ↗*wälasma*.

The area of I. was reduced to a battle ground in the course of the wars of *imām* ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī and the subsequent ↗Oromo migrations. In the 16th–18th cent. I. remained a small region between the Robi and Qäbbänna rivers. The Chronicle of Susənyos reports that in 1602 *aṣe* Susənyos (before ascending the throne) fought the local people and *ṣäwa*, helping ↗Yolyos, whom he appointed over I. and who, however, was not accepted there. Later, ca. 1624, a rebellious Wäldä Qəbrəyal defeated and killed I.'s *wälasma* Ǧuru.

The Muslim scholars (*ʿulamāʾ*) of I. continued to play a front role in spreading Islam to most parts of south central Ethiopia until the late 19th–



early 20th cent. (cp. ↗Education). However, I.'s vulnerable position and the threat of the Oromo (Karrayyuu of ↗Baarentuu) finally forced its rulers to make an alliance with the emerging local dynasty of Šäwa. Although this alliance might have been difficult at the outset, the second ruler of Šäwa ↗Səbəstyanos established ties with the Argobba *wälasmas*, which were strengthened by *märəd azmač* ↗Abbəyye and *wälasma* ↗Maḥammäde. This was followed by further political integration of I. under *nəguś* Sahlä Šəllase (1813–47), which marked the creation of a larger Kingdom of Šäwa. During the era of *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II the territorial extent of I. was again changed: it was reduced losing what later became northern ↗Yärär and south-eastern ↗Bulga in the 19th and 20th-cent., and existed later as ↗Yəfat *awraǧǧa* (Yəfat being the term for the area frequently used in the 19th–20th-cent. sources).

Src.: AWTarik 42, 82f.; ʿABDARRAHMAN B. MUḤAMMAD IBN ḤALDŪN, *Histoire des Berbères et des dynasties musulmanes de l'Afrique septentrionale*, tr. by MAC GUCKIN DE SLANE, ed. by PAUL CASANOVA, Paris 1927 [repr. 1969], vol. II, 108; ABŪ L-FIDĀ, *Géographie d'Aboulféda*, tr. by JOSEPH TOUSSAINT REINAUD – STANISLAS GUYARD, vol. 2, part 1, Paris 1883, 229; BasHist 52 and n. 1, s. index; BTafA 289, 431, 499, s. index; CRHist 84 (text) = 96 (tr.); ConzGal 14 (text) = 128 f. (tr.); ʿABDALQADER HAGOS MUḤAMMAD, *Baʿṭ al-Ǧabartī wal-Ǧabartīyīn* ('The Rise of Ǧäbärti and the Ǧäbärti People'), ms. Jeddah 1991; MaqIlmam 7, 9f.; MaqIlmam² 6ff.; PerChron I, 45, 168, 279, 284; II 32, 130, 215, 219; PerrZarY 13, 16, 47, 93, 112, s. index, map; UmMasGaud 1–8, 37.

Lit.: ABBEBE KIFLEYESUS, *Tradition and Transformation: the Argobba of Ethiopia*, Wiesbaden 2006 (AeF 66); ULRICH BRAUKÄMPER, *Islamic History and Culture in Southern Ethiopia: Collected Essays*, Münster – Hamburg – London 2002 (Göttinger Studien zur Ethnologie 9),

12–103, esp. 24–28, s. index; CerStud I, 5f., 17–22 [repr. in: *CerIslam* 281–327]; ENRICO CERULLI, [review of Maria von Tiling, "Die Sprache der Jabárti", *Zeitschrift für Eingeborenen-Sprachen* 12, 1921–22, 17–52, 97–162], *Oriente moderno* 5, 1925, 614–20; ID., "L'Etiopia medievale in alcuni brani di scrittori arabi", *RSE* 3, 1943, 272–85 [repr. *ibid.* 257–80]; JOSEPH COUQ, *L'Islam en Éthiopie: des origines au XVe siècle*, Paris 1981, s. index; IGNAZIO GUIDI, "Le canzoni geez-amariña in onore di Re abissini", *RRALm* ser. 4a, 5, 1889, 55–66, here 62; BERTRAND HIRSCH – FRANÇOIS-XAVIER FAUVELLE-AYMAR, "L'Éthiopie médiévale. État des lieux et nouveaux éclairages", *Cahiers d'études africaines* 166, 2002, 315-35; PankBord, s. index; JOHN SPENCER TRIMINGHAM, "Awfāt", in: *EI²* vol. 1, 763-64; TrIslam 58–63, s. index; TadTChurch 134, s. index.

Ahmed Hassen Omer – Denis Nosnitsin

Ignatius of Loyola

I. (b. Iñigo López de Loyola, 24 December 1491, castle of Loyola, Azpeitia, d. 31 July 1556, Rome) was the founder and first general of the ↗Jesuits. He gave priority to pioneering mission work outside Europe, devoting great enthusiasm to the mission to ↗Ethiopia.

The origin of the Jesuit involvement in Ethiopia goes back to the 1540s, when I. entered into contact with the milieu of Pope Paul III, meeting figures like ↗Täsfa Ṣəyon, and with King ↗João III of ↗Portugal. In 1546, there was a first exchange of letters between I. and Dom João on the issue of a mission to the "Preste" (↗Prester John). The two discussed later the possibility of establishing a Catholic patriarch for Ethiopia, and who could be the most appropriate man for such a task – I. having offered himself as a missionary.

Coming to no conclusion, the subject remained dormant for some time, until Dom João appointed in 1553 I. responsible for naming a member of his order as the patriarch. I. started then a general consultation to select the members for the mission to Ethiopia and, on 28 December, he notified the Portuguese monarch of the election of three Portuguese (João Nunes ↗Barreto, Cornelio Gómez and Melchior Carneiro) and two Spaniards (Diego Mirón and Andrés de ↗Oviedo). From those, Dom João was to choose three for patriarch and assistant bishops. Nunes Barreto was finally elected as patriarch, and Oviedo and Carneiro as bishops. Pope Julius III later ratified this decision.

I. continued promoting this enterprise over the following years until in the spring of 1555, the first expedition left Portugal. In an epistle sent to the elected patriarch Nunes Barreto the same year, I. drew up a list of recommendations to the missionaries to Ethiopia. Many of the principles that guided the following generations of missionaries to Ethiopia were included: e.g., the establishment of good relations with the emperor, the reform of the sacramental discipline, elimination of rites from the "Old Law" (i.e. O.T.), as well as the learning of local languages in order to be able to preach the Catholic doctrine properly.

From the theological point of view, I. viewed the Ethiopian Orthodox Church as a schismatic Church. In his 1555 letter addressed to *aṣe* ↗Gälawdewos he presented the patriarch of Alexandria (↗Coptic Church) as a "cut off and rotten member of the mystical body of the Church" that "has neither movement nor virtue, nor can receive it from the body itself". Thus, I. advocated a "return" of the Ethiopian Church to Catholic Orthodoxy. Indeed, no other topic is so carefully discussed in the Ignatian epistolary as Ethiopia.

↗Catholicism; ↗Missions

Src.: IGNATIUS DE LOYOLA, *Epistolae et instructiones*, vol. VIII: *1554–1555*, Romae 1966 (Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu 36), 451ff., 460–76, 485–90, 677–720; LUIS GONÇALVES DA CÂMARA, *Recuerdos ignacianos*, ed. by BENIGNO HERNÁNDEZ MONTES, Bilbao – Santander 1991, 71f., 104ff., 132; RENATO LEFÈVRE, "Documenti e notizie su Tasfa Seyon e la sua attività romana nel sec. XVI", *RSE* 24, 1971, 74–133.

Lit.: A. BROU, "San Ignace et la Mission d'Ethiopie: 1545–1556", *Revue d'Histoire des Missions* 13, 1936, 341–55; NUNO DA SILVA GONÇALVES, "Inácio de Loiola, D. João III e a Missão da Etiópia", *Brotéria* 134, 1992, 497–510; JESÚS M. GRANERO, *San Ignacio de Loyola. Panoramas de su vida*, Madrid 1967, 389–96; HERVÉ PENNEC, *Des Jésuites au royaume du prêtre Jean (Éthiopie): stratégies, rencontres et tentatives d'implantation 1495–1633*, Paris 2003, 47ff.; GÜNTER SWITEK, "Ignatius V. Loyola", in: *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, vol. 5, Freiburg im Breisgau ³1996, 410–11 (Lit.); SANTIAGO MADRIGAL TERRAZAS, *Estudios de Eclesiología Ignaciana*, Madrid 2002, 25–102.

Leonardo Cohen

Ilg, Alfred

I. (b. 30 March 1854, Frauenfeld, d. 7 January 1916, Zürich) was a Swiss engineer who served *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II as royal engineer, architect, interpreter, counsellor and private secretary for foreign affairs for almost 28 years. He was probably the only foreigner in Ethiopia on whom the title of ↗*bitwäddäd* was conferred, although unconfirmed sources allege that a Greek personal physician of *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I also attained a similar rank.

Upon his graduation from the Polytechnical Institute in Zürich, he worked for some time for a firm known as Marquardt in Bern. Through the intermediary of the firm Furrer & Escher in

Aden, *nəguś* Mənilək of Šäwa employed him in 1878. He left for Ethiopia in May, but did not reach Šäwa until the end of the year. He was accompanied by two compatriots and friends: a woodworker by the name of Heinrich Appenzeller and a mechanic, Alfred Zimmermann. Both worked intermittently under short contracts as well as in the import-export business until they left the country in the early 1890s, while I.'s first three-year contract was soon changed to a tenure. I.'s higher qualification in engineering, his versatility in other fields of construction and technology, his talent for languages, and above all his honesty and sociability won him the royal confidence within a short time.

In the year of I.'s arrival in Šäwa, Mənilək moved his capital from Ankobär to ↗Ǝnṭoṭṭo, and I. was assigned to supervise the construction of the palace. He subsequently built the churches of ↗Ǝnṭoṭṭo Maryam and ↗Ǝnṭoṭṭo Raguʾel in the vicinity of the palace. When the capital moved to ↗Finfinnee (later Addis Abäba) in 1887, I. built the palace. The city (including the ↗*Gəbbi*) was consumed by fire in 1892, and I. undertook the reconstruction in the next year during which he also provided the palace for the first time in its history with a clocktower, water pipes and a telephone system. I. also built two bridges across the ↗Aqaqi and the ↗Awaš rivers in 1886–87, the latter of which he redesigned and reconstructed in 1894. In 1899, he recruited on behalf of the sovereign a group of Swiss experts who reformed the postal system in Ethiopia and installed telephone and telegraph systems connecting the Ethiopian capital with Djibouti, Asmära and Khartoum, and thereby with Europe.

Every two or three years, I. travelled to Europe partly for vacation and partly to do some purchasing for the royal couple and their notables. On one of these trips, he smuggled in through ↗Zaylaᶜ a machine which he installed in Aman (near Ankobär) to produce cartridges for various types of weapons for which it was difficult to import munitions and spare parts because of restrictions imposed by the colonial powers at the coast. This was of special interest to Mənilək in view of the increasingly hostile relations with Italy. I.'s rival, Count Pietro ↗Antonelli, was discredited on account of the ↗Italo–Ethiopian treaty of 1889 ("Treaty of Wəċale"), and from this time onward the sovereign consulted I. on diplomatic questions as well as in addressing letters to European leaders. I., who, apart from his

Alfred Ilg, around 1906, in his Ethiopian home; photo from the collection of Carl Haertel, courtesy of Johannes Bohnenberger

mother tongue German, had full command of French, Italian and English as well as Amharic, translated the letters which came from abroad and acted as an interpreter when European diplomats arrived. He was also sent on diplomatic missions to ↗France and ↗Switzerland in 1891–92 and 1894–96, during which he gave lectures and interviews in favour of Ethiopia which did not have resident diplomats abroad. Perhaps, his most significant diplomatic activity was his involvement in the negotiations with Italy following the campaign of ᶜAdwa (↗ᶜAdwa, battle of) and the subsequent drafting of the treaty of October 1896 (↗Treaties). A few months later, he was honoured with the title of *bitwäddäd* and was thereafter addressed as "His Excellency".

I. maintained a large household, including his family, servants and their relatives. At first he married Wälättä Maryam from Bulga by whom he had three sons and a daughter (who later married ↗Afäwärq Gäbrä Iyäsus). In 1895, he settled his wife and children in one of his landed properties in Bäčču, to the south-east of Addis Abäba, and married his compatriot, Fanny Gattiker from Zürich, by whom he subsequently had three sons and a daughter.

Like all his peers in the empire, he held state landed properties (to the north-west and south of the capital) which he administered through proxies and from which he derived his income. He also received a salary in cash the amount of

which increased in accordance with the length of his service and the rise of his status. Besides, he ran an import–export business of ↗ivory, ↗coffee and industrial products. In 1894, he won a ↗railway concession from Djibouti to Addis Abäba and beyond to the south-west and he subsequently established jointly with Léon ↗Chefneux a share company – the Compagnie Impériale des Chemins de fer d'Ethiopie – with headquarters in Paris. By the time the railway reached ↗Dərre Dawa in 1902, the funds of the company were depleted. An offer of the French government to finance the project angered Mənilək who wanted the company to remain strictly non-governmental and neutral. I. was suspected of breach of contract by the Ethiopians and foreigners alike, although the sovereign had never issued a statement of the kind. Another concession – the Wälläga Gold Mines Company – which I. founded in 1900 likewise went bankrupt as a result of which a tiring court case developed between I. and the Russian officer Nicolai ↗Leontiev, who was for some time in the service of Mənilək II.

Severely hurt by these failures and their implications to his prestige, I. wished to resign his position and return to Europe. He tendered a letter of resignation in 1902, but it was rejected by the sovereign who expressed his unflinching confidence in the integrity of his official. I.'s rivals (both Ethiopians and Europeans) nonetheless continued to spread defamatory propaganda. Mənilək ignored the rumours until December 1906 when he discovered the Tripartite Treaty in which France, Great Britain and Italy agreed to divide Ethiopia into spheres of influence upon the incapacitation or death of the sovereign. I., who was then in Zürich, did not inform Mənilək about the treaty, a situation which I.'s enemies exploited to convince the sovereign that his counsellor had gone over to his adversaries. Mənilək repeatedly summoned I. to return to Ethiopia, but I. sent only a telegram of resignation and remained for good in his native city where he died almost ten years later. His house in the capital as well as his estates reverted to the government following his resignation, a case which later writers unaware of Ethiopian culture regarded as confiscation and ingratitude.

I.'s contribution to our knowledge of Ethiopian history, culture and laws was at least as significant as the technological know-how he applied in the country. He toured most of the southern regions and collected cultural items, some of which he exhibited in Switzerland in 1892. Many of the articles are preserved today in the Ethnological Museum of Zürich. He also collected and described zoological and botanical specimens on behalf of several scientists in Europe. He published a few essays on various aspects of Ethiopian history and culture. Above all, he preserved an immense amount of both official and private papers which he brought to Zürich before his resignation. They are today indispensable sources for the Mənilək era.

Src.: ANTOINE ADAM (ed.), *Arthur Rimbaud – Oeuvres complètes* (Bibliothèque de la Pléiade 68), Paris 1972, 478–96, 529f., 544, 552–656 and passim; BAIRU TAFLA, *Ethiopian Records of the Menilek Era: Selected Amharic Documents from the Nachlaß of Alfred Ilg 1884–1900*, Wiesbaden 2000 (AeF 54); ALFRED ILG, *Katalog der ethnographischen Sammlungen aus Abessinien zurückgebracht von A. Ilg, Ing*, Zürich 1892, 1–20; ID., "Die äthiopische Heeresorganisation", *Schweizerische Monatsschrift für Offiziere aller Waffen* 8, 1896, 129–48; ID., "Über die Verkehrsentwicklung in Äthiopien", *Jahresbericht der Geographisch-Ethnographischen Gesellschaft in Zürich für das Jahr 1899/1900*, Zürich 1900, 37–59; ID., "Zur Geschichte der äthiopischen Eisenbahnen", *ibid. pro 1909–1910*, 1910, 113–34; ID., "Über das Gerichtswesen in Ethiopien", *ibid. pro 1911–1912*, 1912, 1–33; FANNY ILG, "Durch meine Stube lief die Front im Kampf um die Vorherrschaft in Afrika", *Schweizer Spiegel*, Zürich 1953, 54–73; JEAN VOELLMY (ed.), *Arthur Rimbaud – Correspondence 1888–1891*, Paris 1995, 43–187.

Lit.: BAIRU TAFLA, "Menilek's Diplomatic Front: the Role of Alfred Ilg in the Events Leading to the Conflict", in: *CentAdwa*, 13–33; ELISABETH BIASIO, *Prunk und Pracht am Hofe Menileks: Alfred Ilgs Äthiopien um 1900*, Zürich 2004, 12–256; EAD., "Die Modernisierung Äthiopiens. Alfred Ilg und der äthiopische Kaiser Menilek II.", *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, 13 März 2001, 68; CONRAD KELLER, "Alfred Ilg", *XVI. Jahresbericht der Geographisch – Ethnographischen Gesellschaft in Zürich pro 1915–1916*, 1917, x–xiv; ID., *Alfred Ilg: sein Leben und Wirken als Schweizerischer Kulturbote in Abessinien*, Frauenfeld – Leipzig 1918; ULRICH KOLLBRUNNER, "Alfred Ilg: der Erschließer Abessiniens", in: HANNS GÜNTHER (ed.), *Pioniere der Technik. Acht Lebensbilder – Große Männer der Tat*, Zürich 1920, 259–300; WILLI LOEPFE, *Alfred Ilg und die äthiopische Eisenbahn*, Zürich – Freiburg 1974 (Beiträge zur Kolonial- und Überseegeschichte 12); GEORGE MONTANDON, "Alfred Ilg", *Le globe: Revue génèvoise de Géographie* 1916, 81–96; RICHARD PANKHURST, "The Franco–Ethiopian Railway and its History", *EthObs* 6, 1963, 342–79; ID., "Menilek and the Utilisation of Foreign Skills in Ethiopia", *JES* 5, 1, 1967, 29–86; ERICH WEINZINGER, "Alfred Ilg, Abessinien und der Weltkrieg", *Rundschau des Auswärtigen Dienstes* 6.1/2, January 1918, 3–4.

Bairu Tafla

Ilit and Sokodas

Ilit and Sokodas language

The I. and S. (also called "Western Kunama") are two ↗Nilo-Saharan dialects or languages closely related to ↗Kunama. They seem to form a cluster separate from the rest of Kunama, which is

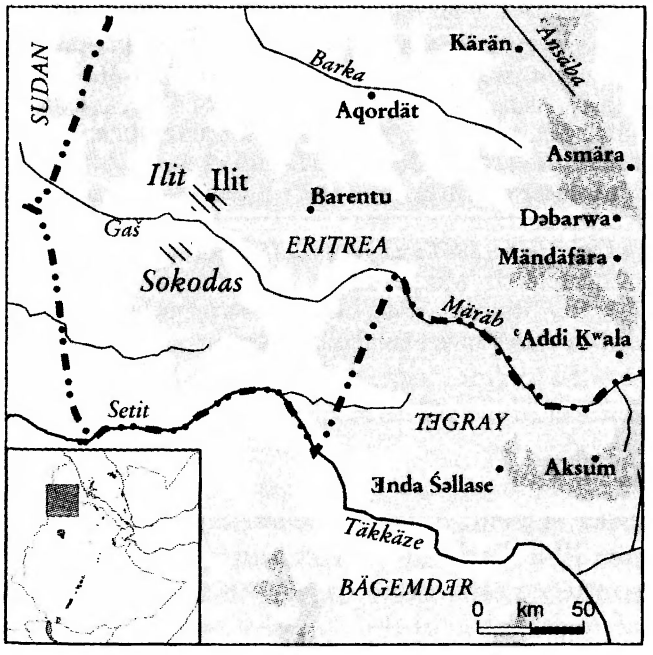
also called, in distinction from I. and S., "Eastern Kunama".

Linguistic research, carried out in the 1990s by John Abraha and Klaus Wedekind, included comparison of the lexicon (based on "basic words" lists) between I.-S. and Kunama, and tests checking the intelligibility of I. and S. with Kunama dialect texts and vice versa (s. Daniel Teclemariam et al. 1997, esp. 7, 21). I. and S. share 71 % of the lexicon one with the other. Kunama dialects and I. have 57 % to 65 % of the lexicon in common. Kunama dialects and S. have 60 % to 70 % in common.

41–71 % of S. texts could be understood by Kunama. At the same time, I. is almost unintelligible for Kunama speakers (only 3–8 % of an I. text can be understood by Barka, Marda, Tika and Taguda speakers; Aymasa speakers, however, understand ca. 71 %, which is explainable by contact). Kunama texts can be understood to a much better degree by I.-S. speakers, which can be explained by the "ethnical" identification of the I.-S. speakers with the Kunama group and their exposure to Kunama radio programmes and Kunama language at school.

No standard of I.-S. has yet been developed.

The consonantal and vocalic phoneme inventory of I.-S. is the same as in Kunama (s. DGE Curriculum Department 1998:61); vowel length and consonant gemination are phonemic. Like Kunama, I.-S. is a tone language, but details have not been studied yet. Within the present entry, the tones were marked only in the ten-word list (elsewhere, only high tone was marked): low tone as ̀, mid tone as ̄, high tone as ́, plus their combinations such as high-low (falling) as ̂, etc. There are at least two tonemes. Words start with a consonant, but different to Kunama do not necessarily end with a vowel; in S. many nouns end in *-a* for sg.



Grammatical differences between I.-S. and Kunama are yet to be studied. The pronoun system of S. is very similar to the Barka and Marda dialects of Kunama, as can be seen from the following table:

Pers.	Barka	Marda	Sokodas
1st sg.	*aba*	*aba*	*aba*
1st dual (incl.)	*kímme*	*kíime*	*kímmamme*
1st dual (excl.)	*ámme*	*áame*	*ámmamme*
1st pl. (incl.)	*kíme*	*kíme*	*kíme*
1st pl. (excl.)	*áme*	*áme*	*áme*
2nd sg.	*ena*	*ena*	*ina*
2nd dual	*émme*	*éeme*	*émmamme*
2nd pl.	*éme*	*éme*	*éme*
3rd sg.	*unu*	*unu*	*ununo*
3rd dual	*ímme*	*íime*	*unummamme*
3rd pl.	*íme*	*íme*	*unumme*

Examples of basic vocabulary for I. (S.): 'one' *éllà* (*éllâ*); 'two' *bálómè* (*bállè*); 'three' *sáttê* (*sáttê*); 'blood' *kòokòbā* (*kòokòbā*); 'tooth' *māyyā* (*māyā*); 'fire' *tōmā́* (*tōmā́*); 'moon' *tèerā* (*tèerā*); 'sun' *wóókíírā* (*ííkííra*); 'water' *bìyā* (*bìyā*).

Src.: BARBARA F. GRIMES (ed.), *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*, Dallas, TX [13]1996, 255.

Lit.: BendNonSLang; MARVIN LIONEL BENDER, *Kunama*, München – Newcastle 1996; DANIEL TECLEMARIAM – IBRAHIM MOHAMMED – JOHN ABRAHA et al. (DEPARTMENT OF GENERAL EDUCATION [DGE], THE MINISTRY OF EDUCATION), *Eritrea Dialect Survey, December 1996–May 1997, Report*, Asmara 1997, 7ff., 13, 20–25, 32f., 43f.; MunSt 468; DGE CURRICULUM DEPARTMENT, THE MINISTRY OF EDUCATION, *Pre-Final Draft, Orthography and Transliteration Guide*, Asmara 1998, 61; JOHN ABRAHA – KLAUS WEDEKIND [review of Bender 1996], *Notes on Linguistics* 80, 1998, 27–30.

John Abraha Ashkaba

Ilit and Sokodas ethnography

The Ilit (in Kunama: Iliit, Iiliit, in European sources also Elit) and Sokodasa (also Sogodasa, the suffix *-a* denoting a group) are two groups belonging to the ethnic conglomeration of the ↗Kunama, composed of several virtually independent groups. The I. and S. together are also called "Western Kunama".

Although they are geographically separated from the main Kunama groups, follow a partially different lifestyle and are linguistically distinct, both groups have a strong identity of "being

Kunama". As a consequence both consider their I.-S. language-cluster as mere dialects of Kunama. This self-identification is a remnant of a seemingly ancient system of ethno-political alliances, which included the related Nilo-Saharan groups in the area in a common Kunama "confederacy" based on an idea of common origin and destiny. It remains to be studied which factors strengthened the idea of mutual relationship within that system, and to which degree it included practical assistance in times of conflict, how it was used for inner-Kunama alliances and/or expressed a specific economic relationship. No ethnographic research has ever been carried out among the I. since the times of Werner ↗Munzinger, and not at all among the S., with the exception of a few surveys carried out by the ↗Eritrean People's Liberation Front starting from the late 1980s.

The term I. designates both the group and the region it inhabits, a mountainous area near the Sudanese border on the right bank of the Gaš river, near the Haykota hills, where the hilly Kunamaland ends, north-west of the main Kunama. A settlement called I. lies within a mountain fortress (MunSt 507; Munzinger 1864:5, 21), north of the road from Barentu to Täsänäy. It is only at I., from where it flows into the fertile lowlands of ↗Taka, that the river Gaš gets this name; in the main Kunama areas it is known as Sona. The direct neighbours of the I. are the ↗Hadándowa and the ↗Algäden.

The S. area with the "Sogodàs" mountains (Guida 224) lies further inland on the left side of the Gaš, in front of the I. area and west of the main Kunama. It borders at Ḥomran (↗Ḥamrān).

The I., numbering ca. 1,000 people, have been (mostly) Muslims at least since the mid-19th cent. A remnant of the older religion, which they shared with the "Eastern" Kunama (Barka, Marda) and ↗Nara, was the office of the rain-maker (*alfai*), who resided among the Algäden (this one being inactive since the 1860s), and among the Kunama. The I. and the S. had their own independent law assemblies and traditional jurisdiction, carried out by elders. The socio-political order is communal and non-hierarchical, decisions are traditionally taken by assemblies of elders, based on consent with the village community as a whole. The ↗kinship system is based on matrilineality.

I. houses were reported to have often been built standing on long piles, allowing floods passing underneath it; they were small and also used as granaries (MunSt 507).

The power balance in the area changed, when Egypt expanded into the Sudan and annexed the ↗Barka region after around 1840. The village of I. submitted to the Algäden, the I. becoming their vassals (ibid. 458; Munzinger 1864:5). During the following years of Təgrayan expansion the I. were not included into the realm of the governor of ↗ᶜAdyabo Wäldä Ṣadəq, who had annexed the Kunama in the late 1850s. Instead, the I. were, together with their overlords, the Algäden, included in the Sudanese-Egyptian province of Taka. This historical separation from the main Kunama is remembered by the I. and S.

In 1860, the Algäden started from I., following the Gaš, to raid the May Daᶜəro area (Barka/Balka) in Kunamaland. In 1861 the Hadándowa were attacked near I. by Ethiopian soldiers from ᶜAdyabo, as a part of the Təgrayan expansion (MunSt 442, 459, 462). In that period the Algäden (and with them probably the I.) started to send gifts to ᶜAdyabo in order to keep peace (Munzinger 1864:3).

The I. often understand "Eastern" Kunama (but only "at some low level", s. Daniel Teclemariam 1997:32, 43) and ↗Təgre (MunSt 468), the latter even replacing the I. dialect (Munzinger 1864:9). In official state ethnography the I.-S. are considered part of the Kunama ethnic group. However, due to the distinct linguistic (and religious) identities of the groups it is discussed to prepare their own education material, separate from the Kunama (Daniel Teclemariam et al. 1997:43f.).

Src.: interview with Alexander Naty, July 2001; AbbGeogr; *Guida* 224.

Lit.: CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Schizzo etnico e storico delle popolazioni eritree", in: FERDINANDO MARTINI et al., *L'Eritrea economica*, Novara 1913, 61–90; DaiMarEr; DANIEL TECLEMARIAM – IBRAHIM MOḤAMMED – JOHN ABRAHA et al., *Eritrea Dialect Survey, December 1996–May 1997: Report*, Asmara 1997, 7, 32f., 43f.; MunSt 442f., 448, 458f., 461f., 463, 466ff., 470, 507; WERNER MUNZINGER, "Vocabulaire de la langue Tigré", in: DillmLex IV; [ID.], "Werner Munzinger's Bericht über seine Reise von Massua nach Kordofan, 1861 und 1862", in: *Die Deutsche Expedition in Ost-Afrika, 1861 und 1862 ...*, Gotha 1864 (Petermann's Geographische Mittheilungen, Ergänzungsheft 13), 2f., 5, 7, 9; ID., "Itinerar", *ibid.*, 21f.; ALBERTO POLLERA, *I Baria e i Cunama*, Roma 1913; PollEr; NadEr.

Wolbert Smidt

Illubabor

Since the end of the 19th cent. I. (አሉባቦር; Oromo: Illuu Baaboor) was the name of a province in south-western Ethiopia. The historical nucleus of highland I. in the 19th cent. was the ↗Oro-

mo polity of the Gabba Illuu along the River ↗Gabba. The name I. ("Illuu Abbaa Boora") is derived from the Illuu ruler Čalli Sone, popular known under his horse-name Abbaa Boora. According to oral sources, clans of the ↗Mäčča Oromo (Tummee, Buunnoo, Čora, Illuu, Alle, Bidiruu, Hurruumuu, Daarimuu) settled in highland I. during the late 18th cent. Older inhabitants were the *ənsät* growing ↗Šakačo and, towards the western lowlands, the slash-and-burn horticulturalist ↗Mağangir (Yasin Mohammed 1990:105ff; Stauder 1972:154).

From 1882/83 onwards Mənilək's troops, first under *ras* ↗Gobäna Dači and later under *ras* ↗Täsämma Aśmärom, occupied the region. With *ras* Täsämma (1897–98) highland I. fell under the rule of ↗*näftäñña* settlers, largely from Gondär. Included in the province was the lowland of ↗Gambella and the territory of ↗Guummaa, west of Didessa river (GueCopMen, Carte I). The political centre of the province first was ↗Gore. After 1942 the centre shifted to ↗Mättu, which was then better connected by roads to Addis Abäba.

Most of highland I. lies in a moderate zone (*wäyna däga*) at an altitude between 1,000 m and 2,000 m A.S.L. The central I. highland with more than 2,000 mm per annum enjoys sufficient rainfall and can be cultivated throughout the year (EMA 1988:12; GasEth 202). Maize, *ṭef* and sorghum are the most important cereal crops. The economic dynamics of I., however, were linked to the abundance of wild ↗coffee (*Coffea arabica L.*), and the constant expansion of coffee production and trade since the early 20th cent. The arrival and settlement of Greek, Armenian, Indian and Arab traders and coffee brokers until 1936 connected I. strongly with the neighbouring Anglo–Egyptian ↗Sudan (GasEth 156; von zur Mühlen 1935:111–21). The residence of a British consul at Gore underlined this relationship. The last consul, from 1928 Major Esme Erskine, was a classical British imperial "man on the spot". For some years Erskine found an equally skilled Ethiopian imperial counterpart in governor *däğğazmač* ↗Mäkʷännən Ǝndalkačča̤w, a former Ethiopian ambassador to Great Britain (ZerEth 362, 366). Due to its boundaries protected by swollen rivers, I. was inaccessible to Italian troops during the months following the occupation of Addis Abäba in May 1936. For one rainy season Gore became the seat of a short-lived free Ethiopian government under *ras* ↗Ǝmməru Ḫaylä Śəllase (BZHist 168).

The administrative boundaries of I. have changed several times (EMA 3). For most of the 20th cent. I. included the lowlands of Gambella (ZerEth 362). Rivers structured the boundaries of the province. Towards the Sudan the rivers Aqobo, Ṗibor and Barro (Baro) defined the border. The catchment area of these rivers towards the escarpment of Gurafärda and towards ↗Gimira defined the southern boundaries. In the north the Birbir and the Gabba rivers divided the country from Wälläga. In the east the Didessa divided from Ǧimma and the Gibe states (ZerEth ibid; GuèCopMen, Carte VIII).

In 1935 I. had a population of 560,000 inhabitants (ZerEth). Under Italian rule (1936–41) highland I. was renamed *Commissariato di Gore*, excluding Gambella, within the *Governato dei Galla e Sidama* (Dei Gaselini 1940–41:48). During the 1980s I. was divided into five *awraǧǧas*: Gambella, ↗Moča, Gore, ↗Buno Bäddälle, and Sor and Gabba (EMA ibid.). While the latter three *awraǧǧas* had a strong majority of Oromo, lowland Gambella was inhabited by Nilotic-speaking ↗Nuer and ↗Añwaa. Moča in the east remained dominated by Šakačo. In total the population of I. was during the 1980s about 960,000 (EMA 22).

After 1991 the policy of "ethnic federalism" changed the boundaries again. Highland I. became a zone within Oromiyaa Regional State, comprising 12 *wäräda*: Daarimuu, Supheenaa Sooddoo, Cooraa, Dega, Baddallee, Geechii, Dhidheessa, Yaayyuu, Mattuu, Aallee, Buree and Nonnoo. Of about 850,000 inhabitants, 750,000 are Oromo. Amhara (62,000) and Təgrayans

(10,700) are the most substantial minorities (CSA 1996:173). The majority of the Šakačo, with the town of Täppi as a regional centre, and many Maǧangir were included into Käfiččo Šakačo Zone within Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples Regional State (CSA 1996a:46f.). Gambella became a regional state of its own.

Src.: BZHist 168; CENTRAL STATISTICAL AUTHORITY, *The 1994 Population and Housing Census of Ethiopia. Results for Oromiya Region.* vol. 1, part 1: *Statistical Report*, Addis Ababa 1996 [=CSA 1996a]; CSA 1996; EMA; GueCopMen, map I, VIII.

Lit.: GasEth 156, 202; MARIO DEI GASILINI, *Galla e Sidama. Risorse – Promesse – Opere*, Gimma 1940–41, 48; JACK STAUDER, "Anarchy and Ecology: Political Society among the Majangir", *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 28, 1972, 153–68; LEO VON ZUR MÜHLEN, *Im Banne des äthiopischen Hochlandes*, Berlin 1935, 111–21; YASIN MOHAMMED, "The Peopling of Highland Illubabor", in: *Proceedings of the Fifth Seminar of the Department of History (Debre Zeit, 30 June–3 July 1989)*, Addis Ababa 1990, 105–24; ZerEth 362–67.

Thomas Zitelmann

Illuminations ↗Painting

Ilma ormaa ↗Oromo; ↗Orma

Imām

I. (امام) is etymologically derived from Arab. *amma* 'to lead' and thus originally means 'leader, master'.

In ↗Islam the term was traditionally used for the community leader who was in control of the government and of the ↗*ǧihād* and also led the ritual prayers. The first historical I. was the Prophet ↗Muḥammad himself. Later, the function was taken over by Abū Bakr aṣ-Ṣiddīq and the other *ḫulafāʾ* (↗*Ḫalīfa*) who ruled after him. With the further growth of the Islamic state, *imāma* (the office of the I. as the leader of prayers) was then delegated by the *ḫalīfa* first to the governors and to special appointees (even when the *ḫalīfa* still led the prayers in the capital city till 750, and then the governor of Egypt up to 850).

In ordinary usage, I. is the leader of the Islamic daily and obligatory ritual prayers in a ↗mosque. Every mosque in the Muslim world has at least one designated I. who also generally exercises some administrative authority. An important mosque where the collective prayers on Fridays at noon are performed (*ǧāmiʿ*) may have more than one I. The I. is selected by the local religious or community leaders on the basis of his knowledge of Islam, mastery of, and eloquence in, Arabic – since he may be called to deliver the weekly sermon (*ḫuṭba*) at the Friday congregational prayer (*ṣalāt al-ǧumʿa*) – and good character. If he is the I. of a grand or central mosque, he is also expected to liaise between the Muslim community and the secular authorities. In practise, with time a distinction came into existence between the office of the I. as a political leader or head of state (called *al-imāma al-kubrā*) and that of the I. who leads prayers (known as *al-imāma aṣ-ṣuǧrā*).

In Šīʿite Islam the I. must be a descendant of the fourth *ḫalīfa*, ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib (r. 656–61), a paternal cousin and son-in-law of the Prophet as he was the husband of his daughter Fāṭima. According to Šīʿite doctrine, the I., is vested with strong religious power; he is both the spiritual and temporal head of the community, and is considered sinless and infallible (*maʿṣūm*). The institution or office of the Šīʿite I. (the "imāmate") was firmly established in Iraq, Iran, Egypt (under the Fāṭimids) and Yemen. In the 17th cent., the two Zaydī I. of Yemen, al-Muʾayyad billāh Muḥammad (r. 1620–44) and al-Mutawakkil ʿalā Allāh Ismāʿīl (r. 1645–76), maintained diplomatic relations with Ethiopia during the reign of *aṣe* ↗Fasilädäs (expecting the latter to convert to Islam).

The founders of the four canonical schools of Sunnī Islamic law (*maḏāhib*, sg. *maḏhab*) – the *ḥanafī*, *mālikī*, *šāfiʿī* and *ḥanbalī*, – were accorded the honorific title of I. The first of them, Abū Ḥanīfa (d. 767), was also known as *al-imām al-aʿẓam* (the greatest I.).

In the Sunnī world, as in the case of Sudan for example, Muḥammad Aḥmad b. ʿAbdallāh (d. 1885), the founder of the ↗Mahdist state which survived until 1898, was known as *al-imām al-mahdī*.

In Ethiopia, the title was employed by rulers who sought religious legitimisation of their power, while those who saw their rule as based on more secular principles called themselves ↗*amīr* or ↗*sulṭān*. Among prominent I. were ↗Abādir ʿUmar ar-Riḍā of ↗Harär and ↗Maḥfūz b. Muḥammad of Zaylaʿ. Later, ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī ("Grañ") assumed the title of I. After his death, rulers of Harär and ↗Awsa were referred to as I. in the local Arabic sources. In Wärrä Himäno, ↗Wällo, during the 18th and 19th cent., the hereditary rulers of the ↗Mammädočč dynasty, as well as the chiefs of Gärfa, a district north of Qallu, also adopted the title. The last I. of the Mammädočč family was Muḥammad ʿAlī, known after his conversion to Christianity as ↗Mikaʾel ʿAlī. His rival, I.

Amäde Libän ("Abba Watäw"), converted with the name Ḫaylä Maryam.

I. has also been used as a proper name, taking in Wällo the form Yəmam (e.g., *ras* ↗Yəmam Gugsa), used also by local Christians.

Src.: DonHaySirat; WagFath.

Lit.: CerIslam; CLÉMENT HUART, "Imām", in: *EI* vol. 3, 473–74; HusIslam 116-25; WILFRED MADELUNG, "Imāma", in: *EI²* vol. 3, 1163–69; JOHN PEDERSEN, "Masd̲jid", *ibid.* vol. 6, 645–77, here 674f. ("The Personnel of the Mosque: Imām"); EWALD WAGNER, "Imamat und Sultanat in Harar. Ein Beitrag zur Auseinandersetzung zwischen religiösem und weltlichem Herrschaftsanspruch in islamischen Randgebieten", *Saeculum* 26, 1975, 283–92.

Hussein Ahmed

Imola, da ↗Franciscans

Imperial Bodyguard

After becoming Regent and Heir to the throne in 1916, *ras* Täfäri Makʷännən (↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I) arranged for several Russian military officers (↗Russia) to train Ethiopian troops (↗Army). A year later, he formed the Imperial Guard (in 1929 renamed to I.B., **የንጉሥ ጦር**, *yänəguś ṭəbbäqa*; also **የክብር ዘብ**, *yäkəbr zäb*; s. KaneDic 1642) that reported directly to the sovereign despite the fact that it was formally under army command. Ethiopians who had undergone training in the King's African Rifles in Kenya and a few others who had learned soldiering from the Italians in Tripoli staffed the I.B.

In 1929, Ḫaylä Śəllase sought to improve the I.B.'s capabilities by engaging a Belgian military mission to train and to modernize the unit. The following year, ten Belgian officers, led by Major Dothée, arrived in Ethiopia, and eventually established bases in Arsi Aṣbi Täfäri, Däse, Goğğam, Harär, Ǧimma, Sidamo, and Wälläga. By February 1933, the I.B. had some 2,100 ↗infantry and 150 ↗cavalry. In April 1933, a Belgian security team – which included four gendarmes, a cavalry officer, and three army officers – arrived in Ethiopia. The gendarmes and cavalry officer reorganized the police while the army officers, accompanied by two Ethiopian officers who had been trained at France's St. Cyr Academy and 14 non-commissioned officers, established the I.B. Cadet Training Centre at ↗Gobba in Bale.

During the ↗Italian war of 1935–36, the I.B. constituted the most capable unit in the Emperor's armed forces. It consisted of six well-trained and armed infantry battalions and an artillery brigade with some 30 guns. Marshal Pietro ↗Badoglio, commander of Italian forces in Ethiopia, reported that I.B. units were "solid" and its troops enjoyed "high morale and an aggressive spirit". He also noted that, during the battle of Mecan Pass, the I.B. advanced against Italian forces in "rushes" and demonstrated a "remarkable degree of training and contempt of danger".

Gala uniform of the Imperial Bodyguard; photo by Marianne Franke, courtesy of the Staatliches Museum für Völkerkunde München (inv. no. 00–322 980 a–c)

However, in late 1935, Stuart Emeny, correspondent with the *News-Chronicle*, reported that the I.B.'s elite status had alienated irregular Ethiopian forces at Däbrä Bərhan, primarily because the former had "smart uniforms and superior equipment". The relentless Italian military campaign also slowly eroded the I.B.'s capabilities. By April 1936, the unit was in a state of disintegration.

When *aṣe* Ḫaylä Śəllase returned to Ethiopia from exile in Britain in 1941, the I.B. already had recruited some 2,000 personnel from refugee camps in Djibouti, Egypt, Kenya, and Sudan. Ḫaylä Śəllase appointed ↗Mulugeta Buli as commander of the revived I.B., which participated in the final allied offensive against Italian forces.

In 1955, ↗Mängəśtu Nəway replaced Mulugeta Buli as I.B. commander. During his tenure, Mängəśtu established a state security system and thwarted two coup attempts. He also selected I.B. personnel to serve in the ↗Qañňäw Battal-

ion that in 1951 was deployed to Korea to fight with United Nations forces as part of the United States 7th Division. During the conflict, 120 Ethiopians were killed in action while 536 sustained wounds. In 1960, Mängəśtu facilitated the initial deployment of some 3,000 I.B. personnel to serve with the United Nations Operations in the Congo (UNOC). By 1960, the I.B. numbered about 6,000 personnel who were organized into nine infantry battalions equipped with light armoured vehicles.

Gradually, Mängəśtu became increasingly disenchanted with the Emperor and his policies. Growing national discontent about issues such as hieratic immobility, lack of land reform, growing disparity between rich and poor, antiquated taxation laws, and widespread government corruption eventually convinced Mängəśtu that the Emperor's removal was the only way to facilitate modernization and liberalization.

On 13 December 1960, Mängəśtu Nəway and his younger brother, Gərmame Nəway, staged a coup (↗Coup d'état 1960, s. EAE vol. 2: 1081–82) while Ḫaylä Śəllase was visiting Brazil. However, the Army and the Air Force remained loyal to the Emperor. Within days, it became apparent that the coup had failed. Upon his return to Ethiopia, Ḫaylä Śəllase reorganized the I.B. to prevent further unrest.

The I.B. had a sports club, among members of which were the Olympic champions ↗Abbäbä Biqila and ↗Mammo Wälde. The I.B. jazz band was among the first of the type in Ethiopia; it produced numerous famous musicians (↗Music).

Src.: PIETRO BADOGLIO, *The War in Abyssinia*, London 1936, 143, 145.

Lit.: ARTHUR JAMES BARKER, *The Civilizing Mission: a History of the Italo–Ethiopian War*, New York 1968, 277; JAMES DUGAN – LAURENCE LAFORE, *Days of Emperor and Clown: the Italo–Ethiopian War 1935–1936*, 1973, 266f.; FRANCIS FALCETO, *Abyssinie Swing*, Adis Abäba 2001; HAROLD G. MARCUS, *Haile Sellassie I: the Formative Years, 1892–1936*, Berkeley, CA 1987, 135; PankEcon 562f.; DAVID H. SHINN – THOMAS P. OFCANSKY, *Historical Dictionary of Ethiopia*, Lanham, MD 2004, 219f., 224f.; DAVID ABNER TALBOT, *Haile Selassie I: Silver Jubilee*, The Hague n.d., 277; *Ethiopia: the Official Handbook*, Nairobi 1969, 108.

Thomas P. Ofcansky

Imperial Federal Council

The I.F.C. was a legal body of the Federal Government and the highest administrative unit of the ↗Ethiopian–Eritrean Federation. However, it remained largely theoretic, as from the beginning it was limited in its activities and, against the letter of the Federal Act and of the Eritrean ↗Constitution of 1952, was fully dominated by the Ethiopian government.

The I.F.C. was created by § 5 of the UN Resolution 390 A (V) of 2 December 1950 (the wording being exactly reproduced later by the Federal Act and the Eritrean Constitution). It was decided, that the I.F.C. would be "composed of equal numbers of Ethiopian and Eritrean representatives" and should "advise upon the common affairs of the Federation". It was supposed to meet at least once a year. The I.F.C. was then established by the "Imperial Federal Council Order" of 11 September 1952. Five of its ten members were to be citizens of Eritrea, selected by the Eritrean Chief Executive (↗Tädla Bayru), and the other five designated by a Special Decree of the Emperor. The ten members of the I.F.C. were announced in the ↗*Nägarit Gazeṭa* of 30 December 1952, with later changes also being gazetted in the same journal (Marein 1955:22f., 48).

The "affairs of the Federation", which fell under the advisory competence of the I.F.C., were defined through the competence of the Federal Government. § 3 of the Resolution (and § 3 of the Federal Act) specified that the Federal Government would be responsible for defence, foreign affairs, currency and finance, and foreign

Ratification of the Eritrean Constitution of 11 August 1952 by *aṣe* Ḫaylä Śəllase I (on the right Prime Minister Aklilu Habtä Wäld); photo from ZREtra 359

and international commerce and communication (cp. Guggenheim et al. 1952:25). The jurisdiction of both the Ethiopian and Eritrean governments would extend to all matters not vested in the Federal Government. The Federal Government, according to § 5, would integrate Eritreans into its executive, judicial and legislative branches according to the proportion of the Eritrean population. However, no detail-provisions were set up how the federal legislature, judiciary and executive would be established apart from the Ethiopian government. Therefore, the Federal Act, with its very general provisions, remained the main source for the competences of the Federal Government (contrary to the provisions of the Federal Act, the Ethiopian Constitution of 1931 was then even made applicable to Eritrea by Order No. 6/1952, s. Marein 1955:23).

After UN Resolution 390 A (V) of 2 December 1950 the drafting process of the Eritrean Constitution had started under the UN High Commissioner for Eritrea (Eduardo ↗Anze Matienzo); in his meetings with Eritrean representatives he stressed that Eritrea would receive a democratic government and full autonomy within the federal system. The governments of Ethiopia and Eritrea would be distinct from the Federal Government; the authority of the Eritrean government would "emanate from the Eritrean people" (s. his Final Report, Anze Matienzo 1952, § 194). A group of legal experts studying the Resolution and the Federal Act confirmed that the sovereignty of the Ethiopian Crown would not entail the right to change the jurisdictions of the Federation (ibid. § 203). In the process of drafting of the Constitution, however, due to difficult discussions with the Ethiopian government, this distinction was not clearly regulated by the Eritrean Constitution, which came into force in September 1952. The wording of article 3 of the Constitution (and § 1 of the Federal Act) that the federation would be placed "under the sovereignty of the Ethiopian Crown" meant that the Emperor would lead the Federal Government; in practice the Ethiopian Government took over the task of a federal government, the I.F.C. becoming therefore nothing more than an advisory body within the Ethiopian Government.

The Final Report of the UN High Commissioner underlines that the sovereignty of the Ethiopian Crown confirms the formal unity of the Federation, meaning that the Federal Government would be able to act "in the name of the Emperor" (ibid. § 204); on the international level the Ethiopian Empire would not be replaced by a new entity (ibid., § 202; s. also Guggenheim et al. 1952:24). This was the practical reason which made any procedure against breaches of the Eritrean Constitution (by the Imperial Representative in Eritrea, the Eritrean government itself or the Emperor) impossible, even if it was stated several times before 1952 that the UN General Assembly could be ceased on such matters (e.g., Guggenheim et al. 1952:20–23). Already by the first election period of the ↗Eritrean Assembly the I.F.C. ceased to be of any practical importance.

Src.: "Imperial Federal Council Order", Order No. 8/1952, *Nägarit Gazeta* 11 September 1952; "General Notice No. 156", *ibid.* 30 December 1952; "General Notice No. 162", *ibid.* 28 February 1953.

Lit.: [EDUARDO ANZE MATIENZO], *Final Report of the UN High Commissioner for Eritrea*, [Asmara 1952]; [ID.], *Report of the United Nations Commission for Eritrea*, General Assembly, Official Records: Fifth Session, Supplement No. 8 (A–1258); [PAUL GUGGENHEIM – IVOR JENNINGS – JAN VOLKERT RIJPPERDA WIERDSMA], *Questions juridiques relatives à l'exécution de la résolution de l'Assemblée générale du 2 décembre 1950 concernant l'Érythrée, Rapport général du groupe de juristes réuni à Genève du 22 novembre au 20 décembre 1951*, Nations Unies, Assemblée générale, A/AC.44/SC.1/R.1, [New York] 20 janvier 1952, 27; NATHAN MAREIN, *The Ethiopian Empire, Federation and Laws*, Rotterdam 1955, 22f., 48; ZRErtra 359 (ill.).

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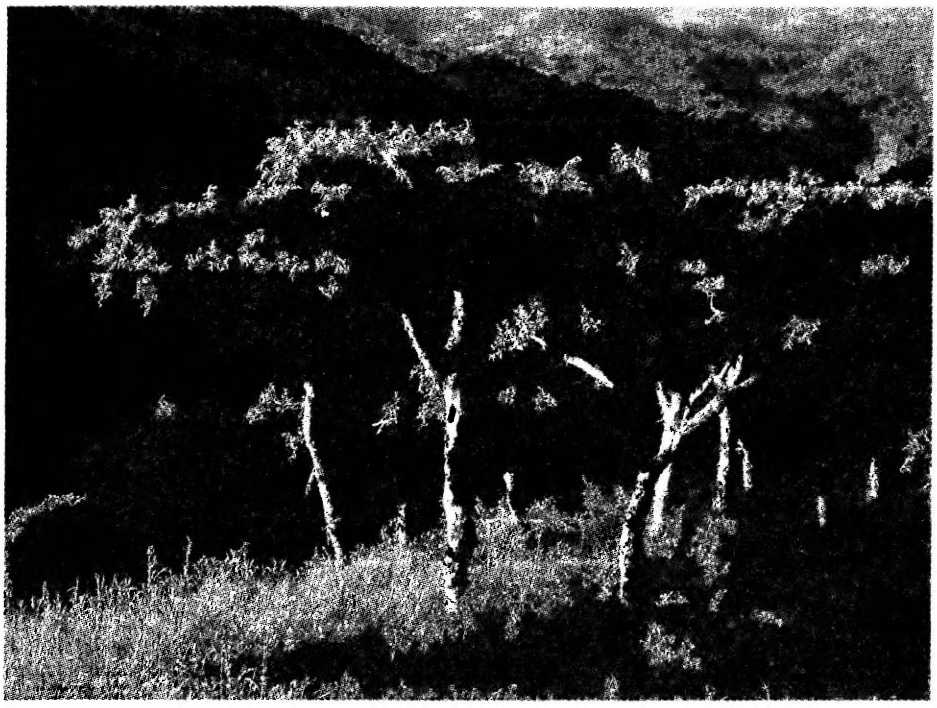
Incense

Historical background

I. (from Late Lat. *incensum*, 'burnt [matter]') is both a substance (often a mixture of aromatic gums, resins and spices) producing a fragrant smell when burned and the perfume and/or smoke thereof. Restrictively, it applies to the particular gums and resins that are, as a rule, I.'s main ingredients.

I. gums and resins are usually exuded by various species of I.-trees on incision of their bark. The most widely used sorts of I. are frankincense and myrrh – along with gold, the traditional gifts of the ↗Magi. Frankincense, or I. by excellence, is a resin of diverse *Boswellia* trees (native to ↗Arabia, ↗Soqotra, East Africa and ↗India); only two species of the genus, *B. Carteri* and *B. sacra*, release "true frankincense" – the commodity so highly appreciated in ancient times, when it was mainly burnt in honour of the gods, at funerals, and in private homes, and used as a



Incense trees of the species *Boswellia papyrifera* (Del.) in the mountains of Tämben above the Wärᶜi river, Təgray; photo 2005, courtesy of Wolbert Smidt

medicine, a spice for food or drinks as well as, to a lesser extent, in perfumery (Crone 1987:12f., 52ff.). Six varieties of *Boswellia* are known from Ethiopia and Eritrea, the main ones being *B. papyrifera* (bitter frankincense, Amh. **እጣን፡ ዛፍ** *əṭan zaf*, **መቅር** *mäqär*, Orom. *galgalem*, *kafal*, Tgn. *mäqär*, Har. *libānät*) and *B. rivae* (incense tree, Amh. *əṭan zaf*, Orom. *qura*).

Yielded by various species of *Commiphora* (native to Somalia and Arabia), of the same Burseraceae family as *Boswellia*, myrrh (Gəᶜəz, Amh. **ከርቤ**, *kärbe*) was used as an I., or an ingredient therein, and esp. in the manufacture of ointments, perfumes, and medicines, as well as in embalming, and was at periods prized much higher than frankincense. Other *Commiphora* trees (native to Somalia and India) produce an I. called bdellium, often regarded as a type of myrrh (Crone 1987:13, 53f., 67–70). In Ethiopia and Eritrea both myrrh-producing (e.g., *Commiphora myrrha*, *C. Gileadensis* and *C. Habessinica*, Orom. *čallanga/čallanqa*, Amh. *anqʷa*) and bdellium-producing species (*C. Erythraea*, Orom. *hagarsuu*, Somali *ḥagar* [*xagar*], and *C. africana*, Amh. *anqʷa*) are found.

A number of plants whose wood or bark is employed as I. (e.g., sandalwood *Santalum album*, Amh. *sändäl*), are also found in the Ethio-Eritrean region (s. Göttsch 1986:84ff.; VSAe II 102f.).

The Gəᶜəz word for I., **ዕጣን** (*ᶜəṭan*), applied both to I. in its broad meaning (corresponding to Gr. *thymíama*) and to frankincense (Gr. *libanōtós*; s. DillmLex 1018). Probably related to Semitic **ᶜṭr*, 'perfume, scent, incense' (s. Banti – Contini 1997:175), it passed into all modern Ethio-Semitic and a few Cushitic languages.

Another Gəᶜəz designation of I., **ልጦን** (*ləbn*), is used (often in collocation: *mayä ləbn*, lit. 'water/sap of the *l.*') to render Gr. *staktḗ* 'aromatic resin/oil' (lit. 'oozing out in drops [vz. myrrh]'); but also, at least once, Gr. *styrakínē* (*rhábdos*), '(rod/bar) of storax' (DillmLex 42f.), i.e., of either *Styrax officinalis*, of the Storacaceae family, or *Liquidambar orientalis*, of the Hamamelidaceae – the latter tree, native of the eastern Mediterranean, yielding an I. called storax (exported to Arabia, as well; s. Sima 2000:271 and n. 49). Gəᶜəz *ləbn* is in fact related to Semitic terms for frankincense (e.g., Arab. *lubān*, Hebrew *lᵊḇōnâ*) and storax (Arab. *lubnā*, Qatabanic *lbny*; ibid., 271f.; Bulakh 2006:189f.).

As general names for I., Gəᶜəz *ᶜəṭan* and *ləbn* were, at a certain point, interchangeable, as indicated by the alternative form Ǝṭanä Dəngəl (which is behind ↗Giovio's "Atanadingil") for the royal name ↗Ləbnä Dəngəl. Further term for I., **ስጋን** (*səḫin*), was derived from the verb **ስጎነ/ ስጎነ** (*səḫnä/säḫanä*, 'to become warm'; DillmLex 367f.).

I. was an important commercial good since ancient times. Called *ᶜntyw* ('frankincense' or 'myrrh') by the Egyptians, it was one of their significant imports from the land of ↗Punt, i.e. ↗Somalia (s. Groom 1981:22–29; Müller 1978:739f.). Frankincense was known as *líbanos* (Sem. *LBN*) or *libanōtós* (Sem. *LBNT*) in Greek, but also as *thýos*, borrowed as *t(h)us* (the pl., *tura*, meaning just 'aromatics') in Latin. Along with myrrh (Gr. *smýrna/-ē*, Lat. *murra* or *myrrha*), it held a considerable place in the classical world, particularly in Rome (from archaic symposia and funeral rituals to medicine and imperial cult, s. Treitinger 1938:67–71; De Romanis 1997), where it was primarily imported from South Arabia.

In Ethiopia, I. altars and burners found at the archaeological sites of ↗Mälazo, ↗Yəḥa, ↗ᶜAddi Gälämo, ↗Mäṭära, Darᵓa, ↗ᶜAddi Kramatən ᶜAddi Käwəḥ (all being settlements where the strong South Arabian cultural component is present) prove that in pre-Aksumite cultures the ceremonial use of I. was known (Fattovich 1990:6; RIÉ 39-46). A South Arabian origin was rightly proposed for an I. burner from Yəḥa (Anfray 1963). This draws attention to the relationship between the western coast of the Red Sea and the main areas of I. production and export – historical ↗Ḥaḍramawt, i.e. the easternmost kingdom of Arabia, and esp. the adjoining Ḏufār (Ẓufār), i.e. the southern region of today's Oman (Morris 1997). Around the mid of the 1st cent. A.D., the ↗*Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* speaks of "aloe and frankincense" as typical Arabian products, and of Kanē, i.e. Qaniᶜ (or Qanaᶜ) in Ḥaḍramawt, as the sole port for shipping frankincense, some of which, under special circumstances, was also carried out of Móscha Limēn, i.e. Khor Rori (Ḫawr Rawrī) in Ḏufār (§ 28f. and 32, ed. Frisk 1927:9 and 11).

For a short time, in the 3rd cent., Aksum exerted suzerainty, if not always direct control, over the fertile and populous southern highlands of Arabia (↗Ḥimyar), as it was again in the 6th cent., following the military expeditions of *nəguś* ↗Kaleb Ǝllä Aṣbəḥa (↗Nağrān). These were both an attempt at recovering a lost province and a peripheral episode of the international struggle between the Byzantine Empire and the Sasanians for the monopoly of long distance trade – in which I. had a major share.

As already suggested by the Egyptian intercourses with Punt, and again by the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* (§ 8, ed. Frisk 1927:3), Somalia was also important for gathering and selling I. since the beginning of the "spice ↗trade", in the 7th cent. B.C. There, frankincense is still extracted from *Boswellia Carteri* (Somali *moḥor* [*moxor*]) and *B. Frereana* (Somali *yagᶜar* [*yagcar*]) trees; myrrh and bdellium from *Commiphora myrrha* (Somali *ḍeddin* [*dheddin*]) and, respectively, *C. Erythraea* (Somali *hadi*) trees.

On a lesser scale, I. could also be obtained from other areas of the Horn of Africa, namely ↗Təgray and Eritrea, where it is even now harvested from the stunted resin-bearing trees growing there. Such toponyms as Liban or Libän, found both here – e.g., a village and district near Ḥəmbərti – and in South Arabia (*LBNT*), should they be etymologically connected with frankincense, might well plead for an ancient presence of I. trees in the relevant areas (s. Conti Rossini 1931:172; Müller 1978:703; cp. Banti – Contini 1997:172f.). A similar toponym could be *ᶜəṭan zorä* (lit. 'the incense went around') appearing in a few Gəᶜəz and Təgrəñña documents where it also designates, however, a form of land grant (s. Bausi 2001:150f. and nn. 18–20).

A strategic location across the Red Sea, opposite to the south-west of Arabia, and a growing involvement in Roman and then Byzantine politics granted Aksum, with its "port of trade" of Adulis (Fiaccadori 2004:112, 118ff., 128, 137f., 154), a unique position within the vast trade network covering the countries between the Mediterranean Sea and the Indian Ocean (Id. 1992:45–48 and passim, figs. 5–6 [xxviii, xxx]), and including the I. route that ran along the western edge of Arabia's central desert (the ancient country of the Gebbanitae), from Šabwa(t) in Ḥaḍramawt to the north of Sinai and the town of Gaza (Crone 1987:17–26, 37ff., 42–45) – which is indeed tied to ↗Makədda in Ethiopic tradition. Along this inland caravan route "in sixty-five stages divided by halts for camels" (Pliny, *Nat. hist.*, XII, 30, 54 and 32, 63f., ed. Rackham 1945:38 and 44, 46), not only did the Arabs – chiefly Minaean, Gerrhean and Nabatean distributors and cameleers – bring I. to the Roman market, but thwy also transported spices, gold, ivory, pearls, precious stones, textiles and other goods, all of which arrived at the local ports from Africa, India, and the Far East.

Greek writers of the Roman and Byzantine periods attest to frankincense's pivotal role among the products of Aksumite trade. In the 1st cent. B.C., the geographer Artemidorus, whose lost work is partially embodied in ↗Strabo's, compares the immense traffic along the desert routes to that of an army: the Sabaean merchants "trade in aromatics, both the local kinds and those from Ethiopia; to get the latter they sail across the straits in leathern boats" (*Geogr.*, XVI, 4, 19, ed. Jones 1930:346, 348). From Somalia, I. seems to have been transferred to Qaniᶜ and then exported to the north along with South Arabian produce (Groom 1981:147). For the 6th cent., however, ↗Cosmas Indicopleustes informs that from "Barbaria", i.e. Somalia, "most aromatics", namely "casia, sweet flag, and many others", were shipped to Adulis (*Top. Christ.*, II, 49, ed. Wolska-Conus 1968:358), which played a central rôle in the regional commercial network, being

at the head of the subsequent sea and land trade route to (and from) the Nile delta (Fiaccadori 2004:121, 126).

This old political and commercial system, with its Indian Ocean extension, suffered greatly, from the 570s, because of the Sasanian presence in Yemen (↗Iran) and, before that, owing to a heavy reduction in I. demand by the Roman market (Crone 1987:27ff.). It was finally to collapse, as no longer of economic consequence to the Mediterranean world, by the mid-7th cent. The subsequent expansion of Islam into the Red Sea and to Egypt, and the ensuing diversion of traffic to the Persian Gulf and the overland routes of Arabia (ibid. 26–29), sealed the decline of Aksum, too, as a trading and maritime power.

I. fortunes would not revive to a recognizable level until the 9th cent., as did sea-trade in the western Indian Ocean, yet with a quite different orientation (on the Persian Gulf and the new Abbasid capital, Bagdad), the Ethio-Eritrean region being unable to resume its old role. Following the inland retreat of the Christian kingdom, I. trade transformed itself, rather, into a local African issue, the main historical markets for it and related products becoming, over the next several centuries, ↗Berbera, ↗Zaylaᶜ and ↗Mäqälä.

At the beginning of the 17th cent., myrrh and frankincense – the former at least being exported, inter alia, from Somalia (Zaylaᶜ and Mogadishu) to the Arabian trade port of al-Mūḫa (s. DonMurad 52) – ranged among the stuff "of little value" and "null importance", at the lowest grade in the list of average prices for aromatics (Brouwer 2007:81f., 89). Myrrh was also exported from Zaylaᶜ to Massawa (DonMurad 143).

Src.: KAROLUS CONTI ROSSINI, *Chrestomathia Arabica meridionalis epigraphica*, Roma 1931, 172; DillmLex 42f., 367f., 1018; DonMurad 52, 102, 143; HJIALMAR FRISK (ed.), *Périple de la mer Érythrée*, Göteborg 1927 (Göteborgs Högskolas Årsskrift 33, 1), 3, 9, 11 = LIONEL CASSON (tr.), *The Periplus Maris Erythraei*, Princeton, NJ 1989, 3f., 9–12; PLINY, *Natural History*, IV: *Lb. XII–XVI*, ed., tr. by HARRIS RACKHAM, Cambridge, MA – London 1945 [repr. ³1968] (The Loeb Classical Library 370), 38, 44, 46 (text) = 39, 45, 47 (tr.); *The Geography of Strabo* VII: *Books XV–XVI*, ed., tr. by HORACE LEONARD JONES (ed., tr.), Cambridge, MA – London 1930 [repr. ³1966] (The Loeb Classical Library 241), 346, 348 (text) = 347, 349 (tr.); RIÉ 39-46; VSAe II 102f.; WANDA WOLSKA-CONUS (ed., tr.), *Cosmas Indicopleustès, Topographie chrétienne*, vol. 1, Paris 1968 (Sources chrétiennes 141), 358 (text) = 359 (tr.).

Lit.: FRANCIS ANFRAY, "Note sur les brûle-parfum antiques d'Ethiopie", *Bollettino dell'Istituto di Studi Etiopici* (Asmara) 3, 1963, 1–4 and figs. 1–3; ALESSANDRA AVANZINI (ed.), *Profumi d'Arabia. Atti del Convegno*, Roma 1997; AZENE BEKELE-TESEMMA, *Useful Trees and Shrubs for Ethiopia*, Nairobi 1993; GIORGIO BANTI – RICCARDO CONTINI, "Names of Aromata in Semitic and Cushitic Languages", in: AVANZINI 1997, 169–92; ALESSANDRO BAUSI, "Documents collected during field work in Eritrea (1992–94). Dabra Māryām, Dabra Bizan, Dabra Libanos, Abuna Beḏu'a Amlāk, Dabra Marqorēwos", in: ID. – GIANNI DORE – IRMA TADDIA (eds.), *Materiale antropologico e storico sul «rim» in Etiopia ed Eritrea/Anthropological and Historical documents on «rim» in Ethiopia and Eritrea*, Torino 2001, 141–54, here 150f. and nn. 18–20; CORNELIS GERARDUS BROUWER, "Sweet-Scented Shipments: Frankincense and Other Aromatics Landed and Loaded in al-Mukha (1st Quarter of the 17th Century)", *BiOr* 64, 2007, 63–97, here 81f., 89; PATRICIA CRONE, *Meccan Trade and the Rise of Islam*, Princeton, NJ 1987, 28, 53 n. 9; MARIA BULAKH, "Basic Color Terms of Biblical Hebrew in Diachronic Aspect", *Babel und Bibel* 3, 2006 [2007], 181–216; FEDERICO DE ROMANIS, *Cassia, Cinnamomo, Ossidiana. Uomini e merci tra oceano Indiano e Mediterraneo*, Roma 1996 (Saggi di Storia antica 9), 62ff.; ID., "*Tus* e *murra*: aromi sudarabici nella Roma arcaica", in: AVANZINI 1997, 221–30; RODOLFO FATTOVICH, "Remarks on the Pre-Aksumite Period in Northern Ethiopia", *JES* 23, 1990, 1–33; GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, *Teofilo Indiano*, Ravenna 1992 (Biblioteca di «Felix Ravenna» 7), 45–48 and passim, figs. 5–6 (xxviii, xxx); ID., "Sembrouthes 'gran re' (*DAE* IV 3 = *RIÉth* 275). Per la storia del primo ellenismo aksumita", *La Parola del Passato* 59, 2004 [2005], 105–57, here 112, 118–21, 126, 128, 137f., 154 (Lit.); ADRIANO FIORI, "Boschi ed ordinamento forestale nell'Eritrea", in: FERDINANDO MARTINI – OLINTO MARINELLI (eds.), *L'Eritrea economica* [...], Novara – Roma 1913, 353–73, here 363; EGGERT GÖTTSCH, "Traditional Aromatic and Perfume Plants in Central Ethiopia", *JES* 19, 81–85; NIGEL GROOM, *Frankincense and Myrrh: a Study of the Arabian Incense Trade*, London – New York 1981; BERND HEINE – MATTHIAS BRENZINGER, *Plants of the Borana (Ethiopia and Kenya)*, Saarbrücken – Fort Lauderdale 1988 (Plants concepts and plant use 4); GIANFRANCESCO LUSINI, [review of Avanzini 1997], *RSE* 41, 1997 [1998], 109–12; DIETER MARTINETZ – KARLHEINZ LOHS – JÖRG LANZEN, *Weihrauch und Myrrhe. Kulturgeschichte und wirtschaftliche Bedeutung: Botanik, Chemie, Medizin*, Stuttgart 1989; MIRANDA MORRIS, "The Harvesting of Frankincense in Dhofar", in: AVANZINI 1997, 231–47; WALTER W. MÜLLER, *Weihrauch: Ein arabisches Produkt und seine Bedeutung in der Antike*, München 1978; MICHAEL PFEIFER, *Der Weihrauch: Geschichte, Bedeutung, Verwendung*, Regensburg 1997 (Lit.); ALEXANDER SIMA, *Tiere, Pflanzen, Steine und Metalle in den altsüdarabischen Inschriften*, Wiesbaden 2000 (Veröffentlichungen der Orientalischen Komission 46), 271f. and n. 49.

Maria Bulakh – Gianfranco Fiaccadori

Use of incense

I. produces its typical perfumed smoke when burnt on charcoal, either in fixed burners or, as prescribed by Church practice, in portable censers (↗*Maᶜəṭänt*) – live coals (*fəḥm*), then, being often made from ↗acacia wood. The I. burner for private (profane) use is normally made of clay, and is an open vessel with a decorated or glazed foot.

I. is used in Christianity, Islam and other religions in the Horn of Africa. Widely used as a

↗trade item, both in the inner and outer markets, I. is frequently sold or exchanged even by clergymen (PankSoc 47, 50, 252). Frankincense is one of the important export goods in Ethiopia, though the largest share of the product is consumed inside the country. Whereas the overall production is estimated at over 30,000 tons annually, from 1995 to 2000 Ethiopia exported between 800 and 1,800 tons of I. per year, mainly to Europe and the Near East.

Several grades of quality of frankincense are recognized on local markets, mainly according to the colour of the resin: white (the highest quality), black (older resin, lower quality) and red (low quality, can contain pieces of wood). Frankincense is also classifiable according to its origin, e.g., Təgrayan'(good quality), Asmära (somewhat lower quality, black), Ogaden (low quality, used in perfumery) etc. The highest quality (whitest) grains are offered for worship in the church. Medium quality frankincense used in the home is often referred to in Amharic as *set ʿəṭan* ('ladies' I.'). Mixtures of various aromatic materials can be employed as substitutes for frankincense, as a low quality I. called *məṭṭən ʿəṭan* ('measured I.'). Mixtures based on frankincense are especially popular among Ethiopian Muslims. Two most widely used sorts are *lubanǧa* (high-quality mix imported from South Arabia, Djibouti, Somalia), and *misketi* (produced in ↗Dərre Dawa; among its ingredients are *lubanǧa*, sugar, and sandalwood powder). In Harär I., called *mustaka*, is used for chewing.

There are hints that I. was used in the rituals of ↗traditional religions, vehemently fought by the Church (cp., for instance, the Acts of ↗Fəre Mikaʾel, reports how the saint found I. of "sorcerers" and destroyed it; Turaiev 1905:8 [text]). In the Ethiopian highlands, the clergy exhort people to use sandalwood to perfume their homes and preserve the use of frankincense for church worship (cf. Ex 30:37–38). Still, I. is often used for divination; it is related to the domestic cult of the *adbar* ↗spirits. Since the mid-20th cent., I. has been an essential component of the Təgrayan and Amhara ↗coffee ceremony (with priests blessing the smoke to make sure it is directed to God).

The ↗Arbore in southern Ethiopia use I. in the ceremonies of the *ayaan* cult. It is burnt to protect the houses. Small amounts of I. (*gudunte*) are worn wrapped in cloth by members of certain clans to protect against cursing, to bring well-being and to give the power to bless. Additionally, little pieces of I. can be spit onto people, sacrificed animals and places to bless them.

I. is also widely used in the practices of Islam, its use deemed to be recommended by the *sunna* of the Prophet ↗Muḥammad where the *ḥadīṯ* enforce the (limited) use of perfume. I. is burnt in ↗mosques during the daily and Friday prayers. The tradition of ↗Harär encourages people to give thanks to God at dusk, and ask him to remember the dead of those whose names they spell out on offering I. at the bottom of certain trees and rocks (the *iǧāb*). As the cheapest and most widely available type of offering, I. is a central item in the veneration of Harari saints (↗*Āw*). I. is brought to the saints' shrines during the *ziyāra* (↗Pilgrimage), and is constantly burnt during prayers, in order to please the saints. Burning I. is usually the task of the *murīd*, the shrine leader. I. is regularly burnt at socially appropriate times and generally accompanies short *duwā* (Arab. *duʿāʾ*) prayers. It is credited with the ability to establish connection to the spiritual world, accelerate the speed of prayers reaching their destination, facilitate communication with the spirits, and gladden angels responsible for opening the gates to heaven. Smoke rising from I. is believed to have the power to dispel evil, drive demons away, and safeguard a person's life and property. It is an indispensable element of the *mistiǧāb*, i.e. the ritual of "feeding the deceased", which takes place at the end of the day. Usually performed by the eldest female in the household, the ceremony includes placing the I. burner at the doorway of the main room and throwing I. onto the hot coals, accompanying these gestures by prayers for forgiveness (Gibb 2006:130).

Src.: WOLF LESLAU, *Etymological Dictionary of Harari*, Berkeley, CA – Los Angeles, CA 1963 (University of California Publications in Near Eastern Studies 1), 22, 113; BORYSSUS TURAIEV (ed., tr.), *Gadla Fəre Mika'el, Acta Sancti Fere Mika'el*, Romae 1905 (CSCO 35, 36 [SAe 18, 19]), 8 (text) = 7 (tr.).

Lit.: GIRMA FISSEHA (ed.), *Äthiopien: Christentum zwischen Orient und Afrika*, München 2002, 135; PankSoc 47, 50, 252; CAMILLA GIBB, *In the City of Saints: Religion, Politics and Gender in Harar, Ethiopia*, Ph.D. thesis, Oxford 1996, 109–34 [ch. 7]; EAD. – CELIA ROTHENBERG, "Believing Women: Harari and Palestinian Women at Home and in the Canadian Diaspora", *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs* 20, 2, 2000, 243–59, here 248; EGGERT GÖTTSCH, "Traditional Aromatic and Perfume Plants in Central Ethiopia", *JES* 19, 1986, 81–90 (Lit.); PankSoc 47, 50, 252; UWE PFULLMANN – UWE SCHLEGELMILCH, "Städte der Weihrauchstraße", *Übersee-Magazin. Menschen, Völker und Kulturen* 13, 1999, 6–26.

Kerstin Volker-Saad – Red.

Use of incense in the liturgy of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church

Although strictly forbidden in the worship of the early Church because of its association with "pagan" worship, especially of the Roman emperor, the use of I. spread throughout the Christian world soon after Constantine allowed freedom for the Church (313). By the end of the century, a sig-nificant change of attitude began that led to the full integration of I. into Christian liturgical practice – probably, more for secular than for religious purposes, as a means to create pleasing odours at banquets and funerals (Taft 1978:150). To this fumigatory use, others were soon added: honorific, when objects (such as icons, gifts, or the altar), or persons are censed in veneration; exorcistic, clearing away evil spirits (e.g., from the church, censed at the beginning of a service); oblationary, when I. is burnt in offering, as a sign of propitiation, according to a notion esp. found in Syrian and Coptic traditions.

The Church developed her liturgy in continuity with the O.T., fulfilling its typology in her rites on the basis of the biblical text, although not literally: e.g., the preparation of I. (Ex 30:34–39); the burning of I. every morning and evening (Ex 30:1–10); the symbolism of the glowing coal (Is 6:6); the association of the fragrant perfume rising up with the prayers of the saints ascending to God (Rev 5:8; 8:3–4); the evocation of the bloodless sacrifice of the ↗Eucharist offered with sincerity throughout the world (Mal 1:11 quoted in the Anaphora of St. Mark); the sacrifice of Zechariah (Lk 1:11). Ps 141:1 ("O Lord, I have cried towards you, ... Let my prayer go up like incense, an evening sacrifice"), always linked with evening services, is also quoted at the "blessing of I." in each service. I. emphasizes the rapport obtained between the liturgy accomplished here and now and the heavenly liturgy (Rev 4-5). In the Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church, as in all other Eastern Churches, I. is compulsory at every service – with the exception of the rites of Penance (↗*Nəssəḥa*) and the Reconciliation of Apostates (*Mäṣḥafä* ↗*qedər*). A large church is believed to use up to 150 kg I. per year (mostly frankincense of the highest quality).

I. is indispensable during marriage (↗Matrimony), ↗birth, ↗baptism and ↗funeral rites.

I. is blessed and offered by the priest (or ↗*eppisqoppos* or ↗*qomos*, when present) according to the order of the 'Prayer of I.' (*Ṣälotä ʿəṭan*). Each morning, every church celebrates the *Ṣälotä ʿəṭan* alone or during the ↗*Maḫlet* or ↗*Säʿatat*, according to circumstances; the service is always concluded by the *Ṣälotä kidan* ('Prayer of the Covenant'). On the eve of solemnities, it is done during the ↗*Wazema*. At Mass, the blessing of five selected grains of I., and then the main incensation, using three of them, take place during and after the ↗*Bäʾəntä qəddəsat* litany, resp. Followed by the Liturgy of the Word, this solemn incensation constitutes the last of the ancient Entry rites (MQ 23–27, nos. 99–130; MD 37–43, nos. 98a–130):

1. *Aśərqot* (stating the date of the current service in order to relate it to the Incarnation and Work of Jesus Christ; cf. MD 37, no. 98a).
2. Prayer (MD 37, no. 99).
3. Invocations (MD 37, nos. 100–02).
4. Blessing of the five grains of I. (MD 37f., nos. 102–04).
5. Laying of three grains of I. and first I. offering (MD 38, nos. 105–07).
6. Prayer of the I. (MD 38f., nos. 108–10).
7. Triple intercession around the altar for the Church, the hierarchy, and the assembly (MD 39, nos. 111–17).
8. Dialogues and Hymn of the "Golden Censer" (MD 40f., nos. 118–122).
9. Solemn incensation of the altar and the four corners, the bishop and priests, the doors, and finally around the altar and the offerings (MD 41ff., nos. 123–30).

Each major offering of I. is an act of adoration of the Holy Trinity: when the priests either turn towards the four corners of the church, or stand before the altar and walk around it, or walk round to each of the doors of the building. According to oral tradition, the latter, unique to the Ethiopian Church, represents either the adoration of the faithful which has risen to heaven (Rev 8:3-4), or their veneration of the saints represented on the murals and the icons. There are usually three entrances to the church, corresponding to the categories of the faithful modelled after Noah as priest, his male, and female relatives when they boarded the Ark. The I. offering at the northern door carries to heaven prayers of men; at the southern, of women, at the centre of the *qəne maḫlet*, of the clergy.

Since St. ↗Ephrem (d. 373), I. has also been offered for the expiation of sins (e.g., MD 37f., 47, nos. 99, 102, 105, 151), particularly in Syrian and Alexandrine contexts (Taft 1978:150; cf. Ligier 1963:24–48), but also in Ethiopian tradition. In Orthodox theology, though I. symbolizes the believers' entreaty for forgiveness, the latter is actually granted through Jesus Christ's work of redemption made present for the congregation in

the Eucharist. I. symbolically expresses the expiatory character of the Eucharist; in no way, however, is it meant to replace or parallel the Eucharist. The "pure I." that is offered represents the pure prayer coming out of pure hearts; these prayers are answered by God through the communion in the Eucharistic flesh and blood of Jesus Christ whereby communion with God is achieved.

The fourth grain of I. blessed at Mass is offered as an act of reverence to the Gospel book before it is read; the fifth grain, as an act of reverence to the Eucharistic bread and wine, generally before the Institution Narrative (MD 52f., no. 188; 73, no. 34). The priest also offers I.: after the reading from the *Acts of the ↗Apostles*, during the hymn *Zəwəʾətu gize* ('This is the Time ...'), as he recites the "Prayer of the Gospel", and again before the Creed (MD 47–50, 51, 63, nos. 151–73; IV, 28ff.). The assistant priest incenses for most of the remaining time: going to and from the *betäleḥem*, accompanying the Gospel before and during its reading, during the *Särawitä mäläʾəktihu* ('The Hosts of the Angels'; MD 77, nos. 63–65), the *əgziʾota* (MD 81, nos. 92–93), and whenever he is free from any other work. Finally, the priest perfumes his hands with I. before he blesses each member of the congregation after the final blessing.

It is worth noting that, during the celebration of the Ninth Hour of Good Friday, frankincense is replaced with myrrh (*kärbe*), in keeping with the Gospel account on the death of Jesus (cf. Mk 15:23; Jn 19:39; *Wəddase Maryam*, strophe 3 of Thursday; VelMe I, 84; II, 291; cf. Mt 2:11).

Only bishops and priests may hold the censer by its top for offering I., as Aaron did in the O.T., and the Heavenly Priests (s. *↗Kəhnät*) in the N.T. Likened to the Levites, deacons may help with the coals or with carrying the container of I. (*muday*), but not with offering I., since it is a significant liturgical function. Disobedience to this rule is liable to punishment, and the *↗Andəmta* recalls instances in which individuals have transgressed it in the past: the *Andəmta* commentary of Cyriacus of Behnesa's Anaphora of Mary (Böll 1998:103f.) mentions how King Uzziah was affected by leprosy (2 Chr 26:19f.) and how the rebellious sons of Korah were swallowed by the earth (Num 16–17:15; mentioned already in the *↗Didəsqəłya*, s. Harden 1920:49, 92).

Src.: ERNST HAMMERSCHMIDT, "Das Sünderbekenntnis über dem Weihrauch bei den Äthiopiern", *OrChr* 43, 1959, 103–09; VERENA BÖLL, *'Unsere Herrin Maria': Die traditionelle äthiopische Exegese der Marienanaphora des Cyriacus von Behnesa*, Wiesbaden 1998 (AeF 48), 103f.; ColSyn VII, 22–25; MARCOS DAOUD (tr.) – MARSIE HAZEN (ed.), *The Liturgy of the Ethiopian Church*, Cairo ²1959 [= MD]; መጽሐፈ፡ ቅዳሴ (*Mäṣḥafä Qəddase*, 'The Book of the Hallowing [Missal]'), ed. by ID., Addis Abäba 1974 A.M. [1981/82 A.D. = MQ]; JOHN MASON HARDEN, *The Ethiopic Didascalia*, London 1920 (S.P.C.K. Translations of Christian Literature, Ser. IV. Oriental Texts), 49, 92; ጸሎተ፡ ዕጣን (*Ṣälotä ʿəṭan*, 'The Prayer of Incense'), ed. by TÄSFA GÄBRÄ ŚƎLLASE, Addis Ababa 1972 A.M. [1979/80 A.D.]; ed. by the PATRIARCHATE OF THE ETHIOPIAN ORTHODOX TÄWAḤƎDO CHURCH, Addis Ababa 1987 A.M. [1994/95 A.D.]; VelMe I, 84, II, 291.

Lit.: EDWARD GODFREY CUTHBERT FREDERIC ATCHLEY, *A History of the Use of Incense in Divine Worship*, London 1909; LOUIS LIGIER, "Pénitence et Eucharistie en Orient. Théologie sur une interférence de prières et de rites", *OrChrP* 29, 1963, 5–78; PankSoc 45f.; ROBERT F. TAFT, *Great Entrance: a History of the Transfer of Gifts and Other Pre-Anaphoral Rites*, Rome ²1978 (OrChrA 200), 150; WOLFGANG ZWICKEL, *Räucherkult und Räuchergeräte: exegetische und archäologische Studien zum Räucheropfer im Alten Testament*, Göttingen 1990.

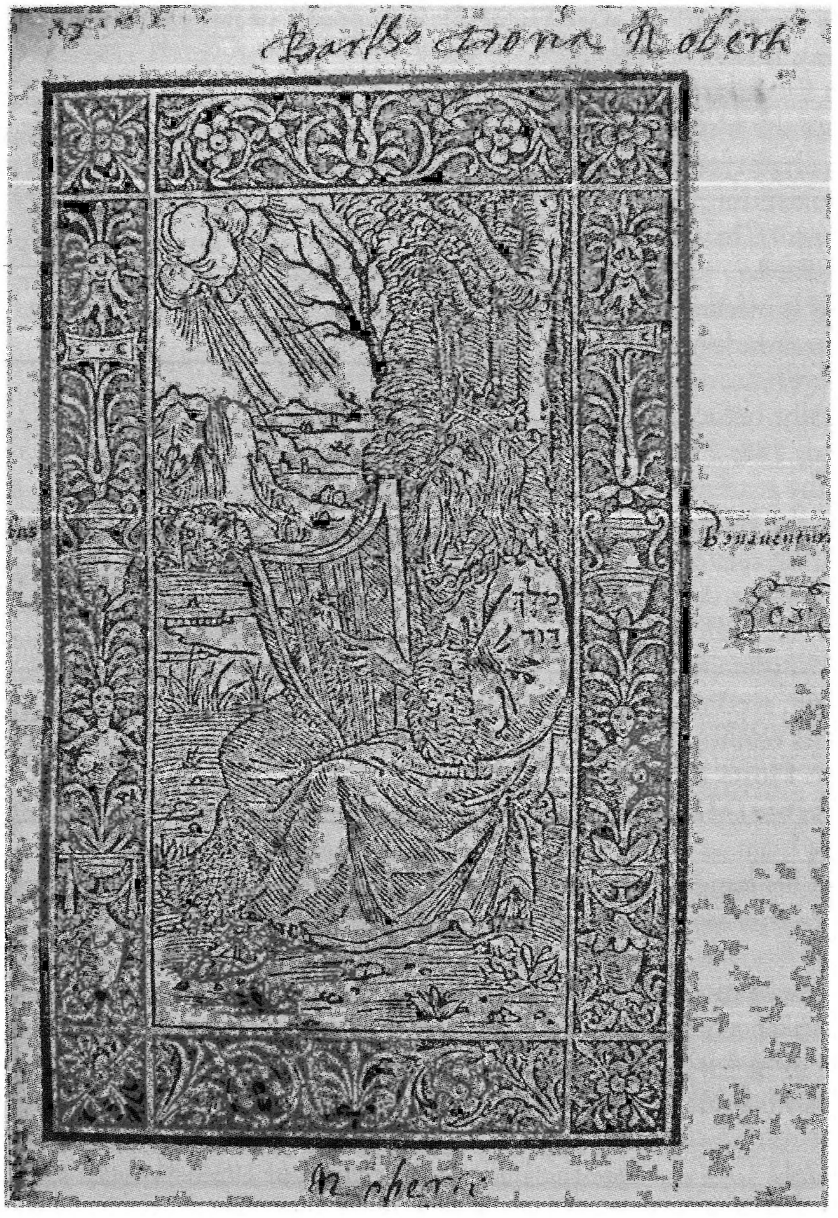
Emmanuel Fritsch

Incunabula

I. (pl. of Late Lat. *incunabulum*, lit. 'swaddling clothes, cradle', hence 'cradle books', i.e. books of the early days of printing) are technically the earliest printed books, dating from the invention of movable type in ca. 1440/50, up to 1500 (or 1520). No such books exist in Ethiopia or in Ethiopic, but the term was effectively usurped by Stephen Wright (1967) to style, with a few arbitrarily limitations, all printed books produced in Ethiopia (including then the former Colonia Eritrea) before the Italian occupation of 1936–41 – the earliest of them dating from 1864.

Originally, the term brings into relief the formative period of typography, with such celebrated 15th-cent. printers as Johann Gensfleisch zum Gutenberg and Aldus Manutius. It is therefore fitting to describe here those books that bear witness to the beginnings and early development of printing with Gəʿəz movable type, albeit issued in Europe, during the 16th cent., which were sometimes designated for circulation within Ethiopia proper (cp. Smitskamp 1992:XLf.).

Early printed books focusing on Ethiopia but published in other languages than Gəʿəz, even if they belong in the same cultural framework – e.g., the anonymous *Carta das novas que vieram a el rei nosso senhor do descobrimento do preste João* (Lisboa 1521), about the expedition by de ↗Lima, or the better known works by de ↗Gois (1533 and 1540) and ↗Alvares (1540) – will not be taken into consideration here.



King David playing the harp, frontpage of Potken [*Psalterium Davidis*], Rome 1513, with notes in Hebrew and Latin; Roma, Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, ms. Conti Rossini 12, from Strelcyn in PICES 4, vol. 2, 23, fig. 8

16th-cent. Ethiopic printed books

Apart from the woodcut "Alphabetum Ethiopicum" (a Gəᶜəz syllabarium) found in Bernard von Breydenbach's *Sancte peregrinationes or Opus transmarine peregrinationis* (only by artificial convention, *Peregrinatio*[*nes*] *in Terram Sanctam*), printed at Mainz in 1486, at Spira in 1490, 1502 and 1503, with interesting remarks on the "Indians or Abyssinians" (CerEt vol. 2, 299–318, pl. XXIII [figs. 25–26]; Lefevre 1966:12f., ill.; Smitskamp 1991:245, no. 241k; Bobzin 1994:92–96 and 101, fig. 3; Pelusi 2000:168f., no. 112), the first book printed in Gəᶜəz was the ↗Psalter published in 1513 by the provost of Cologne, Johannes ↗Potken, which still remains the cornerstone of Ethiopic I. (Smitskamp 1991:227f., nos. 233f.).

In 1511 Potken met Ethiopian monks at ↗Santo Stefano dei Mori in Rome; two years later he had an Ethiopic type cut. With the aid of monk Tomas Wäldä Samuᵓel he was thus able to issue a handsome quarto of the Psalter, printed in Rome by Marcel Silber (alias Franck) and paid for by Potken himself – who called Gəᶜəz "Chaldaic", possibly conforming to a designation used by the monks of Santo Stefano in accordance with their beliefs about the origin of that language (Bobzin 1994:82–86; Contini 1994:87ff. and nn. 40–41). The Psalter was followed by a selection of Old Testament Hymns and by the Song of Songs (a combination typical for Gəᶜəz manuscripts), as well as by a Gəᶜəz syllabarium and a short grammar – a list of numerals with a few remarks about their use and pronunciation – meant to acquaint the reader with the Ethiopic language and script. The first page of the volume, standing for the titlepage, has a red woodcut of David playing the harp with no inscription (Lefevre 1966:15–24, ills.). It was the first work to offer to Western *literati* a text of substantial length in an exotic character other than Hebrew.

On returning to Cologne, Potken took the type with him and in 1518 had Johann Heil print the *Psalterium in quator linguis*: *Hebraea, Graeca, Chaldaea, Latina* (Smitskamp 1976:16, no. 4 ; Bobzin 1994:86–92 and 99, fig. 1). Later, he published four leaves containing, among others, the *Oratio Dominica*, the *Salutatio angelica*, and the *Symbolum Patrum*, as well as, again, a Gəᶜəz syllabarium and a short grammar (Wijnman 1960:xv, dating those leaves to 1522, yet with no source).

In 1539, Teseo Ambrogio degli Albonesi issued an *Introduction to the Chaldean Language*, i.e. Ethiopic, that also included a Gəᶜəz syllabarium, and was printed in Pavia by Giovanni Maria Simonetta (Smitskamp 1991:238–41, no. 240; Pelusi 2000:167f., no. 110).

In 1548, the second most outstanding Gəᶜəz book of that century was printed by the Dorigo

brothers in Rome, the edition of the New Testament by ↗Täsfa Ṣəyon (who was helped by Tənsaʾe Wäldä Mässäle, Zäśəllase and other monks of Santo Stefano dei Mori). The running commentary Täsfa Ṣəyon provided throughout is of great interest. The initiative in publishing this book clearly came from the so-called Catholic reformed circle, led by cardinal Nicolò Ridolfi, and its growing attention to Oriental studies as a key to the most ancient biblical text. Täsfa Ṣəyon, on his part, wanted the edition to compensate for the Gospel books burnt by ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī (an interesting note on him is found in Täsfa Ṣəyon's commentary, c. 100v). A new font was cut, and the volume came out as a magnificent quarto in eighths printed in red and black, ornamented with woodcut images and borders (Löfgren 1965:160ff.; Juel-Jensen 1996:488–93). In addition to the Gospels, the edition included the Revelation, the Catholic Epistles and the Acts of the Apostles, along with the *Introitus Missae*, three of the most commonly used Anaphoras (i.e., those of the Apostles, of the Lord and of the Virgin Mary). As he could not find a complete Ethiopic translation of the Pauline Epistles, Täsfa Ṣəyon only included that to the Hebrews. A Gəʿəz syllabarium was added, copied from Potken's *Psalterium*.

The Ethiopic "title page" exhibits different recipients and different coats of arms for each single copy (at least three exemplars are known printed on vellum): Pope Paul III was the main dedicatee; other recipients, beside cardinal Ridolfi, were his colleagues Giulio della Rovere, Ranuccio Farnese and Giovanni Maria Giocchi (later Julius III), Reginald Pole and Juan Alvarez, as well as the emperors Henri II of France and Charles V of Spain. A copy was given by Täsfa Ṣəyon to a fellow countryman, Säwa Dəngəl, with an autograph presentation inscription complaining of "the many mistakes, for the printers were ignorant of our language" (Juel-Jensen 1994–96:441f. and fig. 8; cp. Smitskamp 1994, no. 85). In December 1548, thanks to the mediation of Cardinal Pietro Bembo, Täsfa Ṣəyon obtained a copy of the Pauline Epistles from the Ethiopian community in Cyprus (Raineri 1984; Juel-Jensen 1994–96:491). The manuscript, now kept in Florence, (Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Pal. Or. 70 [ex xvi] = Aeth. 3) has pen-marked typography direction and two proof-read bifolios interfiled (s. Marrassini 1984–86:88–91, no. 2). He had the text issued in 1549 by the same printer as a second volume of the edition (Guidi 1886:273–78; Raineri 1984:396).

Aided by Bernardino Sandri of Cremona and Pietro Paolo Gualteri of Arezzo, in 1549 Täsfa Ṣəyon published in Rome one (or two) small quarto(s) with woodcuts: the *Modus Baptizandi* ... (the Baptismal service, including a translation of the 1541 letter from *aṣe* ↗Gälawdewos to Pope Paul III, for which cp. Raineri 2005:79–83, no. 13) and the *Missa, qua Ethiopes communiter utuntur, quae etiam Canon universalis appellatur*, in fact, the last part of the previous edition (Juel-Jensen 1994–96:493–96). The background to it was the widespread belief that the Ethiopians baptized their infants with fire (s. Fiaccadori 2005:45f. and nn. 12f.; ↗Baptism; ↗*Qəddase*). Täsfa Ṣəyon was assisted by his friend Mariano ↗Vittori of Rieti, who later used the New Testament's font to publish the first Gəʿəz grammar (Romae 1552).

In 1583, Joseph Scaliger issued in Paris the treatise *De emendatione temporum*, with many eastern calendars, among them the "Ethiopian computus". Seven full-pages of Ethiopic type were printed in red and black from wooden blocks. Scaliger gives the Ethiopic text first, then its Hebrew equivalent, in the third column the pronunciation and, finally, Latin translation in the fourth (Smitskamp 1976:59, no. 64). The second ed. (Leiden 1598) had the same passages set with new Ethiopic (and Arabic) movable type-faces probably designed by Josse de Hondt (Jodocus Hondius) and cut by Thomas de Vechter (Wijnman 1960:23; but cp. Smitskamp 1976:60, no. 65).

Src.: BERNARD VON BREYDENBACH, *Peregrinatio in Terram Sanctam*, Moguntiae 1486 (= *Opus transmarinae peregrinationis*, Spirae 1502, 1503); JOHANNES POTKEN (ed.), [*Psalterium Davidis et Cantica aliqua – Canticum canticorum*], Romae 1513; ID. (ed.), *Psalterium in quatuor linguis: Hebraea, Graeca, Chaldaea, Latina*, Coloniae 1518; THESEUS AMBROSIUS ex comitibus ALBONESII, *Introductio in Chaldaicam linguam* ..., Papiae 1539; PETRUS ETHYOPS [= TÄSFA ṢƎYON] (ed.), *Testamentum Novum, cum Epistola ad Hebraeos tantum* ..., Romae 1548 [I] and 1549 [II]; ID. (ed.), *Modus baptizandi preces et benedictiones quibus Ecclesia Aethiopum utitur* ... , Romae 1549; MARIANUS VICTORIUS, *Chaldeae, seu Aethiopicae linguae institutiones*, Romae 1552; JOSEPH SCALIGER, *Opus novum de emendatione temporum* ..., Paris 1583.

Lit.: HARTMUT BOBZIN, "Miszellen zur Geschichte der Äthiopistik", in: WOLFHART HEINRICHS – GREGOR SCHOELER (eds.), *Festschrift für Ewald Wagner zum 65. Geburtstag*, vol. 1, Beirut 1994 (Beiruter Texte und Studien 54), 82–101; CerEt vol. 2, 299–318, pl. XXIII (fig. 26); RICCARDO CONTINI, "I primordi della linguistica comparata nell'Europa rinascimentale: le Institutiones di Angelo Canini (1554)", in: *Circolazioni culturali nel Mediterraneo antico. Atti della Sesta giornata camito-semitica e indeuropea ... (Sassari, 24–27 aprile 1991)*, Cagliari 1994, 85–97,

here 87ff. and nn. 40f.; IGNAZIO GUIDI, "La prima stampa del Nuovo Testamento in etiopico fatta in Roma nel 1548–1549", *Archivio della R. Società Romana di storia patria* 9, 1886, 273–278; GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, "Un re di Nubia a Costantinopoli nel 1203", in: DENIS NOSNITSIN et al. (eds.), *Varia Aethiopica – In Memory of Sevir B. Chernetsov (1943–2005)*, Saint-Pétersbourg 2005 (= *Scrinium* 1), 42–49, here 45f. and nn. 12f.; BENT JUEL-JENSEN, "Potken's Psalter and Tesfa Tsion's New Testament, Modus Baptizandi and Missal", *The Bodleian Library Record* 15, 1994–96, 480–96; RENATO LEFEVRE, *L'Etiopia nella stampa del primo Cinquecento*, Como 1966 (Pubblicazioni dell'Istituto italiano per l'Africa – Quaderni d'Africa, ser. I, 3), 12f. (ill.), 15–24 [= *Africa* [Roma] 20, 1965, 345-69, and 21, 1966, 53-69, here 359–68]; OSCAR LÖFGREN, "San Stefano dei Mori och de första etiopiska bibeltrycken", in: *Corona amicorum. Studier tillägnade Tönnes Kleberg*, Uppsala 1968 (Acta Bibliothecae R. Universitatis Upsaliensis 15), 153–80, here 160ff.; PAOLO MARRASSINI, "I manoscritti etiopici della Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana di Firenze", [I], *RSE* 30, 1984–86 [1987], 81–116, here 88–91, no. 2; SIMONETTA PELUSI (ed.), *La civiltà del libro e la stampa a Venezia. Testi sacri ebraici, cristiani, islamici dal Quattrocento al Settecento ...*, Venezia 2000 (Civiltà veneziana. Studi 11), 167f., no. 110; OSVALDO RAINERI, "Pietro Bembo e la prima stampa delle lettere di San Paolo in etiopico", *RANLmor* ser. 8ª, 35, 1980, 395–98, here 396; ID., *Lettere tra i pontefici romani e i principi etiopici (sec. XII–XX)*, Città del Vaticano 2005, 79–83, no. 13; VALENTINO ROMANI, "La stampa del N.T. in etiopico (1548–49). Figure e temi del Cinquecento romano", in: GIORGIO DE GREGORI – MARIA VALENTI (eds.), *Studi di biblioteconomia e storia del libro in onore di Francesco Barberi*, Roma 1976, 481–98; [RIJK SMITSKAMP], *The Library of Oscar Löfgren ...*, Leiden 1994 (Smitskamp Oriental Antiquarium Catalogues 596), nos. 1–62 ["Ethiopic Incunabula"] and 85 (Lit.); ID., *Philologia orientalis: a Description of Books Illustrating the Study and Printing of Oriental Languages in Europe*, 1. *Sixteenth Century*, Leiden 1976, 16 [no. 4], 59f. [nos. 64–65]; 3. *Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, Leiden 1991, 227f. [nos. 233f.], 238–41 [no. 240]; [4]. *Titelauflage, Augmented with Cumulative Indexes*, Leiden 1992, XLf.; HENRIK FREDRIK WIJNMAN, "An Outline of the Development of Ethiopian Typography in Europe", in: *Books on the Orient*, Leiden 1960 (Brill Catalogue 860), IX–XXVIII, here XIII, XV.

Gianfranco Fiaccadori – Bent Juel-Jensen

Early prints in Ethiopia and Eritrea

The first printed material circulating in Ethiopia and/or Eritrea comprised a number of books mostly with biblical texts, published abroad and imported by different missions. An active role was played by the ↗British and Foreign Bible Society, the ↗Church Missionary Society (esp. by ↗Isenberg) and the press of ↗St. Chrischona-Pilgermission. In the first half of the 19th cent., it was much easier to import printed matter into the region than to set up a ↗printing press – an innovation for the local cultural tradition that would also have to be operated in conditions of constant political instability. Still largely unexplored, these "I." are of primary importance for the understanding of the period in which they were produced.

Early books printed in the Colonia Eritrea

The first book printed in the region was most probably the "Amharic catechism", or a Təgrəñña translation of it, "composed, printed and published by bishop Lorenzo ↗Biancheri" at the Imprimerie Catholique of Massawa in 1864 (s. Fumagalli 1893, no. 2677): information on it is most uncertain, as no exemplar seems to be extant; consequently the book has been equated to a unique 1867 exemplar in Təgrəñña, with similar title, content, and printer, kept in the library of Scuola Orientale of the University of Rome (Strelcyn III, 39). A few years after Biancheri's death, however after 1867, the press went out of use.

The next book, a ↗*Säwasəw* compiled by *abba* Gäbrä Mikaʾel and revised by *däbtära* ↗Kəflä Giyorgis was issued in 1879 at a small printing press set up by the ↗Lazarists in Kärän. It was followed by other religious books in Amharic and Təgrəñña (Fumagalli 1893:271), most of them for the Catholic Church – e.g., the *Təmhərtä krəstiyan* prepared by ↗Coulbeaux and Kəflä Giyorgis (1880), and the *Śərʿatä qəddase zäbetä krəstiyan katolikawit* ... by Coulbeaux (1890). By 1907, some 20 books had been produced at this press (Strelcyn III, 39).

The ↗Franciscan printing press, set up in Asmära ca. 1912, printed ca. 120 books before 1934. The ↗Swedish Evangelical Mission at Ǝmkullu printed nine books between 1885 and 1895. It was then transferred to Asmära where it produced ca. 130 more titles (Strelcyn III, 39f.), working until 1934.

These first "I." were chiefly biblical books or renarrations of biblical stories, different religious and/or didactic books, as well as syllabaries, grammars of local languages, and lexicons. Since printed books were intended mostly for the needs of the missions and their schools in particular, indigenous languages of the region – Təgrəñña, Təgre, but also Amharic and Oromiffa – were given preference. The presses were operated by Europeans, and many of the books were prepared by Europeans as well – Olle Eriksson, Karl Rodén, Wilhelm Norlén, Teresa de Pertis etc., with the help of local converts.

Some of these "I." were written and printed in Eritrea by the critics of the politics of the Ethiopian regime: e.g. the treatise *Aṭe Mənilәkənna*

Ityoṗya by ↗Gäbrä Ḥəywät Baykädañ that appeared in the Swedish Protestant missionary periodical ↗*Bərhan yəḵun* (Wright no. M9) and fostered the Ethiopian discussions on "modernization", or Afäwärq Gäbrä Iyäsus's poem on *ləğ* ↗Iyasu's deposition (Fusella in PICES 5a). Such Eritrean early printed books as *Yä'ityoṗya ḥəzb tarik* by *aläqa* ↗Tayyä Gäbrä Maryam (1922 and ²1927; Wright nos. M15 and M33) were widely known and distributed in Ethiopia as well.

The thematic range of early Eritrean "I." in local languages remained quite narrow even in the first decades of the 20th cent., the main share continuing to be held by religious texts. A number of Italian printing presses in Asmära and Massawa (e.g., La *Tipografia Militare di Massaua, La Tipografia e Libreria Italiana*) issued books, booklets, newspapers, leaflets, forms etc., mostly serving, however, the colonial administration and the Italian community (Strelcyn II, 114–21, and in III, 41f.).

Books printed in Ethiopia

In Ethiopia proper, the early printed matter was supposed to meet the needs of the nascent institutions of the modern Ethiopian state, its political leadership and culture. At the same time, traditional ↗manuscript culture was still flourishing. Here, printing is believed to have started with the establishment of the French St. Lazare printing press in ↗Dərre Dawa and the Imprimerie Éthiopienne (የኢትዮጵያ፡ መንተሚያ [Yä'ityoṗya M[äḫ]atämiya], later ሞርሐ፡ ጥበብ [Märḥa Ṭəbäb]) in Addis Abäba in 1908 and 1910, respectively; nonetheless, at least one earlier printed work, though of obscure origin, is known, the edict of 1899 A.M. [1906/07 A.D.] regulating the import and export of alcohol (Strelcyn II, 99, no. x1). To the same category – less known and consulted by historians, yet of major importance – also belong other printed works of government decrees and orders. In addition to the aforementioned edict, we know of, e.g., the *Rules* (*Dänb*) concerning issuing documents to Ethiopians going abroad, of 1908 A.M. [1915/16 A.D.] (Strelcyn II, 99f., no. x6); the *Rules of the Loans* and the *Rules Concerning the Administration of the Slaves and Freedom*, both of 1916 A.M. [1923/24 A.D.] (Wright nos. C14 and C15). A large number of documents relating to the operation of the Addis Abäba–Djibouti ↗Railway was also issued by St. Lazare printing press (Strelcyn III, 46).

Some official documents were printed in two versions, usually Amharic and French: e.g., the *Statutes of the National Bank of Ethiopia* of 1932 (Wright nos. E8 and D7); cp. also the regulations regarding the ↗Special Court (Strelcyn I, 468, no. B1).

The earliest printed laws were the Penal Code of *Mäskäräm* 1923 A.M. [1930/31 A.D.] (↗Criminal Codes), followed by the first Ethiopian ↗Constitution of 9 *Ḫamle* 1923 A.M. [16 July 1931 A.D.] (Wright nos. C37, and D8: Imprimerie du Régent Ras Tafari [set up in 1929; after 1941 ↗*Bərhanənna sälam*] and the Märḥa Ṭəbäb respectively).

Printing was quickly adopted for political purposes. Whilst the will of *aṣe* Mənilək II concerning his successor to the throne, *ləğ* Iyasu, was apparently written down and read publicly (s. GueCopMen 541f.) but not printed, the "manifest" on Iyasu's deposition of 18 *Mäskäräm* 1909 A.M. [28 September 1916], produced at the Imprimerie Éthiopienne, became the earliest "political I." (Morin 1999:260). The next to appear was a poem on the battle of ↗Sägälle, praising the victorious party, written and privately printed by *aläqa* Gäbru (Fusella in PICES 6). It was followed by a number of panegyric works, mostly by courtiers and high-ranking officials, extolling on different occasions *ətege* Zäwditu, *ras* Täfäri (future *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I), *ətege* Mänän etc. (Wright nos. A6; Strelcyn II, 98, no. S3; ibid. 83f., nos. E1–3; for a poem in honour of *ləğ* Iyasu, cp. Strelcyn II, 75, 99, nos. A2, X4–5), "addressed" to them (Wright no. C10), or describing their activities (Wright nos. C9, 21). Also remarkable are two programmes of *ras* Täfäri's ↗coronation festivals, printed at Märḥa Ṭəbäb press in 1928 and 1930 (Wright nos. D6–7; Strelcyn II, 83, no. D2).

Still, the bulk of early printed production was composed of church books. Many of these were issued at the Imprimerie du Régent Ras Tafari Makonnen. The remarkable feature of these books was the addition of Amharic translations or traditional commentaries (↗*Andəmta*) to ↗Gəᶜəz texts, an innovation which was not always welcomed by the Ethiopian Church. Among these "I.", in fact, were the most important church books, such as the ↗*Wəddase Maryam* (1915 A.M.; Wright no. C5), the ↗*Təmhərtä ḫabuʾat* (Strelcyn II, 79, B20); the *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*qəddase* (1918 A.M.; Wright nos. C19–20) in Gəᶜəz with Amharic translation; the homilies of ↗John Chrysostom (1915, 1923 and 1924 A.M. [Wright nos. C7, C39, C40]), the *Mar Yəsḥaq* (↗Isaac of Nineveh) and the *Mäṣaḥəftä mänäkʷäsat* (ibid. C28; cp. ↗Monastic literature).

Biblical texts held a central position. In 1924–25, the Imprimerie du Régent Ras Tafari printed the Gospels (Wright no. C16) and the books of Solomon and Sirach (ibid. no. C17; cp. Strelcyn I, 510, no. C5) with Amharic commentaries. In Dərre Dawa, St. Lazare press issued in 1924 Ezekiel with an Amharic translation prepared by ↗Kidanä Wäld Kəfle at the request of *ras* Täfäri (ibid. no. S3–4). The production of religious books in other Ethiopian languages was insignificant (but the Imprimerie du Régent Ras Tafari issued the Gospel of John in "Galləñña", i.e. ↗Oromiffa, in 1921; Wright no. C27; cp. Strelcyn III, 48f.).

The Bible was immediately followed by Orthodox doctrinal books (e.g. the *Məṣtirä śəllase*, s. Wright no. A1), as well as pious and didactic books, in a few cases prepared by missionaries (or translated from Protestant works, such as Strelcyn II, 81, no. C28). The Goha Ṣəbaḥ printing press, associated with *blattengeta* ↗Həruy Wäldä Śəllase, produced religious literature for the missions: e.g., the Gospel of Matthew in "Gudela" (↗Hadiyya) in 1935, for the British and Foreign Bible Society (Wright no. E26; cp. E28, 29, 31). The same printing press worked for the Adventists (Wright nos. E9–11, 16, 18, 20) and, eventually, for the Swedish Evangelical Mission (ibid. E25, 30). In 1935, the Imprimerie Artistique (the future ↗Artistic Printing Press) printed an Amharic translation of J.E. Esslemont's *Bahá'u'lláh and the New Era* (Wright no. H3) for the newly established ↗Bahā'ī community, a mark of the vivid and "cosmopolitan" atmosphere of pre-war Addis Abäba.

The most interesting among the Ethiopian "I." are printed works marking the beginning of Ethiopian public debate: patriotic poems, speeches and treatises discussing the way for the Empire to follow and the contemporary situation of Ethiopia, increasingly precarious in the 1930s. Together with a few early newspapers (↗Press; ↗*Bərhanna sälam* weekly playing the leading role), they constituted a small forum of the nascent Ethiopian "intelligentsia". The scene was dominated by Ḫəruy Wäldä Śəllase, who by 1935 had published over 20 works, some of them twice (mostly in the Imprimerie du Régent and Goha Ṣəbaḥ). Other voices were those of ↗Gäbrä Ḫəywät Baykädañ with his pioneering *Mängəśtənna yäḥəzb astädadär* (printed posthumously, s. Wright no. C12), or ↗Afäwärq Gäbrä Iyäsus with speeches on entering the office of the customs director (Strelcyn II, 100, no. X7), and *bäğərond* ↗Täklä Ḫawaryat on the new Constitution etc. (Wright no. C43; Strelcyn II, 82, no. C35).

Though in quality, technical and artistic execution, most Ethiopian "I." are hardly comparable to those of other Oriental countries with a similarly recent printing tradition, e.g., Turkey (Rohnström 1988), the quantitive growth of Ethiopian print production during the 1910s–30s was remarkable, in particular after the fall of *ləğ* Iyasu, as a part of the modernizing policy of *ras* Täfäri.

The "I." bear a most valuable witness to the beginning of the transformation of Ethiopian society, its scope and patterns. Noticeably, there are almost no teaching books among the "I.", except for a few basic works on Amharic, since modern ↗education was given mainly in European languages, whereas traditional education needed no such books. The virtual absence of translated technical literature points to the fact that, despite the strive for modernization, the transfer of modern technologies to Ethiopia was insignificant.

Ethiopian "I." sometimes demonstrate remarkable links with the old traditions and practices: such is the case of religious texts, panegyrics, etc.; even administrative acts were not only printed, but certainly also announced in the traditional form of ↗*ʿawağ*. At the same time, "I." were really innovative in content and function. Printing contributed to the introduction of a book culture addressed directly to the reading public, and thus different from the traditional (ecclesiastic) one. Printed administrative documents were supposed to be consulted and to provide guidelines for both officials and citizens. Religious books could be read and meditated upon not only in the church by clerics, but also by any person privately at home, thanks to the Amharic translations. The same was true for discourses, didactic treatises and other early works of ↗Amharic literature, in particular Ḫəruy Wäldä Śəllase's books, which, although propagating *ras* Täfäri's politics, took their readers far beyond the genres of ↗Gəʿəz literature. In any case, the potential influence of "I." was limited by their small print run and circulation, the latter being confined to main towns (primarily Addis Abäba), as well as by the country's low ↗literacy rate. The proper readership of these books only came after 1941.

Src.: PIERRE COMBA, *Inventaire des livres amhariques figurant dans la Collection éthiopienne de l'University College d'Addis Ababa*, Addis Ababa 1959; GIUSEPPE FUMAGALLI, *Bibliografia etiopica: catalogo descrittivo e ragionato degli scritti pubblicati dalla invenzione della stampa*

fino a tutto il 1891 intorno alla Etiopia e regioni limitrofe, Milano 1893; DIDIER MORIN, *Le texte légitime. Pratiques littéraires orales traditionnelles en Afrique du nord-est*, Paris 1999 (Langues et cultures africaines 25), 260; OSVALDO RAINERI, "I 'Testi in lingue etiopiche' della Biblioteca dell'Istituto Italo-Africano in Roma", *Africa* [Roma] 46, 1991, 75–91, esp. 78–83; JOHN ROHNSTRÖM, "The Turkish Incunabula in the Royal Library, Stockholm: a Catalogue", in: ELLA EHRENSVÄRD (ed.), *Turcica et Orientalia: Studies in Honour of Gunnar Jarring on his Eighties Birthday 12 October 1987*, 121–38 (Swedish Research Institute in Istanbul Transactions 1); STEFAN STRELCYN, "«Incunables» éthiopiens des principales bibliothèques romaines (supplément à STEPHEN WRIGHT, *Ethiopian Incunabula*, 1967)", *RSE* 25, 1971–72, 456–519 [= Strelcyn I] (Lit.); ID., "«Incunables» éthiopiens de la collection Faïtlovich (Université de Tel-Aviv) et de l'Istituto Orientale di Napoli", *ibid.* 27, 1978–79, 63–21 [= Strelcyn II] (Lit.); ID., "La connaissance des incunables éthiopiens dix ans après la parution de l'ouvrage de Stephen Wright", in: *PICES* 5a, 35–51 [= Strelcyn III] (Lit.); STEPHEN WRIGHT, *Ethiopian Incunabula, from the Collection in the National Library of Ethiopia and the Haile Sellassie I University*, Addis Ababa 1967 [= Wright].

Lit.: SEVIR CHERNETSOV, "Načalo efiopskogo knigopečatanija v Evrope i v Efiopii" ('The Beginnings of Ethiopian Printing in Europe and Ethiopia'), in: *Religii mira. Istorija i sovremennost'*, Moscow 2004, 273–303, esp. 298f.; MARCEL COHEN, "La naissance d'une littérature imprimée en amharique", *JA* 206, 1925, 348–63; LUIGI FUSELLA, "Una poesia di 'Afaworq Gabra 'Iyasus sui fatti del 1916", in: *PICES* 5a, 1–34; ID., "Una poesia amarica di Aqqā Gabru sulla battaglia di Sagalē", in: *PICES* 6, 133–92; GueCopMen 541f. [= GSMen 343–47]; RICHARD PANKHURST, "The Foundations of Education, Printing, Newspapers, Book Production, Libraries and Literacy in Ethiopia", *EthObs* 6, 3, 1962, 247–90 (Lit.).

Denis Nosnitsin

Independence Bloc

The I.B., a party founded on 25 July 1949 in ↗Asmära, was the first significant attempt to create a modern coalition of sectarian forces in ↗Eritrea. The goal was to coordinate interests and work jointly for the independence of the ex-Italian colony.

In October 1946 the British had allowed the formation of political parties and various groups began organizing, with the issue of Eritrea's future finding a place on local and international agendas. Most Christians, and some leading Muslim notables, had established the ↗Unionist Party aimed at uniting Eritrea with Ethiopia. Other options voiced at that time were full independence, partition of Eritrea, and certain forms of dependence on either Italy or Britain. In December 1946 ↗Ibrāhīm Sulṭān ᶜAlī established the ↗Muslim League, which called for full independence. It was soon rivaled by a new National Muslim Party of Massawa (established April 1947). In February 1947 the Independence and Progress Party, known as the LPP, was established, led by the Christians ↗Wäldä Ab Wäldä Maryam and *ras* ↗Täsämma Asbärom. In September 1947 the New Eritrean ↗Pro-Italian Party began working towards Italian trusteeship in an independent Eritrea, but this option was ruled out, together with the option of partition, and in May 1949 the party was renamed The New Eritrea Party. While the United Nations (UN) was preparing a commission to tour Eritrea in February 1950, to gauge public opinion and submit recommendations (↗United Nations Commissions for Eritrea), the only two options left were either unification with Ethiopia or independence.

In April and May 1949, after failing to convince the international community to vote for the independence option, delegations of the Muslim League and New Eritrean Pro-Italian Party met at the UN. They decided to join forces and proceeded to form the I.B. together with the LPP and some other minor movements. In a ceremony attended by British, Italian and Ethiopian officials, the goals of the new Bloc were declared: immediate independence, self-determination, rejection of partition, establishment of a democratic government, and maintaining Eritrea's territorial integrity.

The I.B. survived less than two years. As the work of the UN Commission energized debates and tensions in Eritrea, two factors sabotaged the joint effort for independence. First, both Britain and the United States hinted that they would not accept an independent Eritrea. Second, Ethiopia's imperial government, through the Unionist Party, the Church and other agents, circulated threats in order to undermine the I.B. Their intimidation campaign culminated in riots in Asmära in February 1950. The inclusion of the former Pro-Italian party, and Italian financial support for the Bloc, helped expose it as an imperialist tool while Ibrāhīm Sulṭān ᶜAlī's promise that he would allow transit rights to Ethiopia enabled his rivals to doubt his patriotism.

Amid internal strife and violence the first to break away were followers of *šayḫ* ↗ᶜAli Mäḥämmäd Mūsā Radāʾī of western Eritrea's Təgre. *Šayḫ* ᶜAli Mäḥämmäd Mūsā Radāʾī first supported partition and then annexation of western Eritrea to the Sudan. After having been assured by Addis Abäba of a special arrangement for his region, he established an Independent Muslim League and reached a truce with the Un-

ionist Party. A number of members of the LLP followed this pattern, and established a Liberal Unionist Party. In December 1950 the I.B. was virtually dissolved, and in January 1951 its remaining leaders formed the Eritrean Democratic Front. They ran in the elections for the first ↗Eritrean Assembly in 1952, hoping to limit the powers of the Emperor's representative in the new Eritrean Executive. They were unsuccessful, and as the Emperor's representative and the Unionist Party gradually destroyed all aspects of Eritrea's autonomy, the leaders of the former I.B. went into exile in the 1950s. However, their defeat was short-termed. The concept of uniting regional and religious sectors into an all-Eritrean movement, first realized in the short-lived I.B., would be revived with greater success by both the ↗Eritrean Liberation Front and the ↗Eritrean People's Liberation Front.

Lit.: LLOYD ELLINGSON, "The Emergence of Political Parties in Eritrea, 1941–1950", *JAH* 1, 1977, 261–81; ErDizBio; HAGGAI ERLICH, *The Struggle over Eritrea, 1962–1978*, Stanford, CA 1983; RUTH IYOB, *The Eritrean Struggle for Independence*, Cambridge, MA 1995; KilHDic 259f.; MUḤAMMAD SAʿĪD NAWAD, *Ḥarakat taḥrīr iritrīya, al-ḥaqīqa wat-taʾrīḫ* ('The Movement of the Liberation of Eritrea, the Truth and the History'), Jedda n.d.; DAVID POOL, *From Guerrillas to Government: the EPLF*, Oxford 2001; TEKESTE NEGASH, *Eritrea and Ethiopia: the Federal Experience*, Uppsala 1997; GERALD KENNEDY NICHOLAS TREVASKIS, *Eritrea: a Colony in Transition, 1941–52*, Oxford 1960.

Haggai Erlich

India, relations with

Contacts between Ethiopia and historical I., facilitated by the monsoons and trade winds in the ↗Red Sea and Indian Ocean, appear to date back several millennia. This is suggested by the expedition of the Egyptian Queen Hatshepsut to the Land of ↗Punt, in ca. 1495 B.C., which acquired cinnamon, supposedly taken there from I. or Ceylon, as well as by early Indian texts that are believed to reflect a knowledge of Africa. Such texts likewise refer to pearls and red coral thought to have come from the Red Sea. It was a part, in fact, of the broader traffic system between the Mediterranean Sea and the Indian Ocean, i.e. one of the several routes taken by ↗trade with I., which soon centred on the port of ↗Adulis, known since biblical times, and later engulfed by ↗Aksum (De Romanis 1996:59–62 and 152–56; Fiaccadori 2004:108, 112, 118ff., 126, 137f.). The possibility of a much earlier relationship has been postulated, namely of migrations of Indians to the Horn of Africa. This would suggest a tight kinship, in terms of anthropological descent, between them and the Ethiopians, as well as the Egyptians (s., e.g., Muthanna [1961]:18ff.).

At a much later age, the extent of Indo–Ethiopian commerce is evident from the ↗*Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* of the 1st cent. A.D. It reports considerable trade between Adulis and thereby Aksum on the one side, and Ariaca and Barygaza, in north-west I., on the other. The latter supplied the Aksumites with clothes and coloured lace. ↗Iron (steel) as raw material is said in the *Periplus* to have come from I., which probably served here as a trading intermediary to ↗China (cp. Fiaccadori 1992: 56f., n. 31).

The existence of Indo–Ethiopian commerce, testified by Palladius (s. ↗Moses of Adulis) and ↗Cosmas Indicopleustes for the early 5th and early 6th cent. respectively, is confirmed by the discovery at Däbrä Damo, in northern Ethiopia, of 2rd-cent. Kuṣāna coins from north-west I., and of early contemporary artefacts of Indian provenance in Adulis (Fiaccadori 1992:56ff., n. 32 and XXXIX n. 81). Conversely, Aksumite gold coins (esp. the 4th-cent. ones) acquired a certain importance as international trade coins, auxiliary to the Roman gold issues, and are therefore also found on the south-west Indian coast (Kerala): the hoard of Mangalore has yielded 17 pieces of Ousanas (including a contemporary forgery) and six of ʿEzana, as well as 21 Roman gold coins (Hahn 1998, 1999; Metlich 2006; cp. Munro-Hay 1995:50).

Such transcontinental contacts probably led to the introduction into I. of ↗cotton from Ethiopia, and of Indian sugar and papayas into Ethiopia. ↗Lions may likewise have moved from Ethiopia to Gujarat, in north-western I. The Gəʿəz word ነኄ, *näge*, '↗elephant' (pl. *nägeyat*), possibly traceable to Sanskrit *nāga*, 'elephant', but also 'serpent, dragon' (cp. DillmLex 685), may suggest an early presence of Indian elephants and/or elephant-related knowledge in Ethiopia (Littmann 1926:414, on which Pankhurst in PICES 4, 219 and n. 76, and Fiaccadori 1992:54f., n. 26), as later implied, too, by the Amh. አንካሴ, *ankasse*, 'stout stick or staff' (with an iron point and, resp., hooks at its two ends; KaneDic 1226), a direct calque from Hindi *ankuś*, 'goad(ing rod/hook) for driving elephants'. There was similarly some apparent cross-continental diffusion of culture; and a considerable likelihood of Indian

influence on the Ethiopic syllabary, based on the addition of smaller signs to the basic consonants to indicate vowel combination – a development that took place in the Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭī writings, with sets of characters representing syllables, a few centuries earlier (Chatterji 1967:53; Pankhurst in PICES 4, 220f.). Also, Ethiopians and Indians make use of similar looms, clothing, and food. (On linguistic influences s. Littmann 1926:406-11).

Indian trade with Ethiopia and the Horn of Africa, through the ports of Massawa, Zayla^{c} and Berbera, is well documented, for the 16th cent., by the Italian travellers Ludovico di ↗Varthema and Andrea ↗Corsali, as well as by the Ethiopians interviewed by Alessandro ↗Zorzi. Indian ↗silks, pearls, ↗jewellery, pepper and other ↗spices were then being imported into Ethiopia. Numerous Ethiopian slaves meanwhile were transported to I., from at least the early 13th cent. onwards. Known as Habši (from Arab. *al-Ḥabašī* 'Abyssinians'), and Siddi (from Arab. *sayyidī*, 'my lord'), they arrived in many areas, including Gujarat, Cambay, Deccan, the south-west Indian coast, and Bengal.

The Siddis constituted an on-going dynasty at Jangira, near Bombay, also known as the Habši dynasty (Yule – Burnell 1986:806). Their influx increased in the early 16th cent., when prisoners taken in the Abyssinian interior by *imām* ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī were exported as slaves to Arabia, and thence shipped to I. Some, employed there as soldiers, rose to important positions, and seized supreme power, establishing ruling dynasties.

Still today, in the south of I., an ethnic group is called Habši (sometimes also Siddi). Their oral tradition suggests that they are of heterogeneous origin, maybe Oromo and Somali, and that they settled in the area already several hundreds of years ago, i.e. before European colonisation. All members of the group are Muslims and speak Hindi; research suggests that they have not retained any words from their ancestors' languages, who came to I. as slaves and soldiers (Jayasuriya – Pankhurst 2003; Astair Mengesha 2003).

Ties between Ethiopia and I. were intensified, in the 16th cent., by the advent of the Portuguese, who used their colonies at ↗Goa and ↗Diu as the base for relations with Ethiopia. Most Portuguese visiting Ethiopia, and Ethiopians travelling to I., thus passed by way of these cities (e.g., *abba* ↗Gorgoryos; Antonio d'↗Andrade). The ↗Jesuit missionaries of the late 16th and early 17th cent. subsequently brought many Indian craftsmen to Ethiopia. One of them, from Gujarat (cp. ↗Indians in Ethiopia), introduced the use of mortar, while others were involved in palace building, at ↗Dänqäz and later at ↗Gondär, and built the first bridge over the Blue Nile. Many Indian luxury goods were at that time imported into Ethiopia, either directly or via Arabia and its major market of al-Muḫā, to which Indians delivered, among others, such aromatics as sandalwood (Brouwer 2007:69f.). *Aṣe* ↗Susənyos thus wore clothes, slippers and a gold cross from India, and a crown decorated with Indian pearls; and had an Indian umbrella, and Indian bed-clothes. In the 17th cent., generations of contacts with I. also led to a significant influence on Ethiopian art, especially illumination and mural painting, that was first exerted

Fəlsätä lämaryam ('Assumption of Mary'), with Indian influences, in the Prayers to Our Lady Mary, ms. IES no. 73, fol. 113v; from AfrZion 251, no. 117

through Goa and the Jesuits (Pankhurst in PICES 4, 296ff., and esp. Heldman in AfrZion 251f., no. 117, on IES MS 73, fol. 113v, with a miniature of the Assumption [↗Fəlsäta] the immediate model of which may have been made by a Deccani artist familiar with a European Baroque engraving of the Immaculate Conception).

After the expulsion of the Jesuits, *aṣe* ↗Fasilädäs sought closer ties with Mogul I. He despatched his Armenian trade agent *ḫoğa* ↗Murād, in 1663, with presents to the Mogul emperor Awrangzīb. The latter reciprocated with costly gifts: fine clothes, silks, a sword, trumpets and drums, and gold for the construction of a mosque which was never in fact erected. This period witnessed the arrival of two African ↗elephants and a zebra at the Mogul court, and of an Indian parrot at the Ethiopian court that spoke Hindustani and Portuguese, as well as Ethiopian. On his later travels to Batavia (Jakarta), Murād always stopped at Surat, where he was also received by Dutch officials (e.g., in November 1675). Indonesia being already a Dutch colony, the ↗United East India Company became a strong power in the Indian Ocean, influencing I.'s trade relations with Ethiopia as well (DonMurad).

The early 19th cent. with the rising number of European travellers coming to Ethiopia saw also the first Ethiopians visiting India, mostly accompanying Europeans. Missionaries took with them ↗Mərčʿa Wärqe and his brother for education in I.; ↗Samuʾel Giyorgis also visited I., using his missionary contacts. Diplomatic contacts between the Ethiopian rulers and I. were extremely restricted in the 19th cent.; *aṣe* Tewodros II in his contact with Queen Victoria seems not to have accepted the idea that she bore the title of Empress of India, as he never mentioned it when addressing her in his letters; and even in his contacts with the British residents at ↗Aden, which was under the Indian government, he did not contact them as representatives of the Indian government, which they were. Tewodros's fall was directly linked with the British-Indian government – the ↗Napier expedition in 1867-68 was an important event in the relations between both regions, as it was a British-Indian intervention army, under the responsibility of the Indian government, but not supported by I. nationalist opinion (Pankhurst 1981:390-418). This was the first time that a large number of Indians came to Ethiopia, and also was an event following which several young Ethiopians subsequently went to I., accompanying the British-Indian army on its return to I. One of them was ↗Wärqənäh Ešäte ("Dr. Martin"), later a well-known minister, who then grew up in I. Another child who followed the army to I. was the later Muslim convert Sulaymān b. Haftū ("Soliaman Bin Haftoo"), originally called Mäšäša (Habtu?), who joined the African Cavalry Guard of the king of Hyderabad in Deccan. Later, he claimed to be the son of Tewodros II and Täwabäčč Ali (s. Harris 1969), but was more probably a son of one of the king's followers. The monarch's actual son, ↗Alämayyähu Tewodros, was later taken to I., by his sometime guardian or tutor Captain Charles ↗Speedy.

Indian currency played a certain role in the Ethiopian economy. Rupees gained some circulation in Mənilək II's days, notably in British Somaliland, where they became an official currency, and in Ogaden and Harär. They also provided the basis of the Italian colonial rupee currency of Somalia (Pankhurst 1963:63, 72, 108ff.) and influenced Mənilək's newly introduced monetary system (↗Currency). The East African Shilling, introduced by the British as an official currency in Ethiopia in 1941 during the British Military Administration of Ethiopia, depended on the rupee monetary system, and consequently showed both English and Hindi inscriptions.

Indian troops in 1941 played a significant role in the overall Ethiopian ↗war of liberation. They fought, fiercely but victoriously, at the battle of ↗Kärän, where they suffered some 5,000 casualties.

Hindi loan-words in Ethiopian usage, in Amh., but partially also Tgn., include *surat* (Amh., 'snuff'), called after the homonymous Indian port that handled export of such commodity, *gari* for a 'hand-cart', and *kuli* for a 'coolie'.

Commercial contacts between Ethiopia and I., escalated at the end of the 19th cent., when Indian traders settled in ↗Harär, and later ↗Addis Abäba. Most traders were, however, expelled during the Italian occupation.

Diplomatic relations between Ethiopia and I. (which became independent in 1947) were established in 1950. Indian officers, led by Colonel N.C. Rawley, were recruited in 1958 to run the ↗Harär Military Academy (s. "Haile Sellassie Military Academy" 1958:79f.; Pankhurst 1960:331f.). Several hundred I. teachers were soon also employed by the Ethiopian Ministry of Education, serving in secondary schools in the provinces as well as in the capital. The Indian community in Ethio-

pia built the Ghandi Memorial Hospital a maternity institution for children, which was headed by an Indian physician, Dr. Rama Rao, in 1955 (ibid. 333-36). Indian firms, among them those of Nathan Mooljee, J. Premjee and J.J. Kothari, were active in the import-export business ("Indian Merchants ..." 1960:338-42), while the Indian firm of Birla established the Indo-Ethiopian Textile Mill at ↗Aqaqi in 1960 (ibid. 337f.).

Lit.: ABABU MINDA YIMENE, *African Indian Community in Hyderabad: Siddi Identity. Its Maintainance and Change*, Göttingen 2004; ASTAIR GEBRE MARIAM MENGESHA, "The Habshis", *International Journal of Ethiopian Studies* 1, 1, 2003, 91–102; HELENE BASU, *Habshi-Sklaven, Sidi-Fakire: Muslimische Heiligenverehrung im westlichen Indien*, Berlin 1995; CORNELIS GERARDUS BROUWER, "Sweet-Scented Shipments: Frankincense and Other Aromatics Landed and Loaded in al-Mukhā (1st Quarter of the 17th Century)", *BiOr* 64, 2007, 63–97, here 69f.; SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI, *India and Ethiopia from the Seventh Century B.C.*, Calcutta 1967 (The Asiatic Society Monograph Ser. 15), 53; FEDERICO DE ROMANIS, *Cassia, Cinnamomo, Ossidiana. Uomini e merci tra oceano Indiano e Mediterraneo*, Roma 1996 (Saggi di Storia antica 9), 59–62 and 152–156; DonMurad s. index; GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, *Teofilo Indiano*, Ravenna 1992 (Biblioteca di «Felix Ravenana» 7), XXXIX n. 81, 53–58 and nn. 26, 31, 32 (Lit.); ID., "Sembrouthes 'gran re' (*DAE* IV 3 = *RIÉth* 275). Per la storia del primo ellenismo aksumita", *La Parola del Passato* 59, 2004 [2005], 105–57, here 108, 112, 118ff., 126, 137f.; ID., "Haile Sellassie Military Academy", *EthObs* 2, 2, March 1958, 79f.; JOSEPH E. HARRIS, "Soliaman Bin Haftoo: Ethiopian Impostor in India?", *JES* 7, 1, 1969, 15–18; MARILYN E. HELDMAN, "Collection of Prayers to Our Lady Mary", in: *AfrZion* 251f., no. 117 (ill.); EAD., "Indian Merchants and Manufacturers in Ethiopia Today", *EthObs* 4, 1960, 138-42; WOLFGANG HAHN [pseudon.: HANUMAN – LAKSHMI NAWARTMAL], "Spätantikes Handelsgold in Südindien", *Money Trend* 30, 11, 1998, 52–57; ID., "Aksumite Coins in India – Some New Evidence", *Spink Numismatic Circular* 107, 1, 1999, 1–4; ENNO LITTMANN, "Indien und Abessinien", in: WILLIBALD KIRFELD (ed.), *Beiträge zur Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte Indiens. Festgabe Hermann Jacoby zum 75. Geburtstag (11. Februar 1925) dargebracht von Freunde, Kollegen und Schülern*, Bonn – Berlin 1926, 406–17; MICHAEL ANDREAS METLICH, "Aksumite Gold Coins and their Relation to the Roman-Indian Trade", in: FEDERICO DE ROMANIS – SARA SORDA (eds.), *Dal* denarius *al* dinar. *L'Oriente a la moneta romana (Roma, 16–18 September 2004)*, Roma 2006, 99-103; UGO MONNERET DE VILLARD, "Note sulle influenze asiatiche nell'Africa Orientale", *RSO* 17, 1938, 303–49, here 458f. and n. 6; I.M. MUTHANNA, *Indo-Ethiopian Relations for Centuries*, Addis Ababa [1961], 18ff.; PankEcon, passim; RICHARD PANKHURST, "Ethiopian Monetary and Banking Innovations in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries", *JES* 1, 2, 1963, 64–120; ID., "The History of Ethiopia's Relations with India prior to the Nineteenth Century", in: *PICES* 4, 205–311; ID., "Indian Reactions to the Anglo-Indian Expedition against Emperor Tewodros of Ethiopia", *Africa* [Roma] 36, 1981, 390-418; SYLVIA PANKHURST (ed.), *Ethiopia and India in Ancient and Modern Times*, Addis Ababa 1960 (= *EthObs* 4, 10, 1960); SHIHAN DE SILVA JAYASURIYA – RICHARD PANKHURST, *The African Diaspora in the Indian Ocean*, Trenton, NJ 2003; HENRY YULE – ARTHUR COKE BURNELL, *Hobson-Jobson, A Glossary of Colloquial Anglo-Indian Words and Phrases, and of Kindred Terms: Etymological, Historical, Geographical and Discursive*, ed. by W. CROOKE, London ²1903 [repr. Delhi 1968; Calcutta 1986].

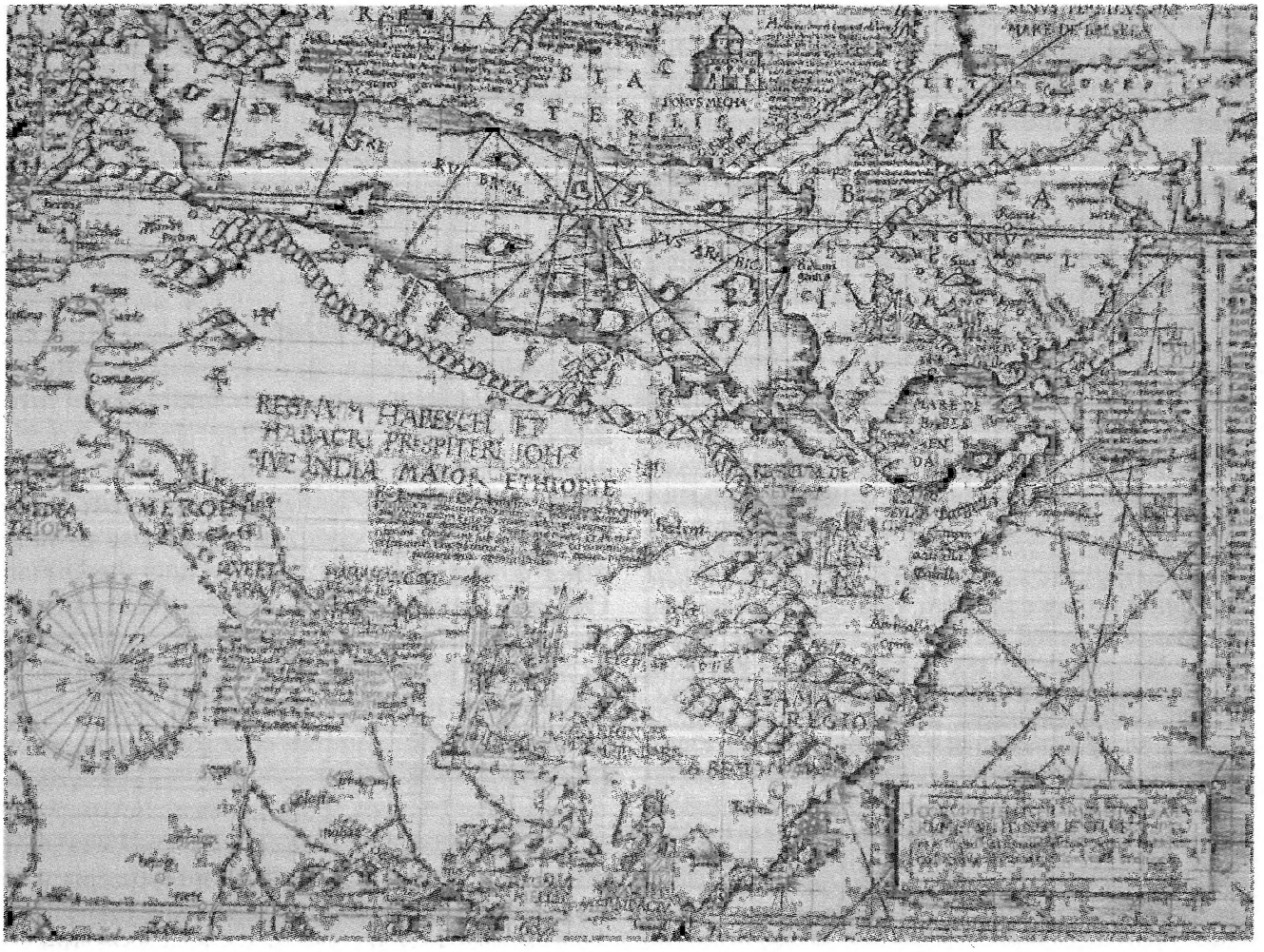
Richard Pankhurst – Red.

"India" as name of Ethiopia

In Greek and Roman sources, the name I. (from Old Pers. *Hinduš*, referring to Sindh, and in turn derived from Sanskrit *Sindhu*, '[Indus] River') applied not only to historical I. or *I. minor* ('Lesser I.'), i.e. the Indian subcontinent, home of the Indus Valley civilization, but also to such other countries on the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean as South ↗Arabia, ↗Somalia and ↗Ethiopia (cp. ↗Aithiopía) that formed instead *I. maior* ('Greater I.') – a name used sometimes, though, for I. proper as well, the perception of which became dimmer and dimmer after the 4th cent. A.D. (Mayerson 1993:169ff.).

Since the 2nd cent. B.C. at least, but perhaps already in the age of ↗Alexander the Great, the distinction between I., Arabia and Ethiopia – in terms of distances and seas separating them from each other – was clear to ancient authors, but all three received the name "I.". This terminological ambiguity resulted more often in geographical confusion between I., Ethiopia and Arabia (s., e.g., Fiaccadori 2006a:74 and n. 164, and 2006b:140f. and nn. 59–60, esp. for Byzantine and Christian Oriental sources, in which Georgia is also "I.": cp. Id. 1992:XII and n. 8, 54 and n. 26, and MHAlex [I] 71 and n. 186); and was favoured by both ↗Ptolemy's idea of a physical connection between the Indian peninsula and north-eastern Africa – according to which the Erythraean Sea, i.e. the Indian Ocean, was but a inland lake – and the fact that those countries actually were on the trade routes to and from I. (s. Ancient Greek and Roman ↗historiography). Equally confused were the relevant ethnic designations: such is the case, e.g., of ↗Theophilus the Indian, who visited South Arabia and Ethiopia around the mid of the 4th cent., and then returned to his homeland, "the other I." – possibly, the Maldive islands.

Thus the statement by Diodorus of Sicily (1st cent. B.C.) that the ↗Nile rises in I. (*Hist.* I, 37-41) was thought to imply the river's flowing out of the Indian peninsula into Egypt (Honigmann 1936:558): a view also spread by Arrian of Ni-



Early Renaissance map by Martin Waldseemüller ("Carta marina navigatoria") showing the Horn of Africa as "India Maior", with the kingdom of "Seylam" (Zayla^{c}) in its upper right, Prester John of the kingdom of "Habesch" ('Abyssinia') in its centre, the "Hamaharic [Amhara] king's (capital) city" to his left, dated 1516; from Doresse 1959:108

comedia (*Anab.* VI, 1, 1–4) in the 2nd cent. A.D., and still shared – as a conventional association of India with Ethiopia – by ↗Procopius of Caesarea (*Hist.* VI, 1, 1) and Theophylact Simocatta (*Hist.* VII, 17, 1) in the 6th and 7th cent. resp. Yet, Ethiopia ("I.") was originally meant by Diodorus, in which the Nile really has its sources.

The classical regions of *I. maior* and *I. minor* were also called *I. interior* or *ulterior* and *I. exterior* or *citerior*: in the words of ↗Rufinus of Aquileia (ca. 345–410), the former was evangelised by Saint Barthelemy, the latter by Frumentius (↗Sälama Käśatä Bərhan) – thus being undoubtedly Aksumite Ethiopia (cp. Mayerson 1993:171f.). Around 600 A.D., Pseudo-Abdias distinguished three "Indias", one of which "lying toward Ethiopia [*Aethiopia(m)*, Gr. **Aithiopía*]" (*Apostol. hist.* VIII, 1). This threefold conception of I. (later, *I. prima*, *secunda* and *tertia*) remained popular in Christian literature. More confusingly, for Isidor of Seville (d. 636), "Indians" are an "eastern nation [*populus*, Gr. **éthnos*] of Ethiopians, rising from the Indus river, near Egypt, between the Nile and the Ocean" (*Etymol.* IX, 2, 127f., cp. XIV, 5, 14 and 16).

Western medieval tradition only partially followed such classical or late antique partitions, especially after the 13th cent., when a better acquaintance with the Indian subcontinent suggested the application of the name *I. maior*, whereas *I. minor* ended sometimes by designating the Horn of Africa, styled elsewhere as *I. media*. Towards 1298, the three Indias are so described by Marco ↗Polo: "Greater India is that which extends from Maabar to Kesmacoran [i.e. from Coromandel to Mekran], and contains 13 great kingdoms [...]. Lesser India extends from the Province of Champa to Mutfili [i.e. from Cochin-China to the Kistna Delta], and contains 8 great kingdoms [...]. Abash [↗Abyssinia] is a very great province, and you must know that it constitutes Middle India" (*Mil.* CXCIII–IV). However, it was not before the 14th cent., when the "Indian" realm of the mysterious ↗Prester

John ("King of *I. maior* [and *minor*]") was eventually identified with Ethiopia, that European scholars established a new nomenclature, clearly distinguishing between I. and Ethiopia – still called *I. minor* and *maior*, respectively, in the classicizing ↗cartography of the Renaissance.

Lit.: WILHELM BAUM, *Äthiopien und der Westen im Mittelalter*, Klagenfurt 2001, passim; ALBRECHT DIHLE, "The Conception of India in Hellenistic and Roman Literature", *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society* new ser. 10 [190], 1964, 15–23; GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, *Teofilo Indiano*, Ravenna 1992 (Biblioteca di «Felix Ravenna» 7), XII and n. 8, 13 n. 33, 46f., n. 12, 54 and n. 26 (Lit.); ID., "Gregentios in the Land of the Homerites", in: ALBRECHT BERGER (ed., tr.), *Life and Works of Saint Gregentios, Archbishop of Taphar*, Berlin – New York 2006a (Millennium-Studien 7), 48–82, here 74 and n. 164 (Lit.); ID., "ʾElla Gabaz/(ʾElla) Ḥētāzā", *La Parola del Passato* 61, 2006b [2007], 115–41, here 140f. and nn. 58f.; ERNST HONIGMANN, "Nil", in: [PAULYS] *Realenzyklopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, vol. 17, 1, Stuttgart 1936 [repr. 1957], 555–66, here 558; ULRICH KNEFELKAMP, "Indien", in: *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, vol. 5, München – Zürich 1991, 404f.; MHAlex [I] 71 and n. 186; PHILIP MAYERSON, "A Confusion of Indias: Asian and African India in the Byzantine Sources", *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 113, 1993, 167–74, here 171f. [repr. in: ID., *Monks, Martyrs, Soldiers and Saracens. Papers on the Near East in late Antiquity*, Jerusalem 1994, 361–66, here 363f.]; PIERRE SCHNEIDER, *L'Éthiopie et l'Inde: interférences et confusions aux extrémités du monde antique (VIIIe siècle avant J.C.–VIe siècle après J.-C.)*, Roma 2004 (Collection de l'École française de Rome 335), 24ff., 32ff., 289–361; FRANÇOISE THELAMON, *Païens et chrétiens au IVe siècle. L'apport de l'«Histoire ecclésiastique» de Rufin d'Aquilée*, Paris 1981, 52f., 57ff., s. also Index géographique, 509 ("Inde"); [OTTO] WECKER, "India", in: [PAULYS] *Realenzyklopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, vol. 9, 2, Stuttgart 1916 [repr. 1957], 1264–325, here 1268–301.

Gianfranco Fiaccadori

Indians in Ethiopia

Commercial and other contacts between Ethiopia and ↗India, which date back to Aksumite times (s. above), led to a more or less permanent Indian presence along the Red Sea and Gulf of Aden coast of Africa (↗Somalia, esp. in the Migiurtinia region): a seal inscribed in Brāhmī was found in ↗Adulis (RIÉ 291; cp. Fiaccadori 1992:39 n. 81); and Indian craftsmen have been often called upon for the carving of the rock-hewn buildings at ↗Lalibäla.

Jesuit records for the late 16th and early 17th cent. – the earliest available – indicate the presence at ↗Massawa of a significant ↗*banyan* trading community, some of whom traded far inland. The I. at the port were largely involved in money-lending, as well as the export of ↗ivory and

Example of Indian-style woodcarving in Harär, early 20th cent.: entrance to the house of the then governor of Harär *däğğazmač* Täfäri Mäkʷannən (later *aṣe* Ḫaylä Śəllase I); photo 2000, courtesy of Wolbert Smidt

↗zibeth. The name of one of them, "Quica", is recorded.

Over the centuries, however, two major waves of Indian settlement can be distinguished in the interior of the country. The first one to reach there arrived at the Ethiopian court, then situated in the Lake Ṭana area, at about the same time. They came with the ↗Jesuits, who were based in Portuguese India (↗Goa), and brought with them a considerable number of Indian craftsmen and domestic servants. An Indian builder, referred to by the Jesuit Manoel de ↗Almeida, was responsible, in the early 1620s, for the discovery of "a kind of fine, light and as it were worm-eaten stone", similar to that used for the manufacture of lime in Gujarat, i.e. north-western India. This led, in the Lake Ṭana area, to the extensive use of mortar, the value of which, Almeida says, was recognized by *aṣe* ↗Susənyos and his grandees. The result was that "many beautiful churches", built of stone and lime, were soon erected in many parts of the country. Another Indian craftsman built Susənyos the first stone bridge over the Blue Nile (↗Abbay). He was possibly a certain ᶜAbdalkarīm who, according to the chronicle of that emperor, was involved, with other foreigners, in constructing the ↗Dänqäz palace in 1629–30.

Though *aṣe* ↗Fasilädäs soon afterwards expelled the Jesuits, there is good reason to suppose that not a few of their Indian craftsmen remained in the country. One of them, according to the Yemeni ambassador al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-↗Ḥaymī, who visited Ethiopia in 1648, was the "master builder" responsible for erecting Fasilädäs's great palace at Gondär a few years earlier. This is, however, the only record on the authorship of the building.

The young *däğğazmač* Täfäri Mäkʷännən receiving the visit of leading Hindu and Muslim Indian merchants in Addis Abäba, with Gujarati caption: 'In the year 1905 A.D. this photograph was taken when the renowned and respected Mohtā Seṭhji *saheb* [1st row, on the left] and the respected Mahamad Alī Sekh Saraf Alī *saheb* [1st row, second from left] came to Addis Abäba [Eḍḍis Abbā] and visited you, *däğğač* Täfäri Mäkʷännən's [Tafrī Mukhanan, 1st row, third from the left], in your residence for a meeting'; 2nd row, behind Täfäri, Abdullahbhai Kera, 2nd row, third from left: *Dawood bhay*, 'my brother Dawood'; from the Hulton-Deutsch Collection, courtesy of Corbis

war, gained a reputation as one of *aṣe* Mənilək's principal builders. He erected the church of Raguʾel at ↗ƎnṭoṭṭoTo, and worked on the palaces at Addis Abäba and ↗Addis ᶜAläm. Indian masons and carpenters also constructed many houses for the nobility, and thereby introduced a new style of architecture, based on stone buildings with wooden balustraded verandahs.

A number of old wood houses especially in Addis Abäba and Harär, sometimes with exquisite Indian wood carvings (like at the house of *däğğazmač* Täfäri Mäkʷännən in Harär), are witnesses of this period; the finest Indian houses in Addis Abäba are in Arada (Piyasa), the old commercial centre, but are mostly in bad condition. Among them is the late 19th-cent. house of the merchant G.M. Mohamedally, built by the Armenian architect Minas Kherbekian, which is now on the list of endangered cultural heritage by the US-American foundation World Monument Fund (s. Wiren 2007:8f.; ↗Mohamedally and Company).

The Indian presence in the Gondär area later petered out, but traders from India continued to be prominent at the coast, both as merchants, and, at Massawa, as jewellers. In the first years of the 19th cent. there were reportedly 18 resident Indian traders at Massawa, as well as a few others at ↗Zaylaᶜ and ↗Berbera, in ↗Somalia. Such merchants, who at times almost monopolized much of the import-export trade, were visited during the trading season by large numbers of their compatriots, who sailed in annually from Aden and the sub-continent.

The opening of diplomatic relations between the ↗United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and Ethiopia in 1897 was followed by the arrival in ↗Harär, and almost afterwards in ↗Addis Abäba, of a second wave of Indian immigrants: British I., mainly from Aden and Bombay. These settlers, both industrious artisans and astute merchants, were remarkably successful. Content, when necessary, with little remuneration, they overcame all competition. The Indian craftsman *ḥāğğī* Ḫawas, from Pesha-

Two large Indian import-export firms, Mohamedally & Co. and Djewadji, acquired a dominant position in the Ethiopian economy. The former company had the largest store in the capital, as well as a commercial network throughout the country. I. indeed penetrated far into the Ethiopian interior, and soon constituted the third largest foreign community, after the Greeks and Arabs, with a population of no less than 3,000 in 1935, according to Adrien Zervos (ZerÉth).

During the ensuing Italian occupation, this sizable Indian community was resented by the authorities for two main reasons. Firstly, because the I. were perceived as subjects of the British Empire, regarded as Italy's potential if not actual enemy. Secondly, because it was planned to settle Italian nationals throughout the country, which would prove to be impossible as long as the pro-

posed Italian immigrants had to compete with I., already established and content to live quite modestly. The majority of the Indian community was therefore expelled.

Not a few I. returned to Ethiopia after the Liberation in 1941, mostly as teachers and experts on short-term contracts. Ḫaylä Śəllase I himself employed a number of Indian teachers for schools founded by him. One of them, Rev. Paul ↗Varghese, of the Malankara Orthodox Syrian Church, became his personal advisor in the 1960s, and was later appointed metropolitan of Delhi under the name of Paulos *mar* Gregorios. Today, I. continue to perform these two activities, and constitute an important foreign community, mainly centred in Addis Abäba.

↗China

Src.: RIÉ 291; BeckHuntAlm 83f.; BruNile vol. 3, 55; ZerEth 500.

Lit.: GEORGE G. DAWSON, "Education in Somalia", *Comparative Education Review* 8, 2, 1964, 199–214; GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, *Teofilo Indiano*, Ravenna 1992 (Biblioteca di «Felix Ravenna» 7), 39 n. 81; PankEcon, s. index; PankIntro, s. index; RICHARD PANKHURST, "The 'Banyan' or Indian Presence at Massawa, the Dahlak Islands and the Horn of Africa", *JES* 12, 1, 1974, 107–28; ID.,"The History of Ethiopia's Relations with India Prior to the Nineteenth Century", in: *PICES* 4, vol. 1, 205–311; ID., "The Role of Indian Craftsmen in Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth-Century Palace, Church and Other Building", *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 5, 1995, 11–20; ROBERT WIREN, "Patrimoine, Trois sites en danger", *Les nouvelles d'Addis* 58, 2007, 8f.

Richard Pankhurst

Industry s. EAE vol. 5

Infantry

I. (Amh. **የእግረኛ፡ ጦር**, *yä'əgräññña ṭor*, 'foot soldiers, I.') always constituted the larger part (up to 90 %) of the traditional ↗army of the Christian Ethiopian empire. Though some infantrymen used ↗mules and ↗horses for riding whilst on march, they did not fight on horseback. The arms a common infantryman had before the introduction of ↗fire-arms were: one or two lances for throwing (**ዘገር**, *zägär*), one ↗spear for close fighting (**ጦር**, *ṭor*), a ↗shield (**ጋሻ**, *gašša*), a dagger, a sabre of *gorade* or *šotäl*-type (↗Swords) and a club made of hard and heavy wood (**ቦሎታ**, *bolota*). Coats of mail, helmets etc. were imported and rare. With the spreading of fire-arms, spears were slowly substituted by rifles. However, most of the soldiers mastered spear-throwing, and sabres remained the main weapon for hand-to-hand combat.

Formerly, the main traditional tactics of the Ethiopian infantrymen were to close on the enemy's troops outflanking them, attack them and charge in hand-to-hand fighting. With the introduction of fire-arms these tactics were slightly modified, but the headlong assault – preceded by fire-arm battle – and hand-to-hand combat remained the main method for achieving victory. In the battle, every infantryman acted independently, trying to close in and kill an enemy individually (Arnoldi 1907:110; Bulatovitch 2000:109f.).

Traditionally, Ethiopian troops were differentiated into: 1) permanent troops of the emperor (including the ↗*čäwa* military units); 2) permanent troops of individual war-lords; 3) levies mobilized in case of emergency; 4) irregular volunteers who sought booty and joined any troops during the campaign. This system corresponded precisely with the general distribution of these troops in the empire of ↗Mənilək II, where the imperial troops were quartered in the centre and served as a strategic reserve to the troops of warlords along endangered frontiers.

The soldiers followed the command of their lords only. In case of necessity a major army could be easily summoned; levies and irregulars could be enlisted both by the emperor and lords (Arnoldi 1907:15). At least in the Ethiopian highlands, almost every adult peasant was a potential soldier and readily responded to the emperor's or his lords's call in case of a campaign, hoping for booty and praise (cp. ↗Meritorious complex). This contributed to sometimes exaggerated observations concerning the number of Ethiopian troops available to the Emperor (Rein 1920:254f.).

In the time of Mənilək II measures were taken in order to organize better the Ethiopian army, the I. in particular. The imperial troops were divided into 1,000, 100 and 50 infantrymen-units (regiments, companies, half-companies). The smallest unit was under the command of a **ያምሳ፡ አለቃ** (*yamsa aläqa*, 'commander of 50'; Arnoldi 1907:9; cp. Bulatovich 2000:102ff.). It was a unit with its own common supply transport replenished by looting. At the turn of the 20th cent. a *yamsa aläqa* himself recruited his men among volunteers who had only to produce a **ተያዥ** (*täyaž*, 'guarantor') for the rifle they received. All the troops were recruited according to this pattern, except for imperial regiments which were manned mostly by sons of the noble military class (**ጨዋ፡ ልጆች**, ↗*čäwa ləǧočč*) who were introduced to the emperor. This made their future

career easier, but otherwise they lived the life of a common soldier and were promoted only for personal bravery and success.

Foreign observers praised Ethiopian soldiers, in particular infantrymen, for their durability on march and bravery in battle, cleverness and ability to act independently in any situation. Such an army effectively defended Ethiopian independence until the 20th cent.; it was clear, however, that the lack of strong organisation and proper technical and economic basis made such an army very vulnerable in front of 20th-cent. European troops, mechanized and equipped with automatic weapons. Being only in the early stages of its reorganization, the Ethiopian army, indeed, proved to be ineffective during the ↗Italian war 1935–36, although in the following ↗Resistance struggle the Ethiopians inflicted heavy casualities on the enemy, applying the tactics of guerilla warfare.

Lit.: KONSTANTIN N. ARNOLDI, *Voennye očerki Abissinii* ('Military Essays on Abyssinia'), St. Petersburg 1907, 22f.; BeckHuntAlm 76–81; ALEXANDER K. BULATOVICH, *Ethiopia through Russian Eyes: Country in Transition, 1896–98*, tr., ed. by RICHARD SELTZER, Oxford – New York 2000, 101–12; RICHARD PANHKURST, "The Ethiopian Army of Former Times", *EthObs* 7, 2, 1963, 118–43; ID., *An Introduction to the History of the Ethiopian Army*, Addis Ababa 1967 (Lit.); ID., "The Role of Fire-Arms in Ethiopian Culture (16th to 20th Centuries)", *Journal de la Société des Africanistes* 47, 2, 1977, 131–44; GEORG KURT REIN, *Abessinien: Eine Landeskunde nach Reisen und Studien in den Jahren 1907–1913*, vol. 3: *Geographie – Fauna und Flora – Sitte, Sprache, Kunst, Anthropologie, Ethnographie*, Berlin 1920, 253–64.

Sevir Chernetsov – Denis Nosnitsin

Initiation

I. can be defined as a socially accepted and culturally styled transition to a new social position or status, usually to adulthood and social responsibility, and is a virtually universal feature in all human cultures. I. in Ethiopian and other African societies is a prominent feature of life and an important focus of ritual attention. It should be distinguished from both life cycle and commemorative, or religious rituals, and reflects a status change of either individuals - such as young males to become adult, females to become nubile, a married man to become father, or the accession to a religious office or dignity or of such collective social groups, as "secret societies", age grades/groups (↗Age group systems), occupational or fighting groups. I. usually signifies the accession to a "higher", more mature stage. Research so far has shown that in Ethiopia it is more common, among males and male groups than among females, probably because the former as a rule dominate the public and political sphere in society. In some cases, women have their own, closed I. rituals marking social transition or access to certain functions or group membership after that (as in the case of several spirit ↗possession cults or the ↗Harari ↗*afōča*). However, usually women, especially when married, enter a new status or I. grade in a derivative fashion, after the I. of their husband. I. (re-)defines gender relations, roles and mutual obligations. The initiants have to show their social worthiness to ascend to the new life stage via a marking ritual, often in the form of a rite of passage, that extinguishes the previous stage or personality.

In anthropological and sociological studies on Ethiopian peoples, I. in its various cultural styles has received much attention from researchers. I. is notable in its variety across cultures as to complexity, meaning and ritual form. As I. represents a precarious moment of transition and sometimes crisis in the social order, it is connected to issues of power: those who are initiated come to replace or push back the established group or generation. The I. rituals therefore often show ambivalence and reversal.

I. can be effected through a variety of means: modifications of the body, such as ↗circumcision, removing incisors, or scarification (↗Body ornamentation); temporary isolation and ritual teaching; dance and song; or novices performing trying tasks or showing skills of performance. Often a combination of these modes is involved. In Ethiopia, the ↗sacrifice of stock animals is a part of many I. rituals as well, but sacrificial acts are not a necessary part of I. procedures. In most rural societies of Ethiopia, I. is a formal feature of socio-cultural life, tied to a certain historical, religious and ethnic tradition, and creates a predictable and socially "manageable" path to adulthood in such societies. In modernized urban societies I. is usually less of a ritually marked occasion, but can be recognized in, e.g., formal education (the entry into school or university), peer groups (as in street gangs or criminal groups), and the religious (Christian or Muslim) life cycle.

Among the Ethiopian ethno-cultural traditions in which I. is prominent, and well-described, are for instance the ↗Gamo societies (Abélès 1983; Freeman 2002), the Surmic-speaking ↗Mursi and ↗Suri, several Oromo groups like ↗Guğği and ↗Boorana (Hinnant 1978;

Bassi 1996), the ↗Sidaama (Hamer 1970; 1976), ↗Konso (Hallpike 1972), ↗Đáasanač (Almagor 1978), ↗Añwaa, ↗Gumuz, ↗Hamär (Strecker 1988), and ↗Arbore (Tadesse Wolde Gossa 2002; Ayalew Gebre 1995).

In most of the agro-pastoral societies of southern and western Ethiopia, I. is focused on the transformation of youths into young adults or "warriors" or into (junior) elders. This is often connected to the entry into a new age grade. Women often have parallel grades, though socio-politically less important. The most salient example is provided by the fascinating and complex ↗*gaada* age (generation)-grading system among the ↗Gideʾo, Guğği, Boorana and Konso peoples of southern Ethiopia. Here, the various grades (up to eight) are ritually entered after an I. ceremony, and each grade traditionally had a body of rules and regulations defining the members' behaviour. The grades originally also reflected a social division of labour. The I. itself is here only important as the way of entry into the grades. A highly interesting I. system is that in the Gamo highlands (Freeman 2002), where I. confirms seniority and social status, being performed by successful men, who for some time take up responsibilities for the community after having offered a series of feasts and then become "community fathers" (↗Meritorious complex). Another example is the *ukuli* (cattle jumping) ritual of the Hamär: the culmination of a series of ritual I. acts, it is meant to "create" or integrate a young person as a potentially productive and active member of the society (cf. Strecker 1988:205f.). Among the Suri and Mursi peoples of the south-west, there is a periodic age-grade I. ceremony every 15 to 20 years, which allows young men entry in to the junior elders' grade, entailing the achievement of social maturity, entry into the public debating assembly and the abandonment of youthful exploits like ceremonial duelling and random raiding (Abbink 1998:326f.; 2000:84; Turton 1955:104ff.; 2002:178f.). Among the Arbore, both boys and girls are initiated (Ayalew Gebre 1995:73). They also have I. of age or generation groups (Tadesse Wolde Gossa 2002:38). The ↗Ñaŋatom people in the south-west have complex, graded I. ceremonies concerned with the regulation of social order and fertility (Tornay 1986, 2001). The Đáasanač have a major I. related to the generation-set system, and also know a special I. ritual called *dimi*, whereby fathers perform a fertility ceremony for their daughter(s) and themselves are elevated to the status of senior elder (Almagor 1978:33f.). Among some other southern and eastern Ethiopian peoples, a male initiant could until recently only be allowed to enter an I. after having killed a human enemy or a wild animal.

Among sedentary agricultural societies in central and northern Ethiopia (Amhara, Oromo, Təgray), there are few if any formal I. ceremonies, although prestige and status accrue to persons reaching a certain stage in life on the basis of marriage, having borne children, religious status, or advanced age, which allows people to become respected elders who can be active in conflict mediation and community matters. In some respects, the ordination of priests and monks in Christian Ethiopia after years of training can also be considered as I. The originally Agäw-speaking ↗Kəmant people in the Gondär region had the *qenona* I. for babies 3-4 weeks after birth, making them members of Kəmant society. The ordination of the Kəmant ritual leader, the *wämbär,* also had elements of I. In general, various life-cycle rituals, such as baptism, naming, male/female circumcision, symbolic "fertility" rituals, etc. resemble I., transforming the status and identity of individuals. Certain secular rituals regarding recruitment, membership and internal mobility in modern social and political movements (e.g., insurgent or "liberation" movements) also had clear aspects of I. More comparative studies of I. in Ethiopian societies are needed to reveal historical and social similarities as well as recent changes. In a trend foreshadowing the era of mass tourism in Ethiopia, some I. ceremonies, such as for instance the *ukuli* ceremony among the Hamär, have now, in a specially staged form, become tourist attractions.

Lit.: JON ABBINK, "Restoring the Balance: 'Violence and Culture among the Suri of Southern Ethiopia'", in: GÖRAN AIJMER – JON ABBINK (eds.), *Meanings of Violence: a Cross-Cultural Perspective*, Oxford – New York 2000, 77–100; ID., "Violence and Political Discourse among the Chai Suri", in: GERRIT J. DIMMENDAAL – MARCO LAST (eds.), *Surmic Languages and Cultures*, Cologne 1998, 321–44; MARC ABÉLÈS, *Le Lieu du Politique*, Paris 1983; URI ALMAGOR, *Pastoral Partners*, Manchester 1978; MARCO BASSI, *I Borana*, Milan 1996; AYALEW GEBRE, *The Arbore of Southern Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 1995, 72–83; DENA FREEMAN, *Initiating Change in Highland Ethiopia: Causes and Consequences of Cultural Transformation*, Cambridge 2002; CHRISTOPHER R. HALLPIKE, *The Konso of Ethiopia*, Oxford 1972; JOHN W. HAMER, "Sidamo Generational Age-classes: a Political Gerontocracy", *Africa. Journal of the African Institute* 40, 1, 1970, 50–70, ID., "Myth, Ritual and the Authority of Elders in an Ethiopian Society", *Africa. Journal of the African Institute* 36, 4, 1976, 327–39; JOHN L. HINNANT,

"Guji: *Gada* as a Ritual System", in: URI ALMAGOR – PAUL T.W. BAXTER (eds.), *Age, Generation and Time*, London 1978, 207–43; IVO STRECKER, *The Social Practice of Symbolization: an Anthropological Analysis*, London 1988; TADESSE WOLDE GOSSA, "Evading the Revolutionary State: the Hor under the Derg", in: WENDY JAMES et al. (eds.), *Remapping Ethiopia*, Oxford 2002, 37–58; DAVID TURTON, "History, Age and the Anthropologists", in: GIORGIO AUSENDA (ed.), *After Empire: towards an Ethnology of Europe's New Barbarians*, London – San Marino, CA 1995, 95-112; ID. "The Same only Different: War and Duelling as Boundary Marking Rituals in Mursiland, Southwestern Ethiopia", in: TIM J. CORNELL – THOMAS B. ALLEN (eds.), *War and Games*, Rochester, NY 2002, 171–92; SERGE TORNAY, "Une Afrique démasquée. Initiation et sacrifice chez les pasteurs d'Afrique Orientale", in: PIERRE CENTLIVRES – JEAN HINARD (eds.), *Les Rites de Passage Aujourd'hui. Actes du Colloque de Neuchâtel*, Lausanne 1986, 69-92; ID., *Les Fusils Jaunes*, Paris 2001, 271f.

Jon Abbink

Inor ↗Ǝnnämor

Inscriptions

1. Introduction
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Introduction

Along with an extremely rich documentation of graffiti in cursive writing, I. in ↗Epigraphic South Arabian, ↗Gəᶜəz, ↗Greek, and ↗Arabic form the fascinating epigraphic corpus of Ethiopia and Eritrea; very few I. in Gəᶜəz and Greek, also relevant to the same corpus, have been found outside the country: i.e. in Yemen (South ↗Arabia), Sudan (↗Meroë) and ↗Egypt. Besides, a case of indirect transmission is the ↗Monumentum Adulitanum, a lost Greek I., included, though, in the text of ↗Cosmas Indicopleustes. Two I. (*Səḥuf əmni*, RIÉ 287, and the I. from ↗Kawa) are written in Ethiopic script, but could not be deciphered. All these I. range from the early centuries of the first millennium B.C. up to the present times.

Two major scholarly enterprises have been crucial in gathering and studying the ancient and medieval I. of the Ethio-Eritrean region, which shed an absolutely authentic light on the latter's past, so scantly represented in literary sources (↗Historiography). In 1906, the ↗Deutsche Aksum-Expedition, led by ↗Littmann, carried out research on the highlands; then, in 1952, the Addis Abäba Maison d'archéologie undertook further studies, entrusted to several scholars (mainly epigraphists and Semitists Abraham Johannes Drewes and Roger ↗Schneider, flanked by Etienne Bernand for the Greek inscriptions). The *Recueil des inscriptions de l'Éthiopie des périodes pré-axoumite et axoumite* of the 1990s (RIÉ) made more than four hundred texts fully available in photographic reproduction and transcription, with translation and commentary only for the Greek documents.

There are a number of historical issues arising from ancient Ethiopian epigraphic material. Only a few of them can be summarized here:

1. Relations with Arabia

The oldest Ethiopian I., from the first millennium B.C., are in Sabaic (↗Epigraphic South Arabian). In the late 1800s, on being found, they seemed to confirm the commonly-held theory, first put forward by Hiob ↗Ludolf as early as 1681, that classical sources, linguistic data and elements of history and culture – including, e.g., the famous legendary meeting between the King of Israel Solomon and the Queen of Sheba (↗Makəda) – all point to Ethiopian culture originating from South Arabia. Ludolf's theory has been since challenged. Though these I. come from markedly South-Arabian archaeological contexts, a group of them can be isolated that possess a number of linguistic features different from standard Sabaic, thus betraying the interference of the local language and culture. In recent years, many scholars have underscored such features, up to judging the South-Arabian presence in Ethiopia ephemeral, and belittling its rôle in the origins and development of the most ancient Ethiopian civilization. Indeed, in the first half of the 1st millennium B.C., a cultural *koiné* was created on both shores of the ↗Red Sea; the documentation in monumental South Arabian script bears witness to contacts of long duration that cannot be dismissed as ephemeral.

2. Hellenism

From the late 4th cent. B.C., a non-sporadic Greek presence on the Eritrean coast was especially felt in the harbour zone of ↗Adulis, a long-standing "port of trade". Here the Monumentum Adulitanum marked the place as the southernmost tip of the Ptolemaic lands. Furthermore, the first inscription bearing the name of an Ethiopian king,

from ↗Däqqamḥare, is also in Greek: it was dictated by ↗Sembrouthes "the greatest from among the Aksumite kings", at the end of the 2nd/beginning of the 3rd cent. A.D.

3. Birth and evolution of Gəᶜəz writing

Ethiopic ↗script started to be used for writing not earlier than the 1st or 2nd cent. A.D., and in ca. 325/30, during the reign of ↗ᶜEzana, there is the earliest testimony of the most significant reform in the history of the Ethiopic writing tradition, namely the introduction of vowels through a regular modification of the signs used for consonant writing. By the middle of the 6th cent., epigraphic script (e.g., RIÉ 232) has assumed the (palaeo)graphical features that can be found much later on parchment ↗manuscripts.

Src.: IOBI LUDOLFI *Historia Aethiopica, sive brevis et succincta descriptio regni Habessinorum* ..., Francofurti ad Moenum 1681, lb. I, ch. 1, §§ 5–8; DAE IV; ABRAHAM JOHANNES DREWES, *Inscriptions de l'Éthiopie antique*, Leiden 1962; RIÉ I–IIIA.

Lit.: GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, "Sembrouthes 'gran re' (DAE *IV 3* = RIÉth *275*). Per la storia del primo ellenismo aksumita", *La Parola del Passato* 59, 2004 [2005], 103–57 (Lit.); PAOLO MARRASSINI, "Ancora sulle 'origine etiopiche'", in: SANDRO FILIPPO BONDÌ et al., *Studi in onore di Edda Bresciani*, Pisa 1985, 303–15; ROGER SCHNEIDER, "L'inscription 'trilingue' et l'inscription en 'pseudo-sabéen' d'Ézana", *JES* 29, 2, 1996, 1–3; ID., "Remarques sur les inscriptions sabéennes de l'Éthiopie pré-aksumite", in: JERÔME LENTIN – ANTOINE LONNET (eds.), *Mélanges David Cohen: études sur le langage, les langues, les dialectes, les littératures* ..., Paris 2003, 609–14; SIEGBERT UHLIG, "Eine trilinguale 'Ezana-Inschrift", *Aethiopica* 4, 2001, 7–31.

Alessandra Avanzini

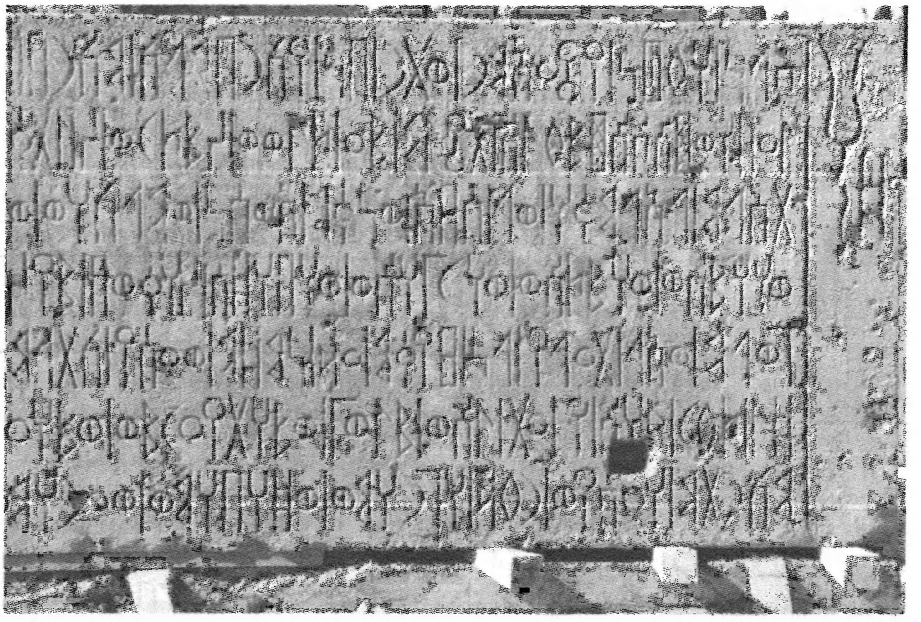
Epigraphic South Arabian inscriptions in Arabia

The ↗Epigraphic South Arabian (E.S.A.) language, with its four main dialects (Sabaic, Minaic, Qatabānic and Ḥaḍramitic), has been only transmitted epigraphically. The I. appear in the first place on specially prepared stone surfaces: limestone or, sometimes, sandstone blocks and smoothened rock walls. E.S.A. I. have also been preserved, even if much more rarely, on metal items such as metal plates, statuettes, vessels, weapons, amulets, measures of capacity, weights and coins. Besides, wooden sticks and palm leave stalks bear I. in minuscule cursive script.

A set of 29 graphemes composing the monumental South Arabian script are equally used for all the dialects. The text usually runs from right to left, however, bustrophedon is predominant for Old Sabaic (8th–3rd cent. B.C.). The letters of Old Sabaic follow the geometrical rules of straight lines, square angles and rounded shapes. At the same time the principles of symmetry and proportion play a great role as can also be seen in the architecture of the period. The letters of Middle Sabaic period (1st cent B.C.–late 4th cent. A.D.) appear broader and more ornamental due to the thickening of lines and sharpening of their endings. The Late Sabaic monotheistic period of 5th–6th cent. A.D. is particularly characterized by stone relieved letters that obtain a broader shape. Equally significant for Late Sabaic epigraphy are letters organized into more or less symmetric monograms.

Of over 8,500 published I. ca. 5,300 are in the best documented Sabaic dialect. The rest are ca. 1,700 Qatabānic, 850 Minaic and 750 Ḥaḍramitic (except for the Raybūn Corpus) I. Their length varies from graffiti that sometimes consist of only one proper name to extensive reports of kings' and chiefs' activities counting up to over 1,000 words. Language, style and specific text genres are strongly influenced by the public character of the epigraphic monuments. By far the most widely spread texts in all dialects are dedications. They are followed by construction reports, tomb, commemorative, and penitential I. as well as various legal documents such as definitions of borders, irrigation regulations, contracts, certificates, decrees of rulers. All of these provide an insight into the public and – to a lesser part – private life in pre-Islamic societies of South ↗Arabia.

The I. in minuscule script were only first discovered in the early 1970s in Yemen; so far several thousand I. have become known, most of them are expecting to be analyzed in the National Museum of Ṣanᶜāᵓ. These documents are comparable with Akkadian epistolography on clay tablets or with Arabic papyri from Egypt and provide insight into the everyday legal and economic matters that could not be reflected in the lapidary I. meant for public presentation. Difficult to decipher, only 40 minuscule I. have been published so far, among them business and private letters, legal documents, name lists as well as spelling exercises (alphabet). The majority of the known wood-stick I. come from one place, the ancient Naššān (today as-Sawdāᵓ) in Ǧawf, Yemen, and are written in the Sabaic – some in the Minaic – dialect. Few examples of Ḥaḍramitic I. have been excavated by the Russian expedition in Raybūn. The texts in minuscule script date to Old, Middle and Late Sabaic periods and show corresponding palaeographic differences.



Monumental Sabaic inscription (extract) by Yiṯaᶜʾamar Watar from Ṣirwāḥ, ca. 715 B.C. (DAI Ṣirwāḥ 2005–50), courtesy of the author

The oldest dateable I. was excavated in December 2005 by the German Institute of Archaeology in the Almaqah temple of Ṣirwāḥ. It is a monumental record of reign of Yiṯaᶜʾamar Watar b. Yakrubmalik, a ruler mentioned in the Annals of the Assyrian king Sargon II and therefore dateable to ca. 715 B.C. The most recent I. (CIH 325) is a fragmentary construction report from the eastern Wādī Mawr in northern Yemeni Tihāma. It was composed in the year 669 of the Ḥimyarite era which corresponds to 559 A.D.

The first (useable) I. in E.S.A. to be presented to European scholarly audience was published by Joseph von Hammer in 1811. It was a fragment of a mid-5th-cent. construction report (CIH 620) found by Ulrich Jasper Seetzen during his first travel in Yemen in July 1810 in Mankaṯ near the ancient Ḥimyarite capital Ẓafār. This fragment together with such other later published I. as the famous rock I. of Ḥusn al-Ġurāb (CIH 621) and the Ḥaḍramitic construction I. of Naqb al-Haǧar (RES 2640) enabled Wilhelm Gesenius and Emil Roediger to nearly completely decipher the Ancient South Arabian alphabet in the 1840s. The Ethiopic ↗script, deriving from Sabaic, was of significant help in their efforts.

↗Epigraphic South Arabian

Src.: CIH; JOSEPH VON HAMMER, "Auszug aus einem Briefe des kaiserl. russ. Collegienassessors Herrn Dr. Seetzen an Herrn von Hammer aus Mocha den 14. November 1810", *Fundgruben des Orients* 2, 1811, 275–84.

Lit.: BARBARA JÄNDL, *Altsüd-arabische Inschriften auf Metall*, Ph.D. thesis, Jena 2006; WALTER W. MÜLLER, "Die altsüdarabische Schrift", in: HARTMUT GÜNTHER – OTTO LUDWIG (eds.), *Schrift und Schriftlichkeit: ein interdisziplinäres Handbuch internationaler Forschung*, vol. 1, Berlin 1994 (Handbücher zur Sprach- und Kommunikationswissenschaft 10.1), 307–12; NORBERT NEBES, "Ulrich Jasper Seetzen im Jemen", in: HANS STEIN (ed.), *Ulrich Jasper Seetzen (1767–1811): Leben und Werk. Die arabischen Länder und die Nahostforschung im napoleonischen Zeitalter ...*, Gotha 1995 (Veröffentlichungen der Forschungs- und Landesbibliothek Gotha 33), 39–52; ID., "Itaʾamar der Sabäer: zur Datierung der Monumentalinschrift des Yiṯaᶜʾamar Watar aus Ṣirwāḥ", *Arabian Archaeology and Epigraphy* 18, 2007, 25–33; JACQUES RYCK-MANS – WALTER W. MÜLLER – YUSUF M. ABDALLAH, *Textes du Yémen antique inscrits sur bois. Avant-Propos de Jean-François Breton*, Louvain-la-Neuve 1994 (Publications de l'Institut Orientaliste de Louvain 43); PETER STEIN, *Untersuchungen zur Phonologie und Morphologie des Sabäischen*, Rahden/Westfalen 2003 (Epigraphische Forschungen auf der Arabischen Halbinsel 3); ID., "The Ancient South Arabian Minuscule Inscriptions on Wood: a New Genre of Pre-Islamic Epigraphy", *Jaarbericht Ex Oriente Lux* 39, 2005 [2006], 181–99.

Norbert Nebes

Ethiopia in Epigraphic South Arabian inscriptions

Ethiopia-relevant I. in E.S.A. are found on both the Arabian and the African continent. This subarticle deals with the I. found on the South Arabian territory which testify to ↗Aksum's involvement in ↗Arabia. They can be chronologically roughly divided into two main periods: late 2nd cent. – 270s (the "First Abyssinian Intervention") and early to mid-6th cent., all of them written in the Sabaic dialect.

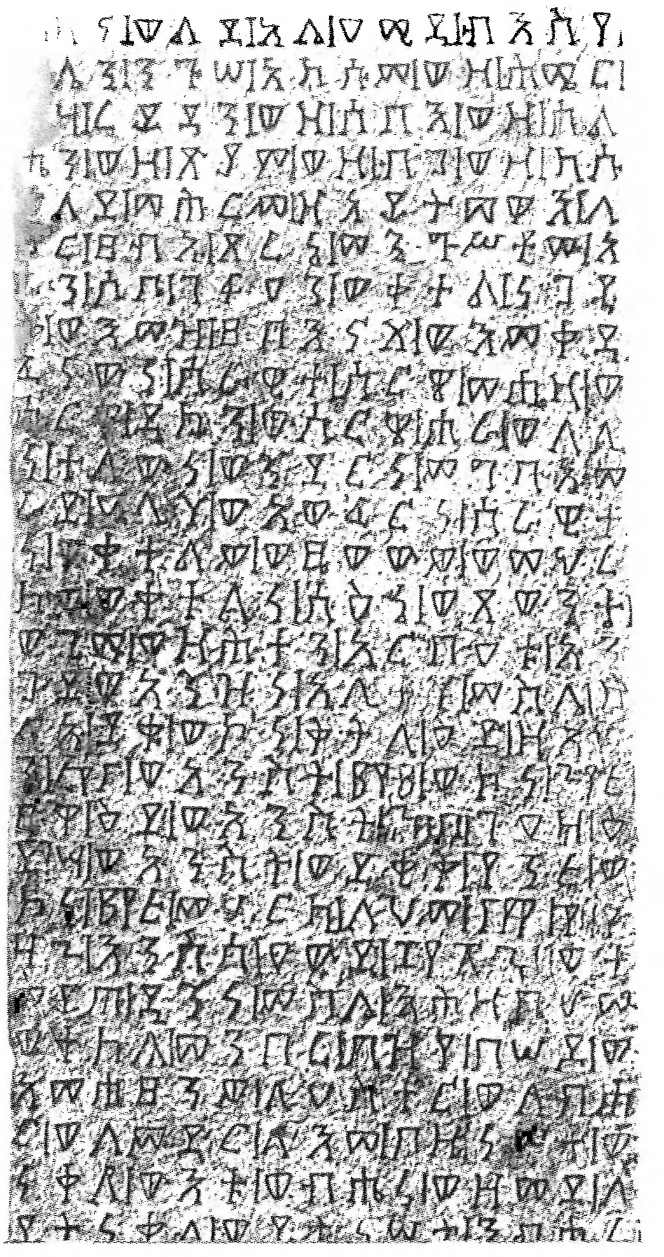
The term used for Ethiopia or, more precisely, "↗Abyssinia", is usually *ʾrḍ/ḥbšt* or simply *ḥbšt* (e.g. Ry 508/8), seldom *ḥbštn* in *mlk/ḥbštn* (CIH 308/11 pass.), meaning the inhabitants of the Ethiopian highlands (cp. ↗*Ḥabašāt*). The term *ʾksmn*, as in *mlk/ʾksmn* (Ja 576/11) 'King of the Aksumites', *mlk/ḥbšt/w-ʾksmn* (Ja 631/13) 'King of Abyssinia and of the Aksumites' or *ʾrḍ/ḥbšt/w-ʾksmn* (E 28 § 1) 'land of Abyssinia and of the Aksumites' has to be understood as the *nisba* plural [Aksūmān] and therefore does not designate the ancient Ethiopian capital but the residents of the Aksumite kingdom (Müller 1998:218). To refer to the Ethiopian king the Sabaic *mlk* is used, or the

word *ngšy-n*, borrowed into Sabaic from ↗Gəᶜəz (e.g., Ja 585/14f., CIH 541/88). The Abyssinian clans dwelling or stationed in the Yemeni Tihāma were called the *ʾḥzb* / *ʾḥbšn* or *ḥbšt*; the name of only one such clan is known: GMD (*ḥzb* / *gmd* [sic l.!]; MAFRAY Miᶜsāl 5/11).

The earliest dateable I. mentioning Ethiopia go back to the period of the joint reign of the Sabaean kings ᶜAlhān Nahfān and his son Šāᶜirum Awtar at the end of the 2nd cent. Among the early I. are, e.g., CIH 308 informing us of an alliance of ↗GDRT and the Sabaean king ᶜAlhān; NNAG 13+14 mentioning Abyssinia as part of an anti-Ḥimyarite coalition; Ja 631/13 confirming GDRT's diplomatic relations with Šāᶜirum; E 12 and, possibly, Ry 533/21f. hinting at the reasons for the collapse of the coalition. Later I. testify to Šāᶜirum's unsuccessful attempts to diminish the Ethiopian influence (Ja 635/24; DAI Barʾān 2000–1/6), to military campaigns of the Abyssinians under prince BYGT and their eventual defeat (Ja 631/20–36; Nebes 2005:341–44).

Mid-3rd-cent. I. such as Ja 576, CIH 314+954 inform us that, during the wars of the Sabaean kings Ilšaraḥ Yaḥḍib and Yaʾzil Bayyin against Ḥimyar, the Abyssinians supported the Ḥimyarites. They were defeated, and so were later the Abyssinian deputy of the Ethiopian king in ↗Nağrān who surrendered to the Sabaeans (Ja 577/12). The relations with ↗Ḥimyar, however, seem to have deteriorated later on. The unpublished rock I. of Ǧabal Miᶜsāl (MAFRAY Miᶜsāl 3/8f.; cf. Robin 1989:151; Bāfaqīh 1990:397) and, even more so, the I. MAFRAY Miᶜsāl 5 from the year 272/3, speak of the military campaigns against the Abyssinians, as a result of which they lost completely their regional influence.

The I. from the first half of the 4th cent. A.D. bear witness to diplomatic contacts between Aksum and Ḥimyar (E 28). King ᶜEzana's I. (e.g., RIÉ 188) claim dominion over Ḥimyar and Sabaʾ and their dynasties Raydān and Salḥīn, but there is so far no indication on the South Arabian side to confirm his statements. With the conversion of the Ḥimyarite rulers to monotheism after mid-4th cent. the dedications from such polytheistic holy sites as the Awām temple in Mārib, that until then had been the most important source for the political history of South Arabia, disappear. The epigraphic documents give no information on the relationships between Ḥimyar and Aksum during the following 150 years. This can be explained by the fact that we so far have no documents from Ẓafār, which became the centre of power in South Arabia, archaeological research on the Ḥimyarite capital being in its early stage. The conflict between the South Arabian ruler ↗Yūsuf Asʾar Yaṯʾar and Ethiopia in the first quarter of the 6th cent. A.D. is, however, well documented in Greek and Syriac sources and is confirmed by epigraphic evidence (e.g., Ja 1028, Ry 507 and Ry 508) on the South Arabian side.



Gəᶜəz inscription of ᶜEzana (RIÉ 188); from Buxton 1970:206, no. 27

The latest known Sabaic I. with relevance to Ethiopian history are those of ↗Abraha: CIH 541 (dating from 547/48 [542/43]), Ry 506 (from 552 [547]) and Ja 544–47 (558 [553]).

Src.: CIH 314+954, 541; DAI Barʾān 2000–1 (NORBERT NEBES, "Ein Feldzugsbericht des Šāᶜirum ʾAwtar in einer neuen Widmungsinschrift aus dem Barʾān-Tempel", in:

Scripta Yemenica. Issledovanija po Južnoj Aravii. Sbornik naučnyh statej v čest' 60-letija M.V. Piotrovskogo, Moskva 2004, 273–88); E 12, 28 (MUṬAHHAR ʿA. AL-ʾIRYĀNĪ, *Fī tārīḫ al-Yaman. Šarḥ wa-taʿlīq ʿalā nuqūš lam tunšar. 34 naqšan min maǧmūʿat al-Qāḍī ʿAlī ʿAbdallāh al-Kuhālī*, Cairo 1973, ²1990); Ja 544–47 (ALBERT JAMME, "Inscriptions des alentours de Mâreb (Yémen)", *Cahiers de Byrsa* 5, 1955, 265-81), Ja 576–77, 585, 631, 635 (ID., *Sabaean Inscriptions from Maḥram Bilqîs [Mârib]*, Baltimore, MD 1962 [Publications of the American Foundation for the Study of Man 3]), Ja 1028 (ID., *Sabaean and Ḥasaean Inscriptions from Saudi Arabia*, Roma 1966 [Studi Semitici 23]); MAFRAY Miʿsāl 5 (MUḤAMMAD ʿABDALQĀDIR BĀFAQĪH, "Muḥtawā naqš al-Miʿsāl 5", *Raydān* 6, 1994, 57–77); RES (= Répertoire d'Épigraphie Sémitique, Paris 1900ff.); RIÉ 188; Ry 506–08, 533 (GONZAGUE RYCKMANS, "Inscriptions sud-arabes", *Le Muséon* 66, 1953, 267–317; ibid. 68, 1955, 297–312).

Lit.: JOËLLE BEAUCAMP – FRANÇOISE BRIQUEL-CHATONNET – CHRISTIAN-JULIEN ROBIN, "La persécution des chrétiens de Nagrān et la chronologie ḥimyarite", *ARAM Periodical* 11–12, 1999–2000, 15–83; MUḤAMMAD ʿABDALQĀDIR BĀFAQĪH, *L'unification du Yémen antique – la lutte entre Saba', Ḥimyar et le Ḥaḍramawt du Ier au IIIème siècle de l'ère chrétienne*, Paris 1990 (Bibliothèque de Raydan 1); WALTER WILHELM MÜLLER, "Abessinier und ihre Namen und Titel in vorislamischen südarabischen Texten", *Neue Ephemeris für Semitische Epigraphik* 3, 1978, 159–68; ID., "Südarabisches zum Namen Aksum", *Aethiopica* 1, 1998, 217–20; NORBERT NEBES, "Sabäische Texte", in: BERND JANOWSKI – GERNOT WILHELM (eds.), *Staatsverträge, Herrscherinschriften und andere Dokumente zur politischen Geschichte*, Gütersloh 2005 (Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments, Neue Folge 2), 331–67; ID., "Die Märtyrer von Naǧrān und das Ende der Ḥimyar. Zur politischen Geschichte Südarabiens im frühen 6. Jh.", *Aethiopica* 11, 2008, in preparation; CHRISTIAN-JULIEN ROBIN, "La première intervention abyssine en Arabie méridionale", in: *PICES* 8, 147–62; ID., "La Tihāma yéménite avant l'islam: notes d'histoire et de géographie historique", *Arabian Archaeology and Epigraphy* 6, 1995, 222–35.

Norbert Nebes

Sabaic inscriptions in Ethiopia and Eritrea

Numerous I. in ↗Epigraphic South Arabian script and Sabaic language have been found in the northern Ethiopian and Eritrean highlands since the late 19th cent. In 1893 ↗Bent made copies and squeezes of six Sabaic I. (RIÉ 33, 36, 38, 40, 42, 43) in ↗Yəḥa, which were published, as the last chapter of his book (1893), by D. H. ↗Müller, whose study of the same texts appeared a year later (1894). Four of these fragmentary I. (cf. RES 2629–32) had already been copied by ↗Salt (1814). Further Sabaic I. were found in 1906 by the ↗Deutsche Aksum-Expedition and published by ↗Littmann (DAE IV). The number of known Ethio-Sabaic I. has considerably increased in the second half of the 20th cent. due to the activities of such scholars as Francis Anfray, Roger ↗Schneider and Abraham Johannes Drewes.

The RIÉ contains 179 Sabaic I. from the pre-Aksumite period (RIÉ 1–179); a half a dozen more texts have come to light since then. They all date from the first half of the first millennium B.C.; the oldest texts go back to the 8th–7th cent. B.C. and testify to an undeniable cultural South Arabian influence in Ethiopia and Eritrea.

The first group of the Ethio-Sabaic I. consists of 18 texts (RIÉ 20–24; 26–30; 39; 41; 53; 55–58; 61) that were found in the region of ↗Ḥawəlti and ↗Mälazo, in Yəḥa, ↗ʿAddi Kramatən and ↗Mäṭära. The I., to a great deal fragmentary, are in a more or less pure Sabaic, written bustrophedon in monumental script of the earlier palaeographic period. The epigraphic texts were found carved upon ↗incense-burners, various kinds of altars or votive-stones dedicated by private persons to supreme deities of the Sabaean pantheon, like ↗Almaqah, ʿAṯtar (↗ʿAstär), ↗Dāt Ḥimyam or Dāt Baʿdān. The texts indicate that their authors were South Arabian immigrants, with typical Old Sabaean names like Yaqdumʾil or Ṣubḥumū, who came from the Sabaean capital Mārib or from Ḥadaqān in the Yemeni highland, and practised the craft of a stonemason (*grbyn*; RIÉ 26; 39).

The second, more numerous group of Sabaic I. from the pre-Aksumite period, though contemporary with the former, shows linguistic features different from South Arabian Sabaic that are undoubtedly the result of interference with the vernacular language. These texts, which are usually short and show a simple phraseology, were most probably carved by Ethiopians who spoke a local idiom and used Sabaic only in writing. The interdental phonemes *ṯ* and *ẓ* are replaced by *s* and *ṣ*, e.g. *ʿstr* 'ʿAstär' (RIÉ 1) (Sabaic *ʿṯtr*), *ʾnst* 'wife' (RIÉ 8) (Sabaic *ʾnṯt*), *ʾwsn* 'stelae' (RIÉ 5) (Sabaic *ʾwṯn*), *hḥds* 'to create, make, dedicate' (RIÉ 1) (Sabaic *hḥdṯ*), the hitherto unexplained *bsqt* 'by the guarantee of' (RIÉ 10) (root *wṯq*; cf. Sabaic *hwṯq* 'to guarantee') and *ṣlm* 'black' (RIÉ 5) (Sabaic *ẓlm*). The suffixed pronoun of the third person plural is written *-mw* 'their' (RIÉ 5) (Sabaic *-hmw*; cf. ↗Gəʿəz *-omu*), and the diphthongs *aw* and *ay* appear in reduced form as *o* and *e*, e.g., *hbs* 'Hobas' (RIÉ 62) (Sabaic ↗HWBS) and *šmn* 'šeman, the patron deity' (RIÉ 10) (Sabaic *šymn*). The indirect object of the verb *hqny* 'to dedicate' is often introduced by the preposition *l-*, e.g. *hqny lʾlmqh* (RIÉ 31) versus *hqny ʾlmqh* (RIÉ 28). Despite the limited

vocabulary of the I., there is a number of words unattested in Sabaic: e.g., *gbr* 'to make' (RIÉ 7) (cf. Gəᶜəz *gäbrä*), *mṭry* 'property' (RIÉ 37) (cf. Gəᶜəz *aṭräyä* 'to possess') and the attached particle *-hy* (RIÉ 5) (cf. Gəᶜəz *-hi* 'also, and'); deities unknown elsewhere, like *ṣdqn* (RIÉ 47) and *šyḥn* (RIÉ 51), occur as well.

A smaller part of this second group of texts are royal I. (RIÉ 1–13) of independent rulers bearing Semitic names who were kings of a territory or tribe called ↗DᶜMT, the centre of which was in the region between ↗Aksum and ↗ᶜAddi Gälämo and ↗Mäqälä and ↗Käskase. The style of these I., which date to the 8th–7th cent. B.C., shows common features with the oldest Sabaic I., e.g., in the invocation formula of the deities at the end of the texts. The rulers called themselves *ygᶜḏyn* – the same root as in Gəᶜəz (s. ↗Agᶜazi) – and were not only addressed as *mlk*, 'king', but also as *mkrb dᶜmt wsbʾ* '*mukarrib* of DᶜMT and Sabaʾ', i.e. of the indigenous population and of the immigrant Sabaeans, to which the term *ʾdm wṣlm*, 'the red and the black', i.e. the fair-skinned and the dark-skinned people, is also likely to refer.

The majority of I. of this second group (RIÉ 14–19; 25; 31–38; 40; 42–52; 54; 60; 62–179) are, with few exceptions, smaller fragments of texts and rock-graffiti in cursive writing that have been found in the regions of Mälazo, Yəḥa, Mäqälä, ↗Sänᶜafe and ↗ᶜAddi Qäyyəḥ. Unique is the inscription bearing the South Arabian alphabet (RIÉ 165) written in two bustrophedon lines, in which the signs for the letters *ġ* and *ś* are missing, while the letter *ẓ*, which likewise does not occur in the Ethio-Sabaic I., is obviously included.

Two copies of a royal I. from the reign of ↗ᶜEzana present, besides the Greek version, the Gəᶜəz text in two different scripts, one in Ethiopic characters and the other one in South Arabian characters, the so-called "pseudo-Sabaic" (RIÉ 185 and 185bis). Another inscription from the time of ᶜEzana (RIÉ 190) has a Greek and a "pseudo-Sabaic" version, while three I. exist only in a "pseudo-Sabaic" version, one of a brother of ᶜEzana (RIÉ 186), another of King ↗Kaleb (RIÉ 191) and the third of King ↗WᶜZB (RIÉ 192). These "pseudo-Sabaic" I. show some South Arabian linguistic features: the Gəᶜəz word *wäld* 'son' is replaced by Sabaic *bn* and the Gəᶜəz word ↗*nəguś* by Sabaic *mlk* in the title of the king, the specific South Arabic consonants *ṯ*, *ḏ* and *ś* are used, as well as the matres lectionis *w* and *y*, e.g. *ʾkswmm* 'Aksum' and *dqyqm* 'children'; the mimation *-m*, characteristic of Epigraphic South Arabian, is frequently employed as a purely graphic element for all parts of speech (cp. the two examples cited above; also *ʾsrgwnhmm* 'we adorned them'; *mnglnm* 'towards us'). The pseudo-Sabaic version of the royal I. reflected ᶜEzana's intention to express the ideological claim of the Ethiopian sovereign to be, at the same time, ruler of South Arabia as well.

Epigraphic South Arabian inscription found in ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon, 10 km south-west of Aksum, referring to the kingdom of DᶜMT; from RIÉ 1

Src.: JAMES THEODORE BENT, *The Sacred City of the Ethiopians; being a Record of Travel and Research in Abyssinia in 1893. With a Chapter by Prof. D.H. MÜLLER on the Inscriptions from Yeha and Aksum ...*, London – New York 1893, 231-85 [ch. 13, "On the Inscriptions from Yeha and Aksum", by DAVID HEINRICH MÜLLER]; DAE IV; ABRAHAM JOHANNES DREWES, *Inscriptions de l'Éthiopie antique*, Leiden 1962; DAVID HEINRICH MÜLLER, *Epigraphische Denkmäler aus Abessinien nach Abklatschen von J. Theodore Bent*, Wien 1894 (Denkschriften der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Classe 43, 1894, Abh. 3); RES V; RIÉ I–III; HENRY SALT, *A Voyage to Abyssinia, and Travels into the Interior of that Country*, London 1814.

Lit.: DAVID BUXTON, *The Abyssinians*, London 1970, 206 (ill.) ABRAHAM JOHANNES DREWES, "The Lexicon of Ethiopian Sabaean", *Raydān* 3, 1980, 35–54; ID. – ROGER SCHNEIDER, "L'alphabet sudarabique du Dakhanamo", *ibid.* 31–33; GIANFRANCESCO LUSINI, "A proposito delle iscrizioni sudarabiche d'Etiopia", *Studi epigrafici e linguistici sul Vicino Oriente Antico* 17, 2000, 95–103; ANDREA MANZO, "Note su alcuni oggetti sudarabici rinvenuti in Etiopia", *RSE* 1, 1, 2002, 45–61, pl. I–III; RIÉ 1 (ill.); ROGER SCHNEIDER, "Remarques sur les inscriptions sabéennes de l'Éthiopie pré-aksumite", in: JÉRÔME LENTIN – ANTOINE LONNET (eds.), *Mélanges David Cohen*, Paris 2003, 609–14; ALEXANDER SIMA, "Die 'sabäische' Version von König ᶜĒzānās Trilingue RIÉ 185 und RIÉ 185bis", *Archiv für Orientforschung* 50, 2003-04, 269–84; STEFAN WENINGER, "Aethiosabaeica minora", *Aethiopica* 10, 2007, 52–57; HERMANN VON WISSMANN, *Über die frühe Geschichte Arabiens und das Entstehen des Sabäerreichs. Die Geschichte von Saba'*, vol. 1, Wien 1975 (Sammlung

Eduard Glaser XIII. Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse. Sitzungsberichte, 301, 5).

Walter W. Müller

Greek inscriptions in Ethiopia/Eritrea

The number of ↗Greek I. available for Ethiopia and Eritrea is quite limited: some 20 pieces, with a chronological range from the 3rd cent. B.C. to the mid-6th cent. A.D. Apart from the ↗Monumentum Adulitanum, transmitted only within ↗Cosmas Indicopleustes's *Christian Topography*, a few of them are known since as early as 1805, from the copies taken by Henry ↗Salt during his visit to Aksum; others have come to light during the past century. After the pivotal though partial publication by Enno ↗Littmann in 1913 (DAE IV), a more or less complete corpus was edited by Étienne Bernand in 1991, and translated and commented upon by him in 2000 (RIÉ I–II and, resp., IIIA: nos. 269–286A, no. 273 being, however, in ↗Gəᶜəz, s. Fiaccadori 1981).

The use of Greek, not only internationally, as in coin legends (on gold, until the end of the ↗coinage), but also internally in epigraphs and such inscribed objects as clay lamps, pottery, amphorae (bearing the usual *tituli*, 'labels', and monograms, s. Littmann 1957:754ff.) and cast jewellery, most of them likely to be imported from Egypt, testify to the importance of both that language – rather a *lingua franca* of the Red Sea area – and the Hellenistic culture it conveyed, which were to spread from the Eritrean coast, with the "port of trade" of ↗Adulis (ruled, in the 1st cent. A.D., by King ↗Zoskales, "skilled in Greek letters"), to the far inland kingdom of ↗Aksum, centred on the nowadays Eritrean and Ethiopian mountain regions.

As a chosen official language, written Greek preceded the common use of Gəᶜəz: largely directed towards such foreign residents and visitors as traders and sailors, it was understood by a small portion of the ruling class and the merchant community. Yet, a body of learned people – special clerks or, later, ecclesiastics acquainted with the Greek language and literature – must have acted as scribes in preparing the drafts for the epigraphic documents (MHAksum 245). The early use of Greek for monumental I. may have been "an important factor towards the 'stylistic confidence' shown by the Gəᶜəz I." (ibid. 247).

The most ancient Greek I. is the first part of the Monumentum Adulitanum, by Ptolemy III, ca. 245–43 A.D. (RIÉ 276 = ODWG 1), which only survives in the incomplete copy made around 518/20 at Adulis – significantly, on the request of King ↗Kaleb – by Cosmas, who also recorded, as a continuation to it, another I., acephalous and equally lost, by an Aksumite king of the 2nd/3rd cent. A.D. (RIÉ 277 = ODWG 5 = FHN 234). Possibly the same as ↗Sembrouthes of the epigraph found at ↗Däqqamḥare (RIÉ 275 = ODWG 8), this anonymous king had an I. engraved that seems to match, or rather emulate, Ptolemy's text, thus providing evidence to the unshaken continuity of local Hellenism.

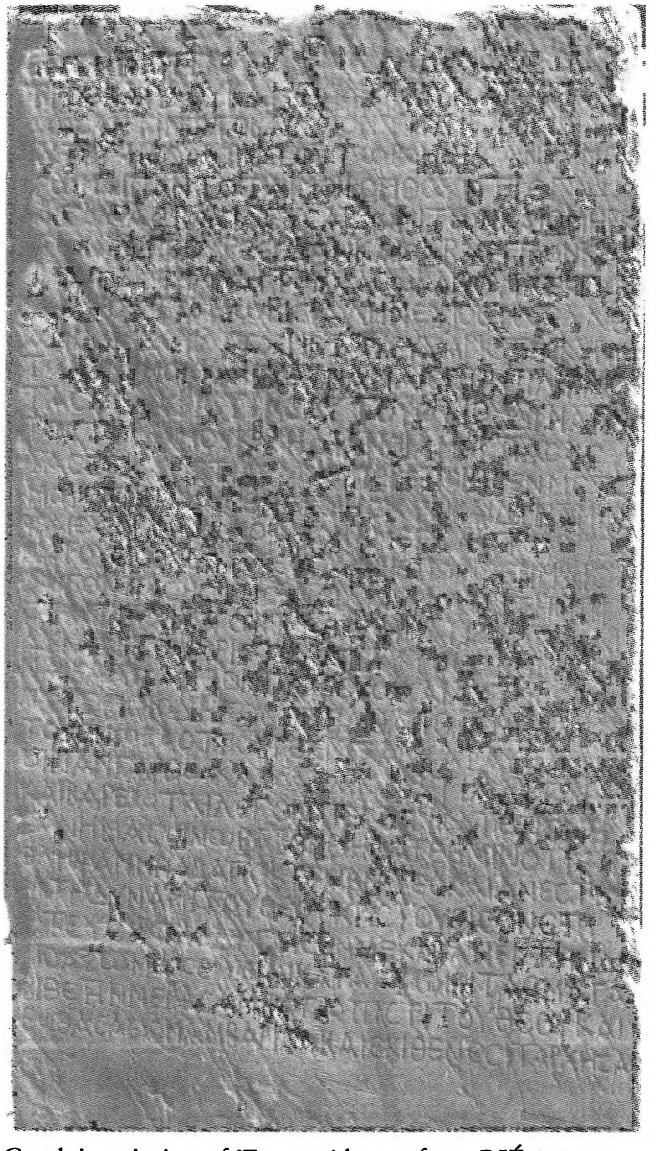
Slightly older proves to be the scant memorial from Ǝnda Abba ↗Pänṭälewon near Aksum – where a further epigraphic fragment, of uncertain reading and dating, is preserved (RIÉ 272) – in which another anonymous king hints at the order he was able to enforce on both sides of the Red Sea (RIÉ 269 = ODWG 6). Outside Aksum, later Greek I., left by an unnamed Aksumite king and also meant for foreign readers as a means of propaganda, are known from 3rd/4th-cent. ↗Meroë (RIÉ 286 [= ODWG 9] and 286A = FHN 297 and 298) – indeed a much more Hellenized milieu than Aksum.

In the first half of the 4th cent., Greek versions of Aksumite royal I. emanating from King ↗ᶜEzana appear in bilingual contexts, on votive thrones or stelae/obelisks, next to the corresponding Gəᶜəz and "pseudo-Sabaic" texts, from which they differ by minor variants or, sometimes, meaningful additions or subtractions. Two of those versions are concerned with the king's victorious campaign against the ↗Beğa (RIÉ 270 and 270bis = FHN 297 and 298). Another one, which reports about him waging war to the ↗Noba/Nubians in their own country, was only recently published (RIÉ 271 = FHN 299). It is all the more historically momentous as, unlike the two already available I. on ᶜEzana's Nubian campaign(s) (RIÉ 189 and 190, in Ethiopic and "pseudo-Sabaic" respectively), it explicitly acknowledges the king's debt to the Christian God and "his son Jesus Christ" or "the God Christ", opens with an interesting Trinitarian profession formula, and conceals a few biblical allusions. This Trinitarian formula is somehow echoed in the isopsephic siglum at the end of a lost Greek I., copied by ↗Pearce in Aksum, that should be dated between the 370s and 380s, and contains the beginning of Ps. 47 (48) or rather 87 (88). The only biblical quotation hitherto attested for

Greek epigraphy in Ethiopia and Eritrea, it provides sound evidence to the Vorlage of the Gəᶜəz translation of the ↗Bible in Aksumite times; moreover, by reflecting a certain amount of literacy, it bears witness to the complexity of the theological Hellenism within which the earliest Aksumite literature, translated from Greek, was to take shape (Fiaccadori 2003).

A newly-discovered (and still unpublished) Greek funerary I. from Gumala, to the northeast of Aksum, datable to the 5th/6th cent. A.D., records the burial of a Christian (as indicated by the formulary applied): *Kyriakós*, 'Cyriacus', ten-year-old, possibly a member of the Greek community then active in Aksum (Id. 2007).

The language of Greek I. is not always skilfully handled, but generally correct, as on the one side it mirrors the spoken vernacular of the Red Sea, on the other it shows peculiarities of orthography (frequent itacism, i.e. incorrect representation of vowels), lexicon, grammar and syntax (favouring N.T. constructions) that are usually shared by late antique texts particularly from ↗Egypt – Egyptian I. and papyri serving in fact as reference material for palaeography (Fiaccadori 2004:113, 122). The language of Ethiopian epigraphy also points to Egypt, and then to Nubia and Palestine for Christian documents (cp. Bingen 1982:352f.).



Greek inscription of ᶜEzana, Aksum; from RIÉ 271

Owing to the development of Gəᶜəz, Greek I. and, possibly, Greek itself were out of use by the time of Kaleb – who had the Monumentum Adulitanum copied by a passing trader.

Src.: DAE IV; RIÉ I–IIIA (ill.); FHN III; B. HENDRICKX, *Official Documents Written in Greek Illustrating the Ancient History of Nubia and Ethiopia (3rd Century b.c. – 6th Century a.d.)*, Johannesburg 1984 (Monumenta Afro-Hellenica 1) [= ODWG].

Lit.: FRANCIS ANFRAY – ANDRÉ CAQUOT – PIERRE NAUTIN, "Une nouvelle inscription grecque d'Ézana, roi d'Axoum", *Journal des Savants* 1970 [1971], 260–73, here 272f.; ALESSANDRO BAUSI, "Numismatica aksumita, linguistica e filologia", *Annali dell'Istituto italiano di numismatica* 50, 2003 [2005], 157–75, here 164 n. 17, 171f.; JEAN BINGEN, "Notes d'épigraphie grecque. IV. [17]", *Chronique d'Égypte* 57, 1982, 350–53, here 351f. [repr. in ID., *Pages d'épigraphie grecque*, I. *Attique – Égypte (1952–1982)*, Bruxelles 1991 (Epigraphica Bruxellensia 1), 163–65 ("Les *Res gestae* du roi Aïzanas"), here 165]; DAVID BUXTON, The Abyssinians, London 1970, 206 (ill.); GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, "Per una nuova iscrizione etiopica da Aksum", *Egitto e Vicino Oriente* 4, 1981, 357–67; ID., "Un'epigrafe greca aksumita (*RIÉth* 274)", in: VINCENZO RUGGIERI – LUCA PIERALLI (eds.), *Εὐκοσμία. Studi miscellanei per il 75° di Vincenzo Poggi S.J.*, Soveria Mannelli (CZ) 2003, 243–55; ID., "Sembrouthes 'gran re' (*DAE* IV 3 = *RIÉth* 275). Per la storia del primo ellenismo aksumita", *La Parola del Passato* 59, 2004, 103–57, here 113, 122 (Lit.); ID., "Nuova iscrizione greca da Aksum", *ibid.* 62, 2007, 70–76; WOLFGANG HAHN, "Déclinaison et orthographe des légendes grecques sur les monnaies d'Axoum", *Bulletin de la Société française de numismatique* 49, 1994, 944-49; ENNO LITTMANN, "Griechische Monogramme aus Syrien und aus Abessinien", in: *Scritti in onore di Giuseppe Furlani*, Roma 1957 (= *RSO* 32), vol. 2, 749–56, here 754ff.; MHAksum 245ff.; RIÉ 271 (ill.).

Gianfranco Fiaccadori

Gəᶜəz inscriptions in Ethiopia/Eritrea in antiquity

More than 200 antique Gəᶜəz I. of various length, written on stone, rock, pottery etc., are known (most of which are collected in RIÉ; for some I. not included there s., e.g., Ricci 1988, in Kaye-Les, 2002, 2003). The majority of them are located in northern Ethiopia (esp. Aksum and its surroundings) and in Eritrea (e.g., ↗Mäṭära, region of ↗ᶜAddi Qäyyəḥ, Kärän), but there are several Gəᶜəz I. found in Sudan and Yemen as well.

It is commonly assumed that Gəᶜəz did not appear in written form before the kingdom of ↗Aksum was established, at the earliest in the 1st/2nd cent. A.D.; no evidence is known from the long period between the end of the reign of ↗DᶜMT and the beginning of Aksumite era. The oldest available epigraphic evidence is in a script known as "Protoethiopic", a forerunner of the properly Ethiopic one, bearing some similarity to cursive South Arabian. In one of these I., RIÉ 180 (Kropp 1994), on a metal object, the name of Aksum and of its king, GDR, appear for the first time in Ethiopic epigraphy. If GDR was the Ethiopian king ↗GDRT referred to in South Arabian I. as ally of Sabaʾ against ↗Ḥimyar (a still uncertain hypothesis), RIÉ 180 could be dated to the early 3rd cent. A.D. Some I. in "Protoethiopic" script probably contain the most ancient records of ↗customary law (such as RIÉ 183; cf. Drewes 1962:62).

The first I. in the so-called "ancient Ethiopic" (e.g., RIÉ 218), the earliest form of Ethiopic ↗script, are unvocalized. Remarkably, since its first appearance, Ethiopic script was written left-to-right, probably by influence of Greek writing (Ullendorff 1951:209f.).

From the end of the pre-Christian period, i.e., the early 4th cent., to the late 6th cent. A.D., a few major royal I. were engraved on stone plates, votive thrones or impressive ↗stelae/obelisks typical of Aksumite architecture. Some of them were copied already by ↗Salt, ↗Rüppel and ↗Bent (scholarly published by D.H. ↗Müller in 1893 and 1894). These and a few more such texts were photographed, copied and published by Littmann in 1913 (DAE IV). Five further royal I. have since come to light and are included in RIÉ. The majority of these I. are in Ethiopic script. A few I. (RIÉ 185 I, 185 bis I, 186, 190, 191, 192) employ South Arabian characters, their texts showing a few orthography and vocabulary peculiarities owing to deliberate imitation of ↗Epigraphic South Arabian (these I. are called "pseudo-Sabaic"; s. Sima 2003-04). A "pseudo-Sabaic" I. can be accompanied by a parallel version in Greek, e.g., RIÉ 190, 271. A special case is the "trilingual" (in fact, bilingual) I., with one Greek and two Gəᶜəz versions (the latter in South Arabian and Ethiopic script respectively). This I. is attested in two copies (RIÉ 185, 270 and RIÉ 185 bis, 270 bis). There was, apparently, a twofold impact in Aksum by Hellenism and South Arabian civilization, the latter by that time only a shadow of its former self.

The monumental royal I., indeed annals written on stone (↗Historiography), contain reports of "heroic deeds" of Aksumite rulers. Several I. were left by ↗ᶜEzana. The "trilingual" I. gives a detailed account of ᶜEzana's military expedition against the ↗Beğa people forced by him to submit and move to another territory assigned to them at that time. Of even greater historical importance is another major I. of ᶜEzana, by then a convert to ↗Christianity, telling of his victories against the Nubians (↗Noba), and very cautiously substituting the single God to the pre-Christian deities invoked in his earlier I. (RIÉ 189).

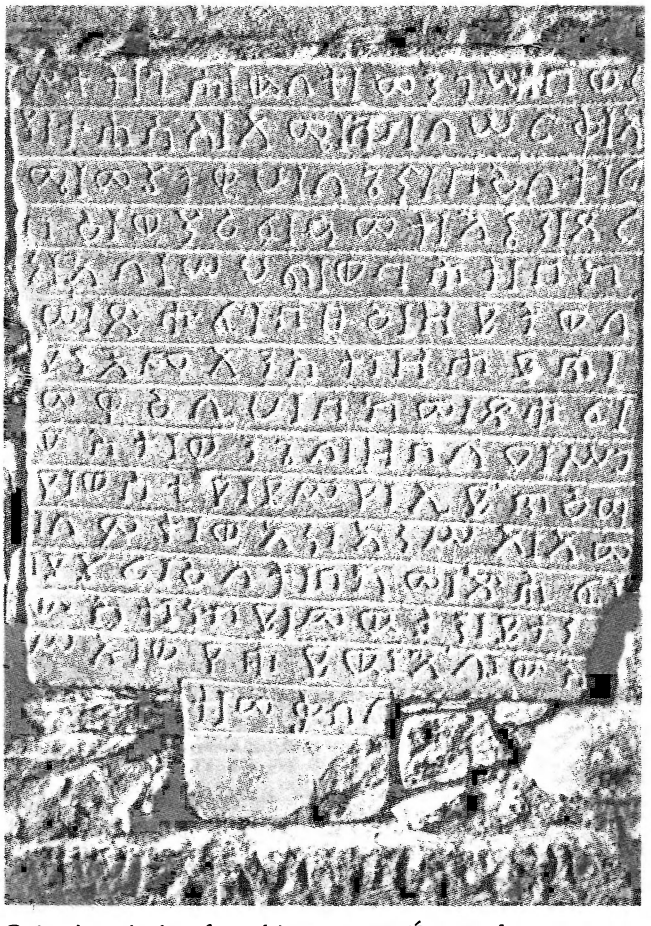
There is no doubt that the introduction of Christianity around the mid-4th cent. under ᶜEzana coincided with the farthest-reaching reform of Ethiopic orthography, i.e. the introduction of vowels by means of a regular modification of the signs already in use for consonant writing (e.g., in RIÉ 189). As a parallel for this unusual approach to vocalizing a consonant type, thus creating the syllabary still used today, the Indian example has been rightly resorted to (↗India). Yet, the lack of specific studies makes it difficult to establish whether this is a mere typological parallel (still allowing the hypothesis of Greek vowel graphemes appended to the Ethiopic characters, but s. Dillmann 1907:25 n. 2), or the reformers of Ethiopic writing were actually inspired by that or any other extant model. What is certain is that this novelty prevailed over time, but not without setbacks, as can be seen from the uncertain or partial vocalization of a number of I. (e.g., RIÉ 193, 194). The most complete contribution available on the evolution of epigraphic Ethiopic script is still that by Drewes and Schneider (1976).

The Ethiopic script appears in its definitive form in I. dating to the first half of the 6th cent., such as an I. left by ↗Kaleb at Mārib (RIÉ 195, in two fragments; s. below). Both this and another I. by Kaleb (RIÉ 191:34-35) refer to his military expedition(s) against ↗Ḥimyar (s. ↗Naǧrān). As a few other I. (RIÉ 192, 250), they offer brief biblical quotations, providing the first clear evidence for the existence of a translation into Gəᶜəz of at least some parts of the ↗Bible (Knibb 1999:46–52; Beaucamp et al. 1999–2000 39 and n. 98).

In addition to monumental royal I., short Gəᶜəz I. are found that often commemorate a person (as RIÉ 202), or contain a dedication of an object (RIÉ 198; similar dedications, to pre-Christian deities or the Christian god, also occur in royal I., e.g. RIÉ 191:38–39). Numerous graf-

fiti, especially abundant in ↗Toḳonda^{c} and the ↗Qoḥayto region, are quite interesting for local onomastics; they are frequently in the form of monograms, also found in Yemen.

By the end of the 6th cent., documents dry up to their almost total disappearance; the scant pieces of evidence from between the second half of the 6th and the mid-12th cent. are hard to date. Among them, mention should be made of the engraved alabaster lamp found in Yemen (RIÉ 265), an I. from Sinai, on the route Ethiopian pilgrims took to the Holy Land since late antiquity (Fiaccadori 1992:xxxiiif.), and the two (or three) I. left in Aksum by *ḥaṣani* ↗Danə^{ʾ}el towards the end of the 10th cent. (RIÉ 193, 194), as well as of the interesting funerary epitaph from the Eritrean village of ↗Ham (RIÉ 232), dated to the 10th–11th cent. (Fiaccadori 1990:325ff., 338–41; a different dating has been proposed by Kropp 1999). The latter has an exceptional wealth of biblical quotations (Knibb 1999:52ff.; Beaucamp – Briquel-Chatonnet – Robin 1999–2000:39, n. 98), and is by that a forerunner of later Ethiopic epigraphy. This impoverishment in writing I. has been ascribed to the more general political, cultural and material crisis of Ethiopia during the expansion of Islam in Egypt and Yemen.



Gəᶜəz inscription found in Ḥam (RIÉ 232); from Buxton 1970:206, no. 27

Linguistically, the I. are not homogeneous, but rather provide evidence for different varieties of Gəᶜəz or dialects closely related to it. Some peculiarities of the epigraphic language shed light on the history of Gəᶜəz. Thus, in earlier I., a more or less consistent distinction is drawn between certain graphemes (ᶜ/ʾ, *h*/*ḥ*/*ḫ*, *s*/*ś*, *ṣ*/*ṣ́*) that are often interchangeable in post-Aksumite period; the archaic ending *-e* (against *-ä* of the classical language) in prepositions and conjuctions is attested in independent forms (*məsle* 'with' in RIÉ 188:16, but *məslä* in RIÉ 187:34); an example of jussive form of causative stem has vowel *ä* in the prefix (against *a* of classical Gəᶜəz): *yäṣnəᶜ* 'let him make strong' in RIÉ 189:46 (cf. DAE IV 76–82; Diem 1988; Drewes in KayeLes; Bausi 2005).

Src.: James Theodore Bent, *The Sacred City of the Ethiopians, being a Record of Travel and Research in Abyssinia in 1893. With a Chapter by Prof. D.H. Müller on the Inscriptions from Yeha and Aksum*, London 1893, 231-85 [ch. 16, "On the Inscriptions from Yeha and Aksum", by David Heinrich Müller]; DAE IV; Abraham Johannes Drewes, *Inscriptions de l'Éthiopie antique*, Leiden 1962; David Heinrich Müller, *Epigraphische Denkmäler aus Abessinien nach Abklatschen von J. Theodore Bent*, Wien 1894 (Denkschriften der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Classe 43, 1894, Abh. 3); Lanfranco Ricci, "Iscrizioni rupestri dell'Eritrea", in: *PICES* 1, 447–60; Id., "Iscrizioni rupestri dell'Eritrea", *RANLmor* ser. 9ª, 5, 1994, 1–11; Id., "Appunti archeologici", *RSE* 32, 1988 [1990], 129–65; Id., "Iscrizioni paleoetiopiche", in: *KayeLes* 1291–1311; Id., "Iscrizioni rupestri dell'Eritrea. – Kěsàd Qerní", *RSE* 42, 1998, 71–88; Id., "Iscrizioni rupestri dell'Eritrea. Zěbàn Tāhsès", *ibid.* 43, 1999, 133–51; Id., "Iscrizioni rupestri dell'Eritrea: I. (Koḥaytò) Sàro. – II. Tokhondáᶜ", *RSE* nuova ser. 1, 1, 2002 [2003], 63–84; Id., "Iscrizioni rupestri dell'Eritrea – [Kohaytò]: Bukhwābùkh; Sariddoleḍà(h); Ṣihillò; 'Tomba dell'Egiziano'; Cristianesimo", *ibid.* 2, 2003, 51–76; RIÉ I–II (Lit.).

Lit.: Alessandro Bausi, "Ancient Features of Ancient Ethiopic", *Aethiopica* 8, 2005, 149–69; Joëlle Beaucamp – Françoise Briquel-Chatonnet – Christian-Julien Robin, "La persécution des chrétiens de Nagrān et la chronologie ḥimyarite", *ARAM Periodical* 11–12, 1999–2000, 15–83, here 38–41; Werner Diem, "Laryngalgesetze und Vokalismus", *ZDMG* 138, 1988, 236–62; August Dillmann, *Ethiopic Grammar: Orthography and Phonology, Morphology and Syntax of the Ethiopic Language* ..., ed. by Carl Bezold, tr. by James A. Crichton, Amsterdam 1907, 25, n. 25; Abraham Johannes Drewes, "Some Features of Epigraphical Ethiopic", in: *KayeLes* vol. 1, 382–91; Id. – Roger Schneider, "Origine et développement de l'écriture éthiopienne jusqu'à l'époque des inscriptions royales d'Axoum", *AE* 10, 1976, 95–107; Gianfranco Fiaccadori, "Epigraphica Aethiopica", *Quaderni Utinensi* 8 [15-16], 1990 [1996], 325–33, here 325ff., 338–41; Id., *Teofilo Indiano*, Ravenna 1992 (Biblioteca di «Felix Ravenna» 7), xxiv and n. 36, xxvi, fig. 4, xxxiiif.; Michael

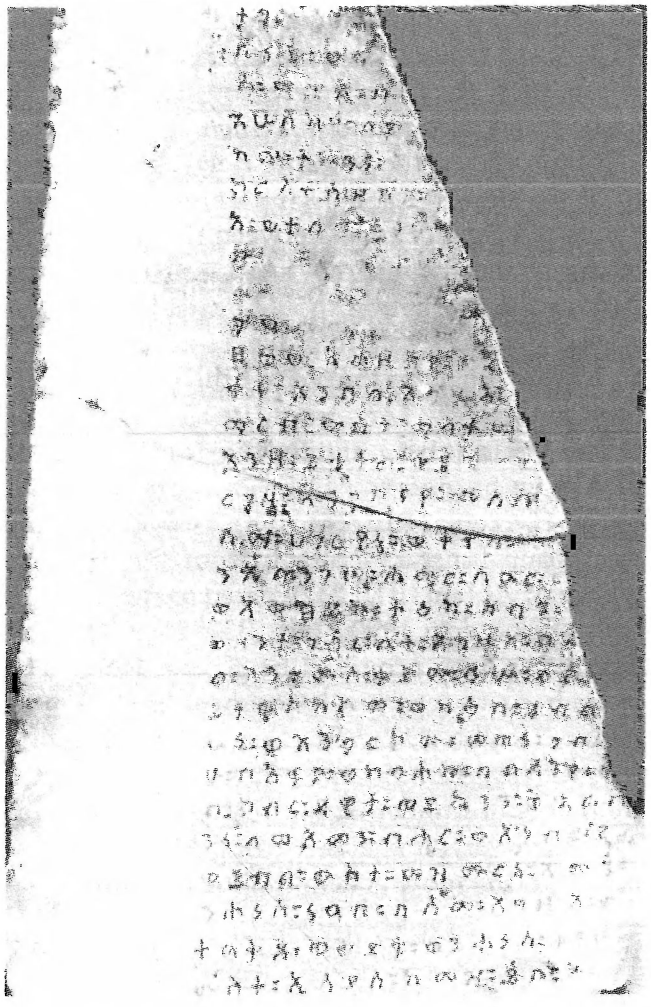
A. KNIBB, *Translating the Bible: the Ethiopic Version of the New Testament*, Oxford 1999 (The Schweich Lectures of the British Academy 1995), 46–55 [Appendix I: "Biblical Quotations in I. from the Aksumite Period"]; MANFRED KROPP, "Ein Gegenstand und seine Aufschrift. RIÉ 180 = JE 5", in: *EtRicci* 129–44; ID., "»Glücklich, wer vom Weib geboren, dessen Tage doch kurzbemessen, ...!«. Die altäthiopische Grabinschrift von Ḥam, datiert auf den 23. Dezember 873 n. Chr.", *OrChr* 83, 1999, 162–75; GIANFRANCESCO LUSINI, "Questioni di paleografia etiopica", *Scrittura e civiltà* 23, 1999, 407–17; MAXIME RODINSON, "Les nouvelles inscriptions d'Axoum et le lieu de déportation des Bedjas", *Raydān* 4, 1981, 97–116; ALEXANDER SIMA, "Abschied vom 'herrlichen' Land MṢ. Eine alte crux in der Trilingue des ᶜĒzānā (RIÉ 185 und RIÉ 185bis)", *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 93, 2003, 227–31; ID., "Die 'sabäische' Version von König ᶜĒzānās Trilingue RIÉ 185 und RIÉ 185bis", *Archiv für Orientforschung* 50, 2003–04, 269–84; SIEGBERT UHLIG, "Eine trilinguale 'Ezana-Inschrift", *Aethiopica* 4, 2001, 7–31; EDWARD ULLENDORFF, "Studies in the Ethiopic Syllabary", *Africa* 21, 1951, 207–17 [repr. in: ID., *Is Biblical Hebrew a Language? Studies in Semitic Languages and Civilizations*, Wiesbaden 1977, 230–40].

Alessandra Avanzini

Gəᶜəz inscriptions in South Arabia

Albeit the corpus of the Gəᶜəz I. originating in South Arabia is very restricted, they proved to be of great value for studying the development of Ethiopian syllabic writing, early Gəᶜəz literature and the Aksumite campaign against the Ḥimyarite kingdom. The largest of these I., discovered in Mārib, consists of two fragmentary of a carved alabaster slab (RIÉ 195 I–II; s. Pirenne – Gigar Tesfaye 1982; MHAksum 230; Schneider in PICES 4, 767–79). It was composed ca. 525 A.D. to commemorate the expedition to Yemen undertaken by King ↗Kaleb Ǝllä Aṣbəḥa as a reaction to the persecution of Christians by ↗Yūsuf Asᵓar Yaṯᵓar. Its extant passages mention the landing of Ethiopian troops on the South Arabian coast (RIÉ 195 I.9–13) and some other events probably connected with the cruel treatment of the Christian community in Mārib (ማርብ, Marəb) and al-Hağarayn (ሀገረይኔ, Hagäräyne), a settlement localized in Ḥaḍramawt (RIÉ 195 II.10–16), as well as with retaliatory measures of Kaleb, including the burning of the Sabaean royal palace (ታዕካ፡ ሰባእ, *taᶜəka Säbaᵓ*, RIÉ 195 II.18), obviously identical to ↗Sälḥen. Perhaps the destruction of such a major symbol of ancient South Arabian sovereignty caused this I. to be set at Mārib.

RIÉ 195 presents the decisive argument in favour of the existence of a Gəᶜəz translation of the Bible by the beginning of the 6th cent. A.D., since many quotations from the Psalms (19:8–9 = RIÉ 195 II.26–28; 65:16–17 = RIÉ 195 II.21–23; 67:2 = RIÉ 195 I.5–6), one from Matthew (6:33 = RIÉ 195 II.20–21) and a reference to Isaiah (RIÉ 195 II.29) occur in it.



Gəᶜəz inscription found in Mārib, South Arabia; from RIÉ 195 II

Two other Gəᶜəz inscriptions of South Arabian origin were found in Ẓafar, the capital of the Ḥimyarite state (RIÉ 263, 264). These small, seriously damaged fragments date from the same period as RIÉ 195. By the shape of their characters, all the three texts are attributed to a more advanced palaeographic stage in comparison with the inscriptions of ↗ᶜEzana.

To this group of epigraphic materials two fragmentary texts purchased in Yemen also belong (RIÉ 265, 266), the exact provenance of which remains unknown.

Gəᶜəz graffiti, in the form of monograms, were also found in Yemen at Yarīm (Grohmann 1927:148 and fig. 38; cp. Fiaccadori 1992:XXIV and n. 36, XXVI, fig. 4).

Src.: ADOLF GROHMANN, "Zur Archäologie Südarabiens", in: DITLEF NIELSEN (ed.), *Handbuch der altarabischen Altertumskunde*, vol. 1, Kopenhagen 1927, 148 and fig. 38 [Gl.

387–88]; GIUSEPPINA IGONETTI, "Un frammento di iscrizione etiopica da Ẓafār (Yemen)", *Annali IUO*, 33, 1973, 77–80; WALTER W. MÜLLER, "Zwei weitere Bruchstücke der äthiopischen Inschrift aus Mārib", *Neue Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik* 1, 1972, 59–74; RIÉ 195 I–II, 263–66. **Lit.:** JOËLLE BEAUCAMP – FRANÇOISE BRIQUEL-CHATONNET – CHRISTIAN JULIEN ROBIN, "La persécution des chrétiens de Nagrān et la chronologie ḥimyarite", *ARAM Periodical* 11-12, 1999–2000, 15-83, here 39ff.; GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, *Teofilo Indiano*, Ravenna 1992 (Biblioteca di «Felix Ravenna» 7), XXIV and n. 36, XXVI, fig. 4; MHAksum 230; JACQUELINE PIRENNE – GIGAR TESFAYE, "Les deux inscriptions du négus Kaleb en Arabie du Sud", *JES* 15, 1982, 105–24; ROGER SCHNEIDER, "Trois nouvelles inscriptions royales d'Axoum", in: *PICES* 4, vol. 1, 767–86; UhPal 47, 80; BURKHARD VOGT (ed.), *Yémen, au pays de la reine de Saba'* ..., Paris 1997, 190.

Serguei A. Frantsouzoff

Gəᶜəz inscriptions in Ethiopia/Eritrea in medieval and modern times

After the 10th/11th cent., during the "dark ages" that witnessed the final collapse of what still remained of the Aksumite civilization, the scope of epigraphy, no longer tied to the kingdom's life, became more restricted.

Leaving aside the few obscure hints scattered in the literature on "ancient churches" (e.g., Mordini 1961:55), the first dated "medieval" I. hitherto known was found outside Ethiopia and Eritrea, at Suhāğ (Fayyūm, ↗Egypt). Here pilgrims heading to the Holy Land from ↗Goğğam, namely from ↗Däbrä Wärq, had it painted "in colour" on 8 *Säne* 222 A.M., i.e. 2 June 1038 or 1114, in a chapel of Dayr al-Abyaḍ (Conti Rossini 1923:461f., corrected by Chaîne 1925:191f.). This chapel has since been destroyed, and the I. only survives in a faithful copy by Wladimir de Bock (1901:54, fig. 65).

Datable to and soon after the reign of *nəguś* ↗Lalibäla is a consistent series of wooden I. discovered over the past 30 years in churches of ↗Lalibäla and the surrounding area. Quite remarkable in terms of palaeography (UhPal 168), they are skilfully carved on *mänabərt* (pl. of ↗*mänbär*[*ä tabot*]') and fragmentary panels, and include a few long and complex texts. Four of them mention the king; one, the king and his wife, ↗Mäsqäl Kəbra, portrayed with him on the same *mänbär* (Strelcyn 1979; Gigar Tesfaye – Pirenne 1984).

A reflection of the ↗Zagʷe cultural framework, and its renewed contacts with Egypt and ↗Jerusalem, most of these I. swarms with theological issues and biblical quotations and allusions. In one case, a most important document is transmitted in which the king praises "the greatness and glory of Sunday" with expressions that are partly identical to those of the 13th/14th-cent. *Homily on the Sabbaths* attributed to the ↗Rətuᶜa Haymanot (Fiaccadori 1992:XXXIII; cp. Lusini 1990:349, and n. 35 [352]), and would rather point to the existence of a mutual source – and to an earlier date for the beginning of the Ethiopian controversy on the celebration of Saturday-Sabbath (↗Ewosṭatewos).

A few decades later, an official statement by King ↗Yəkunno Amlak comes in the form of an I. within his portrait as a donor painted on a pier face of the ↗Gännätä Maryam rock-hewn church, not far from Lalibäla (Heldman – Getatchew Haile 1987:2ff., fig. 1; UhPal 169). It supplies fundamental historical information by referring to persons who might have played important roles in (re)establishing the ↗Solomonic dynasty (1270). In this and other churches of ↗Lasta and nearby ↗Angot (↗Ǝmäkina Mädḫane ᶜAläm and ↗Waša Mikaᵓel), with similar 13th-cent. I. hinting at historical persons (Balicka-Witakowska 2004:28 and nn. 103–04, figs. 37–38; Mercier 2002:143ff.), painted labels on murals are also employed, either as simple slips aimed at identifying the represented persons, esp. patrons, founders and saints, or as prayers accompanying the latter's images.

Such painted I. were soon diffused all over Ethiopia, even on textiles (s., e.g., DAE III, 50f., pl. III, fig. 149, with a 15th-cent. I. from Däbrä Damo), and became the almost exclusive form of epigraphy in the next many centuries. Among the best known instances are those on the 15th-cent. panels by ↗Fəre Ṣəyon and his school, with rather peculiar texts (one from the ↗*Aksimaros*) and features (Mercier 2005); and in the more or less contemporary Təgrayan rock-hewn churches of Maryam Baḥ(ə)ra (Lepage – Mercier 2005:140–46, ills.; cp. Fiaccadori 1993:185 and n. 77 [197f.], figs. 29f.) and ↗Gʷəḥ Yəmᵓata (Lepage – Mercier 2005:170–80, ills.). As for I. preserving unique historical documents (similarly to ↗manuscript colophons), attention can be drawn, e.g., to the later murals in the church of ↗Mäᶜaquddi Yoḥannəs executed in 1657: the portrait of the founder, *abba* Gäbrä Mäsqäl of ↗Däbrä Mäᶜar (beginning of the 14th cent.), is paired with a long "↗genealogy" I. mentioning, among others, the patron of the paintings, Gäbrä Iyäsus, and his spiritual ancestry (Lepage – Mercier 2005:193, ill.; cp. Fiaccadori 2006:139 n. 54).

Written in Gəᶜəz, but influenced in their layout and appearance – incised or carved stone or

Inscription on a wooden *tabot*, upper side: *Zätabotä Nä'akkʷəto Lä'ab wätabotä Ṣəyon. / tabotä śəllus qəddus* 'This is the *tabot* of Nä'akkʷəto Lä'ab and the *tabot* of Ṣəyon [i.e. Mary]. Tabot of the Threefold Holy [i.e. the Holy Trinity]'; first half of the 15th cent., Museo sacro della Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, no. 3016, Musei Vaticani, Città del Vaticano; from Hanssens – Raes 1951 (no. VII)

marble slabs – by Latin and Italian contemporary epigraphy are, abroad, the funerary I. in the Roman monastery of ↗Santo Stefano dei Mori, ranging from the 16th to the 19th cent., and including the famous bilingual epitaph of ↗Täsfa Ṣəyon, in Ethiopic and Latin (Gallina 1888; Chaîne 1911:26–36; Euringer 1926).

Incised or carved I. kept being used for ↗pottery, ↗jewellery and liturgical implements – *mänabərt*, *tabotat* ('altar tablets'), hand and processional ↗crosses, Eucharist spoons, chalices, etc. Countless examples exist, most of which unpublished, that bear quite often significant wordings. Among the edited material, mention should be made, at least, of the collection of 16th-18th wooden *mänabərt* now in the Musei Vaticani, formerly in the Museo Sacro of the Biblioteca Apostolica (Hanssens – Raes 1951, s. ill.); of the cross donated, before 1478, by *aṣe* ↗Bä'ədä Maryam "to the Amhara so that they pray with it in ↗Gorgora", now at Florence, Museo del Bargello (Tedeschi 1991; ↗Italy); of the golden chalice in London, Victoria & Albert Museum, presented by *aṣe* ↗Iyasu and his wife Məntəwwab (↗Bərhan Mogäsa) "to the *tabot* of [the church of ↗Däbrä Ṣäḥay] Qʷəsqʷam" sometimes around 1746 (BudHist vol. 2, 516 and facing ill.; Heldman in AfrZion 248f., no. 112, and ill. [221]); and the brass, gilt processional cross (for an unknown church of Gondär) with the engraved portraits of the same donors (Heldman in AfrZion, 250, no. 114, and ill. [222f.]; cp. Di Salvo 2006:76 and n. 30 [85], fig. 31). Also, an interesting example from the South, surviving only in a much disputed copy (CecZeila vol. 2, 483ff.), is the *tabot* given by ↗Säpänhi, ruler of ↗Ǝnnarya, credited with bringing it from Jerusalem, to Betä Giyorgis of Baha (↗Käfa) in ca. mid-16th cent. (s. Huntingford 1955, 1956; Ullendorff 1955; Lange 1982:31ff., 301ff.).

I. on murals, icons – sometimes labelled with the artists' names: among others, ↗Brancaleon, ↗Afnin and Fəre Ṣəyon – or simple daily life objects, as well as on monumental structures (e.g., the inscribed plaster slab commemorating the restoration of the Nile bridge at Säbbara Dəldəy in Goǧǧam under ↗Mənilək II: s. Anfray in PICES 8, vol. 1, 20f. [no. 42], 43, pl. XIVc), attest to the uninterrupted continuity of epigraphic practice, and of the use of Gəᶜəz as the only relevant (prestige) language, up to modern and contemporary times (s., e.g., DAE III, 103, pl. x, figs. 295, 298f., with crosses), when Amharic and Təgrəñña are occasionally employed, alongside Gəᶜəz, for captions and legends in such popular contexts as wall and canvas paintings (s., e.g., Ricci 1989 and Raineri 1996:140f.). The systematic collection – still an urgent desideratum in Ethiopian studies – of all these I. shall also provide significant points of comparison to coeval manuscript writing.

Src.: EWA BALICKA-WITAKOWSKA, "The Wall-Paintings in the Church of Mädhane Aläm near Lalibäla", *Africana Bulletin* 52, 2004, 9–29, here 28 and nn. 103f., figs. 37f.; WLADIMIR DE BOCK, *Matériaux pour servir à l'archéologie de l'Egypte chrétienne*, St.-Pétersbourg 1901, 54, fig. 65; MARYLIN E. HELDMAN – GETATCHEW HAILE, "Who is Who in Ethiopia's Past, Part III : Founders of Ethiopia's Solomonic Dynasty", *NEASt* 9, 1, 1987, 1–11; STEFAN STRELCYN, "Quelques inscriptions éthiopiennes sur des 'mänabərt' des églises de Lalibäla et de sa région", *BiOr* 36, 1979, 137–56; GIGAR TESFAYE – JACQUELINE PIRENNE, "Inscriptions sur bois de trois églises de Lalibala", *JES* 17, 1984, 107-26; DAE III, 50f., 103, pls. III, X, figs. 149, 295,

298f.; JACQUES MERCIER, "Peintures du XIIIe siècle dans une église de l'Angot (Éthiopie)", *AE* 18, 2002, 143–49, here 143ff.; ID., "Les miroirs des anges, ou l'invention du SMS dans la peinture éthiopienne", *AE* 21, 2005, 139–53; CLAUDE LEPAGE – JACQUES MERCIER, *Art éthiopien. Les églises historiques du Tigray*, Paris 2005, 140–46, 170–80, 193, ills.; JEAN MICHEL HANSSENS – ALPHONSE RAES, "Une collection de tâbots au Musée Chrétien de la Bibliothèque Vaticane", *OrChrP* 17, 1951, 435–45; FRANCESCO GALLINA, "Iscrizioni etiopiche ed arabe di S. Stefano dei Mori", *Archivio della R. Società Romana di Storia Patria* 11, 1888, 281–95; MARIUS CHAÎNE, "Un monastère éthiopien à Rome au XVe et XVIe siècle", *Mélanges de la Faculté Orientale* 5, 1911, 1–36, here 26-36 ["Inscriptions funéraires"]; SALVATORE TEDESCHI, "Una storica croce processionale etiopica conservata in Italia", *Africa* [Roma] 46, 1991, 146–63; BudHist vol. 2, 516 and facing ill.; AfrZion 248f., 250, nos. 112, 114, and ills. [221, 222f.]; CecZeila vol. 2, 483ff.; FRANCIS ANFRAY, "Les monuments des XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles. Une vue d'ensemble", in: *PICES* 8, vol. 1, 9–45, here 20f. [no. 42], 43, pl. XIVC; LANFRANCO RICCI (ed.), *Pittura etiopica tradizionale*, Roma 1989; OSVALDO RAINERI, *Santi guerrieri a cavallo. Tele etiopiche (Tele di Qēs Adamu Tesfaw)/Warrior Saints on Horseback. Ethiopian Paintings (Paintings by Qēs Adamu Tesfaw)*, Clusone (BG) 1996, 140f.

Lit.: CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Aethiopica", *RSO* 9, 1923, 365–81 and 449–68, here 461f. [20. "Iscrizione etiopica a Deyr el-Abyaḍ"]; MARIUS CHAÎNE, *La chronologie des temps chrétiens de l'Égypte et de l'Éthiopie*, Paris 1925, 191f.; MARIO DI SALVO, *Croci d'Etiopia. Il segno della fede: evoluzione e forma*, Ginevra – Milano 2006, 76 and n. 30 [85], fig. 31; SEBASTIAN EURINGER, "Das Epitaphium des Tesfa Sejon (Petrus Aethiops) und seine Chronologie", *OrChr* 23, 1926, 49-66; GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, *Teofilo Indiano*, Ravenna 1992 (Biblioteca di «Felix Ravenna» 7), XXXIII; ID., "Bisanzio e il regno di 'Aksum. Sul ms. Martini etiop. 5 della Biblioteca Forteguerriana di Pistoia", in: ANDREA GATTI (ed.), *Quaecumque recepit Apollo. Scritti in onore di A. Ciavarella*, Parma 1993 (= *Bollettino del Museo Bodoniano di Parma* 7), 161–99, here 185 and n. 77 (197f.), figs. 29–30; ID., "ʾElla Gabaz/(ʾElla) Ḥētāzā", *La Parola del Passato* 61, 2006 [2007], 115–41, here 139 n. 54; GEORGE WYNN BRERETON HUNTINGFORD, "The Inscription of Baha in Kafa", *Antiquity* 29, 1955, 162–64; *ibid.* 30, 1956, 33; WERNER J. LANGE, *History of the Southern Gonga (Southwestern Ethiopia)*, Wiesbaden 1982 (SKK 61), 31ff., 301ff.; GIANFRANCESCO LUSINI, "A New Source for the History of Garʿalta (Ethiopia): The 'Life' of Dān'ēl of Dabra Māryām on Mount Qorqor (KRZ 36)", *Quaderni utinensi* 8 [15–16], 1990 [1996], 345–52; ANTONIO MORDINI, "Architecture éthiopienne au Moyen Age", in: KLAUS WESSEL (ed.), *Christentum am Nil. Internationale Arbeitstagung zur Ausstellung «Koptische Kunst» (Essen, Villa Hügel, 23.–25. Juli 1963)*, Recklinghausen 1964, 53–58, here 55; JACQUELINE PIRENNE, "La signification symbolique des églises de Lalibéla, à partir des inscriptions découvertes en 1980-1983", in: *PICES* 8, vol. 2, 137-45; UhPal 168f.; EDWARD ULLENDORFF, "The Inscription of St. George of Baha", *Antiquity* 29, 1955, 237–38.

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Arabic inscriptions in the Ethiopian regions

There are primarily five geographical locations in Ethiopia and Eritrea in which Arabic I. have been found to date: 1) the necropolis on the island of ↗Dahlak Kabīr, whose corpus consists of either 302 (according to Oman 1987:XIII) or 269 I. (according to Schneider 1983:50, 431–39); 2) eastern ↗Təgray, 21 I.; 3) southern ↗Šäwa, four I.; 4) the ↗Harär region, 16 I.; 5) south-western Ethiopia, eight I. Additionally, smaller groups of I. are scattered around other cities (e.g. two I. in Massawa, originating from Dahlak, mentioned by Cresti [1990:417ff.]). It is likely that further large scale excavations would reveal more epigraphic material that presumably exists but remains undiscovered (s., e.g., the results of the survey by Kebedde Geleta 2000). Virtually all of the I. discovered so far are funerary texts, with the exception of an I. that, according to Cerulli (CerStud I, 52f.), was written on the minaret door of the *Ǧāmiʿ* in Harär to commemorate its completion (1175 H. [1761/62 A.D.]), and an I. found in Wəqro.

1) The I. from Dahlak Kabīr are pre-eminent among the Islamic epigraphy of Ethiopia and Eritrea, and the wide range of associated bibliography attests to their importance. Various other factors contribute to the value of this corpus. From a purely quantitative point of view, the I. of Dahlak Kabīr represent not only the most numerous epigraphic corpus in Ethiopia and Eritrea, but one of the most conspicuous epigraphic findings in African Islamic countries (Oman 1976:273). The I. provide us with crucial information on the sultanate that ruled the islands of Dahlak from 1090 to 1250 (Wiet 1951–52; Cuoq 1981:49–52), and on the general development of the Islamic society of the archipelago from 980 (the earliest dated I. from Dahlak) to 1540 (the latest dated I.). They provide a valuable example of the Arabic epigraphic techniques used in north-east Africa in addition to useful palaeographic and calligraphic data on the evolution of Arabic writing on the African Red Sea coast (Schneider 1983:81–103). Last but not least, from an artistic point of view, the I. of Dahlak Kabīr present a wide range of ornamental patterns exemplifying the varying artistic capabilities of the local craftsmen (Schneider 1983:51–58).

In 2) Təgray, the existence of Arabic I. was first mentioned by Pearce at the beginning of the 19th cent. (1831:121–24). Conti Rossini (1938), confirming Pearce's assertions, found four I. outside the village of Wəgär Hariba near ↗Kʷiḥa, in ↗Ǝndärta. Moreover, Conti Rossini was told that another I. from the same location had already been sent to the town of Brescia together

Arabic funerary inscription from Wəgär Ḥariba near Kʷiḥa, Təgray; from Doresse 1956:97

with the accoutrements of a regiment of the Italian Camicie Nere: information on the destiny of this I. is presently not available. Further Arabic epigraphic monuments in that region were discovered and studied by Pansera (in CRStud, four stelae of which he was able to decipher two), Schneider (1967; 12 I. discovered in 1962 in the same location in Ǝndärta and brought to the Archeological Museum in Addis Abäba; two more I. were photographed and left in place) and recently by Smidt who published an Arabic I. he found in Kʷiḥa (StudAeth 259–68) and another one in Wəqro. Historically speaking, the I. of Ǝndärta demonstrate the existence of a Muslim community there since the beginning of the 11th cent. (the oldest I. may date to 1001 according to Schneider 1967:108 n. 2). This Islamic presence in Təgray was closely linked to that on Dahlak Kabīr; the name of Ḥafṣ b. ʿUmar al-Yamāmī, a person originating from the region of Yamāma in Arabia, is mentioned in both places. It is thus very likely that the Muslims who settled in Ǝndärta came from the Dahlak islands and they acted as a fixed outpost for the Muslim trade along the commercial road from the coast to the highland, gathering goods from the Ethiopian mainland and directing them to markets overseas (Lusini 1993–97:250f.). The palaeographic analysis of the Ǝndärta I. may also provide further support for the connection between Dahlak Kabīr and Ǝndärta (Smidt in StudAeth 264), even if the graphical quality of the Təgrayan stelae is incomparably lower than that of the Dahlak I. (Lusini 1993–97:248f.), except the latest I. discovered in eastern Təgray (Wəqro).

In 3) southern Šäwa, two I. were found in Bišoftuu (↗Däbrä Zäyt) and its surroundings (in 1965 and 1968) and another stela, characterized by the presence of two "seals of Solomon" (the hexagram as a mystical-magical symbol in Islam) on its superior edges, was discovered in Didimtu near Wänği (↗Adaamaa) in 1969 (s. Schneider 1970). The writing on the stelae is barely legible due to the poor conditions of their conservation. They have been hypothetically dated to the 12th cent., and thus could be considered a concrete witness to the ancient Muslim presence in the area that was associated with the Islamic sultanate of Šäwa (Cerulli 1941).

A fourth very recent I. was discovered in 1970 by M. Taïb near ʿAddi Ḥəywät in the surroundings of Adaamaa and published by M. Schneider (2006): it is in remembering of a *šayḫ* called Ibrāhīm who died there while travelling on a pilgrimage to ↗Šayḫ Ḥusayn.

4) In the region of Harär, Arabic I. were found by ↗Azaïs and ↗Chambard during their stay in Ethiopia between 1922 and 1926 (Azaïs – Chambard 1931): two in Heyssa, seven in Lafto, three in ↗Č̣ällänqo and two in Bate. Photographs of these 14 I. were published by Ravaisse (1923) and further examined by Littmann (1924), who studied in detail their writing and qualified it as an "archaizing kufic", in some cases similar to ancient Syrian graffiti and I. but also to the script of modern Ethiopian amulets (↗magic scrolls), or, in other cases, closer to an imitation of the "creeping kufic" style. A wider corpus of 18 I., including four found in Munessa (s. [5] below), was then published by Ravaisse as an appendix to the volume by Azaïs and Chambard (1931:283–309) and further analyzed by Huntingford (1955). Two more I., discovered in Harla near Dərre Dawa, were examined by M. Schneider (1969).

Of this entire group, only two of the Lafto I. are dated: Littmann (1924:240f.) estimated 662 H. [1263 A.D.] and 666 H. [1267/68]. The two I. from Bate which were recently re-analyzed with much care by M. Schneider (2005), present some

palaeographical peculiarities which set them apart from the rest of the corpus: they are written with good kufic characters and not coarse "semi-cursive script" (Huntingford 1955:231, quoting the opinion of D.S. Rice) and could be the work of a foreigner who created them around the year 1000 (ibid. 232f.). Schneider (2005:348–54) considers that the artisan, possibly a Persian, who engraved the two I., was inspired by some graphical and stylistical forms used in Dahlak and Ḥiǧāz and worked in the Bate area between the end of the 11th and the beginning of the 12th cent. The presence of Islamic communities in the region should be considered within the framework of the Muslim traders commercial activities along the trade route linking the Indian Ocean, especially the port of Zaylaᶜ, to the highland. Trader settlements naturally flourished at the main junctures of the caravan route due to the highly profitable trade.

As for 5) south-western Ethiopia, four Arabic I. were discovered by Azaïs and Chambard in Munessa near lake Langano. Three are too fragmentary and not translatable; the fourth (Azaïs – Chambard 1931:299ff. [no. 16]), later in Museo Coloniale in Rome (Rossi 1942:277f., 281) is tentatively dated to the 13th cent. They fit in the same general socio-historical pattern from which the I. from the Harär region originated.

The Museo Coloniale in Rome kept four more Arabic I. generally indicated as originating from Arsi ("paese degli Arussi") but whose real origin is unknown: they, too, are all hypothetically dated to the 13th cent. (Rossi 1942).

Src.: FRANÇOIS AZAÏS, "Archéologie d'infiltration arabe", in: ZerEth 240f.; ID. – ROGER CHAMBARD, *Cinq années de recherches archéologiques en Ethiopie, province du Harar et Ethiopie méridionale*, Paris 1931, esp. 283–309 [PAUL RAVAISSE, "Appendix I: Stèles et inscriptions arabes du Harar"]; ENRICO CERULLI, "Il sultanato dello Scioa nel secolo XIII secondo un nuovo documento storico", *RSE* 1, 1941, 5–42 [repr. in: *CerIslam* 207–43]; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Necropoli musulmana ed antica chiesa cristiana presso Uogrì Haribà nell'Enderta", *RSO* 17, 1938, 399–408; JOSEPH CUOQ, *L'Islam en Ethiopie des origines au XVIe siècle*, Paris 1981; JEAN DORESSE, *Au pays de la Reine de Saba: l'Ethiopie antique et moderne*, Paris 1956, 97 (ill.); GEORGE WYNN BRERETON HUNTINGFORD, "Arabic Inscriptions in Southern Ethiopia", *Antiquity* 29, 1955, 230–33; ENNO LITTMANN, "Arabische Inschriften aus Abessinien", *ZSem* 3, 1924, 236–46; GIOVANNI OMAN, *La necropoli islamica di Dahlak Kebir (Mar Rosso)*, I: *Le epigrafi del Museo civico di Modena*, Napoli 1976; II: *Le epigrafi del Museo Ferdinando Martini di Asmara*, Napoli 1976; III: *Epigrafi di varia ubicazione*, Napoli 1987; ID., "La necropoli islamica di Dahlak Kebir (Mar Rosso) – Il materiale epigrafico", in: ALBERT DIETRICH (ed.), *Akten des VII. Kongresses für Arabistik und Islamwissenschaft*, Göttingen 1976 (Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, philologisch-historische Klasse 3, 98), 273–81; COSTANTINO PANSERA, "Quattro stele musulmane presso Uogher Hariba nell'Enderta", in: *CRStud* 3–6; NATHANIEL PEARCE, *The Life and Adventures of Nathaniel Pearce* ..., London 1831, vol. 1, 121–24; PAUL RAVAISSE, "Note sur quelques stèles et inscriptions arabes trouvées en Abyssinie", *La France Illustrée* 2528, [27.10.] 1923, 257–61; ETTORE ROSSI, "Iscrizioni funerarie arabe musulmane del paese degli Arussi nel Museo Coloniale di Roma", *RSE* 2, 1942, 277-81; MADELEINE SCHNEIDER, "Stèles funéraires arabes de Quiha", *AE* 7, 1967, 107–18; EAD., "Stèles funéraires de la région de Harar e Dahlak (Ethiopie)", *Révue des études islamiques* 37, 1969, 339–43; EAD., "Stèles funéraires musulmanes de la province du Choa", *AE* 8, 1970, 73–78; EAD., *Stèles funéraires musulmanes des îles Dahlak (mer Rouge)*, vol. 1: *Introduction, Documents et Indices*, vol. 2: *Tableaux et Planches*, Le Caire 1983 (Textes Arabes et Études Islamiques 19/1, 2); EAD., "Trois stèles funéraires inédites des îles Dahlak", in: CHRISTIAN ROBIN (ed.), *Mélanges linguistiques offerts à Maxime Rodinson* ..., Paris 1985, 361–68; EAD., "Notes au sujet de deux stèles funéraires en arabe de Bate (Harar)", *Le Muséon* 118, 2005, 333–54; EAD., "Sur la route de Šayḫ Ḥusayn du Bale (Ethiopie meridionale): une inscription en Arabe", *Aethiopica* 9, 2006, 92–101.

Lit.: CerStud I; FEDERICO CRESTI, "Alcune note storiche su Massaua, con particolare riferimento ad un complesso religioso islamico: la moschea dello *šayḫ* Ḥammālī", *Africa* (Roma) 45, 1990, 411–31; KEBEDDE GELETA, "A Survey on Argobba Sites", *AE* 16, 2000, 185–94; GIANFRANCESCO LUSINI, "Christians and Moslems in Eastern Tigray up to the XIV c.", *Studi Magrebini* 25, 1993–97 [2004], 245–52; WOLBERT SMIDT, "Eine arabische Inschrift aus Kʷiḥa, Tigray", in: *StudAeth* 259–68; GASTON WIET, "Les roitelets de Dahlak", *Bulletin de l'Institut d'Egypte* 34, 1951-52, 89–95.

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Behind the origin of INALCO there are two different institutions of the French monarchy, aimed at teaching Oriental languages and training dragomen (i.e., future interpreters), that were founded at the end of the 17th cent.: the École des Jeunes de langues of Pera (1689), in Istanbul, and the Chambre des Arméniens (also called the École des langues orientales) at the Collège Louis le Grand in Paris. However, the foundation itself is due to a Convention decree of 30 March 1795, issued thanks to the efforts of Louis-Mathieu Langlès, from 1795 the first president of the then École spéciale des langues orientales vivantes (or École des langues orientales vivantes, ELOV). In 1824, after his death, the administration of the École was taken over by Antoine-Isaac Silvestre de Sacy, the leading orientalist of the time, who remained in charge till 1838. The institution changed its status and name several times (in 1914 it became École

nationale des langues orientales vivantes, ENLOV; in 1969, Centre universitaire des langues orientales vivantes): in 1971 it eventually took the name INALCO, informally designated as Langues orientales or Langues O'. After moving several times within Paris, in 1873 it was finally settled at its present location, 2 rue de Lille.

The first languages taught were literary and spoken Arabic, Turkish, Crimean Tatar, Persian and Malaysian. In 2006, 11,300 students were studying 90 languages of all continents except those of Western Europe.

In 1898 Casimir ↗Mondon-Vidailhet was entrusted with a newly introduced course on "Abyssinian" (called ↗Amharic starting from 1948). He was succeeded in 1910 by Marcel ↗Cohen, who stayed until 1950 with an interruption between 1940 and 1944, when the course was held by Marcel ↗Griaule. In 1926 the post was changed into a professoral chair, in which Joseph Tubiana followed Cohen from 1950 (at first as "chargé de cours", becoming professor in 1957) until 1974. He was in turn followed by Mäkʷännən Argaw as "maître de conférence", then replaced by Dəlwänbära Nägga in the autumn of 2001. Starting from 1937, the professors were assisted by tutors: Mäkbəb Damṭe (1937), Täklä Bərhan Gərmu (1938–39, 1945–56), Taffäsä Habtä Mikaʾel (1942–45), Yosef Mäkʷərya (1956–59), Bərhanu Abbäbä (1959–65), Mäkʷännən Argaw (1965–74), Mäᶜaza Ḫaylä Revol-Tissot (since 1974 and now in charge of Təgreññа as "maître de conférence"). Most notable among the students were Jacques ↗Faitlovitch, Erich Weizinger, Roger ↗Chambard, Deborah ↗Lifchitz, Wolf ↗Leslau, Maxime ↗Rodinson, Roger ↗Schneider, Stefan ↗Strelcyn, and many others.

↗Təgrəññа, as well as ↗Oromiffa and other Cushitic languages, and aspects of Ethiopian culture (such as history, ethnology, literature, art) have also been taught at different stages.

Lit.: JEAN DENY, "L'École nationale des langues orientales vivantes", in: *Cent-cinquantenaire de l'École des langues orientales*, Paris 1948, 1–25; MARCEL COHEN, "L'amharique à l'École nationale des langues orientales vivantes", *ibid.* 303–08; ALAIN ROUAUD, "Amharique", in: PIERRE LABROUSSE (ed.), *Deux siècles d'histoire de l'École des langues orientales*, Paris 1995, 335, 363–69; ID., "Langues couchitiques", *ibid.* 377.

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Institute of Ethiopian Studies

Founded in 1963 as a subdivision of ↗Addis Ababa University, the I.E.S. (**የኢትዮጵያ ጥናት ምርምር ተቋም**, *Yäʾityopya ṭənatənna mərəmmər täqʷam*) is located in Ras Mäkʷännən Hall, formerly ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I's palace (↗Gännätä Ləᶜul). The Institute's objectives are to conduct, promote and co-ordinate research and publications on Ethiopia, emphasizing the humanities and cultural studies; and to preserve Ethiopia's cultural heritage by collecting and displaying in the Museum, Ethiopian artefacts and items of cultural value. There are three Departments: library, museum, and research and publications. The I.E.S. also assists visiting scholars.

The library, a famous collection of aethiopica, comprises more than 80,000 foreign-language books on Ethiopia published abroad, over 18,000 monographs in Ethiopian languages printed in the country, numerous periodicals, over 500 manuscripts, and 20,000 photographs, as well as other non-print media. The library holds some 10,000 microfilm reels, among them a set of all Ethiopian manuscript microfilms filmed by the ↗EMML project in Collegeville, Minnesota; microfilms of Ethiopian manuscripts in European and North American libraries, donated by embassies; and a microfilm collection of foreign diplomatic papers relating to Ethiopia initiated by Sven Rubenson. Both the library and the museum, which holds some 10,000 ethnographic and art items, originated in small collections made by Stanisław Chojnacki, Librarian of the University College of Addis Abäba, later the first Librarian and Museum Curator of the I.E.S.

The first publication of the I.E.S. was the inter-disciplinary bi-annual ↗*Journal of Ethiopian Studies*, 1963ff. (starting from vol. 1, no. 2, since the first issue of the Journal appeared prior to establishment of I.E.S.). The Journal was edited until 1976 by the Institute's first Director, Richard Pankhurst, and by Stanisław Chojnacki. Bibliographies included *A List of Current Periodical Publications in Ethiopia*, published every two years, 1964–74, and *Ethiopian Publications*, a bibliography of locally published material in foreign languages, which appeared annually, 1964–75 and irregularly until 1989. Other publications included the *Register of Research on Ethiopia and the Horn of Africa*, 1964–74, and the *Dictionary of Ethiopian Biography* (DicEthBio) of which volume one appeared in 1975. Traditional Ethiopian scholars, most notably *aläqa* ↗Ənbaqom Qalä Wäld, who worked under the voluntary supervision of ↗Mängəśtu Lämma attached to the Institute produced a series of *Qəne Collections*

(s. ↗*Qəne*), and three monographs on Ethiopian land tenure were published 1965–66.

The I.E.S. organizes and publishes the proceedings of its scholarly gatherings. Among these was the Third ↗International Conference of Ethiopian Studies, the first to be held in Ethiopia in 1966. Under a succession of Ethiopian directors (Fäqadu Gadamu, Taddäsä Tammərat, Taddäsä Bäyyänä, Baḫru Zäwde, Abdussamad Ahmäd, Bayyä Yəmam – who launched the plan for a new I.E.S. library building, and Elizabet Wäldä Giyorgis who inaugurated a graduate course in Ethiopian studies, as well as the library's automation), librarians (Däggəffe Gäbrä Ṣadəq and Salomon Dässaläññ) and museum curators (Gərma Kidane, Ahmäd Zäkariya, Ḥasän Sayid), the I.E.S. grew greatly. There followed the 8th (1984), 11th (1991) and 14th (2000) International Conferences, the First (1990), and Second (1992) National Conferences of Ethiopian Studies, and the Third International Conference on the History of Ethiopian Art (1993). Other gatherings were held on the Centenaries of the Foundation of Addis Abäba (1987), the battles of ↗Dogᶜali (1987) and ↗ᶜAdwa (1996), and on the anniversaries of the battles of ↗Mäqdäla and ↗Mätämma (1990). The I.E.S. also publishes the work of individual scholars, including the work of the first group of Ethiopian historians to undertake full-time research.

An important development was the acquisition of the former emperor's majestic reception hall, earlier used for graduations etc., for the expanding Library. From 1976 to 1999 this was directed by Däggəffe Gäbrä Ṣadəq who was responsible for acquiring and preserving clandestine literature under several regimes, and for making it available by compiling *A Catalogue of Clandestine Literature on Ethiopia* (1995). He was assiduous in preserving government and personal archives of the post-Mənilək period. They are housed in a building donated to the Institute by *blattengeta* ↗Maḫtämä Śəllase Wäldä Mäsqäl, and named after his father (Wäldä Mäsqäl).

The first publications on the ethnographic holdings of the museum were Hecht's *The Pottery Collection* (1969) and Moore's *Ethiopian Processional Crosses* (1971). The museum acquired philatelic and numismatic collections and expanded into part of an upper floor of the former palace, which developed into a unique gallery of Ethiopian Christian icons and crosses, Muslim exhibits, and modern art in traditional style. The gallery was designed by the French museologist, Anne Saurat, who prepared a guide and catalogue of the museum, published by the Institute in 1989. In 1999 a project of the then curator, Ahmäd Zäkariya, materialized when an ethno-musicology section was opened, with French, Italian and Swiss support. It was followed by the publication of a catalogue, *Musical Instruments of Ethiopia* (1999), by the Centre français des Études éthiopiennes. The Society of Friends of the Institute of Ethiopian Studies was closely involved in developing this section of the museum: the Society was established in 1968, to raise funds for special museum and library acquisitions, and, in 1999, to this end, opened a shop, near the museum entrance, selling locally produced artefacts. It also organizes monthly public lectures on aspects of Ethiopian culture. Both library and museum collaborate in exhibitions, at home and abroad. Information on the I.E.S.'s current activities, and articles of a popular nature, are published in the Institute's quarterly *Bulletin*, inaugurated in 1994.

↗Ethiopian studies

Src.: *JES* 1ff.; *A List of Current Periodical Publications in Ethiopia*, 1964–74; *Ethiopian Publications*, 1963/64ff.; *Register of Research on Ethiopia and the Horn of Africa*, 1964–74; DicEthBio; RICHARD PANKHURST — AHMED ZEKARIA — TADDESSE BEYENE (eds.), *Proceedings of the First National Conference of Ethiopian Studies*, Addis Ababa 1990; ABDUSSAMAD H. AHMAD – RICHARD PANKHURST (eds.), *Adwa Victory Centenary Conference 26 February – 2 March 1996*, Addis Ababa 1998; TADDESSE BEYENE – TADDESSE TAMRAT – RICHARD PANKHURST (eds.), *The Centenary of Dogali: Proceedings of International Symposium, Addis Ababa – Asmara, January 24–25, 1987*, Addis Ababa 1988; AHMED ZEKARIA – BAHRU ZEWDE – TADDESE BEYENE (eds.), *Proceedings of the International Symposium on the Centenary of Addis Ababa, November 24–25, 1986*, Addis Ababa 1987; *A Catalogue of Clandestine Literature on Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 1995; ELISABETH DOROTHEA HECHT, *The Pottery Collection*, Addis Abäba 1969; EINE MOORE, *Ethiopian Processional Crosses*, Addis Abäba 1971; ANNE SAURAT, *Museum of the Institute of Ethiopian Studies, Addis Ababa University: Catalogue Guide*, Addis Ababa 1989; *Musical Instruments of Ethiopia: Catalogue of the Collection of the Ethiopian Museum of the IES*, Addis Ababa 1999; *IES Bulletin*, 1994ff.

Lit.: RICHARD PANKHURST – TADDESSE BEYENE (eds.), *Silver Jubilee Anniversary of the Institute of Ethiopian Studies*, Addis Ababa 1990; RICHARD PANKHURST, "The Institute of Ethiopian Studies", *Africa* [Roma] 46, 4, 1991, 612–13.

Richard Pankhurst

Instruments, musical

Ethnomusicologists classify I. on the basis of two criteria: their vibrating material and the modes of creating that vibration. In this entry, I. will be presented within the usual Sachs-Hornbos-

tel classification (s. Sachs – Hornbostel 1961), which consists of grouping by the way in which the sound is produced (air, string, membrane, or other self-sounding material). The sample of Ethiopian I. will thus be dispatched in four instrumental families: aerophones, chordophones, membranophones and idiophones. The fifth category, electrophones, applies in Ethiopia since the late 20th cent., with ↗*mäsinqo* and ↗*kərar* players using electronically amplified instruments.

Due to the considerable ethnic diversity of Ethiopia, one can observe substantial instrumental diversity in the country. Some I. are specific to one or more societies and constitute the instrumental distinctive features of these societies. Other I. are shared by all Ethiopian societies, even though they vary in their name, form, size, playing techniques, function, circumstances of performance, etc. As for their denomination, Kimberlin's (1980:236) statements are still valid: "Many problems in Ethiopian organology have arisen because of semantics. The large number of languages and dialects in Ethiopia produce a great many different names for equivalent instruments".

Aerophone family

In the aerophone family, two types of flutes are common in most Ethiopian societies. The first one, known as ↗*wašənt* or *šämbäqo* in the high plateaus (Morand 2004:94–102), *ululle*, *garri* or *faga* among ↗Oromo, *šulungo* among ↗Maale (Ferran 2005 [CD], 28), *šungi* among ↗Aari (Fournel 2001:131–37), *kaen* among ↗Nuer, *woissa* among ↗Hamar, *moru* among ↗Mursi (Lagatta in Tourny [ed.]), *hindeeru* among ↗Arbore (Gabbert in Tourny [ed.]) and ↗Bäšada (s. Strecker 2003 [CD]), is a simple end-blown flute played alone. This flute is usually made from bamboo and has generally two to four finger-holes.

The second type comprises several flutes played together, with either each instrument producing a rhythmic formula on the single tone it produces, creating a polyphony called interlocking-parts or hocket. This polyphony is either strictly instrumental, as in Aari *weyssa* (Fournel 2001:94–129) and ↗Gumuz *qome* (s. Gottlieb 1980 [CD]), or voco-instrumental, as in Maale *pele* (Ferran 2002, 2005 [CD], 24, 28). Some flutes in the orchestras can produce two sounds, such as the ↗*əmbilta* found in the high plateaus. The flutists can thus play many tunes by combining resources of their differently pitched instruments (they usually play the upper harmonics, i.e the first two pitches; s. Timkehet Teffera 2005:135–38).

Some regions are characterized by the presence of panpipes, as the Gawwada *palale* (Institute of Ethiopian Studies 1999:32) and the ↗Konso *fanfa*, or globular flutes, as the Maale *umburko* (Ferran 2005 [CD], 24). The flutes are usually used during ritual, entertainment, field or cattle keeping circumstances. Some *fanfa* flutes have been reported to exist in other areas (↗Gurage, Oromo, etc.), but it seems they have been more or less abandoned.

The aerophone family is also composed by trumpets. Like the flutes, trumpets are played alone, as the Aari *šora* (Fournel 2001:37) and the Nuer *kan*, or in orchestras, as the ↗Wälaytta *č̣akaze* or *čekka zaye* (Institute of Ethiopian Studies 1999:32) and the ↗Berta *waza* (s. Robert Gottlieb, *Soudan I. Music of the Blue Nile Province. The Ingessana and Berta Tribes*, UNESCO Collection, Auvidis, D 8073, Berlin 1980). All of them can be made from wood (↗Käfa *hoora*), from bamboo (Wälaytta *č̣akaze*), from metal (↗*mäläkät* of the ↗Amhara and ↗Təgrəññña; Arsi Oromo *turumba*) or from the horn of a cow (Aari *šora*), an antelope (↗Sidamo or ↗Mağaŋgir), an oryx (Maale *šoroki zaye* and ↗Ñaŋatom *amwara edir*), a water-bull (Maale *dokosi zaye*), a wild goat (Maale *malkiti zaye*) or an elephant (as in Western Oromiyaa region). End-blown trumpets (as the Käfa *hoora* and the Wälaytta *č̣akaze*) differ from lateral trumpets (as the Aari *šora* and the Maale *malkiti zaye*, or the one found in Mursi). In their orchestras, ↗Dawro include both end-blown and lateral trumpets. All the present known trumpets do not have any finger-holes. Some produce a single sound, whereas others can make different notes by playing with the harmonics or by modulating the pitch with the hand by covering more or less the larger extremity of the trump. In some regions, the trumpeters also alternate vocal and instrumental sounds. Trumpets are sometimes insignias of power (as the *dokosi zaye* of the Maale which was exclusively played by chiefs; also *mäläkät* of the Ethiopian highlands). They can also be blown to gather together the members of a work group (as among Aari) or an agricultural association (as among Maale). Trumpet orchestras are often used in funeral contexts.

Although it looks like a gourd rattle, the bottle gourd *ariva* used by the Berta is another kind of aerophone. A narrow tube is inserted into the opening at the tip that is used as a blowing hole.

Producing only one note, the instrument is used by the leader of the instrumental ensemble to conduct the performance.

Chordophone family

The chordophone category is represented in Ethiopia by lyres, spike-fiddles and the musical bow. The lyre family is morphologically divided into bowl-lyres and box-lyres. The bowl-lyres are known as *kərar* in the Ethiopian highlands, and as *golo* (Maale), *šungi* (Aari), *goala* (Hamar and Bäšada), *kihayta* (Konso), *ditsa* (↗Dorze), *tum* (Nuer), *sangwa* (Gumuz), etc. in southern and western communities. Comprised of five or six strings, bowl-lyres can usually either be plucked with the right hand with a plectrum – the other hand fingers preventing the strings not played from sounding – or be plucked individually by the fingers of one hand. When played with the plectrum, the bowl-lyre produces sounds with a more pronounced attack.

The other type of lyre, associated with the Ethiopian highlands, is the ↗*bägäna* (Kimberlin 1978; Weisser 2005). Made of wood (pillars, yoke, decorations, soundbox, tuning pegs, bridge), skin (soundboard) and gut (strings), this ten-stringed box-lyre has the highest status among the cordophones of the Amhara and Təgrəñña.

The one-stringed spike-fiddle *mäsinqo* is another historically important instrument of northern Ethiopia, the emblematic instrument of the ↗*azmari* poets-musicians-comedians.

The only musical bow in Ethiopia is found in southern regions among the Hamar-speaking ↗Kara. The instrument called *tingle* consists of a three-string bow, played by inserting one end of the bow into the player's mouth, and plucking the strings with the fingers. The player can modulate the timbre of the sounds by changing the volume and form of his mouth cavity. Usually played by an adolescent boy, it is used for personal meditation (Strecker 2003 [CD], 3).

Membranophone family

The membranophone family is composed of different types of drums. In many Ethiopian communities, drums are symbols of authority and political power, in the Ethiopian highlands, as well as among the Añwaa, Käfa, ↗Šeko, ↗Boorana and Konso, etc. (Levine 1974:57).

Drums can constitute the instrumental accompaniment of religious and secular music. They are sometimes the exclusive propriety of artisanal castes.

Generic terms are used by Nuer (*bol*) and Añwaa (*bul*) to designate all types of drums. ↗*Käbäro* is the Amharic and Təgrəñña term for the cylindrical double membrane drum. In southern areas, the *käbäro*'s name is *darbe* (in Maale and ↗Gofa) or *karabe* (in Wälaytta). In Ometo societies, people distinguish between the "drum's father" (*darbe ade* or *karabe ade*) and the "drum's mother" (*darbe inde* or *karab inde*). The first, generally held under the arm and played with a stick, is smaller than the latter, which is often laid on the ground and beaten with one or two hands.

Among the Arsi, many songs are accompanied by the *dibbe* (general term for cylindrical or hemispherical, single or double membrane drums of various sizes), hand clapping and repetitive body movements. The *dibbe* is played with the hands (sometimes a wooden stick can be used) by unmarried women and used to accompany wedding and spiritual songs. In the lowlands, the term *dibbe* generally refers to a cylindrical double membrane drum, whereas in the highlands, it is the general term that contains three subcategories of hemispherical single membrane drums: *manḍii'a* is the largest, *ledii* is medium sized and *dibbe ǧidduu galeessa* is the smallest.

In Harär, several types of traditional drums are called ↗*käräbu* and are used by men and women for accompaniment in religious and secular singing. The drums played by local Oromo and Argobba females are very similar to Harari women's *käräbu*, while playing techniques and rhythmical patterns vary.

Harari songs may be accompanied by the *däf*, a round tambourine with double metal disks inserted into its wooden frame. Introduced in Harär only in the last century, the *däf* has become a crucial element in current traditional musical practices. Most are imported, but occasionally some Harari manufacture their own. It is commonly hit on one side of the membrane by the right hand, but expert musicians can play it on both sides using the fingertips of both hands.

In the Ethiopian highlands, another type of drum is the ↗*nägarit*, a hemispherical instrument with only one membrane. Among the Berta, the *negero* (flat kettledrum) accompanies the *bol-negero* flute ensemble.

The small drum called *atamo* is used by the Boorana, the Gurage and south-western peoples (Institute of Ethiopian Studies 1999:24). In western Gurage, the *atamo* is also known under

the name *andär* and are produced by women belonging to a social group the so-called ↗*fuga*. The instrument is generally beaten by unmarried girls to accompany heroes' songs (Kruczynski 2004:147–57). It is played as well to accompany wedding songs, called *leilao-leilao*, similar to those of neighbouring Oromo.

Idiophone family

Many types of idiophones compose the last organological family. Xylophones are present in Aari. Lamellophones are mostly found in south-western Ethiopia, as in Mağaŋgir, Nuer and Añwaa, where they are known as *tum* (or *tom*) and *sansa* (Lacombe in Tourny [ed.]).

Several types of idiophones are used as rhythmic accompaniment. Rattles made of gourds, tortoise shell, hide and wood are present all over Ethiopia. Small bells strung on cords tied to the legs of dancers are also often found. Wooden blocks are the most common of all. Among the Arsi Oromo, they are called *kabala*, and are played by unmarried women to accompany wedding songs. In Harär they are called ↗*käbäl* and are usually performed in association with the local drums (*käräbu*) and with the *däf*.

Among some southern pastoralists, cow horns (*bučoo* among the Arsi Oromo) are used instead of blocks. Betä Ǝsraʾel priests used a small round metal gong called ↗*qaṣ̌əl* (or *metqe*) to play, in association with the *nägarit*, a five-beat rhythmic pattern that accompanies their chants (Shelemay 1986:77). It is worth to notice here that the *nägarit* – in Christian Ethiopia a secular musical I., traditionally devoted to the royal court in the past – is strictly associated with the liturgical music of Betä Ǝsraʾel, whereas the ↗*käbäro* – reserved for religious ceremonies of the Christian church – was used for non-liturgical purpose (Tourny 1999:15).

At church, the ↗*däwäl*, stone or wooden bells, were traditionally used to call for prayers. During the main liturgical offices, the hand-held sistrum (↗*ṣänaṣəl*) made of bronze or silver is used to demark rhythmic patterns and to accompany chants sung during the main liturgical offices. Church musicians both lean on prayer staffs (↗*Mäqqʷamiya*) during long hours of worship and wave and strike the staffs on the ground during liturgical chanting and dance. The strikes are performed on precise syllables of the chanting. With the *käbäro*, the sistrum and prayer staffs are used in a musical and gesture liturgical practice called ↗*aqʷaqʷam* (Shelemay – Jeffery 1994–97; Damon 2006:267ff.).

Music recordings are an important research tool for I.; some recent discography includes:
ANNE DAMON, *Eglise chrétienne orthodoxe d'Ethiopie. ʾAqwaqwam, la musique et la danse des cieux*, Maison des Cultures du Monde, Collection Terrains, Inédit, W 260121, Paris 2005; HUGO FERRAN, *Southern Ethiopia: Music of the Maale: Praises and Blessings*, Maison des Cultures du Monde, Collection Terrains, Auvidis Inédit, W 260120, Paris 2005; THIERRY FOURNEL, *Ari Polyphonies*, Ocora Radio France, C 560174, Paris 2002; ROBERT GOTTLIEB, *Soudan I. Music of the Blue Nile Province: the Gumuz Tribe*, UNESCO Collection, Auvidis, D 8072, Berlin 1980; GILLES LÉOTHAUD – BERNARD LORTAT-JACOB – HUGO ZEMP, *Musical Instruments of the World/Les instruments de musique du monde*, Paris: CNRS/Musée de l'Homme, Le Chant du Monde LDX 274 675, 1990; IVO STRECKER, *Nyabole: Music of the Hamar, Southern Ethiopia*, Wergo/Spectrum SM 1707, Berlin 2003; STÉPHANIE WEISSER, *Ethiopie. Chants de bagana*, text and recordings, AIMP LXXVIII/VDE 1206, 2006.

I. can be played alone or used to accompany song and dance. Different combinations of orchestral and vocal groupings are found: singers with drummers and lyre players, flutists with trump players, etc. Their apprenticeship is usually accomplished with imitation, sometimes with training by specialists. As for their making, some I. can be manufactured by everyone while others need certain kinds of professionalism. In today's Ethiopia, the extinction of some musical traditions leads to that of the I. associated with them. The inventory of all of them, still in process, is then not only a matter of scientific interest: it is a way to protect them.

↗Music

Lit.: ASHENAFI KEBEDE, *The Music of Ethiopia: its Development and Cultural Setting*, Ph.D. thesis, Wesleyan University, 1971; B.A. AVRAMETS, "Sociocultural Functions of Instrumental Ensembles and their Role in the Traditional Ethiopian Culture", in: *PICES* 9, vol. 3, 30–37; GUGLIELMO BARBLAN, *Musiche e strumenti musicali dell'Africa orientale italiana*, Napoli 1941; ANNE DAMON, "ʾAqwaqwam ou la danse des cieux", *Cahiers d'Etudes Africaines* 46, 2, 182, 2006, 261–90; HUGO FERRAN, *Les orchestres de flûtes chez les Maale du sud-ouest éthiopien*, M.A. thesis, University Paris VIII, 2002; THIERRY FOURNEL, *Polyphonies vocales et instrumentales Ari*, M.A. thesis, University Paris X, 2001; INSTITUTE OF ETHIOPIAN STUDIES, *Musical Instruments of Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 1999; CYNTHIA TSE KIMBERLIN, *Masinqo and the Nature of Qəññət*, Ph.D. thesis, University of California, Los Angeles, CA 1976; EAD., "The Bägäna of Ethiopia", *Ethiopianist Notes* 2, 2, 1978, 15–32; EAD., "The Music of Ethiopia", *Music of Many Cultures*, University of California Press, Berkeley, CA 1980, 232–52; ARNAUD KRUCZYNSKI, *Mémoires des études, mémoire d'un homme: de la bibliographie du terme-thème Guragé aux chansons de Tchamora Nïgusé*, Pre-doctoral Thesis (DEA), University of

Paris I Panthéon Sorbonne, Paris 2001, 321; DONALD N. LEVINE, *Greater Ethiopia: the Evolution of a Multiethnic Society*, Chicago, IL 1974; KATELL MORAND, *Musique de bergers en pays Amhara (Andassa, Gojjam)*, M.A. thesis, University of Paris 10, Nanterre 2004; MICHAEL POWNE, *Ethiopian Music. An Introduction: a Survey of Ecclesiastical and Secular Ethiopian Music*, London – New York – Toronto 1968; CURT SACHS – ERIC M. VON HORNBOSTEL, "Classification of Musical Instruments", tr. by ANTHONY BAINES – KLAUS P. WACHSMANN, *Galpin Society Journal* 14, 1961, 4–29 [= "Systematik der Musikinstrumente: Ein Versuch", *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 4–5, 1914, 553–90]; KAY KAUFMAN SHELEMAY, *Music, Ritual, and Falasha History*, East Lansing, MI 1986 (Ethiopian Series Monograph no. 17); EAD. – PETER JEFFERY, *Ethiopian Christian Liturgical Chant: an Anthology*, 3 vols., Madison, WI 1994–97 (with CD); SIMONE TARSITANI, "*Zikri* Rituals in Harar: a Musical Analysis", in: *PICES* 15, 478–84; TIMKEHET TEFFERA, "Embilta Playing in Ethiopia", in: DAN LUNDBERG – GUNNAR TERNHAG (eds.), *ICTM Study Group on Folk Musical Instruments, Proceedings from the 15th International Meeting in Falun, Sweden, August 14–18, 2002* (Studia Instrumentorum Musicae Popularis 15), Stockholm 2005, 133–42; TESFAYE LEMMA, *Ethiopian Musical Instruments*, Addis Ababa 1975; OLIVIER TOURNY, "Ethiopian Christian and Jewish Liturgical Music", in: INSTITUTE OF ETHIOPIAN STUDIES, *Musical Instruments of Ethiopia*, Addis Abäba 1999, 12–15; ID. (ed.), *Musiques traditionnelles d'Éthiopie* (= *AE* 23, 2007), in preparation; ID. et al., "Ethiopian Music: an Introduction", *Aethiopica* 11, 2008, in preparation (Lit.); STÉPHANIE WEISSER, *Etude ethnomusicologique du bagana*, Ph.D. thesis, Université Libre de Bruxelles, Belgium 2005.

Anne Damon – Hugo Ferran – Echi Gabbert – Arnaud Kruczynski – Claire Lacombe – Katell Morand – Leila Qashu – Ilaria Sartori – Simone Tarsitani – Timkehet Teffera – Olivier Tourny – Stéphanie Weisser

Inter-ethnic clan relations

I. is a concept for identifying and understanding the phenomenon whereby certain descent groups are present in more than one ethnic group. Traditionally, anthropologists have written monographs on ethnic groups after learning only one of the ethnic languages involved. This biases their perceptions towards privileging intra-ethnic interactions and neglecting inter-ethnic ones. Consequently, the phenomenon of I. may be far more prevalent than we suspect. European writers tend to regard clans as subunits of ethnic groups: one ethnic group consists of a multitude of clans. In southern Ethiopia, northern ↗Kenya and possibly many other parts of the world, the same clans appear to exist in two or more ethnic groups. Rather than one being a part of the other, this view transforms the relationship between clan and ethnic group into intersecting categories on the same scale: clans need not be smaller than ethnic groups, if all the representations of a clan in different ethnic groups are taken into account.

The idea of members of the same clan existing among different ethnic groups may simply stem from beliefs based on the similarity of names or other indications which a trained historian would reject as inconclusive. It is difficult to ascertain whether such beliefs influence inter-ethnic attitudes. I. are sometimes contractual: at a certain point in history, groups with different origins may have made a mutual decision to regard each other as brothers. In such cases one may speak of "collective adoptions". In many instances, however, clans from different groups are believed to share a common ancestor, and closer scrutiny of such claims corroborates them. Many clans among the Gabra, Rendille, Sakuye and ↗Garre of the Kenyan–Ethiopian borderlands share clan-specific cultural features across ethnic divisions. Such features may be (1) special rituals and relevant avoidances (or the recollections of ritual tasks and of particular states of purity which may have been lost); (2) camel brands or other property marks; (3) oral traditions concerning common descent and (4) sometimes clan names (e.g., the Matarba among the Rendille, Gabra and Sakuye). In other cases they have traditions about equivalences of named groups that typically have the formula "the A among the Y are the same as the B among the Z" (e.g. the Harraw among the Rendille are the same as the Usmalo among the Gabra). The aforementioned evidence suggests the likelihood that there is some historical reality underlying such claims of shared descent.

The phenomenon of I. may arise from two different situations: an earlier population may have been ethnically undifferentiated or differentiated in a way that did not correspond to later divisions. This situation may have given rise to ethno-genesis – the primary emergence of ethnic differentiation in a setting hitherto undifferentiated by ethnicized distinctions –, or extant ethnic boundaries may have been relocated. Ethnic divisions that cut across clans lead to I. Alternatively, in a situation where ethnic identities have already been clearly established, a clan may divide with one party migrating and living among a different ethnic group. Such migrants may be ritually incorporated or they may be assimilated over generations of exchange and intermarriage without their status as strangers being formally abolished. In other cases, parts of a clan may have been forcefully abducted by enemies. If

their incorporation into the new ethnic environment remains incomplete and a memory of an alien origin is preserved, this may likewise lead to the emergence of an I.

Ethnic distinctions may be based on (or result in) abrupt cultural discontinuities. The Rendille and the Gabra speak mutually unintelligible languages; however, the Rendille language and the ↗Boorana dialect of ↗Oromo, spoken with minor peculiarities by the Gabra, both belong to the Lowland branch of Eastern ↗Cushitic languages, as does ↗Somali. The Gabra and Rendille adhere to their own belief systems. Even though some of them have recently converted to either Christianity or Islam (↗Conversions), they typically have not given up earlier practices. On the other hand, the Garre – most of whom regard themselves as Somali and all of whom are recognised as Somali by other Somali – have a longer tradition of Islam, and classify their Boorana and Gabra neighbours as infidels (*kufaar*, from Arab. *kuffār*). That the relationships between the numerous clans shared by these groups are to be classified as inter-ethnic, is beyond doubt, because they span clear ethnic divides.

↗Ethnicity is a politicised issue and does not necessarily correlate with specific levels of cultural or linguistic differences. The web of I. described extends eastwards to groups speaking Maymay. Maymay is classified as a Somali dialect even though it differs from Standard Somali (Maḥatiri) more than the Rendille language does. The ↗Raḥanween people, who speak Maymay, comprise clan groups that are present in northern Kenya and additionally possess elements of all major northern Somali clan groups. Consequently, one can say that the I. of southern Ethiopia and northern Kenya are reflected eastward in the overlapping clan composition of the different sub-ethnicities of the Somali.

In this context the Raḥanween (↗Digil and Ǧirifle) should be classed as a "sub-ethnic" group for the simple reason that there is a more comprehensive "ethnic" label ("Somali") that includes them as well as others. Their description as one of four major "clans" or "clan groups" is a recent phenomenon that serves political convenience – for the purposes of the 2002 internationally sponsored peace process – and has no social or historical reality. The Raḥanween are perfectly aware of the fact that they are composed of many fragments of clans who also live elsewhere, as members of other major "clans" or "clan families"; they realise that it is not agnatic descent but co-residence, shared local culture and multiple bilateral contractual arrangements, that unite them. The linguistic unity amongst them is not based on sharing a uniform "Maymay" language, but on a negative criterion: they do not speak Maḥatiri as their first language but a number of quite different southern Somali speech varieties.

Recent ethnic differentiations – the processes which ultimately resulted in the emergence of the present ethnic/sub-ethnic mosaic of northern Kenya, southern and eastern Ethiopia and southern Somalia – were primarily caused by the 16th-cent. Oromo expansion, Islamisation and Somali migrations. The language of the dominant Oromo (often incorrectly associated with a non–Islamic identity) and Islam were rejected by some groups and accepted by others; this situation led to new differentiations. The later expansion of certain Somali groups and their political dominance then led to a strengthened "Somali" identity among some groups who had a claim to such an identity in terms of clan origins, and other groups whose claims were doubtful.

I. also play a role in the Lower Omo area. Turton's (1994) "political" territorial groups – which would qualify as "ethnic" groups in the terminology of other authors – are relatively unstable due to their violent interactions. Decimated groups that have lost territory or other resources occasionally combine into demographically and militarily stronger units under a new ethnic label. These new units consist of new combinations of clans and clan fragments, and the probability that fragments of the same clans end up in different ethnic groups is high. With respect to this phenomenon Turton points specifically to shared clan identities among the ↗Mursi, ↗Čai and Tirma (↗Tirmaga).

Widespread I. also seem to exist in the ↗Omotic speaking highlands. Of the 170 clans Data Dea (2003) identified among the ↗Dawro, only two claimed to be native to Dawro. Others claimed to originate from ↗Käfa, ↗Wälaytta, ↗Gofa, ↗Maale and even from northern Ethiopia. In this instance, though a detailed study of I. has not been performed, the same processes seen in the Kenyan-Ethiopian borderlands are expected: ethnic splits across clans and the migration of some of the resultant groups across ethnic boundaries. Clans of ↗Hadiyya origin in a variety of ethnic groups bridge even wider linguistic divides than the one between Oromo and Somali. The recent Hadiyya language is Highland East Cushitic, but numer-

ous Hadiyya clans can be found among ↗Arsi and ↗Ittuu Oromo (Lowland East Cushites) and the ↗Wälaytta (Omotic speakers). Two thirds of the Arsi clans are of Hadiyya origin. This makes the Arsi a good example of the extent to which Oromo ethnogenesis is the effect of linguistic and ethnic conversion of non-Oromo (s. BrHad).

In addition to the historical aspects of I. and investigations into their origins, they also generate a high sociological interest. Inter-ethnic communication takes place along sociological lines and can provide the means (via re-affiliation, s. for example ↗*Guddifačaa*, ↗*Moassa*) through which refuge for victims of natural disasters and warfare is accessed.

↗Genealogy; ↗Kinship

Lit.: DATA DEA, *The Challenges of Integrative Power: Hierarchy and Political Change in Dawro, Southern Ethiopia*, Ph.D. thesis, Bergen 2003; BERNHARD HELANDER, *The Slaughtered Camel: Coping with Fictitious Descent among the Hubeer of Southern Somalia*, Uppsala 2003 (Uppsala Studies in Cultural Anthropology 34); VIRGINIA LULING, *Somali Sultanate: the Geladi City-state over 150 Years*, Piscataway 2002; GÜNTHER SCHLEE, *Identities on the Move: Clanship and Pastoralism in Northern Kenya*, Manchester 1989; DAVID TURTON, "Mursi Political Identity and Warfare: the Survival of an Idea", in: KATSUYOSHI FUKUI – JOHN MARKAKIS (eds.), *Ethnicity and Conflict in the Horn of Africa*, London – Ohio 1994, 15–31.

Günther Schlee

International Conferences of Ethiopian Studies

Since 1959, ↗Ethiopian studies have benefited from a series of international, inter-disciplinary conferences held at various venues in Europe and America, Japan and, naturally, in Ethiopia (ICES). By convention, since 1991 every third conference has taken place in ↗Addis Abäba. ICES have been organised in liaison with an international committee of scholars, at first informal and later formalised, and in collaboration with the ↗Institute of Ethiopian Studies (IES) of ↗Addis Ababa University.

The First ICES, initiated by Enrico ↗Cerulli, was conceived as part of an Orientalist seminar series. It was held in Rome, 2–4 April 1959 under the sponsorship and in the palace of the Accademia dei Lincei – an intellectual peace move 18 years after the end of the Italian occupation of Ethiopia. The 35 published papers, read in English, French, German or Italian, came largely from the scholarly communities of Western Europe, more than a third from Italy itself. The theme was historical and included cultural contacts between Ethiopia and countries of the Orient. All the historical contributions were on the Aksumite or medieval periods; those devoted to religion discussed Christian texts, and the philological papers dealt mostly with Semitic languages. Three papers were on geographical topics. Given the conference theme, there were few anthropologists. Only one paper by an Ethiopian was published, though several Ethiopian clerics from the Collegio Etiopico (↗Santo Stefano dei Mori), Rome, read papers, some in Amharic. There was also only one paper by a woman. The suggestion that further such conferences should take place was made by Aklilu Habte, who represented University College of Addis Abäba. The meticulously and anonymously edited proceedings, published the following year by the Accademia dei Lincei, included discussions of papers and a detailed name index, neither of which features reappeared in later published proceedings.

The Second ICES, convened by Edward Ullendorff and Charles ↗Beckingham, took place 8–11 July 1963 at Manchester University and had no declared theme. Among the 78 participants 35 read papers, of which 31 were published. Thirteen Ethiopians attended, three produced papers, but only one contribution was published. The papers ranged more widely than at the first conference. Though they fell mostly within the traditional fields of history, Semitic languages and religious studies, there were also papers on Somali studies, the Oromo, and modern Amharic literature. Resolutions were passed on the need for a law of deposit and an inventory of Ethiopian churches and manuscripts. The proceedings, edited by the convenors and published in the ↗*Journal of Semitic Studies*, 1964, listed scholars who had died since the previous conference, and published a group photograph. Unfortunately neither innovation became a regular feature of subsequent conferences.

The Third and much larger ICES, the first held in Ethiopia (3–7 April 1966), was convened by the IES (Richard Pankhurst, Director, and Stanisław Chojnacki, Librarian and Museum Curator). Invitations went to all research workers listed in the Institute's *Register of Current Research on Ethiopia and the Horn of Africa,* one being later withdrawn for political reasons. Scholars from 14 countries registered. Some participants, who had devoted their lives to Ethiopian studies, had never before visited the country. Because of the number of participants (116) parallel sessions be-

came necessary and a special room was set aside for traditional scholars who debated traditional topics in Amharic. To satisfy the interest aroused by the conference, closed circuit television was installed and the media took a lively interest. Social scientists came to the fore, reporting on fieldwork with various ethnic groups, and for the first time there were presentations on economics, politics and education. Ethiopians made a substantial contribution with 21 papers out of the 80 published. At the business meeting an international conference co-ordinating committee was established and participants once again appealed for an Ethiopian law of deposit. Because of the generous hospitality provided, there were no funds left for the immediate editing of the proceedings, a process complicated by the inexperience of local compositors in working with foreign languages. The proceedings were anonymously edited and eventually published by the Institute, vol. 1 in 1969 and vols. 2 and 3 in 1970.

After some delay in finding a venue, the Fourth ICES (10–15 April 1972), like the First, was convened by Cerulli in Rome, and sponsored by the Accademia dei Lincei. A smaller gathering for selected participants, its theme was once again Ethiopia as culturally a part of the Christian Orient and several Italian Arabists contributed, as did, in absentia, 11 Soviet Ethiopianists. Ten papers were related to the Aksumite period, while one third of the 59 published were devoted to linguistics. In line with Cerulli's aim of encouraging young Ethiopian scholars, ten from Addis Ababa University were invited, and altogether the Ethiopian contribution amounted to 20 %. The Proceedings of the Fourth ICES were anonymously edited and published by the Accademia dei Lincei in 1974. The exclusion of American social scientists not concerned with Ethiopia's position in the ↗Middle East led to the First (and only) United States Conference on Ethiopian Studies, 1973.

One of two Fifth ICES, the first after the outbreak of the Ethiopian ↗Revolution, was convened in Nice by Joseph ↗Tubiana (19–22 December 1977), and sponsored by the Association française pour la recherche scientifique en Afrique de l'Est (↗ARESAE). It was the first focusing on recent times, the theme being modern Ethiopia since the accession of *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II. Uncharacteristically, several papers dealt with contemporary political issues, and films made their first conference appearance. Because of political upheavals in Ethiopia the delegation from the re-named Addis Ababa University did not arrive, and only two Ethiopian contributions were published. 35 papers were edited by the convener and published in 1980. It was indicative of developing interest in non-Semitic languages that, of the six philological contributions, four discussed Oromo, Cushitic or Somali questions. Scholars from the traditional European centres of Ethiopian studies were joined by more contributors than before from the United States (7).

The other Fifth ICES ("Session B"), 13–16 April 1978, the first on the American continent, took place mainly in Chicago, sponsored by the University of Chicago, Northwestern University and the University of Illinois. It arose out of uncertainties about the proposed conference in France, and was co-ordinated by Donald Levine. The largest of the conferences to date, it comprised 82 participants – two thirds from US centres of learning – and 72 presentations. The proceedings included six Ethiopians living in the United States. The organizers eschewed a thematic approach in favour of a review of the whole field of Ethiopian scholarship. Levine, in the Introduction to the proceedings (ed. by Robert L. Hess 1979), summed up the results: "New kinds of data were made available, for example by archaeological finds in central Ethiopia, access to untapped archival sources on modern Ethiopian history, the microfilming of old Ethiopic manuscripts in obscure monasteries, and basic lexicographic work on languages in the southern and western parts of the country. Fresh analytical approaches were pursued in the comparative analysis of feudal systems, reconsideration of Ethiopian origins, and novel economic and political analysis of the question of Ethiopia's destiny in a 'modernising' world". The social sciences made a strong impact, whereas the only paper on a religious topic was on Betä Ǝsraʾel liturgical history. It was indicative of the preponderance of English in international discourse that only five of the 61 published papers were in another language – a trend already observable in Nice, where the percentage of papers in English was higher than in Manchester 15 years earlier.

The Sixth ICES, Tel Aviv, 14–17 April 1980, was sponsored by the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities and organized by Gideon Goldenberg. For political reasons it was poorly attended, there being no participation from Ethiopia, Eastern Europe and the USSR. Nevertheless, 40 scholars came from eleven countries,

with a strong contingent from Germany. The 31 published papers, edited by the convenor, appeared in 1980. Though there was no conference theme, several scholars discussed the Betä Ǝsra'el and Ethiopian contacts with Jerusalem. More than 40 % of the papers were on linguistic topics, especially Semitic languages.

The Seventh ICES, Lund, 26–29 April 1982, sponsored by Lund University and the Swedish Agency for Research Cooperation with Developing Countries, was convened by Sven Rubenson. It met in a spirit of optimism and did not suffer from political embargos. After a virtual absence of ten years, Ethiopian scholars were back in strength. Funds were secured for those coming from Ethiopia, and, participation being limited, papers were screened for quality. Ethiopians contributed 23 of the 71 papers, which were edited by the convenor, and published in 1984.There was a wider spread of, and within, subjects, including a review and bibliography of earlier conferences. History and philology were particularly well represented.

The Eighth ICES, 26–30 November 1984, the second organized by the Institute of Ethiopian Studies (Taddäsä Bäyyänä, Director), was sponsored by Addis Ababa University. Because of the unprecedented number of participants, and 217 presentations, papers other than those of general relevance and interdisciplinary character, were grouped into six panels, including three for history and one entirely for anthropology. Perhaps in deference to Ethiopian participants papers were predominantly in English, with a few in French. This pattern continued at subsequent conferences, except for one paper in German at the tenth, and one in Italian at the 11th conference. The Proceedings of the Eighth ICES, edited by Taddäsä Bäyyänä and published in 1988, contained 140 papers. Prehistory and archaeology for the first time attracted 12 papers and anthropology 16. Interest in contemporary issues continued, with 29 papers. Ethiopians participated in greater number than ever before, with 45 involved in published papers. The 17 other nationalities represented included Austria, Canada, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Greece, Luxembourg, and, for the first time, Japan. There was a significant increase in Russian interest. It was decided at the business meeting to hold every third conference in Ethiopia.

The Ninth ICES, Moscow, 26–29 August 1986, was sponsored by the Africa Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and convened by Anatolij Andreevič Gromyko. Provision was made for simultaneous translation. Of the 145 participants 35 % were Soviet scholars and 9 came from Eastern Europe, many of them attending an ICES for the first (and last) time. Almost a third of the papers were on contemporary political topics, which were discussed from a theoretical Marxist point of view, with little dependence on scrutiny of Ethiopian sources or fieldwork. The proceedings were edited by the convenor, and published by the Africa Institute in 1988 in six small volumes.

The Tenth ICES, Paris, 23–28 August 1988, the largest to that date, took place in the prestigious Palais de Chaillot, headquarters of UNESCO. It was organized by the Société française pour les études éthiopiennes and convened by Jean Leclant. Among the more than 500 participants 180 presented papers, grouped in six panels, art being for the first time allocated its own panel. Unforeseen circumstances led to a delay of six years before publication of one volume of proceedings. The second, covering linguistics, sociology and contemporary issues, is still awaiting publication. The 76 papers published in 1994 and edited by Claude Lepage, revealed that archaeology and prehistory, art and social anthropology had attracted a growing number of scholars, though few from Ethiopia. Of the fourteen whose papers were published, more than half were historians of the post-1968 period.

The Eleventh ICES, Addis Abäba, 1–6 April 1991, was again convened by the Institute of Ethiopian Studies (Bahru Zäwde, Director). Although there were over 300 preliminary registrations, political tensions led to many cancellations. The conference was overshadowed, for some participants, by the attempt by the geographer Mäsfən Wäldä Maryam to bring about an end to the civil war then raging by involving elders in arbitration. Only 174 papers were presented, grouped into nine panels, with an additional session commemorating the 50th anniversary of Ethiopia's liberation from Italian rule. To achieve more focussed discussions the heterogeneous category "contemporary issues" was split into three: development; education and fine arts; and law and contemporary politics. Of the 113 papers, edited by Bahru Zäwde, Richard Pankhurst and Taddäsä Bäyyänä, and published in 1994, the largest number – 24 – were broadly in the area of social anthropology. The propor-

tion of Ethiopian contributors was for the first time over 40 %, 48 scholars having authored or co-authored papers.

The Twelfth ICES, East Lansing, Michigan, 5–10 September 1994, preliminarily registering 534 participants, was hosted by Michigan State University and convened by Harold G. ↗Marcus. With over 220 presentations, four round tables (Science and Technology; Research Needs and Historical Preservation; Personality and Political Culture; and Higher Education), as well as a general session entitled "Rethinking Ethiopia", this conference had a massive number of speakers and engendered considerable debate. Instead of the division into panels the papers were grouped by session under specific subject headings. As the papers, edited by the convenor, were published before the conference, in two volumes, they comprised only 149 papers, authored or co-authored by 162 scholars. With 75 Ethiopian scholars contributing, some from United States universities, there was a higher proportion of Ethiopians than at any previous conference. Among the 16 other nationalities represented, the largest contingents, apart from the United States itself (20 scholars), came from Britain (14) and Germany (11). An area of studies new to the conference series was agriculture, with seven papers.

The Thirteenth ICES, Kyoto, 12–17 December 1997, the first to be held in East Asia, was convened by Katsuyoshi Fukui, and assembled over 200 participants, of whom 77 came from Japan, 30 from the United States and 100 from 13 other countries. The editors of the proceedings stated that, in addition to papers on the growing "core" subjects — "history, Ethio-Semitic linguistics and art", there was an effort "to re-evaluate Ethiopia and Ethiopian studies in a broader perspective — historically, regionally and theoretically". There were thus more papers "dealing with peripheral peoples and regions, and those arguing Ethiopian issues in a comparative perspective". The questionable practice of publishing pre-proceedings, was once again followed. They appeared in three volumes, edited by the convenor, Eisei Kurimoto and Masayoshi Shigeta. There were an unprecedented 37 papers in anthropology and five on Ethio-Japanese relations, as well as, for the first time, four on gender issues and one paper on palaeontology. Out of the 185 persons who authored, or co-authored the 165 papers, 76 or 41 % were Ethiopians, of whom 43 came to Kyoto from Ethiopia. The percentage of the 158 published papers by women reached 28, compared with 3 % at the first conference. Except for three papers in French, all contributions were in English.

The Fourteenth Conference was held in Addis Abäba 6–11 November 2000, during the 50th Anniversary celebrations of the foundation of higher education in Ethiopia. The Conference, the fourth to be held in Ethiopia, was sponsored by Addis Ababa University and organised by the Institute of Ethiopian Studies (Director Baye Yəmam). The Minister of Education, Gännät Zäwde, opened the Conference, for which 209 scholars registered. Plenary sessions were devoted to overviews of past research and publications by leading scholars, mostly from Addis Ababa University, in five fields: Development, History, Linguistics, Literature and Social Anthropology. History continued to attract the greatest number of papers, of which eight were on the overlapping subject of archaeology and as many as seven on the history of Ethiopian art. The next most popular subject was social anthropology, with more than 30 % of papers presented. 20 participants discussed topics in the new discipline of development studies, and five papers considered Ethiopian music and dance. Among the 20 nationalities represented at the Conference, Ethiopians, mostly men, were the overwhelming majority, presenting more than 40 % of the papers. 40 participants came from Germany, the largest group from outside Ethiopia, an indication of the growing strength of Ethiopian studies in Germany, as was to be borne out at the next conference. Apart from a few papers read in Amharic all the papers were in English. Participants were able to see four special exhibitions: one in the entrance to Ras Mäkʷännən Building, the former palace of Emperor Ḫaylä Śəllase, on the history of the building, and three in the IES Museum: on women's costumes from Eastern Ethiopia; Ethiopian head-rests, and *aṣe* Mənilək's Swiss adviser, Alfred ↗Ilg. The proceedings, edited by Baye Yimam et al., were published in 2002.

The Fifteenth ICES was held in Hamburg, in the newly erected building of the Asia Africa Institute of Hamburg University, 21–25 July 2003. It was convened by Siegbert Uhlig and organized by him and a team of members of the Ethiopian Studies Research Unit at Hamburg University with the financial support from numerous German foundations. This generous help ensured

the participation of a large number of Ethiopians: of 388 scholars who arrived in Hamburg for the conference (266 of them with papers), 59 came from Ethiopia, a further 74 came from centres of learning abroad. The strongest group were naturally residents of the host country, 120 registered participants. The presentations were organized into twelve thematic sections: Language and linguistics, Literature and philology, Religion, Arts, History, Anthropology, Law and politics and Environmental, economic and educational issues. Every day opened with a plenary session devoted to current trends in a branch of Ethiopian studies. The evening program ranged from receptions (e.g., at the Hamburg City Hall) to an art exhibition, from sightseeing tours to information evenings (panel on Ethiopian studies in Germany). The proceedings (ed. by Siegbert Uhlig, Maria Bulakh, Denis Nosnitsin and Thomas Rave) contain a selection of 130 papers, the most numerous sections being Language and linguistics with 26 papers and History with 25 papers. The 15th ICES was immediately followed by an international workshop on Historical and Anthropological Insights into Missionary Activities in Ethiopia (Hamburg, 25–26 July 2005.

The Sixteenth ICES was convened by Svein Ege and held at the Norwegian University of Science and Technology in Trondheim from 2 to 6 July 2007. In seven parallel sessions (History and Archaeology; Anthropology; Politics and Development; Urban Studies, Children, Gender, and Human Rights; Linguistics and Literature; Music and Fine Arts; Islam, Ethiopian Orthodox Church, Education) ca. 200 papers were presented whilst over 250 registered participants attended the conference, 62 of them from Ethiopia. A film panel was an interesting innovation.

Despite the advent of other Ethiopian studies conferences (notably Orbis Aethiopicus 1999– and the Littmann conferences 2002–), political pressures, and problems arising from the increasing volume and diversity of Ethiopian scholarship, it is expected that ICES will continue, as they have done for more than forty years, to bring together students of Ethiopian cultures and history in colloquia which are stimulating, fruitful and enjoyable.

One offshoot of the above conferences has been the International Conferences on the History of Ethiopian Art. The first took place in London in 1986 and since then, they have continued at three or four year intervals. Since 2001, International Conferences of Eritrean Studies have dealt with research concentrated on the Eritrean area.

Src.: PICES 1–15; USCES.

Lit.: BAHRU ZEWDE et al. "From Lund to Addis Ababa", *JES* 27, 1, 1994, 1–28; RITA PANKHURST, "International Conferences of Ethiopian Studies: a Look at the Past", in: *PICES* 7, 1–9; EAD., "International Conferences of Ethiopian Studies I–VI, 1959–1980. Author and Subject Bibliography", *ibid.* 681–705; SUSHMA GUPTA, "The International Conferences of Ethiopian Studies" [index], ed. by TADDESSE TAMRAT, *JES* 27, 1, 1994, 29–142.

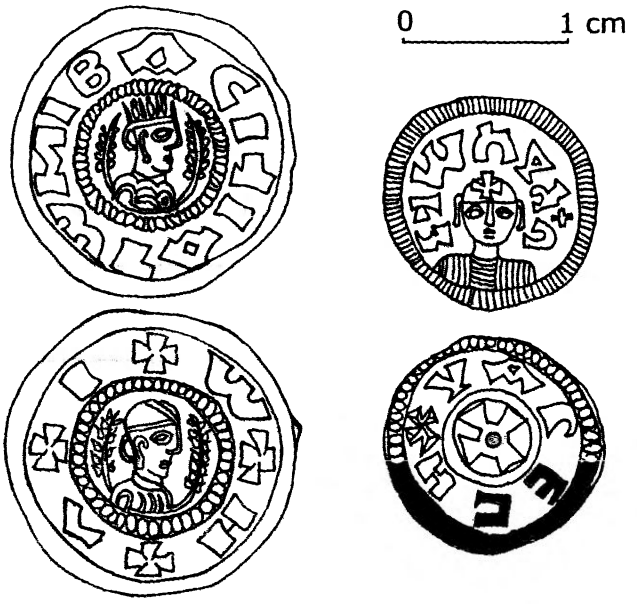
Rita Pankhurst

Ioel

I. (Gr. IωHΛ, i.e Ἰωήλ, *Iōēl*; Gəᶜəz ኢዮኤል, *Iyoʾel*) was a king of ↗Aksum of the late 6th or early 7th cent. only known from his coins. He was a more or less immediate predecessor of ↗ƎllÄ Gäbäz (II). In keeping with this chronology are both the general style of I.'s ↗coinage and his name, which is indeed a biblical one (Hahn 2001:127 and fig. 8, and 2007:7; cp. Lusini in StudAeth 68 and n. 5, and in AfrHorn 97 and n. 23). He produced several quite common types of silver and copper coins, whereas his gold issues are only rarely attested.

Two gold pieces (Types 127 and 128 in Munro-Hay – Juel-Jensen 1995:234ff., the former discovered at ↗Adulis) bear his image on both sides, half-length profile bust rightwards, wearing a tiara and head cloth respectively; the tiara is of two arches and four points (Type 127) or with only traces of arcading (Type 128), a curved ribbon hanging always behind; the king's figure is flanked by small wheat stalks (the right one held in his hand) encircled by Greek legends within a beaded outer or inner border. The obv. is inscribed: BACIΛEYC AΞωMIT, i.e. *Basiléus Axōmit(ôn)* or BACIΛI AΞωMI, i.e. *Basilé[us] Axōmi[t(ôn)]*, 'King of the Aksumites' (cp. ↗Ǝsraʾel); in no way can the latter var. include a "dative of possession", *basíli* = *basiléi*, followed by a "locative of the town name", *Axṓmi* = *Axṓmei* (cp. Hahn 2007:8 and n. 3). On the rev.: BACIΛEYC IωHΛ, i.e. *Basiléus Iōēl*, '(King) I.', or IωHΛ, i.e. *Iōēl*, 'I.'.

There are also two silver types: one (no. 129 in Munro-Hay – Juel-Jensen 1995:232ff.) with beaded or ribbed outer borders, and the Gəᶜəz legend *ngś ʾyʾl*, 'King Iyoʾel', around I.'s facing bust on the obv. (among the first attestations of this feature), and the Greek legend, sometimes retrograde, APECH X(PICTO)Y, i.e. *Arésē* [Arési]



Gold and silver coins of Ioel; drawing, courtesy of Wolfgang Hahn

= *Arései Ch(risto)û*, 'By the favour of Christ' (instead, an abbreviated rendering of the more usual ΤΟΥΤΟ ΑΡΕCΗ ΤΗ ΧωΡΑ [ΧΥ = ΧΑ, i.e. Χ(ωΡ)Α], *Toûto arésē tê chṓra*, 'May this please the country', + *Christoû*, for Hahn 2007:9f.: "das Zeichen Christi möge dem Lande gefallen"), set around a rather elegant gold-inlaid Greek cross on the rev.; the other type (no. 130 in Munro-Hay - Juel-Jensen 1995:234ff.) simply provides the royal name on the obv. and the word *ngś*, 'King', on the rev.

In two of I.'s copper issues, which include overstruck coins, are found the same iconographies, with slight variants (Types 131–32 and 133–35, *ibid.* 236–44). On the obv., the king is represented mostly head and shoulders profile bust rightwards, wearing a low crown formed by a central cross and two lateral stems topped with discs; often, a small flared-arm Greek cross is set to the right of the head; a few exemplars show four upright spikes and various privy marks (e.g., three dots), possibly for the distinction of different issues, as well as a tail-like ribbon behind. There is a Gəᶜəz legend either to the right or to the left of the bust: *ngś*, 'King'. On the rev. of the most frequent types, a flared-arm Greek cross occupies the whole centre field within a beaded outer border, thus separating the four letters of the Gəᶜəz legend *ʾyʾl*, 'Iyoʾel' (nos. 131–32, *ibid.* 236–40). Other copper issues have here, instead, a Latin style cross – sometimes with a voided area or an incuse gold circle in its centre – that descends close to the base of the coin so as to break the surrounding Gəᶜəz legend *krst msln*, 'Christ (is) with us' (nos. 134–34i).

Src.: DAE I, 55; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Monete aksumite", *Africa Italiana* 1, 1927, 179–212, here 204ff. [§§27–28 "Ioêl (= et. *iyoʾēl*)"]; ARTURO ANZANI, "Numismatica axumita", *Rivista Italiana di Numismatica* ser. 3ª, 3 [39], 1926, 5–110, here 39 ["Ioel (od Iyoel)"], 83ff., nos. 198–214, pl. G; WOLFGANG HAHN, "Die Münzprägung des Axumitischen Reiches", *Litterae Numismaticae Vindobonenses* 2, 1983, 113–80, here 175ff., nos. 54–61 ["Joel"]; AfrZion 114f., nos. 42–45; STUART C. MUNRO-HAY, *Catalogue of the Aksumite Coins in the British Museum*, London 1999, 42f., nos. 446–514, pls. 43–48; ID. – BENT JUEL-JENSEN, *Aksumite Coinage*, London 1995, 230–44; LUIGI PEDRONI, "Una collezione di monete aksumite", *Bollettino di Numismatica* ser. 1ª, 15, 1–2 [28–29], 1997 [1998, but 2000], 7–147, here 126–30 [nos. 296–340, pls. 31f.], cp. 73, 75, 80.
Lit.: ARTURO ANZANI, "Numismatica e storia d'Etiopia", *Rivista Italiana di Numismatica* ser. 3ª, 5–6 [41–42], 1928–29, 5–69, here 18, 39f.; ID., "Le monete dei re di Aksum. Studi supplementari", *ibid.* ser. 4ª, 1 [43], 1941, 49–73, here 60f.; JEAN-NOEL BARRANDON – ERIC GODET – CÉCILE MORRISSON, "Le monnayage d'or axoumite: une alteration particulière", *Revue numismatique*, VIe série, 32, 1990, 186–211, here 192, 211; CRStor 216; ERIC GODET, "Iyoél", in: *D'Axoum à Gondar. Monnaies et manuscrits éthiopiens de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris 1988, 3, no. 26; ID., "Bilan de recherches récentes en numismatique axoumite", *Revue numismatique* 6e sér., 28, 1986, 174–209, here 197f., 209, pl. VIII (Q); WOLFGANG HAHN, "Aksumite Numismatics – a Critical Survey of Recent Research", *ibid.* 155, 2000, 281–311, here 298f., 311; ID., "Noe, Israel und andere Könige mit biblischen Namen auf axumitischen Münzen. Der Gottesbund als Legitimation der christlichen Königsherrschaft im alten Äthiopien", *Money Trend* 33, 12, 2001, 124–28, here 127 and fig. 8; ID., "Zur Interpretation der Münztypen des Aksumitenkönigs Joel", *Mitteilungsblatt des Instituts für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte* 34, 2007, 7–11; GIANFRANCESCO LUSINI, "Note linguistiche per la storia dell'Etiopia antica", in: *StudAeth* 67–77, here 68 and n. 5; ID., "Philology and the Reconstruction of Ethiopian Past", in: *AfrHorn* 91–106, here 97 and n. 23; MHAksum 89, 93, 157, 187, 194; RICHARD PANKHURST, "ʾIyoʾél", in: *DicEthBio* 93 (Lit.); SerHist 201.

Gianfranco Fiaccadori

Iorga, Nicolae

I. (also Nicolas Jorga, b. 17 January 1871, Botoşani, Moldavia, d. 27 November 1940, Strejnic, Romania) was a Romanian statesman and major literary figure and scholar. He studied at the Universities of Iaşi, Paris, Berlin and Leipzig, where he obtained his doctoral degree in 1893. Then, at the age of 23, he became a member of the Romanian Academy. Two years later, he was appointed professor of history at Bucharest University. A polyglot devoted to scholarship, he travelled extensively, visiting most European countries.

I. was involved in Liberal politics, becoming minister and briefly (1931–32) prime ministry of Romania. He was later violently murdered by the pro-fascist Romanian Iron Guard.

I. left hundreds of publications devoted chiefly to the history and culture of the Romanian people, the Crusades, Mediterranean cultures and the Christian East etc. Always interested in the history of the Byzantine empire and Eastern Orthodoxy, early in his career he had devoted attention to Ethiopian medieval relationships with Catholic Europe. In his seminal paper on the subject (1910), with the assistance of ↗Guidi and ↗Nallino, he edited and commented upon a valuable anonymous Latin *Itinerary from Venice to India*, i.e. to ↗Ethiopia. It was actually penned by Antonio ↗Bartoli, who was sent as an ambassador of the Republic of Venice to the "Prester ↗John" in 1402 (Italy; cp. CrawItin 28–39) and gathered a wealth of information in southern Ethiopia. The text includes one of the earliest known lists of provinces of the Ethiopian empire, followed by a traveller's phrase-book with samples of Old Amharic and of a related language (Cohen 1931:367–75; Fiaccadori 1990:326 and 330 nn. 22f.).

Src.: NICOLAS JORGA, "Cenni sulle relazioni tra l'Abissinia e l'Europa cattolica nei secoli XIV–XV. Con un itinerario inedito del secolo XV", in: *Centenario della nascita di Michele Amari*, Palermo 1910, vol. 1, 139–50; ZanBibl no. 148c.

Lit.: MARCEL COHEN, *Études d'éthiopien méridional*, Paris 1931, 368–75; CrawItin 28–39; GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, "Epigraphica Aethiopica", *Quaderni Utinensi* 8 [15/16], 1990 [1996], 325–33, here 326 and n. 22–23 (330); ALEXANDER LEVVEY EASTERMAN, *King Carol, Hitler and Lupescu*, London 1942; NICHOLAS M. NAGY-TALAVERA, *The Green Shirts and the Others: a History of Fascism in Hungary and Rumania*, 1970.

Richard Pankhurst

Iṛāfálo

I. (Sāho [modern sp. Irhaafalo], ᶜAfar Iḍaafálu, Amh./Tgn. አራፋሎ, Irafalo, Ital. Arafali) is a historical Red Sea harbour located in the Sāho ↗Minifire area at the base of the Gulf of ↗Zula between Foro in the north and the ↗Buri peninsula in the south (for location s. Idda). The town of I. was the administrative centre of the area of the same name, which included the coastal lowlands between Mt. Alid and Badda, part of Akkälä Guzay province. In the new administrative division of 1995 it became part of the Northern Red Sea Region (with the capital in Massawa).

I. lies close to wells and pastures which, during the winter months and especially in the coastal rain season from November to April, attract different Sāho pastoralists from the highlands. The non-Minifire clans traditionally paid taxes to use the I. pastures (formerly to the local leaders and later to the local administration). There is also a local farming population cultivating maize and millet (sorghum). I. lies in an area of high seismic activity and is surrounded by numerous hot springs and volcanoes.

I. appears as Elafal on ↗Fra Mauro's mappamondo (ca. 1460), as Defalo on ↗Almeida's map (BecRaso V, 325), as Dafalo island on the map of ↗Ludolf (1683) and as Adefalo on a map by John Senex (ca. 1700).

The etymology of I. is not clear. One possibility is that I. is a corruption of *eddé* [locative] + *falo* [boasted], i.e. 'boasted in that very place'. Another version suggests a corruption of *eelá*, 'fruit of the doum palm', and *falo*: *eela-dde falo* 'renown for its doum'. A more ancient hypothesis claims a link with Aliaeu (Pliny) or Alaios (*Periplus of the Eritrean Sea*), despite the fact that in those sources the term refers to ↗Dahlak (Müller 1855:289). Since the people of I. share with many other coastal peoples the belief that the first ↗*hiğra* in the 7th cent. landed here on their way to Ethiopia, there exists a folk etymology of the name deriving it from Arab. *arā fīlaⁿ*, 'I see an elephant', pronounced by one of the members of the group on landing (communication from *al-ḥāğğ* ᶜAlī Maḥmūd Yāsir 2004).

There are other possible indications of a connection with ↗Arabia: the whole coastal strip of I. was known as Baḥər Bilal, which could refer to ↗Bilāl b. Rabāḥ al-Ḥabašī (or to another ancestor by the same name). There is also a cemetery of the famous *ḫalīfa* Saᶜīd ᶜUkkāša who may have migrated to I. between the 12th and the 13th cent.

It is difficult to determine when the first settlement appeared at I. According to the Sāho oral tradition, one of the oldest tribes who dominated the coastal area as well as the hinterland, the Afrahat ᶜAre of the Minifire, lived in I. They were later defeated by another Minifire group, the Đasamó, and left the area for Dəbarwa in Säraye, re-identifying themselves as ↗Ğäbärti through intermarriage with the local people.

I. was an important trade centre, linked with the hinterland by two main caravan-routes: one going to the ᶜAfar ↗Ḥazo lands and the other to ↗*Käbäsa*, i.e. to Akkälä Guzay and to ↗Təgray (Mäqälä, Aksum, and ᶜAdwa). The main trade goods were ↗salt, grain, cattle and luxury goods like tobacco, sugar and textiles. During the 16th cent., I. became a military garrison of the ↗Ottoman empire. It is believed that some Sāho in-

vited the Ottomans to save them from inter-clan conflicts. The rebellion of many Sāho leaders, supported by the neighbouring ᶜAfar clans, was suppressed in a major military campaign, and I. returned to Turkish control. Many Sāho were arrested and many fled to the hinterland. According to local tradition, the young Sāho warriors who were arrested were deported in twelve boats to Izmir in Turkey as slaves.

During the years 1635-38, the Jesuit missionaries Apolinar de ↗Almeida and Franceschi (Francisco) hid at and around I. The port lost its importance in the 19th cent., replaced by other commercial centres like Zula, Massawa and other ᶜAfar ports along the Red Sea coast.

Src.: personal communication of *al-ḥāǧǧ* ᶜAlī Maḥmūd Yāsir (Abdalla Harak branch of the Rassamo; b. 1927), Iṛāfálo 2004; BecRASO V, 325; HIOB LUDOLF, *Habessinia seu Abassia, Presbyteri Johannis Regio*, Francofurti ad Moenum 1683, map; CAROLUS MÜLLER, *Geographi graeci minores. Tabulae in geographos graecos minores*, vol. 1, Paris 1855, 289.

Lit.: LUIGI VITTORIO BERTARELLI, *Guida d'Italia del Touring Club Italiano. Possedimenti e colonie. Isole Egee, Tripolitania, Cirenaica, Eritrea, Somalia*, Milano 1929, 685; CRStor 34, 60, 62, 100, 109; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Schizzo etnico e storico delle popolazioni eritree", in: *Biblioteca geografica de Agostini*, vol. 1: *L'Eritrea Economica*, Novara 1913, 61–90, here 75; GIOTTO DAINELLI – OLINTO MARINELLI, *Risultati scientifici di un viaggio nella Colonia Eritrea*, Firenze 1912, 9, 97, 127, 168, 189, 200f., 205, 211ff., 217, 255f., 275, 282, 326f., 427, 429, 454; WERNER MUNZINGER, "Narrative of a Journey Through the Afar Country", *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London* 39, 1869, 188–233; KilHDic 178; SIEGFRIED FREDERICK NADEL, *Races and Tribes of Eritrea*, Asmara 1944, 129f.; PankIntro 330.

Abdulkader Saleh

Iran, relations with Ethiopia

I. Pre-Islamic period

I. is an ethno-political designation for a territory extending from Asia Minor – i.e., later, the eastern frontier of the Roman Empire – to the borders of India. Within such a vast area, Persia is just a south-western region that in certain periods, however, came into dynastic and political prominence, its name being therefore usurped for I. as a whole: e.g., under the Achaemenids and the Sasanians (s. Panaino 2000:29f., n. 31). The latter terminated the rule of the Parthian Arsacids, and shaped a powerful empire reviving the glory of Achaemenid kingship, and rivalling with Rome and then Constantinople until the 630s – which saw the final collapse of the Iranian empire to the Arabs.

Contacts with Nubia

As a matter of fact, early Greek sources about contacts between ↗Aithiopía and the Achaemenid empire ("Persia" in Greek tradition) concern mostly ↗Nubia(ns) [Old Pers. *Kūšǰ(iy)ā*, 'Ethiopia(ns)', s. ↗Kūš]. ↗Herodotus (*Hist.* III, 97, 2f.) mentions "Ethiopians", i.e. Nubians, as subjects of the Persian empire, and lists "Ethiopia" among the Persian satrapies (van Donzel 1999:8f.; cp. ↗Historiography: Ethiopia in Ancient Greek and Roman Historiography). Although Nubia was no satrapy of the Achaemenid empire, and had no tributary relation to it, an exchange of gifts seems to have taken place: from the Nubian side, gold, ebony and ↗ivory were sent, as shown on the reliefs at Persepolis and Susa, in the palace of Darius I (Leroy 1963; van Donzel 1999:8f.; cp. also Kent 1950:137, 141, 143, 151).

The "great king" (as the Pers. title *šāhanšāh*, lit. 'king of kings', was correctly rendered in the Greek sources) Cambyses II (r. 529 B.C.), son of Cyrus II, led his army to the eastern borders of Egypt against the Nubians or the Blemmyes (s. EAE vol. 5), or other nomadic groups in those parts of Egypt. This, however, was a miserably prepared campaign that turned into a military disaster (Herodotus, VII, 17–22) – and is possibly alluded to in ↗Heliodorus's *Aithiopiká*.

In early Greek sources Persians and Ethiopians were sometimes confused with each other, both peoples (and countries) lying far outside the Hellenic world. So, Memnon, "king of Western Ethiopians" in Homer's *Odyssey* (XI, 522), was identified with the Persian great king (Georges 1994:48f., 68f., 267 n. 1; van Donzel 1999:8f.). Even after Greeks earned a better acquaintance with Persians, this connection was rather persistent, e.g., Susa, the capital of the Achaemenid empire, was called in Greek *Memnōneion ásty*, 'city of Memnon', the latter being still "king of the Ethiopians" (Herodotus, V, 54, 2).

There was also an "Ethiopian contingent", described as very bellicose, within the Persian army of Xerxes I that invaded Greece in 480/79 B.C. (ibid. VII, 69, 2). An "Ethiopian", i.e. Nubian, embassy is mentioned – e.g., by Arrianus of Nicomedia (VII, 15, 4–5) and Diodorus of Sicily (XVII [113], 1–2) – among those welcoming Alexander the Great upon his arrival at Babylon in 323 B.C.

Contacts with Aksum

Against this background, between 250 and 275 A.D., Aksum appears as one of the "Four (great)

kingdoms of the world", next to Rome, Persia and the Kuṣāṇa empire, in the Coptic *Kephálaia* ('Chapters [of the Master]') of Mani, an Iranian subject (LXXXVII, ed. [Polotsky] – Böhlig 1940:188; cp. Fiaccadori 1992:84f. and 2004:141). Yet, the earliest historical contacts between I. and Aksumite Ethiopia fall within the 6th cent. A.D.

Chiefly staged in pre-Islamic ↗Arabia or, more specifically, in the coastal area of today's ↗Yemen (↗Ḥadramawt), they were actually triggered by the struggle for the possession of South Arabia between the Sasanians and the ↗Byzantine Empire. The main reason for this struggle was the control of the ↗Red Sea area and the relevant trade routes to ↗India (Harmatta in PICES 4; Bowersock 2004).

Around 518 or 523 A.D., following the persecutions of Christians in ↗Nağrān, the Aksumite king ↗Kaleb ƎllƏ Aṣbəḥa invaded South-Arabia and installed a puppet-ruler, ↗Sumūyafaᶜ Ašwaᶜ, soon overthrown by the local Aksumite garrison and replaced by its commander, ↗Abraha (Fiaccadori 2006a:61ff.). The Byzantine emperor Justinian I (r. 527–565) formed an alliance with the Aksumite ruler in South Arabia against Persia. An attack on ↗Mecca by the troops of Abraha caused a Persian invasion of South Arabia (ibid. 67f. and nn. 119–23). According to other sources, Ḥimyarite nobles, namely the famous Sayf b. Ḏī Yazan, had first asked Justinian and then the Sasanian king Chosroes I Anūšīrvān (r. 531–79) for help against the Aksumites, which led to a Persian military intervention (van Donzel 1999:8f.). The great-king's troops expelled the Aksumites from South Arabia around 570/71 A.D. (Fiaccadori 2006b:132ff. and n. 40).

Since then at least, Persians (Fārsī) were known to Ethiopians: in 630/31, *nəguś* ↗Armah congretulated the Byzantine emperor ↗Heraclius on his victory over the Persians, which led to the recovery of J. from the latter's hands. In Gəᶜəz, Persians are called ፋርስ (*Fars*, adj. ፈርሳዊ [ፈረሳዊ] *Fär[ä]sawi*) a term designating also their country ('Persia'), as well as 'Assyria', 'Media' and 'Chaldaea(ans)', and already used in Aksumite times, as it appears in the Ethiopic translation of the Bible (DillLex 1424). Later texts contain a few hints at Persia and its king: thus, in chs. 72–80 of the ↗*Kəbrä nägäśt*, a Semitic origin is claimed for the rulers of several empires, among whom the Persian great king Darius, considered an 18th-generation descendant of the biblical ↗Salomon (BezKebr 90); in ch. 77, the Persians (ፈረሳዊያን *Färäsawiyan*) are said to be descendants of Perez (*Fars*), son of Tamar (ibid. 102). Of great interest is also the expression ዐረቢሃ: ለፋርስ *ᶜaräbiha läfars*, lit. 'to the west of Persia', occurring, e.g., in the Vita of *əṣṣägge* ↗ᶜƎnbaqom, which might refer to Yemen or, rather, ᶜIrāq as 'western Assyria' (RicEnbYoh I, 97; cp. DonEnbAnq 25f., 28).

II. Medieval and modern periods

In the following centuries, Ethiopia also sometimes surfaces in Persian writings, e.g., in the *Ḥudūd al-ᶜālam min al-mašriq ilā al-maġrib* ('Regions of the World from the East to the West'), an anonymous Persian geographical compilation (on older sources) dedicated to the Ġūrīd ruler Abū l-Ḥariṯ Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, and completed in 982/83 A.D. Here, *Ḥabaša* is mentioned several times, with reference to either the Red Sea coastal areas or Ethiopia itself (ed. Minorsky 1937:51f., 79, 81, 83, 147, 164). A specific passage on Ethiopia reads: "[The inhabitants] of this country have faces of average size. The people are black and lazy, but with high ambitions, and obedient to their king [...]. Rāsun [Ǧaramī], (is) a town on the sea-coast and the king's residence [...], S(u)wār, the town where the army of the Abyssinian king is stationed [...], Ryn [↗Zaylaᶜ], the town where the commander-in-chief resides with [his] army. In this province gold is abundant" (ibid. 164).

Before the age of the Ṣafavids (1501–1736), there are very few indications of Ethio-Persian – only indirect – contacts. A Persian impact on the African coast of the Red Sea is half-legendarily attested for the early Islamic period: tombs in the ↗Beğa region, cisterns in ↗Sawākin and on the ↗Dahlak islands were in fact ascribed to the "Furs" (van Donzel 1999:8f.; CRStor 279f.), whose presence is quite sensible, however, on the East African coast from the 13th cent. onward (s. subarticle below). Since then, Persian connections are repeatedly suggested for the Arab peninsula: e.g., Ibn al-Muǧāwir (d. 1291) has it that the coastal town of Ġalāfiqa, in south-western Arabia, was reconstructed by Persians from Sīrāf or Jeddah (ed. Löfgren 1954:240); Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (14th cent.) reports that Jeddah itself was a Persian establishment on the Red Sea (Gibb 1962:360; cp. van Donzel, 1999:8f.). Furthermore, the foundation of several towns along the East-African coast is attributed to the "Šīrāzī(s)", i.e people coming from the town (and district) of Šīrāz, in the old province of Fārs, central to the former Achaemenid empire.

Direct contacts, albeit sporadic, between Ethiopian and Persian rulers did not take place before the 17th cent., when *aṣe* ↗Fasilädäs, for instance, tried to establish relationships with the Ṣafavid *šāh* ʿAbbās II (r. 1642–66), sending therefore a mission to Persia that was, however, refused (DonMurad 36). This endeavour belongs in a series of attempts made by Ethiopian rulers in order to end the isolation of their own empire, and establish contacts with foreign powers. The Ethiopian side was interested in trading partners as well as in all sort of military innovations.

As to a possible Persian support, Hiob ↗Ludolf reports his meeting with an Armenian merchant of Paris who, in 1683, informed him about an Armenian siege-technician dispatched as an envoy to the Persian court by the Ethiopian emperor, probably personally by *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs I (r. 1667–82): among the presents for the *šāh*, there was a zebra (Ludolf 1691:266). A later Ṣafavid ruler, *šāh* Sulṭān Ḥusayn (r. 1694–1722), asked *aṣe* Yostos to send a zebra to his court (Petráček 1957:360).

During the following centuries the Ethio-Iranian trade relations were of indirect nature alone. Arab merchants kept handling the situation in the ports of the Muslim principalities along the Red Sea coast (Zaylaʿ, Baylūl, Massawa, Ḥərgigo and Sawākin). From I., textiles and spices were traded with slaves, gold and silver as well as ivory, leather goods, coffee, saltpetre, butter, oil and honey (DonMurad 78).

Ethio-Iranian relationships in the 19th and early 20th cent. were also restricted to the sphere of trade, run by Arabs as well as by Armenians from the ↗Ottoman empire and I. itself. An aspect of these relationships was also the international slave trade (↗Slavery). The arrival of "Ethiopian" slaves (mostly Oromo) in I. is reported several times in the mid-19th cent. (Austen in PICES 5, 454). Yet, the Persian gulf was not a primary destination for the Ethiopian slaves; it seems they were not used for agricultural work, also owing to the fact that the Iranian plateau was climatically unfavourable to them (ibid. 452–55). Persian chronicles, however, report on their employment in the army and the administration (ibid. 458). The demand for slaves from the Red Sea area was cut in the end of the 19th cent., when the British seized control of the whole region.

III. Contemporary period

After World War II, the Ethio-Iranian relationship was broadened: Ethiopia's interests were of military nature, while I.'s were determined by geo-strategic considerations: for Ethiopia I., like ↗Turkey and ↗Israel, was primarily an arm supplier, chiefly during the Cold War (Matthies 1990:16ff.). I., instead, regarded Ethiopia as a potential ally "in the back" of the Arab states with which it competed over hegemony in the Near and Middle East. Ethiopia also acquired a special importance, on account of the position of Emperor ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I as the spokesman of the ↗Non-Aligned Movement and a protagonist of the Pan-African movement (↗Pan-Africanism). The relationships was all the more intensified after the foundation of the Bagdad Pact and the South-east Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO, 1954–77) to counterbalance the young Arab states. It was especially following the developments in the Near East (Palestine-conflict, Suez-crisis etc.) that Ethiopia became a strategic partner for a number of countries. Within the framework of these alliances, Great Britain and I. in particular strengthened their ties with Ethiopia. Over the 1950s, an extensive exchange of delegations took place, but only in 1960 did I. and Ethiopia officially establish diplomatic relations. In the following year diplomatic missions in Addis Abäba and Tehran were respectively established. In addition, both emperors paid visits to each other in the 1960s (*šāhanšāh* Muḥammad Riżā Pahlavī visited Addis Abäba in June 1968 and in October 1971) and exchanged such friendly gestures as mutual awards of decorations and honours (e.g., in 1964).

In 1970, in the course of a military-aid-project initiated by the United States, which implied I.'s involvement, and was decided during the preparation of the *šāh*'s official visit to Ethiopia in 1968, US-American F-86F fighter aircrafts were delivered to Ethiopia by I. (Ethiopia was the first sub-Saharan state that had an airforce, systematically built up since 1966, consisting of supersonic fighter aircraft; Matthies 1990:16ff.). A further delivery of F-5E/F and F-5A models followed shortly before the fall of *aṣe* Ḫaylä Śəllase I.

After the overthrow of Ḫaylä Śəllase I in 1974, relations cooled down. At the instigation of the *šāh*, Ethiopia's revolutionary regime was classified as "subversive" (Saikal 1980:177). Following the termination of the Soviet Union's support for ↗Somalia, the I. government stepped in and started to grant military assistance to Somalia (Smolansky – Smolansky 1976:131–153). In 1977 extensive military aid to the regime in Mogadishu was decided (Saikal 1980:162, 168, 180). Starting from

February 1978, I. delivered war-material (paid by the United States) to Somalia – altogether ten shipments of mortars, heavy artillery ammunition and ground-to-air-missiles (Saikal 1980:180). The delivery of "light arms" was granted – yet, with no involvement of I. military personal (Saikal 1980:180). Nevertheless, the diplomatic relations between Ethiopia and I. were maintained by the *Därg*, even after the regime-change in Tehran in 1979. In 1985, following the Soviet refusal to deliver MIG-21 and MIG-23 fighter aircraft to Ethiopia (as the regime of Mängəśtu Ḫaylä Maryam had not paid its debts), the Ethiopian government "returned the favour" for the past support by selling to I. fighter aircraft that had been delivered by the I. government a decade before. After the war between I. and Iraq broke out, F-5E fighter aircrafts were delivered to I. by the Ethiopian government, in order to undermine the United States' embargo against I. (Laffin 1996).

The 1991 events in Addis Abäba led to a radical change in Ethio-Iranian relationships. In 1992, prime minister Tammərat Layne, accompanied by four members of his cabinet, visited I. This was undertaken in order to establish closer relations with Islamic states. In 1996, however, the closure of the Ethiopian diplomatic mission in Tehran was announced, officially due to financial problems. Yet, observers suspected a United States intervention. In spite of occasionally difficult relationships during the following years, visits of foreign ministers took place (in 1998, Ethiopia's foreign minister went to I., in 2002, I.'s foreign minister went to Ethiopia). On the occasion of these visits, several agreements on economic co-operation were signed. Finally, the former Ethiopian ambassador in ↗ᶜAden, ᶜAbdi Dolāl Muḥammad, was appointed new Ethiopian representative in I.

Src.: BezKebr 90, 102 (text) = 72, 80 (tr.); ERNEST ALFRED THOMPSON WALLIS BUDGE (tr.), *The Queen of Sheba and her Only Son Menyelek, or the Kebra Nagast*, London 1932, 113ff., 121, cp. XXXIff.; DillLex 1424; HAMILTON A. R. GIBB (tr.), *The Travels of Ibn Batūta: A.D. 1325–1354*, vol. 2, Cambridge 1962 (Works Issued by the Hakluyt Society, 2nd ser., 117), 360; OSCAR LÖFGREN (ed.), *Ibn al-Muğāwir, Descriptio Arabiae meridionalis, praemissis capitibus de Mecca et parte regionis Ḥiğāz, qui liber inscribitur Taʾrīḫ al-Mustabir*, vol. 2, Leiden 1954, 240; HIOB LUDOLF, *Ad suam Historiam Aethiopicam, antehac editam, Commentarius ...*, Francofurti ad Moenum 1691, 266; VLADIMIR MINORSKY (tr.), *Ḥudūd al-ᶜĀlam. The Regions of the World. A Persian Geography, 372 AH-982 AD*, London 1937 [²1970], 51f., 79, 81, 83, 147, 164; [HANS JAKOB POLOTSKY] – ALEXANDER BÖHLIG (eds.), *Kephalaia*, vol. 1, 1 = CARL G. SCHMIDT (ed.), *Manichäische Handschriften der Staatlichen Museen Berlin*, vol. 1, part 1, Stuttgart 1940, 188 (text) = 189 (tr.); RicEnbYoh I, 97.

Lit.: RALPH A. AUSTEN, "The Islamic Red Sea Slave Trade: an Effort at Quantification", in: *PICES* 5, 443–67; DonEnbAnq 25f., 28; GLEN W. BOWERSOCK, "The Ḥaḍramawt between Persia and Byzantium", in: *Convegno internazionale: La Persia e Bisanzio (Roma, 14–18 ottobre 2002)*, Rome 2004 (Atti dei Convegni lincei 201), 263–273; JEHAN DESANGES, *Recherches sur l'activité des méditerranéens aux confins de l'Afrique (VIe siècle avant J.-C. – IVe siècle après J.-C.)*, Rome 1978 (Collection de l'École française de Rome 38), 228ff., 232f., 236f.; DonMurad 36, 78; EMERI JOHANNES VAN DONZEL, "Ethiopia, Relations with Persia, II. Islamic Era", in: *Encyclopaedia Iranica* vol. 9, New York 1999, 8–9 (Lit.); GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, "Sembrouthes 'gran re' (DAE IV 3 = *RIÉth* 275). Per la storia del primo ellenismo aksumita", *La Parola del Passato* 59, 2004 [2005], 105–57, here 141; ID., "Gregentios in the Land of the Homerites", in: ALBRECHT BERGER (ed., tr.), *Life and Works of St. Gregentios, Archbishop of Taphar*, Berlin 2006a (Millennium-Studien 7), 48–82, here 61ff., 67f. and nn. 119–23; ID., "ʾElla Gabaz/(ʾElla) Ḥētāzā", *La Parola del Passato* 61, 2006b [2007], 115–61, here 132ff. and n. 40; JANOS HARMATTA, "The Struggle for the Possession of South Arabia between Aksūm and the Sāsānians", in: *PICES* 4, vol. 1, 95–106; PHILIP HUYSE, "Ethiopia, Relations with Persia, I. Pre-Islamic period", in: *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, vol. 9, New York 1999, 7–8 (Lit.); ROLAND GRUBB KENT, *Old Persian: Grammar, Texts, Lexicon*, New Haven, CT 1950 (American Oriental Series 33), 137, 141, 143, 151; JOHN LAFFIN, *The World in Conflict: Contemporary Warfare Described and Analysed*, London 1996 (War Annual 7); JULES LEROY, "Les 'Éthiopiens' de Persépolis", *AE* 5, 1963, 293–97; VOLKER MATTHIES, "Krieg am Horn von Afrika: Historische Aspekte von Gesellschaft, Rüstung und Verheerung", *Afrika Spectrum* 25, 1, 1990, 4–33; ANTONIO PANAINO, "La grande iscrizione trilingue di Šābuhr alla Kaᶜaba-i Zardušt. A proposito di una recente edizione", *Mediterraneo antico* 3, 1, 2000, 23–39, here 29f., n. 31; KAREL PETRÁČEK, "Jakub Rímar aus Kromeríz", *Archiv Orientální* 25, 1957, 334–83; AMIN SAIKAL, *The Rise and Fall of the Shah, 1941–1979*, London et al. 1980, 162, 168, 177, 180; BETTIE M. SMOLANSKY – OLES M. SMOLANSKY, "Soviet and Chinese Influence in the Persian Gulf", in: ALVIN Z. RUBINSTEIN (ed.), *Soviet and Chinese Influence in the Third World*, New York 1976, 131–53.

Michael Knüppel – Red.

The "Furs" in North-East Africa

The mention of a *Zand* ('Black' = Arab. *Zanǧ*) kingdom in a Middle Persian inscription of the late-3nd cent. A.D. by the Sasanian king Narses, at Pāykuli, shows the antiquity of the relationships between I. and the western coast of the Indian Ocean and of the Gulf of Aden (s. Monneret de Villard 1938:314, 326ff.). A Persian garrison sent from Yemen seems to have been established at ↗Berbera at the end of the 6th cent. (Paulitschke 1888:97). Further north, on the Red Sea shores, there are also traces, albeit scant, of Iranian set-

Cisternes attributed to the "Furs" on the main Dahlak island; from CRStor, pl. LXVII

tlements (initially meant to balance the growing Aksumite expansion), as confusedly reflected in the local traditions on the *Furs* or 'Persians' – a term encompassing subsequent migration waves from Sasanian I and, much later, the Persian gulf (with the Šīrāzī or Šīrāsī, on whose traditions s. Fiaccadori 1984:263f., n. 16) and ᶜOmān (Puglisi in PICES 3, vol 1, 41ff., 46f.; Tedeschi, ibid. 51; Fiaccadori 1992:48ff. and n. 18). The impact of these migrations becomes definitely sensible, in terms of prosopography and literary and monumental evidence, since the 13th cent., when Iranian people and features are more clearly detectable on the East African coast, from ↗Somalia to Kenya, e.g., in two minarets of Mogadishu, betraying Persian building techniques (Monneret de Villard 1943:129; s., in general, Cerulli in CerIslam 457–69).

The earlier settlements, however, are almost certainly attested on the island of ↗Dahlak (al-) Kabīr, where the Furs are credited with hewn cisterns (CRStoria 295f., pl. LXVII, no. 10, s. ill.), as well as with a church, now ruined (Tedeschi in PICES 3, 51), that might be traced to the presence of ↗Nestorians there (Fiaccadori 1992:XXXI and nn. 51–52). Another cistern, dated between 235 and 575 A.D., has been discovered by the French archaeologist Jules Barthoux in Wadi ᶜAygu, north of ↗Obock (Labrousse 1978:76). On the ↗Buri peninsula, an oral tradition of the ↗ᶜAfar Dammohoyta has it that the stone-made well of Đāᶜērima at Awan, in the Buri mountain, was built by the Persians (MorDic 153). Two ditches at Alᶜattabeyan and Kollādi are said to be the remnants of Persian irrigation channels.

Other sites, such as Gamfura, a mooring place on the western coast of Buri, Ḥaffalé (↗Amfilla), a cape to the east of Miᶜdír (different from the Amfilla [= Miᶜdír] Bay of European sources), "Gammela" (Gimmāḍi), an islet to the east of ᶜIddi (↗ᶜƎdd), have been all reportedly occupied by the Persians (Abb-Geogr 24). Mention should be also made of the "Persian" wells of Kommâlis (south-east of Ḥaffalé), Diḍḍoᶜó and Dobáyu (east of ↗Tīᶜo). The well of ↗Tağūra, which gives its name to the town and the gulf, could have been dug by the "Songo", a pre-ᶜAfar population sometimes merged, in oral tradition, with the Persians. Two ancient cisterns in the island of Saᶜdaddīn are equally claimed to be Songo works (Angoulvant – Vigneras 1902:152).

In today's ᶜAfar and other local languages, *Furs(i)* often designates 'non Arab foreigners' coming from the east across the Red Sea: they include Persians, Turks or Egyptians, but in no way Arabs of Yemen. It is thus frequently used as a political rather than ethnic term; in ᶜAfar, it applies to those belonging to the *barr ᶜağam*, i.e. 'non-Arab territories'. One should note that quite often, in the ᶜAfar tradition too, the name *Furs(i)* does not mean 'Persian', but 'Turk' or 'Egyptian'. This double meaning (paralleled by that of Ethiopian *Turk[i]*, i.e. 'Ottomans' with the inclusion of the 'Egyptians') must go back to ↗Massawa's fall to the Turks in 1557, and the latter's (more or less nominal) subsequent occupation of the coast – until their rights were transferred to the Egyptian *ḫidīw* (1866).

The term also appears in place names. In ᶜAfar, Fursé ('Persian') is the place near Lake ᶜUddumma in which the Egyptian troops led by Werner ↗Munzinger were defeated by the *sulṭān* of ↗Awsa (15 November 1875). An older Fúrsi ("Furzi" on Italian maps), the *sulṭān*'s residence according to Nesbitt (1934:267), precisely Ḥanlé Fursé, was located on the left bank of the Gurmuddali canal, some seven km to the south-east of ↗Asayta (Braca – Comolli 1939:204). There are a few more such toponyms: e.g., Fâris-ti ('the Persian one'), a little summit (433 m) to the south-west of the ᶜAssal Lake.

On the Buri peninsula, the Ankāla tribe has a war cry (*itro*): *anâ Fārísli*, 'Persians, be brave!'.

In addition, the ᶜAfar Dúlum tribe is said to have an ancestor originating from "Dēlam", i.e. the Daylam region of Gīlān, in Persia.

Lit.: AbbGeogr 24; GEORGES ANGOULVANT – SYLVAIN VIGNERAS, *Djibouti, Mer Rouge, Abyssinie*, Paris 1902, 152; GIOVANNI BRACA – ROBERTO COMOLLI, "La Dancalia meridionale", *Annali dell'Africa Orientale* 1, 1939, 197–239; ENRICO CERULLI, "Arte e tecnica persiana in Africa Orientale", in: *CerIslam* 457–69 [Fr. tr. in: *Commémoration Cyrus (Actes du Congrès de Shiraz 1971 ...). Hommage Universel*, vol. 1, Théhéran – Liège (Leiden) 1974 (Acta Iranica, Iᵉʳᵉ série), 203–20] (Lit.); CRStoria 295f., pl. LXVII, no. 10; GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, "Arbaᶜ Rukun. Note sull'ordinamento repubblicano di Mogadiscio nel Medioevo", in: *Studi in memoria di Giuseppe Bovini*, Ravenna 1989 (Biblioteca di «Felix Ravenna» 6), vol. 1, 257–74, here 263f., n. 15 (Lit.); ID., *Teofilo Indiano*, Ravenna 1992 (Biblioteca di «Felix Ravenna» 7), XXXI and nn. 51f., 48ff. and n. 18, 84f. (Lit.); HENRI LABROUSSE, "Enquêtes et découvertes d'Obock à Doumeira", *AE* 11, 1978, 75–82, here 76; UGO MONNERET DE VILLARD, "Note sulle influenze asiatiche nell'Africa Orientale", *RSO* 17, 1938, 303–49, here 314, 326ff.; ID., "I minareti di Mogadiscio", *RSE* 3, 2, 1943, 127–30; MorDic 152f. ["Fúrsi"]; LUDOVICO NESBITT, *Desert and Forest. The Exploration of Abyssinian Danakil*, London 1934, 267; PHILIPP PAULITSCHKE, *Beiträge zur Ethnographie und Anthropologie der Somâl, Galla une Harari*, Leipzig 1888, 97; GIUSEPPE PUGLISI, "Alcuni vestigi dell'isola di Dahlac Chebir e la leggenda dei Furs", in: *PICES* 3, vol. 1, 35–47, here 41ff., 46ff.; SALVATORE TEDESCHI, "Note storiche sulle isole Dahlak", *ibid.* 49–74, here 51.

Didier Morin – Gianfranco Fiaccadori

Irob

I. (or ᶜIrob) is a self designation of three ↗Sāho subgroups (*adoḫ ᶜáre* 'three houses'): Buknáyte ᶜÁre 'house of the Buknayto', Adgáde (or Agláde) ᶜÁre 'house of the Adgade', and Ḥasāballá ᶜÁre (or Ḥasāballá-d dik) 'house of the Ḥasāballá' (Strebel 1979:40), in Tgn./Amh. Buk̲näyto/ Bakunayt(i), ƎndaƎdda-Adgäda, Ḥasäbälla (Gigar Tesfaye 1985). Reinisch (1878) divided the I. into only two groups: "Boknayto and Agladā". The I. live on the eastern plateau south of the ᶜƎndäli river (Sāho ᶜ*indéeli*, 'with sand, gravel', ↗ᶜƎdd) which marks the current border between Eritrea and the *zoba* Məbraq (Eastern district) of the ↗Təgray state of Ethiopia (for location s. Idda). To the north live other Sāho subgroups (especially Dabrimēla) and to the south ↗ᶜAfar subgroups (Balᶜossuwa). I. *awraǧǧa* (with the capital in ↗Alitena) covers an area of ca. 340 km² and has a population of ca. 30,000.

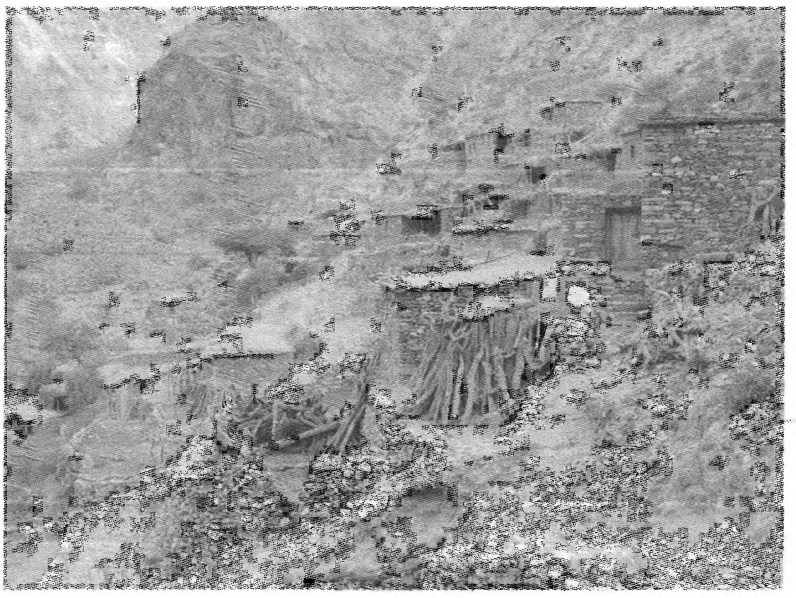
The I. are the only Sāho living in Ethiopia. The less well-known ↗Ǝggäla people, who seem to be a sub-group of the I., settled in the Eritreo-Təgrayan highland west of the I. (Tsegay Berhe in PICES 15, 366). The I. are not regarded as belonging to the traditional seven subgroups of the (Muslim) Sāho. They are believed by some to be an offshoot of the Greeks of ↗Adulis, and therefore called I. (i.e. 'Europeans'). According to another local tradition the name goes back to "Rome" (↗Rum; but more probably the name is to be derived from the Sāho-ᶜAfar root *orob* 'to return'). Three local traditions (one in Tgn. and two in Amh.) were collected by Conti Rossini (1910). Three genealogies of the I. have been found in a manuscript of the ↗*Kəbrä nägäśt* kept at ↗Gundä Gunde (cp. ↗Genealogy). There the history of the I. is said to go back to ↗Ǝndrəyas, the son of a king of Rome and of Helena, daughter of Solomon. I. oral traditions speak of their ancestors arriving from the ↗Kələttä Awlaᶜəlo districts of ↗Ṣəraᶜ, ↗Wämbärta, Dessa and Agʷəllaᶜ.

The I. were not islamized 300 years ago as was the case with the seven other Sāho subgroups. The French ↗Lazarists who founded a mission house in Alitena have since 1846 converted the whole Buknáyte subgroup to Catholicism. The Adgadi and Hāsaballā have remained Orthodox Christians, though some Hāsaballā families are Muslim.

The culture of the I. is strongly influenced by the Təgrəññña-speaking highlanders. Most I. are sedentary (i.e. agriculturalists and cattle-breeders) in contrast to all other nomadic (transhumant) Sāho subgroups. There is a comprehensive description of the Buknáyte ᶜÁre, i.e. the area inhabited by the Buknáyto (Strebel 1979). The Sāho *ᶜáre* (or *dik* or *ḫarák*) 'house' recalls the Ancient Yemen *bayt* which refers to both the land and the lineage (cp. Beeston 1972:256). The leader of a clan, *ᶜona*, is elected for life by a committee of five well-reputed men. Powerful subclans or families have controlled this position for long periods (Tsegay Berhe in PICES 15, 368).

The I. are partly assimilated to the language and mode of life of the Ethiopian highlanders. In the 19th cent. the I. Sabʾagādis family (↗Säbagadis Wäldu) played an important role in the history of Təgray (TrIslam 179).

The language of the I. (also Irobəññña, Iromaññña) is the southernmost dialect (s. in particular Reinisch 1878) of Sāho which is spoken in Eritrea and shows similarities with the adjacent ᶜAfar dialects. According to Morin (1995) I. is closely related to the dialect of the Ḥado (↗Ḥazo) who live in an area stretching up to the Gulf of Zula. Most I. are bilingual in Təgrəññña.



Irob village Mäkaᶜarabur near the Marwa river in the Irob mountains; photo 2004, courtesy of Wolbert Smidt

For the I. language, when written at all, the Ethiopic ↗script is used (cf. the text in Reinisch 1878:121–33). The work by Täsfay Mädḫən (2000) contains much linguistic material, inter alia a list of I. proverbs together with their Tgn. translation. Among other peculiarities, the author introduces for I. orthography an additional sign ጶ which corresponds to Sāho *ḍ* (*ḷ* of Reinisch 1890; e.g. *ḥaḍa* = *hāḷā* [Reinisch] 'tree') and I. *ṛ* (*ṛ* in Reinisch 1878; e.g. *ḥaṛā* = Sāho *ḥāḷā* 'tree', *ṛin* = Sāho *ḍīn* 'sleep', *ṛauṛ* = Sāho *ḍaûḍ*, *ḍaûḷ* 'to take care'). In the Latin-based orthography of the Eritrean Sāho (Vergari – Vergari 2003) the words appear as *xarha* (where *x* stands for *ḥ*), *dhin* and *dhawrh*.

Lit.: ABDULKADER SALEH MOHAMMED, *Die Afar-Saho Nomaden in Nordost-Afrika: Die sozio-ökonomischen und politischen Bedingungen des Nomadentums und der Versuch einer Sesshaftmachung der Nomaden am Beispiel der Afar-Saho in Nordost-Afrika*, Münster 1984; ALFRED FELIX LANDON BEESTON, "Kingship in Ancient South Arabia", *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 15, 1972, 256–68; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Studî su popolazioni dell'Etiopia, I. Gli Irob e le loro tradizioni", *RSO* 3, 1910, 849–900; ID., *Al Ràgali*, Milano 1903, 45ff. = *L'Esplorazione Commerciale* (*Bollettino della Società italiana di esplorazioni geografiche e commerciali*) 19 [28], 1904, 51–56, here 52ff.; ID., "Schizzo etnico e storico delle popolazioni eritree", in: *L'Eritrea economica*, Novara 1913 (Biblioteca geografica De Agostini 1), 61-90, here 15f.; GIGAR TESFAYE, "የሦስት፡ ኢሮብ፡ ብሔረሰብ፡ አጭር፡ ታሪክ: La généalogie des trois tribus Irob chrétiennes", *AE* 13, 1985, 55–66, table; GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, "Sembrouthes 'Gran Re' (DAE *IV 3* = RIÉth *275*). Per la storia del primo ellenismo aksumita", *La Parola del Passato* 59, 2004, 103–57, here 141; LewPeoples 174; DIDIER MORIN, *Des Paroles douces comme la soie. Introduction aux contes dans l'aire couchitique* (*bedja, afar, saho, somali*), Paris 1995; OMahPh vol. 3, 165; HERMA PLAZIKOWSKY – EWALD WAGNER, "Studien zur Sprache der Irob", *ZDMG* 103, 1953, 378-93; LEO REINISCH, "Die Sprache der Irob-Saho in Abessinien", *Sitzungsberichte der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 90, Wien 1878, 89–142; ID., *Wörterbuch der Saho-Sprache*, Wien 1890; BRUNO STREBEL, *Kakteenbauern und Ziegenhirten in der Buknaiti Are*, Zürich 1979; TrIslam 16, 178f.; *abba* TÄSFAY MÄDḪƎN, ታሪክ፡ ኢሮብ፡ ሓፂር፡ መግለፂ (*Tarik Irob ḥaṣṣir mägläṣi*, 'The History of the Irob: a Short Description'), ᶜAddigrat *Ḥədar* 1993 A.M. [2000 A.D.]; TSEGAY BERHE GEBRE LIBANOS, "An Ethno-Historical Survey of the Irob Agro-Pastoralists of Northeastern Təgray (Ethiopia)", in: *PICES* 15, 364–73; ID., *A History of Agamä, 1822–1914*, M.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1996; MORENO VERGARI – ROBERTA VERGARI, *A Basic Saho-English-Italian Dictionary*, Asmara 2003.

Rainer Voigt

Iron

Native I. (Gəᶜəz: ኀጺን, *ḫaṣṣin*, cp. LesDic 267, but also ሐዲድ, *ḥadid*; Amh. ብረት, *bərät*; Oromo: *sibiila*; Sidaama: *sibiila*), in the form of meteoric or telluric I., is very rare in nature. For the production of tools, metallic I. extracted from ore, which in pre-industrial times was mainly mined in open pits. Forgeable I. (i.e. steel, containing carbon) in solid form is produced in the course of the bloomery process. The production and subsequent handling of I and steel always lie in the hands of specialized artisans (↗Blacksmiths).

The introduction of I.-working changed the economies and influenced social structure more than the use of any other metal. Due to the widespread distribution of ore deposits, the production and diffusion of I. artefacts was less demanding than that of non-ferrous metal items. Agriculture benefited directly from the introduction of more effective tools that facilitated the clearing and tilling of the land as well as harvesting. In warfare I. enabled the arming of all parties with metal ↗weapons.

History

As elsewhere in Africa, I.-working became an integral element of culture throughout the Horn of Africa between the 1st and the 6th cent. A.D. Occasional finds are however datable from the time before the Christian era, e.g., in ↗Yəḥa (s. below). The geographical density of the distribution of I. in the following centuries was uneven and closely connected with the various economic strategies of different ethnic groups.

Reliable written sources and archaeological finds confirming the early use of I. are only extant for the northern Horn of Africa. The oldest I. artefacts dating to the ↗pre-Aksumite period originate from Yəḥa (artefacts made of non-ferrous metals date to even earlier times; Phillipson 1998:44, n. 61). During the early ↗Aksumite period I. was thus still rare. The Periplus of the Eritrean Sea (ca. mid-1st cent. A.D.) mentions that among the items imported via the port of ↗Adulis were, beside brass and bronze, axes, adzes and swords (without indication of the material) and, interestingly, crude steel "which was made into spears" (ch. 6, s. Huntingford 1980:21).

The archaeological record for I. use becomes more frequent for the period of the political expansion of ↗Aksum. I. objects of this time are mainly found in graves. From Aksum, but also from ↗Mäṭära and other places within the Aksumite sphere of influence, come I. weapons such as spear-heads (↗Spears), arrow-heads, ↗knives or poniards, but no swords (Phillipson 1998: 56, 77–80). Other I. objects are sickles, chisels, saws, axes, tweezers, hinges, nails, rings and a number of unidentifiable objects. Of particular interest are I. hammerheads, one with an I. handle, and I. bars (Munro-Hay 1989: 223, 225–28, fig. 15.141; other I. objects: idem. 221–28, 234).

Although workshops have not so far been identified, the type of objects suggests that in this period I. was processed by local smiths. The origin of the raw material as well as the mode of mining remain unknown. Beside I. finds, the frequency of artefacts made of copper alloys from the heyday of Aksum is remarkable. In the 6th cent. A.D. the Aksumites had, as Cosmas Indicopleustes reports, enough I. to use it as exchange-equivalent in trade with the south. This indicates that the people south of the Aksumite sphere of influence came into contact with I. at the beginning of the 6th cent. A.D. at the latest (Amborn 1976:182).

Later in the Middle Ages, accounts of the Jesuits and early travellers bear witness to the presence of smiths producing agricultural implements and various types of spears throughout the Ethiopian empire (PankSoc 59ff.). Although there must have been considerable need for I. objects, especially military equipment, no large iron-processing centres (such as are known in other parts of East Africa) have so far been identified. I. was probably rare and additional raw material had to be imported. At the end of the 18th cent. Bruce could still observe wooden ploughshares in use (BruNile vol. 3, 561).

Blacksmith forging an iron hoe; his wife in the background is blowing the bellows, Tuuro, Konso *wäräda*; photo 1974, courtesy of the author

As far as raw material is concerned, the Ethiopians seem to have been more I. consumers than producers. According to Gerson ben Elizer, ca. 1630 the weight of I. equalled that of gold among the ↗Betä Ǝsraʾel, who where responsible for supplying the ↗Amhara (Borchart 1923/24:264). I. bars served as a means of payment from the post-Aksumite period till the introduction of monetary ↗currency by Mənilək II (↗Ḥakunu).

At the beginning of the 19th cent. the variety of I. objects increases noticeably. Apart from agricultural implements like sickles, axes and adzes, there is evidence for ploughshares and tools such as hammers, drills, saws and files. For daily use there were knives, razors, tweezers, scissors, needles, nails and pans as well as jewellery (for different parts of the body), and for military use spear-heads, daggers, swords, tent-pegs, bullets and even spare parts for rifles. There are reports from this period about I.-smelting. I. technology changed little during the centuries from the decline of Aksum till the second half of the 19th cent. A reason for this was that in Christian Ethiopia blacksmiths were held in low repute and, where possible, ↗handicrafts were left to special groups like the Betä Ǝsraʾel, the ↗Betä Abrəham

and the ↗Gafat (Simoons 1960:180). Additionally the upper classes had access to trade goods like slaves (↗Slavery), ↗gold and ↗ivory, by which means they could obtain preferable manufactured items from the outside world. At times, this resulted in a decrease of I. production. There were attempts to boost production, for instance by *nəguś* ↗Śahlä Śəllase and especially by *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II, who established a manufacture in Gafat, where I. ore was smelted in ca. one-metre-high shaft furnaces (PankSoc 237, 322f.). In the following decades Ethiopian I. production decreased, and only in some parts of the south was I. produced until recently. Today's smiths process industrially produced steel or scrap I.

Since about the 1970s, the recycling of waste metal, which is mostly old sheet I., has developed considerably in urban centres. The conditioning of sheet metal can be carried out without heating and with simple tools. A wide range of products of high quality can be found in Mädäbbär market in Asmära; as can a great variety of household goods made from recycled I. in the Märkato of Addis Abäba (↗Addis Kätäma).

The iron smelting process

I. in Ethiopia was extracted by way of the bloomery process. To get metallic I., ore, usually oxides, must be reduced (freed from oxygen with the help of carbon). In most cases the I. ore is heated in a shaft furnace with charcoal. In its primitive form the furnace is only a pit. Shaft furnaces are loaded with alternate layers of ore and charcoal. The ore descends slowly while the furnace is burning. This allows a series of physical processes and chemical reactions to take place. The I. oxides combine with other components of the ore and form the liquid slag. While most of this flows downwards (and eventually is allowed to flow out of the furnace) the I. absorbs carbon from the fuel and is transformed into an alloy of I. and carbon (FeC) in the form of a spongy mass: the bloom. The necessary temperature of 1100°–1300° C is reached with the help of bellows. As I. has a melting point above 1300° C, in the bloomery process the I. is directly sintered in a solid state as steel. Higher temperatures would produce cast I. which is too brittle for utilitarian objects and cannot be forged. The bloom must be reheated in a forge and hammered to expel remaining slag particles. The whole process needs great expertise. Experiments by modern engineers trained in modern indirect steel methods have been able to shed some light on the physical-chemical processes, but only resulted in poor quality products. Even experiments engaging indigenous smelters (after years without practising) showed dissatisfying results (Amborn 1976, ch. 1; Schmidt 1997, ch. 5).

One of the first descriptions of I. extraction in northern Ethiopia was given by Pearce (1831:202f.), who probably saw a bloomery pit operated with several pairs of bellows. A similar procedure was witnessed by Harris at the "royal iron-works" near ↗Ankobär (HarAeth vol. 2, 100). Later sources often speak of furnaces which could be a result of misobservation. The technique of I. extraction was probably not very prevalent amongst the Amhara and Təgray. From the south, I. smelting was reported from Harär, Wälläga, Geeraa, Ǧimma, as well as Yäm, Dizi and Käfa. The most informative early account is that of Cecchi (1888:261) about Geeraa. There he describes a two-metre-high hybrid draught shaft-furnace used for the most advanced bloomery process known in Ethiopia. Big, nearly two-metre-high furnaces were also known amongst the ↗Šeko. A number of other ethnic groups, such as different Oromo- and Ometo-speakers, Sidaama, Hadiyya, Somali and the members of the Burǧi-Konso cluster however, seem never to have smelted I.

The best existing documentation of I. working concerns the ↗Dime and some of their neighbours. The Dime knew an elaborated bloomery process. Their shaft furnaces are built of clay over a pit approximately 40 cm deep, and have a conical form, and sometimes reaching 1.5 m height. Combustion air is conducted by tuyeres into the furnace through bellows with up to ten membranes. After the furnace is lit it takes up to 14 hours until the ore is extracted. The rate of yield is about 5 kg of steel (depending on the volume of the furnace). As late as to the 1950s Dime was an important centre for I. production. Metal produced there was traded in the east as far as Konso and Burǧi (from where smiths also provided Guǧǧi and Boorana with their products) and in the north as far as Dawro. I. was traded in wedge-shaped I.-bars or square-edged staffs. Later production decreased but I. was still smelted up to the 1970s, but in smaller furnaces. The neighbours of the Dime, the ↗Čara, who worked with the same principles, continued smelting I. until recently, whilst the ↗Aari groups stopped around the end of the Italian occupation.

Iron and the supernatural

Hardly any other material has influenced the world-view of African people more than I. People were fascinated by the very process of production, i.e., the transformation of natural matter (sand or stone) with the help of fire into formable metal and the shaping of spongy bloomery into cultural items. However, this transformation may have sinister consequences for it links the sacral and profane spheres. The transformation processes invoke the spiritual connection between life and death.

I. itself acquires an ambivalent character. It has blessing and healing as well as dangerous qualities. It serves the protect from harm (Burği, Dawro, Diraašša, Dime, Dorze, Dullay, Yäm, Konso, Oromo), but can also be deadly (in the physical and/or magical sense). Creation, death, and bloody sacrifice are close to each other. In mythology, the working of I. is embedded in the ideas of the beginnings of human culture, connecting humanity and the cosmos. In the mythology of the Yäm this is expressed by an iron pillar which in ancient times linked heaven and earth. This I. was later used to make the first tools (VSAe III, 258).

The "power" inherent in the metal or the metal itself becomes the symbol for the power of creation. Thus, this kind of thinking relates human existence, cosmos and time to each other in a complex manner. There is a fluid transition from the idea of "power(s)" being inherent in the I. and the belief in the (spiritual) power of the smith. Both ideas are mutually interdependent. Due to its ascribed powers, I. is used as the material for cult paraphernalia (e.g., in religious and socio-religious ceremonies) and insignia, e.g. special types of spears, like a two-pronged spear made from I. in Maale and special knives (for sacrifices, anti-damage practices etc.); sceptres and bracelets as insignia worn by socio-religious dignitaries; ceremonial bells and bell straps meant to underline the spiritual atmosphere of rituals (Amborn 1990:79, 322, 346; 1990; 162; Straube 1963:209, 324, 362, 368, Tafel 15,3). Even I. ↗crosses, bells (↗*Qaċəl*) and censers (↗*Maᶜəṭänt*), significant for Christian Ethiopia, may be interpreted in this sense. I. is also known as burial object. The people of the Burği-Konso cluster, e.g., put iron bars into the graves of lineage elders. The rulers of Yäm are said to have been buried in an iron coffin which stood on an iron divan.

Src.: ANTONIO CECCHI, *Fünf Jahre in Ostafrika*, Leipzig 1888, 261; BruNile vol. 2, 218, 561; HarAeth, vol. 2, 100; GEORGE WYNN BRERETON HUNTINGFORD (ed., tr.), *The Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* ..., London 1980, 21.

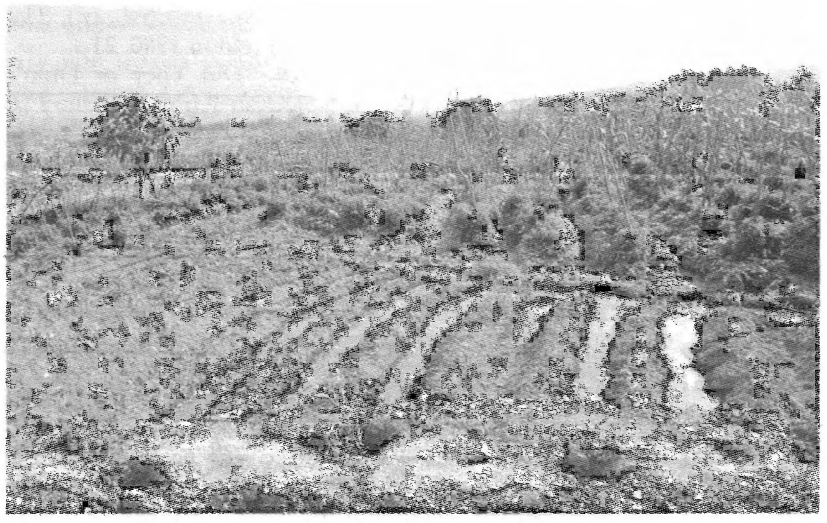
Lit.: STANLEY BERNARD ALPERN, "Did They or Didn't They Invent It? Iron in Sub-Saharan Africa", *History in Africa* 32, 2005, 41–94; HERMANN AMBORN, *Die Bedeutung der Kulturen des Niltals für die Eisenproduktion im subsaharischen Afrika*, Wiesbaden 1976, ch. 1; ID., *Differenzierung und Integration, Vergleichende Untersuchungen zu Handwerkern und Spezialisten in südäthiopischen Agrargesellschaften*, München 1990; ID. "Hunde Gottes: Eisenhandwerker und Demiurgen", in: REINHARD KLEIN-AHREND (ed.), *Traditionelles Eisenhandwerk in Afrika*, Köln 1997 (Colloquium Africanum 3), 146–73; PAUL BORSCHARDT, "Die Falaschajuden in Abessinien im Mittelalter", *Anthropos* 18/19, 1923/24, 258–66; GIUSEPPE FURLANI, "Et. *ḫaṣīn* = ferro, e acc. *ḫaṣṣīnu* = ascia", *RSE* 6, 1947, 1–11; EIKE HABERLAND, "Eisen und Schmiede in Nordostafrika", *Veröffentlichungen des Museums für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig* 11, 1961, 191–210; STUART MUNRO-HAY, *Excavations at Aksum: an Account of Research at the Ancient Ethiopian Capital*, London 1989; PankSoc 237, 322; NATHANIEL PEARCE, *The Life and Adventures of Nathaniel Pearce. Written by Himself*, London 1831, vol. 2; DAVID W. PHILLIPSON, *Ancient Ethiopia. Aksum: its Antecedents and Successors*, London 1998; PETER R. SCHMIDT, *Iron Technology in East Africa: Symbolism, Science and Archaeology*, Oxford 1997, ch. 5; FREDERICK J. SIMOONS, *Peoples and Economy*, Madison 1960, 180; J.A. TODD – J.A. CHARLES, "Metallurgy as a Contribution to Archaeology in Ethiopia", *Abbay* 9, 1978, 31-41; VSAe III, 258.

Hermann Amborn

Irrigation

I. has been practised in the Ethio–Eritrean region for more than 2,000 years. The main purpose of this agricultural method is to help crops grow better and faster. I. is also used to dissolve salt residues from soils, to regulate local temperatures and, dependent on ↗water quality, to manure the land (Leser 1997:84). I. depends upon the availability of water (rivers, springs, lakes, pools) as well as upon such artificial devices as dams, canals and cisterns. The decision to practise I. mainly depends on the length of the rainy season, the river discharge system, temperatures, and the grade of evaporation. In particular the northern regions of Ethiopia and Eritrea (long dry season, relatively low rainfall amount) and ↗*qʷälla* and *bäräha* areas (low rainfall amount, high temperatures and evaporation) climate conditions make I. a reasonable feature for land-use. Historically, however, I. can be found in every ↗ecological zone. Besides environmental conditions, I. was and is dependent on the concrete labour, capital, market, legal and political conditions of a given household or farm.

The historical and spatial origins and dynamics of the different types of I. are not well known, especially in southern Ethiopia. From archaeo-



Irrigation of fields in Dängälo, Ṣəraᶜ, Təgray; photo 2004, courtesy of Wolbert Smidt

logical and historical evidence we generally know that I. was quite common in many places where environmental conditions were suitable and peasant households had enough labour to irrigate their land. To peasants high labour input in I. was (and is) more attractive particularly in areas around towns, where they could sell part of their products and profit from its markets.

Different types of I., can be distinguished: (1) field I.: a system of dams, ditches and distribution to irrigate larger areas, this being used in the *qʷälla*, ↗*wäyna däga* and ↗*däga*; (2) garden I., small areas along streams or near a spring in the *qʷälla*, *wäyna däga* and *däga*; (3) I. along river-beds, mainly in the *qʷälla*, and similarly (4) spate I. in the *qʷälla* and *bäräha* of the eastern escarpment. I. type and social structure seem to be linked to a certain extent: field I. needs a clear and strict organisation. This can be found within a well-established village or region, a farm of a high-ranking person or, emerging in the 20th cent., within a private or state owned modern large-size farm. On the other hand, spate I. is typically used by underprivileged peasants. Driven by social circumstances, these people have to use areas of low production security where the drain-off of the rivers is not easy predictable (cp. StStud 359f.).

I. was well-known long before the Aksumite period, as already, more extensively, in South ↗Arabia, e.g., in ↗Ḥaḍramawt. The principles of the Persian system of I. canals (*qanāt*, s. also EI², 528–33) had a major influence on I. methods on both sides of the Red Sea. An analysis of sediments on the banks of the ᶜAnsäba river near Kärän, e.g., shows evidence of agriculture based on I. during the time of the kingdom of ↗Dᶜmt ca. 8th–7th cent. B.C. (Brunner in AfrHorn 32f.). High output and surplus of (partly irrigated) agriculture seem to have been the basis for the political and military power of Aksum throughout the centuries (Jansen 1976:15ff.). In additional to I. systems with running water, the Aksumite culture also knew huge cisterns, like those at Mai Qoḥo (s. ↗Aksum) and at Safəra in ↗Qoḥayto (DAE II, 148–52, fig. 311).

From the 13th to the early 20th cent. I. was quite common in the central and northern area. But there is no evidence that I. was a wide-spread method in every suitable location. Several travellers from the 16th to the early 20th cent. report I. here and there, mainly in small places, along river-beds and in the lower parts of the eastern escarpment (Ritler 1997; 2003). In the 19th cent. Plowden and Salt reported the use of I. techniques in the northern highlands. Salt described how in Təgre water was re-routed from the higher parts of a stream and distributed by a system of channels and ditches watering, e.g., cotton fields (PankSoc 137). Since the early 20th cent. field I. with high capital input was introduced particularly in the Awaš Valley. This kind of I. has been established by modern-orientated landlords and concessionaires, by the Italian colonial administration and by the Ethiopian state in the second half of the 20th cent. Mechanization, concentration of land ownership and capital provided the basis for preparing tens of thousands of hectares of irrigated land in these areas.

I. is important in the highlands of Harärge (Kombolča) for growing potatoes in combination with ↗*čat*. Harärge farmers water their fields, e.g., with kuris which are small reservoirs filled during the night. There is also garden I. in towns.

An interesting example of a broad system of combined agricultural techniques (water conservation, terracing, I.) can be found in traditional ↗Konso. Due to the deficiency of rainfall in the region, water has to be collected and conserved by different types of skilfully built wells and reservoirs. In the river valleys (e.g., of the ↗Sagan river) fields are irrigated with river water. The water is distributed through stone leats into series of walled gardens. Fields out of the reach of a permanent water supply are irrigated by rainwater directed through leats as well (Hallpike 1970:33f.).

↗Agriculture; ↗Land drainage and terracing

Lit.: UELI BRUNNER, "Water Management and Settlement in Ancient Eritrea", in: *AfrHorn* 30–43; DAE II, 148–52; BZHist (Lit.); ALAIN GASCON, "Intégration économique, intégration nationale et irrédentisme: le Harär, rivalité somalo-éthiopienne et l'emprise de Djibouti", *NEASt* 13, 2, 3, 1991, 51–67; ID., "Les enjeux des aménagements hydro-agricoles en Ethiopie et en Erythrée", *Les Cahiers de la Recherche. Développement Dossier: systèmes irrigués* 38, 1994, 33–48; CHRISTOPHER ROBERT HALLPIKE, "Konso Agriculture", *JES* 8, 1, 1970, 31–43, here 33f.; VOLKER JANSSEN, *Politische Herrschaft in Äthiopien*, Freiburg im Breisgau 1976 (Lit.); HARTMUT LESER (ed.), *Diercke-Wörterbuch Allgemeine Geographie*, München – Braunschweig 1997 (Lit.); A.K.S. LAMBTON, "Ḳanāt", in: *EI²*, 528–33; JAMES C. MCCANN, *People of the Plow: an Agricultural History of Ethiopia, 1800–1990*, Madison – London 1995 (Lit.); PankSoc 137; ALFONS RITLER, *Land Use, Forests and the Landscape of Ethiopia, 1699–1865: an Enquiry into the Historical Geography of Central-Northern Ethiopia*, Bern – Addis Ababa 1997 (Soil Conservation Research Report 38) [Lit.]; ID., *Forest, Land Use and Landscape of Central and Northern Ethiopia, 1865–1930*, Bern 2003 (Geographica Bernensia, African Studies Series 19) [Lit.]; R.B. SERJEANT, "Some Irrigation Systems in Hadramawt", *BSOAS* 27, 1964, 57; StStud [Lit.].

Alfons Ritler

ᶜIsa Ḥamza ↗Qatbäre

Isaac of Nineveh

I. (Isḥāq, Eth. ማር፡ ይስሐቅ *mar* Yəṣḥaq, b. Bēṯ Qaṭrāyē, Qaṭar) was ordained bishop of Nineveh by *katholikos* George I (658–80), but resigned after a few months and thereafter lived as a hermit in the desert of Persia. Later he became a monk in the monastery of Rabban Šāḇōr, where he died. His writings were influential for Eastern monasticism and mysticism.

I.'s teachings were almost free of dogmatic elements and, although he belonged to the Church of the East, the so-called Nestorian Church, his writings received wide acceptance from both Chalcedonians and Monophysites. However, despite his popularity only a few of his works survive in the original Syriac (Bedjan 1909; Wensinck 1923; Brock 1995). The identification of his literary legacy is further complicated by confusion with other authors of the same name, e.g., Isaac of Antioch and others. Two monks of the Monastery of St. Saba in Palestine translated a great part of I.'s work into Greek. The Greek text, which also comprised spurious parts, served as a basis for medieval translations into Georgian, Slavonic, Latin and Arabic, as well as for several modern translations (Brock 1999–2000). During the 11th cent. the famous Melkite translator Abū l-Fatḥ ᶜAbdallāh b. al-Faḍl of Antioch translated from Greek into Arabic 35 chapters on the monastic life written by "Isaac the Syrian" (GrafLit vol. 2, 58), comprising at least some texts originally written by I. (e.g., chs. 1–3 are identical with the Syriac text, cf. Bedjan 1909, chs. 4–6). The same corpus of 35 chapters was integrated into a larger collection of writings of "Isaac the Syrian" (GrafLit vol. 1, 439) and also translated separately into Gəᶜəz under the title መጽሐፈ፡ ማር፡ ይስሐቅ (*Mäṣḥafä Mar Yəṣḥaq*, 'The Book of *mar* Yəṣḥaq') in the 15th cent. This translation became an integral part of the highest stage of the traditional education of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church; it was taught at the ↗*mäṣḥaf bet*, where it was studied in the መጻሕፍተ፡ መነኮሳት (*Mäṣaḥəftä mänäkosat*, 'The Books of the Monks'), the fourth and highest partition of the canon (Cowley 1980:44f.). Due to its importance for the training of clerics the *Mäṣḥafä Mar Yəṣḥaq* is extant in many Ethiopic manuscripts; Dawit Berhanu (1997:9) provides a list of 22 mss. which include the text (s. the entry on ↗Monastic literature for a list of 29 mss.).

There is also an Amharic commentary on this work, the ትርጓሜ፡ ለማር፡ ይስሐቅ (*Tərgʷame lämar Yəṣḥaq*, 'Translation of Mar Isaac', cp. Frankfurt, Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek, ms. or. 7, cf. SixDeu 219ff.), printed in 1915 A.M. [1922/23] (ed. by ↗Kidanä Wäld Kəfle), and again in the *Mäṣaḥəftä mänäkosat*, along with other works on monasticism (1920 A.M. [1927/28 A.D.], cf. Dawit Berhanu 1997:33).

Further texts ascribed to I. extant in Ethiopic are: a homily on the ascetic life (Vat. Aeth. 33, fol. 53–72, Aeth. 61, fol. 9–29 [GreTisVat 158, 234]), some advice on asceticism (Vat. Aeth. 33, fol. 25–34 [GreTisVat 153]), and a prayer ጸሎት፡ ዘጸለየ፡ ይስሐቅ፡ ሶርያዊ (*Ṣälot zä-ṣälläyä Yəṣḥaq Soryawi* 'The Prayer that Isaac the Syrian prayed', ms. Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Aeth. 2, fol. 104 [Rhodokanakis 1906:40]).

Src.: PAULUS BEDJAN (ed.), *Mar Isaacus Ninivita de perfectione religiosa*, Parisiis – Lipsiae 1909; ARENT JAN WENSINCK (tr.), *Mystic Treatises by Isaac of Nineveh*, Amsterdam 1923 (Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam afdeeling Letterkunde. Nieuwe Reeks 23, 1) [repr. Wiesbaden 1969]; SEBASTIAN BROCK (ed., tr.), *Isaac of Nineveh (Isaac the Syrian). 'The Second Part', Chapters 4–41*, Lovanii 1995 (CSCO 554, 555 [Scriptores syri 224, 225]); DAWIT BERHANU (ed., tr.), *Das Mashafa Mar Yeshaq von Ninive. Einleitung, Edition und Übersetzung mit Kommentar*, Hamburg 1997; ማር፡ ይስሐቅ፡ የጸፈው፡ መጽሐፍ፡ ከቀድሞ፡ አባቶች፡ ጀምሮ፡ ሲወርድ፡ ሲዋረድ፡ የመጣው፡ ንባቡና፡ ትርጓሜው፡ የኢትዮጵያ፡ ሊቃውንት፡ እንደጸፉትና፡ እንደተረጐሙት (*Mar Yəṣḥaq yäṣafäw mäṣḥaf*;

käqädmo abbatočč ğämmərо siwärd siwwarräd yämäṭṭaw nəbabunna tərgʷamew yä'ityopya liqawənt əndäṣafutənna əndätäräggʷämut, 'The Book Written by *mar* Yəsḥaq: the Reading and its Interpretation, which Came, Being Transferred from the Ancient Fathers, as it was Written and Interpreted by Ethiopian Scholars'), [ed. by Kidanä Wäld Kəfle], Addis Abäba 1915 A.M. [1922/23 A.D.]; CYRIL MOSS, *Catalogue of Syriac Printed Books and Related Literature in the British Museum*, London 1962, 495–501 (Lit.); NIKOLAUS RHODOKANAKIS, *Die äthiopischen Handschriften der k.k. Hofbibliothek zu Wien*, Wien 1906 (Sitzungsberichte der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, philosophisch-historische Klasse 151, 4), 40; SixDeu 219ff.; GreTisVat 153, 158, 234.

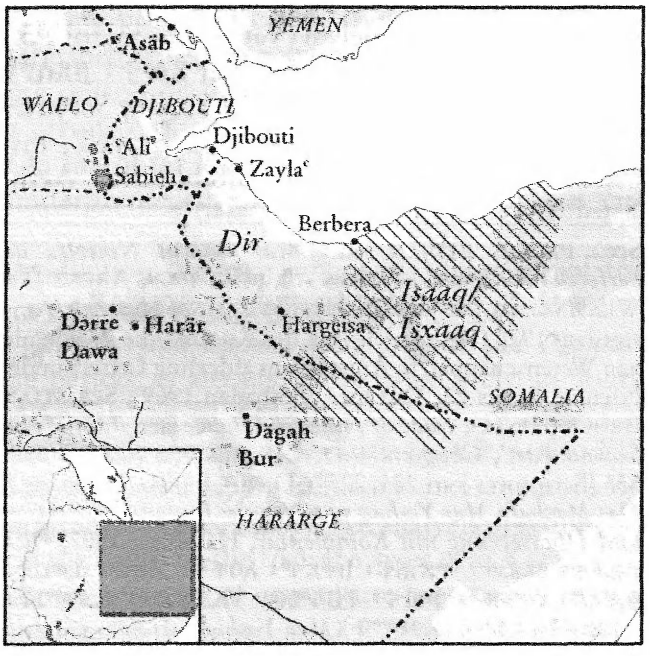
Lit.: ANTON BAUMSTARK, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur*, Bonn 1922, 223ff.; ÉLIE KHALIFÉ-HACHEM, "Isaac de Ninive", in: *Dictionnaire de spiritualité*, vol. 7, Paris 1971, 2041–54; PETER BRUNS, "Isaak von Ninive", in: SIEGMAR DÖPP – WILHELM GEERLINGS (eds.), *Lexikon der antiken christlichen Literatur*, Freiburg ²1999, 317; GrafLit vol. 1, 439; vol. 2, 58; SEBASTIAN BROCK, "From Qatar to Tokyo, by way of Mar Saba: The Translations of Isaac of Beth Qatraye (Isaac the Syrian)", *ARAM* 11, 1 (Proceedings of ARAM Eleventh International Conference: Cultural Interchange in the East of the Arabian Peninsula – Oxford University), 1999, 475–84; ROGER WENMAN COWLEY, "Patristic Introduction in the Ethiopian Andəmta Commentary Tradition", *Ostkirchliche Studien* 29, 1980, 39–49, here 44f.

Stefan Weninger

Isaac, Testament of ↗Yəsḥaq: Gädlä Yəsḥaq

Isaaq

I. (for language s. ↗Dir) is one of the most important ↗Somali clans and is formed by the ↗Habar Awal – Saᶜad Muuse (Sacad Muuse) and ᶜIisa Muuse (Ciisa Muuse) sub-clans – who are herders and merchants controlling the port of ↗Berbera; Habar Garḥağis (Habar Garxajis) – Arab, ᶜIidagale (Ciidagale), Habar Yoonis sub-clans – who are located in the Togḍeer (Togdheer) and Sanaag regions, while others have settled in the Hawd and ↗Ogaden (Ogadeen); and Habar Tolğeᶜlo (Habar Toljeclo), Maḥamed Abookor (Maxamed Abookor), Sanbur, Muusa Abookor, and Aḥmad Tolğeᶜlo (Axmad Toljeclo) sub-clans, who are located in the region between Karin and Ḥiis (Xiis).



The I., who claim descent from the Alid *šayḫ* Isḥāq b. Aḥmad al-ᶜAlawī (s. Gori 2003:37–164), are predominately pastoralists and traders. In the 12th cent. *šayḫ* Isḥāq (Isxaaq) arrived in Somalia from Arabia and founded the I. clan family settling in the northern Somali town of Mayḍ (Maydh). During the same century, population pressure, continued Arab immigration, and possibly a series of droughts forced the I. to start migrating to the Tana River region in Kenya and to ↗Harär area in Ethiopia. In the wake of these migrations, two trade routes emerged from ↗Zaylaᶜ to the Šäwan highlands and from Berbera to Harär via the Ogadeen (Metz 1993:6).

During the period of 1527–43, the ↗Daarood clan, supported by some I., joined the *ğihād* led by *imām* ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī against Ethiopia. By the 16th and 17th cent., the I., along with other Dir clans and the Daarood, had occupied much of the Ogadeen. These migrations had a significant impact on subsequent Ethiopian history, as the I. and other clans have repeatedly fought to end Ethiopian control of the Ogadeen. During the era of Somali nationalism after World War II this was aimed at creating a Greater Somalia, that had to bring Somalis in Djibouti, Ethiopia, and northern Kenya under the authority of the government in Mogadishu. During the 1840s and 1850s, nomadic expansionism and squabbling between various I. sub-clans caused considerable political instability and civil wars throughout parts of present-day Somaliland. By the time Sir Richard Burton visited Somaliland (1854–55), Berbera had been nearly destroyed. In the 1850s, *ḥāğğī* Šarmaarke ᶜAli Saaliḥ (Sharmaarke Cali Saalix), a member of the Habar Yoonis sub-clan who ruled Zaylaᶜ, sought to conquer Berbera, the port of which supplied meat and fresh products to the British garrison in Aden, with an "army" of only 40 Ḥaḍramī musketeers. During the uprising (1899–1920) of ↗Muḥammad ᶜAbdallāh Ḥasan (Maxamed Cabdulle Xasan), the so-called Mad Mullah, and his followers known as Dervishes, some I. such as the ᶜIidagale refused to obey his orders and fight against the British. As

a result, he branded the ʿIidagale as the "servants of the infidel" and ordered his followers to attack them and seize their camels and livestock. He also vilified them in some of his many poems. Many I. joined local levies and participated in all major British military expeditions against the Dervishes (1901, 1902, 1902–03, 1903–04). On 23 November 1920, Maxamed Cabdulle Xasan died after an unspecified illness. I.'s support of the British enabled many of them to accumulate wealth and property. Some travelled abroad in seek of Western education. I. continued to resent the presence of the British. Particular grievances included the presence of Christian missionaries, legislation limiting the ↗*ċat* trade and authorizing capital punishment. In March 1922, there was a brief confrontation between the Habar Yoonis and local British forces because the colonial authorities wanted to introduce taxation.

Shortly before the outbreak of World War II, the I. formed the Somaliland National Society (SNS), which advocated Somali unity, greater educational opportunities, and the abolition of clan differences. The SNS subsequently merged with another local group to form the Somaliland National League (SNL). In May 1947, the Somali Youth League, originally known as the Somali Youth Club (SYC), gained the support of the Daarood and ↗Hawiye major clan groups. A proposed SNL-SYC merger caused a split in the I., with one faction supporting unification and the other faction seeking to preserve the SYC's autonomy because it believed that the Daarood would end up controlling the unified organization. The latter eventually prevailed and adopted the agenda of the old SNS. The SYC also wanted to develop the Somali language and to abolish all legal and constitutional threats to the interests of the Somali people.

↗British Somaliland

Src.: ALESSANDRO GORI, *Studi sulla letteratura agiografica islamica somala in lingua araba*, Firenze 2003 [2004] (Quaderni di Semitistica 24), 37–164.

Lit.: HELEN CHAPIN METZ, *Somalia: a Country Study*, Washington, DC 1993, 6; DAVID D. LAITIN SAID SHEIKH SAMATAR, *Somalia: Nation in Search of a State*, Boulder ²1987, 8f., 12, 19; IOAN MYRDDIN LEWIS, *A Pastoral Democracy: a Study of Pastoralism and Politics among the Northern Somali of the Horn of Africa*, London – New York – Toronto 1999; ID., "The Galla in Northern Somaliland", *RSE* 15, 1959, 21–39; ID., "Notes on the Social Organization of the ʿIse Somali", *RSE* 17, 1961, 69–82; ID., *Blood and Bone: the Call of Kinship*, Trenton, NJ – New York 1997; YAASIIN CISMAAN KEENADIID, *Ina Cabdille Xasan e la sua attività letteraria*, Naples 1984; MOHAMED HAJI MUKHTAR, *Historical Dictionary of Somalia*, Lanham, MD – Oxford 2003, 122, 240; IOAN MYRDDIN LEWIS, *The Modern History of Somaliland: from Nation to State*, London 1965; ID., *The Modern History of Somaliland*, New York – Washington DC 1965, 85, 123, 34–135; LewPeople 23f.; RAY BEACHEY, *The Warrior Mullah: the Horn Aflame 1892–1920*, London 1990, 156f.

Thomas P. Ofcansky

Isaiah, Ascension of

The A.I. is an apocryphon that in its entirety is only preserved in an Ethiopic (Gəʿəz) translation, as *Mäṣḥafä ʿərgätä Isayəyyas* (መጽሐፈ ዕርገተ ኢሳይያስ).

In the first part (chs. 1–5), the "Martyrdom of Isaiah", the work relates how the prophet Isaiah was executed under King Manasse by being cut in two with a wooden saw because of his unwillingness to yield to the power of evil. The second part (chs. 6–11), the true Ascension, gives a description of Isaiah's revelation in the course of which he is guided by an angel through the seven heavens where he sees the deceased righteous, God and his "beloved one", Jesus Christ, on their thrones. In the end (ch. 11), he has a vision of Christ's life and death.

The first part, the "Martyrdom" is based on a Jewish tradition, perhaps a written source, into which a Christian apocalyptic text on the Anti-Christ was inserted (chs. 3:13–4:18). While earlier researchers emphasized the composite character of the A.I. and the role of its redactor as a compiler (cf. Norelli et al. 1995), new research stresses its unity as a literary work and the role of its redactor as an author (cf. Knight 1996).

The A.I. was composed in Greek in the 2nd cent. A.D., probably in Syria, and reflects an early, "angelomorphic" Christology (Knight 1996:139–45). Of the Greek text only a fragment is preserved (Bettiolo 1995:323–51). A Coptic (ibid. 149–87), a Latin (ibid. 191–233), and a Slavonic (ibid. 237–319) translation preserve only parts of the text.

The Ethiopic translation was probably made in the 5th cent. A.D. from a Greek model already including both the "Martyrdom" and the "Ascension", the name of the Ethiopic book deriving from the second part, Isaiah's journey through the heavens. The Ethiopic text is preserved only in a few manuscripts (Norelli 1995:5; Piovanelli 1993:197f. and n. 3), amongst which the oldest are Vat. Aeth. 263, fols. 85–104 (14th to 15th cent.); Bodl. Aeth. d. 13, fols. 95–115; BritLib Orient. 501, fols. 62–69; EMML 1768, fols. 83–88; and EMML 3067, fols. 99–117 (all 15th cent.). One sin-

Scenes from the life, martyrdom and death of Prophet Isaiah; cloth mural in the *qəne maḫlet* of the Trinity church, Č̣äläqot, Təgray, first half of the 18th cent.; photo 2002, courtesy of Michael Gervers

gle fragment (Abba Gärima 2, fol. 307) is definitely older than all other manuscripts. In most manuscripts the A.I. is copied as a sequel to the canonical book of Isaiah (Piovanelli 1990). Although the A.I. can be found in Biblical manuscripts, it is never mentioned as a part of the ↗Bible canon (Brandt 2000:102, 112).

Research on the A.I. concentrates almost entirely on its relevance for apocalypticism, Christology and the history of the early Church. Therefore its impact in Ethiopia is still largely unfathomed (but s. Piovanelli 1993:198 and nn. 5–8). It was probably only minor, because its content proved to be unorthodox, but this subject is indeed open to further research.

Src.: RICHARD LAURENCE (ed., tr.), *Ascensio Isaiae vatis*, Oxford 1819; AUGUST DILLMANN (ed., tr.), *Ascensio Isaiae aethiopice et latine*, Lipsia 1877; ROBERT HENRY CHARLES (ed., tr.), *The Ascension of Isaiah*, London 1900; LORENZO PERRONE (ed.) – ENRICO NORELLI (tr.), "Ascensione di Isaia profeta. Versione etiopica", in: PAOLO BETTIOLO et al. (eds.), *Ascensio Isaiae. Textus*, Turnhout 1995 (Corpus Christianorum. Series apocryphorum 7), 1–129 (Lit.); RENÉ BASSET (tr.), *Les apocryphes éthiopiens traduits en français III: L'Ascension d'Isaïe*, Paris 1894; EUGÈNE TISSERANT (tr.), *Ascension d'Isaïe*, Paris 1909; MARIO ERBETTA, *Gli apocrifi de nuovo Testamento* III, Torino 1981, 175–208; MICHAEL A. KNIBB (tr.), "Martyrdom and Ascension of Isaiah", in: JAMES H. CHARLESWORTH (ed.), *The Old Testament Apocrypha* II, London 1985, 143–76; C. DETLEF G. MÜLLER (tr.), "Die Himmelfahrt des Jesaja", in: WILHELM SCHNEEMELCHER (ed.), *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen in deutscher Übersetzung*, Tübingen ²1989, 547–62; ENRICO NORELLI (ed., tr.), *Ascension d'Isaïe*, Turnhout 1993 (Apocryphes 2); GIANFRANCESCO LUSINI, *Ascensione d'Isaia. Concordanza della versione etiopica*, Wiesbaden 2003 (AeF 62).

Lit.: PETER BRANDT, "Geflecht aus 81 Büchern: Zur variantenreichen Gestalt des äthiopischen Bibelkanons", *Aethiopica* 3, 2000, 79–115; ANDRÉ CAQUOT, "Bref commentaire du Martyre d'Isaïe", *Semitica* 23, 1973, 65–93; JONATHAN KNIGHT, *Disciples of the Beloved One: the Christology, Social Setting and Theological Context of the Ascension of Isaiah*, Sheffield 1996 (Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha. Supplement Series 18; Lit.); ENRICO NORELLI, *Ascensio Isaiae. Commentarius*, Turnhout 1995 (Corpus Christianorum. Series Apocryphorum 8); PIERLUIGI PIOVANELLI, "Un nouveau témoin éthiopien de l'Ascension d'Isaïe et de la Vie de Jérémie (Paris, BN Abb. 195)", *Henoch* 12, 1990, 347–63; ID., "Les aventures des apocryphes en Éthiopie", *Apocrypha* 4, 1993, 197–224, here 197f.

Stefan Weninger

Isayəyyas

I. (ኢሳይያስ; b. 1485, Bäᶜatä Qäys, ᶜAgamä, d. 15 September 1572 [not 1589 of KinBibl]) was the sixth abbot of Däbrä Gärzen (↗Gundä Gunde), the major monastery of the ↗Stephanites, followers of ↗Ǝsṭifanos (cf. Mordini 1953: 59).

According to his Acts (Ferenc 1976, edited on the basis of mss. nos. 111, 112, s. Mordini 1953: 50 [= nos. 36, 35 in Schneider 1963: 45], of the late 16th and ca. 18th cent. respectively), I. belonged to the lineage of Gəf Mela (thus being a relative of Ǝsṭifanos), and his ↗*rəst* was at Märwa, not far from Gundä Gunde. His parents were Abel and Amätä Maryam (Ferenc 1976: 244). The Acts of I. tell of I.'s miraculous conception by intercession of the Archangel Gabriel, a frequent topic of the Ethiopian ↗hagiography. When I. was still a child, his father abandoned the family and entered the monastery of Däbrä Gärzen. I.'s mother, following her husband's example, became a nun. It was the father who introduced I. to the monastic life. According to the Acts, I. was consecrated deacon by *abunä* ↗Marqos at the age of 12 (not necessarily a chronological inconsistency, as indicated in ibid. 285, n. 33; Kur in PICES 10, 360) and took the monastic habit at 15 from the hands of ↗Gäbrä Mäśiḥ (the successor of ↗Abäkärazun). Later, he was ordained priest at ↗Bärara.

In the community, I. distinguished himself as an interpreter of the Scriptures (Ferenc 1970:254). About 1554, when the region faced the devastating ↗Oromo and Muslim invasions (ibid. 250f.; Schneider 1998:132), I. succeeded Täklä Näbiyat as the abbot of Däbrä Gärzen (later incorporated into the Gundä Gunde complex).

I. was a faithful imitator of Ǝsṭifanos, and several passages of I.'s Acts are borrowed from the latter's Life. With Ǝsṭifanos I. shared also a special devotion for St. ↗Mary, an attitude different from the one attributed by other sources to

the Stephanite community (cf. Kur in PICES 10, 360). In his Acts, I. is said to have chased away the ↗devil by reciting the ↗*Wəddase Maryam* and to have healed a sterile woman by means of an icon of the Virgin. During I.'s abbotship, the new monastery of ᶜAläqət was reportedly founded (cf. Gigar Tesfaye 1979:98). Yet, the "hermitage [*gädam*] called ᶜAläqət" is mentioned in the 18th-cent. ms. of I.'s Vita as the dwelling place of "the fathers who preceded him" (Ferenc 1970:264, no. 528 = 290, no. 243). I. was followed by ↗Gäbrä Krəstos.

Src.: ALEKSANDER FERENC (ed., tr.), "Les Actes d'Isaïe de Gunda-Gundē", *AE* 10, 1976, 243–94.
Lit.: GIGAR TESFAYE, "Notes sur Gunda-Gundié", *Abbay* 10, 1979, 93–100; KapMon 42, 46f.; KinBibl 78, no. 84; STANISLAW KUR, "Les stéphanites à la lumière des *Actes d'Isaïe de Gunda-Gundē*", in: *PICES* 10, 359–61; ANTONIO MORDINI, "Il convento di Gunde Gundiè", *RSE* 12, 1953, 29–64; ROGER SCHNEIDER, "La Bibliothèque du Couvent de Gounda Goundé", *Tarik* 2, 1963, 45f.; ID., "Notes éthiopiennes. III", *JES* 31, 2, 1998, 129–43, here 131ff. [§ 2. Les "Actes d'Isaie de Gunda-Gundé"].

Robert Beylot – Alessandro Bausi

Isenberg, Carl Wilhelm

I. (also known as Charles William I., b. 5 September 1806 Barmen, d. 10 October 1864 Kornthal near Stuttgart) was a Protestant missionary in Ethiopia and India sponsored by the ↗Church Missionary Society (CMS), a London-based organization of the Church of England.

Originally a tinsmith, I. joined the Basle Mission in 1824. After completing his education he first worked as a teacher of Greek there. In 1830 he was transferred to the Church Missionary Society in London and was ordained later by the Church of England. He spent the years 1834–38 in ↗ᶜAdwa, Təgray. Unlike Samuel ↗Gobat, with whom he initially served in Ethiopia, I. kept a social and cultural distance from Ethiopians. He especially expressed his differences with the beliefs and practices of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church in blunt and direct terms which the Orthodox clergy found offensive, and in March of 1838 he was expelled from the country. In 1839 he, together with his new co-missionaries, Johann Ludwig ↗Krapf and Carl Heinrich ↗Blumhardt, at the invitation of *nəguś* ↗Śahlä Śəllase turned to ↗Šäwa. He spent four months there before leaving for London.

There he arranged the publication of a number of small dictionaries in several Ethiopian languages. His ᶜAfar ("Danakil"), Amharic and Oromo ("Galla") dictionaries of 1840, 1841 and 1842 – the latter based on a German manuscript by Krapf – were among the first dictionaries of these languages. His Amharic dictionary (followed by an Amharic grammar in 1842) constitutes a roadmark in the study of the language (cp. Praetorius 1878:8) and retains considerable historical value. I. also wrote texts in Amharic and thus plays a role in early ↗Amharic literature; he also translated the Anglican Book of Common Prayer in 1842 (*Liturgia*) and the Heidelberg Catechism (s. Fumagalli 1893:144). The aim was the production of educative texts for future missionary schools, like his Amharic Church History (*Regni Dei in terris historia Amharice*) of 1841, his Amharic Geography (ጂዎግራፊያ) of 1841 and World History (የዓለም፡ ታሪክ) of 1842 (s. Pankhurst 1962:247f.). These texts were distributed to Ethiopian pilgrims in Jerusalem and by later Protestant missionaries at the court of *aṣe* Tewodros II and subsequently at Gafat, Ğända, ᶜAdwa, Mätämma and in Šäwa (↗St. Chrischona Pilgermission).

On I.'s return in 1842 the mission was refused entry to Šäwa, so he turned to Təgray again. However, in June of 1843, he was again expelled by *däğğazmač* ↗Wəbe Ḫaylä Maryam, ruler of northern Ethiopia, an expulsion which effectively ended CMS activities in Ethiopia. His and Krapf's Journal, published in London in 1843 (IsKrapf) is a valuable historical source. After his return I. helped Thomas Pell Platt in revising of ↗Abu Rumi's Amharic Bible, reedited in 1844 (↗Bible translations, modern: Amharic).

In 1844 I. was re-assigned by the CMS to Bombay in India (later to Sharanpur), where he worked until shortly before his death. The four gospels in Təgrəññа, which had been revised by him, were published posthumously (its manuscript, a gift by I., is kept at the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Ms. or. fol. 445). This constitutes the first Bible translation into this language (↗Bible translations, modern: Təgrəññа).

↗Missions and missionaries; ↗Protestantism

Src.: JOHN LEWIS KRAPF, *An Imperfect Outline of the Elements of the Galla Language: Preceded by a Few Remarks Concerning the Nation of the Gallas, and an Evangelical Mission among them*, by CHARLES WILLIAM ISENBERG, London 1840; CHARLES WILLIAM ISENBERG, *A Small Vocabulary of the Dankali Language*, London 1840; ID., *Dictionary of the Amharic Language*, 2 vols., London 1841; CARL WILHELM ISENBERG, "Über die Mission in Schoa in Abyssinien", *Monatsbericht über die Verhandlungen der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde* 2, 1840/41, 88–92; ID., በአብና፡ በመልድ, *Regni Dei in terris historia Amharicè*, 2 vols., London 1841 [2nd ed. *Regni Dei in terris historia Amharicè*,

የእግዚአብሔር፡ መንግሥት፡ ታሪክ፡ ከዓለም፡ ፍጥረት፡ ጀምሮ እስከ፡ ዘመናችን ድረስ, ed. by MARTIN FLAD, St. Chrischona 1893]; ጂዎግራፊያ፡ የምድር፡ ትምህርት (*Ǧewografiya yämədr təmhərt*, 'Geography, the Science of the Earth'), London 1841; CAROLUS GUILIELMUS ISENBERG, *Adumbratio historae mundi amharicé*, London 1842 [Amh.]; ID. (ed.), *Liturgia, seu Liber Precum Communium, et Administrationis Sacramentorum, Aliorumque Rituum et Cæremoniarum Ecclesiæ, Juxta usum Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ et Hibernicæ: unà cum Psalterio, seu Libro Psalmorum* [...], London 1842; CHARLES WILLIAM ISENBERG – JOHN LEWIS KRAPF, "Abstract of a journal kept by the Rev. Messr. Isenberg and Krapf, on their route from Cairo", *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society* 10, 1841, 455–68; IsKrapf (2nd ed. London 1968); JOHANN LUDWIG KRAPF, *Vocabulary of the Galla language together with an English–Galla Vocabulary*, ed., tr. by KARL WILHELM ISENBERG, London 1842; CHARLES WILLIAM ISENBERG, *Grammar of the Amharic Language*, London 1842; ID., የዓለም፡ ታሪክ፡ ከፍጥረት፡ ጀምሮ፡ እስከ፡ ዘመናችን፡ድረስ (*Yaʿaläm tarik käfəträt ǧämmərə əskä zämänaččən dəräs*, 'History of the World from the Creation to Our Times'), London 1842; CARL WILHELM ISENBERG, *Abessinien und die evangelische Mission. Erlebnisse in Ægypten, auf und an dem Rothen Meere, dem Meerbusen von Aden, und besonders in Abessinien*, intr. by CARL IMMANUEL NITZSCH, Bonn 1844; ID., "Reise in Abyssenien von Zeylah, im Hintergrund des Meerbusens von Aden", *Ausland. Wochenschrift für Erd- und Völkerkunde* 21, 1848, 904–08; JOHANNES LUDOVICUS KRAPF (ed.), *Evangelia Sacra Jesu Christi sub auspiciis Caroli Guilielmi Isenberg* [...], *in linguam Tigricam vertit Debtera Matheos Habessinus Adoæ, Tigriæ oppido*, [...] *per viduam Isenbergi Beati in libri manuscripti possessionem venit*, [...], St. Chrischona 1866.

Lit.: ArEvang 61–72, 74, 81–84, 88, 166; CrumMis 49, 50, 55, 407; GIUSEPPE FUMAGALLI, *Bibliografica Etiopica, Catalogo*, Milano 1893 (Lit.); HERMANN GUNDERT, "Erinnerung an Missionar C.W. Isenberg", *Evangelisches Missions-Magazin, Neue Folge* 10, 1866, 130–44, 177–90, 225–35, 257–79; N.N., "Isenbergs und Krapfs Reise nach Schoa", *Annalen der Erd-, Völker- und Staatenkunde* 11, 1841, 66–70; RICHARD PANKHURST, "The Foundation of Education, Printing, Newspapers, Book Production, Libraries and Literacy in Ethiopia", *EthObs* 6, 3, 1962, 241–90; FRANZ PRAETORIUS, *Die Amharische Sprache*, Halle 1878, 8f.; RubInd 71–76.

Donald Crummey – Wolbert Smidt

Islam

I. (Arab. الاسلام, *al-islām*, 'the [religion of] submission [to the will of God]') has a long history in Ethiopia and Eritrea. Doctrinally, ritually and legally, Ethiopian and Eritrean I. belongs to the world of Sunnī (mainstream Orthodox) I. The 1994 CSA census put the percentage of the Muslim population of Ethiopia at 32.8 %, however, this number is doubted by Muslims and many scholars alike. A percentage of ca. 45 % Muslims in Ethiopia and 50 % in Eritrea is believed to be a more realistic estimate. Due to urban migration (↗Population history), ↗conversion and population growth the number is continuing to rise.

Geographical distribution

There are Islamic communities in almost every part of the Ethio–Eritrean region. The greatest concentration of Muslims can perhaps be found in eastern Ethiopia, where the territory of the former emirate of ↗Harär, ↗Bale and the ↗Somali region represent a continuum with an overwhelming majority of Muslims in the population. In neighbouring ↗Somalia and ↗Djibouti I. is also the dominant faith. In south-western Ethiopia, the ↗Berta (↗Beni Šangul), the descendants of the population of the former ↗Oromo Gibe states (↗Ǧimma, ↗Limmu, ↗Gomma, ↗Geeraa) and several groups of ↗Wälläga (e.g., ↗Leeqa, ↗Nonno) are mostly Muslim. In southern central Ethiopia, the ↗Hadiyya, the ↗Qabeena, the ↗Allaaba, the Səlṭe (↗Ǝnnäqor, ↗Səlṭi, ↗Wəlbaräg) and part of the *Säbat bet* ↗Gurage are also Muslim.

Some Muslim groups live in the interior of Ethiopia and Eritrea in traditionally Christian regions: e.g., the Amharic and Təgrəñña-speaking ↗Ǧäbärti can be found in the highlands of Eritrea, ↗Təgray, around Lake ↗Ṭana, in ↗Gondär and ↗Amhara; in ↗Wällo, fully Amharized and Islamized Oromo form a great part of the population, whilst the ↗Azaboo and ↗Rayya Oromo are also Muslims; the ↗Argobba people of central Ethiopia additionally constitute an ancient Muslim population. The ↗Wäyṭo on the shores of Lake Ṭana consider themselves followers of I. even though they seem not fully to implement all the tenets of I. (Grottanelli 1939:169–212). The Nagaadoo of Käfa and other groups in Southern Ethiopia have been strongly influenced by I. and, in some cases, this religious adhesion has been used as an ethnic denomination (CerEt; Biber 1920:146).

In Eritrea, the ↗Təgre, ↗Rašāʾida, ↗Beğa, ↗Marya and part of the ↗Bilin, as well as the ↗Kunama and ↗Nara, between Kärän and the Sudanese border, are Muslim. The ↗Dahlak islands and later ↗Massawa (particularly due to the ↗Ottoman occupation) were centres of I. propagation. Further south, a broad section of the ↗Sāho (esp. ↗Minifire, ↗Asaorta) along with the ↗ʿAfar (↗Dankali, ↗Raḥayta) are predominantly Muslim.

I. is also the religion practised by some communities of foreign origin, scattered across Ethiopia and Eritrea, especially in urban areas. The ↗Tukr-

īr of West African origin live mainly in villages in the eastern part of Eritrea (↗Fellata, ↗Hausa) and in Ethiopia along the border with the ↗Sudan near Mätämma-Qallabat. Immigrants from ↗Yemen (both Zaydī–Šīᶜa and Šāfiᶜī-Sunnī), Indian Muslims (↗Banyan) and Near Eastern Arab merchants and entrepreneurs may be found in almost every Ethiopian and Eritrean town.

Processes of Islamization

There is much debate as to how different forms of I. were originally brought to Ethiopia (HusIslam 30–72). It is generally recognized that there were at least three major agents in the spread of I.: Ṣūfī scholars, learned men (*mašāyiḫ* [sg. ↗*šayḫ*]), sometimes of foreign origin (especially Yemenites educated in Zabīd and Taᶜizz), and traders; an individual could of course belong to one, two or all three groups. The impact of the *šayḫs* could be either limited to small local groups of students or attain regional or even trans-regional importance. The influential descent groups formed by some of the *šayḫ*-families (e.g., ↗ᶜAd Šek) further became new local foci of religious influence attracting many non-Muslim populations.

One can assume that the form of I. introduced by different agents was not the same. Traders probably disseminated only the external aspects of the religion. The evident stress on the execution of formal religious and legal obligations, which can be detected in much of the Islamic literature of Ethiopia both in Arabic and in local languages (e.g., in the *Kitāb al-↗farāʾiḍ*, and in the books by ↗Muḥammad Šāfī), is due to the strong impact that the Ṣūfīs and jurists, especially of the Ḥanafī (↗Ḥanafism) and Šāfiᶜī (↗Šāfiᶜism) schools of law (↗*Šarīᶜa*), had on the very formation of I. in Ethiopia. The deep mystical dimension of Ethiopian I. can be seen not only in the wide-spread practice of *ziyārāt* (↗Pilgrimages) to the shrines of holy men (↗*Walī*) but also in the pietistic character of organized ritual activities (↗*Ḏikr*; ↗*mawlid*, *ᶜāšūrāʾ* and *miᶜrāǧ* celebrations; written and sung *madḥ an-nabī*, *taṣliya* and *duᶜāʾ* and the common practise of making vows, *naḏr*; s. ↗Feasts, Islamic). It is also reflected in literary production. Members of the ↗Islamic brotherhoods, who were often the propagators of I., brought literature belonging to their respective groups (Near-Eastern *Qādirī* and north-west African *Tiǧānī* in particular) and instigated debate among followers of the different mystical schools in Ethiopia and Eritrea.

Characteristics of Ethiopian Islam

Muslims of the Ethio-Eritrean region differ considerably in the degree of adoption and assimilation of Islamic principles and their practical implementation. Different agents propagated different forms of I.; different societies responded differently to Islamic teaching. Recent trends in Islamic thought have led Muslims to question old beliefs and practices considered incompatible with orthodox I.

In its popular manifestations, Ethiopian I. shows traces of assimilated elements of traditional religions. This is reflected in festivals held at the shrines of holy men where pilgrims gather to sing and dance, chewing ↗*ċat* all night long, and sometimes to perform ↗*zar* cult rituals. They seek the intercession of the *walī* so that God might bestow His grace upon them. The veneration of relics, ↗graves, stones, trees, streams and hills which have become sacred through their connection with the *walī* is also a manifestation of syncretism. These traditional cultural activities are condemned as a remnant of pre-Islamic polytheism (*ǧāhilīya*) by many Muslim learned men. Ceremonies held on the occasion of the pilgrimage to ↗Šayḫ Ḥusayn in Anaağina, Bale, show a still greater level of syncretism, as the site's growing prestige became linked with the traditional Oromo pilgrimage to the ↗*abbaa mudaa* on Mount Walaboo (Cerulli 1932:133–81), thus becoming one of the main factors in the Islamization of the Oromo. In the course of time, rites performed at Šayḫ Ḥusayn grew more and more similar to those of the great ↗*ḥaǧǧ* such that they came to be seen as a substitute for the pilgrimage to ↗Mecca for those who could not afford the journey (s. Braukämper 2002:129–51). This is an example of how the veneration of a *walī* may often stand in structural or even direct historical succession to a pre-Islamic cult around a holy place or a holy man such as a spirit medium or a ↗*qaalluu*. Another example of such cultural continuity is the cult around *šayḫ sayyid* Budella of Abrät in Gurage ("*šayḫočč*") who came from a line of priests of the thunder spirit ↗*Božžä* and continued or even increased the spiritual role of his lineage as a Muslim *walī* (ShGurage 20, 192ff.).

Practices linked to the beliefs in ↗*ǧinn* and ↗spirits which often intermingle with the *zar* cult, divination (↗Prophecy) and other magical rituals (↗Magic) are widespread amongst the Muslims of Ethiopia and Eritrea. Ceremonies

Street scene in Harär, Muslim butcher's shop; the painting on the wall indicates that the shop sells ritually pure (*ḥalāl*) meat; photo 2000, courtesy of Wolbert Smidt

which mark the individual life of a Muslim – ↗birth, ↗circumcision, engagement, ↗wedding (e.g., in Harär) and death (↗Burials) – equally bear witness to the syncretism between I. and pre-Islamic traditions. A compilation of some syncretistic local practices in TrIslam (257–62) demonstrates a certain stage of Islamization rather than describes a syncretistic socio-religious system based on I. and pre-Islamic religions (like the ↗*Fandaanano* of the Hadiyya).

I. offers wide room for local customs (*ʿāda* or *ʿurf*) insofar as they do not contradict the fundamental tenets of the religion. Historically, this accounted for the rapid spread of I. amongst the ↗Cushitic peoples of the Horn. At the same time, this folk religious tradition was periodically reformed in the light of orthodox I. An example of a reformer who reacted against "folk I." is *šayḫ* ↗Ǧaʿfar Bukko of Wällo, who preached against the misuse of *č̣at* in Muslim rituals, other "heretic" practices and corrupted *ʿulamāʾ*.

A more complex aspect of the encounter between I. and pre-Islamic practices is represented by the dietary rules which fall under the legal categories of *ḥalāl* and *ḥarām*. In particular, the legitimacy of consuming the flesh of animals slaughtered according to different religious rites and, more so, locally produced alcoholic ↗drinks (↗*ṭäǧǧ*, ↗*ṭälla*; Orom. *faarso*) has been the object of heated discussions. Traces of this can be found in some passages of the hagiographies of *šayḫ* ↗Ḥusayn. *Č̣at* also became a controversial issue, and its acceptability to I. is discussed in the same texts (CerStud II, 8–17).

Another feature of I. in Ethiopia is regular contact between the various Muslim communities in northern, central, southern and eastern Ethiopia through trade, education, the mystical orders, pilgrimage and movement of peoples. In the 16th cent., the *Qādirī* order was first introduced from Yemen to Harär. From there in the late 18th–early 19th cent. it spread to Wällo and Šäwa owing to itinerant Muslim students who often travelled from Harär to Däwwäy in southern Wällo to pursue advanced studies and to Harari merchants who were prominent in the trade of ↗Ifat and its environs. Muslim merchants and scholars from northern Ethiopia settled in the southern and south-western parts of the country where they converted local rulers and their people and founded Islamic schools and ↗mosques. Ethiopian Muslims maintained relations with the wider Muslim world, with some settling there permanently and interacting with the local populations, and others returning with new ideas of reform.

Islamic law and mysticism have had less of an impact upon the nomadic and semi-nomadic groups of Ethiopia, especially the Cushitic-speaking peoples of the northern and eastern lowlands. There (with the exception of towns and cultivated or irrigated river valleys), I. was restricted by the pastoral economy, ↗migrations, the harsh ↗environment, tribal and clan social customs, and scarcity and competition for control of resources. The traditional nomadic ethos, with feuding, raiding, and lax observance of religious obligations, has persisted to the present day. However, the spread of ↗urbanization, the adoption of a sedentary life, the achievement of self-government, and the mobility of people along with the impact of globalization are likely to bring profound changes not only to the economic but also to the religious life of the people, leading to a greater degree of conformity with orthodox I.

Islamic culture

I. in Ethiopia is heterogeneous and incorporates a wide range of cultural phenomena. With the emergence of a kind of Muslim learned class, at the end of the 13th cent., two Ethiopian jurists, ʿAlī b. Abī Bakr al-ʿAqīlī and Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr al-Gidāʾī, went to Yemen to pursue their profession (CerIslam 274ff.),

whilst other Ethiopian Muslims went to Yemen to complete their education (CerStud II, 17ff.) and Yemenite learned men came to Ethiopia to teach (CerIslam 262ff.) – a steady relationship which lasted through the centuries (Martin in USCES 91–100). In the first half of the 14th cent., Islamic cultural institutions in Ethiopia were not flourishing yet according to al-ᶜUmarī who says that Ethiopian Muslims had no *madrasa*, no *ḫānaqah*, no *ribāṭ*, and no ↗*zāwiya*. With time, these basic Islamic institutions developed. The town of Harär became one of the most prominent centres of Muslim culture in Ethiopia and spread its influence to neighbouring regions, especially amongst the Oromo. Centres of education, of Muslim culture and Islamic literature emerged and flourished particularly in rural Wällo, achieving widespread renown in the 18th–19th cent. (HusIslam 91–94). Both in Wällo and Harär, Islamic literature in Arabic and local languages flourished (↗Arabic literature; ↗Harari literature). This development was greatly facilitated by the mystical orders which inspired the composition of hagiographies of Ṣūfī masters. ↗*Manẓūma* poems in praise of the Prophet and the saints were (and still are) recited throughout the country.

Islamic law and administration

A major characteristic of I. in Ethiopia is the coexistence of a multiplicity of schools of Islamic law (*maḏāhib*; sg. *maḏhab*). Three of the four canonical schools are represented: the Šāfiᶜī, Ḥanafī and Mālikī. The first two were introduced from the Ḥiğāz (↗Arabia) and Yemen, and the third from eastern Sudan. Ḥanafism probably preceded Šāfiᶜism but the latter became stronger in later times.

In those parts of the country with a Muslim majority, and in the medieval Muslim sultanates, *Šarīᶜa* was implemented from an early date. In the sultanate of ↗Šäwa, *faqīh* Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥasan (d. 1255) carried the title of *qāḍī al-quḍāt* and apparently administered justice through a court of law (CerIslam 223f.). Matters relating to marriage and inheritance were dealt with accordingly, although customary laws were also important. *Šarīᶜa* courts have existed since the mid-20th cent.

Members of the political élite who ruled the Islamic states in Ethiopia in medieval and subsequent periods took different titles according to the way their power was conceived: ↗*qaṭ* (*qaṣ*), ↗*sulṭān*, ↗*imām* or ↗*amīr*.

Islamic brotherhoods

There is a great diversity of Muslim orders (*ṭuruq*, sg. *ṭarīqa*) in Ethiopia and Eritrea. The major Ṣūfī orders are the *Qādirīya*, *Tiğānīya*, *Šāḏilīya* and *Sammānīya*. In Eritrea, the *Ḫatmīya* and *Aḥmadīya* are influential. The spread of the orders is closely connected with the revival of the Red Sea trade at the turn of the 19th cent., and the resurgence of Islamic reform movements in the Muslim world (Hussein Ahmed in HirKrSaints 94–113).

Although Ethiopian Muslim scholars did not immediately respond to the Wahhābī call for the rejection of such practices as the veneration of saints and shrines, for their own purposes they adopted the revivalist spirit and militant aspects of the Wahhābī movement. Only very tenuous relations existed between Ethiopian I. and the ↗Mahdist movement in the Sudan in the late 19th cent (↗*ḫalīfa*). Internal factors played a more decisive role in the rise of the revivalist movement of ↗Ḥasan Ǝnǧamo than inspiration from the Mahdists. Of the three forms of 19th-cent. "Islamic revivalism" – Wahhābism, Mahdism and Sufism – it was only to the last that the Ethiopian *ᶜulamāʾ* responded positively and vigorously.

↗Martyrdom, Islamic

Lit.: FRIEDRICH BIEBER, *Kaffa: Ein altkuschitisches Volkstum in Inner-Afrika*, Münster in Westfalen – Wien 1920; ULRICH BRAUKÄMPER, *Islamic History and Culture in Southern Ethiopia*, Münster – Hamburg 2002; ENRICO CERULLI, "Islam in East Africa", in: ARTHUR JOHN ARBERRY (ed.), *Religion in the Middle East: Three Religions in Concord and Conflict*, Cambridge 1969, vol. 2, 203–19; ID., "L'Islam en Ethiopie: sa signification historique et ses méthodes", *Correspondance d'Orient* 5, 1961, 317–29; ID., "Le popolazioni del bacino superiore della Uabi Scebelli", in: LUIGI AMEDEO DI SAVOIA-AOSTA, *La esplorazione dello Uabi – Uebi Scebeli dalle sue sorgenti nella Etiopia meridionale alla Somalia italiana (1928–1929)*, Milano 1932, 133–81 [repr. in ID., *Somalia: scritti vari editi ed inediti*, vol. 2, Roma 1959, 123–70]; CerIslam; CerStud I, II; MARCEL COHEN, *Nouvelles études d'éthiopien méridional*, Paris 1939; GIOVANNI ELLERO, "I Tacruri in Eritrea", *RSE* 6, 2, 1947, 189–99 [repr. in: *EllLusAnt* 95–105]; ALESSANDRO GORI, *Contatti culturali nell'Oceano Indiano e nel Mar Rosso e processi di islamizzazione in Etiopia e Somalia*, Venezia 2006 (Lit.); VINIGI LORENZO GROTTANELLI, "I Musulmani", in: *Missione di Studio al Lago Tana*, vol. 2: *Ricerche geografiche e economiche sulle popolazioni*, Roma 1939, 149–68; ID., "Gli Uoito", *ibid.* 169–212; HUSSEIN AHMED, "The Historiography of Islam in Ethiopia", *Journal of Islamic Studies* 2, 1, 1992, 15–46; ID., "*Al-Ḥājj* Bushrā Ay Muhammad: Muslim Reformer, Scholar and Saint of Nineteenth-Century Wallo, Ethiopia", in: *HirKrSaints* 175–90; HusIslam; B.G. MARTIN, "Mahdism, Muslim Clerics, and Holy Wars in Ethiopia, 1300–1600", in: *USCES* 91–100; ShGurage 20, 192ff.; JOHN SPENCER

TRIMINGHAM, *The Sufi Orders in Islam*, Oxford 1971; TrIslam; EDWARD ULLENDORFF, *The Ethiopians: an Introduction to Country and People*, London 1960; EWALD WAGNER, "Imamat und Sultanat in Harar: Ein Beitrag zur Auseinandersetzung zwischen religiösen und weltlichem Herrschaftsanspruch in islamischen Randgebieten", *Saeculum* 26, 1975, 283–92; SAMUEL ZWEMER, "Islam in Ethiopia and Eritrea", *The Moslem World* 26, 1, 1936, 5–15.

Hussein Ahmed – Alessandro Gori

History of Islam in Ethiopia

Early history

I. has been closely associated with the Ethio–Eritrean region ever since its emergence in the Ḥiğāz (↗Arabia). One of the early converts to I. and the first *muʾaḏḏin* was ↗Bilāl b. Rabāḥ al-Ḥabašī, a freed slave of Ethiopian parentage. In 615 A.D., the Prophet ↗Muḥammad advised a group of his first followers, headed by ↗Ğaʿfar b. Abī Ṭālib, to seek asylum in al-Ḥabaša (as the Ethiopian regions were then known to the Arabs; s. ↗Abyssinia) as a consequence of persecution by the ↗Quraysh of ↗Mecca. This episode was known as the first ↗*hiğra*.

Present-day Ethiopian Muslim informants are divided on the question of the local impact of this *hiğra*. Some say that there was no possibility of preaching I. because of the refugee status of the emigrants. Others speculate that during their 13-year sojourn in ↗Aksum, the *muhāğirūn* must have attempted to spread I. Oral tradition asserts that between 30 and 60 local converts accompanied the refugees back to Medina. The ↗Ğäbärti claim that their conversion dates from the time of the *hiğra*.

The most controversial episode associated with the *hiğra* is that of the alleged conversion of the Aksumite ruler *nağāši* ↗Aṣḥam[a] b. Abğar (s. also ↗Ǝllä Ṣäḥam) and his correspondence with the Prophet, extensively dealt with in Arabic sources. Muslims believe that the *nağāšī* had converted to I. secretly and that the letters which he and the Prophet exchanged were genuine. This pious tradition has strengthened the argument that I. in Ethiopia has a long history associated with the first generation of Muslims and that Ethiopia was the earliest country outside Arabia to which I. was conveyed. However, non-Muslim scholars have maintained an attitude of scepticism towards this tradition, partly because the tradition of Arabic ↗historiography did not begin until much later. Nonetheless, Ethiopian and foreign writers have relied on the Arabic sources for the *hiğra* itself, which have always been considered fairly reliable (Hussein Ahmed 1996:47–58; ErlEth 5–11). The *Life of the Prophet* (*Sīrat rasūl allāh*) by ↗Ibn Isḥāq mentions active clerical and political opposition to the *nağāšī*'s favourable attitude towards the Muslim refugees, and the conflict which ensued. It is also possible to argue that the *nağāšī*'s benevolence and hospitality might have been interpreted by the Arab writers as a desire for, or proof of his conversion to I.

The numerous Arabic sources reflect the interest that the Muslim world had in Ethiopia and Ethiopians in early times (e.g., ↗Ibn al-Ğawzī, ↗Muḥammad b. ʿAbdalbāqī al-Buḫārī al-Makkī etc.), and also the special, non-hostile attitude towards the country, expressed in the prophetic saying transmitted, e.g., by Abū Dāwūd (d. 915; s. *Sunan Abī Dāwūd* ..., nos. 4302, 4309) or an-Nasāʾī (d. 815 s. *Sunan an-Nasāʾī* ..., part 6, 43f.; s. van Donzel in StudAeth) and some others, as well as in a remark by ↗Ibn Ḥawqal, according to which Ethiopia is exempt from ↗*ğihād* (Ibn Ḥawqal 1939:56). Historically, these attitudes could have been momentary; however, Islamic tradition still considers Ethiopia as a "neutral" country, not to be attacked as long as it refrains from attacking Muslim territories (s., e.g., Majid Khadduri 1955:253–58).

The spread of Islam

In the early 6th cent. the ↗Red Sea was still under Aksumite control. As Aksum weakened, Red Sea ("Abyssinian") pirates increasingly disrupted trade routes. The Arabs are thought to have responded with punitive expeditions in 630/31 (Muslim troops sent by the Prophet himself) and 642 (an unsuccessful naval expedition sent by *ḫalīfa* ʿUmar b. al-Ḫaṭṭāb), both under the leadership of ʿAlqama b. Muğazziz al-Mudliğī (TrIslam 46f.; van Donzel in EI² vol. 7, 862ff.). The "Abyssinians" raided Jeddah in 702 (Wüstenfeld 1859:44), and the Muslim Arabs reacted by occupying, ca. 702, the ↗Dahlak islands off the ↗Massawa coast (MHAksum 260), where an important nucleus of Muslim population developed and eventually a Muslim sultanate emerged. The Dahlak archipelago became one of the first East African regions to come under Muslim influence. The flourishing of the Islamic community of the Dahlak is testified by epigraphic evidence dated to a period from the 10th to the 16th cent. (Cuoq 1981:40–54; Schneider 1983; Cerulli 1988:578), and in the 12th–13th cent. the Dahlak

archipelago was the seat of an independent Muslim dynasty.

While the Aksumite kingdom was declining and moving its centre southwards, Muslim traders started working along the trade routes from the Red Sea coast into the hinterland. They organized the extensive export of Ethiopian goods (ivory, incense and highly appreciated Abyssinian slaves) for the markets in the Islamic Near East, the Arabian Peninsula and Egypt and slowly created small commercial settlements and entrepôts on the main communication routes. Some Arab groups later migrated from Arabia and were gradually assimilated into the ↗Beğa, introducing I. among the Beğa who inhabited the plains between the Red Sea and the Nile (covering also areas in northern and western present-day Eritrea). Because of trade activity, and the migration of ↗holy men from the Arabian Peninsula (↗*Walī*), by the 13th cent. many ↗ᶜAfar- and ↗Sāho-speakers, and some of the Beğa peoples, had become Muslims. Most oral and historical traditions of Eritrean Muslim groups emphasize the role of Arabian holy men in the process of their adoption of Islam and, sometimes, the foundation of their lineage/group. Such traditions should be taken with caution since some of those adopting them include groups who have converted to I. only in the 19th cent. They usually adopted and adapted such traditions to both shape and accommodate their newly acquired religious and social identities. An eastern Eritrean Muslim tradition, for instance, venerates *faqīh* Muḥammad, the Ḥiğāzī cleric who crossed the Red Sea into the coastal region known as Dankalia (or the ᶜAfar coastlands) in the 11th cent. A.D. and is believed to have converted such important Sāho-speaking clans as ↗Asaorta and ↗Minifire (Miran 2005). The spread of I. further into the Ethiopian hinterland along the trade routes is witnessed by Arabic funerary ↗inscriptions from eastern Təgray – ↗Ǝndärta and ↗Kʷiḥa (Lusini 1993–97; Smidt in StudAeth 259–68), probably the earliest one (in Wägär Ḥariba, Ǝndärta) dating to 1006 A.D. (Pansera in CRStud 5).

In central and southern Ethiopia, I. arrived along another trade route leading from the Gulf of ↗Djibouti through the ↗Awaš River basin to the southern and western parts of the Ethiopian plateau. Groups of Muslim traders, religious teachers and political refugees of different origins settled in the coastal districts around ↗Zaylaᶜ and gradually moved inland carrying I. with them. Various populations scattered along the route from the Red Sea coast and the Gulf of Aden up to the ↗Abbay were converted, as Arabic funerary inscriptions testify the early existence of Muslim communities in southern ↗Šäwa (Schneider 1970) and southern Ethiopia (Littmann 1924; Azaïs – Chambard 1931; Huntingford 1955).

The Muslim sultanates

The rapid expansion of I. in the south culminated in the emergence of several petty Muslim states dominated by a hereditary aristocracy claiming Arab origin.

The founders of the Sultanate of ↗Šäwa, a state exercising control over part of southern Ethiopia, claimed descent from the Meccan clan of Maḫzūm. According to an Arabic document (CerIslam 207–43), the ↗Maḫzūmī dynasty flourished at least from 896/97 A.D., though Taddesse Tamrat (1977:140ff.) has proposed the early 12th cent. as the most likely date for the formation of the state. In the late 13th cent. the dynasty fell and control passed to the rulers of ↗Ifat.

Ruled by the ↗Walašmaᶜ family (originally subject of the rulers of ↗Damot; CerIslam 257–80, esp. 270), who also claimed a remote Arab ancestry, Ifat is considered to have been the earliest indigenous "centralized Islamic state" in sub-Saharan Africa (Lewis 1966:38). Since the trade route to ↗Zaylaᶜ and other trade routes from the Gulf had already been active from the 10th cent. (Taddesse Tamrat 1984:430), it is possible that the emergence of commercial settlements, the spread of I. and the development of the Muslim statehood tradition had started much earlier than the middle of the 13th cent., which may explain the rise of the sultanate of Šäwa.

According to al-ᶜUmarī (UmMasGaud 1), in the middle of the 14th cent. there were seven major Islamic states in Ethiopia: Ifat, ↗Däwaro, ↗Arabäbni, ↗Hadiyya, ↗Šarḫa, ↗Bale and ↗Dära. From other sources we may infer that ↗Fäṭägar was also a Muslim sultanate, and other petty "proto-states" with more or less Islamized rulers probably also existed, such as ↗Gidāya, ↗Mora etc. The populations of these states were most probably of both Semitic and non-Semitic stock. The ↗Sidaama, for instance, formed the majority in Bale (CerStud II, 1–4). From at least the first half of the 15th cent., the main Islamic state in Ethiopia was ↗ᶜAdal. Its capital was first ↗Dakar, and then in 1520 moved to ↗Harär, which, according to the local tradition, had be-

come an important city-state from the beginning of the 13th cent. In the 16th cent., as the capital of ᶜAdal, Harär grew to be one of the leading centres of commerce and Islamic culture in the whole Horn of Africa.

The earliest sources describe the Muslim sultanates mostly as tributaries of the Christian kings. Whilst the latter were trying to extend their power to the south as well as to the north, the Muslim élites strove to loosen this dependency at any suitable opportunity. The sultanates regularly produced religious leaders (cp. ↗*Imām*) who raised substantial forces to fight against the enemies of I., and peaceful coexistence between the Muslim states and the Christian kingdom was frequently overshadowed by conflict. The earliest recorded clash occurred about 1299, when *šayḫ* Muḥammad Abū ᶜAbdallāh rose against "the King of Amḥara" (*al-malik al-Amḥarī*), most probably *aṣe* ↗Wədəm Räᶜad (CerIslam 267–70; TadTChurch 130f.). In his campaigns against Damot, Hadiyya, Fäṭägar and Ifat, the 14th-cent. *aṣe* ↗ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon I struggled to acquire control over the trade routes from the Gulf. In 1332 he defeated the joint forces of Ifat, ᶜAdal and their allies headed by the Walašmaᶜ dynasty, and appointed over them ↗Ğamāladdīn II b. Dalḥūy b. Manṣūr. The latter then allied with *qāḍī* ↗Ṣāliḥ and ᶜAdal and rebelled but was defeated and replaced by Naṣraddīn. Thereafter, despite occasional victories, the rulers of ᶜAdal were repeatedly defeated by Christian emperors, as, for instance, in 1415, when *aṣe* ↗Yəsḥaq reached as far as Zaylaᶜ, routed and killed *sulṭān* ↗Saᶜdaddīn Abū l-Barakāt, or in the 15th cent., when *aṣe* Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob defeated ↗Aḥmad Badlāy of ᶜAdal, and ↗Bäᵓədä Maryam successfully fought against Islamicized ↗Dobaᵓa.

At the same time, Ethiopian emperors recognized the role of their Muslim subjects and tried to bring about some political and cultural integration. They relied upon the skills and connections of their Muslim commercial agents; Muslim traders kept alive the caravan trade and secured Ethiopia's economic links to the outside world (AbRSea 22). Muslims were employed by ↗Yagbəᵓa Ṣəyon (TadTChurch 129), Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob and others as leaders of diplomatic missions. Such missions were a regular occurence (the earliest recorded are from the time of the ↗Fāṭimids) because a new metropolitan (↗*Paṗas*) for the Ethiopian Orthodox Church could only be obtained with the permission of the Muslim rulers of Egypt, who tried to use this circumstance as a political means. Some monarchs like *aṣe* Yəsḥaq also attempted to introduce the advanced knowledge of Muslim countries into Ethiopia (TrIslam 75).

The administration of the Muslim provinces was usually left in the hands of the local ruling families on the condition of their loyalty and payment of tributes. Ethiopian Muslims enjoyed a measure of religious freedom and tolerance. The local Muslim élites had ↗conversion as an option which could open for them further possibilities in political life (cp. the case of ↗Ǝleni, Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob's wife of Hadiyya origin). However, the attentions of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church were more directed against "pagan" religious practices, than against I.

In the 1490s, effective political power in ᶜAdal was held by *imām* ↗Maḥfūẓ b. Muḥammad who was eager to resume the struggle against the Christian kingdom. Although the *sulṭān* of ᶜAdal ↗Muḥammad b. Aẓharaddīn was rather in favour of peaceful coexistence, the warriors and militant religious leaders of ᶜAdal supported Maḥfūẓ, who in 1508 led a series of successful attacks against the eastern and south-eastern provinces. In 1516 or 1517 (cp. Cuoq 1981:166, n. 23) *aṣe* ↗Ləbnä Dəngəl launched a counter-attack and defeated and killed Maḥfūẓ.

Subsequently, *imām* ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī ("Grañ") assumed the leadership of ᶜAdal, gathered a composite army and launched a new campaign which took the form of a *ğihād*. His decisive victory over the Christian forces in 1529 was followed by his campaigns in Šäwa in 1531 and in the provinces around Lake Ṭana in 1533. By 1540 the Christian kingdom had been completely overrun by the forces of Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm who fought to establish a unified and strong Muslim Ethiopian state (in which the Solomonic dynasty would still have a rôle; s. ↗Minas). The civil administration of the empire was staffed by members of the local aristocracy, while military authority was supposed to be exercised by his commanders who controlled the civilian governors and were in charge of collecting tribute and taxes from the Christian subjects (Taddesse Tamrat 1977:175ff.). One of the consequences of the military occupation of the Ethiopian highlands was the conversion of a large number of Christians to I., largely but not exclusively induced by the prospect of tax exemption or fear for their lives and property (Taddesse Tamrat 1977:175ff.).

However, Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm's plans were never fully realized; after his death in 1543 his armies disintegrated, whilst the new administration never became functional. Several more attempts were made by his successors to challenge the Christian state throughout the second half of the 16th cent. (s. ↗Bati Dəl Wämbära). In 1559 *aṣe* ↗Gälawdewos was killed while resisting a major offensive from Harär organized by ↗Nūr b. Muǧāhid. In the end, the efforts of the leaders of ᶜAdal were unsuccessful, and the Muslim regions, including Harär, were devastated and depopulated by the long war and became exposed to the raids of the ↗Oromo. The decline and political disintegration of ᶜAdal was never reversed.

Islam in the late 16th–17th cent.

One result of the Muslim victories over the Christian empire between 1527 and 1543 was the diffusion of I. in the Ethio-Eritrean region, prompting a more complex distribution of Ǧäbärti communities in the highlands. Furthermore, Ethiopia's Muslim neighbours in the Red Sea area reacted to the Christian–Muslim conflict and attempted to exploit the situation to their advantage. The most important instance was the intervention of the ↗Ottoman Empire. Having defeated the ↗Mamlūks, the Turks took over Egypt in 1517 and looked for further gains in the Red Sea region in light of the fierce competition with ↗Portugal. Turkish musketeers were enrolled in the forces of Aḥmad Grañ; in 1557 the Ottoman Turks occupied Massawa and created the coastal province of ↗Ḥabeš (s. ↗Özdemir), which they administered until the mid-19th cent., also making repeated attempts to expand into, and control, the highlands. The Turks and their inland allies were defeated by *aṣe* ↗Śärṣä Dəngəl around 1590, but the coastal areas remained under Ottoman control, and in Massawa Ethiopian Muslims secured an outlet to the rest of the Islamic world, at the same time exercising influence on the population of neighbouring regions.

In the south, the Oromo, too, had been slowly exposed to Islamic influence since the end of 16th cent. In particular, those settling in the Harär region, in ↗Arsi and in Bale embraced I., influenced by the Muslim substratum, a particular role being played by the veneration of *šayḫ* ↗Ḥusayn (Braukämper 2002:106–28, 129–51, 170–84).

The experience of Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī's wars, the Ottoman occupation of the Red Sea coast and the further spread of I. resulted in tension and sometimes led to the persecution of local Muslims by the Christian state. Whilst in the early 16th cent. *aṣe* Ləbnä Dəngəl appointed Muslims as governors of the eastern provinces and as administrators at his court, he was apprehensive of their growing influence and wealth, as well as the rapid advance of I. Therefore, he extorted heavy taxes and discriminated against Muslims. Elsewhere, Muslims were forbidden to carry arms, ride horses and build mosques (BassHist 372).

The move of the political centre of Ethiopia to the Lake Ṭana region and the emergence of the ↗Gondärine kingdom created new conditions. The regions of the Muslim sultanates, which had fought against the Christian state in the 14th–16th cent., were now overrun by the Oromo and were temporarily out of reach of the Gondärine kings. Other important factors that emerged were the interaction with the ↗Balaw population and borderland regions adjoining the Sudan (such as ↗Quba and ↗Mäzäga; s. ↗Funǧ). In the east, the successor of ᶜAdal was ↗Awsa and a number of smaller sultanates (s. ↗Gōbaᶜád). The ᶜAfar controlled the salt-reserves of the ↗ᶜAfar Depression, of vital importance for the economy of the whole of Ethiopia (s. ↗*Amole*). By and large, the time of the large-scale Christian–Muslim confrontations was over and these returned only in the 19th cent.

After the expulsion of the Jesuits, *aṣe* ↗Fasilädäs wanted to secure the country from the Europeans by any means (even with the help of the Turkish governors of Massawa and Sawākin), and sought allies among the Muslim rulers of Yemen. The official stance towards Muslims was moderate, even though there were no fundamental changes insofar as their role in the Gondärine kingdom was concerned. In the meantime, the Muslim population was growing, in Gondär itself and in some other regions (particularly, along the trade routes). In 1668 *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs I, alarmed by the progress of I. in his kingdom (TrIslam102), and by the intermixing of followers of different religions (Muslims, Christians, Betä Ǝsraʾel, "pagans"), issued a proclamation separating them and compelling the Muslims of Gondär to live in a separate quarter (Ǝslam Bet). The proclamation was repeated in 1682, but the policy was not followed through. The attention of the monarchs was absorbed by theological controversies and political intrigues, whilst "public opinion" was directed primarily against any contact with the Catholic world.

Islam in the 18th–19th centuries

The growth of I. in Ethiopia gained further momentum from the religious reform movement in the Muslim world which resulted in the introduction and spread of the ↗Islamic brotherhoods. In the 18th and 19th cent., a number of Muslim regional dynasties were established in Wällo and the ↗Gibe region which enhanced for a time the cultural and political significance of I. In Wällo, some of the rulers of the ↗Yägğu dynasty and the family of ↗Wärrä Himano were patrons of I. In Wällo the *Qādirīya* order, brought from Harär, spread as elsewhere in Ethiopia. From Wärrä Himano, the *Šāḏilīya* was disseminated to other areas. In the Gibe region, where the Muslim states of ↗Gomma, ↗Guummaa, ↗Geeraa, ↗Ǧimma Abbaa Ǧifaar and ↗Limmu Ǝnnarya emerged between 1810 and 1830, the *Qādirīya* and *Tiğānīya* were the most influential brotherhoods. The revivalist movements were particularly strong in the Eritrean region, at that time under Egyptian control – a circumstance which became decisive for the nature of I. in Eritrea (s. below).

The Ethiopian emperors of the late 19th cent., particularly ↗Tewodros II and Yoḥannəs IV, took a very rigid stance towards I., considering Muslims – especially those of Wällo – an obstacle to the establishment of a strong unified Ethiopia. They increased pressure upon the Muslim population and gradually undermined the Muslim ruling dynasties. Formally, they required Muslims to adopt their culture and religion. As early as 1856, *aṣe* Tewodros II ordered the Muslim Oromo of Wärrä Himano to convert and rebuild churches or face expulsion. In 1878 the religious council called by *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV in ↗Boru Meda to resolve doctrinal disputes within the Ethiopian Orthodox Church decreed the conversion of the Muslims of Wällo to Christianity. So, the erstwhile Muḥammad ʿAlī became *ras* ↗Mikaʾel, with Yoḥannəs as his godfather, while Mənilək had Amäde Libän "Abba Waṭäw" baptized as Ḫaylä Maryam and granted him the title of *däğğazmač*. However, by viewing Muslims as the engineers of the division of the country through their dealings with foreigners at the time of the encroaching Egyptian intervention under *ḫidīw* Ismāʿīl (resulting in the ↗Egyptian–Ethiopian war of 1875–84) and, later, during the destructive *ğihād* waged by the ↗Mahdists (ZewYohan 94, 99f.), the emperors ignored the fact that religious and cultural heterogeneity was not the only weak point of the Empire at that period: in the 1870s Yoḥannəs IV's Christian vassals in the north were intriguing and allying themselves with the Egyptian invaders. Many of the persecuted Wällo Muslims fled to other parts of the country where they propagated I. There were also armed protests, mostly inspired and directed by militant Muslim clerics such as *šayḫ* ↗Ṭalḥa b. Ǧaʿfar (Hussein Ahmed 1989:13–30; Conti Rossini 1935:468f.).

Yoḥannəs's harsh policy towards indigenous Muslims was partially mitigated during the reign of ↗Mənilək II. He had to deal with ↗Qabeena and Hadiyya-based resistance, inspired by I. and organized in 1880s by ↗Ḥasan Ǝnğamo, as well as the Mahdist threat on the eastern borders of Wälläga (which persisted till 1889–90, s. ↗Ǧoote Tuulluu; ↗Ḫʷāğalī; ↗Moroda Bakaree). Later, he also had to count with the threat coming from ↗Muḥammad ʿAbdallāh Ḥasan and the Somali. Yet, Mənilək had a more pragmatic approach towards indigenous Muslims inherited from his predecessors, the rulers of Šäwa. The reign of *ləğ* ↗Iyasu, whose policies and their implications still remain unclear and often misunderstood, marked the end of this long historical phase of intermittent peaceful coexistence and bitter incomprehension.

Islam in 20th-century Ethiopia

The first years of *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I's reign witnessed the pursuit of a policy of partial and half-hearted liberalization towards I. During the ↗Italian war of 1935–36 and the subsequent occupation, the Italians adopted a pro-Muslim policy to win the support of Ethiopian Muslims (Sbacchi 1985:161; ↗Africa Orientale Italiana). The benefits brought by the Italians included: granting full freedom of worship; appointment of Muslim judges (*qāḍī*); teaching of the ↗Arabic language in Muslim schools; construction and repair of mosques; and subsidizing the pilgrimage (in 1939 alone, 3,585 Muslims, a level reached again only in the 1990s). These manifestations of benevolence towards I. left a positive impression of Italian rule upon Ethiopian Muslims (Ahmed Hassen 2002).

The end of the Italian occupation in 1941 was accompanied by the persecution of Muslims who were branded as collaborators (s. ↗Maḥámmad Yāyyó). Punitive action was taken against some Muslim leaders and communities. At the same time, Ḫaylä Śəllase instigated a few measures to satisfy the aspirations of Ethiopian Muslims – e.g., by constituting the ↗*šarīʿa* courts – but he also sanctioned the exclusion of provisions relat-

ing to Muslims from the ↗Civil Code of 1960 (Markakis 1975:340). The *qāḍī* courts were not mentioned in the Courts Proclamation of 1962 or the Civil Code of 1965, although they continued to operate.

Christianity remained the state religion. Muslims could not construct mosques, had limited access to land, and were barred from the civil service and the army. Traditional Muslim ↗education was officially looked down upon – not only because the Islamic schools taught I. but also because the medium of instruction was Arabic. On the other hand, Muslims resented the existing system of modern education, which was believed to have been inspired by Christian ideals. They also resented the functioning of schools on Fridays and Islamic ↗feasts, the use of Amharic in non-Amharic speaking and Muslim areas, and the supposed use of education as a vehicle for the spread of state nationalism (Markakis 1975:74).

In the last three decades of the imperial era, the government pursued the traditional policy of marginalizing I., perceiving it as a threat to the survival of the Ethiopian state. On the eve of the ↗Revolution in 1974, I. still carried the old stigma of being associated with foreign aggression, and Muslims continued to be seen as an alien community constituting a minority of the total population.

The large demonstration of Muslim residents of Addis Abäba and its environs on 20 April 1974 revealed the real weight of the Muslim population (Ottaway 1978:4). Of the eleven demands put forward by the demonstrators, the *Därg* (↗Provisional Military Administrative Council) met only three: the observance of the three main Islamic festivals as national public holidays, land reform, and official adoption of the term "Ethiopian Muslims" to replace the more pejorative "Muslims residing in Ethiopia". However, attempts to secure official and legal recognition for the Ethiopian Supreme Council for Islamic Affairs failed throughout the *Därg* period, although it was allowed to function as a de facto organization (Hussein Ahmed in HirKrSaints). I. acquired a symbolic status of parity with Christianity. There was a higher level of participation in national affairs. The period also witnessed the revival of I. as an enduring basis of unity and identity capable of withstanding the assaults of a state ideology. However, after adopting a Marxist-Leninist ideology, the government considered religion in general and I. in particular as an obvious threat. Its hostility to religion and the restrictions on trade antagonized sections of the Muslim religious élite and the merchant community.

The overthrow of the *Därg* in May 1991 ushered in a new period in the history of Ethiopian I. The new regime's policy of liberalization, and of respect for ethnic and cultural identities, gave impetus to the revival of I. Restrictions imposed by the preceding regime on the import of Islamic publications and pilgrimage were lifted. A number of Islamic religious associations, publishing firms, newspapers and magazines, private schools and colleges were founded; literature flourished and expanded (Hussein Ahmed 1998). New mosques sprang up. In spite of occasional tensions between the state and Muslims (e.g., the 1995 incident in the ↗Ǧāmiᶜ al-Anwar mosque; cp. Hussein Ahmed 2006), the last half decade of the 20th cent. witnessed I.'s increasing prominence and visibility in the public sphere within the general framework of the developing transformation of the Ethiopian state and society, and the continuation of the tradition of peaceful coexistence between the Christian and Muslim communities in the country.

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Hussein Ahmed

History of Islam in Eritrea

Islam in the region during the 16th–19th cent.

The conflict between Christians and Muslims that found its expression in the wars of ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī rallied external imperialist forces in the Red Sea area and culminated in the ↗Ottoman occupation of ↗Massawa in 1557 which lasted until 1865. In general, Ottoman control of the Red Sea basin revitalized trans-regional commerce and provided a degree of relative stability in the area. One result was the migration of Arabs from the Ḥiǧāz, ↗Yemen and ↗Ḥaḍramawt to the African coastal urban centres, notably Massawa and ↗Ḥərgigo. In terms of religious influence, the construction and renovation of several ↗mosques and shrines (*qubba*), most notably the *šayḫ* Ḥammāl al-Anṣārī religious complex and what became known as the "Ḥanafī" mosque, was characteristic of the Ottoman era in Massawa. The Ottomans introduced ↗Ḥanafism as the official legal rite and sent to Massawa Ḥanafī *qāḍī*s from the Ḥiǧāz in the late 16th and early 17th cent. The prolonged incorporation of Massawa and its close hinterlands into the Ottoman administrative and commercial set-up in the Red Sea area positioned it firmly within a political, religious and cultural sphere of Muslim influence.

The history of I. in the Eritrean – and Ethiopian – region in the 19th cent. is intertwined with Egyptian expansionism in north-east Africa (↗Egypt), the transformation of the political economy of the region, and the religious reform movement in the Muslim world. The "Islamic Revival" was especially manifested by the emergence of new ↗Islamic brotherhoods as well as the revitalization of the older brotherhoods. Egyptian expansion into the Sudan and the reanimation of the trade axes between the Red Sea and the Nile Valley went hand in hand with the spectacular process of Islamic diffusion and the revivification of Islamic belief and practices among societies of the Eritrean region from the 1820s onwards. The ↗ʿAd Šek "holy family" affiliated with the *Qādirīya* order, traders and ↗holy men associated with the politically potent ↗Nāʾib family of ↗Sämhar, and the newly established *Ḫatmīya* were all particularly active in spreading I. The ʿAd Šek family and the Nāʾib's agents were instrumental in converting the ↗Bet Asgäde groups, the ↗Mänsaʿ, the ↗Marya, the ↗Bet Ǧuk, and part of the ↗Bilin from local forms of Christian practice to I. The ʿAd Šek family capitalized on the master/serf structure of ↗Təgre-speaking societies and attracted – often through marriage and the propagation of *baraka* (blessing) – entire families of Təgre vassals to join its ranks and thus undermined these social structures. In due time, the converts joined the "holy family" which gradually developed into a widely influential independent "tribe" (PollEr 168–247; TrIslam 114–17, 153–79, 244–45).

The influence of the new orders in the Eritrean region was set in motion by ↗Muḥammad ʿUṯmān al-Mīrġanī's missionary travels in the western lowlands, the ↗Saḥəl and Sämḥar in the 1810s and 1820s. Since the 1830s, the *Ḫatmīya* made efforts to spread I. among non-Muslims and deepen Islamic practices and piety among the Muslim society they perceived as morally and religiously adrift (e.g., the ↗Beni ʿAmər). The *Ḫatmīya*'s method of expansion was by the incor-

poration of pre-existing religious formations into a supra-community brotherhood network. They initiated local "holy" lineages and notables into the order and appointed ↗*ḫalīfas* who were thus incorporated into the broad-based, supra-ethnic, and cross-regional brotherhood. In stark contrast with the methods of the ᶜAd Šek, communities coming under the influence of the supra-ethnic *Ḫatmīya* were able to preserve their pre-existing social and political structures, much as a sense of stability and continuity. The entrenchment of the brotherhood in the region was facilitated by the intensification of Egyptian encroachments following the conquest of ↗Kassala in 1840. Over the next decades the power balance between the ᶜAd Šek and the *Ḫatmīya* shifted in favour of the latter. From the 1860s to the 1880s the order was able to extend its influence to the ↗Ḥabab as well as to the Sāho-speaking clans of Sämḥar and the eastern highland escarpments especially thanks to the activities of Muḥammad ᶜŪṯmān Sirr al-Ḫatm (1849/50–1903) and *sayyid* Hāšim al-Mīrġānī (d. 1901). In this context of religious revival, other, smaller and more localized Təgre-, Sāho-, and ᶜAfar-speaking religious clans such as the Faqīh Ḥarak, Bet Šek Maḥmūd, Bet Ḫalīfa, ᶜAd Muᶜallim, ᶜAd Darqi, among others, were active in the diffusion of Islamic learning and law in the region. Most claimed prestigious descent originating in the Arabian peninsula (MuhTarih 99f.). By the 1880s all lowland groups but the ↗Kunama and part of the Bilin were Muslim.

The Egyptian occupation of Massawa (1865–85), combined with a new migratory wave of Arab and Muslim merchants and entrepreneurs from the wider Red Sea area and the Islamic world, enhanced Islamic practice in the town and its dependencies. New mosques were built, Islamic legal procedures were reformed and regularized, and several *qāḍīs* and *muftīs* were sent from Egypt and the Sudan. In 1911 some 65 mosques in the greater Massawa area were identified (Odorizzi 1911:119f., 160f., 168f.). Even though we dispose of limited information, the *Qādirīya* and *Šāḏilīya* orders also had adherents in Massawa, while the *Aḥmadīya* appears to have had some following in the villages of ↗ᶜƎdd and ↗Tīᶜo on the ᶜAfar coast. A branch of the *Darqawīya* (*Šāḏilīya*) seems to have been independent on the coast until its disappearance during the ↗Mahdist movement (TrIslam 236; Le Chatelier 1887:126ff.). Several local and regional ↗pilgrimages (*ziyāra*) and commemorative ceremonies (*ḫawlīya*) at the tombs and shrines of local pious saints and holy Ṣūfī leaders also developed in Massawa, ↗Ḥəṭumlo, and ↗Ǝmbärämi (Odorizzi 1911:169f., 1916:35f.).

Some sources also noted the presence of the *Ḥaddādīya* order which was brought from Ḥaḍramawt and drew followers from among the ᶜAd Šek and Arab immigrants. The same sources remarked the presence of the *Sammānīya* which was introduced to the Ğäbärti on the highland plateau by the North African *šayḫ* Ādam al-Kinānī who is buried near ᶜAbiy ᶜAddi in Təgray (PollEr 286ff.; TrIslam 236). It is not clear when these two brotherhoods were introduced to Eritrea and how long they have been active. It is also noted that the *Tiğānīya* and the *Maǧḏūbīya* orders had some following in Dankalia (↗Islamic Brotherhoods).

Islam in the Colonia Eritrea

Following the takeover of Massawa in 1885, the Italian colonial authorities continued, as the Egyptians did beforehand, to grant subventions to mosques, regularized a ↗*waqf* (pl. *awqāf*, 'religious endowment') council in 1888, and granted the ↗*šarīᶜa* court autonomy in matters of personal status, family and inheritance (Marongiu Buonaiuti 1982:41–45, 103–07). The early Italian colonial attitudes were shaped by the need to maintain stability among the "tribes" and, inseparably, by the need to respond to the divided Mahdist and anti-Mahdist loyalties of the *Ḫatmīya*, the ᶜAd Šek and their followers. The Italian authorities were deeply concerned by the spilling-over of the Mahdist rebellion from the Sudan into the colony. In the lowland regions, the politics of conquest and "pacification" sought the co-option of responsive elements in "assisting" the authorities to control and secure the stability of their conquered territories and mobilize local forces against the Mahdists and their supporters. Consequently, the Italians developed a relationship with the anti-Mahdist *Ḫatmīya* Ṣūfī order to the detriment of the ᶜAd Šek holy family who was believed to take an active pro-Mahdist stance and therefore constitute a destabilizing element in the region. An even more elaborate "Islamic policy" was pursued by Governor Ferdinando ↗Martini who sought to form an Eritrean "Islamic sphere" by rallying the colony's Muslims around an "official" and responsive representative of the *Ḫatmīya* branch in Eritrea and thus deflect influences originating beyond the colony's borders. Accordingly, *sayyid* Ğaᶜfar al-Mīrġānī (d. 1943) was persuaded to move into

the colony from Kassala and establish himself in ↗Kärän in 1903; the colonial administration thereafter financed the construction of a mosque there (Italian archives [ACS and ASDMAE, AE]; Romandini 1984:127-31). Furthermore, under the governorship of Martini, the Asmära principal mosque (1900), the shrine for Häšim al-Mīrġanī in Ḥəṭumlo (ca. 1902), and a mosque in ↗Aqordät were constructed with financial or administrative support of the colonial authorities. Martini also undermined the power of the ᶜAd Šek by deliberately dividing the group and placing the ↗Barka and Saḥəl/Sämḥar branches under distinct *commissariati* (1903). Their traditional exemption from tribute payment was ended in 1904–05. These policies consolidated the *Ḫatmīya*'s influence in the colony and contributed to the decline of the ᶜAd Šek. The influence of the *Ḫatmīya* among pastoral, rural and urban communities grew well into the middle decades of the 20th cent.

A more elaborate, wide-ranging and conscious articulation of Italian colonial attitudes to I. may be identified following the conquest of Libya in 1911. They were in part inspired and fuelled by the ideas of promoters of a "pro-Islamic policy", such as Enrico Insabato, and were aimed at fostering Italy's policies in the Mediterranean and vis-à-vis the Ottoman empire. In 1912 the construction of a separate *riwāq* ('living quarters') for Eritreans and Somalis at al-Azhar University was funded by the Italian diplomatic representation in Cairo. In 1916 Odorizzi published a monograph on I. in Eritrea for colonial officials. In the same year a decree granted legal status to the *awqāf* committees in Asmära, Massawa and Kärän (Yassin M. Aberra 1983:206). In 1917 a hostel for the use of pilgrims from the Italian colonies was purchased in Mecca (Colosimo 1918:467–81).

In the 1920s and 1930s, the Fascists employed overt pro-Islamic propaganda, addressed to the public opinion in the Muslim world, seeking sympathy for its imperialist objectives in Africa and the Mediterranean. Eritrean Muslims were able to travel more freely for religious education in the Middle East, especially to Egypt and the Ḥiğāz. Following the conquest of Ethiopia in 1935, pro-Islamic policies were part and parcel of the Italian colonial project. Favouring Muslims became official policy aiming at counterbalancing the power of the traditionally dominant Christian highlanders. Mosques and religious schools were built and renovated throughout the colony (Sbacchi 1985: 161–65). Only in the 1930s congregational mosques were constructed in Ginda, ᶜAlī Gidir, Naqfa, Täsänäy, Sägänäyti and Barentu. In 1937 the ↗Ğāmiᶜ al-Ḫulafāʾ ar-Rāšidīn in Asmära was reconstructed and enlarged by Guido Ferrazza (*Guida* 203). However, unlike in Libya, these policies often clashed with the harsh racial policies applied by the Fascists in ↗Africa Orientale Italiana (Marongiu Buonaiuti 1982: 290f.). Seeking to organize the Muslims in Eritrea and centralize their institutions the Italians appointed ↗Ibrāhīm al-Muḫtār Aḥmad ᶜUmar as Grand Mufti in 1940, a year before Italy's defeat in ↗World War II and the dismantling of its colonies. He was to become a central protagonist in the development of I. over the next few decades (Miran 2002; 2005: 194–203).

British Military Administration period

Under the ↗British Military Administration in Eritrea (1941–52) I. continued to thrive, most notably in the growing urban centres. Islamic institutions in the fields of law and education were developed and reformed. The Islamic legal system was centralized, new judicial ordinances were issued, *qāḍī* conferences were organized, and court procedures and *qāḍī* training were regularized. *Awqāf* committees were established and came under the supervision of the *qāḍī* in the principal towns. Between 1943 and 1952 a dozen schools, and religious institutes (sg. *maᶜhad*) were opened in Asmära, Massawa, ↗Ḥərgigo, Kärän, ↗Mīnifire, Aqordät and in smaller villages. A project of co-operation with al-Azhar University was instituted and teachers from Cairo were sent to teach in Islamic schools employing Egyptian curricula. ↗Arabic was granted the status of an official language on par with ↗Təgrəññа. Its growing dissemination owed much to the flourishing press – most notably the British Military Administration's *Ğarīda al-usbūᶜīya al-ᶜarabīya* and the Muslim League's *Ṣawt ar-rābiṭa al-islāmīya*. Other institutions and associations such as the Supreme Islamic Council (*al-Maǧlis al-islāmī al-ᶜālī*), the "Muslim Youth Association" and the ᶜUlamāʾ Front' (*Ğabhat al-ᶜulamāʾ*) were founded in 1946/47. The foundation of the pro-Independence ↗Muslim League (*ar-Rābiṭa al-islāmīya*) in Kärän in December 1946 aligned ethnically and linguistically diverse Eritrean Muslims under the banner of I., making religious identity an essential component of nationalist aspirations. The politicization of religion during the period led to

religious sectarianism and bred bitter cleavages among Eritrean communities, ultimately leading to violent clashes between Christians and Muslims in 1949–50. The combined impact of all these processes contributed to the development of an Islamic public sphere (Miran 2005:203–07). In demographic terms, the number of Muslims in Eritrea increased from ca. 175,000 in 1905 to 312,000 in 1931 and 528,000 in 1948 (KillHDic 266).

Islam in Eritrea in the second half of the 20th cent.

Under the ↗Ethiopian-Eritrean Federation (1952–62) the position of I. and Muslims in the country declined considerably. ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I shrewd attempts to co-opt Muslim community leaders in the early 1950s proved unsuccessful. The identification of Muslims with Eritrean nationalist aspirations gradually led to a vigorous and systematic repression of Muslim institutions and political leaders. Arabic-language newspapers were banned and Arabic and Təgrəññña was replaced with ↗Amharic as official language in 1957. The budget of the Office of the Grand Mufti (*Dār al-Iftāʾ*) was not renewed (1954/55) and Arabic and Islamic school curricula were changed to Ethiopian ones. Following the emergence of the armed liberation movements and Ḫaylä Śəllase I's annexation of Eritrea in 1962 these policies were even more outright and brutal. The Ethiopian administration in Asmära intervened ceaselessly with the affairs of the Muslim community. Following the death of the Grand Mufti in 1969, the *Dār al-Iftāʾ* was closed and remained so during the period under the ↗Provisional Military Administrative Council (*Därg*).

In the 1960s and 1970s the association of the ↗Eritrean Liberation Movement and the ↗Eritrean Liberation Front and its breakaway factions with states and liberation movements in the Arab world back-lashed against Muslims in Eritrea. It was characterized by forceful military oppression and the resulting shattering of Muslim communal life. Consequently, many Eritrean Muslim lowlanders fled the country, mainly to countries of the Middle East. During these years the *Ḫatmīya* lost much of its former influence and in 1975 its leaders retreated to Kassala (KillHistDic 314). Two radical Islamic movements, the "National Islamic Front for the Liberation of Eritrea" (*Ǧabhat at-taḥrīr al-waṭanīya al-islāmīya al-iritrīya*) and the "Islamic Vanguard" (*ar-Ruwwād al-muslimīn*), were created in 1982. The two fused with another group creating the militant "Eritrean Islamic Jihad" (*Ḥarakat al-ǧihād al-islāmī al-iritrī*) in late 1988. Although of limited influence, the movement is still active in the eastern Sudan from where it attempts to challenge the authority of the Eritrean government (Tesfatsion Medhanie 1994:78–92).

Since independence in 1991 and notwithstanding the self-avowedly secular ideology of the current Eritrean government the revitalization of Muslim communal life and institutions has slowly and cautiously gained a certain momentum. The office of *muftī* was re-established and *šayḫ* Alamin Osman Alamin (al-Amīn ᶜUṯmān al-Amīn) appointed Grand Mufti in August 1992. *Šarīᶜa* courts, regional and local *awqāf* councils and a *ḥaǧǧ* and *ᶜumra* committee were installed and began operation. Religious schools and institutes were also re-opened. Some funding from Saudi-based Islamic charitable organizations have enabled the renovation and construction of several mosques throughout the country. By 2006 new congregational mosques were built in Gahtälay, ᶜƎdaga Bäray (Massawa), Sänᶜafe, Mändäfära and ᶜAddi K̲ʷala among other sites. Some 30 mosques operate throughout the capital Asmära, a third of which are Friday mosques. With the return of Muslim Eritreans from exile in the Middle East, the use of Arabic throughout the country has been boosted. Even if precise figures are unavailable, it is believed that the Eritrean population is more or less equally split between Muslims and Christians who usually tend to express pride in a historical tradition of peaceful co-existence between their respective religious communities. A vast majority in the Muslim community thus vehemently rejects recent manifestations of individuals referred as "Wahhābī" activists who attempt, with little apparent success, to preach their brand of so-called Islamic "fundamentalism".

Islamic law schools in Eritrea

At the present state of our knowledge it seems impossible to trace with any certainty the early diffusion of the Islamic legal schools (sg. *maḏhab*) from the Arabian Peninsula to the Eritrean coasts. Several secondary sources suggest that the Ḥanafī *maḏhab* was the first to make its mark in the region, yet other evidence point to early Šāfiᶜī influence in Massawa. A more accurate picture pertaining to the development and history of the legal schools in the Yemen might prove crucial in illuminating early influences on the Eritrean coasts. The Ḥanafī school, which was either in-

troduced or reinforced by the Ottomans in the 16th cent., was diffused among the Təgre- and Sāho-speaking Sämhar groups of eastern Eritrea. The Šāfiᶜī school was adopted mainly by the ᶜAfar and some Ǧäbärti. The Mālikī legal school, was influential with groups in the western lowlands, notably the Beni ᶜAmər, but also some groups in Saḥəl. An Italian census of 1931 gave the following proportions: Mālikī 65 %, Ḥanafī 26 % and the Šāfiᶜī 9 % (TrIslam 232f.; Gori 1995:94–97). It seems that nowadays the Mālikī school is still predominant in terms of population, even if the highest legal officials in the country have traditionally been adherents of the Ḥanafī school.

Lit.: ARNALDO BERTOLA, *Il regime dei culti nell'Africa italiana*, Bologna 1939, 162–76; ALFRED LE CHATELIER, *Les confréries musulmanes du Hedjaz*, Paris 1887, 126ff.; GASPARE COLOSIMO, *Relazione al parlamento sulla situazione politica economica ed amministrativa delle colonie italiane*, Roma 1918; FEDERICO CRESTI, "Alcune note storiche su Massaua, con particolare riferimento ad un complesso religioso islamico: la moschea dello Šayḫ Hammāli", *Africa* 45, 3, 1990, 410–31; ID., "La mosquée du Šayḫ Hammālī à Massaoua", in: *PICES* 10, 1, 1994, 303–15; CRStor 203–14; GIUSEPPE CANIGLIA, *La Sceriffa di Massaua* (*La tarica Katmia*), Roma 1940; ILARIO CAPOMAZZA, *Usanze islamiche hanafite di Massaua e dintorni*, Macerata 1910; JOSEPH CUOQ, *L'Islam en Ethiopie*, Paris 1981, 23–54; ErlEth; ALESSANDRO GORI, "Soggiorno di studi in Eritrea ed Etiopia. Brevi annotazioni bibliografiche", *RSE* 39, 1995 [1997], 81–129; A. GUÉRINOT, "L'Islam et l'Abyssinie", *Revue du Monde Musulman* 34, 1917–18, 1–66; ALBRECHT HOFHEINZ, "A Yemeni Library in Eritrea: Arabic Manuscripts in the Italian Foreign Ministry", *Islam* 72, 1, 1995, 98–136; LIDWIEN KAPTEIJNS, "Ethiopia and the Horn of Africa", in: NEHEMIA LEVTZION – RANDALL POUWELS (eds.), *The History of Islam in Africa*, Athens, OH 2000, 227–50; KilHDic 30f., 265–68, 277–78, 313–14; CESARE MARONGIU BUONAIUTI, *Politica e religioni nel colonialismo italiano* (*1882–1941*), Roma 1982, 39–45, 81, 103–07, 115f., 237ff., 270–81; JONATHAN MIRAN, "Grand Mufti, érudit et nationaliste érythréen: note sur la vie et l'oeuvre de cheikh Ibrâhîm al-Mukhtâr (1909–1969)", *Chroniques yéménites* 10, 2002, 35–47; ID., "A Historical Overview of Islam in Eritrea", *Die Welt des Islams* 45, 2, 2005, 177–215; ID., "Islamic Court Records from Nineteenth-Century Massawa: a Source for Social and Economic History", paper presented at *the First International Conference of Eritrean Studies*, Asmara, 22–26 July 2001; MUḤAMMAD SAᶜĪD NĀWAD, *al-ᶜUrūba wal-Islām fī l-qarn al-Ifrīqī* ('Arabism and Islam in the Horn of Africa'), Jeddah n.d.; ID., *Iritriyā: Ṭarīq al-hiǧrāt wad-diyānāt wa-madḫal al-Islām ilā Ifrīqiyā* ('Eritrea: the Path of Migrations and Religions and the Introduction of Islam to Africa'), Kuwait 2001; MUḤAMMAD ᶜUṮMĀN ABŪ BAKR, *Ǧuḏūr aṯ-ṯaqāfa al-ᶜarabīya wat-taᶜlīm fī Irītriyā* ('Roots of the Arabic Culture and Education in Eritrea'), Cairo 1997; MuhTarih 90ff., 312–22; NadEr; DANTE ODORIZZI, *Il commissariato regionale di Massaua al 1° gennaio 1910*, Asmara 1911; ID., *Note storiche sulla religione mussulmana e sulle divisioni dell'Islam con appunti speciali relativi all'Islam in Eritrea*, Asmara 1916; PollEr 168–247; DAVID POOL, *From Guerrillas to Government: the Eritrean People's Liberation Front*, Oxford – Athens, OH 2001, 5–58; MASSIMO ROMANDINI, "Politica musulmana in Eritrea durante il governatorato Martini", *Islam, storia e civiltà* 3, 2, 1984, 127–31; ID., "Personaggi musulmani nelle pagine di Ferdinando Martini", *ibid.* 4, 1, 1985, 57–62; ALBERTO SBACCHI, *Ethiopia under Mussolini: Fascism and the Colonial Experience*, London 1985, 161–65; TESFATSION MEDHANIE, *Eritrea and Neighbours in the 'New World' Order: Geopolitics, Democracy and "Islamic Fundamentalism"*, Münster – Hamburg 1994 (Bremer Afrika Studien 15), 78–92; TrIslam; YASSIN M. ABERRA, "Muslim Institutions in Ethiopia: the Asmara Awqaf", *Journal of the Institute of Muslim Minority Affairs* 5, 1983, 203–25.

Jonathan Miran

Islamic brotherhoods

Numerous I.b., or mystical orders (*ṭuruq*; sg. *ṭarīqa*), have been long present in the Ethio-Eritrean region. As in other parts of Muslim Africa, the expansion of I.b. played a significant role in the further consolidation of ↗Islam in the area (Braukämper 2003:162; cp. also Muḥammad Tāǧaddīn in print, 2). The most dynamic phase in the long process of Islamization in Ethiopia is associated with the history of the Ṣūfī brotherhoods, replete with both oral traditions about the prominent Ṣūfī teachers and religious literature. They gave impetus to the emergence of centres of Islamic ↗education and local ↗pilgrimage. Annual visitations (*ziyārāt*) are made to numerous shrines scattered throughout the Ethio-Eritrean region, and the festivals are held there not only by the members of the orders but also by the generality of Muslims. By accommodating elements of the traditional cultural and ritualistic heritage of the local people through the ↗*ḏikr* sessions and regular gatherings, the I.b. can be said to have bridged the gap between institutional Islam, on the one hand, and the private and collective desire for spiritual fulfilment, on the other. In Harär some shrines served as vehicles for the conversion to Islam of the Nole, Ǧaarso and Ittuu ↗Oromo (Braukämper 2003:114, 116, 120).

Despite their impact on the process of Islamization, the early history of the I.b. is poorly documented. The current overview is based on a limited amount of materials relevant only to some parts of Ethiopia – ↗Wällo, ↗Šäwa, ↗Harär, the south-western regions – and Eritrea.

The history of introduction

The oldest order to be introduced was the *Qādirīya* founded by the Ḥanbalī jurist, ᶜAbdalqādir al-Ǧīlānī (1077–1166). Some traditions

suggest that the 13th-cent. *šayḫ* ↗Abādir was a Qādirī (Braukämper 2003:36). According to a more credible reconstruction, the order was introduced in Harär in the late 15th or early 16th cent. by a ↗Ḥaḍramawt mystic, Abū Bakr b. ᶜAbdallāh al-ᶜAydarūs (patron saint of ᶜAdan, d. 1508), and enhanced in the 18th cent. by *sayyid* Musāfir (either Yemeni or Maġribī). In the late 18th and early 19th cent., it spread into Wällo through the agency of Aḥmad b. Ṣāliḥ who was initiated by *faqīh* ↗Hāšim b. ᶜAbdalᶜazīz. Aḥmad passed on the Qādirī litany (*wird*; pl. *awrād*) to *faqīh* Zubayr Yaḥyā of Gʷagur in ↗Yäğğu who initiated *šayḫ* ↗Muḥammad Šāfī (d. 1806/7) from whom the order was transmitted to Muḥammad b. *faqīh* Zubayr, and through the latter to *šayḫ* Ğamāladdīn Muḥammad al-Annī (d. 1882) of ↗Rayya (HusIslam 70f.). In the 20th cent. the order was propagated in ↗Č̣ärč̣är by the Wällo-trained *šayḫ* Muḥammad (d. early 1930s; Braukämper 2003:117). The order was also introduced at some point in Eritrea, notably at ↗Massawa where a yearly visitation, the *ziyārat* al-Ğīlānī, to the *mazār* erected in commemoration of the founder of the order was performed by members of the order and others on 11 *Rabīᶜ al-awwal*. During the first half of the 19th cent., the ↗ᶜAd Šek holy family seems to have been active in initiating Təgre-speaking lowlanders into the order in the process of propagating Islam in the region.

In Wällo, the spread of the *Šāḏilīya*, founded by Abū l-Ḥasan al-Šāḏilī (1196-1258), is associated with *šayḫ* Ibrāhīm Nagāš (d. 1948) of ↗Wärrä Himäno who propagated the order in Reqqe, Boräna and Bägemdər. In Eritrea membership in this order has had some influence in the Massawa area. The mid- to late-19th-cent. records of Massawa's Islamic court mention several *ḫalīfa*s of this order, among which were members of the town's mercantile and religious elite. In the 20th cent., ↗mosques named after the founder of the *ṭarīqa* were located in the settled centres on Massawa's mainland, namely in Ḥəṭumlo, Ḥərgigo, Amatäre and ᶜEdaga Bəᶜray.

The *Sammānīya* was introduced by *amīr* Ḥusayn ᶜAbdalwāḥid (d. 1926), the grandson of *šayḫ* Aḥmad aṭ-Ṭayyib b. al-Bašīr (d. 1824), who initiated *šayḫ* Ğawhar b. Ḥaydar b. ᶜAlī (d. 1937). The order later spread to ↗Ğimma. It is worth noting that the celebrated mystic, *al-ḥāğğ* ↗Bušrā Āy Muḥammad (d. 1863) had also been initiated into the order by *šayḫ* Aḥmad aṭ-Ṭayyib himself. The *Sammānīya* was introduced to Eritrea by the Maġribī *šayḫ* Ādam al-Kinānī who was initiated to the order by *šayḫ* Muḥammad as-Sammānī in Medina. *Šayḫ* Ādam al-Kinānī's tomb is located in ᶜAbi ᶜAddi (near Mändäfära), where a yearly pilgrimage to the shrine takes place (Nāwad 2004:169; TrIslam 236, 247).

Sayyid Ğaᶜfar b. Bakrī b. Ğaᶜfar b. Muḥammad ᶜUṯmān al-Mīrġanī (middle, 1871–1943), head of the *Ḫatmīya* order in Eritrea, and his representatives; photo by an unidentified Italian photographer, from the collection of Jonathan Miran

The *Tiğānīya*, founded by Abū ᶜAbbās Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Muḫtār al-Tiğānī (1737-1815), is predominant in Wälläga, Ğimma, Goğğam and Gondär. In western Ethiopia, a renowned centre of the *Tiğānīya ṭarīqa* is in Yaʾa (southwest of Asosa) where the shrine of *al-faqi* Aḥmad b. ᶜUmar (1953) is located (Ishihara 1997, 2007). According to Trimingham (TrIslam 246), *Tiğānīya* was introduced in Ğimma by a certain *al-ḥāğğ* Yūsif who was initiated to the brotherhood by the famous west African *ḫalīfa* Alfa Hāšim (d. 1934). In Wällo its expansion was the outcome of the efforts of an Oromo scholar teaching in Amharic, *šayḫ* Ḥabīb b. Muḥammad (d. March 1954) who had travelled to Fās, Morocco to be initiated into the order. In Harär it was introduced into the Gara Mullätа area by Saᶜīd Ḥusayn in the early 1930s (Braukämper 2003:117). The *Tiğānīya* was introduced to Dankalia (↗Dänkäl) in Eritrea by *sayyid* Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. *as-sayyid* Muḫtār aš-Šanqīṭī (Nāwad 2004:169).

Established by the followers of the Maġribī mystic and teacher Aḥmad b. Idrīs al-Fāsī (1750–1837), the *Aḥmadīya* is confined only to parts of

the Eritrean coast, although the 12th-cent. *šayḫ* ↗Ḥusayn of Bale is believed to have been a follower of the order. In Eritrea the *Aḥmadīya* was introduced to Dankalia by *ḥāǧǧ* Ḥasan al-Faḍūlī al-Aḥmadī (d. 1277 H.), who studied with Aḥmad b. Idrīs al-Fāsī (1750-1837). He settled in the coastal ᶜAfar village of ↗ᶜƎdd in 1246 H., and stayed there for 30 years (Nāwad 2004:130). A mosque called the Maqām al-Aḥmadīya was built in ᶜƎdd in 1863, to become the main *ǧāmiᶜ* of the village in the 1880s. In ↗Tīᶜo, too, an Aḥmadī congregational mosque was built in 1907. In Massawa, the order was introduced to Massawa by Ǧaᶜfar Saᶜīd an-Nātī following his return from studies in Medina and Zabīd at some point in the Italian colonial period (possibly 1920s-30s). A *zāwiya* was established in the mainland neighbourhood of Amatäre and a *ḥawlīya* in commemoration of the founder of the order was performed there yearly on 22 *Raǧab*.

The *Ṣāliḥiya ṭarīqa* – probably named after the Sudanese *šayḫ* Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ or, according to other sources, Šayḫ b. Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ (d. 1919), formerly an outstanding representative of the *Rāšīdīya* – should probably be also considered within the framework of the mystical tradition of Aḥmad b. Idrīs al-Fāsī. The *Ṣāliḥiya* spread into Somalia and Ethiopian ↗Ogaden, mostly thanks to the religious, political and military activities of ↗Muḥammad ᶜAbdallāh Ḥasan – who was, however, eventually expelled from the group by the head of the brotherhood (O'Fahey in EI²).

The *Naqšbandīya*, associated with Muḥammad Bahāʾaddīn an-Naqšbandī (d. 1389), had an insignificant number of adherents. *Šayḫ* ᶜAlī of Gondär (fl. mid-19th cent.) is believed to have been a follower of the order (informant: *šayḫ* Muḥammad Tāǧaddīn). The order also flourished for a short time in Yäǧǧu (informant: *šayḫ* ᶜAbdassalām).

The *Ḫatmīya* order was founded in the early 1830s by ↗Muḥammad ᶜUṯmān al-Mīrġanī, who drew his inspiration from the teachings of Aḥmad b. Idrīs al-Fāsī (b. 1750, d. 1837). The order has had a significant impact on Eritrean Muslims since it was introduced to the region following several missionary tours undertaken by the founder of the order around the first third of the 19th cent. The order extended its influence mainly, but not exclusively, among the Təgre- and Sāho-speaking peoples in the area. Its success went hand in hand with Egyptian imperialism in the region. Members of the family were engaged in propagating Islam among non-Muslims and those Muslims who they perceived as morally and religiously adrift. The *Ḫatmīya*'s method of expansion was by the incorporation of pre-existing religious formations (notables, holy lineages) into a supra-community brotherhood network. In practice this was achieved by what the historian Knut Vikør called the "grafting" model by which ↗*ḫalīfa* and *ḫalīfat al-ḫulafāʾ* were initiated, appointed, and linked into a broad-based trans-ethnic and cross-regional organization covering a wide area. After the Mahdist revolt in the Sudan, several members of the *ṭarīqa* found refuge in Eritrea and gradually developed a relationship with the recently established Italian colonial authorities. Fearing the over-spilling of the Mahdīya into their colony, the Italians attempted to coopt the order so that it would exercise its influence over the region's Muslims and control them. The colonial authorities persuaded Ǧaᶜfar b. Bakrī b. Ǧaᶜfar b. Muḥammad ᶜUṯmān al-Mīrġanī (1871-1943) to move into the colony from Kassala and establish his seat in ↗Kärän in 1903. The authorities elevated him to the position of a quasi-official and exclusive interlocutor between the Muslims and the colonial administration. In that process, the order was able to consolidate its influence and establish itself as the predominant *ṭarīqa* in the colony. Members of the order continued to exercise influence on the religious, social and political spheres well after the colonial period and until the 1970s. Today, shrines of members of the family in Ḥəṭumlo (near Massawa) and in Kärän are sites of lively pilgrimages attracting Muslims from all over the region (Miran 2005:183-200). According to one source the *Maǧḏūbīya* order, which was founded by *sayyid* Muḥammad b. Qamar ad-Dīn al-Maǧḏūb who died in ad-Dāmar in Sudan, was introduced to Eritrea by *šayḫ* Abū Bakr Fāḍil ad-Dankalī from Baylūl (Nāwad 2004:169).

There were no major conflicts among the different I.b., although there must have been frequent frictions, especially between the older ones like the *Qādirīya* and those of the *Tiǧānīya*. Polemical works composed by the defenders of certain orders could, once collected and evaluated, shed additional light on the intellectual impact of the I.b.

Main features of the Islamic brotherhoods in Ethiopia and Eritrea

1. Ṣūfism in general passed through four stages of evolution: individual asceticism, mysti-

cism, scholarly Ṣūfism and the "expansion of the spiritual influence of eminent Ṣūfīs", that led to the emergence of the *ṭarīqa* (Jenkins 1979:43; Trimingham 1971:2-30). In the Ethio-Eritrean region it evolved from the third to the fourth stage.

2. The orders were introduced not only by itinerant scholars from Yemen, Sudan or the Ḥiğāz but also, importantly, by Ethiopian and Eritrean clerics returning after many years in these regions where they became initiated.
3. With the possible exception of the ᶜAd Šek "holy family" in Eritrea, the propagation of the orders was not connected with, or patronized by, local Muslim dynasties, and the heads of the orders had neither political aspiration nor allied themselves with ruling families. They did not also engage in agricultural or commercial activities to supplement their meagre financial resources.
4. Only the propagators and transmitters of the Ṣūfī tradition were familiar with the doctrines, rituals and obligations of the orders as developed by their founders. The majority of the people were not formal members of the I.b. but only active participants in the Ṣūfī rituals and festivals (cp. Glew 1998:137).
5. In some localities (such as the Massawa area in Eritrea), participation in local *ḥawlīya*s has not been restricted to membership in one particular I.b. but included members from throughout the Muslim community, including followers of other orders. This practice reflects how local ↗*šayḫ*s and saints (↗*Walī*) attained local and regional prominence transcending and superseding formal *ṭarīqa* affiliation.
6. Although the objects of popular veneration were the saints and their descendants, the principal event celebrated at the mystical gatherings was the birthday of the Prophet ↗Muḥammad.
7. As in other parts of Africa, elements of old beliefs and practices were observed at the Ṣūfī festivals. These survivals of folk religion provided the justification for Islamic reformist movements led by Ethiopian Muslim scholars in the 18th, 19th and 20th cent.
8. In contrast to Muslim Africa, with the exception of *Ḥusaynīya*, an offshoot of the *Qādirī* order attributed to *šayḫ* Ḥusayn of Bale (Braukämper 2003:140, 162), no independent *ṭarīqa* emerged in Ethio-Eritrean region, testifying to the loyalty and devotion of the indigenous *ᶜulamāʾ* to the founders of the orders.
9. Most Ethiopian and Eritrean Muslim mystics were also accomplished scholars. Not only had they acquired formal Islamic education in the various disciplines prior to their initiation but were also the authors of treatises defending orthodox Islam and criticizing many aspects of its forms which they regarded as incompatible with the *Qurʾān* and the prophetic traditions (cp. *šayḫ* Muḥammad Tāğaddīn, in print, 320). Vigorous attempts (not completely successful) were therefore made by the *ᶜulamāʾ*, through their writings, exhortation and even physical force, to make Ṣūfism conform to Sunnī Islam. The 18th and 19th cent. were a period of a particularly great output of Ṣūfī works dealing with the Islamic reform, as well as with other themes, such as mysticism, hagiographies of holy men, and protest against the dominant Christian dynastic and clerical establishments.

The history of Ṣūfism is thus, on the one hand, a story of Islamic renewal and reform, and a perpetual struggle to rid it of un-Islamic tendencies and influence, and, on the other, a factor that created the conditions for syncretism between Islam and traditional modes of worship. Recent criticisms of Ṣūfism that are conventionally associated with, or attributed to, Wahhābī influence, were a continuation of the long tradition of opposition led by scholars against the degeneration of Ṣūfism into popular Islam.

Src.: interviews with *šayḫ* Muḥammad Tāğaddīn; *šayḫ* ᶜAbdassalām.

Lit.: ULRICH BRAUKÄMPER, *Islamic History and Culture in Southern Ethiopia: Collected Essays*, Hamburg 2002; ENRICO CERULLI, "Islam in East Africa" in: ARTHUR JOHN ARBERRY (ed.), *Religion in the Middle East: Three Religions in Concord and Conflict*, Cambridge 1969, vol. 2, 203–19; ROBERT S. GLEW, "Islamic Culture and Muslim Identity in Zinder, Niger: a Historical Perspective", *Islam et Sociétés au Sud du Sahara* 12, 1998, 129–46; ALESSANDRO GORI, "Alcune considerazioni e precisazioni preliminari sull'origine e sulla natura delle presenze islamiche non autoctone nelle comunità musulmane d'Etiopia", *Annali IUO* 55, 1995, 406–36; NICOLE GRANDIN, "Le nord-est et l'est de l'Afrique", in: ALEXANDRE POPOVIC – GILLES VEINSTEIN (eds.), *Les Voies d'Allah: les ordres mystiques dans le monde musulman des origines à aujourd'hui*, Paris 1996, 428–41; A. GUÉRINOT, "L'Islam et l'Abyssinie," *Revue du Monde Musulman* 34, 1917–18, 1–66; HUSSEIN AHMED, "Two Muslim Shrines in South Wallo", in: *Proceedings of the Fifth Seminar of the Department of History*, Addis Ababa 1990, 61–74; HusIslam; MINAKO ISHIHARA, "The Life History of a Muslim Holyman: al-faki Ahmad Umar", in: *PICES* 13, vol. 2, 391-401; EAD., "Spirit Possession and Pilgrimage – The Formation and Configuration of the Tijjani Cult in Western Oromoland", paper presented at the 16th *ICES*, Trondheim 2007; R.G. JENKINS, "The Evolution of Religious Broth-

erhoods in North and Northwest Africa 1523–1900", in: JOHN RALPH WILLIS (ed.), *Studies in West African Islamic History*, vol. 1: *The Cultivators of Islam*, London 1979, 40–77; JONATHAN MIRAN, "A Historical Overview of Islam in Eritrea", *Die Welt des Islams* 45, 2, 2005, 177–215; *šayḫ* MUḤAMMAD TĀĞADDĪN AḤMAD, *Iʿlām al-Aġbiyāʾ bi-ḥayāt ʿuẓamāʾ Iṯyūbiyā min al-ʿulamāʾ wal-awliyāʾ was-salāṭīn al-Islām wal-aṣfiyāʾ* ('Information of the Ignorant on the Life of the Great Scholars, Saints, Islamic Rulers and Noble Persons in Ethiopia'), ms.; MUḤAMMAD SAʿĪD NĀWAD, *ʿUmq al-ʿalāqāt al-ʿarabīya al-Iritrīya* ('The Depth of Arab-Eritrean Relationships'), Kuwayt 2004; REX SEAN O'FAHEY, "Ṣāliḥiyya", in: *EI²* vol. 8, 990; TrIslam; JOHN SPENCER TRIMINGHAM, *The Sufi Orders in Islam*, Oxford 1971; SAMUEL W. ZWEMER, "Islam in Ethiopia and Eritrea", *The Moslem World* 26, 1, 1936, 5–15.

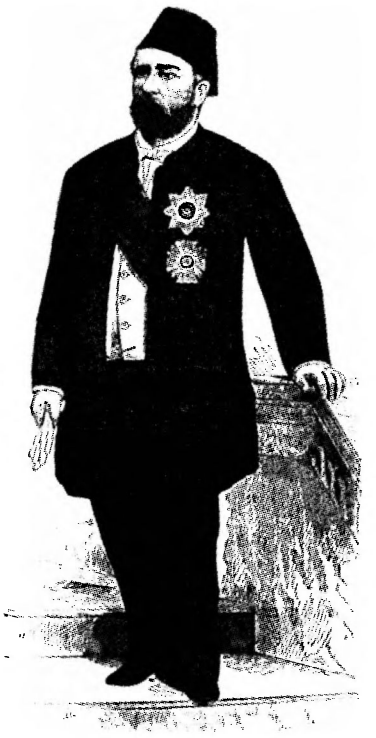
Hussein Ahmed – Jonathan Miran

Ismāʿīl

I. *bāšā* (اسماعيل, r. 1863–79) was the second most important ruler of Egypt in the 19th cent. after his grandfather, ↗Muḥammad ʿAlī *bāšā* (r. 1805–48), the founder of the dynasty that lasted until 1952. Though ↗Egypt in I.'s time was de facto fully independent of the ↗Ottoman Empire, it nominally belonged to it until 1914. In 1866 I. was declared a *ḫidīw* by Istanbul, a title especially introduced to mark Egypt's unique status. While Muḥammad ʿAlī was described as "the founder of modern Egypt", I. was dubbed "the impatient Europeanizer". His accelerated modernization policy for nearly all aspects of Egyptian life brought him into close contact with Ethiopia.

I.'s declared vision was to integrate Egypt into the network of European empires. For this purpose he began developing Egypt's economy – mainly through the export of cotton – borrowing huge sums of money from private Western banks. He envisioned Egypt's admission to Europe through the African–Nile empire he strove to build. I. inaugurated the ↗Suez Canal project, the completion of which in 1869 forced him to take out further loans. Having renewed Egypt's government in ↗Sudan (1865), I. began to occupy the Red Sea coast, as far down as the Indian Ocean. He also occupied ↗Harär in 1875, but his main goal in the Horn of Africa was to occupy the strip of land that later became Eritrea. He had hoped that a modern railway along this strip connecting ↗Massawa to ↗Khartoum would ensure the vitality of the whole enterprise. However, in working towards this goal I. came into conflict with *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV. The ↗Egyptian–Ethiopian war of 1875–84 reached its climax in the Egyptian defeat at ↗Guraʿ in March 1876. After this event, a wasteful war of attrition with Ethiopia lasted until 1884, and it was no longer possible to construct the railway. In 1881 the Mahdīya (↗Mahdists) revolt started in Sudan, and the Egyptians, lacking a modern infrastructure, were unable to quell it.

I.'s modernization efforts included many social and cultural dimensions that indirectly influenced, and were influenced by, his conflict with Ethiopia. On the one hand, he admired Westerners to the extent that most pivotal positions in his army and his African empire were given to Europeans and Americans (cp. ↗Munzinger in Massawa). On the other hand, rapid urbanization (modern Cairo was now being built in imitation of Paris), the introduction of modern education (a French staffed School of Law was established in 1868), modern newspapers (*Al-Ahrām* was established in 1875), the formation of a council of ministers and council of representatives, etc., created a new and educated public ready to participate actively in politics. One such sector began developing among the army officers. Following the Guraʿ defeat, a group of native Egyptian officers returned from the Ethiopian war severely embittered by their foreign superiors (cp. ↗Loring; ↗Dye). Two months after Guraʿ also saw the start of the financial collapse of I.'s enterprise. Earlier in 1875 I. had to sell his Suez canal shares to the British, and was now forced to put his economy under direct European control. In 1878, the British and the French forced I. to appoint a new government, and this blunt humiliation ignited the Guraʿ veterans and their colleagues. Led by Colonel Aḥmad ʿUrābī, they initiated a protest movement that enabled the European powers to deepen their involvement in Egypt's affairs. In



Contemporary portrait of *ḫidīw* Ismāʿīl *bāšā*; from Loring 1884

June 1879 I. was officially deposed by Istanbul, and his son Tawfīq was proclaimed *ḫidīw* (1879–92). The ensuing revolt of the ᶜUrābī movement led to the British occupation of Egypt in 1882.

I.'s multi-dimensional modernization affected Ethiopia in other ways. In 1874 he recognized the Copts as a civil sector, and not just a religious minority. In line with his treatment of similar groups, he authorized the young modern-educated Copts, led by Buṭrus Ġālī, to establish their own Community Council (*maǧlis millī*). This modern sector of the Copts would later, especially after Ethiopia's victory at ↗ᶜAdwa in 1896, work to enhance a positive image of Ethiopia in Egypt, and contribute to the establishment of modern education (as of 1906) in Addis Abäba.

Lit.: DouinIsm; ErlEth ch. 5; HAGGAI ERLICH, *The Cross and the River, Ethiopia, Egypt and the Nile*, Boulder, CO 2002, ch. 4; ROBERT HUNTER, *Egypt under the Khedives 1805–1879: from Household Government to Modern Bureaucracy*, Pittsburgh, PA 1984; DAVID LANDES, *Bankers and Pashas: International Finances and Economic Imperialism in Egypt*, Boston, MA 1958; WILLIAM WING LORING, *A Confederate Soldier in Egypt*, New York 1884 (ill.); ᶜABDARRAḤMĀN AR-RĀFIᶜĪ, *ᶜAṣr Ismāᶜīl* ('The Epoch of Ismāᶜīl'), Cairo 1948; RubInd 288–406; PANAYIOTIS J. VATIKIOTIS, *The History of Egypt, from Muhammad Ali to Sadat*, London 1980.

Haggai Erlich

Israel, relations with

Relations between Ethiopia and the modern state of I., established in 1948, have never been merely political. They have always been influenced by the traditional legacies of both sides, which, together with strategic considerations, created a complex history that can be divided into three periods.

First was the ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I era (1947–73) in which Ethiopian policy fluctuated between contradictory historical and spiritual influences. On the one hand, many members of the imperial elite conceived the new Jewish state through the perspectives of biblical Christianity, the Solomonic-Zionist ethos (↗Judaism), and the notion of *Däqiqä Ǝsraᵓel* ('children of Israel'). Combined with this conception was the confidence in the resourcefulness, efficiency, and proximity of a non-Muslim partner. On the other hand, there was always the fear that an open alliance with I. would unite the Arab world against Ethiopia and ignite an attempted Grañ-like Islamic reunification (↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī) in the Horn of Africa. The Ethiopian foreign ministry – led by ↗Aklilu Habtäwäld, the prime-minister as of 1961 – convinced the Emperor to conceal the otherwise close relations, and appear in public as siding with the Arabs. In November 1947 Ethiopia abstained in the U.N. vote for the partition of Palestine, and a year later voted against the admission of I. to the U.N. In the 1960s, Ethiopia relied on I.'s aid in practically all fields, but no Ethiopian embassy was opened in I., and Ethiopia joined the anti-I. camp in the ↗Organization of African Unity as well. The Israeli victory in the Six-Day War against Egypt, Jordan and Syria of June 1967 was celebrated in Ethiopia as salvation from the pan-Arab threat, but during the October 1973 war in the ↗Middle East (between I. and Egypt and Syria), Ethiopia broke its diplomatic relations with the Jewish state.

Israeli policy during that time was fully pragmatic. David Ben-Gurion, Prime Minister until 1963, conceived in 1958 "the Periphery strategy", designed to outflank the uniting Arab world through an alliance with Turkey, Iran and Ethiopia. He thus also wanted to prove to Washington that I. was a regional strategic asset. An alliance with Ethiopia was also a key for I. to economic and diplomatic gains in Africa. Consequently, throughout the 1960s and up to 1973, I.'s input in Ethiopia was the greatest Israeli foreign aid enterprise ever. Over one hundred experts, some of I.'s best minds, spent years promoting Ethiopia's security, health, agriculture, education, construction and finances. In April 1970, in an effort to convince the Emperor to sign an open alliance, the Israelis returned the keys of the ↗Dayr as-Sulṭān monastery in ↗Jerusalem to the Ethiopian monks. The exodus of Israeli experts following a breakdown of relations in late 1973 significantly weakened the imperial regime towards its end.

The second era, that of 1974–91 (↗Provisonal Military Administrative Council), saw a reversal of attitudes. Ethiopia, under Colonel Mängəśtu Ḫaylä Maryam, relinquished many of its Christian traditional ties with I. and adopted rather an instrumental policy. In late 1975 Israeli military experts were invited to rebuild the armed forces and security units. They organized a new division and the *Därg*'s guard, which in practice helped Mängəśtu eradicate his colleagues. After Mängəśtu managed to win Moscow's favour (↗Russia, relations with), in February 1978, he expelled the Israelis once again. Only after March 1987 – once the Soviets clarified to Mängəśtu that they could not back his radicalism any more nor finance his wars – did Mängəśtu return to court I.

Meanwhile, having begun a direct dialogue with the Arab world (the 1979 peace accord with Egypt), Ethiopia lost its strategic value to I. However, it regained Jewish historical importance via the presence of the ↗Betä Ǝsraʾel community. Socio-political changes in I. – international accusations of Zionism as racism, in addition to Jewish–American initiatives – drove the governments of Menachem Begin (1977–83), Yitzhaq Shamir (1983–84, 1986–92) and Shimon Peres (1984–86) to concentrate on bringing Ethiopia's Jews to Israel. Operation Moses (1984–85) and Operation Solomon (May 1991) ended with the transferral of almost the entire Betä Ǝsraʾel community from Ethiopia to I. I.'s relationship with the Mängəśtu regime during 1987–91 was geared towards preparing the ground for those operations. In spite of U.S. policy, some military equipment was supplied, but in quantities that frustrated Mängəśtu. The complicated situation leading to Operation Solomon – most Betä Ǝsraʾel had left their homes, and by May 1991 were gathered in the besieged city of Addis Abäba – pushed the US government to deepen its involvement. These developments helped avert a battle in Addis Abäba, prior to Mängəśtu's flight in May 1991, between the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front and the central army.

A final era began after 1991, and though it is still too early for an accurate assessment, it seems that both sides have become more amenable towards each other. In this new era, the absorption of the Betä Ǝsraʾel in I. has created the biggest Ethiopian ↗diaspora (outside the total number in the U.S.).

Lit.: MICHAEL BRECHER, *The Foreign Policy System of Israel – Setting, Images, Process*, New Haven, CT 1972; THOMAS DRAPER, *Israel and the Middle East*, New York 1983 (The Reference Shelf 55, 1); ErlEth; HAGGAI ERLICH, *The Struggle over Eritrea*, Stanford, CA 1983; ID., *The Cross and the River – Ethiopia, Egypt, and the Nile*, Boulder, CO 2002; STEPHEN SPECTOR, *Operation Solomon: the Daring Rescue of the Ethiopian Jews*, New York 2005.

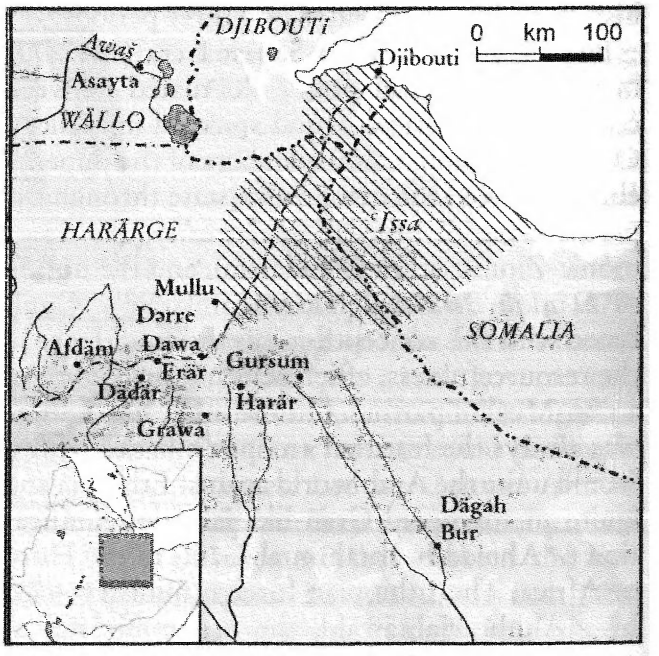
Haggai Erlich

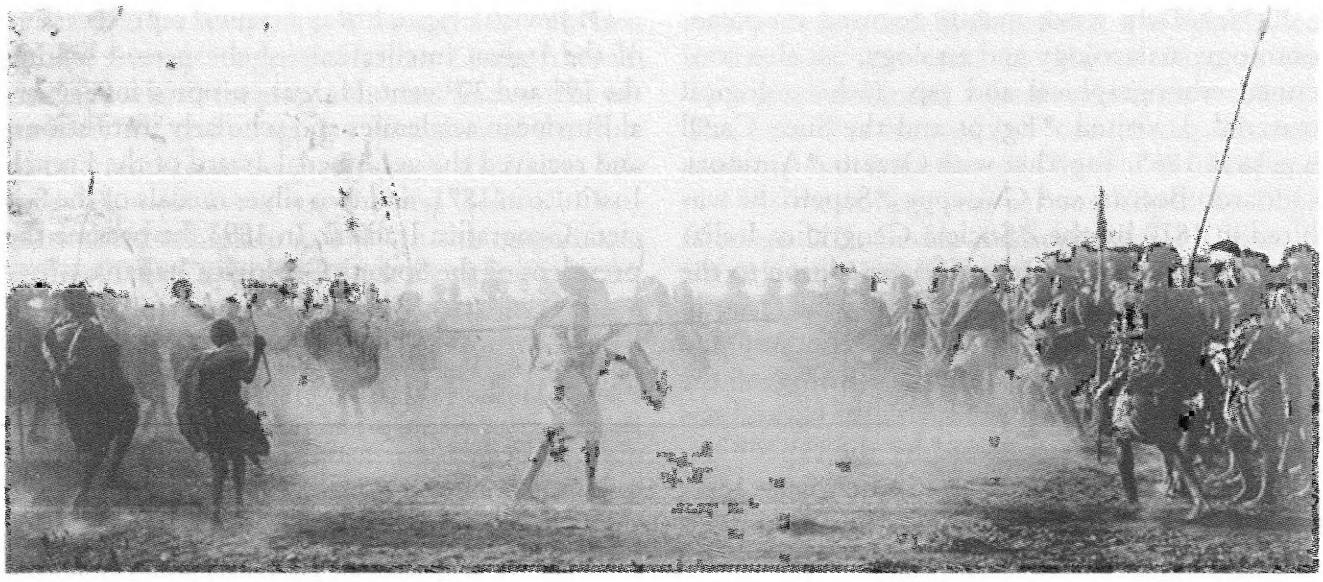
ʿIssa

The I. (Arab. ʿĪsa, Somali Ciise) are a major Northern ↗Somali group living in Ethiopia mainly along the ↗railway from Mullu to ↗Djibouti, in the south-eastern part of the Republic of Djibouti and in north-western Somaliland.

The nomadic ʿI. were traditionally geographically divided into: (1) Ǧahmagarato ('those ignoring the direction of the prayer', 'those never at peace') or ʿI. madow ('Black ʿI.'), raiding the ʿAfar pastoralists beyond the *wadi* Obno towards the right bank of the Awaš river; (2) Banin ğoog ('those living in *Rhigozum somalense*'), grazing east of the Holhol–Djibouti railway portion in winter, and towards Saaweer in Somaliland and further in summer, where they were also known as ʿI. ʿad ('White ʿI.') or Nin ʿad ('White man'); (3) ʿAs ğoog ('those of the red lands') to the south-west of the latter, grazing during the summer between Ayšaaʿa and Dərre Dawa. The old ʿI. nickname Ǧiği-gále ('those of the plain'; common Somali: Gíyi) refers to their grazing between Ayšaaʿa, Harraawe and Gokti; (4) Qoton ğoog, to the south of Ali Sabieh, whose herds passed the summer around Haḍḍagaala.

The ʿI. commonly recognize seven descent clans, six of them descending from one of two sons of their apical ancestor *šayḫ* ʿIise: (1) from ʿEleyye "Bullaale": *reer* Muuse, Mammaasan, Urweyne, all three nicknamed "Abgaal"; (2) from ʿAli: Walaaldoon, Fuurlabe and Horroone (adopted), the three Dalool. The charismatic rain-maker *ugaas* is chosen inside the seventh clan, the Wardiiq (sub-clan Waqtišiile, *reer* Golowwaaq). Until recently, this genealogy mattered in three ways: (I) in extending solidarity through exogamy (marriages were not allowed between members of the same clan); (II) in explaining the hierarchic relationship between the Abgaal, "the most favoured", and their "allied" clans; (III) in linking symbolically the ʿI. to the ↗Dir super-family, because *šayḫ* ʿIise was the brother of *šayḫ* ↗Isaaq, although the ʿI. never joined the Somali Youth League.





War dance of ʿIssa, early 20th cent.; photo by Arnold Holtz, from the collection of André Evalet

Another classification puts on equal terms 12 sub-clans and 44 "great electors" of the *ugaas*. The way the "ethnic narrative" is still accepted shows its integrative function that resolves the heterogeneity of the tribe through the aggregation of non-Somalis (such as the ↗"Ḥarla" included in the lineage of *šayḫ* ʿIise's elder son) and their adoption (like Horroone). The story includes apocryphal traditions like that of *āw* Barḥadle, who is said to be a messenger of ↗Islam and the ancestor of the Wardiiq. Also known among the Isaaq clan of the ↗Habar Awal, this saint is probably the same as ↗Yūsuf al-Akwan, the Arab founder of the ↗Walašmaʿ dynasty of Ifat.

Since the ʿI. are not mentioned in such classical sources as the ↗*Futūḥ al-Ḥabaša*, their original homeland is still questionable, eventhough we know that *šayḫ* ʿIise was buried at Mayḳ (Somaliland). During the last century there has been a steady movement to the north-west while the ʿI. took over the grazing lands of other ʿAfar and Somali (Isaaq, Samarroon) groups. Evidence of this is also found in toponyms: ʿAfar *Holhol* ('footbridge'); *Đaʿas-Biyo*, from ʿAfar *ḳaaʿas búyyi* ('the pond with a red stone'); *Loyada* (Somali: *loowya ʿadde*, 'legs whitened with sand?') from Afar *lee ʿádu* 'white water'. Interestingly, the ʿI. land as described by the Beduins, with its theoretical centre in Sitti (near Ayšaaʿa), consists in 12 *wadis* (*diḥ*) distributed between Dərre Dawa (ʿEl Baḥay) and the coast, with *wadi* Heemal as a land-mark between the Mammaasan and the Samarroon. The location of the graves of Wardiiq *ugaas* (Gokti, Harraawe, Millo etc.), whose lineage goes back to the 16th cent., suggests a second homeland gained from the Oromo (s. toponyms like Haḳḳagaala, Harraawe, etc), possibly connected with their withdrawal from the outskirts of ↗Awsa in the 17th cent.

Travellers' accounts (Bardey; Burton) show that in the 19th cent. some sections of the ʿI. were involved in the transport of goods from ↗Zaylaʿ to ↗Harär. The construction of the railway line (1897–1915), the development of ↗Dərre Dawa and of the port of Djibouti, as well as the introduction of Djibouti franc as hard currency in 1949 offered petty-job opportunities for impoverished communities living in a harsh environment. Groups as the Mammaasan *reer* ʿAwl came entirely from Somaliland, while the *reer* Ḥasan were the only Mammaasan registered in 1936 in the French colony. Rural depopulation increased with the independence of the Republic of Djibouti in 1977, when the Ethio–Somali conflict caused an influx of thousands of refugees from the hinterland.

Lit.: ALI MOUSSA IYE, *Le verdict de l'arbre, le xeer issa, étude d'une démocratie pastorale*, Dubai [n.d]; E. CHEDEVILLE, *Recensement généalogique des Issa (1938–43)*, 4 vols., ms.; LewPeople; *Pount* [Djibouti] 1, 1966 and 2, 1973.

Didier Morin

Issel, Arturo

I. (b. 11 April 1842, Genoa, d. 27 November 1922, Genoa) was an Italian geologist and naturalist who participated in a number of expeditions to Africa. He earned his degree in natural sciences at the University of Pisa in 1862, and from 1866 to 1917 was professor of mineralogy and geology, then of geology alone at the University of Genoa, where he also taught geography and palaeontology.

I.'s scholarly work mainly focused on palaeontology, malacology and zoology, but also contained ethnographical and esp. anthropological material. I. visited ↗Egypt and the Suez Canal works in 1865. Together with Orazio ↗Antinori, Odoardo Beccari and Giuseppe ↗Sapeto, he was hired in 1870 by the ↗Società Geografica Italiana to participate in a scientific expedition to the ↗Red Sea, with the aim of studying the recently acquired port of ↗[c]Asäb and its economic and commercial potential after the opening of the Suez Canal. I. was entrusted with the natural science material to be collected by the expedition. He departed from Genoa on 14 February 1870, on a ship supplied by the ↗Rubattino Company, and arrived at [c]Asäb with his colleagues on 9 March. After a series of researches in the area, on 5 April, always with his colleagues, he left for ↗Massawa, where he met Werner ↗Munzinger. From there, Antinori and Beccari moved to Kärän in the country of the Bogos (↗Bilin), to inspect the agricultural colony of Šotäl ("Colonia Italiana di Sciotel", founded by the former missionary Giovanni ↗Stella (s. Issel 1872). In the meantime, I. visited the ↗Dahlak archipelago, where he gathered an outstanding collection of molluscs (Issel 1894). On 2 June, he went to Kärän, heading then, on 15 June, to Massawa. Parting company from his colleagues, who remained on the Red Sea coast, he returned to Italy in July 1870, and started to publish the results of the expedition (e.g., Issel 1872). In mid and late 1870, on board of the cutters Corsaro and Violante, owned and commanded by his fellow citizen and friend Captain Enrico d'Albertis, he cruised the Mediterranean, carrying on geological and naturalistic enquiries in such countries as Tunisia, Egypt and Malta (Issel 1878).

A renowned researcher in geology, palaeontology and anthropology, with a keen interest in the Red Sea, he published important textbooks for geologists. His works are especially significant in that they precociously triggered the Italian debate on the theory of evolution just developed by Charles Darwin. His writings touching upon Liguria and Sardinia (his favourite research fields) are also a useful source for local historiography.

Many of the samples he had collected in the Horn of Africa were sent to the Museo civico di Storia naturale at Genoa, founded in 1867 by I.'s fellow citizen and friend Marquis Giacomo Doria, then president of the Società Geografica Italiana.

Of Jewish origin, I. was a typical representative of the Italian intellectuals of the period linking the 19th and 20th cent. He was co-opted into several European academies and scholarly institutions; and received the gold medal award of the French Institute in 1871, and two silver medals of the Società Geografica Italiana. In 1893, he became the president of the Società Geologica Italiana.

Src.: ARTURO ISSEL, *Compendio di geologia*, Torino 1896; ID., *Malacologia del Mar Rosso. Ricerche zoologiche e paleontologiche*, Pisa 1869; ID., *Viaggio nel Mar Rosso e tra i Bogos*, Milano 1872 (²1876, ³1885); ID., "Di alcuni molluschi terrestri viventi presso Aden e sulla costa d'Abissinia", *Annali del Museo civico di Storia naturale di Genova* 4, 1873, 521–30; ID., *Istruzioni scientifiche per viaggiatori*, Roma 1875; ID., *Bibliografia scientifica della Liguria*, Genova 1887; ID., *Crociera del Violante, comandato dal Capitano armatore Enrico d'Albertis, durante l'anno 1877*, Genova 1878; ID., *Quali potrebbero essere i provedimenti da adottarsi dal Governo per trarre profitto della pesca ed allevamento dell'ostrica perlifera nelle isole Dahalak*, Genova 1894; ID., *Morfologia e genesi del Mar Rosso, saggio di paleogeografia*, Firenze 1899; ID., *Essai sur l'origine et la formation de la Mer Rouge*, Bruxelles 1900; ID., *La villetta di Negro e il Museo geologico*, Genova 1914; ORAZIO ANTINORI – ODOARDO BECCARI – ARTURO ISSEL, *Un viaggio nel Mar Rosso*, Roma 1884; ORAZIO ANTINORI, *Viaggio nei Bogos*, con testi di Giacomo Antinori, Odoardo Beccari, Guido Cora, Luigi D'Isengard, Augusto Franzoj, Arturo Issel, Carlo Piagga, ed. by MANLIO BONATI, Perugia 2000 (Classici Umbri della Letteratura dalle Origini al Novecento).

Lit.: ANTONIO CAPPELLINI, *Dizionario biografico dei Genovesi illustri e notabili*, Genova 1936, 67 (Lit.); ErDizBio 172; NICOLETTA MORELLO, "Issel, Arturo", in: *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 62, Roma 2004, 668–71 (Lit.); *Onoranze al Prof. Arturo Issel in occasione del suo quarantesimo anno di insegnamento nell'Ateneo genovese*, Genova 1907.

Giancarlo Stella – Red.

Istituto Coloniale Italiano

The I.C.I. was founded in 1906 when Italian colonialism was trying to move on from the setback it had suffered at the battle of ↗[c]Adwa in 1896 and reflected Italy's new colonial ambitions (↗Colonialism). The governor of Eritrea, Ferdinando ↗Martini, prepared the path for such a re-launch by organizing in Asmära in 1905 a symposium devoted to the problems of colonisation. The colonial lobby found a voice in the new Institute established in Rome; its objectives were to enlighten the authorities and public opinion on colonial activities. Its first president was a politician, Giacomo De Martino and Cesare Rossetti, an official of the Colonial Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, was its general secretary.

The I.C.I. convened in 1908 and 1911 the first and the second Congress of Italians Living Abroad, contributing to the rise in interest in overseas expansion and encouraging a diversion of the flow of emigrants from the Americas to the Italian colonies. A major event was the first Colonial Congress that took place in 1919 in the magnificent setting of the Capitol in Rome, providing an occasion for championing Italy's colonial program in the aftermath of World War I. The Institute edited the *Rivista coloniale*, a scientific journal as well as a device for exerting political pressure, which – as a result of successive changes and the absorption of other journals – became *L'Oltremare* and later *Rivista delle colonie*. The I.C.I. was renamed *Istituto coloniale fascista* in 1928 and *Istituto fascista dell'Africa italiana* in 1937 and fostered its aims through the new journal *Africa italiana*, a mouthpiece for colonial rhetoric during the Fascist occupation of Ethiopia.

When Italy lost all her colonies in World War II, the I.C.I., under the title *Istituto italiano per l'Africa*, defended the residual rights and expectations of the former colonies, organising in 1947 a Congress on Italian interests in Africa. However, later, it progressively re-oriented its activity in order to suit the diverse realities of Africa in the era of decolonisation. In 1965, the bulletin of the I.C.I. (*Affrica. Rivista mensile di interessi affricani*, 1945–56) became a quarterly and was given a more scientific scope, hosting articles in Italian, English and French (*Africa. rivista trimestrale di studi e documentazione*, 1957ff.). In 1971, the I.C.I. was renamed *Istituto italo-africano* and endorsed a more friendly policy towards independent Africa. Finally, the *Istituto italo-africano* merged in 1995 with the *Istituto italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente* (IsMEO), to form the *Istituto italiano per l'Africa e l'Oriente* (IsIAO).

↗Africa Orientale Italiana; ↗Italy, relations with

Lit.: ALBERTO AQUARONE, "Politica estera e organizzazione del consenso nell'età giolittiana: Il Congresso dell'Asmara e la fondazione dell'Istituto coloniale italiano", in: ID., *Dopo Adua: politica e amministrazione coloniale*, Roma 1989, 255–410; CARLA GHEZZI, "Fonti di documentazione e di ricerca per la conoscenza dell'Africa dall'Istituto coloniale italiano all'Istituto italo-africano", *Studi Piacentini* 7, 1990, 167–92; MATTEO PIEROTTI, *L'Istituto coloniale italiano. Sue origini, suo sviluppo*, Roma 1922.

Giampaolo Calchi Novati

Istituto Universitario Orientale

I.U.O. in Naples (since 2003 Università degli studi di Napoli "L'Orientale") is the oldest Orientalist institution in Europe. It was established in the early 18th cent. by Matteo Ripa as the Collegio dei Cinesi, a Jesuit missionary school. The core was formed by four young Chinese students and a teacher of Chinese in 1724, and in 1732 the college was acknowledged by Pope Clement XII. Beside missionaries for China, it also educated interpreters for the Oostende company. Soon young Neapolitans were also being admitted to the college, and starting from 1747 students from the Ottoman Empire were able to be enrolled. After the Unification of Italy in 1868 the I.O.U. was transformed into the Real Collegio Asiatico, with two sections: one missionary and another, open to young laymen wishing to study oriental languages. In December 1888 the college was transformed into the Regio Istituto Orientale di Napoli. The missionary function was suppressed, and the education was advanced to university level (whereas the Real Collegio Asiatico was at the secondary school level). Since 1975, the I.U.O. has had four faculties: Lettere e Filosofia, Lingue e Letterature Straniere, Scienze Politiche and Scuola di Studi Islamici (now Studi Arabo-Islamici e del Mediterraneo).

The I.U.O. boasts a long tradition in ↗Ethiopian studies. A disciple of Ignazio ↗Guidi, Francesco ↗Gallina, became the first Professor to hold the chair of Amharic language and literature at the Regio Istituto Orientale. Among his students were Enrico ↗Cerulli and Luigi ↗Fusella, who succeeded Gallina in the chair of Gəʿəz and Amharic language and literature. The scholars of the I.U.O. explored not only languages and literatures but also socio-economic features of Ethiopian populations as well as the political history of the country, drawing on sources ranging from oral and written traditions to diplomatic documents (the latter were the object of important investigation by Carlo ↗Zaghi, professor in the departments of Storia Moderna and Africanistica). From the 1960s, Lanfranco ↗Ricci has further widened the I.U.O. multi-disciplinary approach to Ethiopian studies, developing different perspectives and promoting an intense activity of both seminars and field studies. The Seminario di Etiopistica he directed (and intended to transform into a Seminario di Studi Africani) became the first nucleus of Ethiopian studies at the I.U.O. In 1973–74, Ricci headed the "Missione Archeologica Italiana in Etiopia" focusing on ↗Betä Giyorgis hill to the northwest of ↗Aksum. The sites he worked at (two

churches, ʿOna Nägäśt settlement, and a stelae quarry) have been further excavated since 1993 by the archaeological expedition lead by Rodolfo Fattovich. Other members of the I.U.O. have since carried out valuable philological, linguistic, and ethno-historical research.

In 1984, the Dipartimento di Studi e Ricerche su Africa e Paesi Arabi (DSRAPA) was established within the I.U.O. to implement symposia and research activities in many disciplinary areas and in co-operation with both ↗Addis Ababa University and ↗Asmära University as well as within international scientific networks. DSRAPA publishes monographs (e.g., the *Studi Africanistici, Serie Etiopica*) and research periodicals (e.g., the ↗*Rassegna di Studi Etiopici* in co-operation with the Istituto per l'Oriente, Rome, the *Annali IUO* in cooperation with the Dipartimento di Studi Asiatici of the I.U.O.).

Src.: MATTEO RIPA, *Storia della fondazione della Congregazione e del Collegio dei Cinesi*, 3 vols., Napoli 1983.
Lit.: MARIO AGRIMI, *Il Collegio dei Cinesi e Matteo Ripa. Per i 250 anni dell'IUO*, Napoli 1992; FRANCESCO D'ARELLI, "Stefano Borgia ed il Collegio dei Cinesi di Napoli: studi religiosi e orientali", in: MARCO NOCCA (ed.), *Le quattro voci del mondo: arte, culture e saperi nella collezione di Stefano Borgia 1731–1804. Giornate internazionali di Studi (Velletri,13–14 maggio 2000)*, Napoli 2001, 280–85 (Lit.); I. ASCIONE, "La nascita del collegio dei Cinesi tra i conflitti giurisdizionali dell'ultimo viceregno austriaco", in: ALDO GALLOTTA – UGO MARAZZI (eds.), *La conoscenza dell'Asia e dell'Africa in Italia nei secoli XVIII e XIX*, vol. 2/1, Napoli 1985, 19–61; MICHELE FATICA, *Le sedi dell'Istituto Universitario Orientale, 1729–2001*, Napoli 2002; ID. – FRANCESCO D'ARELLI (eds.), *Matteo Ripa e il Collegio dei Cinesi. La missione cattolica in Cina tra i secoli XVIII–XIX*, Napoli 1999; NICOLA NICOLINI, *L'Istituto Orientale di Napoli. Origini e Statuti*, Napoli 1942.

Federica Guazzini

Italian East Africa ↗Africa Orientale Italiana

Italian language in Ethiopia and Eritrea

Italian colony

The presence of Italians in the Horn of Africa began in ↗Eritrea (ʿAsäb) in 1869, leading to the foundation of the *Colonia Eritrea* (1890) and in ↗Somalia (*Somalia Italiana*) in 1889. Both regions were later to become part of ↗Africa Orientale Italiana, which existed from the occupation of Ethiopia in 1935–36 until the defeat of the Italians in 1941. The chief aim of Italian colonial policy in Eritrea was to transform this *colonia primordiale* into a settler colony. As a result, Italian immigration to Eritrea was massive and quite effective – whereas the short occupation of Ethiopia had no major impact on the country.

The number of Italians residing in Ethiopia was very substantial, e.g. from January to July 1936 about 131,000 workers were brought over as settlers to Ethiopia. In 1938 Italians represented half of the population of ↗Asmära (*Guida* 199). Although many Italians left the country after the end of Africa Orientale Italiana in 1941, a considerable number remained because they were needed as functionaries by the ↗British Military Administration. On the eve of the 1974 revolution, the number of Italians was estimated at 18,000, with 5,000 of them in Asmära (Habte-Mariam Marcos in BendLang 172).

The purpose of state education in Eritrea and Ethiopia during Italian occupation was primarily to provide a good education for the Italian settlers. The Italian schools were not open to the natives, for whom only elementary education was offered. "Half-castes" (i.e. those recognized by their Italian fathers) were admitted up to 1938. In contrast to Eritrea, education in Ethiopia included secondary schools, so that Eritreans came to Ethiopia for higher education.

The level of education and enrolment in schools generally was very low. The spread of the I.l. throughout the whole colony was consequently largely due to the influence of Italianized Eritreans with their good Italian and the native colonial troops (many of them from Eritrea) using simplified varieties of Italian. The Italian character of Asmära and the massive use of the I.l. there was evident, as manifested, e.g., in the trilingual journal *Il Bollettino*. This came to an end in the nationalization of industries that led to the expulsion of foreigners, among them most of the Italians, through the *Därg* regime in 1975 and later years. However, the I.l. continued to be used as a technical language of instruction manuals, etc. Some native speakers of the I.l. are reported to live in Eritrea even today; besides, a number of Eritreans have knowledge of the I.l. as a second language, acquired at school or in the family (Gordon 2005:112; Pagliarulo 2004).

Simplified Italian of Ethiopia

In his 1976 study based on field research in Asmära and Addis Abäba, Habte-Mariam Marcos (in BendLang) postulated the existence of a so-called Simplified Italian of Ethiopia, used by native uneducated town dwellers for communication with their Italian employers.

Simplified Italian shows the typical restructurings encountered in numerous pidgins. On the phonetic level, some sounds absent from ↗Amharic or ↗Təgrəññña, e.g., [*p*], [*v*], [*ʦ*], [*ʤ*], and the diphthonges [*uo*], [*ie*] were changed to [*b*], [*b*] (in postvocalic position [*β*]) or [*w*], [*s*], [*z*] and [*o*], [*e*] respectively, e.g., *vicino* > *bəčino*, 'near'; *parlare* > *bärlare*, 'speak'. Two consonants in word-initial position were pronounced with a prothetic or epenthetic vowel: *stancato* > *əstänkato*, 'tired'; *scuola* > *əskola*, 'school'; *troppo* > *tərobbo*, 'very'. Unstressed *a* and *i* were changed to *ä* and *ə* respectively: *mattina* > *mätina*, 'morning'; *finito* > *fənito*, 'finished'. Under the influence of so many Təgrəññña words ending in *-i*, a final Italian *-e* is often changed to *-i*: *pesce* > *bäši*, 'fish'; *miele* > *meli*, 'honey', *pane* > *bani*, '(European-style) bread'.

The simplification in grammar is very strong. The definite and indefinite articles and the copula are not expressed: *luy kome madre*, 'he (is) like (a) mother'. The verbal system is reduced to the infinitive (used as present form) and to the past participle (used as past form): *yo läwrare sämbre*, 'I work [< inf. *lavorare*] always [< *sempre*]', *rägasi mänǧato*, 'the children ate' (instead of the standard *i ragazzi/le ragazze hanno mangiato*). The infinitive is also used as imperative and conditional: *bänire domani*, 'come tomorrow!'.

The varieties of the I.l. used in Somalia by house-servants for communication with their Italian employers showed quite similar peculiarities (Banti 1990). The Italian labiodental *v* is realized as *f* or *w*: *lafare* (< *lavare*) , 'to wash'; *lawa* 'he washes'. Ital. [*ʦ*], [*ʤ*] and [*č*] were simplified to *s* and *š* respectively: *kolasione* (< *colazione*), 'breakfast', *biaše* (< *piace*), 'nice'. Observe the special use of the infinitive: *tuti kušinare uguale*, 'all kind of cooking is similar', *berke* (< *perché*) *gridare D.*, 'why is D. crying?'.

Italian influence on Təgrəññña and Amharic

Nowadays one can note a certain knowledge of Italian among the Asmarinos, i.e. the urban population of Asmära. Usually when meeting in town some Italian phrases are used before shifting to Təgrəññña. In the spoken Təgrəññña of Asmära, there are many more loans from the I.l. than in standard literary Təgrəññña. The main fields of borrowing are (especially automobile) technology (*freno*, 'brake'; *marcia indietro* > *marša əndəyätro*, 'reverse gear'; *molla*, 'spring'; *macchina* > *ma/äkkina*, 'car'; *manuale* > *miniwalä*, 'manual, handbook'; *gomma*, 'rubber'; *pompa*, 'pump'; *bicicletta* > *bəšəkläta/bəššəgläta*, 'bike'), cuisine (*salsa* > *səlsi*, 'sauce'; *pasta* > *basta*, 'pasta'; *forno*, 'oven'; *maccheroni* > *mokkəroni*, 'macaroni'; *pane* > *bani*, 'bread'; *minestrone* > *ministroni*, 'potage'; *vino*, 'wine') and household-related words (*luce* > *ləči*, 'light'; *villa*, 'house'; *vaso* > *bazo*, 'vase, chamberpot'; *vasca* > *baska*, 'tub') and others (*bandiera* > *bandera*, 'flag'; *geografia* > *ǧi͡ografya*, 'geography'). Most of these words are listed in Täkkə͡a Tasfay (1999). Italian ↗numerals (*uno*, *due* > *duwä*, etc.) are still used by the older generation in connection with technology and games. Originally Italian Təgrəññña-↗names such as Roma, Ǧorǧo, Lučiya, Stella are widespread.

Most of the loanwords mentioned above for Təgrəññña occur in Amharic as well. In general the Italian impact on Amharic is less strong but still easily recognizable. Other examples are *carcassa* > *kärkassa*, 'worn out, broken down'; *spago* > *sibago*, 'string' (Tubiana 1974). In rare cases the Italian words are fully assimilated to indigenous nominal or verbal forms, note the adjective *kärkassa* (cf. *läslassa*, 'soft') and the normal verb *färrämä*, 'to sign'; *täfärrämä*, 'to be signed' (cp. Tgn. *färämä*, *täfärämä*) derived from the non-assimilated noun *firma* 'signature'. In the same way *fabbrica* > *fabrika*, 'factory' led to the quadriradical verb *fäbärräkä*, 'to manufacture' (cp. Tgn. *fäbräkä*). In recent decades Italian loans have increasingly been replaced by loans from English.

There are some Italian loans in ↗Somali (Mioni 1988). In general the stressed Italian vowel is lengthened: *dolce* > *doolše*, *doorše*, 'sweet'; *televisione* > *telefišoon*, 'television' (but *telefišen* comes from English); *forchetta* > *fargeeto*, 'fork'. Some consonant clusters are not permitted so that we note an epenthetic vowel: *disciplina* > *dišibiliin*, 'discipline'; *complesso* > *kombaleeso*, 'complex'.

Src.: RAYMOND G. GORDON (ed.), *Ethnologue. Languages of the World*, Dallas [15]2005, 112; *Guida* 199; *Il Bollettino del commercio e dello sviluppò economico / ናይ፡ ንግድን፡ ምዕባልናን፡ መጽሔት / نشرة النمو والتجارة*, 3, 5, maggio 1974; 3, 11, novembre 1974 [ed. by Camera di commercio, Industria, Agricoltura ed Artigianato dell'Eritrea, Asmära]; *Manuale di igiene italiano-tigrai ad uso delle scuole indigene/መጽሐፍ፡ "ኢያነ"*, Asmära 1918; *Manuale d'istruzione italiano-tigrai ad uso delle scuole indigene*, Asmara 1917; *Manuale di istruzione ad uso degli indigeni/መጽሐፍ፡ መላመድ፡ ትምህርት፡ ጥበብ፡ ምእንቲ፡ ጥቅሚ፡ ደቅ፡ እዚ፡ ሃገር፡ ኢትዮጵያ*, Asmära 1912; TÄKKƎ͡A TÄSFAY, *ዘመናዊ፡ መዝገበ፡ ቓላት፡ ትግርኛ፡* (*Zämänawi mäzgäbä qalat təgrəññña*, 'Modern Dictionary of Təgrəññña'), Asmära 1999.

Lit.: GIORGIO BANTI, "Sviluppo del sistema verbale nell'italiano parlato da somali a Mogadiscio", in: GIULIANO BERNINI – ANNA GIACALONE RAMAT (eds.), *La temporalità nell'acquisizione di lingue seconde*, Milano 1990 (Materiali

Linguistici 2), 147–62; BERHANE TEKLEHAIMANOT, "Education in Eritrea during the European Colonial Period", *Eritrean Studies Review* 1, 1, 1996, 1–22; HABTE-MARIAM MARCOS, "Italian", in: *BendLang* 170–80; ALBERTO M. MIONI, "Italian and English Loanwords in Somali", in: ANNARITA PUGLIELLI (ed.), *Proceedings of the Third International Congress of Somali Studies*, Roma 1988, 36–42; ANTONIA PAGLIARULO, "La diffusione della lingua italiana in Eritrea: situazione attuale e prospettive future", *Itals. Didattica e linguistica dell'italiano come lingua straniera* 2, 6, 2004, 51–84; TEKESTE NEGASH, *Italian Colonialism in Eritrea 1882–1941, Policies, Praxis and Impact*, Uppsala 1987; JOSEPH TUBIANA, "Passé et futur des emprunts lexicaux: l'exemple de l'amharique", *Bulletin de la Société de linguistique de Paris* 69, 1974, 191–204.

Rainer Voigt

Italian Somaliland

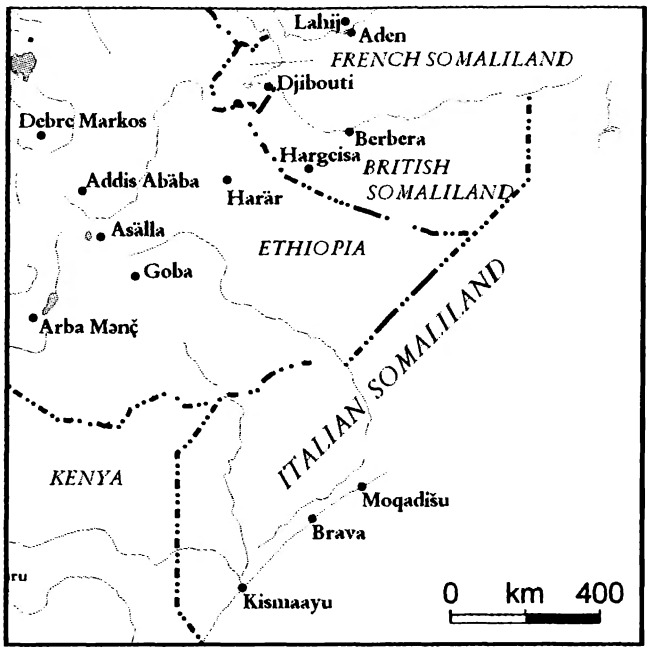
Although Somalis as a people share a common faith, the same language and well-rooted traditions, their access to statehood and sovereignty was achieved through disparate means as a result of the different fate of the Somali-inhabited lands during the colonial period. Indeed, no Somali state or unitary nation existed before colonialism. I.S. (*Somalia italiana*) took shape following a series of annexations of territories which were previously under different authorities. In 1889, Italy concluded separate protectorate agreements with the *sulṭāns* of ↗Obbia and ↗Majerteen. In 1892, thanks to the intermediation of the British, Italy entered into a first convention concerning the Benadir stations which belonged to the *sulṭān* of Zanzibar, who exerted nominal suzerainty over the coast, and in 1905 Italy purchased full sovereignty over Benadir, thereby establishing a form of direct government. The Italian authorities ruled indirectly: via the customary hierarchies in the north and via the commercial companies endowed with quasi-statal prerogatives in the south (*Compagnia Filonardi, Società anonima commerciale italiana del Benadir*). The Colony of I.S., divided into *Colonia della Somalia italiana meridionale* (Benadir) and *Protettorati italiani della Somalia settentrionale*, was proclaimed officially in the constitutive act of 5 April 1908. In the same year, the boundary with Ethiopia, a future bone of contention, was defined by a bilateral agreement but was not demarcated. While Italy was struggling to extend and consolidate her control over the area, I.S. became an additional front of the *ǧihād* conducted by *sayyid* ↗Muḥammad ᶜAbdallāh Ḥassan, the Somali national hero known as the "Mad *Mullah*" in the English press, who mobilized the Somalis to repel foreign influences, coupling nationalism with religious fanaticism and transcending clan feuds (Touval 1963:51, 55–59).

The core of the Italian possessions was to be found in the southern section of the Somali territories, with the ancient city of ↗Mogadishu, the fertile inter-riverine region and the best seaports on the Indian Ocean. Following the Great War, Italy presented an ambitious plan of expansion in the Horn as the reward for her contribution to victory, but the only territorial enlargement actually granted was the cession by Britain of Jubaland (*Oltregiuba*) with the port of ↗Kismaayu that was annexed in 1925. This transfer, admittedly from the perspective of colonial rationale, was to the benefit of the future unification of the Somali territories. All the differences of status of the diverse components were put aside and I.S. began to be officially labelled *Somalia italiana* or just *Somalia*. However, the submission of the Somali territories was virtual rather than real. An effective Italian administration was only set up after the advent of the Fascist regime in Italy. The new governor, Cesare De Vecchi (1923–28), one of the leaders of the March on Rome, carried out a harsh campaign against the still semi-autonomous northern protectorates (the territory of Nogal as well as Obbia and Majerteen), disarming the Somalis with a force of more than 12,000 troops, including three battalions from Eritrea, and support from the sea of a small navy.

The administrative system was centralized around the civil governor (*governatore*). The successors to the militaristic administration of De Vecchi, wishing for a more peaceful evolution, were two members of the colonial service: Guido Corni (1928–31) and Maurizio Rava (1931–35). The governor was assisted by a bureaucratic apparatus as well as selected and salaried chiefs (*capi*); on a local level, the administration of the territory was divided between regional commissaries, residents and vice-residents. Italians and individuals from other "civilised countries" enjoyed the status of citizens (*cittadini*) and were under Italian legislation, whereas the natives of Somalia or from other colonial possessions were subjects (*sudditi*) and kept their original status. To protect traditional rights, the Italian administration recognized as valid both the Muslim *šarīᶜa* and Somali customary law (↗*Ḥeer*), with the sole restriction that native practices should not contravene the basic principles of Italian law. So, for example, the *ḥeer* was consistently overruled in matters of slavery (Hess 1966:109).

According to the census of 1931, the population was about one million, with 1,658 Europeans. The non-Italian population suffered discrimination which became openly racist following to the laws promulgated in 1938 in the metropolis and extended in 1939 to the whole of Italian East Africa. Although modest in size and goals, Italian economic and political activity initiated a gradual social change. A network of roads was built primarily to cope with military exigencies (Ciasca 1940:604). The rural lands not covered by a traditional status, which ignored individual property, were divided into concessions and state property (↗*Terra demaniale*). The management of the concessions was defined by two decrees issued in 1911 and 1912, distinguishing estates between those given over to agriculture, grazing and the gathering of wild fruit. Major programmes of cultivation and resettlement of the indigenous population were accomplished by large private or state companies like the *Società agricola italo-somala* and the *Azienda di Genale*. Italy invested capital and technology in banana and cotton plantations in the region between the ↗Wabi Šäbälle and Juba (↗Ganaalee) rivers (i.e. the large estates named Villaggio Duca degli Abruzzi e Genale). Commerce was strictly controlled by monopolies, in particular for the export of bananas, and by para-statal organizations. Industrial development was poor. The livelihood of the majority of Somalis was linked to pastoralism and their lifestyle remained nomadic. Revenues drawn from the colony continued to be based mainly on customs entries. Little was done to supply formal education: pupils in primary schools numbered less than 2,000, with practically no locals or *indigeni* attending secondary school.

Somalia, like Eritrea, was exploited by Italy in her overall policy aimed at destabilising Ethiopia, moving from the periphery towards the centre of the highlands. A minor clash in December 1934, between an Italian garrison and Ethiopian soldiers at ↗Wälwäl, close to the border of I.S. but apparently within the Ethiopian region of Ogaden, ignited the crisis that led to the Italian invasion and conquest of Ethiopia. After the creation in 1936 of ↗*Africa Orientale Italiana* (A.O.I.) – which included Ethiopia, ↗Eritrea and Somalia – the ↗Ogaden and other regions inhabited by Somalis were detached from Ethiopia and annexed to the *Governo di Somalia*. The Italian strategy was meant to undermine



Ethiopian resistance by promoting regional and national affinities without, however, permitting the development of Somali (or Eritrean) modern nationalism. The practice of land confiscation in order to make land available for colonization and the cultivation of extensive estates were exported to Ethiopia as a whole (Haile Mariam Larebo 1994:76). Somalia preceded by far the other parts of A.O.I. as far as effectively cultivated commercial and demographic concessions were concerned, specifically with regard to cotton production. Nevertheless, Somalia was unable to meet, for example, the needs of the Italian cotton industry. Somalia was a precedent for the system of exploitation of mines as well; the measures adopted were so brutal that they were akin to slavery.

Because of her defeat in ↗World War II (s. also ↗War of Liberation, Italy lost Somalia as well as all her possessions in the Horn, the 1947 Peace Treaty sealing the end of the Italian colonial empire. The war brought the Somali population into contact with the outside world and the West. In the first months of 1941, I.S. was occupied by the British and the colonial government ceased to function. The former Italian colony, treated as an "enemy territory", was subject to the ↗British Military Administration (B.M.A.) that lasted until 1950. The B.M.A. in Somalia – initially embodying the Ogaden and the so called "Reserved Area" of Ethiopia – was less pervasive than the B.M.A. in Eritrea, expecting the decisions at the diplomatic level. The Foreign Office advocated a form of unification of the Somali lands under British jurisdiction and proposed to combine British

Somaliland, Italian Somaliland and the adjacent part of Ethiopia in a trust "so that the nomads should lead their frugal existence with the least possible hindrance". The British administration intensified the process of transformation, further weakening the traditional fabric and opening the way to nationalism. Somali society was traditionally fragmented into clans and *cabile*, but the elite, mostly of urban stock, called for unity and independence. The main political party was the Somali Youth Club, founded in 1943, which later became the Somali Youth League (S.Y.L. or *Liga dei Giovani Somali*). In vain Italy established her own parties like the *Conferenza somala*, aimed at backing up what were in fact the relics of the previous colonial administration.

The discussions regarding the disposal of the former Italian colonies were lengthy and largely influenced by international alignments. The B.M.A. did not conceal its inclination to support the S.Y.L., arousing the resentment of the Italians, both the colonists in place and the authorities in Rome. However, the "Bevin Plan" did not get the necessary support of the Big Powers and the Greater Somalia project was abandoned. In January 1948, while Somalia was being visited by a fact-finding four-power commission, the streets of ↗Mogadishu (S. EAE vol. 5) were the scene of a nationalist rally that degenerated into a massacre of a few dozen Italian residents (Calchi Novati 1992:133–60; Del Boca 1984:168–97). Italy accused the British troops of provocation but London dismissed any responsibility notwithstanding the evidence of some assistance at least with respect to the transport of S.Y.L. militants to Mogadishu and occasional complicity. At the end of the debate at the General Assembly of the U.N., on 21 November 1949, the former I.S. was assigned to Italy as a trusteeship for a ten-year period. With the Trust Administration of Somalia (*Amministrazione Fiduciaria Italiana in Somalia*-A.F.I.S.), post-Fascist Italy was able to display her new democratic profile by collaborating with the S.Y.L., despite initial mutual suspicion, in the preparation of would-be independence institutions. Public expenditure was redirected in order to improve communication, education and health facilities. Unlike the past priority of exporting crops, new emphasis was put on the potentialities of agriculture for domestic consumption. In the period between 1948 and 1954–55, Britain returned the Haud and the Ogaden regions to Ethiopia and confirmed the integrity of Kenya thus thwarting Somali irredentism. The attempts to negotiate a delimitation of the border with Ethiopia which was acceptable to both sides came to nothing.

Italy abided by the UN schedule and in 1960 her former colony became independent. It immediately merged with ↗British Somaliland, giving birth to the Republic of Somalia (with Mogadishu as the capital). The Somali political stage was dominated by the S.Y.L., a party in which a progressive and educated leadership cohabited with the influence of traditional elders. The S.Y.L. was determined, at least nominally, to fight the clan-based power structures as it considered tribalism an obstacle to development and democracy. The whole policy of the new state was subordinated to the fulfilment of the Pan-Somali myth, the reunification of all the Somali lands, claiming Ogaden, the Northern Frontier District of Kenya and French Somaliland (↗Djibouti). The aspiration of a Greater Somalia was in obvious contrast to the conservative policy regarding post-colonial borders that prevailed in the new Africa and was doomed to fail.

Lit.: GIAMPAOLO CALCHI NOVATI, *Fra Mediterraneo e Mar Rosso. Momenti di politica italiana in Africa attraverso il colonialismo*, Roma 1992, 45–75, 105–60; ID., *Il Corno d'Africa nella storia e nella politica*, Torino 1994; RAFFAELE CIASCA, *Storia coloniale dell'Italia contemporanea*, Milano 1940 [1938], 321–35, 583–615; GUIDO CORNI (ed.), *Somalia Italiana*, 2 vols., Milano 1937; ANGELO DEL BOCA, *Gli italiani in Africa Orientale. Dall'Unità alla marcia su Roma*, Roma – Bari 1976, 231–37, 413–34, 567–76, 777–833, 861–72; ID., *Gli italiani in Africa Orientale. La conquista dell'impero*, Roma – Bari 1979, 41–93; ID., *Gli italiani in Africa Orientale. Nostalgia delle colonie*, Roma – Bari 1984, 168–339; CESARE MARIA DE VECCHI, *Orizzonti d'impero*, Milano 1935; HAILE MARIAM LAREBO, *The Building of an Empire: Italian Land Policy and Practice in Ethiopia, 1935–1941*, Oxford 1994, 76–81; ROBERT L. HESS, *Italian Colonialism in Somalia*, Chicago, IL 1966; MARK KARP, *The Economics of Trusteeship in Somalia*, Boston, MA 1960; DAVID D. LAITIN – SAID S. SAMATAR, *Somalia, Nation in Search of a State*, Boulder, CO 1987; IOAN MYRDDIN LEWIS, *A Modern History of Somalia*, Boulder, CO 1988; GENNARO MONDAINI, *Manuale di storia e legislazione coloniale del Regno d'Italia*, Part 1 (*Storia*), Roma 1927, 70–89, 177–220, 571-608, Part 2 (*Legislazione*), Roma 1924, 95–140; ID., *La legislazione coloniale italiana nel suo sviluppo storico e nel suo stato attuale (1881-1940)*, Milano 1941, vol. 1, 227–363, vol. 2, 365–616; SYLVIA PANKHURST, Ex-*Italian Somaliland*, London 1951; SAADIA TOUVAL, *Somali Nationalism*, Oxford 1963.

Giampaolo Calchi Novati

Italian war 1895–96

The Italo–Ethiopian war of 1895–96 was the start of the Italian offensive to conquer Ethiopia,

which was checked by the defeat at the battle of ↗ʿAdwa.

After unsuccessful attempts in North Africa, Italian colonial interests moved to the Horn, with Ethiopia, the Empire and the rich highlands being the main objectives, whilst ↗Eritrea and ↗Somalia were, to some extent, only preliminary steps. The offensive against Ethiopia coincided with the reinforcement of central power in Ethiopia after a long period of decline. Italian colonial operations culminated in the creation of Eritrea; in particular, the occupation of ↗Massawa in 1885 cut Ethiopia off from access to the sea. The Italian defeat of ↗Dogʿali in 1887 roused enormous emotion in Italy but did not slow down the advance of Italian forces, giving weight to those in the metropolis supporting a major colonial engagement.

The target of the Italian expansion was now ↗Təgray, the core of the Ethiopian state bordering with Eritrea. Təgray had been competing for hegemony over the Empire with Šäwa and the Amhara-speaking people. *Aṣe* ↗Mənilək II, former *nəguś* of Šäwa, pushed the sphere of his dominion south- and eastwards completing the "Great Design": apparently Ethiopia was joining the scramble for territory undertaken by the European nations, but in her perspective territorial expansion was meant to oppose colonialism, not to collude with it.

In fact, at the climax of the partition of Africa, Italy stood as the antagonist of the Empire. Moving from Eritrea and Somalia, Italy practised so-called peripheral diplomacy, but the Wəċale Treaty (2 May 1889; ↗Italo–Ethiopian Convention of 1889), annexing part of Təgray to Eritrea, proved that Italy was now aiming at the very centre. The disputed Art. 17 of the Italian version of the Treaty was read by Italy as the legal basis for an Italian protectorate. Mənilək refuted this interpretation and utilized both diplomacy and military resistance to preserve Ethiopia's independence. In 1893 the Emperor unilaterally denounced the Wəċale Treaty. In December 1894, ↗Bahta Ḥagos lead a short-lived but eventful uprising against the Italians.

In a crescendo of reciprocal distrust and hostility Italy and Ethiopia came to the brink of the war. Italian troops repeatedly crossed the semi-official frontier between Eritrea and Ethiopia. The victory against the Dervishes (↗Mahdists) at the fort of Aqordät (December 1893) and the defeat of ↗Mängäša Yoḥannəs's troops at Kʷäʿatit and Säʿafe (January 1895) granted the Italians a false sense of confidence. The Italian Prime Minister Francesco Crispi was resolved on settling the "Ethiopian question" by force; he put aside the political manoeuvres dear to Count Pietro ↗Antonelli and gave the green light to the aggressive plans of general Oreste ↗Baratieri. Never in the previous years had Ethiopia to fight for her survival as at that fateful hour. So far, Italian expansionism had been tackled by *ras* ↗Alula Ǝngəda on the extreme northern fringes of the Empire.

Mənilək – conscious of the loyalty of such leaders as *ras* Alula, ↗Mäkʷännən Wäldä Mikaʾel and Mängäša – mobilized the entire nation to hold back the colonialist threat. Unlike other African rulers facing the same circumstances, Ethiopia was acquainted with the resources of international diplomacy; ↗France and ↗Russia helped Mənilək by providing him and his army with modern equipment and advisers. In between 1895 and 1896, there ensued a series of battles (↗Ambalage, ↗Mäqälä, ʿAdwa etc.), which proved to be as painful setbacks for Italy as much as gains for Ethiopia.

The victory of Mənilək's army at the battle of ʿAdwa (1 March 1896) had a resounding impact all over the world. During the scramble for Africa the military superiority of the European forces was unchallenged and this outcome in the war between Italy and Ethiopia, at a crucial stage of the history of colonialism in the Horn, was an exception. Italy was a medium power both politically and militarily. On the other hand, the status of Ethiopia, an established state with good foreign relations, could not be compared to most African states, which had been overwhelmed by the advance of colonialism. In Italy the military rout ignited a political crisis that smothered, at least for the moment, any colonial drive. Italian ambitions in Ethiopia were postponed to a remote future. The peace treaty signed in Addis Abäba on 26 October 1896 cancelled Wəċale once and for all and recognized the independence of Ethiopia in due form. Nevertheless, the Addis Abäba Treaty confirmed Eritrea as a colony of Italy, and the ↗boundary at the ↗Märäb was put in writing in an act countersigned by the Emperor.

Later on, Britain feared that the Dervishes, galvanized by the success of the Ethiopian army, would further expand their influence, and consequently waged a war in order to take full control over the Dervishes state. Thus, despite its primarily symbolic importance, Ethiopia's victory in the confrontation with Italy did not stop colonialism in the Horn.

Src.: ANTONIO STARABBA RUDINÌ, *Avvenimenti d'Africa (gennaio 1895–marzo 1896)*, Roma 1896; Public Record Office, Foreign Office, "Red Sea and Somali Coast", 881/6788 and Bt 177/2089.
Lit.: BAHRU ZEWDE, "The History of Ethiopian–Italian Relations: The Treaty of Addis Ababa of October 26, 1896", in: GIAMPAOLO CALCHI NOVATI (ed.), *Il colonialismo e l'Africa. L'opera storiografica di Carlo Giglio*, Roma 2004, 123–32; ROMANO BATTAGLIA, *La prima guerra d'Africa*, Torino 1958, 563–809; RICHARD A. CAULK, *'Between the Jaws of Hyenas': a Diplomatic History of Ethiopia (1876–1896)*, Wiesbaden 2002 (AeF 60); RAFFAELE CIASCA, *Storia coloniale dell'Italia contemporanea*, Milano 1940, 221–48; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, *Italia ed Etiopia dal Trattato di Uccialli alla battaglia di Adua*, Roma 1935; ANGELO DEL BOCA, *Gli italiani in Africa orientale*, vol. 1: *Dall'Unità alla marcia su Roma*, Roma – Bari 1976; CARLO GIGLIO, "Il trattato di pace italo–etiopico del 26 ottobre 1896", in: *PICES* 3, vol. 1, 237–51; NICOLA LABANCA, *In marcia verso Adua*, Torino 1993.

Giampaolo Calchi Novati

Italian war 1935–36

Introduction

The I.W. of 1935–36 (also known as Second Italo-Ethiopian/Abyssinian War; Ital. also *Guerra d'Abissinia/Etiopia*, *Campagna d'Etiopia*) started on 3 October 1935 and ended, formally, on 9 May 1936, with an Italian victory and creation of the ↗Africa Orientale Italiana.

Despite the 1928 Italo-Ethiopian Treaty of Friendship, ↗Mussolini made plans to conquer Ethiopia. Some measures like reconnoitring missions were carried out, and some military plans for Eritrea had been elaborated long before the I.W. After the acquisition of Jubaland (↗Italian Somaliland), Ethiopia became the primary goal of the Fascist government's expansionist policy aimed at geographically unifying the Italian possessions in the Horn of Africa. Mussolini believed that an Italian military invasion of Ethiopia would be "modern, efficient, pitiless and unstoppable" and would elevate Italy to the status of a world power. A victory in Ethiopia would also restore Italy's national honour after its defeat at the Battle of ↗ʿAdwa, in the unsuccessful 1895–96 war against Ethiopia (↗Italian war 1895–96). Mussolini dreamt of establishing Italian hegemony in the whole Mediterranean and he conceived occupying Ethiopia as a jumping board, both militarily and diplomatically, to the ↗Middle East.

The outbreak of the I.W. underscored the political fragility of Europe's great powers and the ↗League of Nations's "collective security" strategy, and helped pave the way for ↗World War II. The events that led to the I.W. elicited no meaningful actions from the League of Nations to defuse the escalating crisis between Italy and Ethiopia. After 5 December 1934 military clash between Italy and Ethiopia at ↗Wälwäl, *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I unsuccessfully appealed to the League of Nations concerning the Italian aggression and military built-up. However, the League of Nations maintained that neither country bore responsibility for the clash.

Preparations and outbreak of hostilities

The Italian public applauded Rome's intended aggression and believed that the creation of a colonial empire in East Africa would bring "civilization and humanity" to the region, put Italy on an equal footing with other European colonial powers, and allow Italy to send large numbers of Italian colonists to the region.

In February 1935, Rome started deploying troops to Eritrea and Somaliland. Eventually, some 207,000 Italian troops equipped with 150 aircraft, 700 field artillery pieces, and 150 tankettes and light tanks were poised to attack Ḫaylä Śəllase I's Empire. Some 80,000 of these troops were stationed in Somaliland, where the preparation for the war was conducted, from February 1935, by the governor-general ↗Graziani. The Italians were to be supported by strong contingents of colonial army (↗*Askaris*; Eritrean *bandas* and the *Dubat*).

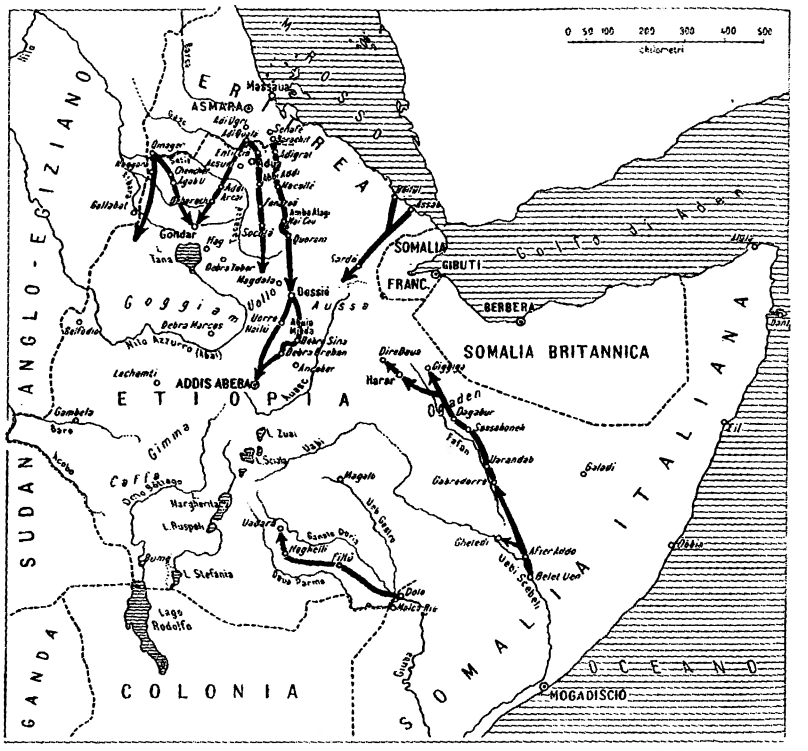
In April 1935, Mussolini authorized the establishment of the Supreme Command in East Africa in ↗Asmära under General Emilio ↗De Bono's command. Within a few months, he had succeeded in building up infrastructure, port facilities, airplane fields in Eritrea and Somalia.

The Regia Aeronautica units that provided air support included the 3rd Air Brigade (Asmära), the 15th Group of Bombers, the Independent Hydroplane Section (Massawa), and the ʿAsäb Air Command. Its mission included supporting ground units by conducting surveillance missions, flying missions against Ethiopian ground forces; and defending Asmära, Asäb, and Massawa. On the eve of hostilities, the Regia Aeronautica had an authorized strength of 350 aircrafts but it had only 126 planes. In the course of the war, it proved to be a disappointment to the Italians since there were few strategic targets such as arsenals and industrial centers, yet, due to the absolute dominance in the air, the raids of the Italian war planes against the towns and Ethiopian ground forces

were very effective and in many cases decisive for outcomes of the battles.

On 2 September 1935, a Royal Decree established the Naval Division of East Africa, under Admiral Guido Vannutelli's command. This unit included two cruisers, two scouts, and two torpedo boats. Vannutelli's mission was to direct all Italian vessels in the Red Sea and to reconnoitre the coast.

Italian military intelligence had a fairly good understanding of the size, strength and capabilities of the Ethiopian ↗army. According to Italian calculations, Ḫaylä Śəllase I could mobilize an estimated 200,000 to 250,000 troops in northern Ethiopia and some 80,000 to 100,000 in the south. It was assessed that about a quarter of Ethiopia's total forces had some kind of modern military training (cp. ↗Infantry) and nearly all Ethiopian troops had repeating rifles of various calibres and models. The army also had some 200 small calibre field guns, about 1,000 heavy and light machine guns, 100 anti-aircraft and anti-tank guns, and a few fighting vehicles. Ḫaylä Śəllase I also had acquired modest amounts of military aid from ↗Sweden and Nazi ↗Germany (cp. David ↗Hall) and had some Belgian, Swedish and Russian military advisers (yet almost no one among Ethiopian supreme commanders had a proper military education). In order to avoid provoking Italy, the Emperor announced the mobilisation only on 28 September.


ERITREA
SOMALIA
FRANC.
GIBUTI
BERBERA
SOMALIA BRITANNICA
ADDIS ABEBA
ETIOPIA
SUDAN ANGLO-EGIZIANO
COLONIA
SOMALIA ITALIANA
OCEANO
MOGADISCIO
ASMARA
Gondar
Dessiè
Harar
Jigiga
Gimma
Caffa
Lago Rodolfo
L. Stefania
L. Zuai
L. Scioa
Margherita
Dire Daua
Giggiga
Sassabaneh
Gabredarre
Belet Uen
Afder Addo
Uebi Scebeli
Mega
Uarandab
Galadi
Dolo
Mojale
Lechemti
Gambela
Bure
Debra Tabor
Debra Marcos
Debra Sina
Debra Berhan
Ancober
Magdala
Quoram
Sardo
Socota
Adigrat
Adua
Axum
Adi Ugri
Adi Quala
Enticio
Adi Arcai
Omager
Gallabat
Tana
Uollo
Uerre Selassie
Asbin
Mieda
Aussa
Uadara
Bacche Dorzi
Maghelli
Filtù
Bacche Parma
Ualdia
Ualdia Ghelemso
Ghelemso
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Bacche Gudina
Bacche Gudina

Southern Danakil (eastern lowlands) together with the 27th and 28th Colonial Battalions, a group of irregulars, and Libyan volunteers supported by the 17th Colonial Battalion.

On 5 October General Ruggiero Santini occupied ʿAddigrat and Lieutenant General Maravigna captured ʿAdwa, a victory that, as Mussolini claimed, had filled "the souls of Italians with pride". *Ras* ↗Śəyyum Mängäša withdrew his forces to Tämben, avoiding battles. On 10 October, the commander of the strategic Mäqälä sector *däğğazmač* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase Gugsa submitted to De Bono at ʿƎdäga Ḥamus. Aksum was occupied on 11 October, and Mäqälä on 8 November. From these locations, Italian troops gradually extended their control to the east, west, and south. In November 1935, Brigadier General Oreste Mariotti penetrated the ʿAfar Depression from Kululli, the terminus of the railway line from the Eritrean port of Fatima Eri. Securing the left flank of the Italian army, Mariotti and his troops marched across the desert, ascended the plateau via the Ende gorge, where they survived an attack of *däğğazmač* Kaśa Səbḥat's troops on 12–13 November, at Aṣbi. The force then continued to Mäqälä, where it joined the troops of I Corps. On the whole, on this stage of the war the Italians encountered sporadic resistance, the main Ethiopian forces amassing south from Mäqälä and preparing for the counterattacks.

The betrayal of Ḫaylä Śəllase Gugsa was "the blessing in disguise". The Ethiopian line of defence was broken and the Italians could penetrate swiftly inland. Some of Ḫaylä Śəllase's advisors, notably the "White" Russian Konovalov, had tried to convince the Emperor that the old ʿAdwa-style strategy of the frontal collision would not do any more. They advocated letting the Italians in and then conducting guerrilla campaign against their communication lines. The Emperor was said to be convinced, yet the traditional way of assembling forces together was largely retained.

Despite the accomplishments, Mussolini became increasingly impatient with what he felt was De Bono's slow progress. On 14 November 1935, he sacked De Bono and appointed Marshal Pietro ↗Badoglio as commander-in chief of the armed forces and High Commissioner in East Africa. However, Badoglio proved to be as cautious as his predecessor; he quickly realized that the Italian lines were over-extended and his troops were incapable of holding a 300-mile long front in a region peppered with steep mountains and deep gorges. Ethiopian forces started to exploit this situation by launching attacks against isolated outposts and supply convoys and by undertaking operations against ʿAdwa and Mäqälä. To compound Badoglio's problems, the early rainy season had washed out several recently built mountain roads, thus impeding his ability to re-supply troops. The Italians lacked troops for continuous defence lines but strengthened their positions around the biggest occupied towns. Additionally, III Corps was established and stationed south to Mäqälä (IV Corps was formed in the beginning of 1936). In Šire, a few Italian units advanced as far as Täkkäze.

In early October 1935, Graziani began the southern campaign by deploying mobile columns of motorized troops supported by tanks and the Regia Aeronautica. The Italians faced steady Ethiopian resistance by the troops of *grazmač* ↗Afäwärq Wäldä Sämayat in the valley of River Fafan, at Gorahay. Only after Afäwärq was mortally wounded on 7 November, the Italians captured Gorahay, a victory that facilitated the future advance on Harär and ↗Ǧiǧiga. Graziani hoped that the occupation of these two towns would allow his soldiers to prevent weapons' shipments destined for the Emperor's forces from entering Ethiopia from British Somaliland. From Gorahay, the Italians deployed 120 miles up the Fafan valley to Däggah Bur. Attacks of the troops of *däğğazmač* Näsibu Zäʾamanuʾel against Graziani's rear units forced the column to return to Gorahay. Meanwhile, another Italian column advanced to Däggah Bur but had to withdraw to Gabre Darre, just north of Gorahay. By late 1935, Graziani, disposing over limited number of troops, remained largely on the defensive, also being effectively blocked by the army of *däğğazmač* ↗Näsibu (an energetic Turkish General, Wahib *pasha* being his Staff commander) in Harärge and the army of *ras* ↗Dästa Damṭäw in Dolo, Sidamo. Ethiopian units and heavy rains also contributed to Graziani's lack of progress.

In December 1935, the Ethiopian army completed its mobilization, and its generals were quick to finally return to the entrenched tradition of assembling all forces together in preparation for frontal collisions. The army of *ras* ↗Əmməru Ḫaylä Śəllase and *däğğazmač* Ayyaläw reached Šire from the south-west; in Tämben concentrated the armies of *ras* Kaśa Ḫaylu and *ras* Śəyyum Mängäša. The largest army under the command of *ras* ↗Mulugeta Yəggäzu stood to the south

of Mäqälä. In December the Ethiopian military leadership decided to attempt counter-assaults at both fronts.

On 13 December *däğğazmač* Bäyyänä Märəd, the governor of Bale, attempted an assault on the southern front in the Wäbi Šäbälle area to help *ras* Dästa's army. Bäyyänä achieved some success near Gabba, but stopped when faced by larger Italian units.

On 15 December, a battle took place the region of May Ṭəmqät, not far from Täkkäze, where the soldiers of *ras* Ǝmməru advancing from Bägemdər attacked, having crossed the river, the unit of *camicie nere* of Major Criniti. In the following days, there were fierce battles at the passes of Dämbägʷena and ᶜAdd Gäfa, with heavy losses for both sides (the Italians lost some 15 tankettes). *Ras* Ǝmməru's troops failed to widen the assault; however, the Italians also had to leave a large territory, withdring closer to their main positions at Aksum. *Ras* Śəyyum's army tried an attack in Tämben, at ↗ᶜAbiy ᶜAddi, which the Italians repelled thanks to their superior fire power, but, again, they had to withdraw their positions to the north.

Italian frustrations with the slow pace of the military campaign convinced Mussolini to authorize the use of illegal chemical weapons, primarily yperite (mustard gas). During a four-month period, the Regia Aeronautica dropped 330 tons of chemical warfare agents out of a total of 1,829 tons of explosives. Representations by the international community and organizations like the International Committee of the ↗Red Cross and the League of Nations to persuade Italy to stop using chemical weapons were weak and ineffective.

On 30 January 1936, Mussolini warned the Italian population that at least another year would be required to complete the conquest of Ethiopia. League of Nations sanctions and growing war expenditures added to Rome's woes. However, it soon became apparent that such a dire prognosis was unwarranted. Marshal Badoglio's military cunning, the use of chemical weapons, the superiority of Italian armaments, and the success of Italian subversive actions doomed Ethiopia's poorly led and equipped army.

January–May 1936

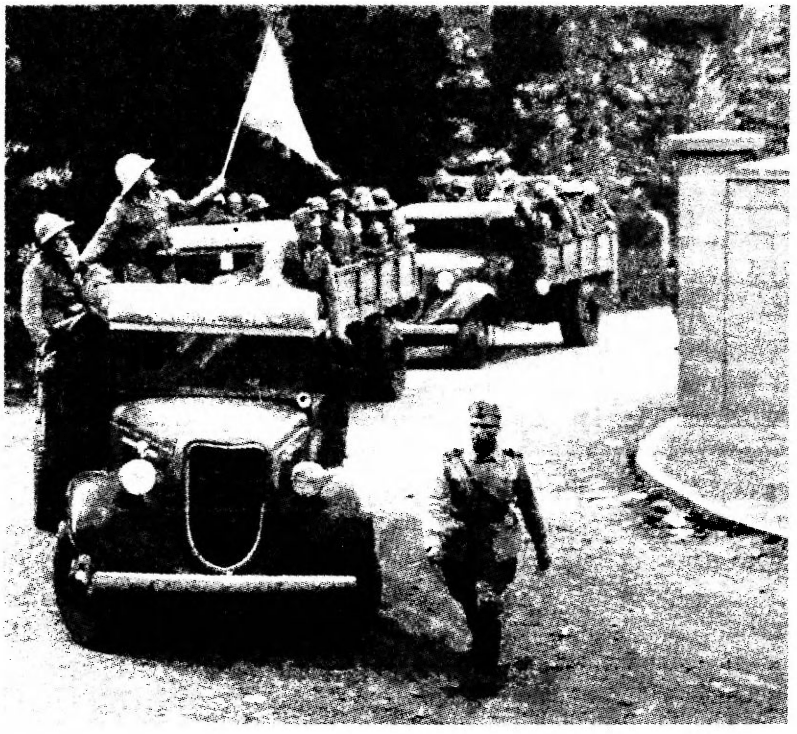
Within several months, Italian forces had scored some impressive victories on the northern and southern fronts. On 12 January 1936 Graziani launched another offensive on the southern front that involved three Italian columns advancing in the valleys of the rivers Doriya Parma, Genaalee Doriya and Wabi Destro. After three days of fighting, the defence of *ras* Dästa collapsed, his troops suffered heavy losses and withdrew from Torbi. Graziani then launched the "hell on wheels" campaign that involved many hundreds of armoured cars, tanks, and trucks. In eight days, he advanced 240 miles to ↗Nagallee, which served as the Ethiopian army's headquarters in the south-west, and on 26 January 1936 he captured Wadera.

On 19–23 January, anticipating an Ethiopian assault in Tämben, III Corps units battled *ras* Kaśa's troops in a bloody four-day fight, that is known also as "the first battle of Tämben" around Däbrä Amba, Lata, and at the passes of Wäriʾu (where Ethiopian fighters encircled 2nd Militia Division of *camicie nere* "28 October" for three days) and Abaro. The news of the effective actions of the Ethiopians in that battle caused anxiety in Rome.

The battle of Ǝndärta occurred on 10–15 February 1936 at Mount ↗Amba Aradom. From this location, Badoglio deployed I and II Corps from Mäqälä and 1 Militia Division of *camicie nere* "23 March" (some 100,000 with 250 artillery pieces) to battle *ras* Mulugeta's 80,000-man army. After a fierce battle, Badoglio's troops scored a decisive victory. Some days later, the *ras* Mulugeta was killed. This victory enabled III Corps to conduct operations against the Ethiopian Army's other two groups. Badoglio's forces then cut the routes between Tämben and Säqota, thereby creating favourable conditions for further Italian activities.

On 27 I Corps approached the ↗Ambalage stronghold, but the Ethiopians already had departed for the south. On 28 February, the Italian Eritrean Army Corps and III Corps prepared to conduct a campaign against a 30,000-man force that was loyal to *ras* Kaśa Ḫaylu and *ras* Śəyyum Mängäša in the southern Tämben (the Wäriʾu pass, Wärq Amba, Amba Ṣällere), from the south and north respectively, with Regia Aeronautica's support. The second battle of Tämben lasted until 1 March, when Italian forces scored one more victory over the Ethiopians. Having left some 1,000 square miles of territory under the Italian control, *ras* Kaśa Ḫaylu and *ras* Śəyyum fled to the south, where they joined the Imperial troops.

Almost simultaneously, the battle of Šire took place on 28 February – 3 March. While II Corps attacked at Säläqläka, pushing *ras* Ǝmməru's



Arrival of Italian troops at Addis Abäba, May 1936; photo from the collection of Johannes Bohnenberger

troops to the east, IV Corps entered from Eritrea advancing, via Ṣäᶜada Mədri and ᶜAz Daro, to the Ethiopians' northernmost positions. In the course of heavy fight, the Ethiopian avoided complete destruction, but had to withdrew with heavy losses beyond Täkkäze, leaving to the Italians substantial territories.

On 20 March the "Colonna Celere" of General Achille Starace, composed of some 3,000 troops on more than 400 vehicles, entered Ethiopia near ↗Om Hağer. After a difficult ca. 380 km march, on 1 April the Italians occupied Gondär without a fight, and soon took the region around Lake Ṭana. Another Italian column went along the Sudanese border, closing British supply routes. The troops of II Corps reached Gondär via May Ṭəmqät and Däbarq. Additionally, an Italian column of ca. 17,000 man deployed from ᶜAsäb to Sardó, in ↗Áwsa, a town that controlled one of the main caravan routes to Addis Abäba. Some 10,000-man Imperial troops had been transferred to the southern Təgray, and Sardó surrendered. The Regia Aeronautica attacked targets in Ğiğiga (15 and 22 March 1936), Harär (29 March 1936), and Addis Abäba (4 April 1936).

In late March, the Imperial government faced another military setback due to the Italian advance. Internal disturbances (e.g., lasting from January 1936 in ↗Goğğam, engineered by *ras* ↗Ḫäylä Täklä Haymanot, in chains by that time, and the Italians) further complicated Ethiopian military operations. Nevertheless, on 31 March – 3 April, the Emperor gave battle at ↗May Çäw. The rest of the Imperial army and the ↗Imperial Bodyguard, led by the Emperor, were defeated by three superior Italian corps. The Italian victory at May Çäw caused northern Ethiopian army to disintegrate. A few small guerrilla groups kept fighting while the Emperor fled to Addis Abäba.

On 7 April 1936, an increasingly desperate Ḫaylä Śəllase issued a proclamation that called to arms all Ethiopian males capable of military service. However, most of those who responded lacked military training and, at best, had antiquated weapons. This disparity was coupled with vicious Italian tactics like mass executions of Ethiopian soldiers and civilians and the use of chemical weapons.

On the southern front, Ḫaylä Śəllase sought to prevent the Italians from occupying Harär and cutting the Addis Abäba–Djibouti railway line by building a double line of field fortifications across the Ogaden. The rest of Dästa Damṭäw's army, located near Nagallee, in Sidamo, prepared to advance on Ethiopia, Kenya, and Somalia border area. The Emperor believed that his soldiers then could invade Somalia and seek to drive Italian forces to the coast. In the Ogaden, the units of *däğğazmač* Mäkʷännən Ǝndälkaččăw, Abbäbä Damṭäw and *däğğazmač* Näsibu (some 28,000) fortified their positions along the line Dagamedo – Birgato – Gunegedo (Ġunagadu) – Wadel, the region which became the scene of the "second battle of Ogaden". On 14 April, Italian motorized columns attacked those fortified positions, the main direction being along River Fafan (here, three Italian units were advancing, led by Generals ↗Nasi, Agostini and Frusci). Fierce fighting also occurred at Gunegedo. By the end of April, the Italians captured the strategic towns of Sassabanee, Dägah Bur, Ğiğğiga.

In the meantime, the Ethiopian troops were demoralized; many deserted while tribal leaders, accepted Italian bribes and then turned against the Imperial forces. On 2 May 1936, Ḫaylä Śəllase and his family left Addis Abäba for Djibouti and eventual exile in the Great Britain. Three days later, the Italians entered the capital. On 7 May

1936, Italian troops deployed from Addis Abäba to join Graziani's troops, which had occupied Harär on 8 May. On 9 May, Graziani and Badoglio met at Dərre Dawa. Herewith, the war ended on the southern front. On 9 May 1936, Rome announced the annexation of Ethiopia; ↗Vittorio Emmanuele III, the King of Italy, was proclaimed the country's new Emperor.

The War and the League of Nations

The League of Nations issued the official condemnation of the Italian aggression on 7 October 1935, yet Ethiopia was left largely in isolation and without help from the side of the large European powers (and its pre-war short-term allies like Germany and ↗Japan), despite the pronounced opposition to the aggression from the side of the smaller European states and the USSR, and vehement indignation of the many countries' broad public. On 18 November 1935, the League of Nations imposed several sanctions against Italy but they failed to deter Mussolini's plans. In December 1935, the ↗Hoare-Laval Plan, designed to end the I.W., was rejected by both Mussolini and Ḫaylä Śəllase. The League of Nations proved to be ineffective for preventing the I.W., as well as other conflicts which led to World War II.

Consequences of the War

Several factors contributed to the Italian victory over the Ethiopian Empire. It was assured because of the inequality of the two countries militaries. The Italian Army, though not on the same level as Nazi Germany's military, was far superior to that of the Ethiopian Army. Strategic and tactical skills of the Italian commanders contributed to Italy's victory. Throughout 1935–36, the Imperial army failed to seize the initiative on the ground. The Ethiopian commanders engaged the Italians in pitched battles, most of which ended in disaster for the Ethiopians (who bested their Italian counterparts only when they resorted to unconventional tactics). Even under such conditions the stubborn, brave, and poorly-equipped Ethiopian soldiers won many engagements. However, Italian technical and military superiority defined the final results. The other problems that were revealed during the I.W. and contributed to its outcome were of non-military character: the uncompleted reforms after slow modernisation and the internal tensions within the newly-built Empire, even though later some members of the Ethiopian leadership considered only the Italian's technical superiority and, in particular, the usage of illegal weapons as decisive.

The cost of the war remains a matter of speculation. Officially, Rome maintained that only some 2,800 Italians and about 1,600 *askaris* had been killed during the war. However, other reports indicated that the Italians lost 10,000–12,000 troops while fatalities among *askaris* totalled at least 3,000. Additionally, more than 200,000 Italian soldiers had sustained wounds or succumbed to various illnesses. Ethiopian losses for soldiers and civilians totalled about 275,000 dead or injured.

Italy's victory was impressive, but not complete. A large part of the country's territory was not under effective Italian control. During his final hours in Ethiopia, the Emperor appointed *bitwäddäd* Wäldä Ṣadəq as President of the Provisional Government of Ethiopia in Gore. On 1 May 1936, Ḫaylä Śəllase named *ras* Ǝmməru Ḫaylä Śəllase as Regent and commander of the Ethiopian Army. In mid-June 1936 *ras* Ǝmməru arrived in Gore with plans to relocate to Sudan. However, a ↗Resistance force called the Black Lions (↗Ṭəqur Anbäsa) persuaded him to remain in Ethiopia, become their commander, and continue the battle against the Italians. Although the Black Lions launched attacks against the Italians and pro-Italian Oromo, a decisive victory was out of the question. In December 1936, *ras* Ǝmməru surrendered to the Italians at Goğäb River. Despite this setback, the Patriots, or the Resistance fighters, remained determined to expel the Italians from Ethiopia. With increasing regularity, they attacked convoys, remote Italian farms and settlements, police stations etc. Eventually, Patriot units occupied parts of the Rift Valley, north-east of Addis Abäba from Mənğar through the Ankobär – Ṭärmabär region to southern and western Wällo Province, northern Šäwa Province, eastern and western Goğğam, and eastern Bägemdər Province. Although scattered and not centralized, the Resistance continued, in fact, till the Liberation of 1941.

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Thomas P. Ofcansky

Italo-Ethiopian Treaty of Friendship and Commerce

The I., commonly known as Wəčale Treaty, was signed on 2 May 1889. In the 1880's Italian expansionism (↗Colonialism) moved from the southwest Red Sea coast to the Ethiopian hinterland through both a conquering policy and peaceful means, signing protectorate treaties with the local chiefs. Antonio ↗Baldissera and the military milieu in ↗Massawa were convinced that the Ethiopian empire was easy to win on the battlefield and pursued the conquest of the highland, supporting *ras* ↗Mängäša Yoḥannəs of Təgray (the so-called 'Təgrayan option') in the rivalries inside the Ethiopian empire.

While the Italians availed also themselves of the struggle between the ↗Mahdist Movement and Ethiopia, the Italian envoy in Ethiopia, Count Pietro ↗Antonelli, believed it possible to break up ↗Yoḥannəs IV's rule, supporting the imperial ambitions of Mənilək of Šäwa (the so-called "Šäwan option"; ↗Mənilək II). The king of Šäwa, in his turn, skilfully turned Italian attitude to profit since 1883. Later on, Antonelli induced the ministry of Foreign Affairs to believe that Mənilək would have granted Italy a protectorate over the whole Ethiopia, if duly supported with rifles (agreement of 2 July 1888), thus prevailing the "Šäwan option" inside the government of Rome, headed by Francesco Crispi.

After the death of Yoḥannəs IV, the Italians hurried Mənilək, even before he succeeded to the throne of Solomon, to sign a bilateral treaty of friendship, the I., made at the village of Wəčale on 2 May 1889.

Composed of 20 articles, meticulously dissected by Mənilək and written in Italian and in Amharic, it was undersigned by Mənilək himself and Antonelli, acting as representative of the king of Italy. According to the official aim of the treaty, Art. I assured "perpetual peace and friendship" between the two countries. In exchange for the Italian support, Art. 3 formalized the imperial acceptance of Italian sovereignty over the Red Sea possessions and contained the proposed boundary line to be marked on the ground by a special bilateral commission (↗Boundaries). Mənilək limited as much as possible the territorial losses and in the same way protected the commercial Ethiopian interests in Art. 2, 5–12, the ones devoted to the promotion of common trade.

Mənilək only entered into discussion upon Art. 17. In its Italian version it was written that Mənilək would "consent" to applying to the government of Rome for Ethiopia's diplomatic relations, meaning that he was bound to. On the contrary, the Amharic version reported that Mənilək could eventually recur to the Italians, thus indicating a mere faculty of the *nəguśä nägäśt*.

Despite this imbroglio, shortly after, another treaty – the Italo-Ethiopian Convention of 1 October 1889 – seemed the proof of the good state

of the bilateral relations. The King of Italy ratified the I. on 29 September 1889. Then Crispi's government claimed the Italian protectorate over Ethiopia, notifying it officially according to Art. 34 of the Final Act of the Berlin Conference. As soon as Great Britain and Germany took note of the supposed Italian protectorate, Mənilək felt cheated and immediately protested to Antonelli, asking him in December 1890 to correct the Italian version of the article, strongly stressing that Ethiopia would have never accepted any kind of humiliating infringement of her suzerainty. The Italian envoy, himself fluent in Amharic, ascribed to the interpreter the mistaken translation, but first refused to correct it when asked and, mostly, to suppress the whole Art. 17, thus clearly showing political bad faith.

However, urged by the Emperor, after long and hot discussions, Antonelli prepared a revised draft of the I. He suggested the abrogation of Art. 17, provided that the imperial leadership never accept the protection of any other European power (Rossetti 1910:90f.). Following *ətege* ↗Ṭaytu Bəṭul's strictness, Mənilək quickly rejected this draft. He contested even Art. 2 of the I., realizing that the Italians, having proclaimed the colony of ↗Eritrea on January 1890, tried to encompass more land irrespectively of the border agreed on Art. 3 of the text, seizing the northern edge of the Ethiopian plateau up to the ↗Märäb River. For the following month, negotiations remained pending. Mənilək was not keen on breaking the relations with Italy but the unwillingness of Antonelli to conduct a fair negotiation drove him to stop the dealings.

This diplomatic accident determined the end of Antonelli's mission to the imperial court; the abrupt failure of the 'Šäwan option' led to the breaking off Italo-Ethiopian relations. Menilek's foreign policy was carried on inspired by freedom of action and in February 1893 he definitely repudiated, through a letter sent to all the European governments, the supposed Italian protectorate. The I. became null and void only after Art. 2 of the ↗Addis Ababa Treaty of 1896 put an end to the ↗Italian war 1895–96.

Historians showed a prolonged, deep interest in the reconstruction of the political events connected to the I., perceiving it as a turning point of Ethio–Italian relations that led to the 1895–96 war. In the mid 60's, it has been also the subject of a burning debate between a former Italian colonial historian, Carlo Giglio, and the Swedish africanist Sven Rubenson. The former tried to attribute only to Crispi the responsibility of a policy meant to play on bribery and trickiness in order to make up for the feebleness of Italian political power and economic strength on the Horn of Africa's arena. Giglio tried to demonstrate that the Italian protectorate over Ethiopia remained in force until the 1896 peace treaty. Rubenson denounced the hypocrisy and gambling of Antonelli, who sought Italy to be Ethiopian's main foreign partner, and stressed that the incompatibility of the Art. 17 Italian and Amharic versions void the supposed protectorate. Although there are still few followers of Giglio's stand point (i.e. the international lawyer Scovazzi), Rubenson's interpretation prevailed and has recently found solid evidence in Richard ↗Caulk's posthumous work conducted also on Ethiopian sources.

Lit.: ROMANO BATTAGLIA, *La prima guerra d'Africa*, Torino 1958; BZHist; RICHARD CAULK, *"Between the Jaws of Hyenas": a Diplomatic History of Ethiopia (1876–1896)*, ed. by BAHRU ZEWDE, Wiesbaden 2002; ANGELO DEL BOCA, *Gli Italiani in Africa Orientale. Dall'Unità alla marcia su Roma*, Milano 1976, 33–358, 389–412; CARLO GIGLIO, *L'articolo XVII del Trattato di Uccialli*, Como 1967; NICOLA LABANCA, *In marcia verso Adua*, Torino 1993; CARLO ROSSETTI, *Storia diplomatica dell'Etiopia durante il regno di Menelik II*, Torino 1910, 41–107; SVEN RUBENSON, *Wichale XVII: the Attempt to establish a Protectorate over Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 1964; ID., "Professor Giglio, Antonelli and Article XVII of the Wichale Treaty", *JAH* 7, 3, 1966, 445–57; TULLIO SCOVAZZI, *Assab, Massaua, Uccialli, Adua: gli strumenti giuridici del primo colonialismo italiano*, Torino 1996, 109–62; CARLO ZAGHI, *Crispi e Menelik. Dal Diario inedito del conte Augusto Salimbeni*, Torino 1956.

Federica Guazzini

Italo-Ethiopian Convention of 1889

The Convention was signed on 1 October 1889 by *ras* ↗Mäkʷännən Wäldä Mikaʾel in Naples as a follow-up to the I. The Italian Government was going to establish the colony of ↗Eritrea and intensified its political penetration into Ethiopia by taking advantage of the succession crisis after the death of *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV. One of the main competitors to the throne of Solomon was *nəguś* Mənilək of Šäwa (↗Mənilək II), who, within the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, was supported by the lobby backing the "Šäwan option", whereas the officials backing the "Təgrayan option" were supporting *ras* ↗Mängäša Yoḥannəs.

A good opportunity to have a hold over Mənilək was the visit to Italy (August–December 1889) paid by his envoy *däğğač* (later *ras*) ↗Mäkʷännən Wäldä Mikaʾel, Governor of Harär, who was still perceived by the Italian diplomacy as a weak

link of the command chain around Mənilək II, the new *nəguśä nägäśt*. In order to impress Mäkʷännən and acquire his benevolence, King Umberto I received him at the Quirinale and was accompanied to tour Italian art cities, industries and military equipment. Mäkʷännən signed with the Italian authorities an additional Convention (*Convenzione addizionale*) – not the "second treaty" wished by some in Rome – to regulate the financial relations between ↗Italy and Ethiopia and some pending matters. The main political issue was the definition of the border of the future Eritrea and, hence, by extension, of the Empire. Mäkʷännən was cheated through the notion of *uti possidetis* – meaning the territory occupied by Italy until then – introduced in the Convention (Battaglia 1958:382), because in the meantime the Italians were quickly occupying more land up to the strategic line of the rivers ↗Märäb-↗Bäläsa-Muna and possibly beyond.

The Convention granted Ethiopia a loan of four million lire at a six per cent interest rate, to be reimbursed in 20 years, warranted by the revenues of Harär customs. Some sources argued that Mäkʷännən accepted the Italian version of the Treaty of Wəčale but nothing allows to infer that he endorsed an Italian protectorate as Francesco Crispi and his entourage claimed. Be it as it may, in the same month of October 1889, Crispi notified the controversial Art. 17 of the Wəčale Treaty to the signatories of the Final Act of the Berlin Conference believing to have established a valid protectorate over the Empire also thanks to the supplementary clauses of the Convention.

Lit.: ROMANO BATTAGLIA, *La prima guerra d'Africa*, Torino 1958, 376–87; ANGELO DEL BOCA, *Gli Italiani in Africa orientale. Dall'Unità alla marcia su Roma*, Roma – Bari 1976, 354–57; CARLO ZAGHI (ed.), *Crispi e Menelich. Dal Diario inedito del conte Augusto Salimbeni*, Torino 1956.

Giampaolo Calchi Novati

Italy, relations with

Relations during the 12th–19th cent.

The earliest records of Italians in the ↗Horn of Africa go back to the second half of the 12th cent., when Pope Alexander III sent his personal physician, Filippo, as an envoy to ↗Prester John – whose legend, then not yet staged in Ethiopia, also has an Italian connection, being largely based on information spread in 1145 at the pontifical court in Viterbo (↗Vatican).

The search for new routes to ↗India prompted the maritime republics of Venice and Genoa to make contacts, though indirect, with the countries on the African shores of the ↗Red Sea and the Indian Ocean. Toward the end of the 13th cent., Marco ↗Polo's *Milione* offers the first reliable account of "Abasce", i.e. ↗Abyssinia. A few decades later the Genoese Sorleone Vivaldi unsuccessfully tried to reach ↗ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon's Ethiopia from the Indian Ocean, whilst a few of his fellow countrymen ventured as far south as Egypt and Nubia (↗Dongola), their journeys being reflected in both the ↗*Libro del Conoscimiento* ('Book of Knowledge'), written by an anonymous Franciscan toward the end of the 14th cent., and the contemporary Genoese ↗cartography (Conti Rossini 1917:667–75).

Around 1310, on its way back to Ethiopia, the embassy of *nəguś* ↗Wədəm Räᶜad "to the king of Spain" passed by Avignon and then Rome, "to see the tombs of the Apostles" (as many other Ethiopian monks did earlier and later): at Genoa, before embarking, its members were asked to produce a writing "on the tribes, customs and regions of their country", which was then used by the famous cartographer Giovanni da Carignano (Lachat 1967; Beckingham 1989; cp. Cerulli 1949). No diplomatic relationships, however, between the old Italian states and Ethiopia seem to have been formally established before the 15th cent., when the Florentine Antonio ↗Bartoli was appointed by *aṣe* ↗Dawit (II) as his ambassador to Venice. There, in 1402, Bartoli exchanged precious gifts with the Senate on behalf of the *nəguś*, rising great interest in the latter's fabulous realm (Raineri 1999). From Venice, the ambassador left for Ethiopia accompanied, at Dawit's request, by a few Italian artists and craftsmen, including a Florentine painter and a Neapolitan smith of arms (Conti Rossini 1927:88). Bartoli's return journey resulted in a most important written ↗itinerary (published by ↗Iorga 1910), with a Latin-Amharic phrase book that is the oldest known document of linguistic interest in Ethiopian matters (Cohen 1931:368–75).

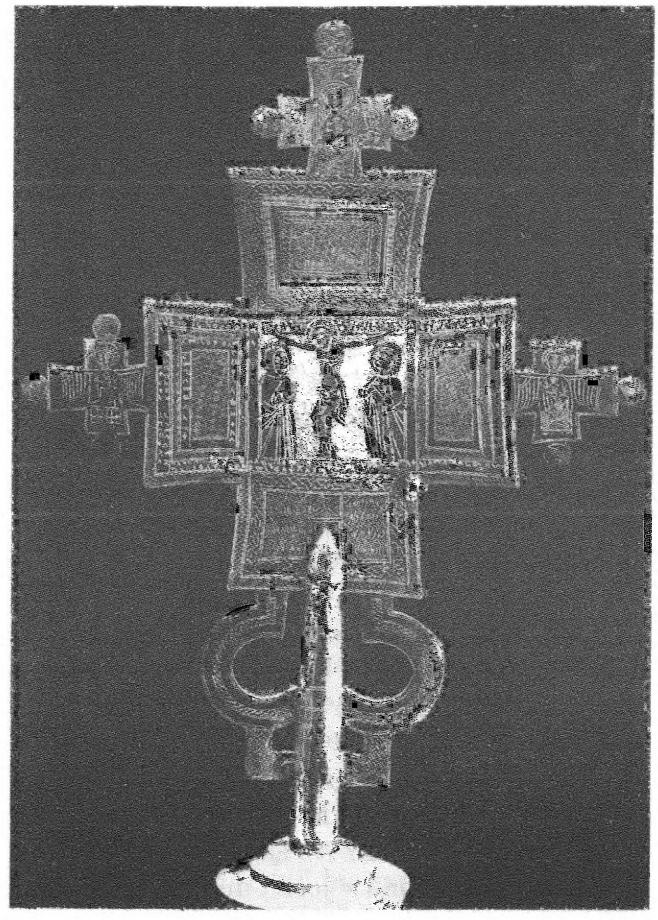
If the year 1441 witnessed the participation of Ethiopians from ↗Jerusalem in the Council of ↗Florence, their presence in Italy accounts for the detailed notions on Abyssinia displayed in a number of humanist works: e.g., the *Historiae* of Flavio Biondo (IV, 2, 34–47), with first-hand materials collected during the Council (Cerulli 1933:350ff.; Bausi 2006:5f. and n. 8); the *India recognita*, written in 1447 by Poggio Bracciolini as book IV of his *De varietate fortunae* (Tede-

schi 1993); the map ↗*Egyptus Novelo*, again reflecting then-current knowledge in Florence; and ↗Fra Mauro's *Mappamondo*, based on data provided by Ethiopians passing through Venice, then a mandatory halt for pilgrims to and from Italy – like the informants of Alessandro ↗Zorzi, who recorded his four itineraries shortly before 1524. With reference to the Council of Florence, a letter by the chancellor of this Republic, Leonardo Bruni, is addressed in 1442 to a fellow countryman, Antonio de' Gualcelli, "residing in Ethiopia" (Hoffmann 1942:232f.).

In the mid-15th cent., following both the example of Venice and the general bias of Aragonese Oriental politics (Garretson 1993), the king of Naples ↗Alfonso V welcomed an official embassy from *aṣe* ↗Zär'a Ya'əqob that was to pass later by Rome, and see Pope Nicolas V (de Witte 1956): it was formed by two Ethiopians and, as an interpreter, the Sicilian Pietro ↗Rombulo da Messina, possibly one and the same with Pietro Napolitano (i.e. "from [the kingdom of] Naples"). A former envoy of the Duke Jean du Berry to Ethiopia in 1432, this Pietro had been dispatched to Constantinople (↗Byzantine Empire) by *aṣe* ↗Yəsḥaq with the aim of engaging craftsmen for Ethiopia. In 1459, the duke of Milan Francesco Sforza wrote to Prester John "Simon Jacopo", i.e. Zär'a Ya'əqob, in order to obtain copies of lost works by the biblical King ↗Solomon for his own library in Pavia (Rozzo 1990:251 and n. 97).

In 1481 the momentous embassy of *aṣe* ↗Ǝskəndər, headed by fra Giovanni Battista Brocchi da Imola, was received in Rome by Pope Sixtus IV (Ghinzoni 1889), and became instrumental in the foundation of ↗Santo Stefano dei Mori and, thereby, in the development of ↗Ethiopian studies in Europe. One year earlier, the Pope had sent a diplomatic mission to the *nəguś* via ↗Jerusalem and the Holy Land: led by Fra Giovanni di Calabria, it included the Venetian painter Niccolò ↗Brancaleone, whom Francisco ↗Alvares was to meet in 1520–26 at the court of *aṣe* ↗Ləbnä Dəngəl. In Ethiopia, the members of this mission encountered some ten Italians, "men of good reputations", who had been living there since 1459 (CrawItin 41–45; cp. Conti Rossini 1927:92). Another Venetian painter(-cum-merchant?), Hieronimo ↗Bicini, was active at the Ethiopian court between ca. 1482 and 1520.

The 15th/16th-cent. Italian colony in Ethiopia had a major impact upon the arts, chiefly ↗painting, sculpture and ↗architecture, but also



Cross of *aṣe* Bä'ədä Maryam, recto, with Crucifixion and inscriptions; Museo del Bargello, Florence, inv. no. 22 OR; from Tedeschi 1991, pl. I

literature (↗Gə'əz) and ↗music: before 1482, an "Italian-style organ" was built in the church of Gännäta Giyorgis in southern ↗Amhara (decorated by Brancaleone), not far from ↗Atronsä Maryam (CrawItin 41, 52; cp. Conti Rossini 1927:92). The influence on literature came either by way of providing sources for Ethiopic works – e.g., the *Gädlä Səbəstyanos* and the so-called *African Symbol* or *Profession of Faith* of ↗Athanasius (modelled on the Latin *Quicumque*) – or by stimulating such cultural and theological issues as those dealt with in the *Mäṣḥafa* ↗*məṣtir*, written by ↗Giyorgis of Sägla after discussions with a "European" (*afrəngǧ*) likely to be *məs(s)ər Zan(ə)*, i.e. "messer Zan(e)" (= "Sir/Mr. John"), a Venetian responsible for giving him the Vorlage of the *African Symbol* (Conti Rossini 1948:15). Also, Italian loanwords (*altare*, *altari*, *səbtəmbryo*) appear in the 14th/15th-cent. hagiography of ↗Aron of Däbrä Daret (Conti Rossini 1940:45ff.).

At the same time, Ethiopian motifs can be traced in 15th/16th-cent. Italian literature. Thus, a poetic *exposé* of the traditional relationships between Ethiopia and Egypt, and the connected question of the former's control over the ↗Nile's

waters, is given in the *Orlando Furioso* by Ludovico Ariosto (XXXIII, 102, 1f.): after Genoese sources, it refers to Emperor "Senapo", i.e. ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon, from (ᶜAbd aṣ)-Ṣalīb, Arab. tr. of his name Gäbrä Mäsqäl ('Servant of the Cross'; s. Cerulli 1932 and 1975:13f.).

The Medici of Florence, also interested in Red Sea trade, made several attempts at establishing contacts with Christian Ethiopia. At the beginning of the 16th cent., they sent Andrea ↗Corsali to Ethiopia; and the two Medici popes, Leo X and ↗Clement VII, openly sponsored ↗Portugal's Ethiopian agenda (Sodini 1996:7). Such an extraordinary piece as the 15th-cent. engraved and inscribed bronze processional cross given by *aṣe* ↗Baʾədä Maryam in gratitude to the ↗Amhara of ↗Gorgora (s. ill.), and kept in Florence at Palazzo Vecchio (Guardaroba generale di S.A.S., inv. no. 94) since before 1771 (now Museo nazionale del Bargello, inv. no. OR 22), might well have found its way to Italy on an occasion of the traditional gift exchanges involved in establishing or fostering those long-standing relationships (cp. Tedeschi 1991). In 1611, within the context of the second ↗Jesuit mission (1603–32), Grand Duke Cosimo II of Tuscany sent a letter to *aṣe* ↗Susənyos (BecRASO XI, 377ff.).

Six Italian Jesuits worked in Ethiopia at the time of this mission. Among them, the Neapolitan Francesco Antonio De Angelis, versed equally in Gəᶜəz, Amharic and Agäw, who stands therefore at the origins of ↗Cushitic studies, and later martyr Bruno Bruni from Abruzzi, responsible for the building of a new church (which was never finished) at ↗Märṭulä Maryam. In the second half of the 17th and in the 18th cent., after the expulsions of the Jesuits and the ensuing persecutions, Ethiopia's ties with the western world, namely with I., loosened, but the Holy See kept trying to resume contacts with the Ethiopian monarchy through a series of missions, most of which were unsuccessful (↗Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide).

In 1857, during the Risorgimento, the prime minister of Savoy, Count of Cavour, strove to get in touch with Ethiopia via the Piedmontese ↗Capuchin mission of Guglielmo ↗Massaja, but the Italian events of 1859 prevented the stipulating of a treatise with the head of ↗Təgray that had been prepared by Father Léon des ↗Avanchers. In 1872, King Vittorio Emanuele II exchanged letters and gifts with the later Emperor ↗Mənilək II, then king of ↗Šäwa, opening thereby the relationships of the newly-born Italian state with Ethiopia.

Lit.: ALESSANDRO BAUSI, "Introduzione", in: ID. – ALESSANDRO GORI, *Tradizioni orientali del «Martirio di Areta»: la prima recensione araba e la versione etiopica. Edizione critica e traduzione*, Firenze 2006 (Quaderni di Semitistica 27), 3–18, here 5f. and n. 8; CHARLES FRASER BECKINGHAM, "An Ethiopian Embassy to Europe *c.* 1310", *JSS* 34, 1989, 337–46; ENRICO CERULLI, "Etiopia: Relazioni politiche e culturali con l'Italia", in: *Enciclopedia Italiana di Scienze, Lettere e Arti*, vol. 14, Roma 1932, 473–74; ID., "Il volo di Astolfo sull'Etiopia nell'*Orlando Furioso*", *RRALm* ser. 6ª, 8, 1932, 19–38; ID., "Eugenio IV e gli Etiopi al concilio di Firenze nel 1441", *ibid.* 9, 1933, 347–68, here 350ff.; ID., "Giovanni da Carignano e la cartografia dei paesi a Sud dell'Egitto agli inizî del secolo XIV (riassunto)", *Atti del XIV Congresso geografico italiano (1947)*, Bologna 1949, 507; ID., "Discussione sul tema: Il contributo della scienza italiana alla conoscenza delle popolazioni dell'Africa Orientale", in: *Atti del Terzo Convegno di Studi Africani. Firenze 3-5 giugno 1948*, Firenze 1948 (Università degli Studi di Firenze. Centro di Studi Coloniali 38), 99–102; ID., "L'*Orlando Furioso* nella storia culturale", in: *Convegno Internazionale: Ludovico Ariosto (Roma – Lucca – Castelnuovo di Garfagnana – Reggio Emilia – Ferrara, 27 settembre–5 ottobre 1974)*, Roma 1975 (Atti dei Convegni lincei 6), 11–21, here 13f.; MARCEL COHEN, *Études d'éthiopien méridional*, Paris 1931, 368–75; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Il «Libro del conoscimiento» e le sue notizie sull'Etiopia", *Bollettino della R. Società Geografica Italiana* ser. 5ª, 6, 1917, 656–79, here 667–75; ID., "Un codice illustrato eritreo del secolo XV (Ms. Abb. n. 105 della Bibl. Nat. di Parigi)", *Africa Italiana* 1, 1927, 83–97; ID., "Sulle missioni domenicane in Etiopia nel secolo XIV", *Rendiconti della R. Accademia d'Italia*, ser. 7ª, 1, 1940, 71–98, here 45ff.; ID., "Due capitoli del Libro del Mistero di Giyorgis da Saglā", *RSE* 7, 1948, 13–55, here 15; CrawItin 41–45, 52; PETER P. GARRETSON, "A Note on Relations between Ethiopia and the Kingdom of Aragon in the Fifteenth Century", *RSE* 37, 1993 [1995], 37–44; PIETRO GHINZONI, "Un'ambasciata del Prete Gianni a Roma nel 1481", *Archivio storico lombardo* ser. 2ª, 6 [16], 1889, 145–54; GEORG HOFMANN, "La 'Chiesa' copta ed etiopica nel Concilio di Firenze", *La Civiltà Cattolica* 93, 1942, 228–35, here 232f.; NICOLAS JORGA, "Cenni sulle relazioni tra l'Abissinia e l'Europa cattolica nei secoli XIV–XV. Con un itinerario inedito del secolo XV", in: *Centenario della nascita di Michele Amari*, Palermo 1910, vol. 1, 139–50; PAUL LACHAT, "Une ambassade éthiopienne auprès de Clement V, à Avignon, en 1310", *Annali del Pontificio Museo Missionario Etnologico* (già *Lateranensi*), 31, 1967, 9–21; RENATO LEFEVRE, "Riflessi etiopici nella cultura europea del Medioevo e del Rinascimento", [ii] *Annali Lateranensi* 9, 1945, 331–444, here 361–407 ["Note sulla penetrazione europea in Etiopia"]; OSVALDO RAINERI, "I doni della Serenissima al re Davide d'Etiopia (ms. Raineri 43 della Vaticana)", *OrChrP* 65, 1999, 363–448; UGO ROZZO, "La Biblioteca Visconteo-Sforzesca di Pavia", in: *Storia di Pavia*, vol. 3: *Dal libero comune alla fine del principato indipendente 1024-1535*, t. II: *La battaglia di Pavia del 24 febbraio 1524 nella storia, nella letteratura e nell'arte. Università e cultura*, Pavia 1990, 235–66, here 251 and n. 97; CARLA SODINI, *I Medici e le Indie orientali: il diario di viaggio di Placido Ramponi, emissario in India per conto di Cosimo III*, Firenze 1996, 7; SALVATORE TEDESCHI, "Una storica croce processionale etiopica conservata in Italia",

Africa [Roma] 46, 1991, 163–82; ID., "L'Etiopia di Poggio Bracciolini", *ibid.* 48, 1993, 333–57; CHARLES-MARTIAL DE WITTE, "Une ambassade éthiopienne à Rome en 1450", *OrChrP* 22, 1956, 286–98.

Gianfranco Fiaccadori

Relations during the 19th–20th cent.

From the earliest contacts with East Africa in the colonial era, I. and the Italians had Ethiopia in mind. Many explorers, travellers and missionaries moved across the Ethiopian highlands paving the way to future take overs. The initial phases of the expansion in the Horn of Africa were restricted to the Red Sea shores, but the ultimate goal was the hinterland with its historical past and its supposed wealth. In spite of widespread opposition (s., e.g., Ulisse ↗Barbieri), the nationalists exhorted newly-born I. to take on her destiny in the world (cp. Scarfoglio 1936:18, speaking of a conflict between Iron Age, i.e. Abyssinia/Africa, and Modern Civilization, i.e. I./Europe).

The dream was to set up a "colony" using the foothold established in ↗^{c}Asäb by the former Lazarist missionary Giuseppe ↗Sapeto on behalf of the ↗Rubattino shipping company in 1869. The Italians planned to set up a port capable of attracting the trade of ↗Harär and Oromo (called Galla in contemporary Italian sources) territories. In Rome, Milan and Naples, geographical and commercial societies flourished (↗Società Geografica Italiana, Società d'Esplorazione Commerciale in Africa, Società Italiana per il Commercio coll'Africa, etc.) that dispatched envoys and missions to Ethiopia and elsewhere in East Africa (cp. Orazio ↗Antinori, Arturo ↗Issel). Carlo ↗Piaggia, a geographer with a keen interest in flora and fauna, visited the Azande region penetrating the territory of Ethiopia up to Lake ↗Ṭana. His travel report, published in 1875 in the *Bollettino della Società Geografica Italiana*, aroused a great interest (Pellegrinetti 1941). A wave of business-like initiatives rose (cp. Luigi ↗Capucci). "Trade geography" gained major popularity and was generously funded by the new bourgeoisie of northern I. (cp. Gian Pietro ↗Porro). In Milan, Manfredo Camperio founded a periodical (*L'Esploratore*) committed to revealing the opportunities in Africa for merchants and entrepreneurs of the rich Lombardy. Cesare Correnti, president of the Società Geografica Italiana, acknowledged that Africa was a "trade vocation of I.".

Such tragedies as the massacres of the ↗Giulietti expedition near Lake Afḍera in 1881, of Gustavo ↗Bianchi and companions in Biḍu in 1884, of Porro and Giovanni Battista ↗Licata at Ǧildessa in 1886, or the ambush at Lafolé near Mogadishu that exterminated the expedition led by Antonio ↗Cecchi in 1896, inflamed the public opinion and stimulated action. Unlike other explorers, Cecchi, who had spent many years travelling in Eritrea, Ethiopia and Somalia (also together with Antinori and Giovanni ↗Chiarini) advocated political involvement and I.'s "civilizing mission" (Ribera 1940:308ff.). He stirred up the decision by Mancini to occupy ↗Massawa as a preliminary step towards Ethiopia. *I grandi italiani d'Africa*, a series by the Ministry of Italian Africa meant to celebrate the forerunners of the imperial conquest, opened with a volume dedicated to Cecchi (volumes were also dedicated to Antinori, Piaggia, Guglielmo ↗Massaja, Ferdinando ↗Martini, Francesco Crispi, Eugenio Ruspoli, among others).

Catholic ↗missions started to spread their wings before the occupation of territories, and peaked after the proclamation of the Empire in 1936 (cp. ↗Capuchins, ↗Lazarists; ↗Catholicism). Cardinal Massaja stands out for the influence he exercised at the court of Mənilək of Šäwa (later ↗Mənilək II) till his expulsion ordered by ↗Yoḥannəs IV in 1879 (he was the subject of a 1939 film by Goffredo Alessandrini, *Abuna Messias*). The ↗Missionari della Consolata opened a Prefettura apostolica in ↗Käfa in 1913. Other missions followed: Suore missionarie della Consolata in 1924, Padri Comboniani in 1936 (cp. also Armido ↗Gasparini), Pontificio Istituto per le Missioni estere in 1937.

Recent research (s. Podestà 1996, 2004) has highlighted how economic issues were pushing I.'s initiative in Eritrea, Ethiopia and Somalia. For many years, unaccountable stories were told of huge deposits of precious minerals. Rumours about the presence of ↗gold in the region of Asmära reached I. in 1897. Gold was mined until ↗World War I by an Italo-British joint venture Società Eritrea per le Miniere d'oro. Experts were divided as to the potential of the mines. Primizio ↗Gandolfi (1910) depicted the entire enterprise as wishful thinking and even as a plot orchestrated by Martini and his entourage to cheat the Italian public. The Società went bankrupt and was closed in 1914. Martini blamed the rebuff of foreign capital that should have saved the enterprise. And yet, later, in 1936, a state company (Azienda Mineraria Africa Orientale) invested a huge amount of money in ↗Ḥamasen with no positive result. The failure of the gold il-

lusion completed the frustrations concerning the bonanza I. awaited from the Horn. Gold mining was particularly harmful for the environment, contributing to pollution and deforestation of a wide region. The local workers engaged in the gold extraction industry were at most ca. 100 in one mine and 50 in another, hardly enough to form the aspired indigenous working class.

Italian authorities supplied weapons and dispensed proofs of goodwill both to Yoḥannəs and Mənilək, oscillating between the two rivals. In 1878–79, Pellegrino ↗Matteucci, Gustavo ↗Bianchi and Giuseppe ("Pippo") ↗Vigoni started a mission with the task of meeting the Emperor and taking him a sample of Italian goods. The final target of their journey was ↗Šäwa, but Yoḥannəs did not grant the needed authorization. Giovanni Giacomo ↗Naretti and his brother Giuseppe, who worked as a royal architect, were stationed at Yoḥannəs's court in ↗Mäqälä in the 1870s and 1880s. In 1876–80, Antinori led the "great expedition" from the Somali coast to ↗Ankobär. He took Mənilək a letter from the King of I. Vittorio Emanuele II (succeeded by ↗Umberto I in 1878), and opened a scientific station at ↗Ləṭ Maräfiya, which he headed until his death in 1882. That year, Pietro ↗Antonelli was appointed special representative of I. in Šäwa. The choice of Mənilək as a potential ally, in contrast to the Təgrayan line, found expression in the Treaty of Friendship and Commerce signed on 21 May 1883. The Left Governments, inspired by Mazzini's ideals, respected in principle the rights of peoples and national values, but the desire of emulating other European powers was indeed to cultivate the colonial issue. Crispi facilitated as much as possible the succession of Mənilək to the Solomonid throne (Palamenghi-Crispi 1928). After Mənilək's coronation, good relations between I. and Ethiopia were sponsored by such personalities as Augusto ↗Salimbeni and Cesare ↗Nerazzini. However, the intensification of the fighting and the dispute over the real sense of the Wəčale treaty of 1889 (↗Italo-Ethiopian treaty of friendship and commerce) ended in general warfare (↗Italian war 1895–96) that culminated into the rout of the Italian army at ↗ʿAdwa.

Ethiopia, and Africa at large, were dropped from the agenda of Italian policies. Martini departed in 1897 to take up the charge of first Civil Governor of the ↗Colonia Eritrea, entrusted with discreetly managing the colony and, if necessary, getting rid of it. It was deemed to be useless to waste in Africa resources badly needed for internal development. The Italian possessions in Africa were threatened more by a negative public opinion in I. than by a potential offensive by Mənilək or the manoeuvres of foreign powers. The Società Geografica Italiana put Africa aside and concentrated on studying home geography. Martini went against the mainstream: he first settled the problems of the borders of the colony and of the relations with Ethiopia, and then promoted his own idea of Eritrea, fostering a re-approach between the colony and Africa. The Colonial Congress he summoned in Asmära, the new capital city, from 25 September to 14 October 1905 marked the formal return of East Africa into the discourse of the Italian society and policies. The message transmitted through the Congress was that Eritrea could become profitable for I. if properly administered and exploited. In 1906, the pro-colonial lobby founded the ↗Istituto Coloniale Italiano. During his tenure, Martini introduced the Italian public to different aspects of Eritrean folklore, customs, arts, crafts, etc. in a number of exhibitions (*Mostre della Colonia Eritrea*) hosted in Italian cities (Florence, Ravenna, Milan) and in Asmära. They were an integral part of the Italian colonial policy, both raising funds and strengthening a colonial mentality (Labanca 1992).

A main target of the Italian expansion in East Africa were the wide land estates that were supposed to be void and untilled. At the beginning of the 20th cent., Gino Bartolommei-Gioli, Professor of Agrarian Sciences and director of the future Istituto Agronomico d'Oltremare of Florence, was charged by the Italian Government to survey the characteristics of the Eritrean soil. Whilst Martini did not personally support the program of white settlement in East Africa, farming assets were always taken into serious account. Gaining access to ↗Kärän and Asmära, and in the 1930s to the Ethiopian highlands, drastically transformed I.'s strategies as far as the agriculture potential was concerned. Italian agrarian scientists were requested to identify the best suited crops for those hard conditions. Alessandro ↗Lessona, a nationalist politician who became minister of the Colonies with Mussolini, fantasized of deploying "millions" of settlers (*coloni*) in Africa.

Ethiopia was the unspoken focus of the colonial project renewed after World War I. Italian policy makers maintained the basic point that Eritrea and Ethiopia were interlinked and therefore indivisible. I. did not thwart the admission

of Ethiopia to the ↗League of Nations. ↗Mussolini was initially against it, but he preferred to cast a positive vote for tactical reasons. In 1924 *ras* Täfäri (↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I) visited I. during his tour of Europe, and was received by the King at the Quirinale Palace, and by the Pope in the ↗Vatican – through which a considerable part of the Italian relationships with Ethiopia were to pass in the years to come. Täfäri's expectations were largely disappointed. Mussolini did not comply with his request to obtain an access to the sea through the Italian territories. Nevertheless, in 1928 I. and Ethiopia stipulated an agreement of co-operation championed by Giuliano Cora. The respect for Ḫaylä Śəllase as a person lasted until the coronation in 1930. Corrado ↗Zoli (1930:402–09), quoting a long correspondence by Guelfo Civinini to the *Corriere della Sera*, eulogized the Emperor as a great protagonist of the unification of the Empire, reformer and modernizer, open to cordial relations with foreign powers. However, the days of peaceful partnership were elapsing (Conti Rossini 1935). It seems that Mussolini had thought of invading Ethiopia already before 1925, and in 1932 the military plans were defined.

During the Fascist regime, I.'s colonial policy was more aggressive. At the same time, a great deal of research was devoted to surveying the archaeology, history, languages and civilizations, agriculture, climate, etc. of the African possessions, providing an impetus to the development of ↗Ethiopian studies in I. For reasons of propaganda, the results of such studies were sometimes manipulated. The proceedings of the three colonial symposia held in the 1930s are a witness to the commitment of Italian academy on Ethiopia and the other Italian colonies (Calchi Novati 1992:77–103). Italian writers and novelists produced a significant bulk of literature centred on colonial matter. Numerous feature films were produced (apart from the *Abuna Messias* such works as *Matrimonio abissino*, 1909, *Eritrea,* 1920 and *Il grande appello*, 1936, can be mentioned). An example of the ambiguity in the way of dealing with colonial topics is the only novel by Ennio Flaiano *Tempo di uccidere*, published in 1947 (adapted for the screen by Giuliano Montaldo in 1989).

The last round of the long story of Italo–Ethiopian relations was a naked aggression followed by usurpation and occupation (↗Italian war 1935–36). Nationalist outlook in I. had suffered since 1896 for the stigma of ᶜAdwa. Fascism was anxious to revenge ↗Baratieri and his troops, and

The Italian mining expedition of 1903 entering ᶜAdwa, Təgray; from Annaratone 1911:45

Mussolini exploited the ↗Wälwäl skirmish (cp. Roberto ↗Cimmaruta) to resolve the feud that had vilified a generation of Italians (Del Boca 1979:347). Historians, writers and journalists applauded Mussolini's enterprise with unprecedented emphasis. In his four-volume well-documented but largely unbalanced work (1936-38), the diplomat Luca dei Sabelli (↗Pietromarchi) justified the invasion as "a mission of justice" against "an island of barbarism" (vol. 4, 209ff.).

Thanks to the invasion of Ethiopia and the creation of an Empire for King ↗Vittorio Emanuele III, the Duce attained nation-wide consent, an unparalleled peak in the 20 years of the Fascist regime. Filippo Tommaso Marinetti called the writers and artists of Italy to join the war in Africa. His appeal was picked up, among others, by the playwright Sem Benelli, who reneged on his previous criticism of the regime and left voluntarily for the front (Benelli 1937). Mussolini's instruction to the nation of the newly proclaimed Empire was to start a new life, less bourgeois and more heroic. The journalists were exhorted to spread the new morale, and many popular writers followed this request (Bacchelli 1937; Gotta 1938). The opposition of intellectuals and anti-Fascist militants in exile was an exception (Procacci 1978). While Pius XI disapproved the Duce's initiative, the Catholic Church did not officially condemn the aggression. Reginaldo Giuliani, a chaplain on a voluntary basis, described the invasion in his writings as a "crusade"; when he died on the battlefield his "martyrdom" was exalted by the regime heralds.

The commanders in chief of the Italian army had a different approach: De ↗Bono was considered a moderate, and Mussolini replaced him with ↗Badoglio, who became the first viceroy of the newly-created ↗Africa Orientale Italiana (A.O.I.) and solicited an almost immediate turnaround. His successor as Governor General in Addis Abäba, Rodolfo ↗Graziani, distinguished himself for the harsh repression after the bomb attack against him in February 1937. Only Amedeo di ↗Savoia Duke of Aosta, appointed in December 1937, tried to establish a *modus vivendi* with Ethiopia's population (the "politica dei capi"). His administration smoothed the transition after the surrender of I.'s colonial and military apparatus.

In the 1920s and 1930s, I. enhanced the communication system – the ↗railway network, the port of Massawa and the roads – both for strategic reasons and in order to improve the conditions for cultivation so as to attract new immigrants. The Touring Club Italiano (later Consociazione turistica Italiana) produced detailed maps and well-researched guidebooks for the colonies, in the same style it did for metropolitan I. (*Guida* 1929, 1938). New exploration ventures included the Centro Studi per l'A.O.I. (1937, directed by Giotto ↗Dainelli; cp. also Vinigi Lorenzo ↗Grottanelli). The better lands were expropriated to facilitate the settlement of Italian families. The feudal structure of ↗land tenure was partially subverted, wherever it was feasible, through the introduction of private ownership and capitalist farming in big estates with Italian masters and African manpower. The rule of law was used to justify and validate land appropriation. The expansion of the cash economy weakened the hold of the traditional chieftains, inaugurating the creation of a Western-oriented middle class. ↗Urbanization in the highlands largely commenced during the Italian colonial period, and native quarters developed around Italian residential and manufacturing areas. The ↗education system was extended, but natives were excluded from government secondary schools and most of the teaching was done by missionaries. The local languages (Təgrəññña, Amharic, Arabic, etc.) were used for teaching in the primary schools of A.O.I (↗Language policy). I. introduced a colonial legal system in A.O.I., where the use of ↗customary law in local context was recognized, being subsidiary to state law (↗Law and Judicary: legal history). The army offered the main job opportunity to Eritrean men until the mass demobilization at the arrival of the British in 1941. I. avoided employing "indigenous soldiers" (↗*askari*) in the wars in Europe, "a crime" committed by other colonial powers as believed by Tritonj (1941:310). Since Martini's government in Eritrea, I. had cherished the Muslims to undermine the alliance between dynasty and the Church that was the backbone of the Empire. Mussolini amplified the pro-↗Islam approach hoping to weaken Ethiopia and to acquire sympathies in countries like Libya.

The ↗press in Italian began in 1891 with *Il* ↗*Corriere Eritreo*, an official weekly, followed a few months later by another weekly, *L'Eritreo*. In the Fascist years *Il Corriere Eritreo* became the daily paper of the Federazione dei Fasci di Combattimento of Asmära (editor Vanni Teodorani). *Il Quotidiano eritreo* included a page in Amharic and one in Arabic.

In the multifaceted society which grew under the Italian administration, gender relations became a controversial issue (Palumbo 2003, Stefani 2007). Above all in Eritrea, unions between Italian men and African women generated a number of *meticci*, whose status was ill-defined by both rules and social perception. The racial legislation adopted in 1939, based upon the theory of a superior race, prohibited mixed relations, whether marriages or concubinage ("madamato").

Even though the Italian colonial power had evaporated already by 1941, I. left a lasting imprint on the region's institutional, social and economic structure. Traces of the Italian presence are still visible, particularly in terms of urban solutions (some buildings in Addis Abäba including the ↗Addis Kätäma and *Pyasa*; s. also ↗Asmära: architecture; ↗Massawa: architecture), ↗food, customs and even, to a certain extent, linguistic and cultural expressions (↗Italian language). Some of the Italian names attributed to geographical sites (e.g., lakes Giulietti, Margherita, Ruspoli, etc.) survive beside the local denominations.

The long-term consequences of colonialism on society, its impact on the mentality of the elites and the collective imagery influenced political life in the Horn throughout the 20th cent. Lacking a former strong colonial power, however, Ethiopia, Somalia and Eritrea got trapped in a milieu of intense and often violent confrontation. Ethiopia became a major actor. It was vital for Ḫaylä Śəllase to find the support of a superpower, that he cleverly identified in the United States, to comply with his country's master role in the region and preserve the territorial integrity, also with regard to the in-

corporation of Eritrea and ↗Ogaden. I. assumed an equidistant stance in the regional disputes, but often shared Eritrean and Somali national causes rather than Ethiopia's claims. Nevertheless, the Italian government did not counter the annexation of Eritrea to the Ethiopian Empire in 1962 (↗Ethiopian–Eritrean Federation) and was ineffective in helping to solve the Eritrean question (Del Boca 1992:225–76; Wrong 2005).

With the return of Ḫaylä Śəllase, Ethiopia recovered full sovereignty. Amnesty was granted to collaborators. A few thousand Italian families remained in Ethiopia and were employed widely as engineers, medical doctors and technicians. Arturo Mezzedimi gave a remarkable contribution to the re-styling of Addis Abäba building public edifices and residential boroughs.

The process of the normalization of diplomatic relations between Ethiopia and I., appeased thanks to the efforts of such envoys as Renato Piacentini and Giuliano Cora, took time. It was necessary to know the outcomes of the UN decisions on former Italian possessions. Some Ethiopian ministers were afraid that I. was going to reinstate a colonial or semi-colonial presence in the Horn, especially after the UN entrusted I. with the administration of Somalia. The boundary between Ethiopia and Somalia was doomed to be a durable bone of contention. The Italian government chose Giuseppe Brusasca, a Christian-democrat with a past of resistance to Fascism, to conduct the final talks with Ethiopia and show the democratic face of new I. Good relations were affected by the predicament of war damages payment and the restitution of art items seized during the occupation, in the application of the peace treaty imposed in 1947 and the bilateral agreement signed in 1956 once the diplomatic relationships were re-established. The ↗Aksum stela was only returned to Ethiopia in 2005. The former settlers created a revanchist lobby in I. However, even associations sympathetic with the colonial venture (e.g., Istituto Italiano per l'Africa, Gruppo Bottego) facilitated the mutual comprehension, arranging visits of Italians to Ethiopia.

In November 1970, Ḫaylä Śəllase was finally able to embark on his long-awaited journey to I. Crowds gathered in railroad stations to hail the Emperor, repaying him for past humiliations. The visit ended with Ethiopia being granted a loan of 50 million dollars. In I., however, the acceptance of a true parity with Ethiopia and the former African colonies was neither immediate nor universal, and for a long time, the national ethos, biased by the stereotype of "Italiani brava gente", did not want to admit the atrocities accomplished against Ethiopia and her people.

Ethiopia and Eritrea have an important part in the Italians' memory. Many were born in Africa or to Italians who were born or lived in the Horn. Photographs and postcards transmit scenes of daily life and family sketches (Goglia 1989; Palma 1999, 2005). The preference lies with Eritrea, so that during the border conflict of 1998-2000, the Italian public opinion leant upon the the "first-born colony's" side. Ethiopia captures rather the benevolence of the left wing culture for the ↗resistance to imperialism and fascism.

Modern Italian scholarship on Ethiopia was founded by Ignazio ↗Guidi of the University of Rome, who trained two outstanding scholars: Francesco ↗Gallina and Carlo ↗Conti Rossini. Gallina, in his turn, taught such prominent Islamicists as Alfonso ↗Nallino, Giorgio Levi della Vida, and such Ethiopianists as Luigi ↗Fusella and, especially, Enrico ↗Cerulli. With his concern for history, literature and languages of Muslim peoples (Oromo, Somali), Cerulli furthered the shift in I.'s care towards the periphery of the Horn. Like many other Orientalists of the period, including Conti Rossini and Martino Mario ↗Moreno, Cerulli held important positions in the AOI administration. This prevented him later from playing any significant role in the post-war reconciliation between I. and Ethiopia. An important legacy for future relations was the ↗International Conference on Ethiopian Studies, which Cerulli inaugurated in Rome in 1959. Whilst only one Ethiopian participated in the first ICES, many more scholars from Addis Abäba took part in the Roman ICES of 1972. In 1973–83 Cerulli promoted yearly seminars of Ethiopian studies at the headquarters of the Accademia dei Lincei in Rome under the direction of Stefan ↗Strelcyn. The Ethio-Eritrean region has kept an unquestionable primacy in the interests of I.'s universities and scholars: Ethiopian studies have been pursued with continuity and competence above all at the ↗Istituto Universitario Orientale of Naples, also through the journal ↗*Rassegna di studi etiopici*, founded in 1941 by Conti Rossini.

Ethiopia (and Somalia) have been among the countries most benefited by I.'s not always transparent aid policy ("cooperazione allo sviluppo") in infrastructure, industry and agriculture projects, and in higher education.

Src.: *Carta dell'Africa Orientale Italiana* (scala 1: 1 000 000), Milano 1938; RICCARDO BACCHELLI, *Mal d'Africa*, Milano 1937; SEM BENELLI, *Io in Affrica*, Milano 1937; CecZeila; LUIGI VITTORIO BERTARELLI, *Guida d'Italia del Touring Club Italiano. Possedimenti e colonie. Isole Egee, Tripolitania, Cirenaica, Eritrea, Somalia*, Milano 1929; ETTORE COZZANI, *Vita di Guiglielmo Massaia*, 2 vols., Firenze 1943 (I grandi Italiani d'Africa 4); TERTULLIANO [PRIMIZIO REMIGIO] GANDOLFI, *I misteri dell'Africa italiana*, Roma 1910; CARLO GIGLIO, *L'Italia in Africa*, vol. 1: *Etiopia-Mar Rosso*, vol. 2: *Documenti (1859–1882)*, Roma 1959; SALVATORE GOTTA, *Piccolo legionario in AO*, Milano 1938; *Guida*; FERDINANDO MARTINI, *Lettere 1860–1928*, Milano 1934; ID., *Il diario eritreo*, 4 vols., Firenze 1942–43 (I grandi Italiani d'Africa 3); GIOVANNI ALFONSO PELLEGRINETTI (ed.), *Le Memorie di Carlo Piaggia*, Firenze 1941 (I grandi Italiani d'Africa 2); ALMERICO RIBERA, *Vita di Antonio Cecchi*, Firenze 1940 (I grandi Italiani d'Africa 1); LUCA (DEI) SABELLI, *Storia di Abissinia*, Livorno 1936–38; CARLO ZAGHI (ed.), *Crispi e Menelich nel diario inedito del conte Augusto Salimbeni*, Torino 1956.

Lit.: JACQUELINE ANDALL – DEREK DUNCAN (eds.), *Italian Colonialism. Legacy and Memory*, Oxford 2005; CARLO ANGELO ANNARATONE, In Abissinia, Roma 1911, 45 (ill.); GIAMPAOLO CALCHI NOVATI, *Fra Mediterraneo e Mar Rosso. Momenti di politica italiana in Africa attraverso il colonialismo*, Roma 1992; MARIA CARAZZI, *La Società Geografica Italiana e l'esplorazione coloniale in Africa (1867–1900)*, Firenze 1972; CLAUDIO CERRETI, *Della Società Geografica Italiana e della sua vicenda storica (1867–1997)*, Roma 2000; ID. (ed.), *Colonie africane e cultura italiana fra Ottocento e Novecento: le esplorazioni e la geografia*, Roma 1995; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, *Italia ed Etiopia dal trattato di Uccialli alla battaglia di Adua*, Roma 1935; ANGELO DEL BOCA, *Gli Italiani in Africa orientale*, 4 vols., Roma – Bari 1976–84; ID., *L'Africa nella coscienza degli italiani*, Roma – Bari 1992; LUIGI GOGLIA, *Colonialismo e fotografia. Il caso italiano*, Messina 1989; ID. – FABIO GRASSI, *Il colonialismo italiano da Adua all'impero*, Roma – Bari 1981; NICOLA LABANCA (ed.), *L'Africa in vetrina. Storia di musei e di esposizioni coloniali in Italia*, Treviso 1992; ID., *Oltremare*, Bologna 2002; ANNA MILANINI KEMENY, *La Società d'Esplorazione Commerciale in Africa e la politica coloniale (1874–1914)*, Firenze 1973; GENNARO MONDAINI, *La legislazione coloniale italiana nel suo sviluppo storico e nel suo stato attuale (1881–1940)*, 2 vols., Milano 1941; TOMMASO PALAMENGHI-CRISPI, *L'Italia coloniale e Francesco Crispi*, Milano 1928; SILVANA PALMA, *L'Italia coloniale*, Roma 1999; EAD., *L'Africa nella collezione fotografica dell'Isiao. Il fondo Eritrea-Etiopia*, Roma 2005; PATRIZIA PALUMBO, *A Place in the Sun*, London 2003; GIAN LUCA PODESTÀ, *Sviluppo industriale e colonialismo. Gli investimenti italiani in Africa orientale, 1869–1897*, Milano 1996; ID., *Il mito dell'impero. Economia, politica e lavoro nelle colonie italiane dell'Africa orientale, 1898–1941*, Torino 2004; GIULIANO PROCACCI, *Il socialismo internazionale e la guerra d'Etiopia*, Roma 1978; MASSIMO ROMANDINI, "Politica musulmana in Eritrea durante il governatorato Martini", *Islam, storia e civiltà* 3, 2, 1984, 127–31; EDOARDO SCARFOGLIO, *Abissinia (1888–1896)*, Livorno 1936; GIULIETTA STEFANI, *Colonia per maschi. Italiani in Africa Orientale: una storia di genere*, Verona 2007; FRANCESCO SURDICH, *L'esplorazione italiana dell'Africa*, Milano 1982; ROMOLO TRITONJ, *Politica indigena africana*, Milano 1941; ANGELO UMILTÀ, *Gli Italiani in Africa. Con appendici monografiche su esploratori e personaggi che calcarono il suolo africano dal 1800 al 1943*, Reggio Emilia 2004; MICHELA WRONG, *I Didn't Do It for You. How the World Betrayed a Small African Nation*, New York 2005; CARLO ZAGHI, *L'Africa nella coscienza europea e l'imperialismo italiano*, Napoli 1973; CORRADO ZOLI, *Cronache etiopiche*, Roma 1930.

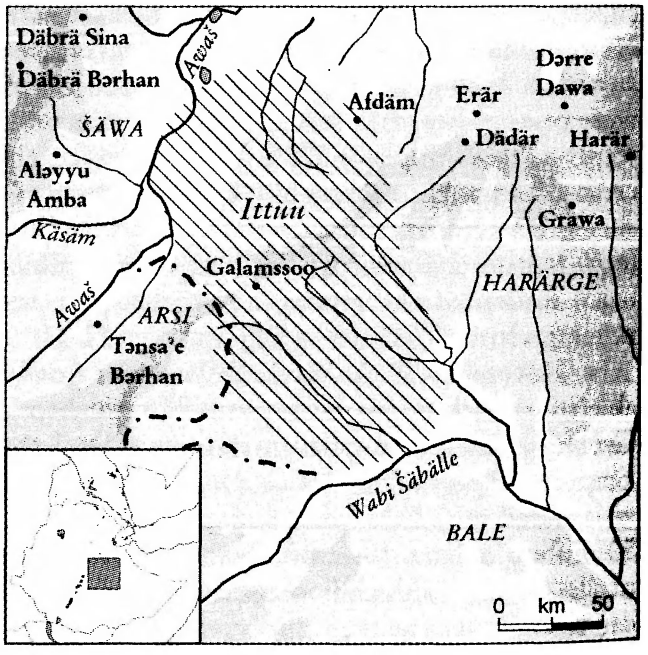
Giampaolo Calchi Novati

Itineraries s. EAE vol. 5

Ittuu

The I. (also written Itu, Etu, Ettu) are part of the ↗Baarentuu section of the Oromo, traditionally regarded as descending from the "fifth son" of the Baarentuu ancestor. They were one of the three major Baarentuu confederacies who migrated from Mormor in the ↗Bale region to ↗Harärge during the first half of the 16th cent., the other two being the Afran Qallu (↗Qottu) and the ↗Anniyya. For all three groups, Mormor was their land of origin and the sacred land of their ↗*abbaa muudaa*. After their migration, the three groups installed a common ↗*čaffee* assembly at Odaa Bultum in ↗Čärčär. At the beginning of the 18th cent. the *čaffee* was replaced by three separate assemblies, but Odaa Bultum remained an important religious centre for all the three. Until 1900 Oromo pilgrims from Harärge on the way to *abbaa muudaa* at Mormor had first to visit Odaa Bultum, which was regarded as the "well-spring of traditional Oromo wisdom" for the three groups (Tasaw Merga 1976:72f.).

The new homeland of the I., with its centre in Čärčär, bordered on the regions of Bale in the south, ↗Arsi in the west, ↗Šäwa in the north, and the ↗ᶜAfar desert in the north-east. The traditional boundary between the I. and Afran



Qallu was the Burqa river, while that between the Afran Qallu and Anniyya was the Moǧo river.

The I. of Č̣ärč̣är developed into two confederacies, Galaan (consisting of six ↗*gosa* or clans: Alga, Baabbo, Elle, Gaamo, Gaadulla and Qallu) and Kura (with four *gosa*: Addayye, Arrooǧǧii, Bayy and Waayyu; s. Demissie Mikael 1974:32; BTafA 771; Badri Kabir Mohammed 1995:11).

By 1600 the I., famous for their equestrian skills, appeared to have been the most powerful Oromo group in Harärge, probably due to their formidable cavalry (Mohammed Hassen 1983:174). This military power may have been the reason for other Oromo to ask the I. to join their attack on the region of ↗Goǧǧam across the Abbay in 1612 (PerChron 139ff.). The I. warriors forced *aṣe* ↗Susənyos to a full mobilization for the protection of this rich province. Through force of arms and diplomacy, he managed to win over I. warriors, settling them in Goǧǧam and Dämbəya, and requiring them to protect these provinces from the attacks of other Oromo groups (BTafA 337).

In Č̣ärč̣är, the I. settled among sedentary ↗Harari and possibly ↗Ḥarla farmers. In the process of assimilation, the two cultures, sedentary agricultural and nomadic pastoralist, became mutually dependent. By the end of the 18th cent., the I. mode of production changed into sedentary agriculture combined with cattle-keeping. Land became a measure of wealth giving rise to a land-owning nobility known as *abbaa burqaa* ('father [or master] of the spring').

After their migration into Č̣ärč̣är, the I. were exposed to Islamic influence radiating from the city of ↗Harär. Muslim traders, preachers, teachers and ↗holy men crossed the land of the I., and ↗mosques and Qurᶜānic schools were established in several places in western Harärge. Yet, before the late 19th cent. few I. had converted to ↗Islam. Following the conquest of the I. by *däǧǧazmač* ↗Wäldä Gäbrəʾel in 1886, however, the I. converted *en masse*, Islamic faith being for them a form of rejection of the ↗*gäbbar* system imposed upon them by *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II (Braukämper 2002:116-20; Mohammed Hassen 1999:101).

The I.'s resistance against central Ethiopian regimes following the conquest is famous amongst the Oromo. Several of the first Oromo nationalists were I. Muḥammad Ǧilo led a famous rebellion in Č̣ärč̣är in 1948. The first Oromo Liberation Front guerrilla army started armed struggle in Č̣ärč̣är in 1974 (Mohammed Hassen 2000:124; ↗Liberation movements).

By using the fertility of their land intelligently, the I. have made their region the breadbasket of Harärge. They grow coffee, *č̣at*, *ṭeff*, maize, sorghum, finger millet, beans and oil seeds, produce honey and breed cattle. The fattened bulls of Č̣ärč̣är are famous throughout Ethiopia.

Src.: BTafA 337, 771; PerChron 139ff.

Lit.: BADRI KABIR MOHAMMED, *The Afran Qallo Oromo. A History*, B.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1995; ULRICH BRAUKÄMPER, *Islamic History and Culture in Southern Ethiopia*, Münster – Hamburg 2002; DEMISSE MIKAEL, *The Kottu of Hararge: an Introduction to the Eastern Oromo*, ms. 1974; MOHAMMED HASSEN, "Menilek's Conquest of Harar, 1887, and its Effect on the Political Organization of the Surrounding Oromos up to 1900", in: DONALD DONHAM – WENDY JAMES (eds.), *Working Papers on Society and History in Imperial Ethiopia. The Southern Periphery from 1800s to 1974*, Cambridge 1980, 227–46; ID., *The Oromo of Ethiopia, 1500–1850: with Special Emphasis on the Gibe Region*, Ph.D. thesis, University of London 1983; ID., "Islam as Resistance Ideology among the Oromo in Ethiopia", in: THOMAS SALTER – KENNETH KING (eds.), *Islam and Development in Africa ...*, Edinburgh 1999, 79–114; ID., "A Short History of Oromo Colonial Experience. Part Two. Colonial Consolidation and Resistance 1935–2000)", *Journal of Oromo Studies* 7, 1–2, 2000, 109–98; TASAW MERGA, *Seennaa Ummata Oromoo: Jalqaba jaarraa kudha jahaffati hamma dhumaatii jaarraa kudha sagalaffatti* ('History of the Oromo: from the Beginning of the 16th to the End of the 19th Century'), ms. 1976.

Mohammed Hassen

Ityopis

I. (**ኢትዮጲስ**, also Aithiops, Ethiops etc.) is a legendary personage mentioned in the **ዘሀገር፡ ወገበዘ፡ አክሱም** (*Zähagär wägäbäzä Aksum*, 'About the Country and the Cathedral of Aksum'), a 15th-cent. text dealing with the historical topography of the city of ↗Aksum, which immediately precedes the first part of the collection known as the *Mäṣḥafa ↗Aksum*. There, as an apocryphal addition to the table of generations of Gen 10:7, I. is the son of Kush and grandson of Ham, and thus the great-grandson of Noah. According to this source, I.'s grave was at Mäzəbər, the original foundation spot of the Gäbäzä Aksum (↗Aksum Ṣəyon) until ↗Makədda moved this temple to "the land of ᶜAsba" (and later, Kings ↗Abrəha and Aṣbəha built it on the church's present place). The text, though in uncertain reading, honors I. as "the father of the Ethiopians" (CRAxum 3, 6).

The archaeological site identified as Mäzəbər was recorded by the ↗Deutsche Aksum-Expedition on the outskirts of Aksum (DAE I, table 27) but remains largely unexplored. The age of the tradition concerning I. cannot be determined with certainty. The name "I." may be a local deriva-

tion from the Greek name ↗Aithiopía or, rather, Aithíops ('Ethiopian', Gr. Αἰθιοψ. fem. Αἰθίοπις).

Included in the 15th-cent. work, the tradition of I. must go back to an earlier (most probably oral) source. However, it cannot be excluded that "I., a son of Kush (Kʷəsa)" emerged thanks to the intensive inquiry into the biblical text by traditional ↗*andəmta* scholars, who might have realized that in other versions of the Bible ↗Kush[ite] stands sometimes for Ethiopia[n] of the Gəᶜəz text, and elaborated upon this (e.g., Num 12:1; cp. Bərhanu Dənqe 1959:10; s. also ↗Gihon).

I. appears to have been a pivotal element of the local traditions of Aksum and the eponymous ancestor, via ↗Aksumawi (the legendary founder of Aksum) and Mäläkya (Mälake) Aksum, of the "six fathers of Aksum". The names of the "six fathers" are supposed to have given rise to the names of the several districts or suburbs of the city.

The story of I. as attested in the *Zähagär wägäbäzä Aksum* refers to the period prior to the most important point in Ethiopian traditional history: the story of the Queen of Sheba's visit to King Solomon and the arrival of ↗Mənilək I and "the first-born sons of Israel". Thus, the story of I. is a reference to the old pre-Christian and even "pre-Semitic" Ethiopia, underlining the Ethiopians' origin from Kush, as opposed to the legacy of Sem, "imported" by Mənilək I (Makəbda being, according to the tradition, a Kushite).

I. is not attested elsewhere in Gəᶜəz ↗historiography. There is a tradition which strives to link I. directly to Makəbda's legend, with I., rather than ↗Angäbo, being the one who killed the serpent ↗Arwe, reigned and was succeeded by Atrayn, Sarayn and Makəbda (Conti Rossini 1917:701f.; cp. DAE I, 40). However, the official Ethiopian annals, including those of Yoḥannəs IV and Mənilək II, (deliberately) ignored I. In the late 19th–early 20th cent. I. was "re-discovered" by a few Ethiopian traditional scholars advancing a new historiography of the expanded Ethiopian empire; they tried to introduce I. into the complex picture of eponymous fathers, origins and relationships of different ethnic groups. An example is the late 19th-cent. historiographic work by ↗Fəśśəha Giyorgis ᶜAbiyä Ǝgziᵓ (1987:1f., 5ff., 9), who, elaborating on a passage from the *Zähagär wägäbäzä Aksum*, considered the people of Təgray descendants of I. (the Israelite origin being reserved only for the royal line). Another example is Aṣmä Giyorgis Gäbrä Mäsiḥ who viewed I. as the father of Soba, Noba (↗Soba Noba), ↗Bäläw and Käläw (BTafA 206f.; cp. Gäbrä Iyäsus Abay 1961:9). The most extravagant elaboration was produced by *aläqa* ↗Täyyä Gäbrä Maryam in his *History of the People of Ethiopia*, by stating that I. was an offspring of Sem via Yoqtan (Täyyä Gäbrä Maryam 1965/66:18ff.), and providing him with an exact chronology. Also, *aläqa* Tayyä introduces another king by the same name (ibid. 10, 58), but elsewhere comes to a genealogical scheme similar to that of Aṣmä Giyorgis (ibid. 48). Since the main source *aläqa* Tayyä refers to in his *History* is his another extensive writing of which the *History* may be an abbreviated version (s. Tayyä Gäbrä Maryam 1987:VI–X), it is not always clear how he reached his conclusions.

I.'s name was given to one of the first journals of Ethiopian studies, ↗*Æthiops*.

Src.: Bərhanu Dənqe, **የኢትዮጵያ፡ አጭር፡ ታሪክ** (*Yäᵓityopya aṭṭər tarik*, 'A Short History of Ethiopia'), Addis Abäba 1952 A.M. [1959 A.D.], 10; BTafA s. index; CRAxum 3, 6 (text) = 3, 6 (tr.); Carlo Conti Rossini, "Il libro delle leggende e tradizioni abissini dell'ecciaghié Filpòs", *RRALm* ser. 5ª, 26, 1917, 699–718, here 701f. (Lit.); DillmLex 1418; DAE I, 33, 38, 40f., table 27; Fesseha Giyorgis, *Storia d'Etiopia*, ed. by Yaqob Beyene, Napoli 1987; Gäbrä Iyäsus Abay, **መሰረት፡ ዓሌት፡ ህዝቢ፡ መረብ፡ ምላሽ** (*Mäsärät ᶜalet həzbi märäb məllaš*, 'The Origins of the People of Märäb Məllaš'), Asmära 1961, 9; Alice Jankowski, *Die Königin von Saba und Salomo*, Hamburg 1987, s. index; *aläqa* Täyyä Gäbrä Maryam, **የኢትዮጵያ፡ ሕዝብ፡ ታሪክ** (*Yäᵓityopya ḥəzb tarik*, 'The History of Ethiopia's People'), Addis Abäba 1958 A.M. [1965/66 A.D.], 10, 18ff., 48, 58 (= *History of the People of Ethiopia*, tr. by Grover Hudson – Tekeste Negash, Uppsala 1987, here VI–X, s. index).

Lit.: Bertrand Hirsch – François-Xavier Fauvelle-Aymar, "Aksum àpres Aksum. Royauté, archéologie et herméneutique chrétienne de Ménélik II (r. 1865–1913) à Zär'a Yaeqob (r. 1434-1468)", *AE* 17, 2001, 59–109; MHAksum 9, 11f.; Ugo Monneret de Villard, *Aksum, ricerche di topografia generale*, Roma 1938, 12; Sergew Hable-Sellasie, "ᵓItyopis", in: *DicEthBio* 91.

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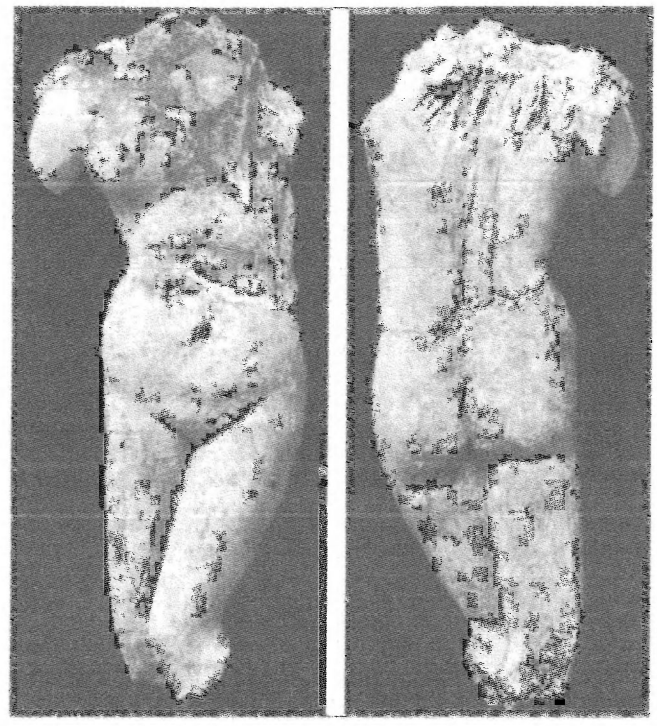
Ivory

I., or, more precisely, the 'elephant tusk' (Gəᶜəz **ቀርኑ፡ ነጌ**, *qärnä näge*, Amh. **የዝሆን፡ ጥርስ**, *yäzəhon ṭərs*, Tgn. **ናይ፡ ሓርማዝ፡ ስኒ**, *nay ḥarmaz sənni*, Orom. *ilka*, Gr. ἐλεφας, Lat. *ebur*, Arab. ᶜāǧ) sometimes, however, meaning also '↗hippopotamus tusk), was the main organic material for both ceremonial and practical objects, as well as for appliqués for furniture and doors. Produced in Africa and ↗India, it played a major role for sev-

eral thousand years in the commercial and cultural history of those regions – esp. of Ethiopia and the Horn of Africa – and the relevant ↗trade with the Mediterranean world. Here, the availability of this exotic and lustrous good varied greatly, but its appeal was quite constant.

Tusks almost certainly originating in the Ethiopian zone were exported in early ancient times from the Land of ↗Punt. This is indicated in Queen Hatshepsut's inscription at Thebes, in Upper Egypt, which describes an expedition despatched by her down the Red Sea around 1495 B.C. (Breasted 1952:274–78; ↗Kush). The Biblical Book of Kings (9:26–8; 10:22) likewise tells of King Solomon (ca. 974–32 B.C.) importing I. from the Land of ↗Ophir (cp. ↗Makəḍḍa). Later, the Ptolemies used to hunt elephants in the zone of "Berenikē" – whether "Berenikē Pánchrysos" or "Berenikē epì Deirês", both on the Red Sea, it is sometimes difficult to ascertain (Desanges 1978:295ff.).

Later still, towards the half of the 1st cent. AD, the ↗*Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* records that I. was exported from the port of ↗Adulis, and, further east, on a smaller scale from the gulf or district of Avalites, i.e. modern ↗Zayla^{c}; three days inland from Adulis the settlement of ↗Coloë is described as "the first market for I.", which "from beyond the Nile", via Kyēneion (i.e. ↗Sinnār[?]), is taken all to Aksum and then down to Adulis (§§ 4 and 7, ed. Frisk 1927:2f.; cp. Huntingford 1980:87–90). The importance of the I. exports of Adulis was confirmed by ↗Pliny (*Nat. hist.* VI, 34, ed. Rakham 1947:466f.), and later, in the early 6th cent. by the Egyptian traveller ↗Cosmas Indicopleustes, who states that large elephant tusks from Ethiopia were sent "even into India, Persia, and the Homerite country [Arabia] and the Roman dominion" (*Top. Christ.* XI, 23, ed. Wolska-Conus 1973:355; and also mentions the export of hippopotamus teeth (*ibid.* XI, 9, ed. Wolska-Conus 1973:333). The Aksumites, according to recent archaeological research, also carved I. "to a very high level of artistry and technical sophistication" (Phillipson 1998:56, 81f.). Material dating from the 4th to the 7th cent. were recovered during excavations in Aksum suggests not only that I. was present in considerable quantities, but also that it was shaped, turned, carved and employed with skill for a variety of purposes, as a part of a long-standing and accomplished tradition: such is the case, e.g., for the furniture (throne?) panels with vine motives and a female



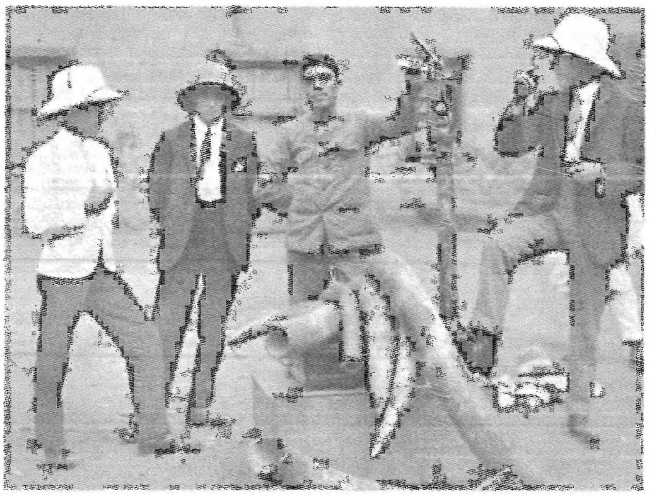
Late antique ivory figurine from the Tomb of the Brick Arches in Aksum; from Phillipson 2000, II, 461, fig. 404

late antique figurine – not a true carving in the round, but two low reliefs conjoined – from the Tomb of the Brick Arches (Phillipson 2000, vol. 1, 113–24 and figs. 97–106, vol. 2, 460–68 and figs. 403–14).

From the beginning of the 4th cent. to the 6th cent., when Egypt and then Syria and Constantinople (where craftsmen kept alive an earlier tradition) became prominent sources of worked I. (as against bone carving), the latter was comparatively cheap: in the age of Diocletian, it cost one fourth less than an equivalent weight of silver. Hence abundant ornaments, statuettes, icons, diptychs, caskets and boxes (esp. pyxides) for medical, liturgical and other uses.

I. trade seems to have been disrupted in the late 6th/early 7th cent., to be only resumed in the 10th cent., when I. became a coveted substance in Europe and the Near East. In the meanwhile, Islamic craftsmen took the lead in I. carving from Spain and Sicily, from Syria to Egypt (where the Copts maintained the older tradition of intarsia decoration, vs. that of incrustation favoured by the Muslims). However, their artefacts – caskets, combs and crosiers with painted and gilded ornaments – show a strong influence of Byzantine techniques (Pinder-Wilson 1960:201ff.).

Little is known for the following centuries, but I. continued to be imported there from East (and West) Africa, hardly replaced by India, as



The ivory customs station of Harär, expedition of the British traveller Bentley; from von Kulmer 1910

it scarcely produced enough for its own needs (ibid., 200; cp. Raschke 1978:656 and n. 1141a [933ff.]). In fact, Arabfaqīh (*Futūḥ al-Ḥabaša*, BassHist 31) and the Armenian merchant Mateus in the 16th cent. (BeckHuntAlvar I, 55), the Jesuit Barradas (1996:35, 114), Lobo (tr. 1984:58, 60, 98) and Ludolf (1684:398), Poncet (tr. Foster 1949:155) and Bruce (BruNile I, 275) in the 18th cent., all indicate considerable I. exports, mainly via Massawa and Ḥərgigo. Trade also took place through Zayla^{c}, Berbera and Mogadishu, as well as along the western route from Ethiopia to Egypt via Sudan (Pank-Econ 348, 358f., 353, 355).

As a result of improved ↗fire-arms, used in elephant ↗hunting, I. exports expanded steadily starting from the early 19th cent. (PankEcon 248–52). Tusks were by then transported along the principal trade routes, via Gondär, Alәyyu Amba, Harär and later Addis Abäba, to the ports of Massawa and Zayla^{c}, and subsequently by rail to Djibouti.

The I. trade of Gondär by the second half of the century was estimated at around 30,000 kg a year, or a value of 12,600 Maria Theresa thalers, and that of Massawa at something between 29,000 and 74,000 kg, or 46,000 to 86,000 Maria Theresa thalers. Harär exports by the year 1899/1900 were valued at 51,000 kg or 40,000 Maria Theresa thalers, and those of Addis Abäba at 35,000 kg, or 600,000 Maria Theresa thalers (PankEcon 351, 364, 400, 412). I. was traded through Djibouti for 1,216,325 Francs in 1908, 2,245,775 Francs in 1909, 1,360,875 Francs in 1910, the yearly average of exports from Ethiopia being 1,25 million Francs. The peak in the year 1909 is due to a large-scale sale by *aṣe* Mənilək II, who considerably increased his government's revenue through that (Zechlin 1913:43f.). In the late Mənilək's times, I. export developed considerably: 25 tons in 1906, 49 in 1907, 60 in 1908 ([Naggiar] 1909:13), 88 in 1909 ([Id.] 1910:6). However, after that it considerably decreased, owing both to the extinction of elephants in many regions and to the selling of the I. stores of the emperor and a few local governors (Zechlin 1913:44).

Throughout this time, I. was an important source of government revenue. In 1913 the export reports of the Ethiopian state have it that an elephant tusk was subject to a tax of 27 Maria Theresa thalers per 16.66 kg (= one frasula), which is supposed to correspond to approximately 10 % of the price of that good (Zechlin 1913:35). The custom by the mid-19th cent. was that a successful hunter yielded the sovereign one every two tusks, and this was soon understood in terms of the first tusk to touch the ground. *Aṣe* ↗Mənilək II, in return, gave the hunter a honorific ring to be placed in the ear as a mark of distinction (PankEcon 509). Thus, according to a commercial report of 1904, the emperor received about 35 to 40 tons of I. per year (Department of Commerce and Labor 1904:31).

The near-extinction of Ethiopian elephants in the early 20th cent., as well as restrictions on hunting, led to a dramatic decline in the I. trade. Exports via Djibouti thus fell from 64,000 kg in 1910 to 26,000 in 1920 and a mere 3,000 in 1930 – and only 300 in the following year (PankEcon 432).

I., though long a major export item, was also used in the country itself (BeckHuntAlvar I, 303; Barradas 1996:60, 62, 65, 114). Some of the walls of Gondär palaces were decorated with it (PankHist I, 26, 131). King ↗Sahlä Śəllase's workers in Šäwa made I. bracelets (↗Jewellery) and chess-pieces (Combes – Tamisier 1838:84); by the early 20th cent., Oromo craftsmen were turning a great number of I. cups, combs, spoons and forks, ear-picks, tatooing points, earrings, and pen-holders, as well as ↗crosses and ↗sword-hilts (Mérab 1929:401, 415; PankEcon 357).

I. also plays a role within the ↗meritorious complex of several ethnic groups: e.g., killer's insignia were often made of I. (VSAe II, table 23:8ff., 12).

Src.: MANOEL BARRADAS, *Tractatus Tres Historico-Geographici (1634): a Seventeenth-Century Historicial and Geographical Account of Tigray, Ethiopia*, tr. by ELIZABET FILLEUL, ed. by RICHARD PANKHURST, Wiesbaden 1996 (AeF 43), 35, 60, 62, 65, 114; BassHist 31 (text) = 70f. (tr.) = PAUL LESTER STENHOUSE (tr.), *The Conquest of Abyssinia (16th Century)*, Hollywood, CA 2003, 42; BeckHuntAlvar 55, 303; BruNile vol. 1, 275, vol. 2, 541f., 633, 737, vol. 3, 2, 54f., 251; EDMOND COMBES – MAURICE TAMISIER, *Voy-*

age en Abyssinie, dans le pays des Gallas, de Choa et d'Ifat, vol. 4, Paris 1838, 84; WILLIAM FOSTER (tr.), *The Red Sea and Adjacent Countries at the Close of the Seventeenth Century* ..., London 1949 (Works issued by the Hakluyt Society, 2nd Ser. 2, 100), 91–172, here 155; HJALMAR FRISK (ed.), *Le Périple de la Mer Érythrée*, Göteborg 1927 (Göteborg Högskolas Årsskrift 33, 1), 2f. = GEORGE WYNN BRERETON HUNTINGFORD (tr.), *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, London 1980, 20, 22f., 87–90; FRIEDRICH VON KULMER, *Im Reiche Kaiser Meneliks: Tagebuch einer Abessinischen Reise*, Leipzig 1910 (ill.); JERONIMO LOBO, *The Itinerario of Jerónimo Lobo*, tr. by DANIEL LOCKHART, London 1984, 58, 60, 96; JOB LUDOLPH, *A New History of Ethiopia*, London 1684, 398; PAUL MÉRAB, *Impressions d'Éthiopie. L'Abyssinie sous Ménélik II*, vol. 3, Paris 1929, 401, 415; MunzSt 570f.; PLINY, *Natural History*, II *Lb. III–VII*, ed., tr. by HARRIS RACKHAM, Cambridge, MA – London ²1947 [repr. ³1968] (The Loeb Classical Library 352), 466f.; [JOSEPH PAUL NAGGIAR], *Éthiopie. Mouvement commercial de l'Ethiopie en 1907 et 1908 par Dirré-Daoua et Djibouti*, Paris 1909 (Rapports commerciaux des agents diplomatiques et consulaires de France 799), 13; ID., *Éthiopie. Mouvement commercial de l'Ethiopie en 1909 par Diré Daoua et Djibouti*, Paris 1910 (ibid. 911), 6; DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE AND LABOR (ed.), *Daily Consular Reports*, No. 1898, April 29, 1904: *Abyssinia*, Washington, [DC] 1904, 31f.; WANDA WOLSKA-CONUS (ed.), *Cosmas Indicopleustès, Topographie chrétienne*, vol. 3, Paris 1973 (Sources chrétiennes 197), 332f., 354f.; WALTER ZECHLIN, "Der Exporthandel Abessiniens", *Berichte über Handel und Industrie* 20, Heft 2, 2 August 1913, 33-44.

Lit.: JAMES HENRY BREASTED, *A History of Egypt from the Earliest Times to the Persian Conquest*, London 1952, 274–78; [HUGO] BLÜMNER, "Elfenbein", in: [PAULYS] *Realenzyklopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, vol. 10, 1905, 2356–66; ALFRED BREHM, *Tierleben*, vol. 4: *Säugetiere*, Leipzig 1925, 42f.; ANTHONY CUTLER, *The Craft of Ivory*, Washington, DC 1985 (Lit.); ID., *Late Antique and Byzantine Ivory Carving*, Aldershot [1998] (Variorum Collected Studies Series 617); JEAN-PIERRE CAILLET, "L'origine des derniers ivoires antiques", *Revue de l'Art* 72, 1986, 7–15; HENRY A. CH. DARLEY, *Slaves and Ivory. A Record of Adventure and Exploration in Unknown Sudan, and among the Abyssinian Slave-raiders*, London ³1938 [repr. New York 1969]; JEHAN DESANGES, *Recherches sur l'activité des méditerranéens aux confins de l'Afrique (VIe siècle avant J.-C.–IVe siècle après J.-C.)*, Rome 1978 (Collection de l'École française de Rome 38), 291f., 295ff., 321, 337; IRIS HAHNER-HERZOG, "Die Geschichte des afrikanischen Elfenbeinhandels", in: STAATLICHES MUSEUM FÜR VÖLKERKUNDE MÜNCHEN (ed.), *Mensch und Elefant*, Innsbruck – Frankfurt/Main 1994, 68–80; DAVID PHILLIPSON, *Ancient Ethiopia. Aksum: its Antecedents and Successors*, London 1998, 56, 81f.; ID., *Archaeology at Aksum, Ethiopia, 1993-97*, London 2000 (Memoirs of the British Institute in Eastern Africa 17), vol. 1, 116–24, and figs. 97–106, vol. 2, 369–72, 460–68, 482f. and figs. 404–14; PankEcon 248–52, 348, 351, 353, 355, 358f., 364, 400, 412, 432, 509; PankHist I, 333, index; PINDER-WILSON "ᶜĀdj", in: *EI²*, vol. 1, 200–03; MANFRED G. RASCHKE, "New Studies in Roman Commerce with the East", in: *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt*, vol. 2, 9, 1, Berlin 1978, 640–1361, here 633 and n. 499 (760), 650 and nn. 1004–05 (905), 656 and n. 1141a (933ff.); VSAe II, table 23, 8ff., 12.

Richard Pankhurst – Red.

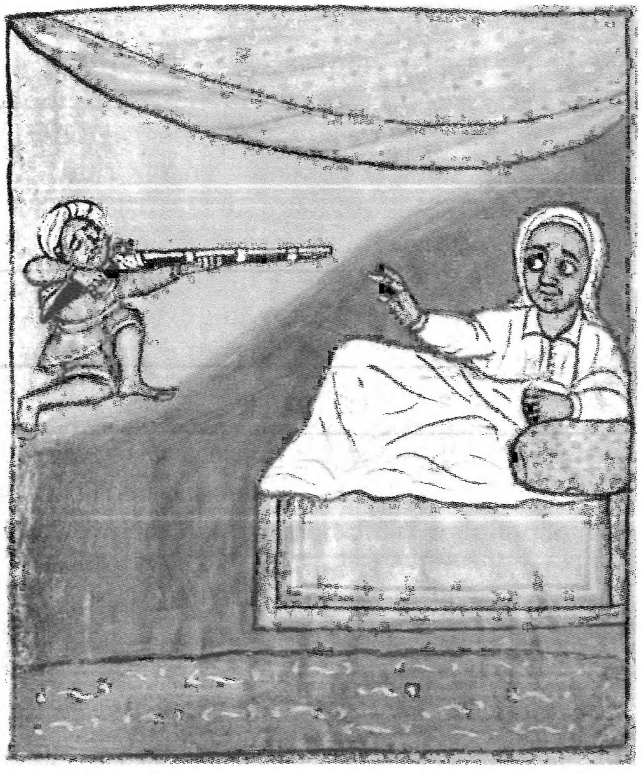
Iyasu I

Aṣe I. (ኢያሱ; also known as "I. the Great", b. ca. 1658/59 [Poncet 1838:613], d. 13 October 1706), considered one of the most significant monarchs of the ↗Solomonic dynasty, ruled the ↗Gondärine kingdom from 1682 till 1706. Son of *aṣe* ↗Yoḥännəs I and *ətege* Säblä Wängel, I. inherited the governorship of Səmen after the death of his brother Yosṭos in 1676 (GuiIohan 18, 59). He rebelled against his father in 1681 and negotiated his own succession, so that the day Yoḥannəs died, 19 July 1682 (GuiIohan 50–55, 59ff.), he finally ascended the throne, taking the name of Adyam Sägäd.

In September 1683, he married Wälättä Ṣəyon of Ḥamasen (d. 1694; GuiIohan 66, 178). His four sons who reigned later were all by his concubines. ↗Täklä Haymanot, the son of ↗Mäläkotawit who encouraged him to seize power from his father, was enthroned in 1706. By ↗Qəddəstä Krəstos, I. had five children (cp. GuiIohan 244, BassÉt 166f.), including ↗Dawit III and ↗Yoḥannəs II. *Aṣe* ↗Bäkaffa was the son of Maryamawit.

I. managed to maintain the royal presence over a large territory. He repeatedly checked Oromo raids in various regions, and several times raided the ↗Kunama ("Šanqəlla") in the area of the Märäb and Bäläsa rivers. In 1692 he obtained homage from Mūsā, the ↗*nāʾīb* of Massawa. I. was the last Gondärine monarch to reach as far as ↗Ǝnnarya in the region of Gibe, in 1704. He built up his power by visiting such symbolical places as the old – and then remote – monastery of Däbrä Libanos in Šäwa (1699) and, above all, ↗Aksum Ṣəyon. *Ṣäḥafe təʾəzaz* ↗Ḥawarya Krəstos, the author of the Chronicle of I., claims that I. saw the ↗Ark of Covenant in 1691 and even talked to it, receiving advice from it on how to govern his kingdom (GuiIohan 158f.).

A great benefactor of the Orthodox Church, I. restored the ↗*gʷəlt* lands, laws and privileges of Aksum Ṣəyon in 1687, and granted land to further churches, such as ↗Märṭula Maryam in Goğğam (GuiIohan 70ff., 78, 158ff.; s. CrumLand 87ff.). In December 1682, he had a church built in honour of St. Täklä Haymanot close to the royal palace (GuiIohan 62, 272f.); the most important ecclesiastical foundation of his reign was the church of ↗Däbrä Bərhan Śəllase in Gondär, consecrated in 1694 (Raineri 1992:222; GuiIohan 176f.; Bosc-Tiessé 2001:156–60).



Death of *aṣe* Iyasu I; miniature in ms. *Mäṣḥafä Śəllase*, fol. 10r, 19th/20th cent., church of the Trinity, Č̣äläqot, Təgray; photo 1993, courtesy of Michael Gervers

In his struggle against regional separatism, in 1698 I. undertook the reform of customs' posts (GuiIohan 206ff.; cp. ↗*Kella*), aiming at stopping the uncontrolled taxation of goods (particularly ↗Salt) on the trade-routes from Ǝndärta to Gondär and, thereby, neutralizing rebellious ↗Lasta. In addition, he established a new hierarchy of titles and ranks at court (GuiIohan 152f.; Berry 1976). Like his father, he sent the Armenian merchant ↗Murād as an ambassador to the Dutch Indies (DonMurad 61–148).

I. gave preference to the religious doctrine of the "Unionists" (↗*Täwaḥədo*) and supported the "house of *abunä* Täklä Haymanot" (the monastic congregation of ↗Däbrä Libanos of Šäwa), mainly relying on the legendary pact (↗*Kidan*) between *aṣe* ↗Yəkunno Amlak and the Saint which was believed to have preserved the Solomonic dynasty throughout centuries (s., e.g., GuiIohan 193, 272). After a number of church councils, Christological discords still raged, and I. had Metropolitan *abunä* ↗Sinoda deposed and *abunä* Marqos IV installed in 1693. At the council summoned in 1698 the "Unctionists" (↗*Qəbat*) were forced to accept the official "Unionist" formula (GuiIohan 214ff.).

I. fell ill in 1699–1700 and was treated by the French apothecary Charles-Jacques ↗Poncet, who travelled to Ethiopia with the French Jesuit Xavier Brevedent. Then, the ↗Franciscans Giuseppe Maria di Gerusalemme and Benedetto and the ↗Jesuits Grenier and Paulet stayed at I.'s court. I. then charged Poncet with an embassy to King Louis XIV and sent at least two letters to Pope Clement XI (BudHist vol. 2, 42ff.; Raineri 2005, no. 52). Bruce saw I.'s inclination towards Catholicism as the reason of his assassination.

The royal Chronicle of I. (GuiIohan) stops in 1704, and the "short chronicles" give different accounts on the events of the years 1705–06 (cp. e.g. BassÉt 167–71; BegCron 82–87; Raineri 1992:231–40; Bosc-Tiessé 2001:215–20). After a campaign to ↗Ǝnnarya in 1705, I. fell ill again and went to ↗Gännätä Giyorgis and to Ǝnṭonəs island, where he had built thermal baths for a cure; thereafter (June – July 1705), he appointed his son Täklä Haymanot ↗*bitwäddäd*.

By that time, the situation of I. had become increasingly precarious (cp. ↗Tullu). On 8 March 1706, the nobles in Gondär enthroned Täklä Haymanot against the will of I., who was still on Lake Ṭana (on ↗Däq). In late July, Täklä Haymanot compelled his father to reside under surveillance in his palace on Č̣əqla Mänzo island. Threatened by the Goğğame troops who intended to restore I. to the throne, Täklä Haymanot sent his maternal uncles, Dərmən and Ṗawlos, who murdered I. when he refused to go into retreat to ↗Wähni Amba. His remains were deposited by the monks of Lake Ṭana on the island of Məṣraḫa, in the royal cemetery I. had established there (Bosc-Tiessé 2001:138–49). With this assassination, unstable times began.

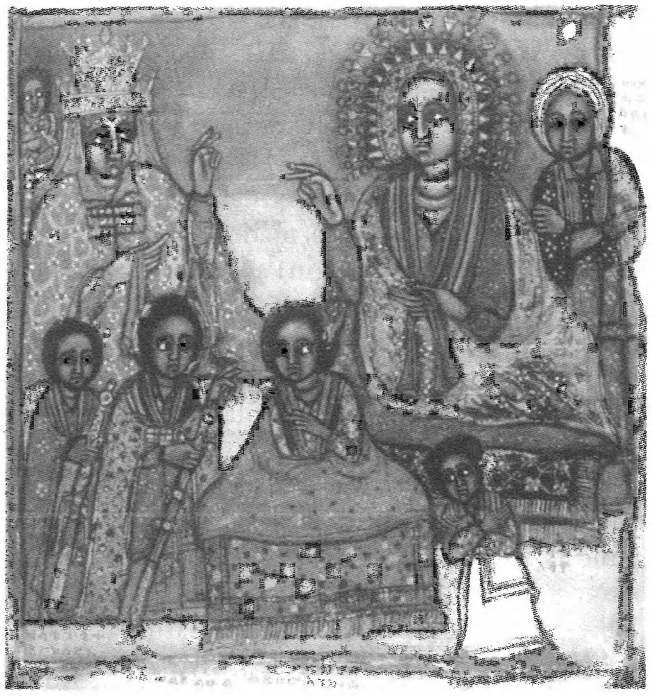
The end of I. found reflection in miniatures (Bosc-Tiessé 2001:211–15). A Vita of I. was written by *azzaž* ↗Sinoda, probably between 1709 and 1711, during the reign of I.'s brother ↗Tewoflos (Conti Rossini 1942:66f., 124). The hagiographic piece was meant to reaffirm the legitimacy of the dynasty; I. was proclaimed a "righteous martyr" on account of his death (↗Martyrdom) and a commemoration (↗*Täzkär*) was introduced for him.

Src.: BassÉt 166–71; BegCron 82–87; BTafA 930f.; BudHist vol. 2, 42ff.; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Iyasu I, re d'Etiopia e martire", *RSO* 20, 1, 1942, 65–128, esp. 66f., 124; DombrChr 213f., 217f., 220–23, 227, 230f., 233, 235f., 238f., 241ff., 245, 248–51, s. index; WILLIAM FOSTER (ed.), *The Red Sea and Adjacent Countries at the Close of the Seventeenth Century* ..., London 1949 (Works issued by the Hakluyt Society ser. 2, 100), 91–172; GuiIohan 18, 50–55, 58–62, 66, 70ff., 78, 158f., 176ff., 193, 206ff., 214ff., 244, 272f. (tr.); JULES PERRUCHON, "Notes pour l'histoire d'Éthiopie. Le règne de Iyasu (Ier), roi d'Éthiopie de 1682

à 1706", *RevSem* 9, 1901, 71–78, 161–67, 258–62; CHARLES-JACQUES PONCET, "Voyage d'Éthiopie", *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses* 4, 1704, 251–443 [= "Relation abrégée du voyage que M. Charles Poncet, médecin français, fit en Éthiopie dans les années 1698, 1699 et 1700", *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses concernant l'Asie, l'Afrique et l'Amérique*, vol. 1, Paris 1838, 594–629]; OSVALDO RAINERI, "Il regno di Iyāsu I°, re d'Etiopia dal 1682 al 1706 (traduzione del testo etiopico edito in PerrN XV)", *OrChrP* 58, 1992, 213–40; ID., "La storia di Iyāsu (1682–1706), secondo Cerulli Etiopico 318", *ibid.* 60, 1994, 247–53; ID., *Lettere tra i pontefici romani e i principi etiopici (sec. XII–XX). Versioni e integrazioni*, Città del Vaticano 2005 (Collectanea Archivi Vaticani 55), nos. 51–53.

Lit.: LAVERLE BERRY, *The Solomonic Monarchy at Gonder, 1630–1755: an Institutional Analysis of Kingship in the Christian Kingdom of Ethiopia*, Ph.D. thesis, Boston University 1976 (Lit.); ID., "Factions and Coalitions during the Gondar Period, 1630–1755", in: *PICES* 5b, 431–41; ID., "Coalition Politics and the Royal Office in mid-18th Century Gondar", in: *PICES* 10, 219–24; CLAIRE BOSC-TIESSÉ, *Art, Église et royauté en Éthiopie aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles: écriture de l'histoire et 'fabrique' des images dans les églises du lac Ṭānā*, Ph.D. thesis, Université de Paris–I 2001, 156–60, 211–20; BudHist 408–25; SEVIR CHERNETSOV, *Efiopskaja feodalnaja monarhija v XVII veke* ('Ethiopian Feudal Monarchy in the 17th Century'), Moscow 1990, 231–85; CrumLand 82–89; DonMurad 61–148, esp. 84ff., pl. X; MHAlex II, s. index.

Claire Bosc-Tiessé



From left to right (above): *aṣe* Iyasu II and *ətege* Bərhan Mogäsa with their children: Ayänte, (below) Arkälädes, Wäldä Lᵊul, Ǝnkoye and Asayo; miniature from the ms. of the *Gädlä Giyorgis* (1734/43?), London, BritLib Or. 715, fol. 134r; courtesy of the British Library

Iyasu II

I. (ኢያሱ, royal name Adyam Sägäd, b. 17 June 1723, d. 26 June 1755), son of *aṣe* ↗Bäkaffa and Məntəwwab (↗Bərhan Mogäsa), reigned in the ↗Gondärine kingdom from 1730 till 1755.

According to Bruce, Bäkaffa met Bərhan Mogäsa by chance in ↗Qʷara, liked her and ordered her be brought to ↗Gondär (BruNile II, 597ff.). On the contrary, I.'s Chronicle reports that Bäkaffa found Məntəwwab, a noble young lady, after a long search and miraculous events (GuiIyas 21). However, both sources agree that, after his birth, I. was mostly held outside the capital and brought up by Bäkaffa's officers.

The end of Bäkaffa's reign was clouded by rivalries among his officers, which was probably the reason why Bäkaffa suddenly summoned his son to Gondär in June 1730. However, he died soon thereafter in September, and Məntəwwab's kinsmen at the court, led by her great uncle, *grazmač* ↗Niqolawos, announced the last will of Bäkaffa to be that I. would be his successor. Niqolawos organized a hasty ↗coronation of the seven year-old boy as emperor and, soon thereafter, Məntəwwab as regent. These acts marked the beginning of the rapid rise of the Qʷara clan at court. Within two years Niqolawos was made ↗*dägğazmač* of Səmen, then ↗*ras*, and, finally, ↗*bitwäddäd*. This turn of events produced strong opposition from the old courtiers of Bäkaffa, such as ↗Tänśe Mammo, former *bitwäddäd* Lafto and former *ras* ↗Elyas. When Niqolawos died on 18 December 1732, they proclaimed as emperor a certain ↗Həzqəyas and besieged the palace compound in Gondär. During fighting in December and January, some buildings were burned, and the rebels persuaded *abunä* ↗Krəstodolu, *əčč̣äge* ↗Täklä Haymanot, and *ᶜaqqabe säᶜat* ↗Wäldä Ḥawaryat to excommunicate I., Məntəwwab, and all their supporters on the pretext that they were harbouring "Franks" (cp. ↗*Färäğ*) in the palace. I. and Məntəwwab were rescued at the last minute by soldiers led by two provincial governors, *dägğazmač* ↗Wäräññä of Damot and *azzaž* Giyorgis of Goğğam. The rebels were defeated, and Tänśe Mammo was hanged.

This unfortunate beginning set the tone for succeeding years, when I. reigned but Məntəwwab, with assistance from her brother, *ras* ↗Wäldä Lᵊul, ruled. It was an era of diminishing royal authority. The court, nonetheless, maintained control over the heartland of the kingdom (s. ↗Dämbəya), even as more remote regions, such as ↗Šäwa, became increasingly independent. Indeed, military power was passing into the hands of powerful provincial governors, whose offices

became hereditary – a tendency detrimental to the central authority. The court resorted to several means to maintain its control, such as reshuffling offices and promotions (↗*Šum šərr*), enlisting the help of powerful members of the Qʷara clan (like *ras* Wäldä Ləᶜul), and arranging conjugal unions. To this end Məntəwwab made her son divorce his wife (of Amhara origin) and marry Wäbi (or Wubit, Christian name Bersabeḥ), a daughter of Amiṭo, an Oromo chief from ↗Yäğğu (BudHist 459). Using these methods, the court still could keep the shaky balance and play the role of the supreme arbitrator.

I.'s insignificance was no secret. He was given the name of his grandfather, *aṣe* ↗Iyasu I, famous for his campaigns, and the same royal name, but the comparison worked against him: James ↗Bruce reported about a satirical parchment circulating in Gondär, entitled *The Expeditions of Iyasu the Little*, which described in the high-flown style of official records his casual moves around the city, as if these were dangerous military expeditions (BruNile II, 635).

At the same time, most of the reign of I. and Məntäwwab was, in fact, the last period of relative peace and both economic and cultural prosperity, for the city of Gondär in particular, before the turbulent ↗*Zämänä mäsafənt*. At great cost impressive buildings were constructed (frequently with the help of Greeks and Armenians), such as the churches of Qəddus Yoḥannəs, Abunä Ewosṭatewos, and ↗Narga Śəllase, as well as the complex of ↗Däbrä Ṣäḥay Qʷəsqʷam, the palaces of I. and Məntəwwab in Gondär, to name but a few. The religious controversies which raged in the 17th and 18th cent. (↗Christology) were to a certain extent put on hold, the party of *Qəbat* having the upper hand. After the death of *abunä* Krəstodolu, there was no metropolitan until 1745, the year when *abunä* Yoḥannəs was brought with great difficulties via Massawa (cp. ↗Giyorgis the Egyptian). In 1747 I. expelled a usurper-metropolitan – a Syrian priest, who acted under the auspices of *ras* ↗Mikaᵓel Səḥul. Three ↗Franciscans, thought to be physicians, were initially welcomed at court, but they were also driven out under pressure from the Orthodox clergy (Remedius ↗Prutky).

For a while, the court managed to check revolts (Wäfa Nabute from Wägära, defeated by *ras* ↗Wädağğe; Aykar, a "messiah" from Lasta; a false "King Bäkaffa"; Wäldä Zäray from Lasta) and reconcile internal rivalries (such as the one between *däğğazmač* Ayo and *ras* Wädağğe). Efforts were undertaken to enhance royal control over outlying regions (e.g., I.'s visit to ↗Aksum, Təgray; campaigns against *märədazmač* ↗Abbəyye of Šäwa; the Lastan ↗Näᵓakkʷəto Läᵓab, and the ↗Balaw-people), but the campaign to ↗Sinnār in 1744 ended in military disaster (↗Bādī; ↗Funğ; ↗*Kʷərᵓatä Rəᵓəsu*).

Towards the end of I.'s reign, there were internal difficulties, aggravated above all by the open struggles between different factions in Gondär (Oromo, Amhara, Goğğamis, Qʷarans etc.). Finally, I. died at the age of 32 during an epidemic and was buried at Däbrä Ṣäḥay Qʷəsqʷam. As usual in Ethiopia, in instances of an emperor's premature death by means other than in battle, there were rumours that he was poisoned (Paris, BN, ms. d'Abbadie 153, fols. 3v–4r), but they were probably wrong and politically motivated. I. was suceeded by ↗Iyoᵓas, his son by Wəbit.

Src.: J. HENRY ARROWSMITH-BROWN (ed., tr.), *Prutky's Travel to Ethiopia and Other Countries*, annot. by RICHARD PANKHURST, London 1991 (Hakluyt Society, 2nd ser., no. 174); BruNile vol. 2, 595–641; BTafA 931; SEVIR CHERNETSOV, *Efiopskie hroniki XVIII veka* ('Ethiopian Chronicles of the 18th Century'), Moscow 1991, 4–145; CRAbb 202, no. 201 [d'Abbadie 153], fol. 3v–4r; GuiIyas 3–168 (text) = 3–178 (tr.); VJACHESLAV M. PLATONOV, "«Kratkaja hronica» alaḳi Lemlema po rukopisi LO INA Ef. 30" ('The "Short Chronicle" of *Aläqa* Lämläm after the ms. LO INA Ef. 30'), in: *Africana. Kultura i jazyki narodov Afriki*, Moscow 1966 (Trudy instituta etnografii imeni N.N. Mikluho-Maklaja, new ser. 90), 36–51.

Lit.: AbPrince 14f. (Lit.); LAVERLE BERRY, "Factions and Coalitions during the Gondar Period, 1630–1755", in: *PICES* 5b, 431–41; ID., "Coalition Politics and the Royal Office in mid-18th Century Gondar", in: *PICES* 10, 219–24; CLAIRE BOSC-TIESSÉ, "'How Beautiful She Is!' in Her Mirror: Polysemic Images and Reflections of Power of an Eighteenth-Century Ethiopian Queen", *Journal of Early Modern History* 8, 3–4, 2004, 294–318; BudHist 449–59; CrumLand 94–113; IGNAZIO GUIDI, "Due nuovi manoscritti della 'Cronaca abbreviata' di Abissinia", *RRALm* ser. 6ª, 2, 1926, 357–421; MANFRED KROPP, "Äthiopisch–sudanesische Kriege im 18. Jhdt.", in: ROLF GUNDLACH – MANFRED KROPP – ANNALIS LEIBUNDGUT (eds.), *Der Sudan in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*, Frankfurt am Main – New York 1996, 111–31; PankHist I, 151–63 (Lit.); TSTarik III, 357–69.

Sevir Chernetsov – Denis Nosnitsin

Iyasu III

Aṣe I. III (ኢያሱ, r. 1784–88, royal name Bäᶜalä Ṣäggab) was a puppet king of the early ↗*Zämänä mäsafənt*. His father *abeto* Aṣqu was the son of *aṣe* ↗Iyasu II and grandson of *ətege* ↗Bərhan Mogäsa.

I. was enthroned in February 1784 by the powerful *ras* ↗Ḫaylu Yosedeq of Goğğam, I.'s rela-

tive and principal protector, and the rising *balambaras* (later *däğğazmač* of Bägemdər then *ras*) ↗Ali Gʷangul. Ḫaylu and Ali asked *däğğazmač* ↗Ḫaylä Mikaʾel Ǝšäte for help, which the latter refused (s. Guidi 1902:78f.; BlunChr 96f. [text]; Kropp 1989:19). Ḫaylu and Ali still succeeded in defeating *aṣe* ↗Täklä Giyorgis at Afäräwanat and chasing him off to ↗Ambassäl. The subsequent intrigues of *ras* Ḫaylu prevented *däğğazmač* Ḫaylä Mikaʾel from marrying Ali's niece, and made him withdraw to ↗Maḫdärä Maryam.

Aṣe I.'s enthronement caused the first interruption in the long and sporadic reign of *aṣe* Täklä Giyorgis. Given the brevity of I.'s reign, a surprising number of records remain that detail his involvement in issues related to land. For example, he resolved conflicts over land and granted numerous ↗*gʷəlt* lands to individuals on behalf of the churches of ↗Däbrä Ṣäḥay Qʷəsqʷam and ↗Däbrä Bərhan Śəllase in Gondär; he gave land inhabited by the ↗Betä Ǝsraʾel paying a tax of 30 ↗*amole*, to *balambaras* Rämha.

After a short period, a quarrel arose between *ras* Ḫaylu and *ras* Ali; the latter captured I. in battle and reinstalled Täklä Giyorgis. I. died soon thereafter; Täklä Giyorgis, however, was again deposed, this time by ↗Aligaz.

Src.: BlunChr 97, 101, 110, 118ff., 128, 130 (text), 342, 348f., 360, 372ff., 386, 389 (tr.); BritLib Orient. 776, fols. 3r, 10v, 12r; 777, fols. 7v, 8r, 10rv; BTafA 931.

Lit.: CrumLand 188, 195; MANFRED KROPP, *Die äthiopischen Königschroniken in der Sammlung Däğğazmač Ḫaylu*, Frankfurt am Main – Bern – Paris 1989 (Heidelberger Orientalische Studien 13), 1–22; BudHist 478.

Donald Crummey

Iyasu IV

Aṣe I. IV (ኢያሱ, r. 1831) was the son of *aṣe* ↗Sälomon II, who was the son of *aṣe* Täklä Haymanot II (r. 1769–77). I. was typical of the puppet rulers of the late ↗*Zämänä mäsafənt*, reigning for seven months in 1831 in the aftermath of the battle of Däbrä Abbay, which occurred in February of that same year. However, standard lists place his reign in 1830–32 (cf. CrumLand 146).

I. was the protégé of *ras* ↗Dori Gugsa, who, from the time of the battle until his death in June 1831, succeeded his father, *ras* ↗Gugsa, and his great-uncle, *ras* Ali Gʷangul, as ruler of the domains of the Wärräsek (↗Yäğğu), which included much of Bägemdər and Wällo. Dori was succeeded by ↗Ali Alula, and I. was briefly succeeded by *aṣe* ↗Gäbrä Krəstos in 1832. On leaving office, I. retired to the monastery of ↗Waldəbba. I.'s reign was uneventful.

Src.: BTafA 931; BlunChr 198 (text) = 486 (tr.); CRReal 912; CRNuov 377f..

Lit.: BudHist 481; CrumLand 146.

Donald Crummey

Iyasu

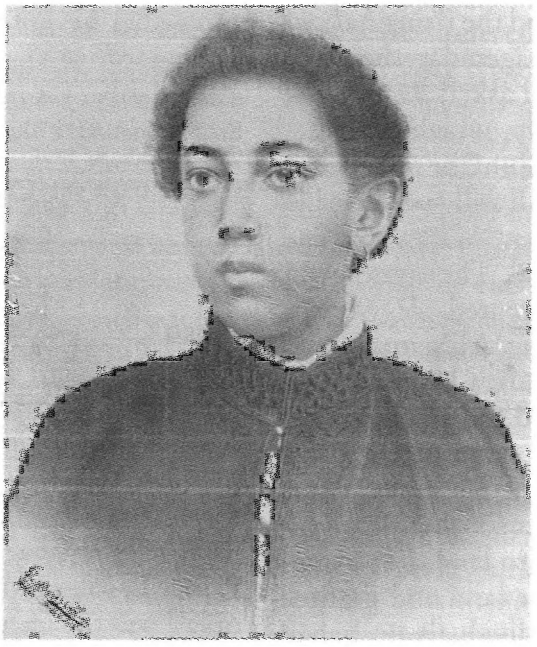
Ləğ, also *abeto* I. (ኢያሱ; b. 3 February 1897, Däse, Wällo, d. November 1935; "horse name" Abba Ṭena አባ፡ ጤና, also known as I. Mikaʾel, I. Mənilək, "Iyasu V", long form: *ləʿul ləğ* [also *alga wärraš*] *Iyasu wäldu lädagmawi Mənilək nəguśä nägäšt zäʾItyoṗya*, 'His Highness [the Crown] Prince I., son of Mənilək II king of kings of Ethiopia') was the uncrowned ruler of Ethiopia, from 1911 (*de facto*) or 1913 (*de jure*) until his deposition in 1916. His reign has been one of the most enigmatic and controversial in Ethiopian history. Maligned as a playboy and an apostate by *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I, he had effectively been written out of the history books for much of the 20th cent. Only after the latter's deposition in September 1974 have there been some attempts to rehabilitate him. Yet, his true character and historical worth has remained elusive to this day. However, enough data has surfaced in the past few decades to cast serious doubt on the image of religious apostasy and total irresoluteness that his enemies had attributed to him.

I.'s father was the powerful ruler of Wällo, *ras* ↗Mikaʾel (né Muḥammad ʿAli) and his mother was Šäwarägga, daughter of *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II. That is why I. was sometimes referred to as I. Mənilək, after his maternal grandfather. I. was born the day of the Saviour of the World (Mädḫane ʿAläm) in the Ethiopian calendar, the holiday he himself later commemorated by consecrating the Qäḳäne Mädḫane ʿAläm church in the northern part of Addis Abäba.

At the age of seven I. was taken to the court of Mənilək. When the Mənilək II Secondary School was opened in January 1907, I. became one of its first pupils, along with *ləğ* Täfäri Mäkʷännən and other children of the nobility. After the death of *däğğazmač* Wäsän Sägäd Wädiğo Gobäna in 1908, another son of Šäwarägga from an earlier marriage, whom Mənilək had groomed to be his successor, the Emperor set his eyes on I. On 13 May 1909, Mənilək officially designated I. heir to the throne in a moving proclamation that reminded his countrymen of the civil strife

that had followed the deaths of ↗Tewodros II and ↗Yoḥannəs IV and enjoined them to honour his will to avert a recurrence of such tribulations.

As I., aged twelve, was still a minor at the time of the proclamation, *ras* ↗Täsämma Nadäw, a scion of the Šäwan nobility, was appointed his regent, with the elevated title of *ras bitwäddäd*, and I. moved to his compound. The regency, however, was not taken over by Täsämma even after Mənilək fell seriously ill, and was unable to govern starting from the fall of 1909. Soon, I.'s succession was disputed by Mənilək's powerful spouse, *ətege* ↗Ṭaytu, who had her own plans for imperial succession, revolving around Mənilək's daughter, ↗Zäwditu, and her husband, *däğğazmač* ↗Gugsa Wale, Ṭaytu's nephew. Ṭaytu's schemings came to a dramatic end when mass agitation orchestrated by her opponents, led by Täsämma and *fitawrari* ↗Habtä Giyorgis, led to her removal from de-facto-regency in 1910.



First official photo of the new heir-to-the-throne *ləğ* Iyasu, 4 July 1907, given to Emperor Wilhelm II of Germany; photo by P.M. Boyadjian, from Smidt 2005:67

Täsämma, who was the winner of the showdown, died suddenly on 11 April 1911. I., now just over 14 years old, thereby suddenly found himself with untrammelled power and was ready to act as emperor. But first he had to face the challenge from the powerful *ras* ↗Abatä Bʷayalaw, who, reportedly in a bid to inaugurate his own regency, confronted the palace guards. Abatä was thwarted and ended up imprisoned in ↗Mäqdäla. The palace guards equally proved a formidable barrier to I. some two years later, when, apparently encumbered by the slowly dying body of the old Emperor, I. reportedly tried to remove him to ↗Ankobär.

These obstacles did not prevent I. from exercising regal power and introducing some of the reforms that have redeemed him historically, even before he actually assumed the reins of power following the death of Mənilək in December 1913. Some of the reforms attributed to I. include the abolition of the ↗*qʷəräññä* system, whereby plaintiff was chained to defendant and creditor to debtor, pending justice; mitigation of the abuses of the traditional theft detection system known as ↗*leba šay*; alleviation of the inequities attending the collection of tithe (↗*Aśrat*); institution of the city guards known as *ṭərəmbuli* (named after Tripoli in Libya, as most of the recruits were returnees after serving in the Italians' Libyan campaign, s. ↗Police); and guaranteeing property through a ban on its confiscation for such wrongdoings as embezzlement. In addition, he introduced a system of auditing government accounts to check the embezzlement of government funds that had begun to assume serious dimensions.

I.'s reign also marked the first serious attempt to address the issue of the country's religious and ethnic pluralism. While *aṣe* Mənilək had been able to forge modern Ethiopia, he had achieved that largely through blood and iron. True, he had respected the relative autonomy of such regions as Asosa Beni Šangul, Áwsa, Ğimma Abbaa Ğifar and Leeqaa Qallem and Leeqaa Naqamtee, largely because the rulers of those regions had submitted to him peacefully. However, it was during the reign of I. that historically marginalized groups such as Muslims of the Ethiopian highlands and peoples such as the Somali and ᶜAfar were made to feel for the first time that they belonged to Ethiopia.

This is not to say that I. was blameless. Sometimes, he himself invalidated his own well-intentioned measures. Thus, the auditing system that he instituted was used to victimise people he did not like. His nocturnal escapades brought him into armed clashes with the *ṭərəmbuli* who were enforcing the curfew he himself had authorized. His almost compulsive tours of the country might have had the merit of making him accessible to his subjects. Occasionally, too, they resulted in the founding of new towns such as Ṭənaye in northern Šäwa, now known as Sänbäte. However, sometimes they assumed nefarious dimensions, as in his 1912 campaign to the ↗"Gimira" (mainly ↗Benç and ↗Nayi) in south-western Ethiopia which resulted in the enslavement of

tens of thousands of the local population and a deportation of many of them.

The end of I. was not brought about by the suffering of the Benç and Nayi but the deep-seated resentment of the established (mainly Šäwan) nobility and the adjacent colonial powers. To both of them, I. represented a serious threat. The former felt not only shunned but also humiliated, especially when I.'s father was crowned as *nəguś* of Wällo and Təgray in 1914, thereby making him the most powerful prince in the country. It is of interest that, while he arranged a lavish ↗coronation ceremony for his father, I. himself remained uncrowned till the end. He is thus known in history as *ləǧ* or *abeto* I.

To the neighbouring colonial powers, he represented a demonic influence on their colonial subjects, at a time when they were locked in mortal combat with the Germans and the Turks during ↗World War I. It appears that I. saw the war mainly as a godsend that would give Ethiopia respite from the covetous attentions of the surrounding colonial powers. I.'s close contacts with the Ottoman Consul-General, his indirect contact with Istanbul through that channel, and promises made in this process, helped depict I. as Germanophile and Turcophile (cp. ↗Germany; ↗Maẓhar *bey*; ↗Ydlibi; Erlich 1994:83–91). The moral and material support that he rendered the Somali nationalist leader, ↗Muḥammad ʿAbdallāh Ḥasan, who had been fighting the British and Italian colonial rulers for much of the first two decades of the 20th cent., lent some credence to this allegation.

It was the alliance of these two forces – domestic and foreign – that brought about I.'s deposition in September 1916 (s. the proclamation in Morin 1999:260), while he was away on one of his frequent trips to Harärge. At a public gathering in Addis Abäba on 27 September, he was charged with disrespect for the deceased *aṣe* Mənilək and antagonizing the country's powerful neighbours. But the main charge became religious apostasy, with numerous facts adduced and star witnesses produced to drive the point home. It was decided to dethrone him and replace him with Zäwditu as Empress and *däǧǧazmač* Täfäri Mäkʷännən (now elevated to *ras*) as heir to the throne (s. the proclamation, Morin 1999:260). Too late, he rushed back to the capital, only to be intercepted and defeated at Mäʾesso, midway between ↗Awaš and ↗Dərre Dawa. His father's more serious attempt to turn the tide was quashed at the Battle of ↗Sägäle on 27 October.

Ləǧ Iyasu in captivity, probably in Gara Mulläta, Harärge; photo taken (in secret?) by an unknown photographer; from the collection of Täsämma Ǝšäte, courtesy of Tadele Y. Tessema

After unsuccessful attempts to defeat the central government forces in a series of engagements in Wällo, I. became a fugitive for about five years. During most of this period he was the guest of the autonomous *sulṭan* of ↗Awsa, ↗Yāyyó Maḥámmad Ḥanfaḍé. I. was finally captured in a church in Təgray in January 1921. He was imprisoned in ↗Fəčče, fief of *ras* ↗Kaśa Ḫaylu, trusted cousin of *ras* Täfäri. In May 1932, I., assisted by *ras* ↗Ḫaylu Täklä Haymanot of Goǧǧam, escaped from prison. However, he was captured in Goǧǧam and this time confined under much harsher conditions at ↗Gara Mulläta, Täfäri's own stronghold in Harärge. He remained there until his death, the circumstances of which are still far from clear. One version has it that he was killed at Gara Mulläta before Ḫaylä Śəllase marched to the north to face the Italian forces. Another version is that he was moved to Addis Abäba in November 1935 and died or was killed soon after.

With his marriages I. had linked himself politically with very diverse political and economic leaders, like *ras* Ḫaylu of Goǧǧam, the Muslim merchant ↗ʿAbdullāhi ʿAlī Ṣādiq in Harär, the Ōbakartó lineage of ↗Zaylaʿ (mother of his son

↗Mənilək), ↗Ǧimma Abbaa Ǧifaar, ↗Anfillo-Oromo and others. The legacy of I. survived through his offspring, issue of about a dozen marriages. These children included Gərma, who died while in exile in Kenya during the Fascist Italian Occupation; ↗Mälakä Ṣəḥay, *däğğazmač* Yoḥannəs, who assumed leadership of the anti-Fascist patriotic movement in, respectively, Šäwa and Gondär; ↗Mənilək, who lived much of his life in Djibouti; and ᶜAläm Ṣəḥay, the issue of his marriage to Säblä Wängel, daughter of *ras* Ḫaylu of Goğğam.

↗Ləğ; ↗Ləᶜul

Src.: ANONYMOUS, **የታሪክ፡ ቅታይ** (*Yätarik qətay*), n.d., IES ms. 1769, 30–36; GebMolIyas, 15–65, 117–21 (= 310–60, 413–18); GOBÄZE ṬAFFÄṬÄ, **አባ ጤና ኢያሱ** (*Abba Ṭena Iyasu*), Addis Abäba 1996; HSLife 1 [Amh.], 26–38, 41–42, 168–71; GueCopMen 540; KTHist; MÄRSƎᵓE HAZÄN WÄLDÄ QIRQOS, **በዳግማዊ፡ ምኒልክ፡ ዘመን፡ ካየሁትና፡ ከሰማሁትና** (*Bädagmawi Mənilək zämän kayyähutənna käsämmahutənna*, 'Of what I Saw and Heard from the Period of Mənilək II'), ms., 1935 A.M. [1942/43 A.D.]; ID., **የዘመን፡ ታሪክ፡ ትዝታዬ፡ በአቤቶ፡ ኢያሱ፡ ዘመነ፡ መንግሥት** (*Yäzämän tarik təzzətaye bäᵓabeto Iyasu zämänä mängəśt*, 'My Memories of the History of the Period of Prince Iyasu's Government'), ms., 1938; ID. [MERSᵓÉ HAZEN WOLDE QIRQOS], *Of What I Saw and Heard, the Last Years of Emperor Menelik II & the Brief Rule of Iyassu*, tr. by HAILU HABTU, Addis Ababa 2004 (Ethiopian Studies 1), 93–178; ID., **የዘመን፡ ታሪክ፡ ትዝታዬ፡ በንግሥቲ፡ ነገሥት፡ ዘውዲቱ፡ ዘመነ፡ መንግሥት** (*Yäzämän tarik təzzətaye bänəgəśtä nägäśt Zäwditu zämänä mängəśt*, 'My Memories of the History of the Period of Queen of Kings Zäwditu's Government'), ms., 1938; "Proclamation de la destitution de *ləğ* Iyasu" [Amharic facsimile], in: DIDIER MORIN, *Le texte légitime, Pratiques littéraires orales traditionelles en Afrique du nord-est*, Paris 1999 (Langues et cultures africaines, 25), 78f. (tr.) = 260 (text); MAY YDLIBI, *With Ethiopian Rulers: a Biography of Hasib Ydlibi*, ed. by BAHRU ZEWDE, Addis Ababa 2006; YƎDNÄQAČČAW TÄSÄMMA, **ሰምና፡ ወርቁ፡ ተሰማ፡ እሸቴ** (*Sämənna wärqu Täsämma Əšäte*, 'Wax and Gold by Täsämma Əšäte'), Addis Abäba 1985 A.M. [1992/93 A.D.], 54–69.

Lit.: ABY DEMISSIE, *Lij Iyasu: a Perspective Study of His Short Reign*, B.A. thesis, History Department, Haile Sellassie I University, Addis Ababa 1964; ANDRZEJ BARTNICKI – JOANNA MANTEL-NIEĆKO, *Geschichte Äthiopiens*, ed. by RENATE RICHTER, tr. by WALDEMAR HEIN, Berlin 1978; BERHANOU ABEBE, "Le Coup d'Etat du 2 septembre 1916", *AE* 17, 2001; BZHist 120–28; HAGGAI ERLICH, *Ethiopia and the Middle East*, Boulder, CO 1994; KINEFE-REGB ZELLEKE, "The Episode of Eyassu Menelik (1896–1935)", paper submitted to the ICES 7, Lund, April 1982 (ms. in: IES, vol. II), 1–65; MahHorse; HAROLD MARCUS, *Haile Sellassie I: the Formative Years, 1892–1936*, Berkeley, CA 1987, 11–21; WOLBERT SMIDT, *Äthiopien und Deutschland, 100 Jahre diplomatische Beziehungen. Ethiopia and Germany, 100 Years Diplomatic Relations*, Addis Ababa 2005, 67 (ill.); ID., "The Foreign Politics of Lij Iyasu in 1915/16 according to Newly Discovered Government Papers", *PICES* 16 (forthcoming); TIBEBE ESHETE, "A Reassessment of Lij Iyasu's Political Career, with Particular Emphasis upon his Fall", in: MELVIN E. PAGE et al. (eds.), *Personality and Political Culture in Modern Africa*, Boston, MA 1998, 163–79; TsTarik IV; ZÄWDE RÄTTA, **ተፈሪ መኮንን ረኧሙ የሥልጣን ጉዞ በምኒልክ በኢያሱና በዘውዲቱ ዘመን፤ ፲፰፻፹፱ ፲፱፻፲፪** *1884–1922* (*Täfäri Mäkʷännən räžəmu yäśəlṭan guzo bämənilək bäᵓiyasunna bäzäwditu zämän 1884–1922*, 'Täfäri Mäkʷännən, the Long Journey to Power, from the Periods of Mənilək, Iyasu to Zäwditu, 1884–1922'), Addis Abäba 1998 A.M. [2005 A.D.], 121–290, 390–413.

Bahru Zewde

Iyasu of Ǧär Śəllase

I. (**ኢያሱ**; b. 1468, d. 13 October 1508) was an Ethiopian monk and saint. According to his Acts (Raineri 1990:165–265), he was a native of a place "west from Amhara" and a son of Täklä Maryam and Maryam Kəbra. He was ordained deacon by the metropolitan ↗Yəsḥaq and was one of the ecclesiastics "of the royal church" (*kahənatä däbtära*). He took his monastic habit from abbot ↗Märḥa Krəstos at ↗Däbrä Libanos of Šäwa, where he stayed four years.

After a short stay with his family, I. went to a place called Qʷətərəh, to serve Ləya, a pious woman. There he met the saint ↗Habtä Maryam, who had received a divine order to disclose to I. his secret knowledge. After some hesitation, I. was convinced the truth of Habtä Maryam's accounts, became the latter's disciple and witnessed his visionary experiences. They were ordained priests together. Habtä Maryam also sent I. to *aṣe* ↗Naᶜod with a "book explaining the faith in the Holy Trinity". The Emperor gave I. two crosses, which he accepted, and offered him to stay at the court, a proposal declined by I. Once, he also escaped the harassment of an "adulterous woman", thanks to the help of his disciple Zärᵓa Abrəham.

I. brought Ləya to Däbrä Libanos, where she took the monastic habit, but was not allowed to remain. I. stayed at the monastery with Habtä Maryam, working miracles. By the day of Habtä Maryam's death (on 22 November 1497), I. returned from his native country to Däbrä Libanos, to mourn his teacher. The "spirit" of Habtä Maryam directed I. to a place outside the monastery. There he founded a (rock-)church – most probably the church Mäkanä Ṗäraqliṭos Amlakənä, which was kernel of the monastery ↗Ǧär Śəllase. Later on, I. moved with his community to the vicinity of Däbrä Libanos where, according to his Acts, he composed the Vita of Habtä Maryam. He died of plague at the age of 40 on 16 *Ṭəqəmt* and was buried in the tomb of Habtä Maryam.

Almost nothing is known of his community in the centuries after the death of I.; yet, thanks to its remoteness and inaccessibility, Ğär Śəllase seems to have survived the 16th-cent. Muslim wars and the Oromo expansion much better than Däbrä Libanos, and to have preserved the old Šäwan monastic tradition. The monastery of I. also appears to have been revered by Šäwan rulers; visiting Däbrä Libanos in 1883, *nəguś* ↗Mənilək requested its monks to follow the rules of Ğär Śəllase (GueCopMen 331).

Src.: GueCopMen 331 and n. 11; OSVALDO RAINERI, *Atti di Habta Māryām (†1497) e di Iyāsu (†1508), santi monaci etiopici*, Roma 1990 (OrChrA 235), 165–265.

Lit.: AKLILU HABTE, "The Rock Hewn Church Dedicated to Abba Habta Maryam", *Ethnological Society Bulletin University College Addis Ababa* 7, 1957, 60–62 [repr. Addis Ababa 2002, 60–62]; KinBibl 78, no. 85; ANTONIO MORDINI, "Il convento di Gunde Gundiè", *RSE* 12, 1953 [1954], 29–70, here 47 n. 3; OSVALDO RAINERI, "Iyāsu di Ğar Śellāsē", in: *EncSan* vol. 2, 264–66; ROGER SAUTER, "Où en est notre connaissance des églises rupestres d'Éthiopie", *AE* 5, 1963, 235–92, here 277; TadTChurch 291f., 304.

Osvaldo Raineri

Iyäsus Moʾa

I.M. (**ኢየሱስ ሞአ**, b. 21 May 1214, d. 22 November 1293) is a saint of the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church. According to the version of his Acts (↗*Gädl*) used by Stanisław Kur for the edition (KurMoa, the source on I.M.'s life most usually quoted), he was born in Daḫna, Bägemdər. In his thirties he went to ↗Däbrä Damo, where, after seven years of novitiate, he received the monastic habit and scapular from *abba* ↗Yoḥanni. Then he left Däbrä Damo and went to the church dedicated to Peter and Paul on the shores of Lake ↗Ḥayq. After six months, I.M. moved to the church of St. Stephen, a supposed "Aksumite" foundation on the island in the middle of the lake, where he established the monastery of ↗Däbrä Ḥayq Ǝsṭifanos. In ca. 1248, he became its first abbot, appointed by one of the kings of the ↗Zagʷe dynasty "who reigned after King Lalibäla", i.e. ↗Näʾakkʷəto Läʾab.

According to the Acts of I.M., it is through the latter's prophecy that ↗Yəkunno Amlak overthrew ↗Yətbaräk, the last Zagʷe ruler, ascended the throne and reinstalled the ↗Solomonic dynasty in ca. 1270. As a sign of his gratitude, he donated the island of Däbrä Ḥayq Ǝsṭifanos to I.M. and concluded with him a number of "pacts" (↗*Kidan*). On establishing the priviliges of Däbrä Ḥayq Ǝsṭifanos, Yəkunno Amlak promised it "one third of the kingdom", ordered the removal of all women and lay people from the island, endowed the monastery with the right of offering ↗asylum and appointed one of I.M.'s disciples, ↗Zäʾiyäsus, ↗*ʿaqqabe säʿat* (a title previously reserved for the abbots of ↗Däbrä Libanos of Šəmäzana). This distinction was retained by the heads of Däbrä Ḥayq at least until the 16th cent.

The Acts of I.M. say that I.M. did not sleep "on his side" but in the sitting position, according to the rule of Pachomius, during his 51 years of monastic life, and that he never left his island (in fact, he was prevented from doing so by Yəkunno Amlak). The Acts claim that among the disciples of I.M. there were such saints as ↗Täklä Haymanot, ↗Aron of Däbrä Daret, ↗Giyorgis of Sägla, ↗Gäbrä Nazrawi, ↗Bäṣalotä Mikaʾel, ↗Bäggəʿu and ↗Ḫirutä Amlak. I.M. died on 26 *Ḫədar* (for the year s. KurMoa 50f.; s. Schneider 1983:105f.; Tedeschi 1994:509f.).

The historicity of I.M. is confirmed by records in the so-called Gospel book of I.M. (EMML 1832), an ancient manuscript dating to 1280/81 A.D., which also contains numerous historical notes of great value (Taddesse Tamrat 1970:90; cp. EMML 1832, fol. 24b; cp. ↗*Wängelä wärq*), some of them later incorporated into the *Gädlä Iyäsus Moʾa* (cp., e.g., Kropp 1998). The same manuscript provides a list of a large collection of manuscripts which I.M. supposedly left to Däbrä Ḥayq upon his death (EMML 1832, fol. 25ab; cp. Sergew Hable Selassie in OrbAethChoj vol. 1).

The hagiographic sources regarding the life of I.M. are complex, multi-layered and at times contradictory; they have been the subject of considerable scholarly interest and debate. At least two versions of the Acts of I.M. exist. The edited version (KurMoa), known for some time (s. Conti Rossini 1922:282–91), has been thoroughly studied (e.g., Kaplan 1986; Kropp 1998, 2003; DerDom 88–96; Kropp, Hirsch in HirKrSaints etc.). Cerulli (KurMoa xv [tr.]) suggests that these Acts should be dated to the second half of the 15th cent., but others have suggested later dates (Kropp in HirKrSaints 195ff.; Nosnitsin 2005:223–35). In fact, the published Acts are a unique composite work constructed from a number of oral and written accounts (Cerulli in KurMoa i–xvi; Kropp in HirKrSaints 197ff.; Nosnitsin 2005). The compilation includes also a Homily (↗*Dərsan*) in honour of I.M. (s. Marrassini 1986), probably the earliest hagiographic account on I.M. indeed dating from the early 15th

Miniature depicting Iyäsus Moʾa, "Gospel book of Iyäsus Moʾa", 1280, Ḥayq, Däbrä Ḥayq Ǝsṭifanos, fol. 5v; photo 2000, courtesy of Michael Gervers

cent. (cp. Kropp in HirKrSaints 194; Nosnitsin 2005). Another version of the Acts has been recently identified (ms. Ṭānāsee 164). This text seems to occupy an intermediate position, dating from after the Homily but before the published Acts, perhaps to the late 17th/early 18th cent. (cp. Nosnitsin 2005:230ff.). In both the Homily and the Acts according to ms. Ṭānāsee 164, the historical details found in the published Acts are missing. There is also a number of Miracles (↗*Täʾammər*) of I.M. (s. Marrassini 1986:182–90). The oldest pictures of I.M. are found in EMML 1832 fol. 5b and in the so-called Gospel book of Krəstos Täsfanä (Pāwlos Ṣādwā 1952:14f.; today Addis Ababa, National Library, ms. 28).

The development of hagiographic traditions concerning Yoḥanni, I.M. and his "spiritual kin" *abunä* ↗Täklä Haymanot was influenced by the rivalry within the Ethiopian monastic movement – in particular by the rise of the "house of Täklä Haymanot" in the ↗Gondärine kingdom. From ca. the late 17th cent., in order to prove "the spiritual superiority" of the saints, traditional scholars addressed also the issue as to which parts of the monastic garb (cp. ↗*Askema*) they bestowed upon each other (a problem also much debated in modern scholary works: Cerulli in KurMoa vi–x; DerDom 105–09; TadTChurch 164–67; Marrassini 1986; Kaplan 1986; Nosnitsin 2005:210–35). This issue was linked to both the alleged roles I.M. and Täklä Haymanot played in the "restoration" of the Solomonic dynasty and the claims of their more recent "spiritual descendants".

Even though I.M. was one of the most prominent heads of Däbrä Ḥayq, his support for Yəkunno Amlak's struggle for the throne is mentioned neither in the records of ms. EMML 1832, nor in the Homily. Quite plausible from the historical point of view, such an account is preserved in full only in one version of the Acts of I.M.; before entering the work's composition, it must have been an oral tradition of Däbrä Ḥayq (cp. Conti Rossini 1922:292f.). Beginning from the late 16th cent., *abunä* Täklä Haymanot (and not I.M.) gradually came to be credited with being Yəkunno Amlak's ally in the latter's rise to power (cp. BassÉt 9f.): an ideological position that had complete expression in the treatise ↗*Bəʿəlä nägäśt*. In this context, the *Gädlä Iyäsus Moʾa* can be considered as a "response" of the monastic circles linked to Däbrä Ḥayq, its effectiveness being reduced by the limitation of I.M.'s cult, not comparable with that of Täklä Haymanot. Still, in discussing the "restoration" of the Solomonic dynasty, some sources conflate the two different traditions, accomodating both I.M. and Täklä Haymanot (DombrChr 152).

Src.: BassÉt 9f.; ERNEST ALFRED WALLIS BUDGE (ed., tr.), *The Life and the Miracles of Takla Haymânôt* ..., London 1906; BudSaint 293, 1244f.; ColSyn VIII, 380f.; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Il 'Gadla Takla Hāymānot' secondo la redazione waldebbana", *MRALm* ser. 5ª, 2, 1894, 97–143, here 107f. (text) = 133f. (tr.); ID., "La caduta della dinastia Zagué e la versione amarica del Beʿela Nagast", *RRALm* ser. 5ª, 31, 1922, 279–314; DombrChr 152; EMML 1832; KurMoa; PAOLO MARRASSINI, "A proposito di ʾIyasus Moʾa", *Egitto e Vicino Oriente* 9, 1986, 175–97.

Lit.: ANNE BOLAY, *Iyasus Moʾa et le monastère de Dabra Estifanos d'Hayq. L'alliance privilégiée d'un mouvement monastique au pouvoir royal en Éthiopie (XIIIe–XVe siècle)*, M.A. thesis, Université de Paris-I 1994; CRStor 262, 284, 320f.; CerDLib I, 229f., II, 145; CerLett 73ff.; DerDom 88ff., 105–09, s. index (Lit.); BERTRAND HIRSCH, "L'hagiographie et l'histoire. Lectures d'un passage des *Actes* de Iyasus Mo'a", in: *HirKrSaints* 161–74; STEVEN KAPLAN, "Iyasus Mo'a and Takla Haymanot: a Note on a Hagiographical Controversy", *JSS* 31, 1986, 47–56; KinBible 78, no. 86; MANFRED KROPP, "... der Welt gestorben: Ein Vertrag zwischen dem äthiopischen Heiligen Iyyäsus-Moʾa und König Yəkunno-Amlak über *Memoriae* im Kloster Ḥayq", *ABoll* 116, 1998, 303–30; ID., "In Search of Identity, Historical and

Political Roles. Hagiographical Literature in Hayq Monastery", paper presented at the conference *Identités composées. Dynamiques linguistiques et religieuses en Afriques*, Université de Paris-I, 24–26 November 2003; ID., "Die dritte Würde oder ein Drittel des Reiches? Die verschiedenen Versionen der Biographie des Hl. Iyäsus Moʾa als Ausdruck sich wandelnder Funktionen des Textes", in: *HirKrSaints* 191–205; STANISŁAW KUR, "Iyasus Moʾa", in: *DicEthBio* 92–93; DENIS NOSNITSIN, "*Wäwähabo qobʿa wäʾaskema.* Reflections on an Episode from the History of the Ethiopian Monastic Movement", in: ID. et al. (eds.), *Varia Aethiopica: in Memory of Sevir B. Chernetsov (1943–2005)*, St. Petersburg 2005 (= Scrinium 1), 197–247 (Lit.); ṖĀWLOS ṢĀDWĀ, "Un manoscritto etiopico degli Evangeli", *RSE* 11, 1952 [1953], 9–28, here 14f.; ROGER SCHNEIDER, "Notes éthiopiennes", *JES* 16, 1983, 105–14, here 105f.; SERGEW HABLE SELASSIE, "The Monastic Library of Däbrä Hayq", in: *OrbAethChoj* vol. 1, 243–58; TADDESSE TAMRAT, "The Abbots of Dabra Hayq, 1248–1535", *JES* 8, 1970, 87–117; TadTChurch 158–69, s. index; SALVATORE TEDESCHI, "La Vita del monaco etiope Iyasus-Moʾa (sec. XIII): agiografia e storiografia", *OrChrP* 60, 1994, 503–18; ID., "Iyāsus Moʾa", in: *EncSan* vol. 2, 267–71 (Lit.).

Stanisław Kur – Steven Kaplan – Denis Nosnitsin

Iyoʾas I

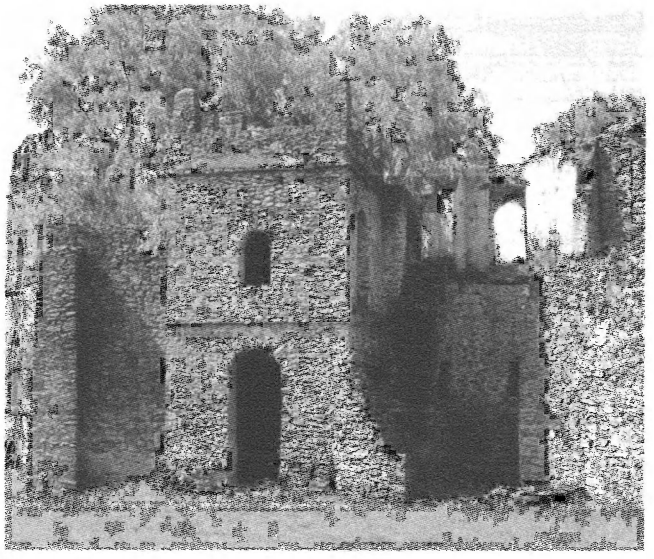
I. (ኢዮአስ; royal name Adyam Sägäd; b. ca. 1749, d. 1769, ↗Gondär) reigned in the ↗Gondärine kingdom 1755–69. He was the son of *aṣe* ↗Iyasu II and Wəbit (Christian name Wälättä Bersäbeḥ), daughter of Amiṭo, an Oromo chief from ↗Yäğğu. The marriage of I.'s parents had been arranged by Iyasu II's mother, ↗Bərhan Mogäsa (Məntəwwab) and was an attempt to reinforce the collapsing Gondärine court and a sign of the acknowledgement of the growing strength of the Oromo in the central highlands.

I. was a minor when he ascended to the throne, his grandmother acting as regent – a situation similar to that at the time of Iyasu II's enthronement. In the 14 years of his reign, he was little more than a figurehead, yielding power to whoever influenced him. Backed by her relatives from ↗Qʷara (the *Qʷaräññа*), his grandmother Bərhan Mogäsa acted as regent. Her relations with I.'s mother Wəbit soon became tense, and the latter engaged the support of the Oromo, many of whom were appointed at court. One of I.'s maternal uncles, *däğğazmač* Lubo, rose to prominent position and held significant power. I. himself was fluent in Oromiffa, the language which became common at the court. Thousands of Oromo troops were also stationed in the capital.

The struggle for power amongst several factions continued till the mid 1760s, the most notable being between I.'s Oromo relatives, the Qʷarans and the Amhara (with such leaders as *ras* ↗Wädağğe). After the death of the powerful *ras* ↗Wäldä Ləʿul, the conflict broke out into full-scale war between the Qʷarans and Oromo by 1768 (GuiIyas 227f. [text]).

This discord was used by *däğğazmač* ↗Mikaʾel Səḥul of Təgray. He had been Bərhan Mogäsa's ally for a number of years; looking at his growing strength, she solidified the alliance in 1755 by the marriage of Mikaʾel's son Wäldä Ḥawaryat to her daughter ↗Alṭaš. In 1763, Mikaʾel naturally intervened in the controversy evolving around the theological doctrine propagated by Yäʾabbo Barya, ∃šäte, *abba* Wärqu and some others (↗*Karra*), having welcomed Yäʾabbo Barya in Təgray and supported his teaching in Gondär (GuiIyas 198ff. [text]; there are diverse reports). Later, at the behest of I. and the dowager Empress, *ras* Mikaʾel was invited to Gondär and was granted the title of ↗*ras*. He entered the capital in January 1768 and intervened in the dispute, acting with cruelty in order to reestablish peace and order (BruNile vol. 2, 683ff.). I. was "recrowned" with the crown brought by Mikaʾel, reportedly the one which Iyasu II lost during his unsuccessful Sinnār campaign. I. and Bərhan Mogäsa removed the office of *bəḥt wäddäd* (↗*bitwäddäd*) from *däğğazmač* Geta, one of the major Qʷarans, and gave it to *ras* Mikaʾel.

In 1769 *ras* Mikaʾel defeated and killed, with the help of *däğğazmač* Lubo, the governor of Bägemdər *däğğazmač* ↗Yämaryam Barya, his greatest enemy. However, fearing that Mikaʾel Səḥul had accumulated too much power, all the other factions united against him and made I. their partisan. The same Lubo was able to rally the support of some of the Amhara nobility, and I. tried to drive Mikaʾel Səḥul out of Gondär, where he was holding court like a king. In Gondär there was an attempt on his life, which, according to the chronicles, was orchestrated by Lubo and the Oromo faction. The attempted assassination combined with I.'s alignment propelled Mikaʾel Səḥul to take direct control of the office of emperor. Mikaʾel might have believed that as long as I. was emperor his position was assailable. In the spring of 1769, Mikaʾel Səḥul defeated Lubo's coalition and had I. deposed; then he enthroned the old and weak ↗Yoḥannəs II, and had I. strangled (GuiIyas 251 [text]; BruNile vol. 2, 706). I. was buried in the church of ↗Däbrä Ṣäḥay Qʷəsqʷam, together with his father and grandmother. Their presumed bodies can still be seen there.



Ruins of *aṣe* Iyoʾas I's palace, Gondär; photo 2004, courtesy of Wolbert Smidt

The reign of I. witnessed the decline of the royal power, which was followed by the division of the Empire into de facto independent regions under the control of local war lords. I.'s death thus marks a historical turning point and ushered in a period of disintegration of central authority and protracted wars, commonly known as ↗*Zämänä mäsafənt* that lasted until the middle of the 19th cent.

Src.: BruNile vol. 2, 660–706; BTafA 931; SEVIR CHERNETSOV, *Efiopskie hroniki XVIII veka* ('Ethiopian Chronicles of the 18th Century'), Moscow 1991, 146–298; IGNAZIO GUIDI, "Di due frammenti relativi alla storia di Abissinia", *RRALm* ser. 2ª, 8, 1893, 579–605, here 604f.; GuiIyas 168–251 (text) = 178–260 (tr.).

Lit.: AbPrince 30f.; BudHist 459–68; CrumLand 110ff.; HAROLD GOLDEN MARCUS, *A History of Ethiopia*, Berkeley, CA 1994, 46f.; RICHARD PANKHURST, *The Ethiopians*, Oxford 1998; PankHist I, 163–68 (Lit.); TSTarik III, 369–76.

Theodore Natsoulas – Denis Nosnitsin

Iyoʾas II

Aṣe I. (ኢዮአስ; d. 3 June 1821, r. 1801–21), son of *aṣe* ↗Həzqəyas and brother of both his predecessor *aṣe* ↗Ǝgʷalä Ṣəyon and his successor *aṣe* ↗Gigar, was made king in 1801 by *ras* ↗Gugsa Märsa, the dominant ruler of the ↗*Zämänä mäsafənt*.

In 1818, when Ǝgʷalä Ṣəyon died and was buried in ↗Gondär at the church of Addäbabay Täklä Haymanot, *ras* Gugsa immediately had the late Emperor's brother enthroned. Thus, I. became the next puppet king of Gondär. With his ascension to the throne nothing was changed in the country. An Ethiopian chronicle said about the reign of his brother and predecessor, "nothing took place in the habitations, since nothing was done good or bad, no appointments and no dismissals; for there was an authority over the Negus in the hands of a Galla, who was called Dajazmach Gugsa" (BlunChr 478). The same could apply to I.'s nominal reign. Gugsa, and not I., was the one who controled politics, both secular and ecclesiastic. When I. died, Gugsa buried him alongside his father and brother, and made another son of *aṣe* Həzqəyas – Gigar – the next Emperor.

Src.: BlunChr 197 (text) = 484 (tr.); BTafA 439, 931, 934; CRReal 826, 836, 890, 897; CRNuov 33, 43 (text) = 114, 121 (tr.).

Lit.: BudHist 481; EDUARD RÜPPEL, *Reise in Abessinien*, vol. 2, Frankfurt a. M., 1840, 304, 395, 397.

Sevir Chernetsov

J

Jacob Baradaeus

J.B. (Gəᶜəz: Yaᶜəqob Burdᶜana [Bäradaᶜe, ∃lbäradᶜi]; Syr.: Yaᶜqoḇ Bardᶜāyā [Burdeᶜāyā, Burdeᶜānā] 'ragged'; Arab.: Yaᶜqūb al-Bardaᶜānī [al-Baradāᶜī]; Lat.: Baradaeus; Gr.: Βαραδαῖος, Τζάντζαλος; b. ca. 500, Gamāwā, d. 30 July 578) was an anti-Chalcedonian Syrian monk and bishop credited with the establishment of a new hierarchy in what today is the Syrian Orthodox church (called Jacobite after J., s. ↗Jacobites).

J.B. was born in Gamāwā, north of Tellā (dMawzlaṯ = Constantina, in Osrhoene), the son of the presbyter Theophilos bar Maᶜnū. He became a monk and a disciple of Severus at the monastery of Psīltā on Mount Īzlā (southern part of Ṭūr ᶜĀḇdīn), near the village of Gummṯā. Around 527–28, together with the monk Sergios (Syr. Sargis) he was living in Constantinople, where Empress Theodora (r. 497[?]–28 June 548) held him in high esteem. Contrary to her husband Justinian's pro-Chalcedonian policies, she was favourable to the cause of the anti-Chalcedonians. Upon requests of the Ġassānid king al-Ḥāriṯ b. Ǧabala (Gr. Arethas, r. 529–69), who was inclined to the anti-Chalcedonian view, and probably with Theodora's own support, in 542–43 J.B. was consecrated bishop by the Alexandrian Patriarch Theodosios I (r. 535–June 22, 566), himself an enemy of ↗Chalcedon. Holding the bishopric of Bostra, Theodore was responsible for the Christians of Palestina and Arabia, whilst J.B., as the head of the see of ↗Edessa, administered Syria and Asia Minor.

In Syria J.B. acted secretly and with much vigour, consecrating priests and bishops in anti-Chalcedonean parishes that had been long abandoned. In 544 (or 558) he appointed his companion Sergios Patriarch of Antiochia, regarding him as the successor of Severus, who had been dismissed from his see in 518 (r. 512–18, d. 538). It was through these activities, strongly opposed by Justinian, that the anti-Chalcedonian parishes managed to survive and to form a hierarchical and independent Church. Henceforth Christianity in Byzantine Syria split into two denominations: those who adhered to the Council of Chalcedon (later known as the Greek-Orthodox Church) and the anti-Chalcedonians themselves (forming nowadays the Syrian-Orthodox Church).

J.B.'s main concern was the re-establishment of a Severian hierarchy. Under Paul "the Black" (from Bēṯ Ukkāmē, r. 564–77) a schism opened between the Syrian and its sister church of Egypt that lasted until 616. After the death of Paul in 577, J.B. tried to settle the conflict. To this end, he set off to meet the Syrian-born Patriarch of Alexandria, ↗Damian, but he died on his way, at the monastery of Romanos near Mount Kasios, close to the Syro-Egyptian border.

J.B. left very little in writing; some creeds preserved in Arabic are attributed to him, but were most probably composed by the Syriac patriarch Ignatius Nūḥ (r. 1494–1509; s. GrafLit vol. 4, 10). Little more than pure mention of him can be found, via Arabic, in Ethiopic tradition: the Gəᶜəz text of the creed of J.B. (ሃይማኖቱ፡ ለ ... ያዕቆብ፡ ኤልበራድዒ, *haymanotu lä ... Yaᶜəqob ∃lbäradᶜi*), "metropolitan of the Jacobites of Syria, Egypt and Ethiopia" (*paṗpasomu läyaᶜəqobawəyan läsorya wäläqəbṭ wäläʾityopya*), "bishop of Edessa" (*eppisqoppos zähagärä Roḥa*), is transmitted by several mss.; in particular, it is witnessed by such mss. of the large theological collection ↗*Haymanotä abäw* as BritLib Add. 24,988, fols. 191ff. (cf. Cornill 1876; also Schodde 1882; Arabic Vorlage in Kleyn 1882). J.B. is mentioned in a short "chronographical" text added on the last page of a 17th-cent. ↗*Ärägawi mänfäsäwi* (VatLib Aeth. 84, fol. 122v; s. GreTisVat I, 336f.) and relating the story of the division between Diplophysites and Jacobites. He is also quoted in the unedited Ethiopic version of the *Canons* of Cyril III ibn Laqlaq (75th Coptic Patriarch, 1216–43, cf. GrafLit vol. 2, 360ff.), in a ms. of the ↗*Senodos*, BritLib Orient. 793, fols. 77f. One of the documents transmitted in the last section of the *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*Aksum* tells the story of the persecution (*sədät*) inflicted by the Jesuites (*padročč*) to the Christian Ethiopians, here called Jacobites (*yaᶜəqobawəyan*), i.e. Monophysits (↗Monophysitism).

Src.: CARL HEINRICH CORNILL, "Das Glaubensbekenntnis des Jakob Baradaeus in äthiopischer Uebersetzung", *ZDMG* 30, 1876, 417–66; CRAxum 76ff. (text) = 92ff.

(tr.); GrafLit vol. 4, 10; JOHN OF EPHESUS, *Lives of the Eastern Saints*, ed. and tr. by ERNEST WALTER BROOKS, II, Paris 1924 [repr. Turnhout 1974, 1983] (PO 18 fasc. 4), 690–97 [=488–95], § 49, and III, Paris 1926, repr. Turnhout 1974, 1989 (PO 19 fasc. 2, no. 92), 499–504 § 50 [= 153–58], 574–614 [= 228–68], 614–19 [= 268–73]; GreTisVat 336f.; HENDRIK GERRIT KLEYN, *Jacobus Baradaeus: De stichter der syrische monophysietische kerk*, Leiden 1882, 121–39 (text) = 139–63 (tr.); JAN PIETER NICOLAAS LAND, *Anecdota Syriaca II, Joannis episcopi Ephesi Monophysitae scripta historica quotquot adhuc inedita superant*, Leiden 1868 [repr. Osnabrueck 1989], 249–57, §§49.50, 364–83; MARC-ANTOINE KUGENER (ed., tr.), "Comment le corps de Jacques Baradée fut enlevé du couvent de Casion par les moines de Phesilla, récit de Mar Cyriaque", *Bibliothèque hagiographique orientale* 3, 1–26 (s. also ibid., *ROC* 7, 1902, 196–217); GEORGE HENRY SCHODDE, "The Confession of Jacob Baradaeus", *Lutheran Quarterly* new ser. 12, 1882, 500–14; WrBriMus 235, 270–75, nos. 347, 361 [mss. Add. 24,988, Orient. 793].

Lit.: DAVID BUNDY, "Jacob Baradaeus: the State of Research, a Review of Sources and a New Approach", *Le Muséon* 91, 1978, 45–86; WILLIAM HUGH CLIFFORD FREND, *The Rise of the Monophysite Movement. Chapters in the History of the Church in the Fifth and Sixth Centuries*, Cambridge ²1972; GrafLit vol. 2, 360ff.; MARTIN HEIMGARTNER, "Jakob Baradai, †578", in: WASSILIOS KLEIN (ed.), *Syrische Kirchenväter*, Stuttgart 2004 (Kohlhammer Urban-Taschenbücher 587), 191–203; ERNEST HONIGMANN, *Évêques et évêchés monophysites d'Asie antériure au VIe siècle*, Louvain 1951 (CSCO 127, subsidia 2), 157–64, 168–77 etc.; IRFAN SHAHÎD, *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Sixth Century* I.2. *Ecclesiastical History*, Washington 1995, 755–75; PETER KAWERAU, *Ostkirchengeschichte. Das Christentum in Asien und Afrika bis zum Auftreten der Portugiesen im Indischen Ozean*, Louvain 1983 (CSCO 451, Subsidia 70), 169f.; WILLIAM AINGER WIGRAM, *The Separation of the Monophysites*, London 1923 [repr. New York 1978].

Jürgen Tubach

Jacob of Serug

J. S. (Eth.: ያዕቆብ: ዘሥሩግ, *Yaᶜəqob zäśərug*; also James of Serug; b. ca. 451, Kurtam, d. 521, Serug) was a Syriac writer, born at Kurtam near Baṭnān (Batnae) on the Euphrates, and educated in Edessa. At the age of 22 he became a monk, later a *periodeutes* (itinerant priest) and in 519 bishop of his native Baṭnān (later called Sərugh, today Suruç, Turkey). Although his sympathies were with the monophysite (anti-Chalcedonian) opinions, he tried to keep away from the ↗Christological controversies of the epoch.

Best known for his extensive poetic output that earned him the title of "The Flute of the Holy Spirit", J.S. is reported to have composed 760 *mēmrē* (metrical homilies), of which perhaps ca. 250 have survived (many of them have been published, but few have been translated into European languages). Most of the homilies are on biblical themes, others on liturgical subjects. In addition to these he also left hymns and numerous letters. Some of his compositions were drawn into Syriac liturgical books, though anaphoras ascribed to him are not his work. His poetry was translated into other languages of the Christian Orient: Arabic, Armenian, Georgian.

Several compositions by J.S. are also extant in Ethiopic. According to Guidi (GuiSLett 56) they were translated from Arabic in the time of ↗Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob, to be read on the newly established feasts for various saints. However, given the age of ms. EMML 1763, dated 1336–40, which was unknown to Guidi, we may date at least some of the translations to a century earlier. J.S.'s compositions are mostly preserved in collections of homilies (cp. ↗*Dərsan*). With one exception (Uhlig 1999), none of his works in an Ethiopic version has been published, which makes identification with the Syriac originals difficult. Following is a list of his actual or attributed works known in Ethiopic, with some suggestions for identification with Syriac originals in square brackets.

1. *Homily on the Annunciation to the Virgin Mary*, e.g., ms. EMML 1763:19 and 20;
2. *Homily on the Annunciation to Zacharias of the birth of John the Baptist*, e.g., mss. BritLib Orient. 774:33, 15th cent.; Dāgā Eṣṭifānos 20:30, 15th cent. (SixTana III, 131) [cp. Bedjan 1890–96, vol. 2, 37];
3. *Homily on the visit of Mary to Elisabeth*, e.g., ms. BritLib Orient. 774:2;
4. *Homily on the vision of Joseph*, e.g., BritLib Orient. 774:3 (WrBriMus 227, no. 340);
5. *Homily on Simeon the Priest who received Jesus in the Temple*, e.g., mss. BritLib Orient. 774:10; Dāgā Eṣṭifānos 20, 15th cent.;
6. *Homily on the Angel and the Thief*, e.g., mss. BritLibOrient. 774:18; Dāgā Eṣṭifānos 20:15 [cp. Bedjan 1890–96, vol. 5, 177];
7. *Homily on the Apostle Thomas*, e.g., mss. BritLib Orient. 774:23; Dāgā Eṣṭifānos 20:20 (Syriac text ed. Strothmann 1976; s. GrafLit I, 450c).
8. *Homily on the observance of Sunday* (*or the Sabbath of the Christians*), i.e. ↗*Dərsanä sänbät* – as shown by Wurmbrandt (1963:362–94), it is built on two christianized ↗Betä Ǝsraᵓel texts, ↗*Təᵓəzazä sänbät* and *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*mäläᵓəkt*; s., e.g., in ms. EMML 1512:5, 18th cent.;
9. Another *Homily on the Sabbath* (= *Sunday*) is contained in Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz Ms. orient. oct. 1269, of the 18th cent. (HamSixBerl 108). In this ms., these two and other homilies on the same theme are parts of the *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*ṭəbäb*, the ordination concerning Sunday, revealed to ↗Ezra the Prophet, who put it down, whereas later the book was discovered by Jacob the brother of Jesus;
10. *Homily for the Feast of the Cross*, e.g. ms. EMML 1763:4;
11. *Homily for the third Sunday in Lent*, e.g. ms. EMML 1763:45 [cp. Bedjan I:23–25];

12. *Homily on Mary and Joseph*, e.g. in ms. EMML 1763;
13. *Homily on the Nativity*, e.g. ms. EMML 1763:27 [cp. Bedjan 1890–96, vol. 6, 720–808];
14. *Homily on Mary*, "for the fourth Sunday of *Taḫśaś*" e.g. ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz, or. Fol. 117, ca. 1400 (ed. Uhlig 1999);

Some of J.S.'s (or attributed to him) homilies can be found as parts of larger collections also with liturgical functions, such as

15. the *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*gənzät*; most manuscripts contain J.S.'s *Homily on priests and deacons who have fallen asleep* (ድርሳን፡ ... በእንተ፡ እለ፡ ኖሙ፡ ካህናት፡ ወዲያቆናት), e.g. ms. Paris BN, Éth. 26bis (ZotBNat 86, no. 80), copied in 1508, from an earlier unknown ms. [cp. Bedjan 1890–96, vol. 2, 70];
16. in the same collection also the *Homily on the Canaanite woman*; (ድርሳን፡ በእንተ፡ ብእሲት፡ ዘትንብር፡ ውስተ፡ ብሔረ፡ ከንዓን), can sometimes be found, e.g. in ms. EMML 883, 20th cent. [cp. Bedjan 1890–96, vol. 1, 17];
17. in the ↗*Haymanotä abäw* there are four quotations of J.S. although these are taken from two homilies only: the first two from the *Homily on His Nativity and Baptism* (በእንተ፡ ልደቱ፡ ወጥምቀቱ), and the second pair from the *Homily on the salvatory Passion* (*of Christ*, በእንተ፡ ሕማማት፡ ማኅያዊት; = 13?), e.g. ms. EMML 1, 1667–82; some of the mss. of the *Haymanotä Abäw* are illustrated, including miniatures of J.S., e.g. ms. EMML 1, fol. 19r;
18. incorporated into the *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*gəbrä ḫəmamat* one can find such homilies as no. 6 above (as in ms. EMML 2140, 20th cent.) and the *Homily on Abraham*(*'s offer*) *for Good Friday* (በእንተ፡ አቡነ፡ አብርሃም), e.g. in ms. EMML 1765 (15th cent.), translated in the time of *abba* ↗Sälama "the Translator" [cp. Bedjan 1890–96, vol. 4, 109, or vol. 2, 53];

Jacob of Serug; miniature in ms. *Haymanotä abäw*, fol. unknown, 17th cent., church of the Trinity, Ṣäläqot, Təgray; photo 2000, courtesy of Michael Gervers

19. a *Rite of the taking on the habit* (ሥርዐተ፡ ሚመተ፡ ምንኵስና), not to be confused with anonymous *Monastic Rule* (ሥርዐተ፡ ምንኵስና), containing both the ritual for taking the habit, and the rules for monastic life, is attributed to J.S. – it can be found, e.g., in mss. EMML 1012, 1203 (19th cent.), Paris, BN d'Abbadie 71 (CRAbb II, 465, no. 78), but no such text is known in Syriac. According to Conti Rossini (ibid.), it must have been translated from Arabic in the 14th cent. or at the beginning of the 15th, since it is quoted in the *Acts of* ↗*Abäkəräzun* of Gundä Gunde;
20. an ↗*Anaphora* is also attributed to J.S. (Hammerschmidt 1987:31ff.; ed. Euringer 1934).

Max Wurmbrand (1961) discovered that J.S.'s *Homily on the death of Aaron* entered – but without attribution to J.S. – Betä Ǝsraʾel literature (ms. of the Faitlovich collection). Its Christian original has not been identified, although a Christian Arabic translation (from Syriac) is known (GrafLit I, 449).

Src.: Syriac: MAR-JACOBI SARUGENSIS, *Homiliae selectae*, ed. by PAULUS BEDJAN, 4 vols., Parisiis - Leipzig 1905–10; *Acta martyrum et sanctorum*, ed. by PAUL BEDJAN, Paris 1890–96, vol. 1, 131–36, vol. 3, 665–79, vol. 4, 471–99, 650–55, vol. 6, 650–89; JAKOB VON SARUG, *Drei Gedichte über den Apostel Thomas in Indien*, ed., tr. by W. STROTHMANN, Wiesbaden 1976 (Göttinger Orientforschungen 12); SEBASTIAN P. BROCK, "The Published Verse Homilies of Isaac of Antioch, Jacob of Serugh, and Narsai: Index of Incipits", *JSS* 32, 1987, 279–313; Eth.: CRAbb II, 465; EMML; SEBASTIAN EURINGER (ed., tr.), *Die äthiopischen Anaphoren des Hl. Evangelisten Johannes des Donnersohnes und des Hl. Jacobus von Sarug*, Roma 1934 (OrChr 33, 1 [no. 90]), 79–122; WOLF LESLAU (tr.), *Falasha Anthology*, New Haven 1951 (Yale Judaica Series 6), 11–39, 52–56; HamSixBerl 108; JOSEPH HALÉVY (ed., tr.), *Tĕʾĕzâza sanbat* (*Commandements du sabbat*), *accompagné de six autres écrits pseudo-épigraphiques admis par les Falachas ou Juifs d'Abyssinie*, Paris 1902 (Bibliothèque de l'École des hautes études: Sciences historiques et philologiques, 137), 1–40, 51–56; SixDeu 487; SixTana III, 131; SIEGBERT UHLIG, "Dərsan des Yaᶜqob von Sərug für den vierten Sonntag im Monat Taḫśaś", *Aethiopica* 2, 1999, 7–52 (Lit.); WrBriMus 227ff.; MAX WURMBRAND (tr.), "Homélie de Jacques de Saroug sur la mort d'Aaron", *L'Orient Syrien* 6, 1961, 255–78; ID. (tr.), "Le 'Dersâna sanbat': une homélie éthiopienne attribuée à Jacques de Saroug", *ibid.* 8, 1963, 343–94; ZotBNat 86.

Lit.: ANTON BAUMSTARK, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur*, Bonn 1922, repr. Berlin 1968, 148–58; GrafLit I, 444–52; GuiSLett 56; ERNST HAMMERSCHMIDT, *Studies in the Ethiopic Anaphoras*, Stuttgart 1987 (AeF 25), 31ff.

Witold Witakowski

Jacob, Testament of ↗Yaᶜəqob: Gädlä Yaᶜəqob

Jacobis, Giustino De

J. (properly De J., b. 9 October 1800, San Fele, Potenza, d. 31 July 1860, Aligäde valley near

The only known portrait of Giustino De Jacobis; after a sketch drawn by a student during a meeting in Naples in 1842, from MasMis², vol. 1, 388

↗Ḥalay, Eritrea) was an Italian missionary. Born to a large family (he was the seventh of 14 children), he was educated in Naples and joined the ↗Lazarist order at the age of 18. In 1824, he was ordained as a priest.

After he had served in positions of responsibility in Naples, in 1838, the ↗Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide appointed J. first Prefect Apostolic of "Ethiopia and all the neighbouring territories"; he was to be assisted by the Lazarist Luigi Montuori. In October of the following year, they arrived in ᶜAdwa, meeting Giuseppe ↗Sapeto, their fellow brother. The three decided to implement a strategy of dispersal: Sapeto would thus go to Šäwa and Montuori to Gondär, whilst J. would remain in ᶜAdwa (CrumMis 66).

J.'s career was an eventful one, shaped by a constantly changing political and ecclesiastical scene. He found his main patron in *däğğazmač* ↗Wəbe Ḥaylä Maryam, ruler of Səmen and northern Ethiopia, who saw the presence of the Catholics as an opportunity to improve communications with Europe, primarily ↗France. In 1841, J. participated in the delegation organized by Wəbe to seek a metropolitan in Cairo (↗*Pappas*). There he met the monk ↗Gäbrä Mikaᵓel, whom he later converted to ↗Catholicism. From Cairo, some of the 23 members of the delegation (among whom *abba* Gäbrä Mikaᵓel) headed to Rome in July 1841, to present letters of Wəbe to Pope Gregory XVI. On 17 and 29 August 1841 they were received by the Pope, while J. acted as interpreter. The latter conceived this important endeavour as a key step towards Catholic rooting in Ethiopia (cp. De Jacobis 2000:142, 210ff., 217).

After a journey to Jerusalem, in 1842 J. was back in Ethiopia, working in Akkälä Guzay (↗Aḵrur, ↗Ḥalay) and ᶜAgamä (↗ᶜAddigrat, ↗ᶜAlitena, ↗Gʷalᶜa, where he founded a college and a seminary in 1844), among such groups as the ↗Irob, the Təgrəññña speakers, and the Bogos (↗Bilin). On 8 January 1849, in order to be able to continue his mission and to create priests, he was secretly consecrated as bishop in Massawa by the Capuchin Guglielmo ↗Massaja (OMahPh vol. 1, 78f.). In 1853, Lorenzo ↗Biancheri, who had settled at Gʷalᶜa, was appointed his coadjutor.

J. found his most formidable adversaries in *abunä* ↗Sälama, especially from the late 1840s onwards, and in *däğğazmač* ↗Kaśa Ḫaylu, who since his coming to power in 1855 as *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II began an offensive to reunify the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥədo) Church. When the news spread about J.'s consecration as bishop, Sälama had immediately ordered him to leave the country. Having refused, J. was imprisoned by *däğğazmač* Kaśa at ↗Gondär, together with his fellows and Gäbrä Mikaᵓel. After four months, he was set free with an order of expulsion, but his guards released him at ↗Mätämma. He then lived hidden between Massawa and Ḥalay. In 1860, accused of having favoured Count Russel's mission to *däğğazmač* ↗Nəguśe Wäldä Mikaᵓel, he was put again in jail at ↗Toḵondaᶜ. Although freed after 22 days, he died shortly after and was buried at ↗Ḥebo.

Known locally as *abunä* Yaᶜəqob or even *qəddus* Yaᶜəqob (lit. 'Saint Jacob': a ↗*mälkəᵓ*-hymn was composed in his honour, s. Raineri 1979), J. laid the foundations of an Ethiopian Catholic Church through the conversion of a small number of Ethiopian faithful and clergymen. Contrary to the pattern enforced by the ↗Capuchins, this Church kept Ethiopian liturgy and traditions; J.'s relationship with his indigenous followers tended to reproduce the Ethiopian model of a ↗*mämhər* and his students. Soon fluent in ↗Amharic, he clearly understood the importance of the knowledge of local languages for the success of a missionary enterprise. To this aim, he was also responsible for the composition of an Amharic catechesis (De Jacobis 1850).

The Ethiopian activities of J. – whose apostolate was continued by Carlo ↗Delmonte – also had a political dimension, the missionary acting as an intermediary with ↗France on behalf of *däğğazmač* Wəbe and, after Tewodros's coronation, on behalf of Wəbe's political heir, *däğğazmač* Nəguśe (CrumMis 68f., 100–05). While J.'s piety, humility and evangelical attitude, as well as his help during an 1858 cholera

epidemic, are remembered, none of his political interventions had a lasting impact.

Following the establishment of Eritrea in 1890, the Church J. had established fell under two separate political jurisdictions; the congregation members who remained under Ethiopian rule eventually received formal recognition from Rome as belonging to the Ethiopian Rite.

J. was beatified on 25 July 1939, and canonized as a saint on 26 October 1975. *Abba* ↗Täklä Haymanot of ᶜAdwa, one of J.'s disciples, became his principal biographer; a few years after his teacher's death, he composed a Vita of J. under the title መጽሐፈ፡ አኅጉሎተ፡ ሐሰት (*Mäṣḥafä aḫgʷəlotä ḥassät*; s. StrANL 205; Černecov – Platonov 2002), one of the early pieces of ↗Amharic literature. Further on, J.'s life has since been the object of quite a number of works, the first (anonymous) published shortly after his death, *L'Abyssinie et son apôtre, ou vie de Justin de Jacobis* ... (Paris 1866). His diaries and correspondence, recently published, are rather poor in style and often marked by a severe judgement on local people and Christian tradition. In spite of these shortcomings, and of a few factual mistakes, this material is an important source for the social and political history of the region, as well as of the churches and monasteries J. visited during his 20-year stay in Ethiopia, when he was able to take notes on their monuments, libraries and artefacts (so, e.g., for ↗Däbrä Bizän, ↗Däbrä Damo, ↗Gundä Gunde).

Src.: GIUSTINO DE JACOBIS, *Dottrina cristiana in lingua amarica ad uso dei cattolici abissini, composta da monsign. De Jacobis* ..., Roma 1850; ID., *Scritti*, vol. 1: *Diario*, Roma 2000 [rev. by LANFRANCO RICCI, *RSE* 43, 1999 (2001), 231f.]; vol. 2: *Epistolario*, Roma 2003; Abba TÉKLA-HAÏMANOT [Täklä Haymanot], *Abouna Yacob, ou vénérable De Jacobis, scènes de sa vie d'apostolat racontées par un témoin*, préface de E. COULBEAUX, Paris 1914; ID. [Tekla Haimanot], *Episodî della vita apostolica di Abuna Jacob (P. Giustino De Jacobis)*, Asmara 1915; SEVIR ČERNECOV – VJAČESLAV PLATONOV, "'Kniga uničtoženija lži, vozvedennoj na pravednogo abunu Iakova' Takla Haymanota Takla Egzie – odno iz pervyh proizvedenij amharskoj literatury" ('«The Book of Elimination of Lies Cast upon the Righteous *abunä* Jacob», by Täklä Haymanot Täklä Ǝgziᵓ – One of the First Works of the Amharic Literature'), *Hristianskij Vostok* new ser. 3 [9], 2002, 172–268; StrANL 205f., no. 79; *L'Abyssinie et son apôtre, ou vie de Justin de Jacobis* ..., Paris 1866; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Fonti storiche etiopiche per il secolo XIX, I. Vicende dell'Etiopia e delle missioni cattoliche ai tempi di ras Ali, deggiac Ubiè e re Teodoro secondo un documento abissino", *RRALm* ser. 5ª, 25, 1916, 425–550, s. index; OSVALDO RAINERI, "Il Malkeᶜ dell'Abuna Yâᶜqob nella liturgia etiopica", *Ephemerides liturgicae* 93, 1979, 227–33.

Lit.: JOSEPH BAETEMAN, *Il Beato Giustino De Jacobis della Congregazione della Missione, apostolo dell'Abissinia*, Rom 1940; LUIGI BETTA, *Giustino de Jacobis*, Salamanca 1976; LUIGI CHIEROTTI, "De Jacobis, Giustino", *Bibliotheca sanctorum*, vol. 4, Città del Vaticano 1964, 536–38; CrumMis 66–69, 100–05; GIUSEPPE GUERRA, *Giustino De Jacobis: dal meridione d'Italia all'Etiopia*, Napoli 1975; KONRAD LÜBECK, *Bischof Justinus De Jacobis, der Apostel Abessiniens – Ein Ausschnitt aus der neueren Missionsgeschichte*, Aachen 1922 (Abhandlungen aus Missionskunde und Missionsgeschichte 26); MasMis², vol. 1, 388 (ill.); MARIA LUISA MAZZARELLO, *Giustino De Jacobis: inculturarsi per comunicare*, Roma 1997; OMahPh vol. 1, passim.

Donald Crummey – Red.

Jacobite(s)

J. (Eth.: ያዕቆባውያን, *Yaᶜəqobawəyan*) is a traditional, yet non-official term referring to the members of the "J.", i.e. the Syrian Orthodox Church of Antioch, which belongs, just like the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥədo) Church, to the anti-Chalcedonian (↗Chalcedon, Council of) or Miaphysite (previously called Monophysite, ↗Monophysitism) Church family. The term has often been used in Western literature, as well as by the members of other Oriental churches, but is avoided and opposed to by the Syrian Orthodox Church itself (Palmer 1991: 17f.). It comes from the name of ↗Jacob Baradaeus, who is regarded as the creator of a separate Miaphysite hierarchy. According to a contemporary witness, ↗John of Ephesus (ed. Brooks 1925: 158), Jacob consecrated 27 bishops and "many" priests. Thanks to his activities a new generation (after that of ↗Severus of Antioch) of anti-Chalcedonian clergy came into being, and in this way fundaments were laid down for a separate Miaphysite church, opposed to the Chalcedonian or Melkite (from Syr. *malkā*, 'king, emperor'). Jacob was active not only in the territories of the Antiochene patriarchate (Syria and Cilicia), in Asia Minor and ↗Persia, but also in ↗Egypt, and this is why the faithful of the Coptic Church are sometimes called J. (e.g. in the colophons of medieval Coptic/Arabic manuscripts), too.

↗Syrian influences in Ethiopia: Syrian Orthodox Church

Src.: JOHN OF EPHESUS, *Lives of the Eastern Saints*, ed., tr. by E.W. BROOKS, vol. 3, Paris 1925, repr. Turnhout 1974 (PO 19, 2).

Lit.: DAVID D. BUNDY, "Jacob Baradaeus: the State of Research, a Review of Sources and a New Approach", *Le Muséon* 91, 1978, 45–86; ALOIS GRILLMEIER, *Jesus der Christus im Glauben der Kirche*, Bd. 2/3: *Die Kirchen von*

Jerusalem und Antiochien nach 451 bis 600, ed. by THERESIA HAINTHALER, Freiburg – Basel – Wien 2002, 179–308, 438–659; WOLFGANG HAGE, "Jakobitische Kirche", in: *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*, vol. 16, Berlin et al. 1987, 474–85; ANDREW PALMER, "The History of the Syrian Orthodox in Jerusalem" (Part 1), *OrChr* 75, 1991, 16–43, here 17f.; BERTOLD SPULER, "Die Westsyrische (Monophysitische/Jakobitische) Kirche", in: ID. (ed.), *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, 1: *Der Nahe und der Mittlere Osten*, vol. 8, part 2, Leiden 1961, 170–216.

Witold Witakowski

Jamaica and the Caribbean

The J.'s first encounter with ↗Ethiopianism – a social and religious movement identifying personages and events in the Bible as "African" and regarding the teachings of established Christian religious sects as distortions effected as tools of dominance over blacks – can be traced back to the arrival in J. of the African American preachers George Liele and Moses Baker, loyalists who evacuated the North American colonies with the British. Liele (1750–1826), an ex-slave, founded the first Baptist church in Jamaica in 1784, calling it the Ethiopian Baptist Church. Ethiopianism was evident in the discourse and ideology of the 19th cent. pan-Africanists (↗Pan-Africanism) such as Edward Wilmot Blyden (1832–1912), born in the Danish West Indies, and Haitian anthropologist-statesman Anténor Firmin (1850–1911). *Aṣe* ↗Mənilək II's inspiring victory over the Italian army at the Battle of ↗ᶜAdwa in 1896 was celebrated in J., connecting the glories of ancient Ethiopia with the modern world. But J. people entered into actual relations with Ethiopians as well. The Haitian pan-Africanist Bénito Sylvain visited Mənilək after his victory at ᶜAdwa, seeking his support for pan-African activities. *Aṣe* Mənilək's personal physician was Joseph Vitalien, from Martinique.

Ethiopia was a prominent theme in early 20th cent. J. ethnic and cultural politics. Most notably in the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) of Jamaican-born Marcus Garvey (1887–1940). The UNIA, with headquarters in Harlem, boasted nearly 1,000 branches internationally at its height in the 1920s, including a number in the C. Many of the UNIA's catechisms drew upon the best known of the biblical passages that proved Ethiopia's sacred place. The organization's Universal Ethiopian Anthem, which began "Ethiopia, thou land of our fathers, Thou land where the gods loved to be", was written by Barbadian-born *rabbi* Arnold J. Ford (1877–1935) who converted to Judaism in Harlem and emigrated to Addis Abäba with a group of Carribean-born, Harlem-based associates.

The 1930 coronation of *ras* Täfäri Mäkʷännən, who became known as *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I, was followed with much interest in the Carribean and many regarded it as biblical prophesy realized. The coronation, seen against the backdrop of Ethiopianism and Garvey's black nationalism, led to the creation of the ↗Rastafarian religion in Jamaica. The 1930s were years of labour strikes and anti-colonial nationalist mobilization. The 1935 Italian invasion of Ethiopia occurred in this context (↗Italian war 1935–36). Labour leaders connected local ethnic and class oppression to the Italo–Ethiopian dispute, cultivating themes of black liberation and white oppression using the war as a metaphor. A number of groups sprang up to debate the "racial" connections between Carribean blacks and Ethiopians; still others took a more anti-capitalist, anti-imperialist analysis of the war. In Jamaica, Trinidad, and elsewhere men volunteered to fight for Ethiopia. One who made it was Trinidad-born aviator Hubert F. Julian. Julian fought with African-American aviator John C. Robinson, both of whom had volunteered to

Scene at the airport in Kingston, Jamaica, a "Rastafarian" man in tears upon the arrival of *aṣe* Ḫaylä Śəllase I; photo 1966, courtesy of the IES

fight for Ethiopia against the Italian forces. Julian incurred Ḫaylä Śəllase's displeasure and was relegated to training ground troops before returning to the United States in disgrace.

Money was collected for war material. These groups and activities were mirrored by Carribeans abroad. In London, leading black anti-colonial intellectuals and radicals and their white allies formed the International African Service Bureau and the International Friends of Abyssinia to raise not only consciousness but money in support of Ethiopia.

Branches of the Ethiopian World Federation (cp. ↗Mälaku Amanu'el Bäyyan) were established in J. in 1938. In 1955, Ḫaylä Śəllase granted land for those wishing to "re-patriate" as some Rastafarians and Pan-Africanists conceived of the plan. A few dozen eventually did, settling in ↗Šašämänne. Later, Ḫaylä Śəllase visited Trinidad, Haiti, and Jamaica to tumultuous receptions in 1966, and in 1969, the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church set up a mission in Kingston, Jamaica. Given the development of the Rastafarian movement and its proliferation beyond the Carribeans it is likely that Ethiopia will continue to hold a crucial place in religious and political ideology of the Carribeans.

Lit.: LEONARD E. BARRETT, *The Rastafarians: a Study in Messianic Cultism in Jamaica*, Río Piedras 1968; BEVERLY BROWN, "George Liele: Black Baptist and Pan-Africanist, 1750–1826", *Savacou* 11, 12, 1975, 58–67; HORACE CAMPBELL, *Rasta and Resistance: From Marcus Garvey to Walter Rodney*, Trenton 1987; BARRY CHEVANNES, *Rastafari: Roots and Ideology*, Syracuse 1994; FIKRU NEGASH GEBREKIDAN, *Bond Without Blood: a History of Ethiopian and New World Black Relations, 1896–1991*, Trenton, NJ 2005; BRIAN L. FRIDAY, *The Impact of the Italo–Ethiopian Crisis on Trinidad, 1934–1937*, M.A. thesis, Dalhousie University 1986; KATRIN HANSING, *Rasta, Race and Revolution: the Emergence and Growth of the Rastafari Movement in Socialist Cuba*, Ph.D. thesis, Oxford University 2001; WILLIAM F. LEWIS, *Soul Rebels: The Rastafari*, Prospect Heights, Ill. 1993; NATHANIEL SAMUEL MURRELL – WILLIAM DAVID SPENCER – ADRIAN ANTHONY MCFARLANE (eds.), *Chanting Down Babylon: The Rastafari Reader*, Philadelphia 1998; RICHARD PANKHURST, "Ethiopia and Africa: The Historical Aspect", *EthObs* 8, 2, 1964, 154–62; ID., "Menilek and the Utilisation of Foreign Skills in Ethiopia", *JES* 5, 1, 1967, 29–86; KEN POST, "The Bible as Ideology: Ethiopianism in Jamaica, 1930–38", in: CHRISTOPHER ALLEN – R.W. JOHNSON (eds.), *African Perspectives*, Cambridge 1970, 185–207; JOHN W. PULIS, "Bridging Troubled Waters: Moses Baker, George Liele, and the African American Diaspora to Jamaica", in: ID. (ed.), *Moving On: Black Loyalists in the Afro-Atlantic World*, New York 1999, 183–221; RHODA REDDOCK, *Elma François, the NWCSA, and the Worker's Struggle for Change in the Caribbean*, London 1988; NEIL J. SAVISHINSKY, "Transnational popular culture and the global spread of the Jamaican Rastafarian movement", *Nieuwe West-Indische Gids* 68, 3–4, 1994, 259–81; WILLIAM R. SCOTT, *The Sons of Sheba's Race: African–Americans and the Italo–Ethiopian War, 1935–1941*, Bloomington 1993; GEORGE SHEPPERSON, "Ethiopianism and African Nationalism", *Phylon* 14, 1, 1953, 9–18; FRANK JAN VAN DIJK, *Jamaica: Rastafari and Jamaican Society, 1930–1990*, Ph.D. thesis, Utrecht University 1993; ROBERT G. WEISBORD, "British West Indian Reaction to the Italian–Ethiopian War: an Episode in Pan-Africanism", *Caribbean Studies* 10, 1, 1970, 34–41; KEVIN A. YELVINGTON, "The War in Ethiopia and Trinidad, 1935–1936", in: BRIDGET BRERETON – KEVIN A. YELVINGTON (eds.), *The Colonial Caribbean in Transition: Essays on Postemancipation Social and Cultural History*, Gainesville 1999, 189–225.

Kevin A. Yelvington

Janssen, Francies Johannes

Mgr. J. (b. 20 September 1912, Vogelwaarde, Boschkapelle, d. 19 December 1987, Venlo, Netherlands) was a ↗Lazarist missionary. He joined the Lazarists on 16 September 1932, and was ordained a priest on 23 July 1939. The same year he moved to Fortaleza, Brazil, where he became, in 1953, Vice Provincial Superior.

In 1956, J. was named Superior Missionis of the new Dutch Lazarist Mission in Ethiopia. Shortly after he was appointed Vicar Delegate in the Apostolic Vicariate of ↗Ǧimma by the then acting Apostolic Administrator, the Bishop of Harär, Mgr. Urbain-Marie ↗Person, a Capuchin, and in 1958 he became Administrator himself. He was consecrated bishop by Mgr. Moors, Bishop of Roermond, on 31 July 1959 in the parish-church of Panningen, Limburg.

J. helped organising churches, prayer houses, elementary schools, clinics and dispensaries, in spite of pressing financial problems. In 1970, in a joint effort with the Vicariate of ↗Harär, the minor seminary of Gudär was opened. He also put much effort in the recruitment and formation of the future clergy. In 1971, for health reasons he resigned from his offices and moved to Panningen, where he was appointed superior of the Vincentian Community and became parish-priest of Broekhuizen in 1976.

Lucas W. Bos

Japan, relations with

Despite a number of historical similarities between Ethiopia's and J.'s political structure and history, and the fact that Ethiopia and J. lie at either end of the maritime Silk Route, diplomatic relations between the two countries only began

The Special Envoy Ḫəruy Wäldä Śəllase receives the famous sword *Mikasa* from Vice Admiral Sakonji (in the middle), 21 December 1931, Imperial Hotel, Tokyo; from Heruy Walda Sellase 1933:112/13

in 1923, within the ↗League of Nations. For *aṣe* Ḫaylä Śəllase I's coronation in November 1930, Hirohito (r. 1926–89) dispatched an ambassador extraordinary to represent J. in Addis Abäba. On this occasion, a treaty was signed. Even before the signature, J. was already exporting indirectly to Ethiopia not only 80% of cotton articles but also silks, cotton thread, sugar, chinaware, and pottery for the general public. Ḫaylä Śəllase followed the Meiji model in the modernization of Ethiopia. He promulgated the first constitution in 1931, which had points of similarity with the 1889 Meiji constitution (↗Constitutions). Both constitutions defined the emperor's status as "sacred and inviolable".

In 1931, Ethiopia dispatched a mission to J. to thank Hirohito for his expression of friendship. This mission was successfully led by ↗Ḫəruy Wäldä Śəllase, the Minister for Foreign Affairs. On his return to Ethiopia, Ḫəruy had gathered all his impressions of the journey in one publication, which appeared in 1931/32 under the title ማህደረ: ብርሃን: ሃገረ: ጃፓን (*Mahdärä bərhan, hagärä Ǧapan*, 'Place of Light, the country of J.'). A Japanese translation of the work was published in Tokyo in 1934. The visit to J. is said to have reinforced Ḫəruy's determination to "japanize" Ethiopia in order to modernize it. As his influence over Ḫaylä Śəllase was considerable, he is supposed to have influenced the emperor's political line and thus to have contributed to the flowering of the modernist ideas which had been advocated by Ethiopian intellectuals from the beginning of the 20th cent. These intellectuals were later to be nicknamed the "Japanizers" (cp., among others, *blatta* Gäbrä Ǝgziʾabəher from Eritrea; ↗Täklä Ḥawaryat Täklä Maryam; Adolf ↗Mayer). After the Italian invasion, the Ethiopian "Japanizers" gradually faded from the picture, but, following Ethiopia's liberation, this ideological current was revived by ↗Käbbädä Mikaʾel who in 1954 published ጃፓን: እንደምን: ሰለጠነች (*Ǧapan əndämən säläṭṭänäčč*, 'How did J. become modernized?').

Ləǧ Arʾaya Abbäbä, a distant cousin of Ḫaylä Śəllase, was one of the members of the 1931 mission to J. He later expressed his desire to marry a Japanese woman, and chose "Princess" Kuroda Masako, daughter of Viscount Kuroda Hiroyuki. The Tokyo lawyer Sumioka [Kadooka] Tomoyoshi, a pan-Asian activist and philo-Ethiopian nationalist, managed much of the marriage arrangements starting in 1932. However, following international diplomatic complications, including protest by Mussolini himself, the marriage never took place (s. Clarke 1999). In J., Ethiopia was widely popular during the 1930s. Even an ancient blood relationship with the "West-Asian" Ethiopians was imagined in scientific Japanese discourse (cp. ↗Japanese–Ethiopian Society). In that period Ethiopia installed an Ethiopian consulate at Osaka, led by honorary consul Yukawa Chusaburo, a Japanese (ZerEth 481ff.). The *Nagasaki Echiopia Keizai Chosa-kai Nikkei-Sha* ('Nagasaki Association for Economic Investigation of Ethiopia'), led by Kitagawa Takashi, in 1933 negotiated with Ḫəruy with the aim of acquiring huge lands for the growing of cotton, rice, vegetable, tea, coffee and tobacco as well as for Japanese migration. The government of J., however, did not wish to cause further complications with Italy, and Japanese involvement in Ethiopia was therefore reduced.

On 1 January 1936, in the middle of the Italo–Ethiopian conflict, the Japanese government decided to open a legation in Addis Abäba to protect local Japanese economic interests, which had developed in the period before the Italians invaded Ethiopia. Indeed, in 1935, J. provided 95 % of Ethiopia's consummation of cotton goods. On 3 December 1936, however, after Italy had annexed Ethiopia, the Japanese legation was transformed into a mere consulate-general.

In 1955, Ethiopia and J. re-established diplomatic relations and the two imperial families resumed amicable links. In 1956, *aṣe* Ḫaylä Śəllase made a journey to J. and was thus the first head of state to officially visit the country after World War II. In 1959, Crown-Prince ↗Asfa Wäsän Ḫaylä Śəllase and his wife Mädfäriyaš Wärq Abbäbä went on an official visit to J., and the following year, Prince Akihito and Princess Michiko visited Ethiopia. Japanese companies started to operate in Ethiopia in the 1960s. Due to the rich copper deposits in Eritrea, the Japanese built an important copper mining facility (today called **እንዳ፡ ጃፓን**, *Ǝnda Ǧapan*, locally) near ↗Dəbarwa. Due to the civil war, however, the mine had to be abandoned later in the 1970s.

During the Universal Exhibition in Osaka in 1970, Ḫaylä Śəllase visited J. a second time. During Mängəśtu's régime, relations between the two countries almost ceased to exist, but were re-established, especially in the field of economic aid, after his downfall in 1991. In September 1996, Prime Minister Mälläs Zänawi undertook his first visit to J.

Lit.: ADDIS HIWET, *Ethiopia, from Autocracy to Revolution*, London 1975; SUMIO AOKI – EISEI KURIMOTO, "Japanese Interest in Ethiopia (1868–1940): Chronology and Bibliography", in: *PICES* 13, vol. 1, 713–28; BAHRU ZEWDE, "The Concept of Japanization in the Intellectual History of Modern Ethiopia", in: ID. (ed.), *Proceedings of Fifth Seminar of the Department of History*, Addis Ababa 1990, 1–17; JOSEPH CALVITT CLARKE III, "Periphery and Crossroads: Ethiopia and World Diplomacy, 1934–36", in: *PICES* 13, vol. 1, 699–712; ID., *Marriage Alliance: the Union of Two Imperiums, Japan and Ethiopia?*, Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Association for Third World Studies, San José, Costa Rica 1999; DEREDGE WOLDE MEDDHIN, *Formation et évolution de la pensée économique en Ethiopie*, thèse de doctorat d'état, Université des Sciences Sociales de Grenoble 1987; FAËRBER-ISHIHARA HIDEKO, *Les premiers contacts entre l'Ethiopie et le Japon (1923–1936)*, Paris 1998; ID., "Heruy, le Japon et les 'japonisants'", in: ALAIN ROUAUD (ed.), *Les orientalistes sont des aventuriers*, Paris 1999, 143–49; ḪƎRUY WÄLDÄ SƎLLASE, **ማህደረ፡ ብርሃን፡ ሃገረ፡ ጃፓን** (*Mahdärä bərhan hagärä Ǧapan*, 'Place of Light, the Country of Japan'), Addis Abäba 1924 A.M. [1931/32 A.D.] (= Japanese tr.: *Dai Nippon* ['Light of Japan'], foreword by Baron SHIDEHARA, tr. by ORESTE VACCARI - ENKO VACCARI, Tokyo 1933, 112f. (ill.)]; KÄBBÄDÄ MIKAʾEL, **ጃፓን፡ እንዴምን፡ ሰለጠነች** (*Ǧapan əndämən säläṭṭänäčč*, 'How did Japan Become Modernized?'), Addis Abäba 1946 A.M. [1954 A.D.]; DONALD N. LEVINE, "Ethiopia and Japan in Comparative Civilizational Perspective", in: *PICES* 13, vol. 1, Kyoto 1997, 652–73; MASSAY KEBEDE, "Japan and Ethiopia: an Appraisal of Similarities and Divergent Courses", *ibid.* 693–651; MERID W. AREGAY, "Japanese and Ethiopian Reactions to Jesuit Missionary Activities in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries", *ibid.* 676–98; JUN MORIKAWA, *Japan and Africa – Big Business and Diplomacy*, Asmara 1996; MASANORI TAURA, "Nippon, Ethiopia kankei ni miru 1930 nendai tsuushyô gaikô no isô", in: KINDAI NIPPON KENKYÛ (ed.), *Seifu to Minkan, taigai seisaku no sôshyutsu*, Tokyo 1995, 141–70; ID., "Nichi-I kankei (1935–36) to sono yotai – Ethiopia senso wo meguru Nippon gawa taio kara", in: TAKASHI ITO (ed.), *Nippon kindai-shi no sai kôchiku*, Tokyo n.d., 304–22; SALVATORE TEDESCHI, "La carrière et les idées de Heruy Wäldä Sellase (1878–1938)", in: LUIGI FUSELLA – SALVATORE TEDESCHI – JOSEPH TUBIANA (ed.), *Trois essais sur la littérature éthiopienne*, Paris 1984, 39–104; ZerÉth 481–85.

Hideko Faërber-Ishihara

Japanese-Ethiopian Society

The J.E.S. (*Nihon Echiopia Kyokai*) was among the most influential pro-Ethiopian organisations in the Japan of the 1930s, together with the 'Roundtable for Ethiopian Issues' (*Echiopia Mondai Kondan-kai*), founded by Ujiro Oyama, and the Amur River Society [*Kokuryu Kai*, often misnamed the "Black Dragon Society"], headed by Toyama Mitsuru. Sumioka Tomoyoshi and Shoji Yunosuke played important roles in several of the Ethiopian support groups, including the J.E.S.

By 1937, more than 100,000 Japanese had joined one or more hundreds of rightwing, pan-Asiatic and ultranationalist groups. Seeking to replace Western imperialism in Asia with Japanese domination, many of these ultranationalists stretched the concept of "Asia" all the way to East Africa and Ethiopia. Some even believed that the Japanese and Ethiopian peoples had a common ancestry in the area between the Altai Mountains and the Caspian Sea. Under Japanese leadership, these Pan-Asianists sought to unify all "coloured" peoples against "white" hegemony. Newspapers, student groups, and chambers of commerce also drummed up popular support for Ethiopia. The Ethiopian support groups promulgated resolutions and statements, held public lectures and exhibitions, and offered money and medical assistance to Ethiopia in its conflict

with Italy. Despite their members' close ties to governmental bureaucracies, these were private organisations, which the Japanese government co-opted after the ↗Italian war of 1935–36.

↗Japan, relations with

Lit.: KOKURYU KAI, *Kokuryu Kai Yonju Nen Jireki* ('The 40 Years History of Kokuryu Kai'), Tokyo 1940; OKAKURA TAKASHI, "1930 Nendai no Nihon–Echiopia Kankei: Echiopia senso O Chushin Ni" ('Japanese–Ethiopian Relations in the 1930s'), *Afurika Kenkyu* ('Journal of African Studies') 37, 1990, 59–64; SUMIOKA TOMOYOSHI, "Maegaki" ('Forward'), in: SHOJI YUNOSUKE, *Echiopia Keizai Jijou* ('Ethiopia's Economic Conditions'), Tokyo 1935; UNNO YOSHIRO, "Dainiji Itaria–Echiopia Senso To Nihon" ('Japan and the Second Italo–Ethiopian War'), *Hosei Riron* ('The Journal of Politics and Law' [Niigata University, Japan]) 16, 2, 1983, 188–240; SHOJI YUNOSUKE, *Echiopia Kekkon Mondai wa Donaru, Kaisho ka? Ina!!!: Kekkon Mondai o Shudai to shite Echiopia no Shinso o Katari Kokumin no Saikakunin o Yobo su* ('What Will Happen to the Ethiopian Marriage Issue, Cancellation? or Not!!!: I Request the Re-recognition of the Japanese Nation by Narrating the Truth of Ethiopia with the Marriage Issue as the Central Theme'), Tokyo 1934.

Joseph Calvitt Clarke III

Jarosseau, André de

J. (b. 13 April 1858, Saint-Mars-des-Prés, d. 18 January 1941, Toulouse; known in Ethiopia as *abba* ∃ndrəyas) was a ↗Capuchin missionary. Born to Pierre Jarosseau and Magdeleine Purzeau, he joined the Capuchin Province of Toulouse at the age of 18. On 8 September 1876, he began his noviciate at Carcassonne, where, on 21 December 1881, he was ordained priest.

Monseigneur André Jarosseau; photo courtesy of the IES

J. joined the Apostolic Vicariate of the Galla as a missionary in 1882, where he was to serve for 38 years in manifold pastoral and social-welfare activities. On 16 September 1900, he was consecrated bishop by Cardinal Girolamo M. Gotti in the Capuchin church of the Immaculate Conception. J. was also engaged in education. In 1901, he established modern schools in Djibouti and Harär; in 1902, he founded the St. Anthony's Leprosy Centre and the Major Seminary in 1904, both in Harär.

J. enjoyed good relations with *ras* ↗Mäkʷännən Wäldä Mikaʾel and his son, *ras* Täfäri (future *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I), who was brought up under his protection and from whom he learnt French (HSLife 18). This helped strengthen the relations between the Imperial Court of Ethiopia and the Holy See during Ḫaylä Śəllase's reign (↗Vatican) as well as contributing to the admission of Ethiopia to the ↗League of Nations in 1923.

J. wrote a dictionary and grammar of Oromo, published at the Capuchin printing press (Jarosseau 1939); one of his letters from the mission was also published (Séraphin 1938). He left Ethiopia for good in 1938.

↗Capuchins, ↗Catholicism

Src.: HSLife 18; ANDRÉ JAROSSEAU, *Notions grammaticales sur la langue galla ou oromo*, Diré-Daoua 1922 (It. tr. by P. Gaetano da Thiene, Harar 1939); P. SÉRAPHIN, *Dans l'Ethiopie en feu: mes sept mois de captivité (mai–décembre 1936)*, Toulouse 1938.

Lit.: ANTONIOS ALBERTO, *Apostolic Vicariate of Galla: a Capuchin Mission in Ethiopia (1846–1942). Antecedents, Evolution and Problematics*, Addis Ababa 1998.

Antonios Alberto

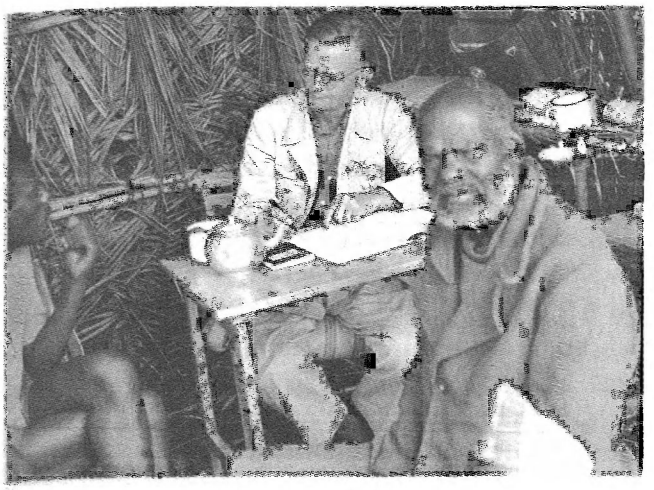
Jauffret, Alfred ↗Commercial Law; ↗Escarra

Jehova's Witnesses ↗Protestantism

Jensen, Adolf Ellegard

J. (b. 1 January 1899, Kiel, d. 20 May 1965, Mammolshain, Germany) was an anthropologist and cultural historian. He studied at the universities of Kiel and Bonn and received a Ph.D. in philosophy in 1922. In 1923 he joined Leo ↗Frobenius at the Forschungsinstitut für Kulturmorphologie (Research Institute for Cultural Morphology) in Munich and followed him to Frankfurt am Main two years later. In 1938 he was appointed director of the Institute which was renamed ↗Frobenius Institute in 1946.

Jensen as director of that Institute had a major impact on German ethnology on Ethiopia. Apart



Adolf Jensen (in the middle) with his informant *däğğazmač* Gino Biri (Berinas), one of the chiefs of the Hamär, Dukamer Camp near Bakko, Hamär; photo 1950/52, by Elisabeth Pauli, courtesy of the Frobenius-Institut, Frankfurt am Main (23–Pa017–33)

from participating in research expeditions to southern Africa (1928–30), Libya (1932) and Ceram/Indonesia (1937–38) J. headed three important ethnological missions to southern Ethiopia (1934–35, 1950–51, 1954–55) and thus initiated an advanced German scholarly interest in this country. The focuses of J.'s studies were basic ethnographic surveys of undocumented groups, the reconstruction of cultural historical strata, age class systems and religious phenomena.

J. was one of the first researchers who became aware of the enormous complexity and cultural importance of the age class systems (↗*Gadaa*) of north-eastern Africa, particularly among the ↗Gideʾo and ↗Konso, during his first expedition of 1934–35. He also took an advanced interest in discovering archaic centres of cultivation by analysing and evaluating myths and their ritual performances. Another field of J.'s major interest was the ↗meritorious complex expressed by the awarding of titles, prestigious positions, spectacular funeral ceremonies and ↗megalithic monuments, which he compared with respective phenomena in other parts of the world such as southeastern Asia.

Most of the results of the 1950–52 expedition were published in the voluminous book "Altvölker Süd-Äthiopiens" (VSAe I) which was edited by J. in 1959. Valuable parts of his materials about the Konso and the ↗Sidaama remained unpublished. J. also considerably stimulated the works of Eike ↗Haberland and Helmut ↗Straube, although these disciples later abandoned his theories of interconnected cultural strata in north-eastern Africa and other parts of the world.

Src.: ADOLF ELLEGARD JENSEN (ed.), *Im Lande des Gada*, Stuttgart 1936; ID., "Neuere Notizen über das Gada-System", *Paideuma* 2, 12, 1941, 84–94; ID., "Prä-kuschitische und prä-nilotische Survivals in Süd-Äthiopien", *Ethnologica*, Neue Folge, 2, 1960, 384–97; VSAe I.
Lit.: OTTO ZERRIES, "Jensen, Adolf E.", in: MIRCEA ELIADE (ed.), *The Encyclopedia of Religion*, New York 1987, vol. 7, 567f.

Ulrich Braukämper

Jensen, Lorenz

J. (**"ሙሴ፡ የንዘን"**, Muse Yänzän, 'Monsieur Jensen', b. 11 September 1883, Becken, d. 21 October 1961, Rendsburg) was among the first German diplomats to take up permanent residence in Ethiopia (↗Germany, relations with).

J. was the first student of Eugen ↗Mittwoch and *aläqa* ↗Tayyä Gäbrä Maryam at Berlin University where he studied Amharic, Arabic, Gəᶜəz and Ethiopian Law. Before his final exams, following a request by the Ethiopian delegation in Germany in 1907 (cp. ↗Mäšäša Wärqe), he helped establish contacts between German arms producers and ↗Mənilək II. In 1909, J. was appointed chancellor and dragoman (translator) at the recently established German legation in Addis Abäba (as such he appears in the novel on the poisoning-affair of Mənilək; s. Zintgraff 1926). In 1910 he acted as the head of the newly founded German vice-consulate in Harär when the Germans took over the representation of the Arabs, Greeks and Armenians. Here he befriended the youthful governor of Harär *däğğazmač* Täfäri (↗Ḫaylä Səllase I) and became his informal advisor. As German Consul he presided at the Mixed Court in cases concerning German citizens (Zahn 1951:97f.). He stayed in Addis Abäba until 1920 when he was made head of the legation as chargé d'affaires (until 1921), because of his good relations with the regent, *ras* Täfäri.

When World War I broke out, the German legation, having all contacts with its government severed, could only persist thanks to the good will of the government under *ləğ* ↗Iyasu. In 1915, J. was decorated with the 'Second Degree of the Honorary Star of the Order of Ethiopia' (**የኢትዮጵያ፡ የክብር፡ ኮከብ፡ ኒሻን፡ ሁለተኛ፡ ማዕረግ**, *Yäʾityopya yäkəbər kokäb nišan hulättäññä maᶜəräg*). Later that year he took up residence in Däse. There he secretly led discussions with the crown prince and his father, *nəguś* ↗Mikaʾel ᶜAli, about Ethiopia's giving up her neutrality, inciting the Ethiopians to attack, together with Turkey, the British and French colonies.

Lorenz Jensen in his office at the German Legation, ca. 1915; photo from the collection of Marlene Bökeler née Jensen, kept at the Ethiopian Studies Research Unit, Asien-Afrika-Institut, Universität Hamburg

His Nachlass, kept by his family, contains some interesting pieces on the years preceding the ↗Coup d'état of 1916, including photographs (s. Smidt 2006). However, his diary, the manuscript of his Amharic Dictionary, and other scholarly works were destroyed during World War II. J. collected Amharic proverbs (ed. by Mittwoch), *zar* and *azmari* songs, and conducted research on Islamic traditions.

In 1922 he became vice-consul and chancellor in Tiflis, Soviet Georgia. Later, he served as consul in Turkey (Trabzon 1927–43), partly owing to the good contacts with Turkey he had established in Ethiopia before and during World War I (↗Maẓhar *bey*).

Lit.: BAIRU TAFLA, *Ethiopia and Germany, Cultural, Political and Economic Relations, 1871–1936*, Wiesbaden 1981 (AeF 5), 109, 134–37; WOLBERT SMIDT, "Jensen, Lorenz", in: *Biographisches Lexikon für Schleswig-Holstein und Lübeck*, vol. 12, Kiel 2006, 232–35 (Src., Lit.); ALFRED ZINTGRAFF, *Der Tod des Löwen von Juda: Dichtung und Wahrheit aus Kaiser Meneliks von Abessinien letzten Tagen*, Berlin 1926, 126, 204, 293, 339; HAKIM [WALTER] ZAHN, *Adami Tullu*, Stuttgart 1951, 96–98, 101, 110.

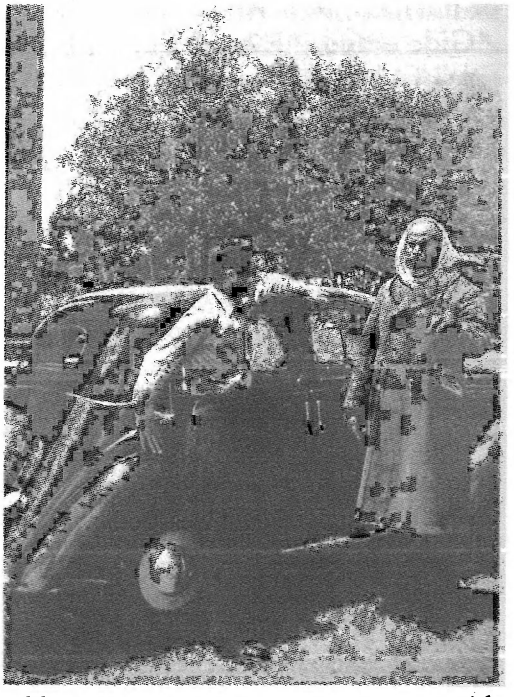
Wolbert Smidt

Jérôme

Abba J. (b. ca. 1881, Ǝgri Mäk̲äl, Säraye, d. 1983, Cannes) was a civil servant and the advisor to a number of foreign scholars. Born Gäbrä Mädḫən Gäbrä Muse (ገብረ፡ መድኅን፡ ገብረ፡ ሙሴ) into a family of minor Catholic notables, he studied in Massawa and in Kärän, in the French Lazarist school, where his name was changed to J. After the expulsion of the ↗Lazarists by the Italians, J. moved to the Capuchin school, also in Kärän, and later in Asmära. His education included the study of several languages (Təgrəññа, Amharic, Latin, Gəʿəz, French, Italian) as well as theology.

Around 1900, J. was ordained Catholic secular priest of the Ethiopian rite. For around ten years he taught in Asmära, while working at the Capuchin printing house. But ca. 1918 he broke off his relations with the ↗Capuchins, renounced priesthood and flew to Ethiopia. There he entered into the service of *ras* Täfäri (later ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I), for whom he accomplished a number of missions. He was successively member of the municipality of Addis Abäba and of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and travelled repeatedly to Europe.

J., who possessed an extensive erudition and learning, accorded constant and valuable assistance to all the Ethiopisants he met (among the most notable, Enrico ↗Cerulli, Marcel ↗Cohen, Marcel ↗Griaule, Michel ↗Leiris, Wolf ↗Leslau, Deborah ↗Lifchitz, Roger Schneider, Stefan ↗Strelcyn, Joseph ↗Tubiana), in Ethiopia as well as during his own visits to Europe. Notably he was a delegate of the Ethiopian government for the Dakar–Djibouti mission (1931–33). In 1941, after the occupation of Ethiopia, his clandestine resistance against the occupant was recognized, and he was appointed head of the manuscript section of the ↗National Library of Addis Abäba. After his retirement in 1965, J. followed Tubiana's invitation to teach Amharic and Təgrəññа at the ↗Institut national des Langues et Civilisations orientales (INALCO). After 1977 and until



Abba Jérôme (right) in conversation with Joseph Tubiana, Addis Abäba; photo 1950, courtesy of Marie-José Tubiana

his death, he lived in the Côte d'Azur. He was buried in the religious area in Cannes cemetery.

J. wrote a number of works, the majority of them still unpublished. Only some minor pedagogic works in Təgrəññña and Italian have been published so far.

Lit.: JACQUES MERCIER, *Les traverses ethiopiennes de Michel Leiris: amour, possession, ethnographie*, Montpellier [2003]; MARIE-JOSÉ TUBIANA, "Gabra-Madchen Gabra-Muse", in: JOSEPH TUBIANA (ed.), *Guirlande pour Abba Jérôme*, Paris 1983, 7–45; ALAIN ROUAUD, "Abba Jérôme", in: PIERRE LABROUSSE (ed.), *1795–1995: deux siècles d'histoire de l'École nationale des langues orientales*, Paris 1995, 369; SALVATORE TEDESCHI, "La scomparsa di abba Jérôme", *Africa* [Roma] 39, 1, 1984, 124–26..

Alain Rouaud

Jerusalem

J. (Eth. **ኢየሩሳሌም**, *Iyärusalem*; Hebrew Yerūšālayim; Arab. al-Quds, 'the Holy') is the name of a city lying at 31° 47' N, 35° 13' E on the southern spur of a plateau in the Judean Mountains. J. is traditionally identified with the city of Salem, realm of ↗Melchizedek, priest of God (Gen 14:18; Heb 7:1–2; ca. 1800 B.C.). The city is often (150 times in the Hebrew Bible) identified by the term ↗Zion (*siyyon*), which may refer to all, or part of, the city.

Although it is best known from the Bible, J. was not founded by the people of Israel. In the early 11th cent. B.C., King David conquered this important stronghold on Mount Zion from the Jebusites.

Solomon built the first Israelite temple on the site bought by his father David for that purpose. The sanctuary increasingly became central for biblical ↗Judaism, a place to which all male Jews were expected to perform pilgrimage on the three great annual feasts. In 586 B.C. J. was conquered by Nebuchadnezzar, its Temple destroyed and a large part of its people exiled to Babylon. In 539 B.C., the Persian king Cyrus, assuming power in Babylon, allowed Jews to return home and rebuild their Temple. The conquests of Alexander the Great brought the Jewish kingdom, and with it J., under Greek sovereignty in 332 B.C. Eventually, the city was transformed into a Hellenistic *polis*. The Temple was again cleansed of foreign gods in 165 B.C., after the Jewish revolt under the leadership of the Maccabees. In 139 B.C. emissaries from the Jewish state brought back from Rome a treaty of friendship. Inner-Jewish rivalries brought about a violent Roman conquest of J. by Pompey in 63 B.C. In 70 A.D. the city was conquered by Titus. Emperor Hadrian rebuilt J. under the new Roman name of Aelia Capitolina, and had then to quell the revolt of Bar Kokhba in 135 A.D.

After Emperor Constantine the Great embraced ↗Christianity in 312 A.D., J. came under Christian rule, thousands of pilgrims visited the Holy City where their religion had its origin. The so-called Byzantine period lasted until the first quarter of the 7th cent., when J. was conquered by the Persians, who in 614 A.D. destroyed the Basilica of the Holy Sepulchre built by Constantine and his mother, empress Helena, and seized the Holy Cross taking it to Ctesiphon. Numerous other important Christian sanctuaries suffered the same fate and a large part of the Christian population was put to death. Ca. 630 J. was recovered, along with the Cross, by Emperor ↗Heraclius. In 637, however, J. fell to the Muslim Arabs. J. and Palestine were then ruled by various Muslim dynasties: the Umayyads (637–750) from Damascus, the Abbasids (750–969) from Baghdad, the ↗Fāṭimids (969–1099) and the ↗Mamlūks (1250–1516) from Cairo, and, finally, the Ottoman Turks (1517–1917) from Istanbul (Constantinople). Only the Crusader kingdom of J. (1099–1291) was nominally local, but was strongly dependant upon Western Christian powers.

↗World War I brought Palestine and J. into the hands of the British in 1917, whereafter they were confided to a temporary British mandatory government by the ↗League of Nations. That government came to an end in 1948 with the withdrawal of the British from an increasingly volatile situation, with constant outbreaks of violence between two nationalistic groups: the Arabized Palestinians and the Jews who had been immigrating into the country since the rise of Zionism and the severe Nazi persecution in Europe during ↗World War II. Following a U.N. decision in November 1947, the new Jewish state of ↗Israel was founded in May 1948, provoking an immediate attack by combined Arab forces. The armistice left the West Bank of the Jordan River in the hands of the new state of Jordan, and J., divided between Jordan (the eastern part, including the Old City), and Israel (the western part and the New City). The UN plan was to keep J. under united international rule. Israel agreed, but the UN met with an absolute Arab refusal. In June 1967, during the Six Days' War the Israelis conquered the West Bank and the Old City of J., which both Israeli Jews and Palestinian Muslims

now insist on making their capital. Christians do not demand political sovereignty, but the right to remain in the city, freedom of worship and of a Christian life style.

The city of J. is sacred to three monotheistic world religions. Whilst the details of this sacredness differ, there are also common themes, including ideas of choseness, historical importance, symbolic centrality and proximity to heaven. In ↗Judaism, the creation of the earth and of the first man are said to have begun in J., namely at the site where the Temple eventually stood. Numerous Biblical events including ↗Enoch's translation to heaven and the sacrifice of Isaac, are also said to have taken place in J. In ↗Christianity, while the symbolic aspects may have more importance than the physical and concrete, J. is the historical site of Christ's crucifixion and resurrection. It is also associated with the source of the wood which was used for the Cross and the tomb of Adam (↗*Mäsqäl*: Legend of the Wood of the Cross; ↗Makəddа). For Muslims, ↗Muḥammad's night journey in which he moved form ↗Mecca to J. and from there ascended to heaven legitmizes the sacredness of the city. The Dome of the Rock, which marks the place of the Prophet's ascension. and al-Aqsā mosque are the chief Muslim holy places in J, which is the third holiest city in ↗Islam. J appears prominently in the eschatological visions of all three religions, particularly Judaism and Christianity. The emphasis, however, differs, the former stressing the transformed earthly J., and the latter the perfect Heavenly J. (Heb 12:22).

Ethiopian Christians feel even closer related to J. and the Holy Land than many other Christians. The "Ereṣ Kûš" (↗Kush) – translated as ↗Aithiopía in the Septuagint – is mentioned 48 times in the OT (cp. ↗Gihon). Tradition has it that the ↗Solomonic dynasty of Ethiopia descends from King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba (i.e. Makəddа; 1 Kgs 10:1–10; 1 Chr 9:1–9). According to the ↗*Kəbrä nägäśt* (chs. 39, 48, 84f.), biblical Judaism first won influence in the kingdom of ↗Aksum. In traditional belief, Christianity came to "Aithiopía" through the activity of the eunuch of Queen ↗Candace (Acts 8:26–40), baptized by the hands of deacon Philip in the life time of the Apostles.

This closely perceived relationship, as well as the belief in the "Heavenly J." (s. ↗Zion, ↗Däbrä Ṣəyon) made Ethiopian pilgrims seek historical and geographic J., some of them eventually settling in the city.

In the 380s A.D. we read for the first time in literature about Christian "Ethiopian" pilgrims in J., mentioned in two letters written by the disciples of St. Jerome in Bethlehem, Sts. Paula and Eustochius, to friends in Rome. These pilgrims could potentially be also from Nubia, for it is difficult to distinguish between Ethiopians and Nubians in classical and medieval texts. Both are often defined as "Indians" (s. ↗India as a name of Ethiopia); besides, some time earlier ↗Meroë in Nubia had been destroyed by an Aksumite military expedition.

Early contacts with Ethiopia may be also suggested by the findings of Aksumite coins (↗Coinage) in J. and the greater Palestine area. Whilst to a significant part those are cast copies or tokens, or Egyptian forgeries (s. Arslan 1996 and Hahn 1999), some are real and could have arrived by way of ↗pilgrimage or ↗trade.

Evidence about the Ethiopians in J. is scarce during the Byzantine period, but king ↗Kaleb himself is known to have sent his crown to the Holy Sepulchre after his victory in South Arabia (s. ↗Naǧrān); and his brother, ↗Muse, became monk there with a few fellow countrymen.

Information has been abundant since Crusader times, when other Ethiopian communities formed also in ↗Egypt, on the way to the Holy Land. In 1237 an Ethiopian monk in J., *abba* Ṭomas, tried to profit from a dispute between the patriarchs of ↗Alexandria and Antioch to have himself consecrated bishop for Ethiopia. From the 14th cent. on, a variety of sources report of the Ethiopian community: dedications in books sent as gifts to the community from Ethiopian rulers; letters from Ethiopian kings and nobles; marginal notes in manuscripts; descriptions by foreign historiographers and in numerous itineraria of foreign pilgrims; documents from legal processes; letters from foreign missionaries in J.; two historiographic manuscripts in Amharic written by members of the community in the late 19th cent.; books published by members in the late 20th cent.

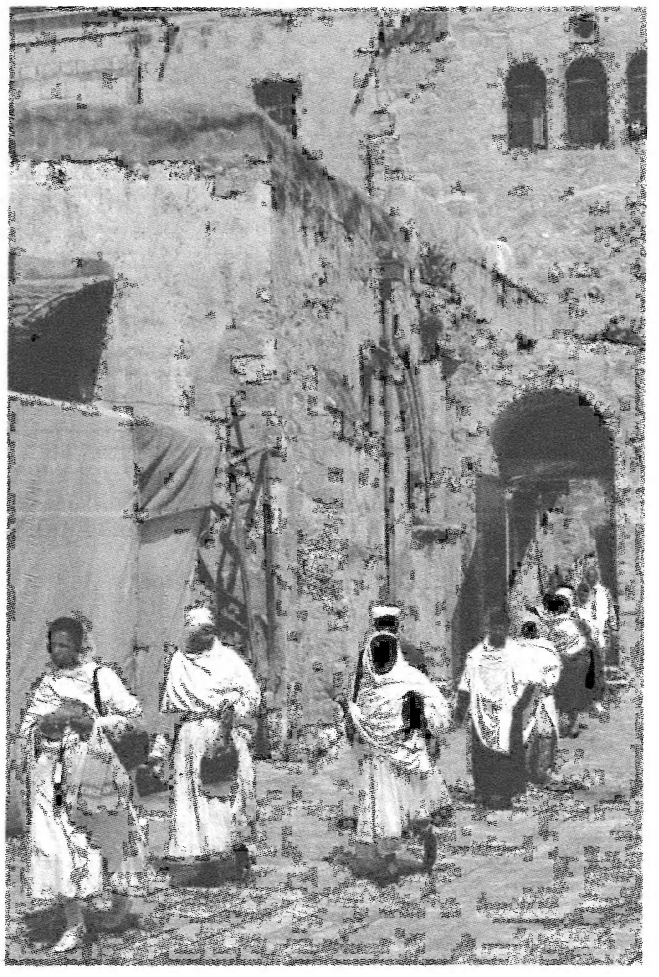
From these writings it becomes clear that the community flourished in the 14th– late 15th cent. It possessed four chapels within the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and a monastery on Mount Zion. However, we do not know exactly where the Ethiopians lived until the late 1470s, when European pilgrims began to write about their monastery in connection with the so-called cave of David on Mount Zion. The oldest testimony about their presence in ↗Dayr as-Sulṭān on the

roof of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre comes from a French pilgrim, maître Denis Possot, in 1530. Several other witnesses assert that towards the end of the 14th cent. the Ethiopians possessed two chapels at least, including that of Golgotha, within the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and that two Ethiopian monks lived locked up by the Muslim rulers in the church together with monks from several other Christian communities. They also testify that the Ethiopians were the leaders of the famous light ceremony on Holy Saturday at the Holy Sepulchre (↗*Rədätä bərhan*), and during the ↗Mamlūk period Ethiopian pilgrims enjoyed partial or complete exemption from the heavy taxes demanded by the Muslim authorities from other pilgrims. This seems to have been because of Egyptian fears that the Ethiopians would hinder the ↗Nile waters from reaching Egypt.

Like many other Christian nations, Ethiopia since the 12th cent. had its own local "J.", in this case built or rather carved into the mountain at Roḥa by the Zagʷe emperor ↗Lalibäla (a contemporary and, possibly, a correspondent of the Ayyubid *sulṭān* Ṣalāḥaddīn, then ruling the Holy Places) whose name the site bears today. The toponyms (Däbrä Zäyt, i.e. Mount of Olives, Betä Golgota, i.e. Golgotha, the stream Yordanos, i.e. Jordan) recall J., so do the symbolic references to the sites of Adam's and Christ's tombs. The ↗Aksum Ṣəyon cathedral, too, traditionally believed to be the dwelling place of the ↗Ark of the Covenant, was seen as a replica of the Solomonic Temple of J.

The rise of Ottoman Turkey and the wars of ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī caused a swift impoverishment and decline of Ethiopian community in J. Several learned monks emigrated from J. to Europe at that time. In particular, the well-known *abba* Ṭomas or Wäldä Samuʾel Bahtawi and *abba* Ṗeṭros "Aethiops" or ↗Täsfä Ṣəyon went to ↗Rome became valuable informants for European scholars.

From descriptions of the Ethiopian community in J. in foreign sources from the 16th till the end of the 19th cent. it is clear that it lost its privileges in the holy places and was finally confined to the dilapidated Dayr as-Sulṭān, claimed by the Copts since the 18th cent. From both Coptic and Ethiopian sources we hear of the arrival in 1774 of a certain Egyptian by the name of Ibrāhīm Ǧawharī and his eight slaves at Dayr as-Sulṭān, and of the disturbances he caused there.



The Holy Sepulchre, Jerusalem; from Amakkälä Gäbäyyähu Gərmaye 2000:15

During his pilgrimage of 1793–94, a Russian pilgrim hieromonk Meletij of Sarov witnessed a violent dispute between Coptic and Ethiopian monks, whereby the latter used sticks to chase the former away.

Things began to improve for the Ethiopian community in J. in the 19th cent. *Aṣe* ↗Tewodros II, ↗Yoḥannəs IV, ↗Mənilək II and ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I, as well as *ətege* ↗Ṭaytu Bəṭul, ↗Zäwditu, ↗Mänän Asfaw, and various Ethiopian nobles took great interest in the community, buying land and erecting buildings in the Holy Land. From the end of the 19th cent, the J. monastery was considered an imperial one.

The quarrels and disputes with the Copts continued, however, throughout the 19th and 20th cent., neither of the two communities having been hitherto able to prove indisputably their right of possession in the monastery. As a result, neither can make repairs to the dilapidated buildings where the Ethiopians live. It was as late as 1966 that running water, electricity and bathrooms with modern toilet facilities were

Ethiopians ("Indians") in Jerusalem in a 15th cent.-illustration, a priest (left) and a layman (right); from von Breydenbach 1486

for the first time installed in Dayr as-Sulṭān by the Jordanian governor of J. As a reaction, the Copts stoned the Ethiopian Easter procession from surrounding roofs. In 1970 the Ethiopians broke into the chapels that had been locked by the Copts since 1890; it is still debated whether the break-in was legitimate.

Ḫaylä Śəllase appointed the head of Dayr as-Sulṭān who until 1951 had the title of *mäggabi* or *raʾəs*, from then of bishop, and since 1972 archbishop. Since the fall of the emperor in 1974, the archbishop is appointed like all other bishops by the patriarch. The *wanna mäggabi* is the assistant of the archbishop, and each of the seven houses of the monastery has its own responsible *mäggabi*. The *dänb* (rule) given in 1924 by empress Zäwditu and the co-regent Täfäri Mäkʷännən to the monastery prescribes that the monastic counsel should consist of twelve members chosen and presented to the superior by the monks. The nuns chose their *əmmä mənet* ('prioress') who, however, has to be accepted by the archbishop.

In the year 2000 the community was headed by an archbishop and owned, apart from Dayr as-Sulṭān, six more monasteries in the country: the Ethiopian Archbishop's residence near the eighth station of the *Via dolorosa* in East J. (since 1876), Däbrä Gännät in West J. (since 1884), the Ethiopian monastery in Jericho (since the 1920s), Holy Trinity Monastery at the site of the Baptism of Christ (since 1933), Məskabä Qəddusan Monastery at Bethany (since the 1950s) and Däbrä Sälam Monastery at Bethlehem (since 1990).

Məskabä Qəddusan, lit. 'Resting place of the Qəddusan', is called so because it is connected with the cemetery of the community, and those Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Christians who settled in the Holy Land are traditionally known as *qəddusan*, 'the holy ones' – in fact, the (permanent) members of the community.

Däbrä Gännät monastery has the largest Ethiopian church in the Holy Land and the only circular one (↗Church buildings). Built by Emperors Yoḥannəs IV and Mənilək II between 1884–93, it is dedicated to the Kidanä Məḥrät. Since it is the only Marian sanctuary, all the ↗feasts of the Virgin ↗Mary are celebrated there. A small nunnery also belongs to the monastery. From 1948 till 1967 it was the only Ethiopian monastery situated in Israeli territory, but like the others it was under the authority of the *mämhər* (sine 1951 bishop and since 1972 archbishop) of the Old City of J.

While the Ethiopian community in J. has historically been dominated by the monastic community, there is also a small lay community. Prior to the arrival of Ethiopian immigrants, these were estimated at ca. 300 (Stoffregen Pedersen 1983:155). In the past two decades this has certainly grown. Moreover, since the restoration of diplomatic relations between Ethiopia and Israel in 1990 (broken off in 1973), the number of pilgrims who arrive at Easter through the J. Memorial Society of Ethiopian Believers has also grown.

Despite the fact that ↗Beta Ǝsraʾel routinely spoke of their desire to reach J., only a small percentage of the more than 100,000 Beta Ǝsraʾel living in Israel have settled in the city. The lack of employment opportunities, high cost of housing and comparatively cold climate are all factors in this situation. However, J. remains religiously important to Ethiopian Israelis. In particular, the annual fall pilgrimage festival of ↗*Səgd* and the newly created memorial day (late May-early June) for Ethiopian Jews who died on their way to Israel are both celebrated in J.

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Kirsten Stoffregen Pedersen

Jesuits

Jesuits in the 16th and 17th cent.

The J. Order (also Society of Jesus, Lat. *Societas Jesu*) was founded in 1534 by ↗Ignatius of Loyola and six other companions, and approved in 1540 by Pope Paul III. The mission to Ethiopia was one of its first projects, combining the interests of the King of ↗Portugal Dom ↗João III to convert the ↗Prester John and of Ignatius to place the new Catholic order in the new-found lands of Asia. Its main purpose was the "reduction" of Ethiopia, meaning thereby the subjection of her church to Rome, the adoption of Tridentine Catholicism and the enforcement of political and cultural changes in the country.

I. History

First period: 1555–1603

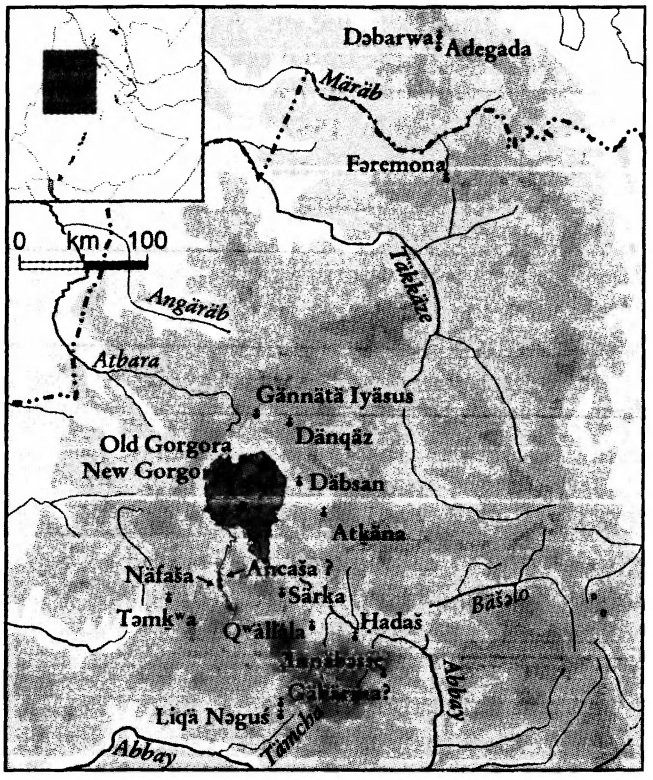
The mission began in 1555 with *mestre* ↗Rodrigues and Fulgencio Freire being sent to reconnoitre. They travelled with a veteran of Christovão da ↗Gama's expedition, Diogo Dias, who also acted as unofficial ambassador of Portugal. Rodrigues met *aṣe* ↗Gälawdewos at his palace in ↗Wäğ (ConzGal ch. 47) and informed the Jesuits in Goa of the unwillingness of the ruler to convert to ↗Catholicism. As a result, the J. decided to reduce the initial expedition of twelve missionaries (including Patriarch João Nunes ↗Barreto) to six. In 1557, Bishop Andrés de ↗Oviedo, António ↗Fernandes [1], Francisco Lopes, Gonçalo ↗Cardoso, Manuel ↗Fernandes and Andrés Gualdames reached the Ethiopian coast – the latter promptly left the mission and was killed in ↗Massawa by the Turks in 1562 whilst trying to leave for ↗India.

The missionaries met Gälawdewos in 1557–58, who openly refused to submit to Catholicism (ConzGal chs. 54–55). Nonetheless, he tolerated the J. and let them settle in ↗Təgray. There they counted on the support of the Portuguese living in Ethiopia since 1541 and of *baḥər nägaš* ↗Yəsḥaq. They moved around for a few years, settled briefly in ↗Dəbarwa, and then ca. 1566 founded a residence in the ᶜAdwa plateau (↗Fəremona). From there they made frequent visits to the surrounding areas (including ↗Aksum), befriended local monastic leaders (such as the *mämhər* of ↗Ǝnda Abba Gärima; BecRASO XI, 109), and ministered to a small Catholic community formed mostly by Ethio–Portuguese. In this way the mission remained separate from royal power; under *aṣe* ↗Minas it suffered open hostility but under *aṣe* ↗Śärṣä Dəngəl relations were friendly though never resulting in any partnership. Between ca. 1575–85, Francisco Lopes also preached in ↗Dämbəya, where a group of Ethio–Portuguese had recently been settled by the emperor.

In 1597, the last of the missionaries, Lopes, died, and thus the first period of mission came to an end without any substantial achievements. Yet, the archbishop of Goa, Dom Frei Aleixo de Meneses, managed to send two more J., the Syrian Abraham de Georgiis and the brahman Belchior de Sylva, in 1595 and 1598 respectively. The former was killed in Massawa on landing but the latter was able to reach Fəremona and stay with the Catholics until the opening of the second missionary phase.

Second period: 1603–32

The arrival in 1603 of Father Pedro ↗Paez revived the missionary project. He worked with success first with *aṣe* ↗Zädəngəl and then with *aṣe* ↗Susənyos. Under Paez's guidance and with the assistance of four other companions (Luis de ↗Azevedo, Lorenzo Romano, António ↗Fernandes [2] and Francesco Antonio de Angelis), the mission made significant progress.



The J. assumed influential positions with the nobility and at the Emperor's court. Amongst the friends they made, besides the Emperor, were his half-brother ↗Səᶜəlä Krəstos, his cousin *abetohun* ↗Bəᶜəlä Krəstos (d. 1615), *abetohun* Zädəngəl, the governors of Təgray ↗Kəflä Wähid and Kaᵓəbä Krəstos, Buko, governor of ↗Damot, and a number of priests (BecRASO VI, 277). With their patronage, the mission expanded. In 1607, after a failed attempt to settle in Maraba, ↗Səmen, a residence in ↗Gorgora was founded (cf. Pennec 2003:139ff.). Around 1611, thanks to Səᶜəlä Krəstos's patronage, they opened a house in ↗Qʷälläla (Goğğam) and then, towards the end of the decade, another in Ancaša (Agäw).

The missionaries also faced strong hostility. Court intrigues and religious discussions prevailed throughout the 1610s. However, in a battle fought in May 1617 Susənyos dealt a mortal blow to his principal opponents. *Abunä* ↗Səmᶜon, ↗Yolyos and ↗Kəflo were killed, and the powerful *ras* ↗Atnatewos was exiled to Amhara (BecRASO XI, 384f., 426; PerChron 129ff.); Yämanä Krəstos, half-brother of the ruler and one of the rebels, was however pardoned (ibid. 386).

After this episode the allegiance to Catholicism of Susənyos and part of his court was complete and public. On 1 November 1621, he made an open profession of Catholicism and rejection of Orthodoxy. As a result, he asked the J. to establish a new settlement at ↗Azäzo (↗Gännätä Iyäsus). These events initiated the most active decade of the mission, and between 1620–24, twelve more men joined. In 1625, after years of discussions, negotiation and intelligence gathering, Patriarch Afonso ↗Mendes arrived, together with six other companions and a train of 13 servants (BecRASO VI, 455; Lobo 1971:255).

Under Mendes's Patriarchate the mission established a number of new residences: Tanqha (Təmḳʷa, Tumha, 1624–25), Depeçan (1628-29) and Näfaša (1630–31) in ↗Agäw Mədər; Gäbärma (Gabrama, 1624–25) and Ləğ Nəguś (Liqä Nəguś, 1626) in ↗Damot; Ḥadaša (Adaxa, 1625–26), Särka (1625–26) and Ǝnnäbəsse (1626), in Goğğam; Atḳäna (Accana, 1624–25), ↗Dänqäz (1626–27) and Däbsan (↗Däbrä San, Däbsan, ↗Ǝnfraz, 1626–27), in Bägemdər; New Gorgora (1626); Dəbarwa (1625–26) and Adegada (1626–27), in Təgray. In 1628 and 1630, a further eight men joined the mission, including the Bishop with rights of succession Apollinar de ↗Almeida whilst conversions progressed, especially in the southern areas of the ↗Agäw and Damot.

During this time, significant religious and cultural reforms were accomplished: the ordination of Catholic priests, the translation of the Latin liturgy and rebaptism *sub conditione* of non-Catholics. However, together with Susənyos's administrative policies, these changes aroused the opposition of monks, ecclesiastics, the population at large, and some of the ruler's relatives – among whom were *ətege* Səlṭan Mogäsa ↗Wäld Säᶜala (BecRASO I, 481) and ↗Ḥamälmal Wärq (s. vol. 5), respectively wife and mother of Susənyos. Discontent grew and rebellions followed led by regional governors and rulers: in 1620 by Yonaᵓel, governor of Bägemdər (PerChron 200ff.); in ca. 1622, by "Korisseno", who was defeated; in 1624, by Yoḥannəs who led an uprising in Amhara; the same year, "Arao" (Arᵓayo?) rebelled in Təgray (ARSI, Goa 39 I, 220v, 236r; BecRASO XI, 481, 503). By 1630, *aṣe* Susənyos, exhausted and surrounded by enemies, was compelled to abolish many of the measures taken in favour of Catholicism. On 24 June 1632 he proclaimed the freedom of faith and shortly after, on 16 September, he died.

Persecution and exile

Susənyos was succeeded by his son *aṣe* ↗Fasilädäs, who, although once held by the J. as the perfect heir of his pro-Catholic father (cfr. ARSI, Goa 39 I, 236v), had no choice but to restore Ortho-

doxy and follow popular anti-Portuguese and anti-Catholic sentment, which saw the Jesuits as enemies of the faith and often referred to them with such negative epithets as "Chalcedonians", "wolves" and "Turks". He abolished pro-Catholic decrees, forbade the practice of Catholicism and ordered the expulsion of the J. This last move was motivated by the fears Fasilädäs had the J. might summon a military expedition from Portuguese India to come to their rescue.

There then ensued fierce persecution of the J. Among the anti-Catholic leaders were one Askadom from Təgray (cfr. BecRASO VII, 462–65) and the saint ↗Wälättä Ṗeṭros. In 1633 most of the J. took refuge in Fəremona, the year in which a large contingent (including Manoel de ↗Almeida, Manoel ↗Barradas, Mendes, Jerónimo ↗Lobo) went to ↗Sawākin en route to India. At least eight (Luis de Azevedo, Luis Cardeira, Jacinto Francisco, Gaspar Paes, Bruno Bruni, Francico Rodrigues, João Pereira and Apollinar de Almeida), however, decided to stay and went into hiding, mostly in Dämbəya and Təgray. Local Catholics helped them: Bruni and Cardeira took refuge at ↗ƎnḍaAbba Sälama and the governor of ↗Tämben, Zämaryam, protected Cardeira; Almeida enjoyed the help of one Kəflä Maryam. During the remaining years of the decade all died, most at the hands of the Orthodox: Paes and Pereira in 1635, Almeida, Francisco and Rodrigues in 1638, Bruni and Cardeira in 1640. In 1665, *aṣe* Fasilädäs ordered the burning of Catholic books, probably the remains of the important library gathered by the missionaries at Gorgora (BegChron 53).

Following this, the ↗Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide entrusted the battered Ethiopian mission to other orders (↗Franciscans and ↗Capuchins) and de facto closed the doors to any renewal of the mission by J. priests.

In the course of time, the Ethiopian Catholic community died out. Some might have joined Orthodoxy while others went into exile, like *abba* ↗Gorgoryos. The Ethio–Portuguese were definitively expulsed in 1669 under ↗Yoḥannəs I (GuiIohan 10f.).

II. Political aspects and missionary methods

Seeking collaboration with local governors and the nobility was an important element of the J. missionary strategy. However, this was also determined by the serious political crisis that affected Ethiopia in the early 17th cent., when power accumulated by local governors challenged the monarchy. Hence, rulers like Zädəngəl and Susənyos found it useful to collaborate with the missionaries, for J. political ideas promised to strengthen their position (Chernetsov in PICES 10). Another aspect was adaptation to the local milieu, the missionaries for example learning local languages and traditions and using them in their preaching.

Still, as a new force in the Ethiopian arena, Catholicism played more than a mere political role. The J. tried to develop an Ethiopian Catholic culture. They used their rhetorical as well as painting, music and drama skills in order to reach their Ethiopian audience.

The J. also believed it was necessary to develop consistent arguments in order to grapple with the Christological and theological dogmas of Ethiopian Christianity. Theological debates were held in both oral and written forms The missionaries translated several theological works into Gəᶜəz, some with the active encouragement of Susənyos and his brother Səᶜälä Krəstos (BecRASO XI, 282, 318, 375). They translated liturgical and theological treatises written by the great Catholic reformers, as well as simpler texts for children and adults to learn about the "truths of Catholicism". In addition, they composed their own texts to refute the theological tenets of Ethiopian Christianity (Cohen 2005). In all of this, they were helped by Ethio–Portuguese and Catholic Ethiopians (among those mentioned are Akalä Krəstos, *azzaž* Ṭinno [↗Täklä Śəllase] and Fəqrä Ǝgziᵓə, a savant from Goğğam; BecRASO XI, 307, 420ff.; ARSI, Goa 39 I bis, 108v).

III. Religious debates

Some of the religious controversies between J. and Ethiopians were focused on Christological issues (↗Christology) and ritual and religious practices. Catholics advocated the doctrine of the two natures of Christ after incarnation, which was translated into Gəᶜəz as አሐዱ፡ አካል፡ ወክልኤቱ፡ ጠባይ (*Aḥadu akal wäkəlᵓetu ṭäbay*, 'One person and two natures'; Fernandes 1642:103). In opposition, the Ethiopian Church refuted Dyophysism and the doctrine of the Council of ↗Chalcedon, and supported a formula that expressed "a strong concern for the unity of person as a principle of divine-human action in Jesus Christ who is the Son of man, "One and the Same" (↗Monophysitism).

Another point of conflict was the *Filioque*. Since the schism with the Eastern Churches in 1054, Latin Catholicism maintained that the Holy Ghost came from the Father and the Son

while Eastern Churches opposed this position and held instead that the Holy Ghost descended from the Father alone.

The J. condemned the Ethiopian position on the creation of the souls – commonly known as "Traducianism" – which maintained that all souls come from the soul of Adam and were transmitted from father to son. They suggested that whilst on the seventh day God stopped creating new things, there was no inconsistency in the continuing creation of souls, since they were not new things, neither had they been created in the way God created the first one.

Both traditions used the Scriptures and the writings of the Church fathers, in particular St. Paul, to support their Christological positions. Thus, theological contrasts were in many cases the result of different interpretation of the O.T. and N.T. J. ideas were expounded in treatises like the ↗*Mäqśäftä ḥassätat*.

The Orthodox, in their turn, translated Coptic Christian texts from Arabic into Gəᶜəz, over a period from the mid-16th to the second half of the 17th cent. These were complemented by a series of original essays that provided a response to J. attacks against Ethiopian Christianity (ed. Cerulli 1960).

Questions regarding the sacraments and ritual practices became central in the debates between the two parties. The J. objected that in Ethiopia instead of a single uniform formula several different formulas were used during ↗baptism and complained, referring to the *Ṭəmqät*, that it was "repeated" every year. They criticized the use of raisins with water instead of wine in the ↗Eucharist and persistently undermined the authority of Ethiopian priests to celebrate mass. Practices such as ↗circumcision and observance of the ↗Sabbath were prohibited. The J. attributed them a Jewish origin and relentlessly spoke against them in their preachings, refusing to accept them in either a religious or a cultural sense.

IV. Culture, art and architecture

Amongst the most interesting aspects of the mission were cultural and artistic developments. Throughout the whole missionary period, but especially during the 1620s, the J. imported a number of artistic and cultural objects and forms. The goal was the creation in Ethiopia of a missionary culture, where conversion to Catholicism went hand in hand with the adoption of cultural forms from Portuguese India and Europe. In addition, their aim was to provide Susənyos's court with exclusive luxury goods to increase his symbolic prestige.

Among the most renowned examples of this are the architectural works at Fəremona and in the residences around Lake Ṭana (↗Gorgora, ↗Dänqäz, ↗Ǝnfraz, ↗Gännätä Iyäsus, ↗Märṭulä Maryam, Qʷälläla). In the first residence, the J. built an imposing fortress, probably with the help of masons from the Ethio–Portuguese community and some of the Italian missionaries. Missionaries with a specificly architectural training worked in the Lake Ṭana area: Brother João Martins, who had been involved in the church of St. Paul at ↗Diu and designed the church at Gorgora, Father Bruno Bruni (both arrived in 1625) who led the remarkable restoration of Märṭulä Maryam, and Brother Francisco Rodriguez (arrived 1625), mason at Dänqäz.

Music and theatre also acquired prominence during the second mission. At the schools of Fəremona and Gorgora Father Luis Cardeira (arrived 1624) taught singing and playing instruments to the children and he also performed at the royal court (ARSI 246r; 222v). Dramas and tragedies were also staged, the first in 1625 at Gännätä Iyäsus, Fəremona and Dänqäz, on the occasion of the celebrations for the canonization of Ignatius of Loyola and Francis Xavier (ARSI, Goa 39 I, 250v–52r). In the plastic arts, the J. imported a number of images, in the form of both prints (images of St. Francis Xavier, St. Ignatius, the Fathers of the Church) and icons. Sculpture seems to have also been practised, though to a lesser extent. Father Gaspar Paes produced a figure of Francisco de Borgia to celebrate his beatification from 1624 (ARSI, Goa 39 II, 422r).

The missionaries imported large numbers of objects for domestic use, above all into the court of Susənyos (BecRASO XI, 331) and into their own residences. These included furniture (beds) and clothes from India (also used to dress the newly converted, cf. BecRASO XI, 408f.), Chinese porcelain and liturgical objects (chalices, processional crosses, vestments for the Patriarch and his aides), probably of Iberian and Italian origin.

Finally, the J. played a role in ↗education. At the seminaries in Gorgora and Fəremona, children were taught to write in Portuguese and local languages (↗Amharic and ↗Təgrəñña). They probably followed a similar curriculum to that of the college of S. Paulo in Goa, being trained in rhetoric, humanities, philosophy and theology.

V. Reactions and impact

The J. presence brought lasting changes to the Empire. The foundation of a fixed capital in ↗Gondär was the logical consequence of the developments which started during the long collaboration between Susənyos and Paez. In addition, under the influence of the mission, vernacular languages (Amharic and, reportedly, Təgrəñña) achieved literary status (Böll 2000) and translation of works into Gəᶜəz was also given a stimulus (↗Historical books, biblical; ↗Hymns).

Some objects imported by the J. had a widespread impact. The icon of the Virgin of "St. Luke" from Sta. Maria Maggiore (Rome) became from the 17th cent. onwards the principal source for indigenous iconology on Mary in the Lake Ṭana region, Dämbəya and elsewhere (ChojPaint). The import of a number of plants from India and Europe (in 1618 an annual letter mentions as "new plants" vine arbors, peach, orange and papaya trees; BecRASO XI, 415) may also be the origin of their subsequent cultivation in Ethiopia. The J. also shared an admiration for Ethiopian Christian culture. Using their fine historiographic and ethnographic skills they thus provided valuable descriptions of its traditions and diversity (↗Historiography: Portuguese). Thanks to their writings they also increased the awareness of Ethiopia in Europe (↗Ludolf) and inspired subsequent travels by Europeans to the kingdom (↗Heyling; ↗Wansleben).

In the religious sphere, discussions between J. and Orthodox clergy stimulated Christological thought amongst Ethiopian monks. The most prominent among the new Christological formulations from this period was the Unctionist doctrine (↗*Qəbat*), which gathered momentum in Təgray. Its position was mid-way between the doctrines of Unionism (↗*Täwaḥədo*) and Catholic Dyophysism. Unlike the former, the Unctionist view accepted the separation between the divinity and humanity of Christ as postulated by the Catholics. If the Unionist doctrine maintained that "for humanity, the union of the divinity (with it) replaces unction for it", the Unctionists were closer to the Catholics in stating that "the Father is the anointer, the Son the anointed, and the Holy Spirit the ointment". It also maintained that the Holy Ghost was the ointment through which Christ had become the Son of God. This unction, besides making Christ king and supreme priest, made Him the natural Son of God, even in His humanity. Still, both *Qəbat* and *Täwaḥədo* followed the tradition of the Eastern Orthodox Churches.

↗Missions

Src.: Archivum Romanum Societatis Jesu [ARSI], Goa 39 I, 220v, 222v, 236r–v, 246r, 250v–52r; Goa 39 I bis, 108v; Goa 39 II, 422r; BecRASO I, 481; VI, 277, 455; VII, 462–65; XI, 109, 282, 307, 318, 331, 375, 408f., 415, 420ff., 481, 503; ENRICO CERULLI (ed., tr.), *Scritti teologici etiopici dei secoli XVI–XVII*, vol. 2: *La storia dei Quattro Concili ed altri opuscoli monofisiti*, Città del Vaticano 1960; ConzGal 47, 54–55; ANTÓNIO FERNANDES, *Magseph assetat idest Flagellum mendaciorum* ..., Goa 1642, 103; GuiIohan 10f. (text) = 9ff. (tr.); JERÓNIMO LOBO, *Itinerário e outros escritos inéditos* [ca.1668], ed. by P.M. GONÇALVES DA COSTA, Barcelos 1971, 255; LudHist liv. III, cap. 11; PerChron 129ff., 200ff., 259.

Lit.: VERENA BÖLL, "Das jesuitische Intermezzo in Äthiopien", in: JOHANNES MEIER (ed.), "... *usque ad ultimum terrae*": *Die Jesuiten und die transkontinentale Ausbreitung des Christentums, 1540–1773*, Göttingen 2000, 137–51; SEVIR B. CHERNETSOV, "The Role of Catholicism in the History of Ethiopia of the First Half of the 17th Century", in: *PICES* 10, vol. 1, 205–12; ChojPaint 217–89; LEONARDO COHEN, "The Jesuit Missionary as Translator (1603–1632)", in: VERENA BÖLL et al. (eds.), *Ethiopia and the Missions: Historical and Anthropological Insights*, Münster 2005, 7–30; ID. – ANDREU MARTÍNEZ, "The Jesuit Mission in Ethiopia: an Analytical Bibliography", *Aethiopica* 7, 2006, 190–212; HERVÈ PENNEC, *Des Jésuites au royaume du prêtre Jean (Éthiopie): stratégies, rencontres et tentatives d'implantation 1495–1633*, Paris 2003, 139ff.

Leonardo Cohen – Andreu Martínez

Jesuits in Ethiopia after 1945

The J., with a worldwide experience in education, returned to Ethiopia in response to a request made by ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I to reorganize, run and develop the Täfäri Mäkʷännən School (TMS), an elementary school founded by the regent in ↗Addis Abäba in 1924. This venture was to be educational but not missionary, at the behest of the Ethiopian partners. The Emperor further requested that the J. be from Canada, and neither wear clerical clothes nor become involved in religious proselytism.

Starting from August 1945, and for the next 30 years, the J. presence in Ethiopia was closely associated with their work at the TMS (which later developed into the University College of Addis Ababa [UCAA], then Ḫaylä Śəllase I University, later ↗Addis Ababa University). They helped in organising and managing it, as well as being involved in teaching arts, languages, sciences and handicrafts. In addition, they published textbooks and produced educational programmes that had an impact on the Ethiopian educational system.

The first group of J. to arrive in the country in 1945 was headed by Fr. Dr. Lucien ↗Matte and

included Frs. Léon Zipfel, Louis-Joseph Prévost and Guillaume Béland. In January 1947, Mgr. Theodore Monnens (d. 1956, Addis Abäba), a Belgian J., was sent as unofficial Delegate of the Holy See with the mission of supporting the Catholic Church in the country, still suffering from the consequences of war and subsequent deportations.

The UCAA began activities on 11 December 1950, under the direction of Matte and a team of J. and other colleagues. Among them there was the art historian Stanisław Chojnacki, who set up the College's Library, which he directed until 1963, and Museum. Soon after that, the Faculties of Arts and Science and an evening school of Law were opened. In August 1954, for the first time in the history of the country, Ethiopian students received university degrees from an Ethiopian institution.

In 1957, the J. Dr. Pierre Gouin founded the Geophysical Observatory at the Science Faculty of the UCAA, which he directed until 1978. The Observatory produced important seismological observations and Gouin himself wrote the reference work *Earthquake History of Ethiopia and the Horn of Africa* (1979).

In response to the need for adult education, in 1948, the J. started the Bərhane Zare Näw ('Today is my Light') Institute, which in the beginning catered to the educational needs of the members of the ↗Imperial Bodyguard, the ↗Air Force and civil servants. In 1954, this Institute became the Extension Department of the UCAA.

With the creation of the University in 1961, the J. were no longer in charge of the educational facilities they helped to develop. However, due to their expertise, they continued to lecture and hold for some years various administrative positions in the University. The last Canadian J. to leave the University was Claude Sumner, who devoted over 45 years to research and lecturing in the field of philosophy.

Since 1976, the J. have diversified their activities. They continue to be present in the educational field with the teaching of modern languages and science in Catholic schools and also lecturing on philosophy and theology in Catholic institutions of higher education for the training of the clergy. In 1977, they started what later developed into the Galilee Centre near ↗Däbrä Zäyt, an institution that serves the educational needs, mainly of Ethiopian Catholic Church personnel, and offers a wide range of courses (Ministry, Peace and Reconciliation, Development). Being engaged for the last 30 years in development work, the J. have managed since 1982 a Refugee Service working especially among the displaced and refugees. Since their arrival in 1945, nearly 100 J. have spent at least a year serving in different capacities in the country.

Lit.: MARCEL GAREAU, *Making All Things New: Fifty Years of Jesuit Presence in Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 1995 (Lit.); TESHOME G. WAGAW, *The Development of Higher Education and Social Change: an Ethiopian Experience*, East Lansing, MI 1990, 64ff.

Miguel Angel García

Jewellery

J. with its ethnic, social and religious reference plays a significant role in Ethiopia. Different local or imported materials enter into its composition (glass beads, semi-precious stones, amber, brass, iron, ivory, shells and other organic materials). Precious metals, however, are exclusive to Christians and Muslims for economic and cultural reasons. Thus, the metal ornaments of the southern populations are worked by ↗blacksmiths, whereas the Christians and the Muslims of northern and eastern regions, require the services of ↗goldsmiths. Silver, obtained by the melting down from ↗Maria Theresia thalers, is the most favoured metal for J. Besides some ↗Beğa ornaments, gold J. is the exception. Formerly reserved for emperors and the nobility, gold was also the prerogative of Muslim Oromo kings although, gold is prohibited by Qurʾānic tradition.

Pieces of J. are often part of the dowry of a girl and are passed from mother to daughter. Precious metal J. constitutes an asset to be used when necessary. A damaged item is brought to the jeweller who melts it down and transforms it into a new piece. It is thus rare to find old J. except as the objects of excavations and the ones purchased by European travellers from the beginning of the 19th cent. The oldest recorded piece in the collections of the Musée du quai Branly dates from 1840 and the British Museum has J. given by *nəgus* Śahlä Śəllase to the French traveller Théophile Lefebvre and the British ambassador William C. Harris.

Classification by technique, form and decoration makes it possible to identify nine main goldsmithing centres which are also city-markets located on the important trade routes. The filigree J. of ↗Aksum, which is characterized by its fineness, was very much appreciated by the

emperor and his court. Therefore, many Təgrayan goldsmiths followed the imperial court to its final location in Addis Abäba where Təgrayans command almost all of the J. market.

↗Harär is an important Muslim centre frequented by the Somali, the Oromo and the Harari. The presence of Jewish Yemenite silversmiths determined a style of filigree decoration with medium-gauge wire, a craft industry itself inherited from the Hellenistic world. The production is characterized by an overload of ornaments applied to a silver sheet backing following a decorative register of rosettes, lozenges, bands of twisted and beaded wires, S-scrolls, domes and granulated motifs.

In the highlands of Bägemdər, Wällo and Šäwa, the antique technique of lost wax casting survived for small pieces of J., e.g., crosses, rings and ear-picks suspended from the ↗*mätäb*. Ornaments of greater dimension seem to reproduce ancient models. Therefore, bracelets, earstuds and necklaces with pendants, decorated by repoussé and stamping, show close relations with the objects of archeological excavations discovered in Ethiopia and in Egypt.

↗Gondär has the most conservative production of J., such that most specimens described by Quartin-Dillion in 1840 are still current. Cultural links with Egypt can be seen in some types of J., e.g., with the Ethiopian Orthodox cross and the *ammästəyyo* braclet (KaneDic 1126), a similar model to which decorated the wrist of Pharaoh Psousennes' mummy (Leclant 1987:254).

The goldsmiths of ↗Ankobär were renowned for the production of heavy pour cast honorific J. (e.g., *aqʷədama*, an ornament worn on the forehead), or earstuds, bracelets, diadems and necklaces of large size, the vegetal type of decoration of which (rosettes, flowers, spirals, palmettes) is produced by repoussé work and stamping techniques. The appearance, at the end of the 19th cent., of a very well worked kind of J. in free filigree decorated with settings of coloured glass, is undoubtedly related to the arrival of Armenian goldsmiths at Mənilək's court (GueCopMen 269, 275f.) The ↗Armenians, with the Təgrayan goldsmiths based near Arada, played a significant role in Addis Abäba by creating fine bracelets, necklaces, crowns, earstuds, medals for the emperor and the nobility, whilst a second centre of workshops, located around Addis Kätäma, is in the hands of Amhara, Yemenite and Indian craftsmen. They produce some types of the more usual J. (neck crosses, *ṭälsäm*-talismans, ear-picks) characterized by the use of a less fine silver and the simplification of patterns and forms.

↗Däse, an important meeting place for highland and lowland peoples, has since the beginning of the 20th cent. produced silver J. that reflects the influence of both Muslim and Christian cultures. This is exemplified in some models inspired by the Təgrayan *ʾanṭälṭälä*, in the use of conical or spherical bell pendants and in the mixed techniques of filigree and gravity pour casting (s. BassDic 538).

The ↗Argobba craftsmen of ↗Aləyyu Amba, a significant caravan halt until the beginning of 20th cent., are famous for their heavy silver cast J. Of high titre, it takes simple geometric forms decorated with domes and large granules and massive twisted wire bracelets.

↗Ǧimma, the capital of the old sultanate of Ǧimma Abbaa Ǧifaar, was a very prosperous city-market during the last century. Ǧimma's silver J. in applied filigree and looped chains is very fine and has an excellent purity. The decorative register and shapes testify to the stylistic influence of the nearby Christian and Muslim states. A very well worked kind of production in free filigree, appeared at the end of the 19th cent. in Ankobär, and is undoubtedly related to the arrival of Armenian goldsmiths (↗Armenians), who played a significant role at court, in particular in the production of medals and imperial crowns.

Apart from these gold and silver workshops, it is possible to find on the Red Sea coast imported examples of J., in particular from Oman, and metal pieces with simple forms forged by blacksmiths. When ornaments do not require the assistance of a metal craftsman, women may make their own personal J. While respecting a precise social and ethnic code, women create their own ornaments of copal or glass beads, of cowries, seeds and bone pendants. It is noteworthy that ↗ivory carved into bracelets or labrets is the privilege of hunters, and there exists among the ↗Daasänäč people of the Omo valley a language of colours in J. making associated with age groups and families.

Important collections of Ethiopian J. are to be found e.g., in the Musée du quai Branly (formerly Musée de l'Homme), the Museo Nazionale di Antropologia e Etnologia in Florence, the Museo Preistorico ed Etnografico "L.Pigorini" in Rome, the Völkerkundemuseum der Universität Zürich, the British Museum in London, Lindenmuseum in Stuttgart, the Museum für Völker-

kunde in Munich, the Smithsonian Institution and the Mingei International Museum in San Diego, California.

Src.: JEAN LECLANT, *Tanis. L'or des pharaons*, Paris 1987, 254, 258–61; GueCopMen 269, 275f.; KaneDic 1126.

Lit.: RACHEL HASSON, *Early and Later Islamic Jewellery*, 2 vols., Jerusalem 1987, vol. 1, 7–88, vol. 2, 83–103; CATHERINE VANDERHAEGHE, "Les bijoux éthiopiens, ornements ou symboles?", in: XAVIER VAN DER STAPPEN (ed.), *Æthiopia: pays, histoire, populations, croyances, art & artisanat*, Amsterdam 1996, 326–42; PankSoc 232, 235, 238f.; RAYMOND SILVERMAN – NEAL SOBANIA, "Silverwork in the Highlands: the Life and Work of Gezahegn Gebre Yohannes and Abib Sa'id", in: RAYMOND SILVERMAN (ed.), *Ethiopia: Traditions of Creativity*, Seattle 1999, 182–99, 271–72.

Catherine Vanderhaeghe

Bracelets

Bracelets and anklets, worn in pairs, decorate the wrists and the ankles of girls and women. Silver and more rarely gold are the materials employed by Christians and Muslims. The bracelets called by the generic term of *ambar* have shapes and designs specific to each area. The most widespread type is a bivalve cylinder, closed by a pin which slides through three hinges, a model dating back to Egyptian antiquity. It is a characteristic of Muslim women of the Harärge peoples, i.e. Somali, Harari and Oromo, to wear an armlet made of horn (Harari *šānḫēt*) or twisted silver (Harari *ṭumṭum*) on their upper arm.

Hamär women wearing iron bracelets and armlets, Turmi, Gamo Gofa; photo 2005, courtesy of Cheryl Chanter

The rich Amhara or Təgrayans wear a group of four pairs of silver anklets: a plain ring with polyhedric terminals (Tgn. *əgri ambar*, Amh. *yä'əgər ambar*) surmounts a filigree cylinder decorated with a fringe of conical small bells, while the instep is covered with two flexible anklets, the *albo*, comprising threads of small lenticular beads, and the *əgri kətab*, a series of long pendants which jingle while walking. In Muslim Harärge, the pubescent girl receives her first pair of anklets (*ḫiğl*, pl. *ḫuğul*) from her father. The ringing of small spheric bells attached around these hollow rings has a mainly prophylactic function.

Men do not wear bracelets except for *šaläqa* badges offered by the emperor to warriors to reward them for their bravery in combat. These consist, in addition to the heavy frontal ornament of the ቆጻማ (*qʷədamma*), of two honorific bracelets worn on the right arm: the ቢተዋ (*bitäwa*) is a conical cuff decorated with repoussé or filigree; the ጩፋ (*čufa*), a hollow ring of square section, engraved with crosses, is worn above the elbow. These silver or gold ornaments, worn during two or three months after the victorious battle, according to Cecchi (CecZeila vol. 1, 335) disappeared around 1930, at the moment when the expansionist wars against the non-Christian populations were ending.

Src.: CecZeila, vol. 1, 335, 349; BassDic 486; KaneDic 820, 919, 1109, 1129, 1187, 2242; WOLF LESLAU, *Etymological Dictionary of Harari*, Berkeley 1963 (University of California Publications, Near Eastern Studies 1), 146, 154; HADASSA SHY, "A Glossary of Goldsmithing Terms in Medieval Judaeo-Arabic", in: DEREK J. CONTENT (ed.), *Islamic Ring and Gems: the Benjamin Zucker Collection*, London 1987, 506

Lit.: HarAeth vol. 2, 379; MANSFIELD PARKYNS, *Life in Abyssinia*, London 1868, 233f.

Catherine Vanderhaeghe

Honorific head ornaments

Worn by kings, provincial and state leaders, high officers and brave warriors of the Ethiopian highlands, honorific head ornaments made of precious metal consist of ↗crowns (አክሊል, *aklil*), gold diadems (ራስ፡ ወርቅ, *ras wärq*), lion's mane headdresses (አንፋሮ, *anfarro*), massive silver forehead ornaments fringed with long chains (አቆጻማ, *aqʷədama*) and silver diadems with

three peaks (↗*Kallaččа*). Every item of headgear had its particular significance according to the rank of the noble or the bravery shown by the warrior during battle (↗Meritorious complex). Status was indicated by the amount of gold, precious stones and the fineness of the silver-work. Honorific head ornaments are part of a warrior's regalia including a shield embossed with silver (*ğafa gašša*), a damascened sabre (**ጎራዴ**, *gorade*), a cape of silk velvet or lion skin called ↗*lämd* and a large bracelet **ቢተዋ** (*bitäwa*). These were given by the emperor to successful military leaders and warriors at the triumphal return from battle, or on the occasion of the great annual review at *Mäsqäl*.

Crowns were the prerogative of kings although two Emperor's consorts, *ətege* Ṭaytu and *ətege* Mänän received their own crown, of smaller dimensions, during the ↗coronation ceremonies of 1889 and 1930. As a consequence of the emergence of several kingdoms by the early 19th cent., there was a notable difference between the crown of the *nəguś* and the one of the Emperor. The *nəguś* wore a conical embossed silver tiara that could be surmounted by a plume of white egret feathers, like the one of King Śahlä Śəllase described by Harris (HarAeth vol. 3, 18) or by a cross (s. the crown of Mənilək II as king of Šäwa designed by Cecchi, CecZeila vol. 2, 588). The imperial cylindrical-shaped gold crowns, produced by Təgrayan and Armenian goldsmiths ever since the reign of *aṣe* Yoḥannəs IV, show a profusion of filigree decoration, settings of precious stones and four rows of conical bells.

Among the most precious headornaments, the *ras wärq* is a gold diadem marking the rank of a provincial governor or ↗*ras* who was appointed by virtue of hard work and services rendered. Worn on ceremonial occasions as a sign of their high rank, this diadem often incrusted with precious stones and surmounted by an arc and three crosses, bore the effigy of the Emperor in a medallion.

The **አንፋሮ** (*anfarro*) consists of a thick lion's mane (↗Lion[s])) mounted on a narrow silver or gilded silver diadem with numerous tiny bells covering the forehead and fastened with yellow and green silk ribbons. *Aṣe* Tewodros was the first to allow his successful warriors to wear this impressive headdress, once the privilege of lion hunters, as part of their military uniform. Until the reformation of the army by *aṣe* Ḫaylä Śəllase I in the 1930s, the *anfarro* headdress was

Ləğ Iyasu wearing a honorific head ornament, during his time as the ruler of Ethiopia; from GueCopMen 624, pl. LXI

worn by high ranking officers (*ras* and ↗*azmač*) and by the emperor on the field of battle and during military parades or official receptions.

From the 1840s, European travellers in Ethiopia recorded the presence at the court of Šäwa of a curious headornament called *aqʷədama*. This heavy frontlet of silver, about 40 cm long, with many chains each ending in a rhombus and crescent shaped pendant, is surmounted by a cross, sometimes placed between two curved horns. This particular badge of honour, worn by *nəguś* Śahlä Śəllase, as well as by *ləğ* Iyasu in 1916, was awarded to cavalrymen who had slain ᶜAfar enemies. Two *aqʷədama* that were given as a royal gift to the Swiss engineer Alfred Ilg and French President Poincaré are kept in the collections of the Völkerkundemuseum der Universität Zürich and the Musée du Quai Branly in Paris.

In the Amhara highlands, the name **ካላቻ** (*kallaččа*) is given to a simple silver or gilded silver diadem lined with violet velvet with three triangle-shaped peaks. The decoration of vegetal type is produced by stamping, repoussé work and chasing; the upper edge is indented with a fringe of conical bells and two circular pendants covering the forehead and ears of the wearer.

This diadem was awarded to the officers who distinguished themselves during battle. *Kallaččа* diadems were usually worn over a silk or leather headband decorated with gold embroidery and a lion's mane (**አንበሳ ጋማ**, *anbässa gamma*), thus resembling the *anfarro*. This honorific headornament, abandoned at the time of Ḫaylä Śəllase I's reign, seems to be the stylised variation of the Oromo phallic headgear called *kallaččа* still used nowadays in Southern Ethiopia. This looks like a pointed phallus in cast zinc fixed on a large white conus shell, tied to the forehead of Boorana chiefs and Konso priests. The phallic *kallaččа*, a symbol of male potency and aggression, is closely associated with the horn of the rhinoceros, of a very similar shape, during rituals intended to destroy evil influences. The appearance of the *kallaččа* as an item of honorific headgear at the Gondärine court is probably connected with the marriage of *aṣe* Iyasu II to Wəbit, an Oromo noblewoman, in the middle of the 18th cent.

Engravings and drawings based on James Bruces's use of the camera obscura show that the "horn of victory", so named by the Scottish traveller, was worn by an Oromo chief (Pankhurst – Gérard 1996:19), and also by Kəflä Iyasus, commander of the army of *ras* Mikaʾel Səḥul of Təgray (Russel 1833:144) in the late 18th cent. George Annesley travelling in Təgray in 1805 describes horsemen with a horn of gold either perpendicular above their foreheads or projecting forwards. The phallic symbol as a single or a triple horn projecting from the forehead (CecZeila vol. 2, 497) is also to be seen on the conical gold crown of the king of Käfa (collection of the Institute of Ethiopian Studies in Addis Abäba).

Src.: JAMES THEODORE BENT, *The Sacred City of the Ethiopians* ..., London 1893, 171–72; CerEt 184–85; BERHANOU ABEBE, *Histoire de l'Ethiopie d'Axoum à la révolution*, Paris 1998; JOHN MARTIN BERNATZ, *Scenes in Ethiopia*, 2 vols., London 1952, vol. 2, 10; CecZeila vol. 1, 349ff, vol. 2, 497, 588; GueCopMen 269, pl. XII, 471, 624, pl. LXI (ill.); CHRISTOPHER ROBERT HALLPIKE, *The Konso of Ethiopia: a Study of the Values of a Cushitic People*, Oxford 1972, 149; HarAeth vol. 3, 19, 257; KaneDic 1505, 1254, 1187, 1371; MANSFIELD PARKYNS, *Life in Abyssinia being Notes Collected During Three Years' Residence and Travels in that Country*, London 1868, 234; ERNST FRIEDRICH ROHRER, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der materiellen Kultur der Amhara*, Bern 1932, 34ff.; PAUL SOLEILLET, *Voyages en Ethiopie (janvier 1882–octobre 1884)*, Rouen 1886, 98; GEORGE ANNESLEY VISCOUNT VALENTIA, *Voyages and Travels to India, Ceylon, the Red Sea, Abyssinia and Egypt*, 3 vols., London 1809, vol. 3, 132.

Lit.: ELISABETH BIASIO, *Prunk und Pracht am Hofe Menileks. Alfred Ilgs Äthiopien um 1900*, Zürich 2004; CATHERINE VANDERHAEGHE, *Les bijoux d'Ethiopie. Les centres d'orfèvrerie de 1840 à la fin du XXème siècle*, Ph.D. thesis, 3 vols., Louvain La Neuve 2001.

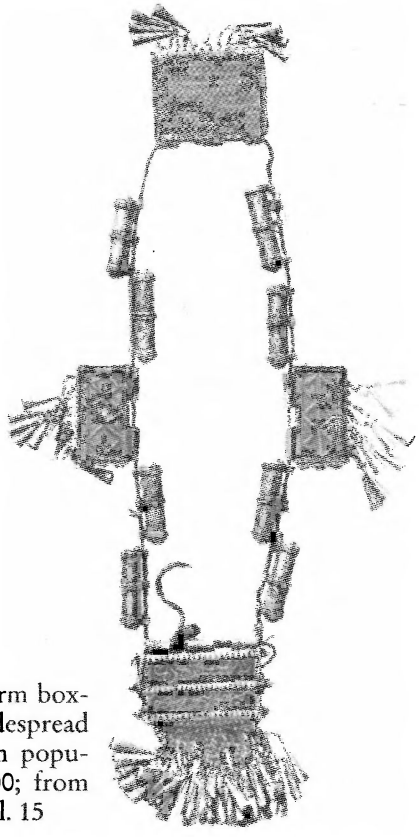
Ill.: R.P. [FRANÇOIS] AZAIS – ROGER CHAMBARD, *Cinq années de recherches archéologiques en Ethiopie*, Atlas, Paris 1931, plate 16; ACHILLE BIZZONI, *L'Eritrea nel passato e nel presente*, Milano 1897, 204; WILLIAM CORNWALLIS HARRIS, *Illustrations of Highlands of Æthiopia*, London 1844, pl. 26; THEOPHILE LEFEBVRE, *Voyage en Abyssinie exécuté pendant les années 1839–1843*, Paris 1845–48; RICHARD PANKHURST – DENIS GÉRARD, *Ethiopia Photographed: Historic Photographs of the Country and its People taken between 1867 and 1935*, London 1996, 19; MICHAEL RUSSEL, *Nubia and Abyssinia*, Edinburgh 1833, pl. 144.

Catherine Vanderhaeghe

Necklaces

The necklaces worn by women are mostly made up of amulets, intending to protect one of the most vulnerable parts of the body. The nomenclatura and morphology of these necklaces evoke, in their very great diversity, leather talismans. Even though magic scrolls (**ክታብ**, *kətab*) and dried medicinal plants were enclosed inside these amulets, most of the metal ones are now empty and have become more of a decorative item.

A filigree silver case in the shape of crescent or cylinder with domed ends (Arab. *ḥirzī*) is used as the main component of the necklaces worn by Muslim women. The addition of amber or red glass beads has an extra symbolic value, the yellow supporting lactation, the red stopping haemorrhage. In the Christian highlands, one of



Necklace with charm boxes, particularly widespread among the Muslim population, around 1900; from Hough 1911:276, pl. 15

the most popular silver or gold necklaces is the ↗*ṭälsäm* or *ašän kətab* (አሸን፡ ክታብ), a composition of triangular, semicircular and rectangular elements strung on a black silk cord.

Two types of ornament, the design of which evokes fertility, seem to be of very ancient origin: firstly, the *marda* (Oromiffa), necklaces of silver convex pendants, which decorate the necks of divinities of pre-Aksumite times as on the sphinx of ↗ᶜAddi Kramatən (Anfray 1990:42–44). The same form of pendant, an emblem of the Egyptian goddess Neith, was an amulet associated with renewal (Wilkinson 1971:26; Posener n.d., 259). The second type was found in a hiding place at ↗Mäṭära which delivered a gold specimen of an *ʾanṭälṭäla* (BassDic 538), a composition of elements in the shape of a clove or a pomegranate. This ornament is still very widespread in the north of Ethiopia.

The use of the dorsal counterweight as a component of the necklaces of Argobba, Amhara or Oromo of Ǧimma's women, also seems to go back to antiquity. The *sanqa dəri* formed of a multitude of fine chains connecting two or four pendentives filled with odoriferous resin, is very similar to the necklaces discovered in the tomb of the Tanite Pharaoh Pinedjem (11th cent. B.C.; Ziegler 1987:96).

Necklaces can also be simply decorative, even useful. The threads of Venetian glass beads or spherical silver beads (*muriya*), much appreciated by Somali and Muslim Oromo women, are inspired by Yemenite models. The *waqri* is a large cylinder-shaped gilded silver case with a side lid, similar to a hive (Harari *waqri*), suspended by two long chains decorated with inserted pieces of coloured glass. This necklace, specific to the Adäre, is offered by a fiancé to his future wife. The cylinder is indeed used to house lucky coins presented three days before the wedding. This same cylinder had already been used to collect money that the fiancé had received as a child when he was able to recite the Qurʾān by heart.

Src.: BassDic 538, 604; JAMES THEODORE BENT, *The Sacred City of the Ethiopians* ..., London 1893, 21, 124, 164; KaneDic 536, 1913, 1430, 2090; LefAbyss vol. 3, 284 and *Atlas*; WOLF LESLAU, *Etymological Dictionary of Harari*, Berkeley, CA 1963 (University of California Publications, Near Eastern Studies 1), 160; MANSFIELD PARKYNS, *Life in Abyssinia being Notes Collected During Three Years' Residence and Travels in that Country*, London 1868, 243.

Lit.: FRANCIS ANFRAY, *Les anciens Éthiopiens*, Paris 1990, 42–44; ID. – GUY ANNEQUIN, "Maṭarā, deuxième, troisième et quatrième campagnes de fouille", *AE* 6, 1965, 49–70; WALTER HOUGH, *The Hoffman Philip Abyssinian Ethnological Collection*, Washington 1911 (extract from *Proceedings of the United States National Museum* 40 [1819], 265–76), 276, pl. 15 (ill.); JACQUES MERCIER, *Le roi Salomon et les maîtres du regard: art et médicine en Ethiopie*, Paris 1992, 100f.; GEORGES POSENER, *Dictionnaire de la civilisation égyptienne*, Paris n.d., 259; WILLIAM A. SHACK, *The Central Ethiopians. Amhara, Tigriña and Related People*, London 1974, 46, 140; ALEX WILKINSON, *Ancient Egyptian Jewellery*, London 1971, 26; CHRISTIANE ZIEGLER, "Les arts du métal à la Troisième Période Intermédiaire", in: JEAN LECLANT, *Tanis. L'or des pharaons*, Paris 1987, 86–101.

Catherine Vanderhaeghe

Jewish influences ↗Judaism; ↗Betä Ǝsraʾel

João II

J. (b. 3 May 1455, Lisboa, d. 25 October 1495, Alvor), King of ↗Portugal (r. 1481–95), named "the Tyrant" and, by Nicolò Machiavelli, "the Perfect Prince", reinforced the overseas expansionist project initiated by his father, Afonso V, and inaugurated the long engagement of his country with Christian Ethiopia.

In the late 15th cent., one of the purposes of the Portuguese crown was to reach the Indian spice market. Portugal was aware of the strong Islamic presence in this region but at the same time confident in the existence of a highly powerful Christian "monarch-priest", the ↗Prester John. J.'s policies aimed at the systematization of navigation towards southern Africa and the quest for such a prestigious Christian potentate.

In 1487, J. sent Afonso de Payva and Pêro da ↗Covilhã to the east, via Cairo, with the mission to gather information about the spice markets, Indian harbours and the Indian Ocean sea routes, and to establish direct and formal communication between Ethiopia and Portugal. The envoys were provided with a navigation chart prepared by the theologian and cosmographer Diogo Ortiz de Vilhegas "Calzadilla", and the Jews mestre Rodrigo and José Vizinho. In 1488, the King received an Ethiopian monk, a certain "Lucas Marcos", who was sent back home with two letters proposing the establishment of regular contacts between Portugal and Ethiopia; allegedly, Lucas Marcos could not accomplish the mission. Later on, the King sent to Cairo new instructions for Payva (who had already died in the meantime) and Covilhã, emphasizing his desire for an alliance with Ethiopia. In 1494, Covilhã was able to reach the camp of *aṣe* ↗Ǝskəndər, but J. never learned about it as he died in the subsequent year. J. was succeeded by his brother-in-law, Dom ↗Manoel I.

↗Red Sea

Lit.: ISABEL BOAVIDA, *Etiópia e Portugal no século XVI: encontros e equívocos*, in preparation; CHARLES RALPH BOXER, *The Portuguese Seaborne Empire (1415–1825)*, London 1969; LUÍS FILIPE THOMAZ, "O projecto imperial joanino", in: ID., *De Ceuta a Timor*, Lisboa 1994, 149–67; GEORGE D. WINIUS, "The Enterprise Focused on India: the Work of D. João II", in: ID., *Portugal, the Pathfinder: Journeys from the Medieval toward the Modern World, 1300–ca.1600*, Madison 1995, 89–120.

Isabel Boavida

João III

Dom J. (b. 6 June 1502, Lisboa, d. 11 June 1557, Lisboa), named "the Pious", was king of ↗Portugal (r. 1521–57). He succeeded his father Dom ↗Manoel I. Under his rule, Portugal reached its widest expansion to the Far East and the Atlantic, with the definitive acquisition of ↗Diu in 1546.

Dom J. was a reformer monarch and committed to the propagation of Catholicism – he established the tribunal of the Inquisition and expelled most of the Portuguese Jews. Under him, and with the help of the ↗Jesuit order – present at the court since 1540 – Portuguese overseas policy took a decisively religious drift. This was reflected in the policy towards Ethiopia. Thus, when the envoy ↗Ṣägga Zäʾab reached Lisbon in 1527, he received a cool welcome. Likewise, the letters Dom Rodrigo da ↗Lima brought from *aṣe* ↗Ləbnä Dəngəl (BeckHuntAlvar 494–506) led to divergent interpretations: whilst the Emperor aimed at an alliance with a western state and requested craftsmen and officials with various skills, J. concluded that his Ethiopian peer was interested in receiving a Latin patriarch – an idea that might have been given a further boost by the affair of João ↗Bermudez.

Shortly afterwards, the idea of a religious mission to the "Preste" began to take shape. In 1539, a brother of J., cardinal infante Dom Affonso sent a letter, via Bermudez, to Ləbnä Dəngəl censuring the religious customs held in Ethiopia (BecRASO X); in 1540, Damião de ↗Góis's treatise was censored in Portugal by the inquisidor mor infante Dom Henrique, another brother of the king. The next year, began the expedition led by Christovão da ↗Gama. Subsequently, J. and ↗Gälawdewos exchanged a second round of letters, in one of which J. declared his intention to send a patriarch to Ethiopia (Whiteway 1967:109–21, sp. 111).

In 1546, J. wrote his first request to ↗Ignatius of Loyola to organise a mission to Ethiopia. The idea, however, did not take concrete form until 1553, when J. asked for a dozen Jesuits for the mission, including one for the patriarchate. Ignatius then proposed a list of five Jesuits for this later position. Following his preference for a Portuguese national, J. chose João Nuñes ↗Barreto as patriarch, and two coadjutors, Andrés de ↗Oviedo and Melchior Carneiro. After they had been ordained, J. instructed the viceroy of India Pedro Mascarenhas to send men to Ethiopia to find out if *aṣe* ↗Gälawdewos was ready to receive a new patriarch and obey the Catholic Church. On 7 May 1555, three Jesuit envoys arrived in Ethiopia with letters from the Viceroy of ↗Goa and J. The Emperor did not give satisfactory answers to the messengers' questions and the religious project came to a halt.

J. died of apoplexy and was succeeded, as regents, by his wife Catarina de Austria (1557–62) and his brother Dom Henrique (1562–68), until the heir, Dom Sebastião, reached majority.

Src.: BeckHuntAlvar 494–06; BecRASO II, 345; III, 33, 40, 249, 439; V, xxviii, 267, 327, 335, 371, 421; VI, 445; VII, 320; X, 3ff., 6, 20, 53, 59, 89, 115, 309, 403; JOSÉ DA SILVA MENDES LEAL (ed.), *Corpo Diplomatico Portuguez*, Lisboa 1884, vol. 6, 58, 71; vol. 7, 282ff.; IGNATIUS OF LOYOLA, *Monumenta Ignatiana, Epistolae et Instructiones*, Roma 1903–09, vol. 1, 428f.; vol. 6, 96–106; vol. 8, 476f.; FRANCISCO MARIA ESTEVES PEREIRA (ed.), *Carta que a Dom João III rei de Portugal enviou Galawdewos rei de Ethiopia 1544*, Lisboa 1888; BALTHAZAR TELLEZ, *História Geral de Ethiopia a Alta*, Coimbra 1660, 147–50, 160f.; RICHARD STEPHEN WHITEWAY (ed.), *The Portuguese Expedition to Abyssinia in 1541–1543 ...*, Nendeln 1967, 109–21 (Hakluyt Society Papers 2, 10).

Lit.: FORTUNATO DE ALMEIDA, *História da Igreja em Portugal*, vol. 2, Porto – Lisboa 1968, 29–33, 291; PHILIP CARAMAN, *The Lost Empire*, Notre Dame 1985, 9–13; GIRMA BESHAH – MERID WOLDE AREGAY, *The Question of the Union of the Churches in Luso-Ethiopian Relations*, Lisboa 1964, 34f.; NUNO DA SILVA GONÇALVES, "Inácio de Loiola, D. João III e a Missão da Etiópia", *Brotéria* 134, 1992, 497–510; ANTONIO LOPES, "Ignace de Loyola, François Xavier et Jean III de Portugal", in: JUAN PLAZAOLA (ed.) *Ignacio de Loyola y su tiempo*, Bilbao 1992, 635–82; J. SANTIAGO MADRIGAL, "La 'jornada' de Etiopía en el epistolario ignaciano", *Manresa* 68, 1996, 71–85.

Leonardo Cohen

John the Baptist

John the Baptist in Ethiopian literature

J.B. (ዮሐንስ መጥምቅ, Yoḥannəs Mäṭməq), a prophet, saint, and martyr of the universal Church, is a frequent character in ↗Gəʿəz literature. Despite the considerable number of texts devoted to him (in this respect J.B. immediately follows Jesus and ↗Mary, well ahead of the ↗Apostles), no specific work or standard collection exists for J.B. (unlike, e.g., for ↗angels and

archangels, such as Michael, Gabriel, Uriel etc.); and few are the manuscripts containing writings on him alone; e.g., BritLib Orient. 717, EMML 4166 and 4346. Yet, standard entries devoted to J.B. are found in both liturgical and hagiographic works such as the ↗*Sənkəssar*, to which ↗*malkəʾ* and ↗*sälam* in hymnographic collections should be added. Other relevant texts are chiefly homilies, either attributed – rightly or not – to Church Fathers or written by anonymous or unidentified authors: e.g., ↗Rətuᶜa Haymanot, the 'Orthodox'. Most, if not all, of the longer, homiletic texts are translations from Arabic. Some of these are transmitted within early collections (cp. the texts in ms. EMML 1763), but no positive evidence of translations from Greek in the Aksumite period has emerged so far.

Homilies concerning John the Baptist

Numerous homilies devoted to J.B. exist that can be roughly classified in four groups according to their authorship.

I. Among the most popular texts are the homilies attributed to ↗John Chrysostom, the Greek texts of which have not yet been correctly identified except for (2) below (Greek homilies of John Chrysostom, relevant to J.B.: CPG nos. 4518, 4521, 4570, 4656, 4736, 4859, 4862, 4867, 4913f., 4929, 4935, 5023, 5150, 5175 [Georgian version]; ProvRec 90).

(1) The first one, 'On the Life and Decollation of J.B.', is to be read on 1 and 2 *Mäskäräm*.

(a) This text opens many mss. of the hagiographic collection ↗*Gädlä sämaᶜətat* (the oldest mss. dating from the end of the 14th cent.): mss. BritLib Orient. 686, fols. 1ra–5rb; 687–88, fols. 4ra–8v; 689, fols. 1ra–7va; EMML 1479, fols. 2ra–7vb; 1766, fols. 3ra–13rb; 2514, fols. 38ra–43rb; 6244, fols. 16va–21vc; 6694, fols. 91ra–98rb; 6903, fols. 1ra–10vb; 6965, fols. 2ra–7vb; Ṭānāsee 121 = Dāgā Esṭifānos 10, fols. 1ra–9rb; one fragment in Ṭānāsee 110 = Rēmā 21, fols. 1r–v, 3r–v;

(b) It can be also found outside the hagiographic collection: mss. ANLin Conti Rossini 105, fols. 41ra–59ra; BritLib Orient. 717, fols. 2r–14v; BN d'Abb. 45, fols. 2–9; 54, fols. 96r–110r; EMML 1344, fols. 1r–35r; 2733, fols. 3r–19v; 4002, fols. 12r–25r; 4166, fols. 47v–65r; 4346, fols. 4r–16r; 4569, fols. 41v–48v; Vat. Aeth. 32, fols. 10v–24; Windsor, Royal Library, Eth. II, fols. 56v–104r;

(2) A second homily of the Chrysostom, 'On the Glory of J.B.', commenting upon Mt 11:7 (CPG no. 5150; Suppl. no. 5153.3; Coptic text in Budge 1913; Till 1958:322–32; for Arabic mss., cp. Boud'hors 1997:1558; Proverbio – Fiaccadori 2004:675f.), is richly documented, in some cases following or preceding the previous one in the same mss.: ANLin Conti Rossini 105, fols. 59ra–72ra; BritLib Orient. 687–88, fols. 1ra–4r; 717, fols. 14v–24; BN d'Abb. 45, fols. 9–21v; 103, fols. 2–11; EMML 1960, fols. 82v–101v; 2733, fols. ff. 20r–32r; 4002, fols. 3r–11v; 4166, fols. 68r–78r; 4346, fols. 16–24v; 4569, fols. 37v–41v; 4979, fols. 118–125v; 6694, fols. 86va–91ra; Vat. Aeth. 32, fols. 1–10v; Windsor, Royal Library, Eth. II, fols. 3r–33r; Vat. Cerulli Etiop. 322, fols. 2–16; one fragment in Veroli, Monumento Nazionale di Casamari, Ms. 121, fol. 147ra–vb (cp. Proverbio – Fiaccadori 2004:675ff., also for the correct identification of the previous ms.);

(3) A third, or even a fourth homily of the Chrysostom might be further identified, but the catalogue descriptions are not clear enough: mss. ANLin Conti Rossini 105, fols. 37ra–39vb and 39vb–41ra; Vat. Cerulli Etiop. 322, fols. 16rb–37ra;

(4) A short homily in ms. Vat. Cerulli Etiop. 149, fols. 15v–16r, is attributed to ↗Cyril of Alexandria; comparison with the unpublished Coptic homily attributed to the same Cyril (cp. Orlandi 1970:88, 1971:181, n. 32; Lucchesi 1999:324) is still a desideratum.

II. A second group of homilies is attributed to unidentified Ethiopian authors:

(5) to Rətuᶜa Haymanot, a homily 'For the Day of the Feast of John the Baptist', i.e., 1 *Mäskäräm*: mss. BN d'Abb. 54, fols. 110r–17r; EMML 1117, pp. 3–11; 1763, fols. 3r–9r; Windsor, Royal Library, Eth. II, fols. 33r–51v;

(6) to the "blessed Tewoflos" (his identification with a bishop of Aksum has not been ascertained; there probably exists a Coptic homily attributed to Theophilus of Alexandria, cp. Lucchesi 1999:324), a homily 'On the beheading of John the Baptist': mss. BritLib Orient. 8192, fols. 143va–49va; EMML 1763 (from 1336/37 or 1339/40), fols. 273r–74v; 4569, fols. 36r–37v.

III. A third group is composed of anonymous homilies, part of which can be attributed to "the Orthodox" as well:

(7) 'For the Prayer of John the Baptist': mss. BN d'Abb. 54, fols. 117r–118v; EMML 1763, fols. 9r–10r; Windsor, Royal Library, Eth. II, fols. 51v–56v;

(8) 'For the Commemoration of John the Baptist and the consecration of his church', to be read on 21 *Ḫədar*: ms. EMML 1763, fols. 60r–63r;

(9) 'On the Nativity of John the Baptist': mss. EMML 4166, fols. 7r–34r; 4346, fols. 24v–45v;

(10) 'On the baptism of Our Lord by John the Baptist': ms. EMML 4166, fols. 34r–43v; s. also Pereira 1911a (CPG no. 4522), 1911b (CPG no. 7385).

(11) 'On the Circumcision of John the Baptist', to be read on 6 *Ḫamle*: mss. EMML 4166, fols. 44r–47r; 4346, fols. 56v–59r;

(12) 'On the Dormition of John the Baptist', for 1 *Päg*^{w}*ə-men* and 15 *Miyazya*: mss. EMML 4166, fols. 78v–92v; 4346, fols. 45v–56v;

(13) a no further identified homily on John the Baptist, called *Mäṣḥafä baḥrəy* ('Book of the Pearl'), to be read on the 1st day of *Sebteros*, i.e. ↗New Year day: ms. EMML 4979, fols. 94v–117v.

IV. A fourth group consists of homilies included in standard works:

(14) in the ↗*Dərsanä Gäbrəʾel*, homily 'On how Gabriel announced to Mary and on the birth of John the Baptist', sometimes attributed to John Chrysostom, to be read

on 1 *Mäskäräm*: mss. EMML 2958, fols. 69v–75r; 3442, fols. 8v–16v; 4864, fols. 109r–115v; 4869, fols. 69v–74v; 4937, fols. 54v–57v; Vat. Aeth. 149, fols. 21r–25r;

(15) in the ↗*Täʾammərä Maryam*, a homily on the visit of Mary and her Son to John the Baptist, also attributed to John Chrysostom: mss. EMML 2058, fols. 75r–75v; 2952, fols. 69r–70v.

Other texts are less identifiable, such as:

(16) one miracle of John the Baptist in the ms. EMML 3172, fols. 38r–40r and 77r;

(17) a fragment in the ms. Berlin, Ms. orient. fol. 3067, fols. 1ra–2vb; or

(18) a fragment of a liturgical text, s. ms. München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. aeth. 136, fol. 2v.

Commemoration texts on John the Baptist

In the Church ↗calendar the Ethiopian year begins on 1 *Mäskäräm*, which is also the commemoration day of J.B. Yet, the *Sənkəssar* has no entry on him for that day, and so the Copto-Arabic Synaxarium for 1 *Tūt*. He is instead commemorated on 2 *Mäskäräm*, the feast of his decollation (cp. SimDillmChr 310, n. 2). This may well explain why in several mss. of the *Gädlä sämaᶜətat* it is indicated that the same homily must be read on both 1 or 2 *Mäskäräm*. However, J.B. is also mentioned in the *Sənkəssar* on other days. A few entries have been excerpted, then circulating on their own, e.g.:

(19) 2 *Mäskäräm*, decollation of John the Baptist: mss. ANLin Conti Rossini 105, fols. 34vb–37ra; EMML 4166, fols. 65v–67v;

(20) 8 *Mäskäräm*, martyrdom of Zacharias, father of John the Baptist: ms. ANLin Conti Rossini 105, fols. 26ra–28ra;

(21) 26 *Mäskäräm*, annunciation to Zacharias: mss. ANLin Conti Rossini 105, fols. 32rb–34rb; EMML 4166, fols. 3r–4v; Vat. Aeth. 149, fols. 59–60v;

(22) 3 *Ṭərr*, conception of John the Baptist: ms. ANLin Conti Rossini 105, fols. 29va–30ra;

(23) 16 *Yäkkatit*, death of Elisabeth, John the Baptist's mother: ms. ANLin Conti Rossini 105, fols. 30ra–32ra;

(24) 30 *Yäkkatit*, beheading of John the Baptist, including the version by John Chrysostom: ms. EMML 4166, fols. 92v bis–95r;

(25) 15 *Miyazya*, departure of the soul of J.B.: ms. EMML 4166, fol. 95v;

(26) 2 *Säne*, appearance of the body of J.B.: ms. EMML 4166, fols. 96r–98v;

(27) 30 *Säne*, nativity of J.B.: ms. EMML 4166, fols. 4v–6r: the feast is known as the day of 'Yoḥannes Awit' or 'Awet' (e.g., in the ↗*Senodos*, cp. BauSen 182, l. 12 [text] = 73 [tr.]; in other texts, cp. Cerulli 1950:440 [text], 445 [tr., where *baᶜalä Yoḥannəs Aweto*, scil. Awet, is translated as 'festa della Natività di S. Giovanni'], for the text of which cp. also Monneret de Villard 1950), an obscure term (DillmLex c. 790; LesCDic 49) used with reference to the feast of the 'nativity' of John the Baptist;

(28) 1 *Paᵍᵂəmen*, imprisonment of John the Baptist: mss. ANL in Conti Rossini 105, fol. 34rb–vb; EMML 4166, fol. 43v.

Hymnological compositions

There is a considerable number of *mälkəʾ* and hymns devoted to J.B., only the first three of the following being listed by Chaîne (ChRep) as nos. 70, 227 and 279:

(29) mss. Berlin, Ms. orient. oct. 1304, fol. 4ra–va; the same in mss. EMML 4002, fol. 25v; Ṭānāsee 57 = Kebrān 57, fol. 86rb–c;

(30) mss. Berlin, Ms. orient. oct. 1000, fols. 41v–53r; 1278, fols. 50va–54rb; Ṭānāsee 57 = Kebrān 57, fols. 85va–86rb;

(31) mss. Berlin, Ms. orient. quart. 1013, Hs. or. 1614, fols. 1ra–2vb and 131va–132rb; EMML 1344, fols. 35r–40v; München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. aeth. 33, fols. 10va–12rb; Ṭānāsee 88 = Dabra Māryām 30; Vat. Cerulli Etiop. 322, fols. 37–41;

(32) for other *mälkəʾ* cp. mss. EMML 4346, fols. 59v–61v; BN d'Abb. 110, fols. 6rc–7v; Vat. Cerulli Etiop. 249, fol. 1r.

Other hymns are:

(33) ms. Vat. Cerulli Etiop. 269, fol. 1r;

(34) a hymn to the archangel Michael for the nativity of J.B., ms. EMML 4346, fol. 61v–63v;

(35) various hymns in the ↗*Mäwaśəʾt*, cp. ms. BN Éth. 369 [= Griaule 65], fols. 1ra–vb, 38rb–vb, 48va–49rc; edited in *Zəmmare wämäwaśəᶜt* 1993/94: I part (↗*Zəmmare*), 1–4, and II part (*Mäwaśəᶜt*), 1f.; tr. by Grébaut 1931:1f., from one of the oldest (14th cent.) ms. of the *Mäwaśəᶜt*, Vat. Aeth. 4, fol. 111v; also text and tr. in GréTisVat I, 610f., from ms. Vat. Aeth. 162;

(36) finally, hymns in the ↗*Dəggᵂa*: these are among the few texts devoted to J.B. which have been published (cp. DillmChr 150–58; Euringer 1942; cp. SimDillmChr 310f.).

Textual traditions

Since the vast majority of the listed writings have neither been published nor studied it is almost impossible, with a few exceptions, to make any reliable comparison with the Greek and/or Oriental traditions. For a first evaluation of the latter cp. GrafLit I, 348, 506ff. and II, 492; Till 1958; Meinardus 1979, 1980; Lucchesi 1999. The enumeration of Arabic mss. with texts on J.B. can be easily implemented, cp., e.g.:

ProvRec 82f.; and BN Ar. 143, two homilies: fols. 128–33 on the decollation, and fols. 133–38 on the translation of his head; Cairo, Church of Saints Sergius and Bacchus, ms. no. 41, fols. 184v–197v, life of J.B. (cp. Khater – Burmester 1977:14f.); Cairo, Church of St. Menas, ms. Theol. 12, fols. 2v–148r, three homilies: on the life of J.B. and the archangel Michael by Theodore the archbishop of Alexandria, on the martyrdom of J.B. by James the apostle, on the decollation by John Chrysostom (cp. Iid. 1967:52, no. 65); ms. Theol. 10, fols. 60v–91r, two homilies on J.B.: on the beheading, and in his honour by John Chrysostom (cp. Iid. 1977:49ff., no. 103); ms. Hag. 16, fols. 1r–18v, a homily on the invention of J.B.'s head (cp. *ibid.* 69, no. 158); ms. Theol. 15, fols. 90v–96r, a homily on the annunciation of Mary

and on the birth of J.B. (*ibid.* 53ff., no. 69); Cairo, Coptic Patriarchate, Hist. 55, nos. 18 and 19, two homilies: on the martyrdom of J.B., and on the glory of J.B., commenting upon Mt 11:7 (cp. Simaika – ʿAbd al Masiḥ 1942:287, no. 634); Cairo, Muski no. 57, fols. 34r–37v, a homily in J.B.'s honour by John Chrysostom (cp. Macomber 1984:13).

Src.: BauSen; ANNE BOUD'HORS, "Éloge de Jean-Baptiste", in: FRANÇOIS BOVON – PIERRE GEOLTRAIN (eds.), *Écrits apocryphes chrétiens*, I, Paris 1997 (Bibliothèque de la Pléiade 442), 1553–78; BudSaint; ChAbb nos. 45, 54, 103, 110 [= CRAbb nos. 164, 166f., 169]; ColSyn; *CPG* nos. s. text; DillmChr; EMML IV–VIII; SEBASTIAN EURINGER, "Übersetzung der Antiphonen zum Feste des hl. Johannes Baptista in Dillmanns 'Chrestomathia Aethiopica'", *Orientalia* nuova ser. 11, 1942, 148–70; SYLVAIN GRÉBAUT, "Un recueil ancien de *Mawâśeʾet*", *Aethiops* 4, 1931, 1–6; GrébGriaule III, no. 65; GréTisVat I; HamSixBerl; HamTana I; HamTana II; ANTOINE KHATER – O.H.E. KHS-BURMESTER, *Catalogue of the Coptic and Christian Arabic MSS. Preserved in the Cloister of Saint Menas at Cairo*, Le Caire 1967 (Bibliothèque de Manuscrits 1), nos. 65, 69, 103, 158; *Preserved in the Library of the Church of Saints Sergius and Bacchus Known as Abû Sarǧah at Old Cairo*, Le Caire 1977 (Bibliothèque de Manuscrits 3), no. 41; WILLIAM F. MACOMBER, *Catalogue of the Christian Arabic Manuscripts of the Franciscan Center of Christian Oriental Studies, Muski, Cairo*, Le Caire – Jerusalem 1984, no. 57; ProvRec; DELIO VANIA PROVERBIO – GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, "Un nuovo testimone etiopico della *Rivelazione di Pietro a Clemente*: il ms. 121 del Monumento Nazionale di Casamari (Veroli)", *RRALm* ser. 9ª, 15, 2004, 665–93; RaiCer; MARCUS SIMAIKA PASHA – YASSA ʿABD AL MASIḤ EFFENDI, *Catalogue of the Coptic and Arabic Manuscripts in the Coptic Museums, the Patriarchate, the Principal Churches of Cairo and Alexandria and the Monasteries of Egypt*, vol. 2, Cairo 1942, no. 634; FRANCISCO MARIA ESTEVES PEREIRA, "Homilia sobre o baptismo de N.S. Jesus Christo attribuida a S. João Chrysostomo (Homilia primeira)", *Academia Real das Sciencias de Lisbõa. Boletim da Segunda Classe* 4, 1911a, 259–65; "(Homilia segunda)", *ibid.* 4, 1911b, 266–76; SixBay; SixTana III; StrANL no. 105; StrBritLib no. 56 [ms. Or. 8192]; GÉRARD TROUPEAU, *Catalogue des manuscrits arabes*, 1ère partie: *Manuscrits Chrétiens*, tome I: *Nos 1–323*, Paris 1974, no. 143; EDWARD ULLENDORFF, "The Ethiopic Manuscripts in the Royal Library, Windsor Castle", *RSE* 12, 1954, 71–79, no. II; WrBriMus; *Zəmmare wämäwaśəʿt*, Addis Abäba 1986 A.M. [1993/94 A.D.].

Lit.: ERNEST ALFRED WALLIS THOMPSON BUDGE, *Coptic Apocrypha in the Dialect of Upper Egypt*, London 1913, 128–45 (text) = 335–51 (tr.) ["An Encomium of Saint John the Baptist, by Saint John Chrysostom"]; ENRICO CERULLI, "La festa del Battesimo e l'Eucarestia in Etiopia nel secolo XV", *AnBoll* 68, 1950, 436–52; ChRep; GrafLit I, 348, 506ff. and II, 492; ENZO LUCCHESI, "Trois éloges coptes de Jean-Baptiste attribués à Athanase, Théophile et Cyrille d'Alexandrie", *Vigiliae Christianae* 53, 3, 1999, 323–24; OTTO F.A. MEINARDUS, "The Relics of St. John the Baptist and the Prophet Elisha: an Examination of the Claims of their Recent Invention in Egypt", *Ostkirchliche Studien* 29, 1980, 118–42; UGO MONNERET DE VILLARD, "Sulla festa del Battesimo in Abissinia", *RRALm* ser. 8ª, 5, 1950, 513–25; TITO ORLANDI, *Elementi di lingua e letteratura copta*, Milano 1970, 88; ID., "Teodosio di Alessandria nella letteratura copta", *Giornale italiano di filologia* nuova ser. 2, 1971, 175–85; SimDillmChr 310f.; WALTER C. TILL, "Johannes der Täufer in der koptischen Literatur", in: *Festschrift zum 80. Geburtstag von Professor Dr. Hermann Junker*, II. Teil, Wiesbaden 1958 (= *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Abteilung Kairo* 16), 310–32.

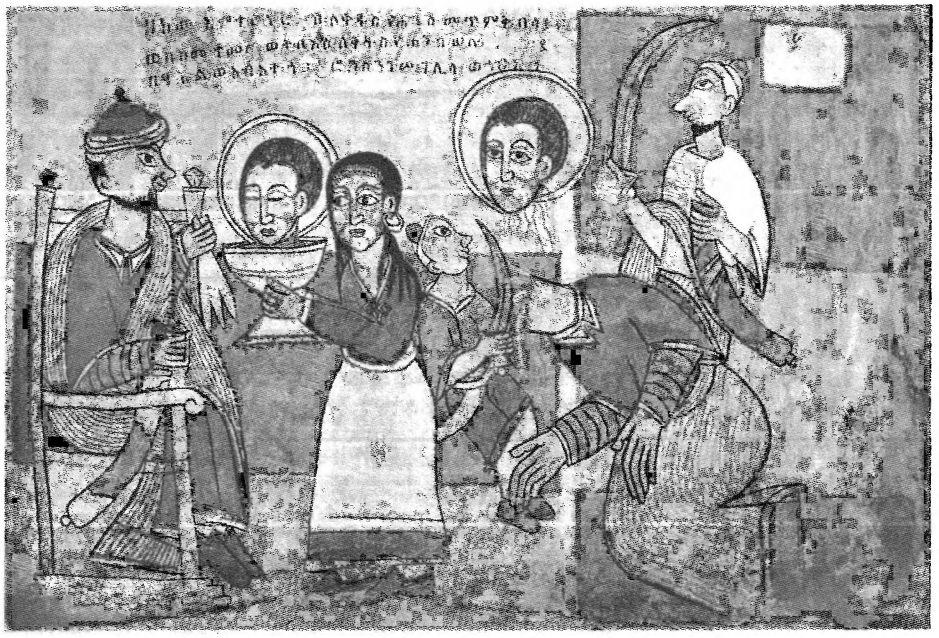
Alessandro Bausi

John the Baptist in art

J.B. (**ዮሐንስ መጥምቅ**, Yoḥannəs Mäṭməq) is commemorated in the *Sənkəssar* on 2 *Mäskäräm* [12 September 12] (on other dates of commemoration s. sub-article on J.B. in literature). One of the earliest extant representations of J.B. in Ethiopian art appears in the mural of the Baptism of Christ (s. Mt 3:1–17; Mk 1:2–11; Lk 3:21–22; Jn 1:32–34) in the late 13th-cent. church of ↗Gännätä Maryam (Lepage 1975, fig. 12). Because his baptism is one of the major events in the life of Christ and is commemorated as a major ↗feast of the liturgical year (VelMe II, 23f.; ↗*Ṭəmqät*), the Baptism of Christ with the figure of J.B. is ever-present in Ethiopian ↗painting. Far less common, however, are images in which J.B. himself is the primary focus.

Iconic portraits of J.B. are found in a few illuminated 14th- and 15th-cent. mss. of the ↗*Gädlä Sämaʿətat*. A portrait of J.B. with his parents, Elizabeth and Zacharias (all together commemorated in *Sənkəssar* on 30 *Säne* [24 June]), introduces the story of his martyrdom in the large and impressive manuscript of the *Gädlä Sämaʿətat* produced at Däbrä Hamlo in the district of Aksum ca. 1382–88 (EMML ms. 2514; AfrZion no. 66). In two 15th-cent. illuminated mss. of the *Gädlä Sämaʿətat*, one at the monastery of ↗Däbrä Maryam Qʷäḥayn in Eritrea dated 1453 (Bausi 1994:45f.; Heldman in PICEA 1, 7f., fig. 8) and the other at ↗Däbrä Libanos in Šəmäzana, also in Eritrea (Bausi 1997:23–9, fig. 4), a portrait miniature introduces each individual text section, and similarly a full-page miniature of J.B. with his parents introduces the account of his life.

A full-page miniature of the martyrdom of J.B., the iconography of which appears to be unique, is found in a large 15th-cent. ms. of the *Gädlä Sämaʿətat* at Məṣəle Fasilädäs, on Lake Ṭana (UNESCO, pl. 22). The upper register depicts events that followed the beheading of the Saint. His head is seen flying in the air, an extra-Biblical episode described in the *Sənkəssar* reading of 2 *Mäskäräm*, "and when the holy head of Saint



Beheading of John the Baptist and presentation of the head of the saint to King Herod, 17th cent. wall-painting in Däbrä Sina near Gorgora, Lake Ṭana; photo 1993, courtesy of Michael Gervers

John was cut off, it flew up into the air out of the hands of the soldiers ..." (BudSaint I, 9f.; ColSyn VI, 338–41). The lower register shows the head of J.B. on a silver platter and the gruesome punishment of Herodias. The inscription reads "Arms of Herodias after being cut off, when the earth opened and swallowed her up". The story of the punishment of Herodias may derive from an unidentified apocryphal or hagiographic writing since neither the Gospel accounts of J.B.'s beheading (Mt 14:3–12; Mk 6:17–29) nor the *Sənkəssar* reading of 2 *Mäskäräm* includes reference to this event. The head of J.B. upon a plate as it was presented to the daughter of Herodias appears among portraits of saints and martyrs painted upon the two lateral panels of a devotional image in the form of a triptych, the central panel of which is missing. The lateral panels are attributed to the 15th-cent. painter ↗Fəre Ṣəyon (AfrZion no. 81). A 18th-cent. ms. of Hymns, Prayers, Miracles, and Images (↗*Mälkəʾ*) with numerous miniatures (EMML ms. 1487) includes a miniature of the Beheading of J.B. placed beside the text of the *Mälkəʾa Yoḥannəs* ('Image of J.B.'). Because this manuscript evidently was created for private devotion we may conclude that the miniature of J.B.'s martyrdom functioned as a visual image to be contemplated after the reading of the prayer.

The increased popularity of narrative painting in the 17th cent. inspired by the introduction of Western European prints is reflected in the decoration of churches with more extensive narrative picture cycles. The story of the beheading of J.B. is often painted on the north wall of the sanctuary (↗*Mäqdäs*) among other representations of saints and martyrs, as in the churches of ↗Däbrä Sina Maryam on Lake Ṭana (Wion 2001: 306; Hein 1999: fig. 208), ↗Qoma Fasilädäs, located south of Gondär (Wion 2001: 302, 306), and ↗Ǝnṭonəs of Gondär (Staude 1959: 209f., pl. 76). This subject continues to be included in schemes of mural decoration. A narrative cycle of the story of the beheading of J.B. painted in the second half of the 20th cent. decorates the church of Maryam Ṣəyon at ᶜAdwa.

The story of the infancy of J.B. also lends itself to narrative imagery. A ↗Psalter dated 1839/40 with many additional prayers and over 135 miniatures was presented by *nəguś* Śahlä Śəllase of Šäwa to the monastery of ↗Däbrä Ḥayq Ǝsṭifanos (EMML ms. 1762). It provides a rare, if not unique, example of miniatures accompanying the Biblical Canticles. Two miniatures of J.B. accompany the Canticle of Zacharias (Lk 1:68–79). The first miniature shows two scenes, both illustrating the Gospel narrative of Lk (1:5–25, 57–66). One shows Zacharias praying in the Temple, and the other Elizabeth holding their new-born child as Zacharias writes the name of his son on a tablet. The miniature of the following page shows Elizabeth holding the infant J.B. as Zacharias prepares to circumcise him.

A Homiliary for the Archangels copied for *aṣe* Mənilək II (r. 1889–1913), property of the church of ↗Ǝnṭoṭṭo Raguʾel (EMML ms. 41), is decorated with numerous miniatures. A miniature with the Birth of J.B. (fol. 111v) is placed within the text of the ↗*Dərsanä Gabrəʾel*. The upper register shows Zacharias offering incense in the Temple; the register below, St. Elizabeth and J.B.

↗Painting

Src.: ColSyn VI, 338–41; BudSaint 9f., 1045f.; EMML I, 44f., no. 41; IV, 614ff., no. 1487; V, 209–17, no. 1762; vol. VII, 6–14, no. 2514; GuiSyn I, 698ff.

Lit.: AfrZion; ALESSANDRO BAUSI, "Su alcuni manoscritti presso comunità monastiche dell'Eritrea", *RSE* 38, 1994 [1996], 13–69 and plates, [parte terza] *ibid.* 41, 1997 [1998], 13–56 and plates; EWALD HEIN – BRIGITTE KLEIDT, *Ethiopia – Christian Africa: Art, Churches and Culture*, Ratingen 1999; MARILYN HELDMAN, "An Ewostathian and the Gundā Gundē Style in Fifteenth-Century Ethiopian Manuscript Illumination", in: *PICEA* 1, 5–14, 135–39, figs. 1–29; CLAUDE LEPAGE, "Peintures murales de Ganata Maryam, rapport préliminaire", *Documents pour servir a l'histoire des civilisations éthiopiennes* 6, 1975, 59–83; WILHELM STAUDE, "Étude sur la décoration picturale des églises Abbā Antonios de Gondar et Dabra Sinā de Gorgora", *AE* 3, 1959, 185–250; UNESCO (ed.), *Ethiopia: Illuminated Manuscripts*, New York 1961; VelMe II, 23f.; ELISABETH WEIS, "Johannes der Täufer, der Vorläufer", in: WOLFGANG BRAUNFELS (ed.), *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, Rome 1994, vol. 7, 164–90; ANAÏS WION, "Un nouvel ensemble de peintures murales du premier style gondarien: Le monastère de Qoma Fasilädäs", *AE* 17, 2001, 279–308.

Marilyn E. Heldman

John Chrysostom

J.C. (Eth. ዮሐንስ፡ አፈ፡ ወርቅ, Yoḥannəs Afä Wärq; b. ca. 347/350, Antioch, d. 407) was the Bishop of Constantinople, Doctor of the Church, and is regarded the greatest preacher of the Greek Church.

J.C. lived and studied rhetoric (with Libanios), philosophy and theology (with Diodor of Tarsus) in Antioch. In the years 371–77 he lived as a hermit in the vicinity of that city, but had to return to the community because of health problems. Ordained priest in 386, for 12 years he preached in the churches of Antioch, which brought him both fame (his nickname, Chrysostomos – 'Goldenmouthed', was coined, however, in the 5th cent.) and, in 397, the patriarchate of Constantinople. His episcopate in the capital was characterized by the ascetic norms of episcopal life, by strict allegiance to the canon rules, both for the monks and the clergy, as well as by high moral standards. These qualities soon brought him into conflict with many people within the Church and at the court, including Empress Eudoxia. This resulted in his temporary deposition by the Synod of the Oak (403); and after his return, when he again attacked the Empress, in his ultimate deposition and banishment (404). He died while being transferred from one place of exile to another.

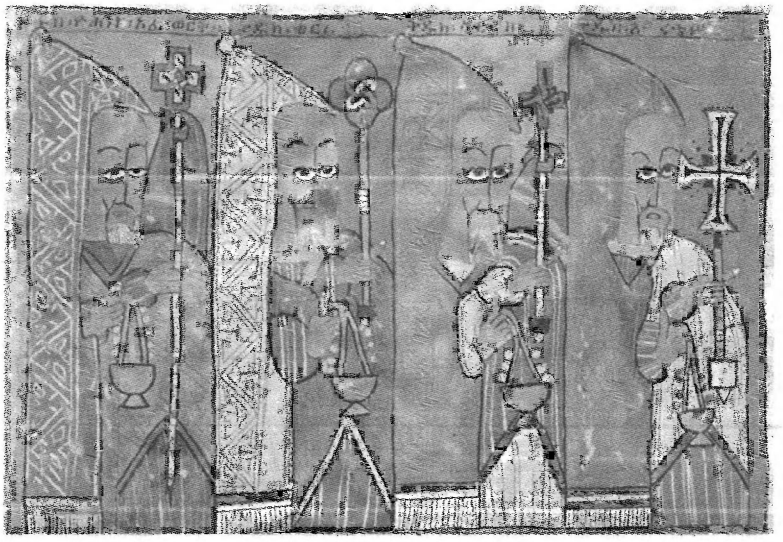
J.C. was an extraordinary and prolific preacher. Theologically and literarily outstanding, his numerous homilies were highly appreciated throughout the Middle Ages, and nearly all have survived (the list in the CPG II, including some spurious ones, covers 182 pages). They are on various themes: exegetical, e.g., on Gen, Ps, Is, Mt, Lk, Jn, on many of the Pauline Epistles, Acts; concerning moral and ascetic issues; for liturgical feasts including commemoration of saints, and other occasions, also in the form of panegyrics. In addition, he left treatises, mostly on moral subjects (suffering, virginity, upbringing, monastic life), as well as letters.

J.C.'s fame as a preacher also resulted in a large number (over 1,000) of apocryphal works (in particular, homilies) being attributed to him, one of them being the Eucharistic liturgy of the Orthodox Churches (*Liturgy of St. Chrysostom*, with Church-specific contents). Many of his works were translated into other languages, including those of the Christian Orient, in which the non-authentic ones are also numerous.

In Ethiopic (↗Gəᶜəz) literature, an extraordinary large number of works is attributed to J.C., most of which, however, are apocryphal. Homilies are often to be found in homiliaries, such as ms. BritLib Orient. 774, of the 15th cent., or other collections. Only a small fraction has been published, which makes identifying them with the originals and with each other difficult (the homilies are termed differently by various cataloguers). The following list of J.C.'s works in Ethiopic (authentic or not) does not claim to be complete (CPG identifications are after ProvRec 59–85; his numbers are provided if the text is not listed in CPG and Lusini 1988).

The homilies ascribed to J.C. include:

1. *On the Annunciation to Mary by Gabriel*, to be read on three successive Sundays of *Taḫśaś*, e.g., ms. BritLib Orient. 616; part of ↗*Dərsanä Gäbrəʾel* (CPG II, no. 4519);
2. *On the Nativity of Jesus*, e.g., in ms. BritLib Orient. 774, 15th cent., ed. Petraeus (CPG II, no. 4560);
3. *The First Homily on the Baptism of Jesus*, to be read on the first day of Epiphany, *ibid.*, ed. Pereira (CPG II, no. 4522);
4. *The Second Homily on the Baptism of Jesus*, to be read on the second day of Epiphany, *ibid.*, ed. Pereira (CPG II, no. 7385, apocryphal);
5. *On the Wedding Feast at Cana*, *ibid.*, ed. Pereira (CPG II, no. 4522);
6. *On the Sinful Woman who Anointed Jesus' Feet*, *ibid.* (ProvRec no. 14);
7. *On the of Samaritan Woman*, *ibid.* (CPG II, no. 5198.8);
8. *On the Pharisee and the Publican*, *ibid.* (CPG II, no. 5198.6);
9. *On the Resurrection of Lazarus*, *ibid.* (CPG II, no. 4681);
10. *For the 12th of Gənbot*, *ibid.*;



John Chrysostom (Yoḥannəs Afäwärq), Qərəllos, Sawiros and A[t]natewos; miniature (detail) from a Gospel Book, fol. 97r, 15th/16th cent., church of Ṣäwne Maryam, near ᶜƎdäga Ḥamus, Təgray; photo 2004, courtesy of Michael Gervers

11. *On Passion of our Lord, ibid.* (ProvRec 25);
12. *On Easter Sunday, ibid.* (ProvRec 24);
13. *On St. Thomas; ibid.* (CPG II, 5832);
14. *On the Four Beasts,* to be read on the 8th of *Ḫədar*; e.g., in ms. BritLib Orient. 619, 18th cent. (ProvRec 20);
15. *On St. John the Baptist*; in the ↗*Gädlä sämaᶜətat*, e.g., in ms. BritLib Orient. 689, 15th cent. (ProvRec 29);
16. *On the Glory of the Church* (an excerpt), e.g., in ms. BritLib Orient. 550, early 18th cent.;
17. *On the Cross and the Thief* (ድርሳነ፡ ፈያታይ, *Dərsanä fäyatay*) e.g., in Berlin, ms. orient. oct. 1308, 19th/20th cent.;
18. *For the Fourth Sunday in Lent*, e.g., in ms. BritLib Orient. 8192, 14th cent. (?);
19. *On Silence*, in a collection of monastic writings, e.g., in ms. EMML 4447, 18th cent.;
20. *On the Visit of Mary to John the Baptist*, in the ↗*Täᵓammərä Maryam*, e.g., in ms. EMML 2058–2 (d-85);
21. *On Fasting*, for the first, fourth and fifth Saturdays of Lent, e.g., in ms. EMML 1763 (39, 46, 51), 14th cent.
22. *On Herodias* (or: *On the Decapitation of John the Baptist*), e.g., in ms. EMML 1763 (CPG II, 4570);
23. *On the Venerable Cross, for the Fast, ibid.* (CPG 4525);
24. *On the Lord's Prayer*, e.g., ms. ZotBNat 157, of the 17th cent. (ProvRec 22).

Many of J.C.'s homilies are parts of special collections for liturgical or other use. In the ↗*Gəbrä ḫəmamat*, e.g., in mss. EMML 1765 and BritLib Orient. 597, both of the 15th cent., there are homilies of J.C. practically on every day of Passion Week:

25. *Against the Love of Possessions*, for Palm Sunday (CPG II, no. 4602);
26. *On the Fig Tree* (Mk 11:12–26) (CPG II, no. 4588);
27. *On the Ten Virgins*, for Wednesday (CPG II, no. 4580; ProvRec 27);
28. *Against Jealousy*;
29. *On Penitence*, for Good Friday (ProvRec 28);
30. *On the Holy Communion*;
31. *On Those who Receive Holy Communion*;
32. *On Adam's Disobedience*;
33. *On the Saying of Christ "If it be Possible, Let this Cup Pass from Me"* (Mt 26:39; CPG II, no. 4654);
34. *On Judas Iscariot* (CPG II, no. 4336);
35. *On the Appearance of God in the Old Testament and of Christ in the New.*

The *Homiliary for Lent*, e.g., ms. EMML 1956, of ca. 1400 A.D., contains 13 excerpts from J.C.'s compositions.

At least two are included in the *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*gənzät*, e.g., in ms. EMML 661, 20th cent.:

36. Exhortation for Funerals;
37. Homily for Burials.

Two homilies can be found in the ↗*Dərsanä Maryam*, e.g., in ms. EMML 2461, 1841 A.D.:

38. For Feasts of Mary;
39. *On the Flight of the Holy Family to Egypt* (ProvRec 21).

There are several composition attributed to J.C., devoted to Mary and termed hymns, encomia, panegyrics or homilies, such as

40. *Homily on the Glory of Our Lady Mary*, e.g., in ms. EMML 1810–13; 20th cent. (ProvRec 23);
41. Hymn *"Rejoice, my Lady Mary ..."*, e.g., in ms. EMML 392, 15th cent.;
42. Hymn *"I Worship Thee ..."*, e.g., in ms. EMML 543(79), 20th C.;
43. *Encomium of Mary*, e.g., in ms. BritLib Orient. 578, 1640 A.D.

Some are devoted to archangels (cp. ↗Angels):

44. For (the feast of) St. Michael, in ↗*Dərsanä Mikaᵓel*, e.g., in ms. EMML 569, ca. 1770;
45. For (the feast of) Raphael, in ↗*Dərsanä Rufaᵓel*, e.g., in ms. EMML 308, 20th cent. (ProvRec 31)

In the ↗*Haymanotä abäw* there are 28 extracts from the writings of J.C. (among them: CPG II, 4342, 4560, 4334 (=ProvRec no. 8, 11, 12),

Most of the homilies found in such collections as the *Gəbrä ḫəmamat* can also occur in other collections or separately.

Although a few of the homilies in Ethiopic that bear the name of "Yoḥannəs Afä Wärq" can be identified as authentic, it seems that most of them are falsely attributed to him.

A few of J.C.'s homilies reached Ethiopia, where they were translated, as early as the 14th cent., but several others did not appear there before the 15th cent. following the liturgical reforms of *aṣe* ↗Zär'a Ya'əqob. Introducing new feasts for various archangels, for Mary and other saints provided an opportunity either to compose or translate homilies that could be read during these feasts (GuiSLett 56). Many of J.C.'s homilies, authentic or not, already extant in Arabic, were also needed in Ethiopia, and thus many of them found their way into Ethiopic, sometimes as parts of larger homiliaries, such as ms. BritLib Orient. 774 (Lusini 1988:474–78). Local writers would use J.C.'s fame and attribute their compositions to him in order to have them used in the liturgy of many feasts.

J.C.'s exegetical works in Ethiopic include:

46. *Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews*, with an introduction, e.g., BritLib Orient. 737, 18th cent. (CPG II, 4440); The *Commentary* was translated from Arabic into Ethiopic in 1523 by ↗'ƎInbaqom and one Abba Mika'el Gəbṣawi ('the Egyptian'). An Amharic version is extant, e.g., in ms. BritLib Orient. 742, 19th cent.;
47. In a *Commentary on the Gospel*, ↗*Tərgʷame Wängel*, e.g., in mss. EMML 368 and 630, both 18th cent., J.C. is the main author quoted.
48. *Exposition* [↗*Tərgʷame*] *of the Ten Commandments*, in ↗*Senodos*, e.g., in ms. BritLib Orient. 794, 15th cent. (Lusini 1988:490f.).
49. J.C. is also quoted in many other compositions, such as the *Commentary on the Law of the Church and her institutions*, ms. EMML 695, 20th cent.

As far as J.C.'s letters are concerned only one item seems to be extant in Ethiopic:

50. *Two Epistles to the Monk Theodore* (the future bishop of Mopsuestia), *who Left Monastic Life*, in ms. BritLib Orient. 768, 18th cent. (CPG II, no. 4305).
51. One of the ↗anaphoras of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church is attributed to J.C.

J.C. was regarded in Ethiopia as an important figure such that not only many works were attributed to him, but also his vita (*zena*) was composed, based on data from historiographic literature (↗John of Nikiu, ↗Giyorgis Wäldä 'Amid), and usually preceding his *Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews*. In the *Tä'ammərä Maryam*, there is a *Story about How he was Called Mouth of Gold* (in ms. EMML 3872 [168], 16th cent.), whilst Yoḥannəs, metropolitan of Ethiopia (15th cent.?), composed a *Homily about the Banishment of J.C.*, extant in the *Dərsanä Mika'el*, e.g., in ms. EMML 4169, 18th cent.

There is also an anonymous *Commentary* on J.C.'s Homilies, in Amharic, in ms. EMML 4639, 1924 A.D. The entry on J.C. in the ↗*Sənkəssar* is for 12 *Gənbot* (17 May).

Src.: CPG II, 491–672; JEAN-PAUL MIGNE (ed.), *Patrologiae Graecae*, vols. 47–64, Paris 1868–60 [with Latin tr.]; WENDY MEYER – PAULINE ALLEN (tr.), *John Chrysostom*, London – New York 2000 (The Early Church Fathers); PHILIPP SCHAFF – HENRY WACE (eds.) *A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*, 2nd ser., vols. 9–14, 1888–93 [repr. Grand Rapids 1951]; Eth.: EMML I–X; ድርሳን፡ ዘቅዱስ፡ ዮሐንስ፡ አፈ፡ ወርቅ (*Dərsan zäqəddus Yoḥannəs Afä Wärq*, 'Homily of St. John Chrysostom'), Addis Abäba 1987 A.M. [1994/95 A.D.]; ተግሣጽ፡ ዘቅዱስ፡ ዮሐንስ፡ አፈ፡ ወርቅ (*Tägśaṣ zäqəddus Yoḥannəs Afä Wärq*, 'Admonition of St. John Chrysostom'), Addis Abäba 1987 A.M. [1994/95 A.D.]; FRANCISCO MARIA ESTEVES PEREIRA (ed., tr.), *Homilia sobre o baptismo de N.S. Jesus Christo attribuida a S. João Chrysostomo* ..., Lisbõa 1910, 1911 (Academia Real das Sciencias de Lisbõa: Boletim da Segunda Classe 3:6); ID. (ed., tr.), *Homilia sobre as vodas de Cana de Galileia attribuida a S. João Chrysostomo*, Lisbõa 1910–11; ID. (ed., tr.), *Duas homilias sobre S. Tomè attribuidas a S. João Chrysostomo*, Coimbra 1914; PETRAEUS (ed.), *Homilia Aethiopica de Nativitate D.N. Jesu Christi* ..., Lugduni Batavorum 1660 (= Amsterdam ²1668, ³1691); ProvRec (Lit.); GuiSLett 56; WrBriMus; ZotBN; ColSyn XIII, 248–55; BudSaint 879–83.

Lit.: GrafLit vol.1, 337–54; FRANCISCO MARIA ESTEVES PEREIRA, *Homilias de S. João Chrysostomo na litteratura ethiopica*, Lisbõa 1910 (Academia Real das Sciencias de Lisbõa: Boletim da Segunda Classe 3:5); JEAN-MARIE LEROUX, "Johannes Chrysostomus (ca. 350–407)", in: GERHARD MÜLLER (ed.), *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*, Berlin 1988, vol. 17, 118–27; GIANFRANCESCO LUSINI, "Appunti sulla patristica greca di tradizione etiopica", *Studi classici e orientali*, 38, 1988, 469–93; HERMANN JOSEF SIEBEN, "Jean Chrysostome (Pseudo-)", in: ANDRÉ DERVILLE et al. (eds.), *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité*, vol. 8, Paris 1974, 355–69.

Witold Witakowski

John of Damascus

St. J. (ዮሐንስ፡ ዘደማስቆ, Yoḥannəs Zädämasqo, before monastic tonsure: Manṣūr, b. mid-7th cent., d. shortly after 730; s. for date s. Garitte 1959:332–35, 340) was a Chalcedonian priest and monk in the Laura of St. Sabas in Palestine. He was renowned for his opposition to iconoclasm, in addition to his theological and hymnographic works. He is commemorated in the ↗*Sənkəssar* under 8 *Taḫśaś* (4 December, the date of his commemoration in the Melkite Churches) where he is venerated as a defender of the holy icons. The famous episode with his hand – it was allegedly cut off by a Caliph of Damascus and miraculously restored by the Virgin Mary (cf. Detorakis 1986) – is also mentioned, but nothing is said concerning his anti-monophysite polemical works. Although J.'s memory is preserved in

a 15th-cent. Ethiopian manuscript of the *Sənkəssar*, he is never mentioned in the Coptic Synaxarium. The Eth. notice ultimately derives from a Melkite Arabic source based on the complete Life of J. (cf. Flusin 1989).

Src.: THEOCHARIS DETORAKIS, "La main coupée de Jean Damascène (*BHG* 885c)", *ABoll* 104, 1986, 371–81; GreSyn IV 683–87; MICHEL VAN ESBROECK, "Le discours de Jean Damascène pour la Dédicace de l'Anastasis", *OrChrP* 63, 1997, 53–98.

Lit.: BERNARD FLUSIN, "De l'arabe au grec, puis au géorgien: une Vie de saint Jean Damascène", in: GENEVIÈVE COUTAMINE (ed.), *Traduction et traducteurs au Moyen Âge. Actes du colloque international du CNRS organisé à Paris, Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes, les 26–28 mai 1986*, Paris 1989 (Documents, études, répertoires publiés par l'Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes), 51–61; GÉRARD GARITTE, "Le début de la Vie de St Étienne le Sabaïte retrouvé en arabe au Sinaï", *ABoll* 77, 1959, 332–69 [repr. ID., *Scripta disiecta. 1941–1977*, vol. 1, Louvain-la-Neuve 1980 (Publications de l'Institut Orientaliste de Louvain 21)].

Basil Lourié

John of Ephesus

J. (also known as J. of Asia; b. ca. 507, near Amid (today Dıyarbakır), Mesopotamia, d. 586 or 588 ↗Chalcedon) was a leader of the Monophysite Syriac-speaking Church in the 6th cent. (↗Monophysitism), and one of the earliest and most important Syriac historians and theologians.

He entered a monastery in Amid at the age of four, became a monk there, and was ordained deacon in 529. Some five years later, when Emperor Justinian I decided to enforce his strongly pro-Chalcedonian policy by launching a severe persecution of anti-Chalcedonian monks, J. had to flee. By 535 he settled in Constantinople, where, in spite of his religious views, he enjoyed good relation with the emperor, whose notice he seems to have won quite soon. In 542, Justinian entrusted him with a Christianizing mission to Asia Minor, still pagan at the time. Around 558 he was consecrated bishop of Ephesus by ↗Jacob Baradaeus, but never held office there, living most of the time in the Byzantine capital. After the death of patriarch Theodosius of Alexandria (566), J. became the informal head of the Monophysites in Constantinople. Because of his anti-Chalcedonian bias, he was even temporarily imprisoned. He died in exile away from the capital.

J. is the author of an *Ecclesiastical History* and of a collection of *Lives of the Eastern Saints*, both in Syriac. The *History* was composed in three parts, the first of which, roughly covering the scope of the *Ecclesiastical History* by ↗Eusebios of Caesarea, is lost. Excerpts of the second part, dealing with the years 450–571, survived in the *Chronicle* of ↗Pseudo-Dionysius of Tel Maḥrê, a.k.a *Chronicle of Zuqnin*, and – to a lesser extent – in the *Chronicle* of ↗Michael the Elder (Chabot 1933; Witakowski 1996). Only the third part, for the years 571–88, has been preserved as such (yet with lacunae) in a separate manuscript (Brooks 1936; Payne Smith 1860). The work is extremely valuable as a historical source for the period from last years of Justinian (527–65) to the beginning of the reign of Maurice (582–602). The second part of the *History* contains an account of the war between the Ḥimyarites and Aksumites, as is also found in the *Chronicle* by ↗John Malalas, that is used by J. to introduce the famous (*First*) *Letter* of ↗Simeon bishop of Beth Arsham (written in 524 to his colleague Simeon bishop of Gabbula, whom J. befriended in Constantinople), one of the main sources for the persecution and martyrdom of the Christians at ↗Naǧrān (cp. Bausi – Gori 2006:6f. and n. 12). In the same part, J. also mentions the peculiar situation of the Christian countries of the Ethiopians, Ḥimyarites and "Indians", i.e., here, Nubians (↗India, ↗Nubia), owing to the lack of clergy: for 25 years they had been asking Emperor Justinian to send them a bishop, but since they urged him for a Monophysite the Emperor refused, whereas they would not accept a Chalcedonian – which, according to J., led to the rooting out of all sorts of heresies, including ↗Julianism, in those countries (ed. Brooks 1936:111; on this whole episode, s. Fiaccadori 2006:74f. and n. 163, with reference to ↗Gregentius's historical personality).

In the third part of the *History*, J. provides otherwise unknown information on the Christian Monophysite mission sent by Empress Theodora to the kingdom of Nobadia (northern Nubia) in 542–43, led by the priest Julian and the bishop Theodore of Philae (Brooks 1935:183-86; Payne Smith 1860:251-56). From J. we also learn the name of another Monophysite missionary, Longinus, who went to the kingdom of Alodia (southern Nubia) in 579/80, meeting there Aksumites (*ʾksymyṭwn*) affected by ↗Julianism (Brooks 1936:239, n. 21; Payne Smith 1860:323). J. also quotes a letter of the king of the Nobadians who, referring to Alodians, says that they are "of Ethiopia (*d-ʾtywpyʾ*)" (Brooks 1935:241, n. 3; Payne Smith 1860:325; s. Fiaccadori 1992:13 n. 33).

Src.: IOHANNES BAPTISTA CHABOT (ed.), *Incerti auctoris Chronicon Pseudo-Dionysianum vulgo dictum*, II, Parisiis 1933 (CSCO 104 [Scriptores Syri 53]), 54–69; ROBERT HESPEL (tr.), *Chronicon anonymum Pseudo-Dionysianum vulgo dictum, II*, Lovanii 1989 (CSCO 507 [Scriptores Syri 213]), 40–51; WITOLD WITAKOWSKI (tr.), *Pseudo-Dionysius of Tel-Mahre: Chronicle (Known also as the Chronicle of Zuqnin). Part III*, Liverpool 1996 (Translated Texts for Historians 22), 50–64; AMIR HARRAK (tr.), *The Chronicle of Zuqnin, Parts III and IV, A.D. 488–755*, Toronto 1999 (Medieaval Sources in Translation 36), 75–86; ERNEST WALTER BROOKS (ed., tr.), *Iohannis Ephesini Historiae ecclesiasticae pars tertia*, Parisiis 1935–36 (CSCO 105, 106, 111, 183–86 [Scriptores Syri 54, 55]); R. PAYNE SMITH (tr.), *The Third Part of the Ecclesiastical History of John, Bishop of Ephesus*, Oxford 1860, 251–56, 323, 325.

Lit.: SUSAN ASHBROOK HARVEY – HEINZGERD BRAKMANN, "Johannes von Ephesus", in: ERNST DASSMANN (ed.), *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*, vol. 18, Stuttgart 1998, 553–64 (Lit.); ALESSANDRO BAUSI – ALESSANDRO GORI (ed., tr.), *Tradizioni orientali del 'Martirio di Areta'. La prima recensione araba e la versione etiopica. Edizione critica e traduzione*, Firenze 2006 (Quaderni di semitistica 27, 6f.); GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, *Teofilo Indiano*, Ravenna 1992 (Biblioteca di «Felix Ravenna» 7), 12 n. 33; ID., "Gregentios in the Land of the Homerites", in: ALBRECHT BERGER (ed., tr.), *Life and Works of Saint Gregentios, Archbishop of Taphar*, Berlin 2006 (Millennium Byzantinum 7), 48–82, here 74f. and n. 163; JAN JACOB VAN GINKEL, *John of Ephesus: a Monophysite Historian in Sixth-Century Byzantium*, Ph.D. thesis, Groningen 1995; ERNST HONIGMANN, *Évêques et évêchés monophysites d'Asie antérieure au VIe siècle*, Louvain 1951 (CSCO 127, Subsidia 2), 207–15; HANS-UDO ROSENBAUM, "Johannes von Ephesus", in: *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon*, vol. 3, Hamm/Westf. 1992, 346ff. (Lit.); HARALD SUERMANN, "Der Bericht des Johannes von Ephesos über die Missionierung der Nubier im sechsten Jahrhundert", in: RENÉ LAVENANT (ed.), *Symposium Syriacum VII: Uppsala University, Department of Asian and African Languages, 11–14 August 1996*, Roma 1998 (OrChrA 256), 303–13.

Witold Witakowski

John Malalas

J.M. (from Syr. *mallālā*, 'talkative; a rhetor'; b. Antioch ca. 491, d. ca. 577) was a Byzantine chronicler. As his Syriac sobriquet suggests, he probably was a rhetorician, perhaps working in the provincial administration at Antioch. He spent most of his life in that city, but later, ca. 535, moved to Constantinople, where he must have died.

His *Chronography* (*Χρονογραφία*) is a universal chronicle in 18 books (I-XVIII) covering history from the Creation to, in its fullest manuscript (Oxford, 11th/12th cent.), the year 563. Most probably, it originally ended with the death of Justinian in 565, if not later. The historiographic narrative is concentrated on Antioch (the first edition 532; s. Croke 1990:20f.), except for the last book (XVIII), dealing with the reign of Justinian (527–65). It was added when J.M. had already left Antioch, and its focus is on Constantinople. It was the first Greek chronicle written in a style and language (popular) fitting for the less educated groups of Byzantine society, including monks.

On a few occasions, J.M. mentions "Ethiopia" (↗Aithiopía), although his terminology reflects the usual confusion of classical sources, and he often calls the country ↗"India", a coextensive term also including South ↗Arabia, besides India itself (↗Greek literature on Ethiopia, ↗Historiography).

J.M. includes mythological information on Kepheus, the emperor of "Ethiopia" and the father of Andromeda (II, 15.21), and mentions "Ethiopians" in the Trojan war (V, 57). He also knows that "Ethiopians" (here, Nubians) waged war against Darius, the king of Persia (VI, 14). According to him, Alexander the Great visited "Ethiopia", and married ↗Candace, the queen of "the Indians of the interior" (VIII, 3).

The non-mythological data on "Ethiopia" concerns ↗Aksum (all in XVIII). We learn of "seven empires of Indians and Ethiopians – three of the Indians and four of the Ethiopians, the latter being close to the Ocean in the areas further east" (tr. Jeffreys et al. 1986:251). Again, "in that year" (no date is provided, but the context suggests the year 528) Dimnos (= ↗Dū Nuwās?), the king of the "Homerite Indians", i.e. the Ḥimyarites (↗Ḥimyar), killed some Christian merchants from "Rome", i.e. Byzantium, as a revenge for the killing of Jews in the Roman territory; and in this way trade between Rome and Aksum was broken (XVIII, 15). Andas, the king of the "Axoumite Indians", whose interests thus suffered, decided to fight Dimnos, promising in case of success to accept ↗Christianity, since the war was on behalf of the merchants who were Christians. Upon victory, Andas, to fulfil his promise, sent ambassadors to Alexandria asking for a bishop and clergy to come to his country. The bishop chosen was John the Paramonarios, i.e. "Janitor" (an administrator) of the church of St. John in Alexandria.

Later on (XVIII, 56) J.M. reports about another war in which the Aksumites defeated the "Homerite" or "Amerite Indians", and set a governor there, Anganes (Ἀγγάνης), a relative of the king of Aksum Elesboas (Ἐλεσβόας), i.e. ƎllƎ Aṣbəḥa or ↗Kaleb. The war originated, at least partly, in the strategic interests of the ↗Byzantine empire. An envoy, Rufinus, was in fact sent

to Aksum to convince Elesboas to attack the king of Persia Koades (Kawād I), so as to involve the Persians in Arabia, too, during the Persian–Byzantine war of 527–31.

These two accounts of J.M. are believed to actually refer to the same events (↗Nağrān), but to draw on different sources. Yet, the reports seem also to be chronologically misplaced (Book XVIII dealing with the time of Justinian), since the Byzantine–Aksumite alliance was agreed upon during Emperor ↗Justin I's reign (518–27). Thus, it is not to be excluded that two different historical events are recounted here – the first narrative rather hinting at the conversion of king Andas, i.e. ↗ʾIllä Amida (II), to Monophysite Christianity, then introduced into Aksum by such missionary groups as the ↗Nine Saints (Fiaccadori 2006:59f., n. 74).

J.M.'s *Chronicle* was translated into Slavonic and Georgian. It was a source, either direct or indirect, of many other historiographic works, both Greek (↗Evagrius, *Chronicon Paschale*, Theophanes, Kedrenos) and Syriac, into which also his information on Ethiopia found its way (↗John of Ephesus, ↗Michael the Syrian).

Src.: JOANNIS MALALAE *Chronographia*, ed. by LUDOVICUS DINDORF, Bonnae 1831 (Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae 24) [repr. in JACQUES-PAUL MIGNE (ed.), *Patrologiae cursus completus: series Graeca*, vol. 97, Lutetiae Parisiorum 1860, 65–717]; *Chronographia*, ed. by IOHANNES THURN, Berlin 2000 (Corpus fontium historiae Byzantinae 35); *The Chronicle of John Malalas*, tr. by ELIZABETH JEFFREYS – MICHAEL JEFFREYS – ROGER SCOTT et al., Melbourne 1986 (Byzantina Australiensia 4).

Lit: GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, "Gregentios in the Land of the Homerites", in: ALBRECHT BERGER (ed., tr.), *Life and Works of Saint Gregentios, Archbishop of Taphar*, Berlin 2006 (Millennium Byzantinum 7), 48–82, here 59f., n. 74 (Lit.); BRIAN CROKE, "Malalas, the Man and his Work", in: ELIZABETH JEFFREYS – BRIAN CROKE – ROGER SCOTT (eds.), *Studies in John Malalas*, Sydney 1990 (Byzantina Australiensia 6), 1–25; ELIZABETH JEFFREYS, "Malalas' Sources", *ibid.*, 167–216; HANS-UDO ROSENBAUM, "Johannes Malalas", in: *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon*, vol. 3, Hamm/Westf. 1992, 468–73 (Lit.); SerHist 138.

Witold Witakowski

John of Nikiu

J. was a 7th cent. bishop of Nikiu in the southwest Nile Delta and the author of a universal Chronicle, i.e. a world history from Adam down to his own times (↗Historiography). Sources on his life are very rare. It is known that for some time he was general overseer (Ar. *mudabbir*) of the monasteries, hence his Ethiopic name Yoḥannəs Mädäbbär (ዮሐንስ፡ መደበር); and that he died shortly after 700.

Most of his historical work largely relies upon earlier Byzantine chronicles. This is precisely the part that, in principle, is less valuable as a historical source (but s. Fiaccadori 2006). His treatment of Egyptian history shows similarities with the Coptic *Cambyses Romance* (Cruz-Uribe 1986). More interesting are J.'s last chapters, where he describes the final decades of Byzantine rule over Egypt, the latter's conquest by the Arabs and the first decades of their dominion (Kaegi 1998). As the Arabic historiography gives conflicting accounts on this period, J.'s independent testimony is most welcome.

Zotenberg (1879) supposed that the no longer extant original text was a mixture of Greek and Coptic passages. Nöldeke (1883:1367) and Crum (1917:207) adduced arguments for a purely Coptic original, while Orlandi (1970:109) thought of a Greek original, later translated into Coptic. An allegedly found Sahidic fragment of J.'s chronicle (Charles 1916:ivf.) is however unknown (Orlandi 1970). Perhaps, it was confused with a fragment of the Cambyses romance (Möller–Schäfer 1901). From the (presumably) Coptic text an Arabic translation was made at an unknown date. In 1601 a Gəʿəz version was made of this by an anonymous Ethiopian translator working together with a certain Gäbrəʾel the Egyptian, son of John of Qalyūb.

The Ethiopic text is preserved in four manuscripts (late 17th to 20th cent.): London, BritLib Orient. 818; Paris, BN éth. 123, fols. 62–138; BN Abb 31 (= 209 CR), fols. 104–65; Rome, ANLin fonds Conti Rossini 27, fol. 1–120, slightly incomplete. The latter two, at the time unavailable, were not used in Zotenberg's edition (for a sample of their collation with ch. XC of the Chronicle s. Fiaccadori 2006:118f.). The extant text is full of omissions and displaced passages. Whether such deficiencies are due to the original, or to one of the stages of its translation and transmission, can be but partly ascertained.

J.'s Chronicle became a source of the Ethiopian hagiographies of ↗John Chrysostom and ↗Cyril of Alexandria (cf. mss. Ṭānāsee 37, fols. 5rc–7ra; München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek cod. aeth. 38, fols. 3ra–6rb; EMML 46, fols. 1r–4r; 345, fols. 6v–10r; 513, fols. 1r–15r; 948, fols. 2r–3v on Chrysostom and mss. München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek cod. Aeth. 53, fol. 4ra–vb; EMML 688, fols. 1r–4v; 747, fols. 1r–4v on Cyril).

↗Gəʿəz literature

Src.: ROBERT HENRY CHARLES (tr.), *The Chronicle of John, Bishop of Nikiu, tr. from Zotenberg's Ethiopic Text*, London – Oxford, 1916 (The Text and Translation Society 3) [repr.: Amsterdam 1981]; CRAbb IV, 193f., no. 209; EMML; HamTana 168–74, ms. Ṭānāsee 37 = Kebrān 37; SixBay 65f., no. 38 [ms. Aeth. 38]; 92–96, no. 53 [ms. Aeth. 53]; StrANL 100ff., no. 27; ʿUMAR ṢĀBIR ʿABDALǦALĪL (tr.), *Tārīḫ Miṣr li-Yūḥannā an-Niqiyūsī. Ruʾyā qibṭīya lil-fatḥ al-islāmī*, Cairo 2000; WrBriMus 300–10, no. 391 [ms. Orient. 818]; HERMANN ZOTENBERG (tr.), "Mémoire sur la chronique byzantine de Jean, évêque de Nikiou", *JA* 7ᵉ sér., 10, 1877, 451–517; *ibid.* 12, 1878, 245–347; *ibid.* 13, 1879, 291–386 [repr.: ID., *La chronique de Jean, évêque de Nikiou*, Paris 1879]; ID. (ed., tr.), *Chronique de Jean, évêque de Nikiou*, Paris 1883 (= *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale et autres bibliothèques* 24, 1, 1883, 125–608); ZotBNat no. 146 [ms. éth. 123], fols. 62–138.

Lit.: FRANZ ALTHEIM – RUTH STIEHL, *Christentum am Roten Meer*, vol. 1, Berlin 1971, 356–89 ["Die arabische Eroberung Ägyptens nach Johannes von Nikiu"]; WALTER EWING CRUM, [Review of Charles 1916], *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 4, 1917, 207–09; EUGENE CRUZ-URIBE, "Notes on the Coptic Cambyses Romance", *Enchoria* 14, 1986, 51–56; GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, "Māsidis (Giovanni di Nikiou, *Chron.* XC 54–60)", in: ID. (ed.), «*In partibus Clius*»: *Scritti in onore di Giovanni Pugliese Carratelli*, Napoli 2006 (Biblioteca europea 37), 113–35, here 118f. (Lit.); PETER MARSHALL FRASER, "John of Nikiu", in: *CE*, vol. 5, 1366f.; GrafLit I, 470ff.; WALTER EMIL KAEGI, "Egypt on the eve of Muslim Conquest", in: CARL F. PETRY (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Egypt*, vol. 1, Cambridge 1998, 34–61; GIANFRANCESCO LUSINI, "L'Église axoumite et ses traditions historiographiques (IVᵉ–VIIᵉ siècle)", in: BERNARD POUDERON – YVES-MARIE DUVAL (eds.), *L'Historiographie de l'Église des premiers siècles*, Paris 2001 (Théologie Historique 114), 541–57, here 542, 546–49; GEORG MÖLLER – H. SCHÄFER, "Zu den Bruchstücken des koptischen Kambysesromans", *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 39, 1901, 113–16; THEODOR NÖLDEKE, [Review of Zotenberg 1879], *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen* 1881, 587–94; ID., [review of Zotenberg 1883], *ibid.* 1883, 1364–74; TITO ORLANDI, *Elementi di lingua e letteratura copta*, Milano 1970, 109; MAXIME RODINSON, "Notes sur le texte de Jean de Nikiou", in: *PICES* 4, vol. 2, 127–37; ID., "Éthiopien et Sudarabique", *École Pratique des Hautes Études. IVᵉ Section: Sciences historiques et philologiques. Annuaire 1974–1975*, Paris 1975, 209–47, here 242f. ["Le chapitre 51 de Jean de Nikiou"].

Stefan Weninger

John Saba ↗Arägawi Mänfäsawi

Johnson, Samuel

J. (b. 1709, Litchfield, d. 1784, London) was a British author and lexicographer. Born to Michael Johnson, an impoverished bookseller, he attended the local grammar school and Pembroke College, Oxford, but left it in 1729 without completing his studies, and for several years failed to find regular employment. As one of the most distinguished men of letters of English history, he is buried in Westminster Abbey.

In 1732 he began translating into English Joachim Le Grand's French version (1728) of Jeronimo ↗Lobo's account on ↗Ethiopia, completing his work in 1735 for the lump sum of five guineas (interestingly, he removed Le Grand's own additions on the ↗Jesuit missions). This gave him a long-standing interest in Ethiopia, leading him to write a short morality tale set in the country about "Seged, emperour of Ethiopia", i.e. *aṣe* ↗Susənyos (Səlṭan Sägäd). It appeared in 1752 in *The Rambler*, a periodical publication then edited by J.

J. was subsequently employed by a group of London booksellers to produce the work for which he is most renowned: his two-volume *Dictionary of the English Language*, which took eight years to write, and appeared in 1755. Thereafter, he became increasingly involved in writing and editing.

In 1758, he wrote his famous novel *Rasselas*, also known as the *Prince of Abyssinia*, issued on 20 April 1759, which is an adaptation of the French *conte philosophique* grafted on to the Oriental tale (a genre brought about by the popularity of *The Arabian Nights*, translated into English from a French version in 1705–08). The first European example of creative literature specifically on Ethiopia, it tells the story of Rasselas, a Prince of Abyssinia (on the choice of this term vs. Ethiopia, s. Auf der Maur in PICES 15:528), who leaves the "happy valley" of his birth with his mentor Imlac, his sister Nekayah, and her servant Pekuah. The plot is an educative grand tour – with biblical overtones – undertaken by the characters into an imaginary Africa, in search of the happiest way of life. Travelling through Egypt (the ancient seat of wisdom), they are subsequently faced with occurrences that show the delusive nature of most quests for human happiness. Against their Old English "demonic" stereotype (s. Kilburn-Smith 2004:75, 85), J.'s Ethiopians, a model of perfect behaviour, are indeed Homer's "blameless Ethiopians", leading their happy life at the extreme boundaries of the world (↗Greek literature), but the name "Rasselas" is clearly inspired by that of Susənyos's brother *ras* ↗Səʿəlä Krəstos; and so can "Imlac" be traced to Eth. *amlak* ("God"), occurring in composite names, the best known of which is ↗Yəkunno Amlak.

Rasselas was reportedly written within a week, J. being inspired by Lobo's account as well as by other texts that circulated in published form, such as Balthasar ↗Tellez's and Hiob ↗Ludolf's,

whose *Historia Aethiopica* – including "Sultan Sagedus" (lb. 3, ch. 11, §19), "Sɛɛla-Christus" or "Sɛɛlaxós", i.e. "Sɛɛla(christ)ós" (lb. 4, ch. 3, §4), and "Icon-amlacus" (lb. 2, ch. 6, §1) – he had certainly at hand. *Rasselas* earned its author 100 guineas, and gained immediate popularity: indeed the best mid-18th cent. example of Orientalism in British Romantic literature, it compares with Voltaire's virtually contemporary *Candide*, another celebrated "philosophical romance" of the Enlightenment. It has been translated into many languages (Amh. by Sirak Ḫəruy in 1946/47), and countless editions have earned its author a worldwide fame not only as a novelist but also as a moral philosopher – and contributed towards fostering an intellectual interest in Ethiopia and the Ethiopians. The ethical imprint of J.'s work and its melancholy bias were acknowledged, among others, by William Hazlitt, George Saintsbury and Hilaire Belloc, who thought of *Rasselas* as "of a Book unrivalled in Excellency of Intention, in Elegance of Diction: in minute knowledge of human life – and sublime Expression of Oriental Imagery".

J.'s influence appears in the works of Charlotte (Ramsey, afterwords) Lennox such as *The Female Quixote* (1752) and in Ellis Cornelia Knight's *Dinarbas*, presented as a continuation of *Rasselas* (1790). Another continuation to J.'s story, also prompted by its "open end", was written by Elizabeth (Pope) Whately in 1834.

Since the late 19th cent., it has been assumed that ch. 22 ("The happiness of a life led according to nature") of *Rasselas* is a satirical appreciation, especially in its second part, of Jean-Jacques Rousseau's *Discours sur l'origine de l'inégalité* (1755), and that Rousseau himself is typified by the "philosopher" Imlac. Yet, serious doubts have been cast on this interpretation, previously unknown to such authoritative commentators of *Rasselas* as J.'s friend and biographer James Boswell. "To live according to nature" is there, instead, an exact rendering of the formula *secundum naturam vivere* by the Flemish humanist Justus Lipsius (1547–1606), who had so Latinized one of the main issues (and a book title) of the Greek philosopher Zeno of Citium, the founder of ancient Stoicism (Kolb 1976). That chapter is rather a satiric *pastiche* alluding to various authors of the late 17th and early 18th cent.: from the Neo-Stoic Anthony Le Grand to the deist Matthew Tindal, with hints at Samuel Clarke and those speculating on the "law of nature". Other names have been put forward in this connection: Lord Shaftesbury, Richard Cumberland, Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz and Alexander Pope. In fact, the "philosopher" introduced by J. is the portrait of more than one sitter – but in no way of Rousseau (cp. Sertoli 2005:329 n. 74).

Src.: SAMUEL JOHNSON, "The History of Ten Days of Seged, Emperor of Ethiopia", *The Rambler* 204, 21 February 1752 (= W. JACKSON BATE – ALBRECHT B. STRAUSS [eds.], *The Rambler*, New Haven, CT – London 1969, vol. 3 [The Yale Edition of the Works of Samuel Johnson 5], 296–99); ID., "The History of Seged Concluded", *ibid.* 205, 3 March 1752 (= 300–05); ID., *The History of Rasselas, Prince of Abissinia*, London 1759; ID., *Rasselas, Prince of Abissinia, an Ascetic Tale*, to which is added D. Narbis' *Continuation of Rasselas*, Greenfield, MA 1795, 3 vols.; ID., *Rasselas and Other Tales*, ed. by GWIN J. KOLB, New Haven, CT – London 1990 (The Yale Edition of the Works of Samuel Johnson 16); ID., *Rasselas principe d'Abissina*, ed. by GIUSEPPE SERTOLI, tr. by GOFFREDO MIGLIETTA, Venezia 2005, here 329 n. 74, 343–51 (Lit.); ID., ራሰላስ (*Rasśəlas*), tr. by SIRAK ḪƎRUY, Addis Abäba 1939 A.M. [1946/47 A.D.]; ELLIS CORNELIA KNIGHT, *Dinarbas: a Tale; being a Continuation to Rasselas, Prince of Abyssinia* (1790), ed. by LYNNE MELOCCARO, London 1994; JEROME LOBO, *Relation historique d'Abissinie ...* [also: *Voyage historique d'Abissinie ...*], tr. by M. LE GRAND, Paris 1728; JEROME LOBO, *A Voyage to Abyssinia*, ed. by SAMUEL JOHNSON, London 1735; LudHist lb. 2, ch. 6, § 1, lb. 3, ch. 11, § 19; CHARLOTTE LENNOX, *The Female Quixote: or, the Adventures of Arabella* (1752), ed. M. DALZIEL, Oxford 1989; ELIZABETH WHATELY, "The Second Part of The History of Rasselas, Prince of Abyssinia", in: MARY FOX (ed.), *Friendly Contributions, for the Benefit of Three Infant Schools, in the Parish of Kensington*, [Kensington] 1834, 117–46.

Lit.: LORENZ AUF DER MAUR, "*Ethiopia* and *Abyssinia* in English Writings up to 1790", in: *PICES* 15, 523–31, here 528; LAURA BANDIERA, *Settecento e malinconia: saggi di letteratura inglese*, Bologna 1995, 101–23; HILAIRE BELLOC, *Short Talks With the Dead and Others*, Kensington 1926, 173-83; LISA BERGLUND, "Allegory in *The Rambler*", *Papers on Language and Literature* 37, 2001, 147–78, here 154ff., 159 n. 9, 170f.; RICHARD BRAVERMAN, "The Narrative Architecture of Rasselas", *The Age of Johnson: a Scholarly Annual* 3, 1990, 91–111; CHARLES L. CAMPBELL, "Image and Symbol in *Rasselas*: Narrative Form and 'The Flux of Life'", *English Studies in Canada* 16, 1990, 263–77; TITA CHICO, "Rasselas and the Rise of the Novel", *Johnsonian News Letter* 56, 1, 2005, 8–11; RICHARD F. FLECK, "Samuel Johnson's *Rasselas*: a Perspective on Islam", *Weber Studies* 10, 1, 1993, 50–57; RUDOLPH FREIBURG, "European Scepticism: Johnson's *Rasselas*, Voltaire's *Candide*, and Lichtenberg's *Aphorisms*", in: SERGE SOUPEL (ed.), *La Grande-Bretagne et l'Europe des Lumières. Actes de colloques déc. 1992 et déc. 1993*, Paris 1996, 221–36; JOEL L. GOLD, "Johnson's Translation of Lobo", *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America* [=*PMLA*] 80, 1965, 51–61; STEPHEN GRAY, "Johnson's Use of Some African Myths in *Rasselas*", *Standpunte* 38, 2, 1985, 16–23; JASMINE KILBURN-SMITH, "The Figure of the Ethiopian in Old English Texts", *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester* 86, 2004, 69–85; GWIN J. KOLB, "Rousseau and the Background of the 'Life According to

Nature' in Chapter 22 of 'Rasselas'", *Modern Philology* 73/2, 1976, Suppl., 66–73; DONALD M. LOCKHART, "The Fourth Son of the Mighty Emperor: the Ethiopian Background of Johnson's *Rasselas*", *PMLA* 78, 5, 1963, 516–28; MUHSIN JASSIM ALI, "*Rasselas* as a Colonial Discourse", *Central Institute of English & Foreign Languages Bulletin* 8, 1, 1996, 47–60; STEPHEN S. POWER, "Through the Lens of *Orientalism*: Samuel Johnson's *Rasselas*," *West Virginia University Philological Papers* 40, 1994, 6–10; THOMAS R. PRESTON, "The Biblical Context of Johnson's *Rasselas*", *PMLA* 84, 1969, 274–81; PAT ROGERS, "Johnson, Samuel", in: *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford 2004, vol. 30, 310–23 (Lit.); STEVEN SCHERWATZKY, "Johnson, *Rasselas* and the Politics of Empire", *Eighteenth-Century Life* 16, 1992, 103–13; MALVERN VAN WYK SMITH, "Father Lobo, Ethiopia, and the Transkei: or, Why Rasselas was not a Mpondo Prince", *Journal of African Travel Writing* 4, 1998, 5–16.

Richard Pankhurst – Gianfranco Fiaccadori

Joseph ben Gorion ↗Zena Ayhud

Journal of Ethiopian Studies

The J.E.S (**የኢትዮጵያ፡ ጥናትና፡ ምርምር፡ መጽሔት**, *Yäʾityopya ṭənatənna mərəmmər mäṣḥet*) is the principal publication of the ↗Institute of Ethiopian Studies (IES), of ↗Addis Ababa University. The first issue, however, dated January 1963, went to press prior to the establishment of the Institute. It was regarded as a sequel to the *University College Review*, only one issue of which had been published (in spring 1961).

The first J.E.S. issue was edited by Monica Kehoe, a lecturer in the Faculty of Arts, with four assistant editors from the same faculty: Haydn George, Nigel Hudson, Richard Pankhurst, and Claude Sumner. Articles published covered Ethiopian education, economic history, religion and law.

The first issue of J.E.S. published by the IES (vol. 1, no. 2) appeared in July 1963. Much expanded, it was followed, twice yearly, by 24 further issues, edited by the Institute's director, Richard Pankhurst, and librarian-curator Stanisław Chojnacki, assisted by a succession of English specialists: Nigel Hudson, Innes Marshall, and Hazel Relton. Articles covered a wide range of subjects, notably history; Amharic, Oromo, Gəʿəz, Gurage, ʿAfar, Hadiyya, Ingassana, Kunfäl, and "Nilotic" linguistics and literature; religion, traditional customs, and art. There was also a section on "Source Material".

Authors included many leading international scholars: Charles ↗Beckingham, Enrico ↗Cerulli, Hubert Deschamps, Ernst ↗Hammerschmidt, George Wynn Brereton ↗Huntingford, Jules ↗Leroy, Wolf ↗Leslau, Otto Meinardus, Roger and Madeleine Schneider, Stefan ↗Strelcyn, Edward Ullendorff and Ewald Wagner. There were also numerous articles by IES members: Richard Pankhurst, Stanisław Chojnacki, Bayru Tafla, Salome Gäbrä Ǝgziʾabəḥer, Aläme Ǝšäte, Ṣähay Bərhanä Śəllase, Bərhanu Abbäbä, Stephen ↗Wright, Kənfä Rəgəb Zälläqä, Tärräfä Wäldä Ṣadəq, Elisabeth-Dorothea Hecht, *aläqa* Yəkunno Amlak, and, much later, Taddäsä Bärisso, Getaččäw Kaśa, Aklilu Yəlma and Zäläʾaläm Täfärra, as well as by visiting scholars, including Lambert Bartels, Gideon Goldenberg, Christopher Hallpike, Jacques Mercier, Diana Spencer, and Volker ↗Stitz.

University staff contributors included historians Mordechai Abir, Richard ↗Caulk, Donald Crummey, Harold ↗Marcus, Märəd Wäldä Arägay, Sven Rubenson, ↗Ṣərgəw Hablä Śəllase, Taddäsä Tammərat and Alessandro Triulzi; linguists and literature specialists Amsalu Aklilu, Lionel Bender, Getaččäw Ḫayle, Habtä Maryam Marqos, Ḫaylu Fulass, ↗Mängəśtu Lämma, Säyfu Mätafäriya, and Taddäsä Bäyyänä; educationalists Aklilu Habte, Gərma Amarä, Ḫaylä Gäbrəʾel Dañña, and Sälomon ʿƎnqʷay; social anthropologists Asmärom Läggäśä, Georges Savard and William ↗Shack; lawyers George Krzeczunowicz, and Jacques Vanderlinden; economists Taye Gullillat and Maurice de Young; geographer Akalu Wäldä Mikaʾel, political scientist Nəguśe Ayyälä, and philosopher Claude Sumner. Other contributors included Francis Anfray of the Ethiopian Archaeology Institute, Salvatore ↗Tedeschi of the Italian Embassy; Canon A.F. Matthew of the English Church; and Giuseppe Tringali, an archeologist in Asmära; as well as such missionaries as Loren Bleise, Roger Wenman ↗Cowley, Peter Cotterell, Klaus Wedekind, Francis Swinburne Lister, J. Lister, and Enid Parker.

The proceedings of an Ethiopian Historical Society conference appeared in vol. 10, 1. Two indices to these volumes appeared: an Institute monograph, index to vols. 1–14, 1963–79, in 1980; and one by Chris Prouty Rosenfeld (1980).

The first J.E.S. series ended, after the ↗Revolution, with vol. 13, 2, for July 1975, but publication was resumed by the Institute's second director Taddäsä Tammərat. He published vol. 14, for 1976–79, co-edited with Taddäsä Bäyyänä, in January 1980.

The second J.E.S. series began as an annual, with vol. 15, under the editorship of Baḥru Zäwde,

Taddäsä Bäyyänä and Taddäsä Tammərat, in August 1982. Their editorship continued for nine years, until November 1991, when an editorial board, of Baḥru Zäwde, Bərhanä Asfaw, Bälay Tägäññä, ↗ƎšätuČole, Taddäsä Bäyyänä, and Taddäsä Tammərat was established. Twice annual publication was resumed with vol. 25, 1, in June 1993. A new board, consisting of Abdussämäd H. Aḥmäd, Bayyä Yəmam, Märəd Wäldä Arägay, Taddäsä Bärisso, Taddäsä Tammərat, and Zärihun Asfaw later came into existence, with vol. 30, 1, in June 1997. The journal's managing editor became Bərhanu Täfärra.

The journal's subject emphasis remained largely unchanged. Many earlier authors continued to contribute, but a new generation of scholars was appearing. They included Ethiopian historians Abdussämäd H. Aḥmäd, Aḥmäd Zäkarya, Baḥru Zäwde, Ḥusäyn Aḥmäd, and Šəfärraw Bäqqälä; linguists and literature specialists Alämayyähu Ḫayle, Bayyä Yəmam, Fäqadä Azzäzä, and Tayyä Assäfa; and many in the social sciences, among them Bälay Tägäññä, Dässaläñ Rahmato, ƎšätuČole, Getaččäw Kaśa, Mäkkätä Bälaččäw, and Säbsəbe Däməssäw. Other new contributors included Rodolfo Fattovich and Paolo Marrassini from Italy, David Phillipson and Stuart ↗Munro-Hay from Britain, Jon Abbink from Holland, and Eisei Kurimoto from Japan.

The journal also published abstracts of Addis Ababa University Master and Doctorate dissertations, as well as papers of an Aksum Seminar in vol. 23, a Conference on Environment and Development in vol. 26, 1, Proceedings of the Twelfth ↗International Conference of Ethiopian Studies in vol. 27, 1, and the Second National Conference of Ethiopian Studies in vol. 28, 2. A cumulative J.E.S. index, covering 207 articles in the first series and 103 published up to then in the second, appeared in vol. 27, 1 (Sushma Gupta 1994).

In 1970 the journal was awarded the Ḫaylä Śəllase I Award for Ethiopian Studies (s. Pankhurst 2001:237f.).

Src.: *JES*; *University College Review* 1, 1961; CHRIS PROUTY ROSENFELD, "Subject and Author Index, Ethiopia Observer [EO] (1967–1974) and Journal of Ethiopian Studies [JES] (1963–1975)", *NEASt* 2, 1, 1980, 81–112; [ANONYMOUS], *Journal of Ethiopian Studies, Index to Vols. I–XIV (1963–79)*, Addis Abäba 1980; SUSHMA GUPTA, "A Cumulative Index of the Journal of Ethiopian Studies", *JES* 27, 1, 1994, 143–87.

Lit.: RICHARD PANKHURST – TADDESE BEYENE (eds.), *Silver Jubilee of the Institute of Ethiopian Studies*, Addis Ababa 1990; RICHARD PANKHURST, "The Haile Sellassie I Prize: Trust Prizes for Ethiopian Studies (1964–1974)", in: PIOTR O. SCHOLZ (ed.), *Von Hiob Ludolf bis Enrico Cerulli. Halle/S. 3.–5. Oktober 1996: Akten der 2. Tagung der Orbis-Æthiopicus-Gesellschaft ...*, Warszawa – Wiesbaden 2001 (Bibliotheca nubica et æthiopica 8), 229–42.

Richard Pankhurst

Journalism ↗Press

Juba ↗Ganaalee

Jubilee palace

The J.p. is a cream-coloured building across Mənilək II Avenue from the Africa Hall (the building where the ↗Organization of African Unity was founded, now the Headquarters of the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa), and just across the narrow ↗Finfinnee river from Mäsqäl Square and Ǝsṭifanos Church in Addis Abäba. The palace has three grand pillared porticoes on its front that rise the height of the building. The gates are topped by large carved lions.

The building was completed in 1955 to mark *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I's Silver Jubilee, close to the Emperor's small private villa next to the Fəlwəha hot springs (the villa was later added to the Gəyon Hotel complex adjoining the palace).

On its western side, there was a pre-war Adventist maternity hospital, the first of its kind and for many years the only. The hospital continued to give service even after the J.p. was built even though they shared a wall; later a new bigger building was constructed for the hospital nearby, the old building being merged with the palace.

The palace became the Emperor's primary residence after the attempted ↗Coup d'état of 1961 (at the ↗Gännätä Lᵊul Palace) and stayed such till the ↗Revolution of 1974. In 1966–67, a new wing was added to the palace on the occasion of Queen Elisabeth II's visit to Ethiopia. The room she inhabited in the J.p. during her stay is still called the "Queen's room".

The *Därg* renamed the Palace the "National Palace" and continued to use it for state ceremonies. The *Därg* added a swimming pool and a tennis court to the grounds, and a huge Lenin statue was erected between the J.p. and Africa Hall (dismantled in 1991). With the fall of the *Därg*, the Transitional Government used it for state functions and ceremonies until 1994. After the proclamation of the Federal Republic, in 1994, the J.p. became the official residence of the President of the Federal Republic of Ethiopia, who uses the palace for official functions.

The J.p. houses a small museum stocked with artefacts from the reign of Ḫaylä Śəllase, such as his Imperial crown, coronation robes, various military uniforms, medals, orders and decorations, including his robes and decorations as Knight of the Garter (Great Britain) which were never returned upon his death to Windsor as was customary.

The palace park houses the Zoological Natural History Museum, the only such museum in Ethiopia.

Src.: internet resources.

Lit.: HAROLD G. MARCUS, "1960 – the Year the Sky began Falling on Haile Selassie", *NEASt* 6, 3, 1999, 11–25.

Evgenia Sokolinskaia

Jubilees, Book of

J. (Gəᶜəz: መጽሐፈ: ኩፋሌ, *Mäṣḥafä kufale*) is a prime example of the genre of "Rewritten Scriptures", offering a contextualized and updated version of the stories told from Gen 1 to Ex 24. The first chapter pictures ↗Moses on Mount Sinai where God commands an angel to dictate the contents of the Books of Genesis and Exodus to Moses from heavenly tablets. It is pseudepigraphic in that, while it was written long after his time, the human authorship of the book is attributed to Moses. In retelling the stories, the writer solves exegetical problems and also establishes that the patriarchs obeyed some laws which in the Pentateuch were not revealed until Moses's time (e.g. those for the festival of weeks). The book received the name Jubilees from the author's practice of dating events within chronological units of 49 years; another name for it is "The Book of the Divisions of the Times".

J. was written in the mid-2nd cent. B.C. in Hebrew. Fragments of it have been identified in some fourteen copies from Qumran (1Q17–18; 2Q19–20; 3Q5; 4Q176 fragments 19–21; 4Q216 [217?]–24; 11Q12). They are all written in Hebrew and the oldest dates from ca. 125–100 B.C. (4Q216). It was regarded as an authoritative work by the community (see CD 16:2–4; 4Q228).

J. was translated from Hebrew into Greek and possibly Syriac; only a few citations from both versions are extant. From Greek it was rendered with great care into Latin (there is one palimpsest copy of which only one-third of the text is legible) and into Gəᶜəz. The book has survived in its entirety only through the Gəᶜəz translation. For the latest critical edition of *Mäṣḥafä kufale* (Vanderkam 1989), 27 mss. were employed (for a complete list s. Vanderkam 1989:XV [text]).

The *Mäṣḥafä kufale* is included in canonical lists and is often grouped in manuscripts with the ↗Octateuch. It became the subject of commentary and some of its teachings proved influential. For instance, its 364-day calendar, shared with the Astronomical Book of ↗Enoch (1 Enoch 72–82), left its mark on calendrical treatises, while its Sabbath laws are reflected in the ↗*Təʾəzazä sänbät*. *Təʾəzazä sänbät* also cites several other sections from the J., such as parts of its creation account and the story about the entry of Adam and Eve into the Garden (thus justifying the laws of Leviticus 12). There is an extended quotation from J. 1 in the Ethiopian ↗Ezra Apocalypse, while homiletic works such as *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*Milad* draw material from several places in the book. The angel of the presence who reveals the book to Moses was understood as the Son and the angel of sanctification as the Holy Spirit in Trinitarian discussions. Jubilees is also used as a source in ↗*Andəmta* commentary.

↗Bible

Src.: KLAUS BERGER (ed., tr.), *Das Buch der Jubiläen*, Gütersloh 1981 (Jüdische Schriften aus hellenistisch-römischer Zeit II, 3); ROBERT HENRY CHARLES (ed, tr.), *The Ethiopic Version of the Hebrew Book of Jubilees*, Oxford 1895; AUGUST DILLMANN (ed., tr.), *Maṣeḥafa Kufālē sive liber Jubilaeorum aethiopica*, Lipsia 1859; LUIGI FUSELLA (tr.), "Libro dei giubilei", in: *Apocrifi dell'Antico Testamento*, Torino 1981, 181–411; JAMES VANDERKAM (ed., tr.), *The Book of Jubilees*, Lovanii 1989 (CSCO 510, 511 [SAe 87, 88]).

Lit.: MATTHIAS ALBANI – JÖRG FREY – ARMIN LANGE (eds.), *Studies in the Book of Jubilees*, Tübingen 1997 (Texte und Studien zum Antiken Judentum 65); JAMES VANDERKAM, *The Book of Jubilees*, Sheffield 2001 (Guides to Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha); ID. – JOZEF MILIK, "Jubilees", in: JAMES VANDERKAM (ed.), *Qumran Cave 4* VIII: *Parablical Texts* Part I, Oxford 1994 (Discoveries in the Judaean Desert 13).

James C. Vanderkam

Judaism

J., one of the oldest of the world religions, has a particular importance for the political and cultural history of Ethiopia and Eritrea.

The sources of Ethiopian Judaism

The origins of traditional Ethiopian J. have long been a controversial subject of discussion (Gamst 1995a). There are three possibilities: migration of ancient Jews to Ethiopia, diffusion of ancient Hebraic cultural patterns to Ethiopia, and native Ethiopian developments of J.

Traditions collected by visitors and scholars (from BruNile vol. 1, 484f. to Gamst 1969 etc.) have the ↗Betä Ǝsraʾel alleging an origin in ancient Israel and a connection with King ↗Solomon and the Queen of Sheba (↗Makədda). The ↗Solomonic dynasty of the Ethiopian emperors, terminated with ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I in 1974, also embraced the Solomon and Sheba myth (↗*Kəbrä nägäśt*), which provided a cultural charter for their legitimacy. This proto-myth constitutes one of the several romantic origins of Ethiopian J. cultivated by some European scholars. In the myth, Solomon of Israel and Sheba, mythically a Queen of Ethiopia, have a son, ↗Mənilək I. He begins the Solomonic dynasty and is the embodiment of God's transfer of His Covenant from the Hebrews to the Abyssinians (e.g., ↗Amhara, ↗Təgray, and ↗Agäw). Mənilək and Aaronite priests accompanying him from Israel stole the emblematic ↗Ark of the Covenant from Jerusalem and hid it in ↗Aksum. The Betä Ǝsraʾel claim to have travelled with the Mənilək party.

Thus, Aksum replaced ↗Jerusalem as ↗Zion. The Ethiopian emperors called themselves *əsraʾelawi* ('Israelites') and "the Conquering Lion of the Tribe of Judah". The ↗lion served as the national emblem. Solomon ruled in the 10th cent. B.C., however, a half millennium or more before any possible entry of Hebraic elements into Ethiopia. The historical Solomonic dynasty dates to 1270 A.D. All Christian Ethiopians, however, have faith that the True Cross (↗*Mäsqäl*) and the Ark are hidden in their country. Thus God cloaks with legitimacy His new chosen people, who sometimes refer to themselves as *däqiqä Ǝsraʾel*, 'children of Israel'. The Solomonic myth pervades Christian and "Judaic" Ethiopian cultures.

Another suggestion of some European scholars is the Egyptian connection. During the 7th through 5th cent. B.C., and thereafter, Hellenistic Jews lived in ↗Egypt, including Elephantine on the Nile. The ↗Nile and the ↗Abbay are not a channel of migration into the heart of Abyssinia, however. The rugged watercourses form a tortuously long and physically formidable barrier to migration. Beyond the geographic barriers, hellenized Egyptian J. cannot be culturally ancestral to Ethiopian J. In a curious letter to Jews in Spain, written in 883 A.D., ↗Eldad Ha-Dani ('the Danite') developed another enduring myth, the Betä Ǝsraʾel were the lost tribe of Dan. His travels and account, and other "lost tribe" allegations, remain unverifiable.

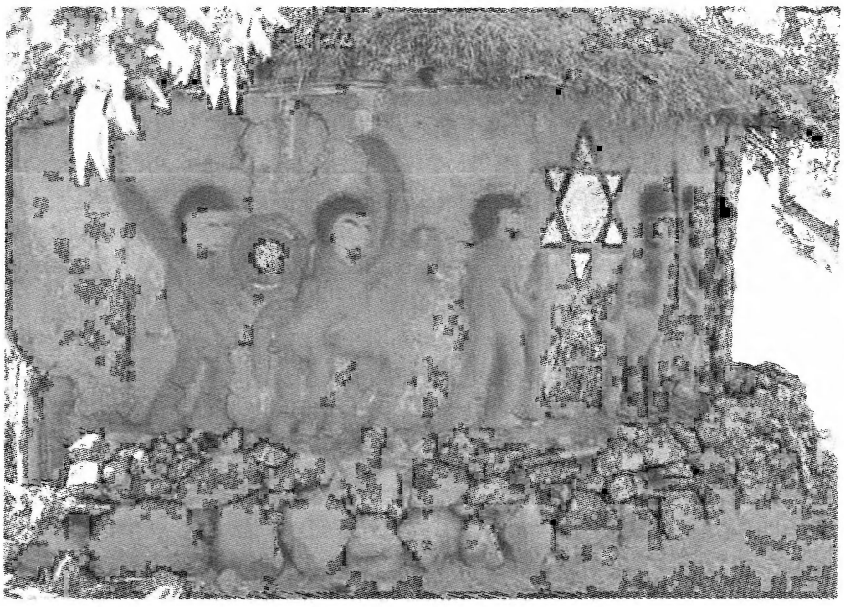
Southern ↗Arabia had a Jewish population during the early centuries of the Common Era (Robin 1980; Beeston 1984). The allegation, however, that some Ethiopians, in particular the Betä Ǝsraʾel, are descendants of these Arabian (or also Palestinian or Egyptian) Jews cannot be generally supported. A more culturally plausible hypothesis following cultural diffusion theory is that Hebraic cultural patterns diffused to Ethiopia, particularly from Arabia to Aksumite Ethiopia (Rathjens 1923:92ff.; Leslau 1951:xlii–xliii; UllBibl 17–24; Ullendorff 1988:150). No genuine documented sources exist, however, for this diffusion. Moreover, the South Arabian Jews used Hebrew and the Talmud, inexistent in traditional Ethiopian J.

Ullendorff (1987) and Polotsky (1964) discuss credible evidences for Hebrew–Aramaic words in Christian Aksumite writing. Kaplan (1992:31f.), Gamst (1969:12f.), and others have concluded from such linguistic and other evidences that a few carriers of Hebraism reached Aksum in the early centuries of the Common Era (prior to Emperor ↗ᶜEzana's conversion to ↗Christianity during the 4th cent.). In Aksum, these carriers had considerable influence. Their Judaic cultural patterns diffused into Ethiopia at a formative time, and provided a substratum to later religious developments (Kaplan 1992:19f.; Gamst 1969:12ff.).

Under the light of intensive scholarship, this general "traditionalist" view, of a few highly consequential carriers of Judaic cultural patterns influencing Ethiopian religion, is no longer tenable. With extensive documentation, Brakmann (in BrakKirche) summarizes that an Aksumite J. of late antiquity is unprovable: as a prerequisite for the Christianization of Aksum; as a rival of the Christians in a struggle for domination of the kingdom; or as a determining factor in the early history of the Aksumite Church. More specifically, regarding various presentations on pre-Christian Judaic influences, on methodological grounds alone, these do not account for the "Solomonid" ideology of the monarchial state, but originate largely in religious innovation in the time of the 15th cent. *aṣe* ↗Zärʾa Yaᶜəqob, influenced by contemporary translations of old Christian texts. They are part of the generally far-reaching Ethiopian Christian relearning and, thereby, continuing of early Judaic practices of the OT. Regarding frequently alleged "evidences" from Aksumite J., male ↗circumcision remains widespread in Africa and early Christians in Egypt (and elsewhere) observed the ↗Sabbath (Saturday) as the

day of rest and worship. In all, the various "Judaic" customs and beliefs found in Ethiopian Christianity originate after its introduction (BrakKirche 172–85).

Ethiopian J. is indeed heavily patterned by Christianity. Leslau (1951:XXXVII) claims: "the influence of Christianity upon Abyssinian J. was considerable". Most of the corpus of Betä Ǝsraʾel writing comes from the Ethiopian Christians (Leslau 1951:XXXVIII; Pankhurst 1990:44–47). All Betä Ǝsraʾel writings that I have seen or any of my informants recalled were in Gəʿəz. Christian scribes sometimes write Betä Ǝsraʾel texts. Traditions exist of Christian and Betä Ǝsraʾel *däbtära*s and scribes being trained together by Christian priests and monks in Church schools. Martin ↗Flad (1869:32) reports this during his stay among the Betä Ǝsraʾel.



Modern Betä Ǝsraʾel house in Wäläqa near Gondär, showing the Exodus (?) and the star of David, as a symbol for Judaism; photo 1996, courtesy of Galen R. Frysinger

Judaism and group identity

The possibility exists that some native Abyssinian peoples (including the Ethio–Semitic-speaking Amhara and Təgrayans and the Agäw-speaking Betä Ǝsraʾel and ↗Kəmant) have similar varieties of collective group-identifications. These identifications stem from a local Christian heritage having a J. derived reference-group. Such an explanation negates the customary, often Eurocentric, arguments for a special, independent introduction of Judaism into Ethiopia, through migration or diffusion.

In ↗ethnicity, one kind of development of group-identifying ideas is a conformity involving a reference group. This is a social collectivity that a people choose as a point of reference for answering the questions of their cultural charter, how they came to be as a people and what they are. A people sometimes look to a reference group to get criteria and standards for affirming their genesis and nature and how they should relate to other peoples. Generally, a collective reference group theory attempts to account for the determinants and consequences of the processes of a people's group-evaluation and group-appraisal. Here the people take norms, values, and role prescriptions from another group as a comparative frame of reference. In the Durkheimian sense, a collective consciousness develops, explaining in partially mythic terms who the people are and, accordingly, who the individual is.

For Ethiopians, the Eurocentric opposing of Judaic versus Christian is marginal to answering the two questions. Across two millennia, now deeply rooted cultural patterns developed indigenously among Ethiopians, to emulate the reference O.T. and its milieu. This emulation of reference continuously reinforced adherence to "Jewish" cultural patterns. Ranges of purported Ethiopian J., then, would be reflections of the traditions of a unique, insular Ethiopian church emphasizing the O.T.

Rodinson (1964a, 1964b) and others believe that "Judaic" influences in Ethiopia developed after the advent of Christianity, from local imitations of elements of the O.T. and identification with ancient Israel. Comparable developments occurred among Christians elsewhere. Similarly, Dillmann (DillmZarY 68) wrote that much of Ethiopia's Judaic elements resulted from the 15th-cent. religious reforms of Emperor Zärʾa Yaʿəqob, which emphasized such elements. Kromrei (1895) also reasoned that the Judaic patterns in various Ethiopian religions originate in the Ethiopian Church. Because of what he saw as earlier evidences of J. in Ethiopia, Rathjens (1921:42–47) opposed the post-Christianity and 15th-cent. hypotheses. Other early, emerging Christian churches, e.g., the Coptic and Syriac (necessarily?) had strong Judaic patterns.

Also, documentation exists of conversions from Ethiopian Christianity to Ethiopian "J." and vice

versa. During the reign of *aṣe* ↗ʿAmdä Ṣəyon I, in the 14th cent., a sizeable part of his subjects became rebels and changed from Christianity to a form of "J.", whereby they "denied Christ just as did the Jews who crucified Him" (KrAmdS 11 [text] = 15 [tr.]). Similar revolts occurred against imperial authority and church orthodoxy in the reigns of the 15th-cent. ↗Dawit II and Zärʾa Yaʿəqob (Wajnberg 1936:51–60; PerrZarY 97–100).

Judaism and the Ethiopian Orthodox Church

The ↗Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥədo) Church has long been described as oriented to the O.T. and its Hebraic patterns of culture (cf., e.g., UllBibl 73f.). As Lobo concluded after his travels in Abyssinia during the early 1600s, "it would not be easy to determine whether the Abyssins are more Jews or Christians" (1735:310). Amhara, Təgray, and Christian Agäw have a Christianity markedly *bäʾorit* ('by O.T.'). The three peoples generally follow Mosaic dietary laws. From dusk on Friday through Saturday, the Sabbath day of worship and rest from work, travel, and use of fire is observed by Betä Ǝsraʾel and Kəmant and, a century ago, by most Christians (s. HarAeth 150). Scholars sketch a number of counterparts between Ethiopian Christian and world Jewish religious ↗feasts (UllBibl 113ff.).

No altar with a consecrated host, but a replica of the Ark of the Covenant of Moses (Gəʿəz *tabotä Muse*, ↗*tabot*) is the focal point of an Ethiopian church and its parish. In the mythic past, a parish "founding father" first "planted" a particular *tabot* (dedicated to, say, Birth-of-Mary [*Lədätä lämaryam*], John the Baptist, St. George, or Saviour-of-the-World [*Mädḫane ʿAläm*]) in the ground of a central place, usually amongst a grove of trees sacred to the traditional Agäw folk religion. The parishioners built a circular church consisting of three concentric rings around the Ark (↗Church buildings). It, then, reposes in the innermost *sancta sanctorum*, which only clerics and the emperor may enter. Perhaps, the three-ring church replicates the design of the tripartite temple of the Hebrews. Parish priests bring the Ark out of its sanctuary in ritual procession on particular Christian holidays, e.g., the feast of St. George for the parish church named after him. Priests sing and dance, around the Ark and in other ceremonies, as did King David and his people (2 Sam 6:5, 14–16).

Amhara, Təgrayans, several Christian Agäw peoples, and Betä Ǝsraʾel have personal priest-confessors (↗*Näfs abbat*). All these peoples have the same Gəʿəz labels for each of five kinds of religious practitioners. They separate priests (↗*Kəhnät*) from cantors (↗*Däbtära*) and have deacons (↗*Diyaqon*) and both monks (Gəʿəz.: *mänäkos, Amh.: mänäkʷəse*) and nuns (*mänäkʷəsit*; ↗Monasticism). All their clerics wear white turbans and native togas (↗Clothing); speak and read in Gəʿəz for rites; use prayer sticks (↗*Mäqqʷamiya*), sistra (↗*Ṣänaṣəl*) and drums (↗*Käbäro*) for making music; carry large, colourful umbrellas (↗*Dəbab*) in religious events; and separate men and women during services. All these peoples believe in a paradise of the good, a hell of the damned, angelic spirits (↗Angels), Satan (↗Devil), demonic ↗spirits, various kinds of local and personal spirits, a Resurrection, and a Last Judgement. They have a taboo against eating pork and other Mosaic dietary prohibitions, abide by two meatless days weekly, and observe the ritual polluting of sexual intercourse, semen, and menstrual and childbirth blood. With proper ceremony and consequent behaviour, any of these peoples can convert to the non-alien religion of one of the others. Ethnographically considered, when a common language is shared and given the common cultural underpinnings of all of these cultures, each can be largely interchangeable with one of the others.

Except for certain religious acts and particular craft tasks (↗Handicrafts), the activities of the men, women, and children of all the peoples are largely the same. ↗Marriage is highly ceremonial, arranged, and a social contract between families. Divorce has no ceremony. For the deceased, all practice a first and second funeral and annual commemoration. All do not allow a suicide to be interred in hallowed, burial ground. ↗Graves are covered with rocks.

Judaism and the Betä Ǝsraʾel

For deeper insight into Ethiopian J., we focus on the enigmatic Betä Ǝsraʾel. For over a century Jewish and Christian organizations have been ethnocentrically interested in establishing a Jewish identity of the Betä Ǝsraʾel, including for proselytizing activities. Both Ullendorff and Leslau note an unscholarly, missionary tendency, even zeal, of most Christian and Jewish writers on the Betä Ǝsraʾel. In a political definition, the Israeli parliament recognized the Betä Ǝsraʾel as a people covered by Israel's Law of Return. Just under 40,000 have immigrated to Israel, as returning Jews.

Starting in 1830 with Samuel ↗Gobat, a number of Protestant missionaries from Europe attempted to convert the Betä Ǝsraʾel, and Kəmant. Launching a Jewish missionizing, Joseph ↗Halévy visited several Betä Ǝsraʾel communities, beginning in 1867. He noted the nonstandard nature of their J., and advocated Jewish missionary work to "reform" them. Halévy's student, Jacques ↗Faitlovitch, began this "reform", in 1904. He began to standardize Betä Ǝsraʾel religion according to world J. and to educate local leaders to follow the standards. Thus were the Betä Ǝsraʾel gradually brought into the fold of a J. that they had never occupied. Betä Ǝsraʾel group-identification with outside J. begins in their culture contact with European Jews in the middle of the 19th cent. Until that time, Betä Ǝsraʾel did not call themselves Jews. After that time, they were increasingly proselytized to acculturate to a model of world J. and forsake their Ethiopian nature.

Since the time of Faitlovitch, all manner of Jewish missionaries have acculturated the Betä Ǝsraʾel toward standard J., including Talmudic beliefs and use of Hebrew by clerics. As Gamst observed during his fieldwork among the Betä Ǝsraʾel in 1964-65 that religious questions were answered after consulting a book published in ↗Israel. During this fieldwork, many Betä Ǝsraʾel knew almost nothing about practices and beliefs that could be called Hebraic. Practises of the Agäw folk religion, however, abounded, such as, sacrifices to locational *qole* spirits, relations with ↗*zar* spirits (↗Possession cults), local beliefs in ↗magic and witchcraft, and strict observance of local taboos regarding ritual pollution from menstrual and childbirth blood.

Krempel (1972), Kaufman Shelemay (1986), Kaplan (1992), and Quirin (1992) provide us with modern, empirical studies demythologizing the Betä Ǝsraʾel and, hence, Ethiopian "J.". Krempel concludes: "There is no original observable history of the Fälasha population separated or isolated from a general Abyssinian–Ethiopian context; [and] ... to a large degree, all areas of life of the Fälasha including religion are similar to that of the Amhara" (1972:8f.).

After intensive study of Betä Ǝsraʾel liturgy, traditions, and music, Kaufman Shelemay (1986:215) finds that, during the 14th and 15th cent., Ethiopian Christian monks were "the sources of the beliefs, traditions, and rituals that survive among the Betä Ǝsraʾel". Moreover, "these materials provide little evidence that the Betä Ǝsraʾel preserve an archaic Jewish tradition obtained directly from an as yet unidentified Jewish source." Originally, Betä Ǝsraʾel had Agäw traditions and worshipped Agäw spirits.

Without European prejudicial preconceptions imposed upon Ethiopian ethnohistory including interpretations from external European Jewish history, Kaplan and Quirin view the Betä Ǝsraʾel from an internal Ethiopian perspective. They counter most diffusionistic, parochial conjecture by Christian and Jewish Europeans and further document Betä Ǝsraʾel culture as entirely Ethiopian.

Kaplan posits several early native societies slowly merging, with the cultural development of "Fälaša" arising in the 15th cent. Kaplan and Quirin demonstrate that Betä Ǝsraʾel J. developed relatively recently and derived much of its content from Ethiopian Christianity. Displaced some three centuries ago, for reasons of political economy, from their native land holdings, the Betä Ǝsraʾel became increasingly endogamous and craft specialized (caste-like, Quirin and Krempel explain). By the 20th cent., many began to lose their Agäw language and spoke Amharic or Təgrəññña.

Most Betä Ǝsraʾel once were or are Agäw. Some, however, may descend, as chronicled in the 14th cent., from Christian Amhara or from Amharizing Agäw Christians, espousing considerable Old Testament elements in their religion. Many groups described in 14th- and 15th-cent. chronicles of Ethiopia as enemies of the crown were pejoratively called ↗*Ayhud* (often, non-believers and idolaters). But, given their beliefs and territories, only some of them could have been early Betä Ǝsraʾel.

Although many Agäw embraced Ethiopian Christianity with its "Judaic" underpinnings, some emphasized a more Hebraic religion. The various Agäw groups most likely formed a continuum of blendings of Hebraic, Christian, and ancestral patterns of autochtonous religion(Gamst 1969:3f., 30f.; Kaplan 1992:40, 159f., 178). Especially from the 15th cent. onward, the native Ethiopian Betä Ǝsraʾel continued development into a somewhat – mainly socially and occupationally – distinct group. They shared much of the culture, including syncretized religious patterns, of their neighbours. Those persisting in conjuring the Betä Ǝsraʾel as a part of world Jewry are anti-Ethiopian ethnocentrists, insisting on assessing J. in Ethiopia by their outsiders' normative standards.

Judaism in Ethiopia today

By the end of the 1990s, most Betä Ǝsraʾel had emigrated to Israel. Today, in addition to the remaining traditional Ethiopian "Jewry", three kinds of representatives of world Jewry reside in Ethiopia and Eritrea. These include European Jews, some fleeing the Nazis. Temporary Jewish residents comprise diplomatic, commercial, research, missionary, and other personnel from various Western countries. In addition, some refugees have arrived from the Jews formerly living in ↗Yemen.

↗Ayhud; ↗Betä Ǝsraʾel; ↗Jerusalem

Src.: KrAmdS 11 [text] = 15 [tr.]; HarAeth 150; JEROME LOBO, *A Voyage to Abyssinia*, London 1735; ALEX MOBERG, *Book of the Himyarites*, Lund 1924 (Skrifter Utgivna av. Kungl. Humanistiska Vetenskapssamfundet I Lund. VII. Acta Reg. Societatis Humaniorum Litterarum Lundensis. VII); PerrZarY 97–100; ISAAC WAJNBERG, *Das Leben des hl. Jāfqerana 'Egzī'*, Roma 1936 (OrChrA 106), 51–60.

Lit.: AARON ZEʾEV AEŠCOLY, "The Falashas: a Bibliography", *Qiriat Sepher 12, 13*, 1935, 256–65, 370–83, 498–505; 1937, 250–65, 383–93, 506–12; SALO W. BARON, *A Social and Religious History of the Jews*, 18 vols., New York ²1952–83; ALFRED FELIX LANDON BEESTON, "Judaism and Christianity in pre-islamic Yemen", in: JOSEPH CHELHOD et al. (eds.), *L'Arabie du Sud. Histoire et civilisation*, Paris 1984, vol. 1, 271–78; BrakKirche 172–85; BruNile vol. 1, 484f.; DillmZarY; JOHANN MARTIN FLAD, *The Falashas (Jews) of Abyssinia*, London 1869; FREDERICK C. GAMST, *The Qemant: a Pagan-Hebraic Peasantry of Ethiopia*, New York 1969, 12f.; ID., "The Ark of the Covenant in Africa", *American Anthropologist* 97, 1995a, 361–62; ID., "The Religious World View of the Kəmant of Ethiopia", in: MICHAEL W. COY – LEONARD PLOTNICOV (eds.), *African and African-American Sensibility*, Pittsburgh, PA 1995b (University of Pittsburgh Publications in Anthropology, Ethnology Monographs 15), 91–106; JULIUS GUTMANN, *Die Philosophie des Judentums*, Wiesbaden [1933] 1985; JOSEPH HALÉVY, "Essai sur la langue Agaou (des Falashas)", *Actes de la Société Philologique 3*, 1873, 151–88; STEVEN KAPLAN, *The Beta Israel (Falasha) in Ethiopia: From Earliest Times to the Twentieth Century*, New York 1992, 19f., 32f.; ID. – SHOSHANA BEN-DOR, *Ethiopian Jewry: an Annotated Bibliography*, Jerusalem 1988; KAY KAUFMAN SHELEMAY, *Music, Ritual, and Falasha History*, East Lansing, MI 1986; VERONIKA KREMPEL, *Die soziale und wirtschaftliche Stellung der Falascha in der christlich-amharischen Gesellschaft von Nordwest-Äthiopien*, Ph.D. thesis, Berlin 1972; ERNST F. KROMREI, *Glaubenslehre und Gebräuche der älterer abessinischen Kirche*, Leipzig 1895; WOLF LESLAU, "The Black Jews of Ethiopia", *Commentary 7*, 1946, 216–24; ID., *Falasha Anthology*, New Haven, CT 1951, XLII–XLIII; RICHARD PANKHURST, "Falasha-Christian or Christian-Falasha Art?", in: PAUL B. HENZE (ed.), *Aspects of Ethiopian Art*, London 1993, 41–52; HANS JAKOB POLOTSKY, "Aramaic, Syriac, and Geʾez," *JSS 9*, 1964, 1–10; JAMES QUIRIN, *The Evolution of the Ethiopian Jews: a History of the Beta Israel (Falasha) to 1920*, Philadelphia, PA 1992; CARL RATHJENS, *Die Juden in Abessinien*, Hamburg 1921, 92ff.; CHRISTIAN ROBIN, "Judaïsme et christianisme en Arabie du Sud d'après les sources épigraphiques et archéologiques", *Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies* 10, 1980, 85–96; MAXIME RODINSON, [Review of ULLENDORFF 1960], *BiOr* 21, 1964a, 238–45; ID., "Sur la Question des 'Influences Juives' en Ethiopie," *JSS* 9, 1964b, 11–19; EDWARD ULLENDORF, *The Ethiopians*, London – New York – Oxford 1960; ID., "Hebrew Elements in the Ethiopic Old Testament," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 9, 1987, 42–50; ID., *The Two Zions: Reminiscences of Jerusalem and Ethiopia*, Oxford 1988, 150; UllBibl 17–24.

Frederick C. Gamst

Judiciary, Judicial System ↗Law and Judiciary

Julianism

One of the most pervasive streams of anti-Chalcedonian theology (↗Monophysitism), J. was so designated after its founder, Bishop Julian of Halicarnassus (d. Egypt soon after 527), who broke communion with ↗Severos of Antioch, his friend and ally until 518; in Egypt, it took the name of Gaianism, after the priest Gaian, a disciple of Julian and a rival patriarch of Alexandria from 537.

As far as can be judged from the scant original sources (collected and discussed by Draguet 1924, 1931 and 1941; cp. Hespel 1964–71), both Julian and Severus shared the Cyrillian and Chalcedonian teaching about Jesus as "consubstantial to us according to manhood" (cp. ↗Eutychius), but they disagreed on its interpretation. Severos emphasized the "difference" (διαφορά) between divinity and humanity in Christ. In order to avoid such a "division" of the unique nature of the Logos (↗Chalcedon), Julian enforced a limited concept of "consubstantiality to us", declaring Christ's humanity to be exempted from any passibility and corruptibility. So, his teaching was nicknamed by his adversaries "aphthartodocetism" (from Gr. ἄφθαρτος, 'incorruptible', and δοκεῖν, here in sense 'to believe'), along with more familiar heresiological labels, such as "docetism", "phantasiasm", "manichaism". The peculiar point of the authentic J. of Julian consists in the opinion that Christ assumed the body of Adam in its "pre-Fall" state, i.e. without sin, while the rest of humanity is born inheriting sin and corruptibility from "post-Fall" Adam. This kind of J. was well-known throughout the 6th cent., but is practically untraceable from the 7th cent. onward, when the sophisticated speculations of Julian concerning the legacy of Adam (as being at odds with the whole spectrum of the Oriental patristic traditions) were completely forgotten, and the only understanding of the in-

corruptibility of Christ remained "union (with divinity)" itself.

The history of J. thereafter becomes particularly complicated, owing to both internal and external factors (for alleged support by emperor Justinian after 565 s. esp.: van Esbroeck 1996; for another interpretation of Justinian's attitude as having nothing to do with J., s. Grillmeier – Hainthaler 2004:489–95; Lourié 1997, 2006:267ff.).

Julian's theology soon elicited attempts to bring it to its logical conclusion: already in the 540s, a group of his Syrian followers maintained that, "by union", Christ's flesh became not only incorruptible, but also uncreated and indescribable (Draguet 1941). Called "actist(it)es" (Gr. ἀκτῖσται, ἀκτιστῖται, '[those] who deny the creation') by their opponents, they totally avoided the Severian doctrine of the "difference". By the 7th cent., they become the leading sect within J. Between 555 and ca. 633, a few official church leaders, also in Armenia, took this stance (cf. van Esbroeck 1987; cp. Frivold 1981:223 n. 88 and passim), whilst moderate Julianists were often inclined to union with the Severianists – which was achieved in 581, under patriarch ↗Damian of Alexandria. An actistite hierarchy was established already in the 6th cent. (Draguet 1941; van Esbroeck 1987).

According to the sources, J. spread from al-Ḥīra, at the edge of the Arabian steppe, to the south, to Yemen (the name "Najranites" for Julianists, found, e.g., in Anastasius of Sinai, *Viae dux*, 23, 1, s. Uthemann 1981:305f., probably refers, at first, to ↗Nağrān in South Arabia and only later to Nağrān al-Kūfa in ʿIrāq; for the association of Nağrān in Arabia with a Julianist milieu as early as in the 520s s. van Esbroeck 1987). J., according to some scholars, may have played a certain role in the shaping of the Christology of the ↗Qurʾān's (Grégoire 1930; cp. Fiaccadori 2006:78 and n. 191). From Egypt and/or Arabia, J. reached ↗Aksum some time before 579, when the missionary work of Longinus in the kingdoms of Nobadia and Alodia (resp., northern and southern ↗Nubia) took place. ↗John of Ephesus reports that in Alodia (later ʿAlwa), which bordered upon the Aksumite kingdom, Longinus met a few Aksumites (*ʾksymyṭwn*) who professed J., but was able to bring them over to his own faith, i.e to orthodox Monophysitism (↗John of Ephesus, *Historia ecclesiasitica* III, 4, 53, s. Brooks 1935:239). The same information is later provided by ↗Michael the Syrian (*Chronicle* IX, 30, s. Chabot 1910:313; s. Fiaccadori 1992:13 n. 33).

For these reasons, J.'s contribution to Christological doctrines in Ethiopia is difficult to assess. With respect to external difficulties, J. was adopted by suppressed minorities during almost all of its history: in Armenia, e.g., up the 13th cent. (Ter-Minassiantz 1904). This might also have been true for Ethiopia: in contemporary Eastern Armenia, where J. was well established, Julian was seldom mentioned as an authority and never quoted. Moreover, some Julianists even referred to him as a heretic (Lourié 1999:325). In the 14th–15th cent. J. was urging its followers to seek for close union with the church in ↗Armenia, which may also account for part of the biography of ↗Ewosṭatewos, who eagerly moved to that country and died there (cp. ibid., 354–57).

As for *abba* ↗Giyorgis of Sägla's Christological teaching, it is clear now that he had access to lost Aksumite sources (cp. *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*məśtir*; ↗Nestorius), and his silence over Julian is quite natural for the 15th cent. Nevertheless, he did anathematize the teaching of the Severianists-Theodosians in the persons of Theodosius of Alexandria and Severus of Antioch. In the *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*məśtir* (s. YaqMist I, 267–75), the latter appears as Severos "of ↗India", **ዘህንድ[ን]ክያ**, *zähəndə[n]kəya*, corrupted from **ዘአንጾክያ**, *zäʾanṣokəya*, 'of Antioch' (Lourié 1999:320–23), hence the assumption about Giyorgis as a possible defender of J. (ibid., 323–29). Given his influence on the further theological history of Ethiopia, one should also look for subsequent developments of J. in such later Ethiopian doctrines as ↗*Karra* (cp. Yaqob Beyene 1989:84).

Likewise, in a Vita of Severus of unknown origin, preserved only in an Ethiopic translation from Arabic made between 1682 and 1706, Julian is portrayed as a renegade adopting the teaching of Chalcedon (Goodspeed 1907:608f. [40f.]). Such a strange substitution for the alleged "docetism" of Julian would have made little sense outside a milieu to which true J. was still familiar.

In spite of our present knowledge of actistite J. (Lourié 1999:328), the hypothesis put forward by Ugo ↗Monneret de Villard (1939:12) with reference to the Gospels of princess ↗Zir Ganela, holding J. responsible for the Ethiopian iconography of the Crucifixion with no depiction of Christ's body, must be revisited, taking into account, however, the fact that such iconography – diffused also across Armenia – harks back to

Palestinian prototypes of the early Byzantine or pre-iconoclastic period (Balicka-Witakowska 1997:23–30; ↗Byzantine Empire).

Src.: ERNEST WALTER BROOKS (ed.), *Iohannis Ephesini Historiae Ecclesiasticae. Pars tertia*, Paris 1935 (CSCO 105, 106 [Scriptores Syri 54, 55]), 239 (text) = 180 (tr.); JEAN-BAPTISTE CHABOT (ed., tr.), *Chronique de Michel le Syrien, Patriarche Jacobite d'Antiche (1166–1199)*, vol. 4, Paris 1910, 313 (text) = vol. 2, Paris 1901, 251 (tr.); RENÉ DRAGUET, *Julien d'Halicarnasse et sa controverse avec Sévère d'Antioche sur l'incorroptubilité du corps du Christ ...*, Louvain 1924 (Universitas Catholica Lovaniensis. Dissertationes ad gradum magistri in Facultate Theologica ... ser. 2, 12); ID., "Pièces de polémique antijulianiste" [1–2], *Le Muséon* 44, 1931, 255–317; [3], *ibid.* 54, 1941, 59–89; LEIF FRIVOLD, *The Incarnation: a Study of the Doctrine of the Incarnation in the Armenian Church ...*, Oslo et al. 1981; EDGAR J. GOODSPEED (ed., tr.), *The Conflict of Severus, Patriarch of Antioch, by Athanasius*, Paris 1907 [repr. 1981] (PO 4/6), 608f.; ROBERT HESPEL, *Sévère d'Antioche, La polémique antijulianiste*, I, IIA, IIB, III, Louvain 1964–71 (CSCO 244–45, 295–96, 301–02, 318–19 [Scriptores Syri 104–05, 124–25, 126–27, 136–37]); LESLIE MACCOUL, "The Paschal Letter of Alexander II, Patriarch of Alexandria: a Greek Defense of Coptic Theology under Arab Rule", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 44, 1990, 27–40; KARL-HEINZ UTHEMANN (ed.), *Anastasii Sinaitae Viae dux*, Turnhout – Leuven 1981 (Corpus Christianorum. Ser. Graeca 8), 305f. [23, 1]; YaqMist I, 267–75 (text) = 164–171 (tr).

Lit.: EWA BALICKA-WITAKOWSKA, *La Crucifixion sans Crucifié dans l'art éthiopien: Recherches sur la survie de l'iconographie chrétienne de l'Antiquité tardive*, Warszawa – Wiesbaden 1997 (Bibliotheca Nubica & Aethiopica 4), 23–30; ALOIS GRILLMEIER – THERESIA HAINTHALER, *Jesus der Christus im Glauben der Kirche*, Bd. II/2, Freiburg et al. 1989 [repr. 2004]; GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, *Teofilo Indiano*, Ravenna 1992 (Biblioteca di 'Felix Ravenna' 7), XXXV n. 64, 13 n. 33, 86f.; ID., "Gregentios in the Land of the Homerites", in: ALBRECHT BERGER (ed., tr.), *Life and Works of St. Gregentios, Archbishop of Taphar*, Berlin 2006 (Millennium-Studien 7), 48–82, here 78 and n. 191; HENRI GRÉGOIRE, "Mahomet et la Monophysisme", in: *Mélanges Ch. Diel*, Paris 1930, vol. 1, 107–19; BASILE LOURIÉ, "Un autre monothélisme: le cas de Constantin d'Apamée au VIe Concile Oecuménique", *Studia Patristica* 29, 1997, 290–303; ID., "Avva Georgij iz Sagly i istorija julianizma v Efiopii ('*Abba* Giyorgis of Sagla and the History of Julianism in Ethiopia')", *Hristianskij Vostok* new ser. 1 [7], 1999, 317–58; ID., *Istorija vizantijskoj filosofii. Formativnyj period* ('History of Byzantine Philosophy. Formative Period'), St. Petersbourg 2006; HANS-UDO ROSENBAUM, "Julianus von Halikarnassus", in: *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon*, vol. 3, Hamm 1992, 792ff. (Lit.); ERWAND TER-MINASSIANTZ, *Die armenische Kirche in ihren Beziehungen zu den syrischen Kirchen ...*, Leipzig 1904 (Texte und Untersuchungen 26, 4); MICHEL VAN ESBROECK, "Un court traité pseudo-basilien de mouvance aronite conservé en arménien", *Le Muséon* 100, 1987, 385–95 [repr. in: ID., *Aux origines de la Dormition de la Vierge*, Aldershot 1995, ch. 8]; ID., "Les trois formes de l'antichalcédonisme de 451 à 553 et ses répercussions dans la Caucase", in: D. AFINOGENOV – A. MURAVIEV (eds.), *Traditsyi i nasledie Hristianskogo Vostoka* ('Traditions and Heritage of the Christian East'), Moscow 1996, 382–98; YAQOB BEYENE, "La dottrina della Chiesa etiopica e il *Libro del Mistero* di Giyorgis di Sagla", *RSE* 33, 1989 [1991], 35–88.

Basil Lourié

Jumilhac, Estelle de

Estelle (Ethel) comtesse de J., née Barbey (b. 1873, of Swiss descent [Romandie], d. 1959), was a French traveller, who published on Ethiopia in the 1930s. She was married to Armand Chapelle, Marquis de J., descendant of an ancient noble family related to the du Plessis de Richelieu and based in the castle of J. in the Haut Périgord. After her divorce she kept the title of Comtesse, as Barbey, comtesse de J.

J. frequented the literary circles of Paris, Roland Dorgelès dedicating a 1928 reedition of his famous novel *Les croix de bois* to her. She travelled to the Middle East, India, Egypt etc. In December 1930 she went to Ethiopia on the occasion of *aṣe* Ḫaylä Śəllase I's coronation. Her travel notes were the basis for a book (de Jumilhac 1933), with 40 photographs and a foreword by professor Robert Chauvelot, which she dedicated to the maréchal Franchet d'Espérey, the official French representative during the coronation. This book is only interesting as a typical example for "exotic" travel literature of that time, characterised by clichés and superficial voyeurism. Under the veneer of modernity she discovers biblical customs (ibid. 75), she describes battles in which blood is shed as in the times of the crusades (ibid. 91), Addis Abäba appears to her as ancient Byzantium, and the coronation resembles the one of Charles the Great (ibid. 152). Her ethnological notes are based on long conversations with Henry de ↗Monfreid and Europeans living in Ethiopia. She spent much time hunting, but did not see any slaves (ibid. 161) and remarks that ↗Rimbaud had "failed" in his literary carrier (ibid. 44), which says a lot about her restricted capacities of observation.

Src.: ESTELLE COMTESSE DE JUMILHAC, *Éthiopie moderne*, Paris 1933 (2nd ed. 1935).

Lit.: MARIE-CHRISTINE AUBRY, *Djibouti l'ignoré – récits de voyage*, Paris 1988, 248; FRANÇOIS GUYOT, *Le voyage en Ethiopie – dernier voyage en Orient*, Paris 2001, 159; ALAIN ROUAUD, "Littérature coloniale sans colonies: quelques réflexions sur le cas de l'Ethiopie (1913–1936)", in: *Littérature et histoire coloniale, Actes du colloque de Nantes, 6 décembre 2003*, Paris 2005, 289–312.

Lukian Prijac

Juniper s. EAE vol. 5

K

Käbäl

K. is a ↗Harari term which denotes a pair of handheld wooden blocks that are clapped together to accompany religious and secular singing in Harari wedding ceremonies and *zikri* (↗*Ḏikr*) rituals. Leslau (1963:90) suggests that the name derives from their shape, recalling the palm of a hand (*käbäl*, also 'handful'). These percussion instruments, however, may have different forms and dimensions (the longest side measuring 10–20 cm). The refinement of their manufacture varies; today it is possible to observe roughly cut rectangles of wood, as well as smooth oval shapes with a central concave notch on one side to improve the sound quality. The materials used may differ, but locals say that the best wood to be used is *wagär*, a species of olive tree, which is very strong and resistant.

Harari women playing the *käbäl*; photo 2005, courtesy of the author

K. is played together with the Harari drums ↗*käräbu*, usually stressing the strong beat of the binary rhythmic accompaniment that regularly characterizes Harari performances, although freely added syncopated variations are very common. These pairs of wooden idiophones are provided in large numbers to groups of participants in performance occasions, and may be played by both men and women.

↗Instruments, musical; ↗Music

Src.: WOLF LESLAU, *Etymological Dictionary of Harari*, Berkeley, CA – Los Angeles, CA 1963 (University of California Publications, Near Eastern Studies 1), 90.
Lit.: SIMONE TARSITANI, "*Zikri* Rituals in Harar: a Musical Analysis", in: *PICES* 15, 478–84; ILARIA SARTORI, Gey fäqär, *il canto della città, Repertori vocali femminili nella comunità islamica di Harar,* Ph.D. thesis, Roma, in preparation.

Simone Tarsitani

Käbäro

K. (ከበሮ) is a Gəᶜəz term that is currently used, with some variations, in Amharic and several other Ethiopian languages, to refer to a large, two-headed, cylindrical drum that is played along with the ↗*ṣänaṣəl* (and usually with other K.) to accompany liturgical chants and dances (↗*Aqʷaqʷam*; ↗Hymns). The drum is beaten in a series of named rhythmic patterns, culminating in a faster pace near the climax of the dance.

The best K. are reportedly made in the ↗Sälale region, Šäwa. K. vary in size, usually being around 40–60 cm in height, the diameter of the head being around 25–30 cm (s. Powne 1968:16). They are made of a hollowed out tree trunk of *wanza* wood (*Cordia abyssinica* or *Cordia africana*) and generally reflect the shape and circumference of the tree from which they are made, the drum usually tapering towards one end. Ox hide, secured by laces, is used to cover the two heads of the drum; heads can be round or oval. Typically, K. are decorated with brightly coloured, flowered cloth under the lacing; in the past, some drums (in particular, those donated to churches) were covered with copper-, silver- or goldwork.

There are two positions of playing the K.: sitting, with the K. on the floor; or standing, with the K. suspended from a strap around the neck. In both positions, the larger head (called *ᶜabiy*, lit. 'large') can be played with the right hand, while the smaller head (*nəʾus*, lit. 'small') is assigned to the left. The larger head of the K. has a deeper, more penetrating sound than the smaller one, which lacks resonance. The heads, which are struck by the hands, are not tuned in any way.

Ecclesiastics may start to learn to play the K. by looking at professional church musicians

Deacon playing the *käbäro* at the celebration of the feast of St. Michael before the church of Michael and Gabriel in Säqota; photo 1993, courtesy of Michael Gervers

(*mäzämmərän*) and assisting them as *däqqä mäzamurt* ('disciples') at times playing the drums. Proficiency in playing the K. can be reached only at an advanced stage of traditional church ↗education, in the ↗*zema bet*, where liturgical dance and instrumental practices are taught. In the *zema bet*, the student learns with the help of substitution movements, by beating his knees (whereas the instruments remain in the church).

Generally, two K. are used for rituals, positioned at opposite ends of the lines of ↗*däbtäras* within the *qəne maḫlet*, the outermost of the three concentric circles common to many Ethiopian churches (↗Church buildings) or at the opposite ends of the dancing *mäzämmərän* in the church yard. The large K. is mostly used within the church, but also in paraliturgical occasions out of church. Smaller drums also referred to generically as K. are used throughout much of Ethiopia by peoples of many religious backgrounds to accompany secular music and dance.

Traditionally, K. is interpreted as a symbol for Christ (s. Griaule 1932:4; cp. also Schneider 1988:76, 79, 81, 83).

↗Instruments, musical; ↗Music; ↗Qəddase

Src.: interviews with *aläqa* BƎRHANU MÄKʷÄNNƎN, 7, 18 June 1975; KaneDic 1418, 1544; KAY KAUFMAN SHELEMAY, *Collection of Ethiopian Music 1973–1978*, Harvard University Archive of World Music, RL 15068–76.

Lit.: GUGLIELMO BARBLAN, *Musiche e strumenti musicali dell'Africa Orientale Italiana*, Napoli 1941, 70; MARCEL GRIAULE, "Règles de l'Église (Documents éthoipiens)", *JA* 221, 1932, 1–42; HabUff 256; INSTITUTE OF ETHIOPIAN STUDIES, *Musical Instruments of Ethiopia: Catalogue of the Collection of the Ethiopian Museum of the IES*, Addis Ababa 1999, 26f.; KAY KAUFMAN SHELEMAY – PETER JEFFERY (eds.), *Ethiopian Christian Liturgical Chant: an Anthology*, vol. 2, Madison, WI 1994, 3f.; MINISTRY OF INFORMATION (ed.), *Music, Dance, and Drama*, Addis Ababa 1968 (Patterns of Progress in Ethiopia 9), 15; MICHAEL POWNE, *Ethiopian Music. An Introduction: a Survey of Ecclesiastical and Secular Ethiopian Music*, London – New York – Toronto 1968, 15–18; MonVidMus 3184 [repr. in: *AE* 19, 2003, 149–88, here 158f.]; ROGER SCHNEIDER, "Nouveaux témoins du texte éthiopien des *Règles de l'Église*", *JA* 276, 1988, 71–96.

Kay Kaufman Shelemay

Käbäsa

Käbäsa geography

In Eritrea, the ↗Təgrəñña term K. (ክበሳ) traditionally refers to the Təgrəñña-speaking Christian and Muslim highland populations of Eritrea (also *däqqi käbäsa*). More recently, the term has been in common use chiefly with reference to the Təgrəñña-speaking populations of the highland areas of *zoba* Maʾkäl and *zoba* Däbub – roughly representing ↗Akkälä Guzay, ↗Säraye and ↗Ḥamasen – and stands in contrast to *mätaḥət*, the lowland region roughly corresponding at present to *zoba* Gaš Barka. In this sense there is also an opposition between K. in Eritrea and the ↗*däga* (*däg^{wᶜ}a*) highlands of Təgray as the two homes of Təgrəñña speakers.

In its wider sense, K. is the Təgrəñña term for the entire highland agro-climatic zone (↗Geography; ↗Climate). According to the traditional classification system, which considers only temperature and altitude, the Eritrean landmass can be classified into three physiographic categories: the highlands, or K., the lowlands, or *qolla* (↗*qʷälla*), and the zone of escarpment and slopes (*aṣadəf* or *ḥawsi qolla*). Occupying the central part of the country with a north-south axis, the K. highlands have an elevation between 1,000 and 3,500 m A.S.L.; in this sense, the K. separates the Western and Eastern Lowlands by gently slopping westward in the central part and gradually rising

eastward, and attains its maximum height on the eastern edge, from where it suddenly drops to the east. It is a major watershed between eastward and westward flowing streams and it is therefore in the K. highlands that most water courses of Eritrea have their source. The K. has a moderate, relatively humid climate, suited for rain-fed agriculture and has therefore a capacity for a higher density of population. In the sense of a geographical zone, the K. is further subdivided into six physiographic regions: northern highlands (consisting of the ↗Saḥəl and the ↗Ḥalḥal highlands; this is the lowest K., 1,000–2,000 m A.S.L.), upper ↗ʿAnsäba highlands (from ↗ʿAd Täkälezan and Zagər in the south to the ↗Käränarea in the north), central plateau (from ʿAd Täkälezan and Zagər in the north to the ↗Däqqämḥarä/Täraʾəmni divide in the south; ca. 2,200 m A.S.L.), southern plateau (bounded by the ↗Märäb River in the north and by the ʿArräza slopes in the west), eastern highlands (from the Däqqämḥarä area in the north to the Ethiopian border in the south; over 2,500 m A.S.L.), and Märäb Trough (between the eastern highlands and the Southern Plateau). The central and the southern plateaus are mostly conductive for agriculture, whereas the Eastern Highlands have the largest historical significance as a traditional trade route from the ↗Red Sea and the route of foreign penetration.

In sum, even if all these physiogeographic divisions form part of the K. in its wider sense, it is only the highlands of the historical Akkälä Guzay, Säraye and Ḥamasen provinces that are among the Təgrəñña speakers traditionally and thus culturally categorised as K.

The term appears as toponym in the name of such district as Käbäsa Č̣əwa. Today it has eleven villages: ʿAddi Gʷaʾdad, Sälaʿ Daʿro, ʿAddi Gombällo, ʿAddi Raʾsi, Məsgʷag, ʿAddi Boḵoḵʷay, Kätəmowələ, ∃bardaʿ, ʿAddäbnägär, ʿAddi Ḥammuštä, and ʿAddi Lagʷän. It is inhabited by the members of the ↗Däqqi Minab lineage who trace their descent to the apical ancestor Faluq, a great grandson of "Minab" (in fact, [the tribe of] Benjamin).

Src.: ISTITUTO GEOGRAFICO MILITARE, *Indice dei nomi contenuti nella carta dimostrativa della Colonia Eritrea e regioni adiacenti*, Roma 1936.

Lit.: ABBEBE KIFLEYESUS, "Dyadic Relation and Market Transaction in an Environment of Economic Depression", *Cahiers d'études africaines* 146, 37/ 2, 1997, 431–41; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Schizzo etnico e storico delle popolazioni eritree", in: FERDINANDO MARTINI (ed.), *L'Eritrea economica*, Novara 1913, 61–90; ID., "Saggio di toponomastica dell'Eritrea tigrina", *Bollettino della Società Geografica Italiana* 1938, 16; ID., *Proverbi, tradizioni e canzoni tigrine*, Verbana 1942, 216, 219; AMILCARE FANTOLI, *Contributo alla climatologia dell'altopiano etiopico regione Eritrea*, Roma 1966; V. FRANCHINI, "Contributo alla toponomastica dell'Eritrea tigrina", *QSE* 3–4, 1982, 163–75; MesfGeogr; PollEr 9,18; KJETIL TRONVOLL, *Mai Weini: a Highland Village in Eritrea*, Lawrenceville, NJ 1998, 5, 21f., 47f., 53ff., 57f.

Abbebe Kifleyesus

Käbäsa history

In Təgrəñña, the word K. was originally the geographical designation for the upper level of the highlands – in fact, the coldest and most inhospitable climatic belt of the ↗*däga* (*däg$^{w^c}$a*, s. Täkkaʾä Täsfay 1999:613). By ↗Təgre speakers, K. is used as a place-name for their home Eritrean highlands, whereas Ḥabäš stands for the whole Ethio-Eritrean highland region, peopled mainly by Təgrəñña speakers. Therefore, the suggested connection between the words *käbäsa* and *ḥabäša* is phonetically and semantically untenable. The term K. derives from the South-Semitic root *kbs* 'to embrace, to encompass', and its original meaning could be 'surrounding land' in both Təgrəñña and Təgre (Lusini 2005:245f.).

The term K. was used by the people of lowland ↗Sämḥar with the meaning 'plunderer', obviously because of the frequent incursions of the highlanders against the lowland Muslims (Fisseha Giyorgis 1987: 10).

A place called ምድረ ከበሳ (*mədrä käbäsa*), 'land of K.' is mentioned among the lands *aṣe* ↗Susənyos granted ↗Śəʿəlä Krəstos in 1627 (PerChron vol. 1, 287; HuntLand no. 61); in this case it is a region somewhere in ↗Goğğam.

In the colophon of a Gospel book dating to 1457/58 and originating from ↗Däbrä Bizän (now kept in the monastery of ↗Kodadu), a decree of *aṣe* ↗Zärʾa Yaʿəqob is transmitted, allowing the people of ↗Ḥamasen to go out to K. and to cultivate land there (fol. 165r, s. BauEr iii, 37). Here, K. is a place-name referring to the territories south-west of ↗Asmära, still forming the district called Käbäsa Č̣əwa.

As in the case of the neighbouring ↗Loggo Č̣əwa, the second element of this district name reveals the military origins of the settlements (cp. ↗*Č̣äwa*). Both communities belonged to a series of outposts possibly established under Zärʾa Yaʿəqob as a part of his strategic strengthening of the northern boundaries of the Christian Ethiopian State in a period of military confrontation with the ↗Dahlak sultanate, culminating in 1464/65 in the pillage of ↗Massawa.

Src.: BauEr III, 32–37 (no. 13) and n. 43; BritLib Orient. 481, fol. 208r; FISSEHA GIYORGIS, *Storia d'Etiopia*, ed., tr. by YACOB BEYENE, Napoli 1987, 10 (text) = 174 (tr.); HuntLand no. 61; KaneTDic 1630; KolTrad I, 161f.; ENNO LITTMANN – MARIA HÖFNER, *Wörterbuch der Tigrē-Sprache: Tigrē - Deutsch - English*, Wiesbaden 1962, 410, 683, 717; MUSA ARON, **ክብት፡ ቃላት፡ ሀግያ፡ ትግሬ** (*Kəbət qalat həgya Təgre*, 'The Dictionary of Təgre'), Asmära 2005, 193; PerChron vol. 1, 287 (text); TÄKKƏ'Ä TÄSFAY, **ዘመናዊ፡ መዝገበ፡ ቃላት፡ ትግርኛ** (*Zämänawi mäzgäbä qalat Təgrəññа*, 'Contemporary Təgrəññа Dictionary'), Asmära 1999, 613.

Lit.: HuntGeogr 179; GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, "Sembrouthes 'gran re' (*DAE* IV 3 = *RIÉth* 275). Per la storia del primo ellenismo aksumita", *La Parola del Passato* 59, 2004 [2005], 103–57, here 126; ENNO LITTMANN, "Preliminary Report of the Princeton University Expedition to Abyssinia ...", *ZDMG* 20, 1907, 151–82; LitPEA vol. 1, 287 (text) = vol. 2, 344 (tr.); GIANFRANCESCO LUSINI, "Una pagina di storia Eritrea: *kabasā* tra linguistica e filologia", in: BOGDAN BURTEA – JOSEF TROPPER – HELEN YOUNANSARDAROUD (eds.), *Studia Semitica et Semitohamitica: Festschrift für Rainer Voigt anläßlich seines 60. Geburtstages am 17. Januar 2004*, Münster 2005, 243–51 (Lit.); TEKESTE NEGASH, *Eritrea and Ethiopia: the Federal Experience*, Uppsala 1997; RUFFILLO PERINI, *Di qua dal Marèb (Marèb-mellàsc')*, Firenze 1905, 63f., 68, 73; PollEr 1–61.

Gianfrancesco Lusini

Käbbädä Bəzunäš

Däğğazmač K.B. (**ከበደ፡ ብዙነሽ**; b. 1908, Meta Robi, Šäwa, d. 28 December 1977, Männagäša *awraǧǧa*, Šäwa) was a prominent military and political figure of the ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I era. A Šäwan Oromo, he grew up under the strong influence of his mother, *wäyzäro* Bəzunäš Gärəsu Biratu, and even adopted her name as his second name in an apparent contravention of patrilineal Oromo tradition.

On completion of the first level of traditional church education, K.B. served as a butler in Empress ↗Zäwditu's palace. On the eve of the ↗Italian war of 1935, K.B. became one of the first recruits to the ↗Imperial Bodyguard trained by the Belgians at ↗Holäta Military Academy; he later graduated from there as Second Lieutenant. He fought at ↗May Čäw and, later, joined the ↗*Ṭəqur Anbäsa* resistance. K.B. was badly wounded at the battle of ↗Bonga, and on recovery he continued his struggle. When the head of the *Ṭəqur Anbäsa ras* Ǝmməru was captured at Gore, K.B. with a group of patriots returned to Meta Robi where he organized a successful guerrilla force.

In 1936, he gained his first victory against the Italian forces at the battle of Wälmära. Later the same year, K.B. beat the Italians at Meta Robi. In 1937, he was victorious again at Meta Robi Đalota, where he was wounded in the leg. In 1938 he won a battle against a significant Italian force at Guro Mako Libas Täklä Haymanot and Ginda^{c} Barat. In the same year, his army penetrated an Italian camp at Robi Šano and captured machine guns and rifles, in addition to millions of rounds of ammunition. K.B.'s final victory against the Italians was at Meta Robi Gätära.

After the Liberation, K.B. served as a Battalion Commander of the Imperial Guard, and administrated the ↗Holäta *wäräda*, until in 1944 Ḫaylä Śəllase bestowed upon him the title of *fitawrari* and appointed him governor of ↗Ğämğäm *awraǧǧa*, as well as Chief Trustee of the gold mine there. In 1948, he was raised to the rank of *däğğazmač*. In 1953, he was appointed governor of his home region, ↗Männagäša *awraǧǧa*. Soon after, he was transferred to ↗Yärär and Karrayyu *awraǧǧa* with the same administrative rank. He was also given the title of Deputy President of the Imperial Medals and Honours Board. K.B.'s last major appointment was to the position of senator in the Imperial parliament (↗Government). He was awarded five prestigious Imperial medals.

Though a supporter of Ethiopian unity and an Ethiopian nationalist, K.B. strongly believed that the plight of the ↗Oromo ethnic group had to be addressed. He was one of the key figures of the ↗Mäčča and Tulama association. When the ↗Provisional Military Administrative Council came to power and tried to crush all nationalist movements, K.B., already an old man, waged a guerrilla war. In 1977, after his tiny force had been surrounded by *Därg* forces, K.B. preferred shooting himself to surrendering. In 1992 his body was transferred to the Qəddəst Śəllase Cathedral in Addis Abäba.

Src.: *Bollettino ufficiale del Governo Galla e Sidama* 1937–40.

Lit.: ANDREW J. BARKER, *The Rape of Ethiopia*, New York 1971; OLANA ZOGA, *Gazeṭənna Gəzot: Macha and Tulama Association*, Addis Ababa 1993; RICHARD PANKHURST, "The Ethiopian Patriots and the Collapse of Italian Rule in East Africa, 1940–41", *EthObs* 12, 2, 1968, 92–127; ID., "The Ethiopian Patriots: the Lone Struggle, 1936–1940", *ibid.* 13, 1, 1970, 40–56; ID., *Provisional Bibliography on the Italian Invasion and Occupation and the Liberation of Ethiopia [1935–41]*, Addis Ababa 1972.

Paulos Milkias

Käbbädä Mängäša Atikäm

Ras K.M. (**ከበደ፡ መንገሻ**, "horse name" Abba Näwet; b. ca. 1878, d. 1939, Addis Abäba) was a military and political leader of the early 20th cent. K.M. was the son of *ras bitwäddäd* ↗Mängäša

Atikäm of Goǧǧam. His mother was the daughter of a *balabbat* of Šäwa. At the beginning of his career, K.M. governed several *awraǧǧas* in Wällo and Agäw Mədər with the title of *däǧǧazmač*. In 1909, he went to Addis Abäba with 10,000 soldiers and gifts of slaves, gold and ivory to offer to *ətege* ↗Ṭaytu Bəṭul. The Empress wanted to evict him from his province, but when he arrived in the capital, she had already been deposed (Annaratone 1914:177f.). The sources do not say if he was able to maintain his posts afterwards. Ca. 1910 he succeeded his father as the governor of Agäw Mədər and the western lowlands. However, ca. 1911 these territories were restored by *ləǧ* Iyasu to *ras* ↗Ḫaylu Täklä Haymanot of Goǧǧam (Bairu Tafla 1973:45).

K.M. was already a *ras* when he attended the ↗coronation of Empress Zäwditu in 1916. Shortly thereafter, after the death of *ras* ↗Abatä Bʷayaläw in 1917, he was appointed governor of Wällo.

By 1935, K.M. was governing the provinces of Ǧamma and Gədəm in the northern part of Šäwa (ZerEth 25). During the ↗Italian war 1935-36, he held ↗Ambalage with his troops and participated in the battle of ↗May Čäw in March 1936.

Information on his post-war life varies from one source to another. Some argue that he was captured and deported to Italy (MahHorse 256). According to others (Mockler 1984:152f., 393), he submitted to the Italians after the defeat and, on 24 June 1936, along with ↗Abbaa Ǧoobir II of Ǧimma, swore an oath to ↗Graziani – either under the influence of *ras* Ḫaylu, or in exchange for a significant amount of money, as the rumour said. Owing to his former close connection to Ḫaylä Śəllase, the Italians remained suspicious and kept him in his palace in Addis Abäba in mild house-arrest. He died of natural causes a few years later.

Src.: GebMolIyas 382, 444; HSLife 234; MahHorse 256; MINISTERO DELLE COLONIE, *Elenco dei capi etiopici aventi commando territoriale al 1° Gennaio 1924*, Roma 1924, 2.
Lit.: CARLO ANNARATONE, *In Abissinia*, Roma 1914, 177f.; BAIRU TAFLA, "Two of the Last Provincial Kings of Ethiopia", *JES* 11, 1, 1973, 29-55; ANTHONY MOCKLER, *Haile Selassie's War*, Oxford 1984, 152f., 393; ZerEth 25 (ill.).

Estelle Sohier

Käbbädä Mikaʾel

K.M. (ከበደ፡ ሚካኤል; b. October/November 1914 or 2 November 1915, Ankobär, d. 12 November 1998, Addis Abäba) was one of the most prominent Ethiopian authors of the 20th cent. Soon after K.M. was born, his father, Aytaggäd, left his mother, Aṣädä Mikaʾel. From the age of four K.M. attended the church school of Gärb Gäbrəʾel living with his grandmother at Ṭarawd; at the age of nine he was sent to the Cathedral Catholic Mission School in Addis Abäba. He studied French at the Alliance Française School. The talanted and diligent student was soon noticed by the school authorities; when two teachers from France came to educate Prince ↗Mäkʷännən Ḫaylä Śəllase, K.M. was attached to them as third tutor. Another person who helped K.M. to educate himself was *aläqa* ↗Wäldä Ṣadəq, Prince Mäkʷännən's Gəᶜəz teacher (MolLit 78f.; traces of K.M.'s affection to Mäkʷännən can be noticed in a few of his books). The Italian war and occupation (1936–41) prevented K.M. from persuing further education, but he kept reading voraciously, and learned Italian. The Italians hired him to work at the radio.

After the Liberation, K.M. began his public career. In ca. 1945–57 he was employed at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Education, and received the high level positions of Director of the ↗National Library of Ethiopia, General Director of the Ministry of Education, and Vice Minister of Posts. In 1954, one of the most succesful years of ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I, K.M. accompanied the Emperor on official tour to the USA, and published the account about the journey. He was a member and the head of the Antiquities Department of the Government, took an active part in establishing the Archaeological Museum, and was a member of the editorial board of the ↗*Annales d'Éthiopie*. K.M. was Ethiopia's ambassador extraordinary to the ↗Vatican at the opening of the Second Ecumenical Council (1962). Regarded as an outstanding representative of Ethiopia's political and intellectual elite, he was awarded with Ḫaylä Śəllase I Prize for literature in 1964, and received some other prestigious nominations. After the ↗Revolution of 1974 K.M. had to leave public service. His houses were confiscated, and he lived in hotels in Addis Abäba in misery till his death. He was married but had no children.

K.M. became interested in creative writing while still at school. His first book was the collection of poems *Bərhanä ḫəllina*, published upon the Liberation (1941); another early work was designed for school use and included didactic stories and poems (*Tarikənna məssale* 1942/43). When Ḫaylä Śəllase I personally asked the young

author to translate the American novel *Beyond Pardon* by Bertha M. Clay, K.M. transformed the original into an Amharic poem (*Käyəqərta bälay* 1951/52), which became very popular.

The crucial moment in K.M.'s literary career came when he turned to play writing. One of his first plays was the religious drama *Yätənbit qäṭäro* (1946/47), in which K.M. appears as an apologist of ↗Christianity, contraposing religious faith against atheism. In *Ato Bälaynäh wäym yäqəṭat maᶜbäl* (1958/59), which elaborates the main theme of Goethe's *Faust*, materialism and atheism are also considered as the source of individual and social evil in the world. In addition, K.M. translated (or rather adapted) into Amharic Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet* (*Romewonna Žulyät* 1953/54).

K.M. is sometimes considered the founder of Ethiopian "classical" drama – drama for limited circles of the educated public. He created a number of historical tragedies within the tradition of French classicism. His *Anibal* (1963/64) describes the events of the Second Punic War as an allegory of the history of Ethiopia with its long periods of strife and internal wars. *ᶜAśe Kaleb* (1965/66) deals with the 6th-cent. history of ↗Aksum (cf. ↗Kaleb). *Akəᶜab* (1967/68) has as its central character Ahab, the biblical King of Israel (1 Kgs).

K.M. authored many non-fictional works. He presented to the broad Ethiopian public biographies of Homer, Demosthenes, and Shakespeare in his treatise *Talallaq säwočč* (1954/55) and of ↗Alexander the Great in *Təlləqu Ǝskəndər* (1954/55). In *Yäᶜaläm tarik* (1955/56), K.M. gave an overview of world history up to the 18th cent. (including episodes from the history of Ethiopia), trying to analyse positive and negative aspects of Western civilization and modernisation. K.M. explored the latter problem in many other works, e.g. taking the example of ↗Japan (*Ǧapan əndä mən šälāṭṭänäčč*? 1953/54), and trying to identify a way of development and modernisation acceptable for Ethiopia. K.M. saw the Christian faith as the essential condition for further development and called for the preservation of Christian spirituality and patriotism, the ethical religious aspect being central in his philosophy of progress.

The pivotal role of K.M. in the development of 20th-cent. Amharic literature and language is widely recognized, as is the great influence his works have had on more than one generation of Ethiopians. (He was given, posthumously, a honorary doctorate degree in literature by the ↗Addis Ababa University). Recently, a book of interviews with K.M. was published; a complete edition of his writings and their thorough study remains a desideratum.

↗Amharic literature; ↗Theatre

Src.: KÄBBÄDÄ MIKAʾEL, **ብርሃነ፡ ኅሊና** (*Bərhanä ḫəllina*, 'The Light of Intelligence'), Addis Abäba 1933 A.M. [1941 A.D.]; ID., **ታሪክና፡ ምሳሌ** (*Tarikənna məssale*, 'Story and Parable'), Addis Abäba 1935 A.M. [1942/43 A.D.]; ID., **የትንቢት፡ ቀጠሮ** (*Yätənbit qäṭäro*, 'Appointment with Prophecy'), Addis Abäba 1939 A.M. [1946/47 A.D.] [English tr. by STEPHEN WRIGHT, *Prophecy Fulfilled*, Addis Ababa 1953]; ID., **ኢትዮጵያና፡ ምዕራባዊ፡ ሥልጣኔ** (*Ityopyanna məᶜərabawi śəlaṭṭane*, 'Ethiopia and Western Civilisation') Addis Abäba 1941 A.M. [1948/49 A.D.] [in Amh., Fr., Engl.]; ID., **ከይቅርታ፡ በላይ** (*Käyəqərta bälay*, 'Beyond Pardon'), Addis Abäba 1944 A.M. [1951/52 A.D.]; ID. (tr.), **ሮሜዎና፡ ዡልየት** (*Romewonna Žulyät*, 'Romeo and Juliet'), Addis Abäba 1946 A.M. [1953/54 A.D.]; ID., **ጃፓን፡ እንደ፡ ምን፡ ሠለጠነች**? (*Ǧapan əndä mən šälāṭṭänäčč*? 'How did Japan Become Civilized?'), Addis Abäba 1946 A.M. [1953/54 A.D.]; ID., **ታላላቅ፡ ሰዎች** (*Talallaq säwočč*, 'Great People'), Addis Abäba 1947 A.M. [1954/55 A.D.]); ID., **ትልቁ፡ እስክንድር** (*Təlləqu Ǝskəndər*, 'Alexander the Great'), Addis Abäba 1947 A.M. [1954/55 A.D.]; ID., **የዓለም፡ ታሪክ** (*Yäᶜaläm tarik*, 'World History'), vol. 1, Addis Abäba 1948 A.M. [1955/56 A.D.]; ID., **አቶ፡ በላይነህ፡ ወይም፡ የቅጣት፡ ማዕበል** (*Ato Bälaynäh wäym yäqəṭat maᶜbäl*], *'Ato* Bälaynäh, or the Storm of Punishment'), Addis Abäba 1951 A.M. [1958/59 A.D.]; ID., **አኒባል** (*Anibal*, 'Hannibal'), Addis Abäba 1956 A.M. [1963/64 A.D.] [French tr. by ID., *Annibal, tragédie en cinq actes*, Addis Abéba 1964]; ID., **ግርማዊነቻው፡ በአሜሪካ፡ አገር** (*Gərmawinnätaččäw bäʾamerika agär*, 'His Majesty in the Coutry of America'), Addis Abäba 1951 A.M. [1958/59 A.D.]; ID., **የቅኔ፡ አዝመራ** (*Yäqəne azmära*, 'Poetry'), Addis Abäba 1956 A.M. [1963/64 A.D.]; ID., **ዓፄ፡ ካሌብ** (*ᶜAśe Kaleb*, 'King Kaleb'), Addis Abäba 1958 A.M. [1965/66 A.D.]; ID., **አክዓብ** (*Akəᶜab*, 'Ahab'), Addis Abäba 1960 A.M. [1967/68 A.D.]; KEBBEDÉ MIKAÉL – JEAN LECLANT, "La section d'archéologie (1952–1955)", *AE* 1, 1955, 1–8; "This Year's Haile Sellassie I Prizes", *EthObs* 8, 2, 1964, 137; TADDÄLÄ BƎṬUL KƎBRAT, **መጽሐፈ፡ ውይይት፤ ከደራሲ፡ ዶክተር፡ ከበደ፡ ሚካኤል፡ መኮሪያ፡ ጋር** (*Mäṣḥafä wəyəyyət: kädärasi doktär Käbbädä Mikaʾel Mäkuriya gar*, 'The Book of the Discussion with Dr. Käbbädä Mikaʾel Mäkuriya', Addis Abäba [n.d. 199-?].

Lit.: FIKRE TOLOSSA, *Realism and Amharic Literature (1908–1981)*, Ph.D. thesis, University of Bremen 1983; ALBERT GÉRARD, *Four African Literatures: Xhosa, Sotho, Zulu, Amharic*, Berkeley, CA – Los Angeles, CA 1971, 321–30; KaneLit 13, 21, 39f., 84, 104; JOANNA MANTEL-NIEĆKO, "Ethiopian Literature in Amharic", in: BOGUMIL W. ANDRZEJEWSKI – STANISLAW PIŁASZEWICZ – WITOLD TYLOCH (eds.), *Literatures in the African Languages: Theoretical Issues and Sample Surveys*, Warszawa 1985, 301–36; REIDULF KNUT MOLVAER, *Tradition and Change in Ethiopia: Social Life as Reflected in Amharic Fictional Literature ca. 1930–1974*, Leiden 1980, s. index; MolLit 73–81; TAYE ASSEFA, *Form in the Amharic Novel*, Ph.D. thesis, University of London 1986; ID. – SHIFERAW BEKELE, "The Study of Amharic Literature: an Overview", *JES* 32, 2, 2000, 27–73 (Lit.); TÄSFAYE GÄSSÄSÄ, "**ያማርኛ፡ ቲያትር፡**

ያራሲያን" (*Yamarəññña tiyatər därasiyan*, 'Amharic Playwrights'), in: *PICES* 2, vol. 2, 316–28, here 319–28.

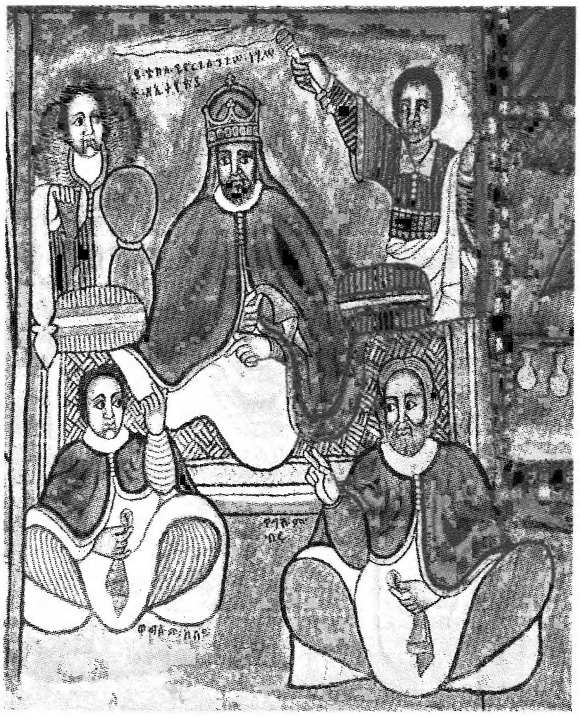
Galina Balashova

Käbbädä Täfäri

K.T. (ከበደ፡ ተፈሪ) was ↗*wag šum* in late 19th-early 20th cent. He was the son of *wag šum* Täfäri Wäsän (1842, 1872–74), and succeeded his father at a young age in 1874, but was removed from office in 1876 because his regent had not accompanied *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV in his wars against ↗Egypt during the 1870s. K.T. lived in Mäqälä for some time and then moved to Šäwa where he formed a good relationship with *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II and later *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I.

In 1905 K.T. was reappointed, but removed a year later due to a quarrel with the local people who lodged an appeal against him at Mənilək's court for maladministration and harsh treatment. He was reappointed for the third time in 1917, and continued to administer ↗Wag until the Italian invasion in 1935.

His administration was characterized by rivalries among different family members who aspired to the office of *wag šum*. His appointments, and the appointments of others from the different branches of the *wag šum* family at different times, are characteristic of the intense power struggles in the region at that time.



Wag šum Käbbädä Täfäri (left, sitting) with *aṣe* Täklä Giyorgis and *wag šum* Bərru; wall-painting, 1909, church of Däbrä Samu'el at Adil Badil, Wällo; photo 1993, courtesy of Michael Gervers

Lit.: JAMES CRAIG MCCANN, *Households, Peasants, and Rural History in Lasta, Northern Ethiopia 1900–35*, Ph.D. thesis, Michigan State University 1984, 60, 143ff., 159f.; WUDU TAFETE KASSU, *A Political History of Wag and Lasta, C. 1543–1919*, M.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1995, 146–49, 155–58, 160–63; ZewYohan 45.

Wudu Tafete Kassu

Käbbädä Täsämma

Däğğazmač K.T. (ከበደ፡ ተሰማ; b. 1902, Efrata, North Šäwa, d. 19 April 1985, Addis Abäba) was a courtier of Emperor ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I. His father was *qäññazmač* Mängäša Ayyänäh; his mother was Dästa Täsämma (K.T.'s second name is after his maternal grandfather Täsämma Anbässe). His father wanted to bring his son up as a farmer, but Täsämma Anbäse, an *azzaž* at the court of *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II in Addis Abäba, wanted an ambitious future for his grandson and had the boy brought to him at the age of two. However, K.T. showed no inclination for his schooling and was soon sent back home.

At about the age of 14, K.T. was back at his grandfather's and groomed as a page of Empress ↗Zäwditu. His very first assignment was at the Ministry of the Pen as a scribe. After nine years of service, he was promoted to head of the pages in the Imperial Court with the title *azzaž*.

During the Italian occupation (1936–41), K.T. was in exile in ↗Jerusalem, where he served, *inter alia*, as the president of the association of Ethiopian exiles, as well as a trusted link between Ḫaylä Śəllase in exile and the major Ethiopian patriots at home during the expulsion, with British assistance, of the Italian occupying forces in 1940–41. After the Liberation, K.T. served in a series of important government posts, among them, Mayor of Addis Abäba (1941/42), *əndärase* of Goğğam with the title of *däğğazmač* (1946), deputy president of the Chamber of Deputies of the Parliament (1951), *əndärase* of Šäwa (1954), Minister of State in the Prime Minister's Office (1955), Member of the Senate of the Ethiopian Parliament (1958), Commander and Chief of Staff of the *Bəḥerawi Ṭor* ('Territorial Army') (1967), Member of the ↗Crown Council, and finally, Minister of the Imperial Court in ↗Ǝndalkačč̣äw Mäkʷännən's cabinet (April–August 1974).

During the 1974 Revolution, K.T. was one of the very few senior officials of the Emperor to escape both detention and execution. This was probably due to his alleged blood ties to Mängəśtu Ḫaylä Maryam, whose father, *ḥamsa aläqa* Ḫaylä

Grave of *däğğazmač* Käbbädä Täsämma in the graveyard of the Qəddəst Śəllase Cathedral, Addis Abäba; photo 2005, courtesy of Wolbert Smidt

Maryam, was a servant in K.T.'s house and had married an illegitimate daughter of K.T. (Ṭəlahun Bərhanä Śəllase Betä 2003/04:349). K.T.'s son, Kaśa Käbbädä, was an eminent minister in the ↗Provisional Military Administrative Council.

K.T. is also known for his book **የታሪክ፡ ማስታወሻ** (*Yätarik mastawäša*, 1970 [= KTMast]), in which the conflicts between *ras* Täfäri (later Ḫaylä Śəllase I) and the supporters of Empress Zäwditu (*däğğazmač* Bäyyänä, ↗Abba Wəqaw Bərru, ↗Balča Śafo and others), as well as the conflict between Täfäri (then governor of ↗Harärge) and *ləğ* Iyasu, Mənilək's heir, were fairly dispassionately presented. It had such a public reception that it was reprinted within 12 months. K.T. was buried in ↗Qəddəst Śəllase Cathedral in Addis Abäba at the burial site for patriots and exiles of the Italian war.

K.T. should not be confused with several personages in Ethiopian history of the early 20th cent.: *däğğazmač* K.T., son of *ras* ↗Täsämma Nadäw (GebMolIyas 385); *däğğazmač* K.T., a relative of ↗Śahlä Śəllase king of Šäwa (ibid. 364).

Src.: *Addis Zämän*, 21 April 1985; KTMast; *Memorial Brochure*, (May) 1985.

Lit.: BZHist 217; GebMolIyas 364, 385, 389; ṬƎLAHUN BƎRHANÄ ŚƎLLASE BETÄ, **የ20ኛው፡ ክፍለ፡ ዘመን፡ ኢትዮጵያ፤ አንደኛ፡ መጽሐፍ** (**፲፱፻፡ አስከ፡ ፲፱፻፷፯፡ ዓ.ም.**) (*Yä20ññaw kəflä zämän Ityopya, andäññä mäṣḥaf* [1900 *əskä* 1966 A.M.], 'Ethiopia of the 20th cent., vol. 1: [1900 till 1966 A.M.]'), Addis Abäba 1996 A.M. [2003/04 A.D.], 348f.

Asfaw Damte

Käbbädäčč Śəyyum Mängäša

Wäyzäro K. (**ከበደች፡ ሥዩም፡ መንገሻ**; b. 1911, Mäqälä, d. January 1984, Addis Abäba) played a significant role in the political, military and social history of Ethiopia. Her father was *ras* ↗Śəyyum Mängäša and her mother, Ğämbäre Bärhe. She was thus a great-grand-daughter of *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV.

In May 1922 K. married *däğğazmač* Abärra Kaśa Ḫaylu (s. EAE vol. V), son of *ras* ↗Kaśa Ḫaylu, a close relation of the Šäwan ruling family and the local ruler of ↗Sälale, Šäwa. She had three sons, Ammәḫa, ʿAmdä Ṣəyon, Tariku, and a daughter who died at an early age.

K. gained prominence during the ↗Italian war 1935–36 and the subsequent occupation. When in 1935 Abärra Kaśa made a call for war among the Sälale forces, to march to the northern war front, K. organized women to prepare provisions for Abärra's soldiers. Following the defeat, K. sheltered war returnees in ↗Fəčče (Sälale), amongst whom were *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I himself and his followers. Facing the collapse of the Ethiopian army, Abärra initiated ↗resistance in Sälale, making Italian movement between Šäwa and Goğğam difficult. Heavy air and ground bombardment forced K. and her children to hide in the forest. Though Abärra submitted on the condition that his life would be spared, he was shot on 21 December 1936 and his body displayed in Fəčče. Subsequently, K., wishing revenge and continuity of hereditary rulership on the one hand and liberation on the other, emerged as a resistance leader.

K. raised arms and, acting as the guardian for her children, gave courage to the patriots. She was actively engaged in several skirmishes in Märhabete, Gəndäbärät, Wälläga and Goğğam, sometimes narrowly escaping death or capture. She acted as an armed patriot chief, dressed in khaki uniform like a man and commanding an army of her own. In June 1938 she crossed the border to the Sudan, accompanied by Šäwan patriots led by Täkkälä Wäldä Ḫawaryat, ↗Mäsfən Śəläši and others. From Roseires, K. moved on via Cairo to ↗Jerusalem where she stayed in exile with her children.

In 1943 K. returned home and played an active role in social affairs. *Aṣe* Ḫaylä Śəllase I awarded her several medals, the Patriots' Medal, the Exiles' Medal and the Victory Medal. She received a state pension until the ↗Revolution in 1974, when her son ʿAmdä Ṣəyon was executed and

Ammaḫa imprisoned for eight years and then exiled to Great Britain. Though the ↗Provisional Military Administrative Council confiscated much of her property, K. engaged in welfare activities. K.'s funeral at the cemetery of Qəddəst Śəllase Cathedral was attended by numerous distinguished patriots. K. remains in the memory of the people as an example for women freedom fighters.

Src.: DÄMƎSSE TOLA, ከዘመን፡ ጉዞ፡ አጭር፡ ታሪክ (*Käzämän guzo aṭṭər tarik*, 'A Short History from the Time Travel'), Addis Abäba, 1948 A.M [1955/56 A.D.], 21–26, 33–35; KTMast 71; TADDÄSÄ ZÄWÄLDE, ቀሪን፡ ገረመው፡ የአርበኞች፡ ታሪክ (*Qärin gärrämäw: yäʾarbäññočč tarik*, 'Those Who Survived were Amazed: a History of the Patriots'), Addis Abäba 1960 A.M [1967/68 A.D.], 359f.

Lit.: ABEBECH AFEWORK, *A Biography of Dajjazzmach Abära Kassa 1906–1936*, B.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1973, 5f., 45–49; ANGELO DEL BOCA, *Gli Italiani in Africa Orientale*, vol. 3: *La caduta dell'Impero*, Milano 1982, 65, 114, 318; MEAZA HESKYIAS, *A Biography of Wayzaro Kabbadach Seyoum*, B.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University, 1992, 1–23; SELTENE SEYOUM, *A History of Ethiopian Women in the Resistance 1935–1941*, research report submitted to OSSREA, December 1994, 51ff.; ID., *A History of Resistance in Gojjam Ethiopia: 1936–1941*, Ph.D. thesis, Addis Ababa University, 1999, 143; TSEHAI BERHANE-SELASSIE, "Women Guerrilla Fighters", *NEASt* 1, 3, 1979–80, 1982, 73–83.

Seltene Seyoum

Kabīr

K. is a ↗Harari word referring to a 'religious teacher' or a 'native doctor who heals through amulets' (Leslau 1963:90; cp. Abdurahman Maḥammad Qorram 1984 A.M.:149). The term is also attested in ↗Səlṭi as a 'reference form or title used of an important follower of Sheikh Hussein' (Gutt – Hussein Mohammed 1997:628). ↗Amharic ከቢራ (*käbira*) may denote a 'learned Arab, one who has studied many books in Arabic, one who knows the Qurʾān' (KaneDic 1418). ↗Somali recognizes the word *kabiir* as 'head-boy' (Agostini 1985:354). All these forms are loanwords from Arabic, most likely from the adjective *kabīr* 'big' (contrary to Leslau 1956:18, who prefers tracing them back to Arab. *ḫabīr* 'experienced', perhaps more precisely 'expert'; the latter origin, with *ḫ* > *k*, is unlikely for Harari but cannot be excluded for Amharic, cf. Leslau 1957:117).

In the town of ↗Harär, the term K. currently refers to a teacher in traditional Islamic schools (*Qurʾān gēy*, *K. gār* and *masgīd gālē*, s. ↗Education). Abdurahman Garad – Wagner (1998:71) qualify K. as a *ʿālim* (Arab. loanword, 'learned man'), someone who teaches little children the *Qurʾān* in the courtyard of his house.

In the *Qurʾān gēy*, a *gidīr* K., 'principal teacher', is distinguished from an assistant teacher, called *ṭīt* K. (lit. 'small teacher', Leslau 1963:69, 90, 156; also Abdurahman Maḥammad Qorram 1984 A.M.:199) or K. *ṭiqqaššo* (the Oromo adjective *ṭiqqaššo* ['small'] being added to the name, s. Abdurahman Garad – Wagner 1988:74f., 466; Abdurahman Maḥammad Qorram 1984 A.M.:149). The assistant K. is an advanced student who has completed the first stage of learning in the *Qurʾān gēy*, having mastered the *Qurʾān* text up to *sūra "Kaḥfaya"* (identified with *sūra* "Maryam", i.e. *sūra* 19, by Leslau 1963:152 and Abdurahman Garad – Wagner 1998:466; or with *sūra "Kahf"* [i.e. *sūra* 18] by Leslau 1965:257). The pupil celebrates this achievement and then returns to school resuming his studies with the rank of assistant K. He thus continues his studies, but at the same time starts teaching absolute beginners (*alēfāčč*), who address him by the title K. (Leslau 1965:174), and supervises beginners during afternoon lessons. As a student, the assistant K. rehearses with the *gidīr* K. the sections of the holy book he has learnt (Leslau 1965:179; Abdurahman Garad – Wagner 1998:74). The *ṭīt* K. may become a fully fledged K., only if he continues his studies up to the complete knowledge by heart of the sacred text.

Fundamentally, the K. teaches for free, performing a religious duty (*alla fit-le yilu-ma*, Leslau 1965:189; this Harari expression is an exact calque on the Arab. *li-waǧh allāh*). However, on Thursdays (the last school day of the week), the K. receives a small sum of money from each pupil ("two Lira", called *ḫamīs rira* ['Lira of Thursday'], according to Abdurahman Garad – Wagner [1998:75]; five cents according to Leslau; this fee, called *ḫamīs kärābi* ['myrrh of Thursday'], originally consisted not of money, but of myrrh, from which ink was made [Leslau 1965:180]). Some food (*kabīr subāṭ*, 'K. meal') is also periodically offered to the master. Once in a while, the parents send gifts to their children's K. When a pupil passes one of the stages of his instruction, his family often give the K. small sums of money and gifts.

Āw Sofī Yaḥyā is traditionally considered the first K. in the history of Harär. He arrived with *šayḫ* ↗Abādir ʿUmar ar-Riḍā in 1216 and founded the first *Qurʾān gēy* 10 km south of Harär (Abdulnasir Edris 1992:6). Since the begining of the last century, the role and functions of the K.

have been challenged by the spread of modern educational systems and methods but certain K., such as K. *ḥāǧǧ* ᶜAlī, his son K. Muḥammad ᶜAlī and K. ᶜAbdalǧawād, were prominent in preserving traditional Islamic education in the town (Abdulnasir Edris 1992:22, 45).

From the time of *imām* ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī (Grañ), some hints may be found as to the use of K. in a more general sense as an honorific title for Muslims not directly involved in teaching: e.g., K. Abūn b. Aḥmad al-Ġanāsirī (the pious man in charge of keeping the loot of the Islamic troops; BassHist 77, 239 [text] = 147, 338 [tr.]), K. Ibrāhīm (the *muʾaḏḏin* of *gärad* Abūn; ibid. 64 [text] = 130 [tr.]), K. Nūr and K. Muḥammad (the *muʾaḏḏins* of Grañ; ibid. 109, 152, 191, 193, 195ff., 258 = 184, 239, 286, 289ff., 356) and K. Muḥammad (servant of *wazīr* ᶜAddole; ibid. 332f. = 442f.).

Src.: ABDURAHMAN MAḤAMMAD QORRAM, ጩቅቲ፡ ከታብ። የአደርኛ፡ አማርኛ፡ መዝገበ፡ ቃላት (*Ṣuqti kətab: yäʾadärəññña-amarəññña mäzgäbä qalat*, 'Harari–Amharic Dictionary'), Addis Abäba 1984 A.M. [1991/92 A.D.], 149, 199; FRANCESCO AGOSTINI, *Dizionario Somalo–Italiano*, Roma 1985, 354; BassHist 77, 64, 109, 152, 191, 193, 195ff., 239, 258, 332f. (text) = 130, 147, 184, 239, 286, 289ff., 338, 356, 442f. (tr.); EEVA H.M. GUTT – HUSSEIN MOHAMMED, *Silt'e–Amharic–English Dictionary (with Concise Grammar by ERNST-AUGUST GUTT)*, Addis Ababa 1997, 628; KaneDic 1418.

Lit.: ABDULNASIR EDRIS, *Traditional Islamic Centres of Learning in Harar*, B.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1992; ABDURAHMAN GARAD – EWALD WAGNER, *Harari-Studien. Texte mit Übersetzung, grammatischen Skizzen und Glossar*, Wiesbaden 1998 (Semitica viva 18), 69–95; WOLF LESLAU, "Arabic Loanwords in Harari", in: *Studi orientalistici in onore di Giorgio Levi Della Vida*, Roma 1956 (Pubblicazioni dell'Istituto per l'Oriente 52), vol. 2, 14–35 [repr. in: ID., *Arabic Loanwords in Ethiopian Semitic*, Wiesbaden 1990, 119–40]; ID., "The Phonetic Treatment of the Arabic Loanwords in Ethiopic", *Word* 13, 1957, 100–23 [repr. in: *ibid.*, 213–36]; ID., *Etymological Dictionary of Harari*, Berkeley, CA – Los Angeles, CA 1963 (University of California Publications, Near Eastern Studies 1), 69, 90, 152, 156; ID., *Ethiopians Speak. Studies in Cultural Background*. I. *Harari*, Berkeley, CA – Los Angeles, CA 1965 (University of California Publications, Near Eastern Studies 7), 171–89, esp. 188f; EWALD WAGNER, "Ein arabischer Text zur traditionellen muslimischen Erziehung in Harar", in: ID. – KLAUS RÖHRBORN (eds.), *Kaškūl. Festschrift zum 25. Jahrestag der Wiederbegründung des Instituts für Orientalistik an der Justus-Liebig-Universität Giessen*, Wiesbaden 1989, 170–85.

Alessandro Gori

Kačama ↗Harro

Kädawərd

K. (ከዳውርድ, fl. 1588/89–93/94) is the name given by some Ethiopian sources to the Turkish governor of ↗*Habeş eyaleti*, the Ottoman province on both sides of the Red Sea, who fought against *aṣe* ↗Śärṣä Dəngəl ca. 1590. K. is probably a corruption of the Turkish name Hüdā Verdi *paša*, the 12th governor (*beylerbeyi*) of the province since ↗Özdemir *paša*. Hüdā Verdi *paša* is reported to have been appointed governor in 997 H. [1588 A.D.] (a document from the same year, however, bears his seal with the year 996 H.; Orhonlu 1974:67f.) and to have been succeeded in July 1593 or March 1594 by ᶜAlī *paša*. The last traceable *paša* of the 16th cent. was Ibrāhīm, but he had no contacts with Ethiopian rulers any more (ibid. 68).

An Ethiopian "short chronicle" relates that Śärṣä Dəngəl, in the 27th year of his reign (1590), marched against Däḥono (↗Ḥərgigo) and waged war with the "*tərkʷ bašša* K." (BassÉt [II] 112). The text of the chronicle goes on to say that the *paša* was killed with a dagger by *abeto* ↗Yonaʾel, son of *əte* Mən Yəčale (d. 1593). A similar account is given by Bruce, only in his version the Ethiopian officer's name is Robel (ibid. 167). An Amharic song, written by the priests "in the signs of the Dəggʷa" to commemorate the feat, accompanies the chronicle narrative, and Bruce remarks that the memory of this event was written "in golden letters in the chronicles of the Empire" (ibid. 112, 169).

Neither the Ottoman sources, nor, in fact, the official royal Chronicle of Śärṣä Dəngəl, confirm that K. was killed. Indeed, the last chapter of the chronicle describes in details the war during the 27th year of the Emperor's reign (CRHist 129–37), which took place in a Muslim region north of the *beylerbeyi*'s territory, starting with the brief Turkish occupation of ↗Dəbarwa and a surprise attack by the Turks from Däḥono on *baḥər nägaš* ↗Däragot.

The Ottomans were beaten in the first skirmishes, whereas the bravery of the future *baḥər nägaš* ᶜAqbä Mikaʾel, who killed two Turkish commanders, was prominent. The *paša*, whose name remains unmentioned, left the battlefield; part of his troops retreated to the fortress of Däḥono, but the fortress was unable to resist Śärṣä Dəngəl's attack; the *paša* was wounded in the assault. The remaining Turks sailed off to ↗Massawa.

The Emperor punished those who collaborated with the Turks. Among them was the local Muslim *amīr* who, probably supported by Turkish auxiliary troops under a *sanǧakbey*, instigated the conflict. Though a subject of the Emperor, *šayḫ* Ali Gärad, did not assist Śärṣä Dəngəl and sided

with the Turks. The victorious Śärṣä Dəngəl interrogated him in Därfo, a village near ↗Asmära, and had him executed (BudHist II, 370f.). The area, along with ↗Ḥamasen, was plundered by Ethiopian troops. ↗Yəsḥaq Wäldä Ǝzum (or Wadd Ǝzum), a villager from Ḥamasen who was appointed *baḥər nägaš* and provided with military support and weapons by the Turks, was also captured and killed by Śärṣä Dəngəl.

According to the chronicle, the defeated *paša* sent the Emperor a letter of submission along with numerous gifts (CRHist 133).

The Ottoman sources state, however, that it was Śärṣä Dəngəl who was defeated, part of his soldiers being killed and another part taken prisoner. The Emperor is even said to have received a sword, a kaftan and a laudatory decree (*hüküm*) from the Ottoman sultan for his services to Hüdā Verdi *paša*.

↗Ottoman empire

Src.: BassÉt II, 112, 167 n. 227, 169 n. 227 (tr.); BTafA 932; CRHist 129–37 (text) = 146–55 (tr.); DombrChr 186; RICHARD PANKHURST (tr.), *The Ethiopian Royal Chronicles*, Addis Ababa 1967, 89f.; JULES PERRUCHON, "Notes pour l'histoire d'Éthiopie. Règne de Sarṣa Dengel ou Malak Seged Ier (1563–1597)", *RevSem* 4, 1896, 273–78.
Lit.: BudHist II, 370f.; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "La guerra turco-abissina del 1578", *Oriente Moderno* 1, 1921–22, 634–36, 648–91 and 2, 1922–23, 48–57; ALESSANDRO GORI, "L'Etiopia nei testi ottomani", in: UGO MARRAZZI (ed.), *Turcica et Islamica: Studi in memoria di Aldo Gallotta*, vol. 2, Napoli 2003, 623–35; PAOLO MARRASSINI, "'I possenti di Rom'. I Turchi Ottomani nei testi etiopici (con un Annesso di A. Gori)", *ibid.* 593–622; CENGIZ ORHONLU, *Habeş Eyaleti*, Istanbul 1974, 67f.

Emeri van Donzel

Kaddāfo

K. (ᶜAfar: *kaḍḍ āfó*, lit. 'big mouth') is a personal name, which also occurs as a nickname. It is used among the Aydāḥissó, the lineage of the *sulṭāns* of ↗Awsa and main branch of the powerful ↗Mōdaytó tribe.

According to Abir (quoting the vizier of the last Awsa *sulṭān* ᶜAli-Miráḥ Yāyyó b. Hámmadu [AbPrince 23]), K. was the chief of the Mōdaytó, who became the first *sulṭān* of the ᶜAfar dynasty of Awsa, probably after the first unification of the Mōdaytó and Awsa people. According to a secondary source (HarAeth 179f.), Awsa was the Mōdaytó capital for "less than a century", i.e. Awsa would have been in the hands of the Mōdaytó after the second half of the 18th cent.

New data (s. MorDicAfar 67) shed some light on the situation. If it is true that, some time at the beginning of the 18th cent., the Mōdaytó tribe overran the fertile valley of Awsa, they may have achieved their domination only in 1834, after the battle of Darma. They would have encamped in the area of Dōbi, north-east of Awsa. The first confrontations would have begun with Aydāḥis, nicknamed Data Kaḍḍāfó (1753–68), but the Mōdaytó would not have settled in Awsa.

Šayḫ Ǧīlānī's chronicle (MorDicAfar 68) indicates that the Mōdaytó were defeated at the end of 1779 and again in 1784 under Data Kaḍḍāfó's son, Maḥammad (1768–98). The name of Awsandábba (*Awsi andabba*, 'withdrawal from Awsa'), at the northern edge of Awsa, recall a battle between the sedentary tribes of Awsa and the troops of Aydāḥis "Data Kaḍḍāfó".

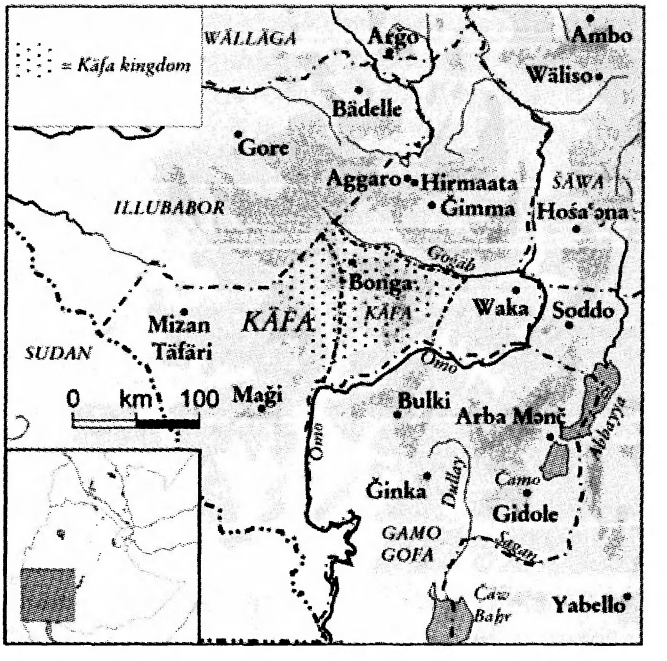
Src.: AbPrince 23; HarAeth 179f.; MorDicAfar 4, 67f.

Didier Morin

Käfa

Käfa geography

The region of K. (ከፋ) is a wet and densely populated highland area (1,700–3,000 m A.S.L.) on the right bank of the ↗Omo river. It is delimited to the north by the right bank of the ↗Goğäb river. South of the Goğäb, high volcanic mountains rise, the peaks being Mount Dulla (3,130 m A.S.L.) in the east, Mount Ağğo (3,300 m A.S.L.) in the middle and Mount Šaradda (2,682 m A.S.L.), overlooking ↗Bonga, in the west. The average rainfall ranges between 1,800 mm and 2,000 mm; there are nine rainy months and the dry season is short from December to February. The altitudes between 1,800 and 2,000 m A.S.L.



are particularly densely populated by agriculturists producing ↗*ənsät*, ↗coffee and cereals (*ṭef*, maize, barley). They also keep some cattle, sheep and goats. In the south, the Dinša river flows into the Omo.

K. first emerged as one of the ↗Gonga states, bordered by ↗Ǧimma Abbaa Ǧifaar in the north, ↗Gimira in the south-west and ↗Limmu in the south-east. The kingdom was inhabited by the K. people speaking the K. language and was ruled together with the Maǧi and Gimira states from the capital in ↗Andaračа.

At the end of the 19th cent., K. was incorporated into the Ethiopian state. Until 1987 it had the status of ↗*awraǧǧa*, and its boundaries were virtually the same as those of the K. kingdom. The capital of the *awraǧǧa* was in Bonga.

From 1944 to 1987, the K. *awraǧǧa* (which covered an area of 7,100 km², as shown on the map) was part of a larger K. region, with the capital at ↗Ǧimma. It consisted of ten *wäräda*-subdistricts: Mängiwa (with the capital in Qaqa), Gimbo (Gimbo), Hawäta (Kobaç), Təlləqu Giše (Dika), Tənnəšu Giše (Biṭa Gännät), Ç̣ana (Waççа), Šäwa Gimira (Šäwa Gimira), Ç̣ari (Deççа), Adä Sälam (Ç̣ata), and Fälägä Sälam (Čälo).

From 1987 to 1991 K. zone (with an area of 12,739 km²), Maǧi and Benç zones formed the K. region (from 1991 to 1994, the K. *kəlləl*).

Since the 1994 administrative division, the Käfiççо-Šekačo zone has been one of the subdivisions of the Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples *kəlləl*.

The K. *awraǧǧa* had a population of 221,000 inhabitants (density 31.2) in 1970 and 521,234 (density 73.4) in 1984. This remarkable increase has continued, and the population of the Käfiççо-Šekačo zone reached 725,086 inhabitants in 1994 and 1,014,935 inhabitants (density 79.7) in 2005. The historical capital of Bonga, which had 3,000 inhabitants in 1938, had 5,579 inhabitants in 1970, 6,216 in 1984, 10,851 in 1994, and 18,771 in 2005.

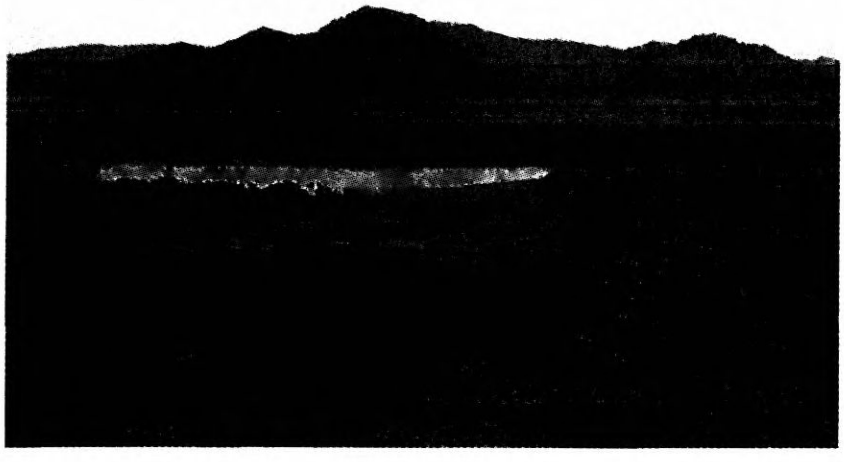
Coffee remains among the most important cash crops and sources of income, and it is transported by road to Ǧimma and to ↗Addis Abäba from where a large part is exported.

A dense network of roads, both all-year and seasonal, cross the region. The all-weather road from Ǧimma to Bonga was completed around 1962. The road from Bonga to ↗Mizan Täfäri and ↗Tepi, which has been in existence since the Italian occupation, was improved in 1966 by the Highway Authority. The Ǧimma-Soddo road crossing the Omo gorge and reaching Waka and Bonga and thus establishing a connection to the Rift Valley (Šašämänne) was inaugurated in 2000.

Src.: AbbGeogr; JULES BORELLI, *Éthiopie méridionale, journal de mon voyage aux pays amhara, oromo et sidama, septembre 1885 à novembre 1888*, Paris 1890, 111, 126, 155, 156, 298f., 365, 379; CecZeila; CONSOCIAZIONE TURISTICA ITALIANA, *Carta dell'Africa Italiana, scala 3:1 000 000*, Fol. 2, Milano n.d.; CSA 1998; CENTRAL STATISTICAL AUTHORITY, *Ethiopia: Statistical Abstract 2004*, Addis Ababa 2004; CSA 1984; CSO 1971; *Guida* 536–53.

Lit.: BendLang; GAÉTAN BERNOVILLE, *L'épopée missionnaire d'Éthiopie, Mgr Jarosseau et la mission des Gallas*, Paris 1950; CerEt ch. 20–25; EMAtlas; ALAIN GASCON, "Le miracle de l'*ensät*: Géographie d'une plante 'peuplante'", in: *PICES* 11, 81–89; GasEth 35, 46f., 58, 60f., 67, 69, 72f., 86f., 99, 102f., 129, 137, 163, 171ff.; HuntGal 102–35; PAUL SOLLEILET, *Obock, le Choa, le Kaffa: Récits d'une exploration commerciale en Éthiopie*, Paris 1886; STANISLAW STANLEY, "Ensete in the Ethiopian Economy", *Ethiopian Geographical Journal* 4, 1, 1966, 30–37; ZerEth.

Alain Gascon



The Womba Lake (the so-called "Bieber" Lake) in Käfa, ca. 60 km east of Bonga, near Amäya; photo 2000, courtesy of Ulrich Hartenburg

Käfa history

K. is the name of a former kingdom in southern Ethiopia and nowadays of an administrative zone. The term is now also frequently used for the inhabitants of the region. K. was the largest of the ↗Gonga kingdoms. The earliest mention of the name in European sources dates back to 1632 (Almeida, as "Cafâ", s. Beck-HuntAlm 151). Clan histories (Orent 1970:271f.) show that K.'s population was of various origins,

but assimilated into the Kafiĉĉo mainstream as the kingdom took shape. In fact, the social and clan history of K. is extremely complex, and its relation to the old Gonga kingdom and people is still not exactly clear. "Gongičo" is the name of a prestigious clan in K.

The K. kingdom (*Kafi Ageto*) emerged in the late 14th cent. During its formative period (15th-16th cent.) K. was at first subservient to the ↗Ǝnnarya kingdom, from which it took several symbols of royalty. Beginning in the early 18th cent. a strong, centralized and authoritarian state was built, headed by the ↗*tato*, who came to be seen as a "divine king" (↗Kingship, divine). It was a regional power dominating neighbouring groups on the basis of military might, slavery, a solid agricultural base, and long-distance trade (in ivory, skins, gold, and slaves), for instance with the northern Ethiopian state and its sea outlets. The kingdom had a system of defensive trenches and gates near its borders.

In the mid-16th cent. K. fought pitched battles with the expanding ↗Oromo and lost most of its territories north of the Goğäb River to them. However, K. withstood the pressure of the Oromo, defeating them at the battle of Agallo in ca. 1540 (Bieber 1920:31, 80) after which the latter turned west and northward. The related Šeka kingdom was conquered by the Oromo in the late 17th cent. K. also fought frequently with the ↗Benç, Mer and Še (↗Gimira) chiefdoms and with the kingdom of ↗Wälaytta.

After their battles with the Oromo, the K. kings intensified contact with the Ethiopian Christian state under *aṣe* ↗Śärṣä Dəngəl, who probably convinced the then K. king to adopt ↗Christianity. The Betä Giyorgis of Baha in K. also dates from this period (s. Ullendorff 1959). The church, located some 3.5 hours walk from ↗Bonga, at 2,200 m A.S.L., is believed to have been established by the king of Ǝnnarya ↗Säpänhi in the 1500s. According to local tradition its *tabot* had been brought from ↗Jerusalem. It bears an important Gəᶜəz ↗inscription. In the 1930s the outer and inner doors of the round ↗church building were richly decorated with coins, crosses and other silver ornaments (*Guida* 539).

Christianity appears to have become the ideology of ruling elite, as is evident, e.g., in the K. king celebrating certain festivals such as *Maškaro* (cf. ↗*Mäsqäl*) with a display of royal symbols and the Orthodox cross (Orent 1970:272). The spread of the Christian faith among the wider population, however, was slow and precarious, only gaining pace after the mid-19th cent. ↗Islam was introduced into K. by traders, protected by the king, but did not find mass adherence, perhaps due to the permanently competitive relations of K. with the Muslim state of ↗Ğimma Abbaa Ğifaar.

K. was the most important power in southern Ethiopia in the centuries before the northern conquest. In the late 17th cent. under king Galli Ginoč (d. 1710) it significantly expanded its territory and solidified the internal political unity of the kingdom. Indications are that in this era K. became a full partner in the wider Ethiopian slave trade. In its heyday under the reign of king Hoti Šeroči or H. Ginoč (1800–21) K. had numerous vassal states and chiefdoms, such as Šeka, ↗Boša, Nayi (↗Nao), Še, ↗Yäm, ↗Konta, and ↗Dawro. The K. king often sent out his political representatives (*rašo*) to rule or control these areas. Internally, K. was divided into 18 regions (*worafo*), 134 districts (*worbo*), and then the smaller localities (*gudo*) and villages (*gafo*).

The K. kingdom and its complex social organization, institutions, customs and material culture were well described by ↗Bieber (1920–23), who based his study on observations and interviews made a few years after the demise of the kingdom in 1897. K. was a highly stratified society, with the Bušašo elite at the top, followed by nobles, commoners (peasant "serfs"), craftsmen groups such as the Addo or "Mangǒ" (hunters), Manne (tanners/ leatherworkers), Šammano (weavers) and Qemmo (blacksmiths), as well as slaves on the lowest social rung. There were also the *šatto*, singers or bards (Lange 1979), whose songs described historical events, deeds of the kings, social conflicts, and relations with other groups. The Addo provided the ritual assistants for the K. kings and officiated as sacrificers, executioners, and military and palace guards. The K. kings were advised by powerful councillors, the *ogge mikirečo* (cf. Noĉĉo Wädebušo 1993; Orent 1970:288f.). The king also had a special relationship with the ↗Nayi people, an earlier population in the area, who provided him with members for his *mikirečo* council while the Nao (Nayi) king was himself consecrated at the K. court. A less attractive aspect of this relationship was the reported sacrifice of the first-born son of the Nayi king at the funeral rites of the K. king (Lange 1982:282).

The K. king was the supreme political and religious authority and had various official

ritual functions for the entire community. For example, together with elders or local chiefs, he inaugurated annual agricultural rites (Lange 1976:21f.). In practice, however, the seven-member *ogge mikirečo* was the governing body and took most of the administrative functions. Its two most important members were the *katama rašo* (main councillor and *de facto* war leader) and the *guče rašo* (overseeing the king's slaves and work force).

Next to the king, religious authority was vested in two functionaries: the *gumbaččino*, who as supreme sacrificer to the king and "keeper" of his symbolic powers of fertility and sacrum (referred to as "the living gold") had the highest religious office – perhaps even held as more important than that of the king. The second was that of the *Ibede Gudo*, originally a hereditary medium (*allamo*) of the *Detato* or *Deoči* spirit within the Dugo clan and a chief councellor to the K. court (photograph of one of the last incumbents in Lange 1982, pl. 34).

In the 1880s, K.'s wealth and strategic location was coveted by kings ↗Mənilək of Šäwa and ↗Täklä Haymanot of Goğğam and it became an issue of armed conflict in 1882 and later years. In 1889 most of K.'s vassal regions had already been conquered by the imperial troops, weakening the kingdom's political and economic position. In the late 1880s, after rinderpest had decimated nearly all of northern Ethiopia's cattle, the K. king supplied Mənilək's court with a meat supply of thousands of unaffected animals. Despite this and K.'s tenacious resistance in successful battles of 1890 and 1893, the kingdom was defeated in 1897 by the combined Ethiopian imperial troops under *ras* ↗Wäldä Giyorgis Aboyye, *däğğazmač* Däməssäw Nasibu, *däğğazmač* ↗Täsämma Nadäw and their ally king ↗Abbaa Ğifaar II of Ğimma. The last K. king was ↗Gaki Šeročo, who was captured and led into captivity to Addis Abäba where he died in 1919. K. was the last big southern kingdom to be conquered, after Wälaytta had fallen in 1894.

Lit.: AbPrince 48, 55, 86, 89; FRIEDRICH JULIUS BIEBER, *Kaffa: Ein Altkuschitisches Volkstum in Inner-Afrika*, Münster – Vienna 1920–23; ID., "Geschichte des Kaffaisch-Äthiopischen Krieges: Eine Überlieferung der Kaffitscho oder Gonga", *Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen* 23–25, Abt. 2, 1922, 18-43; HuntGal; WERNER JÜRGEN LANGE, *Dialectics of Divine "Kingship" in the Kafa Highlands*, Los Angeles, CA 1976; ID., *Domination and Resistance: Narrative Songs of the Kafa Highlands*, East Lansing, MI 1976; ID., *History of the Southern Gonga (Southwestern Ethiopia)*, Wiesbaden 1982 (SKK 61), 180–324; LEGESSE GEBEYEHU, *Conquest of the Kingdom of Kaffa*, B.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University; AMNON ORENT, "Refocusing on the History of Kafa Prior to 1897: a Discussion of Political Process", *African Historical Studies* 3, 2, 1970, 263–93; NOČČO WÄDEBUŠO (pseud.), የካፋ፡ ህዝብ፡ ታሪካዊ፡ ምንጭ (*Yäkäfa həzb tarikawi mənč*, 'A Historical Source of the Käfa People'), Addis Abäba 1993 A.M. [2000/01 A.D.]; EDWARD ULLENDORFF, "The Inscription of St. George of Baha", *Antiquity* 29, 1955, 237–38.

Jon Abbink

Käfa dynasties (14th to end of 19th cent.)

Scholars generally agree that the kingdom of K. emerged towards the end of the 14th cent. The period between the late 14th and the late 15th cent. is shrouded in mystery due to lack of sources. From its emergence, however, K. became a strong dynastic state in southern Ethiopia. Oral traditions insist that it were kings drawn from the Matto clan who founded and ruled K. in these formative years (Bäqqälä Wäldä Maryam Addəlo 2003:77–81; Lange 1982:184–87). But there is confusion about this period and not all scholars agree on the dating. Lange's identification of three kings of this dynasty is not very secure. He places the tenure of office of the Matto dynasty from the late 14th to the middle of the 16th cent. (Lange 1982:181–87), while Bäqqälä Wäldä Maryam Addəlo insists that Matto rule came to an end in the late 14th cent. (Bäqqälä Wäldä Maryam Addəlo 2003:77–81).

Whatever the position of the Matto clan in those early centuries, the clan occupied a key position in the politico-religious hierarchy of K. society throughout its history. This can be taken as "indicative of Matto's earlier high status" in the kingdom (Lange 1982:249). This high religious position was also a high political position. The Matto resurface in oral tradition in the succession crisis of the late 17th cent. that brought to power one of the strongest kings of the kingdom, Galli Gafoči (1690–1720). Galli's accession to the throne apparently signified the advent of a new subclan to the centre of power: the Bušašo. He was said to have eliminated many Matto and gave their positions to members of his own subclan (Lange 1982:198). However, the Matto clan continued to be of importance in the politics of the kingdom.

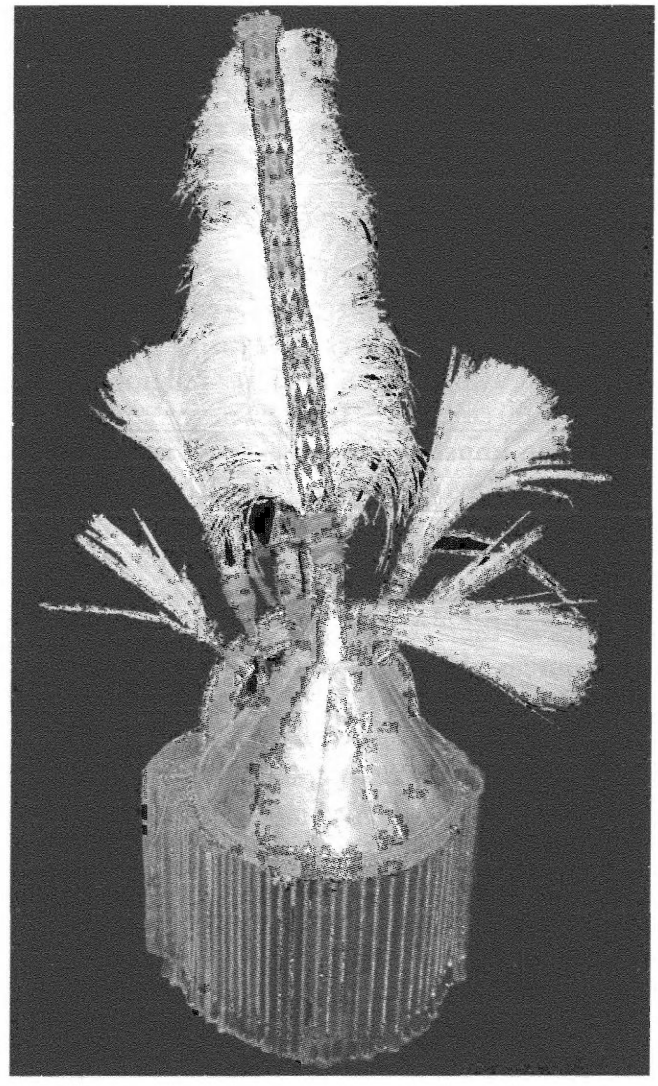
In the late 16th cent. the *Dentu* segment of the ↗Miŋo clan took over power, under the leadership of their first king, Miŋiločči. Tradition insists that this dynastic transition was smooth and peaceful. Lange contends that Miŋiločči

ruled the kingdom from circa 1570 to 1620 (Lange 1982:187). The Minǧo clan was apparently a large social group with many subclans apart from Minǧiločči's Dentu. Apparently, from this family three kings sat on the throne, called in the historical literature the Minǧo-Dentu dynasty. It ruled the kingdom from around 1570 to the end of the 17th cent.

In the last decade of the 17th cent. the Dentu clan yielded power to the Bušašo subclan of the Minǧo clan, led by their strong man Galli Gafoči (s. above). Installed by the formidable Galli, the ↗Minǧo-Bušašo dynasty reigned over K. for two centuries until its removal by Šäwan imperial forces in the fateful year of 1897.

The Bušašo were an intriguing group. Their identity is still a major question in the history of not only K. but also of the other ↗Gonga kingdoms – i.e. ↗Anfillo, ↗Boša, Hinnaryo (↗Ǝnnarya), Šeka and others. "The Bušašo provided the royalty of each of the Gonga peoples presented (...), i.e., Boša (Təgre Busase), Hinnaryo (Hinnare Bušašo), Käfa (Minǧo Bušašo) and even the Anfillo (Busasi). The Na'o kings were also members of the Na'o Busaso", writes Lange, drawing upon the available sources (Lange 1982:154, n. 28). In like manner, the Šay were also ruled by the Bušašo. Apparently, the Bušašo constituted a group claiming descent from some prestigious family in the north (most of them allegedly from Təgray migrants; only the Bušašo of K. claimed descent from Amhara from what later came to be called Wällo). They seem to have appeared on the scene sometime in the 16th cent., perhaps first in the kingdom of Boša, then possibly spreading out to the other four Gonga kingdoms. But this hypothesis does not answer all questions. Thus, it remains unclear how the Bušašo could impose their rule on all the five Gonga kingdoms and on the two chiefdoms mentioned above.

King Galli Gafoči seems to have been the strongest leader. He expanded the kingdom and strengthened its central institutions. During his reign, K. became a powerful and extensive polity. It continued to expand during the reigns of Galli's successors up to the early decades of the 19th cent. In this period, the Minǧo-Bušašo dynasty produced some very remarkable rulers. The kingdom saw its apogee during the reign of ↗Hoti Šeroči or Hoti Ginoč (1780–1805, or 1798–1821, according to Bäqqälä Wäldä Maryam Addəlo 2003). Hoti was regarded by his people as a great



The Käfa crown, main item of the regalia of the last Käfa dynasty; photo by Wolbert Smidt, 2004, courtesy of the Ethnographic Museum of the IES

warrior king. He reduced to vassalage the important kingdoms and chiefdoms of south western Ethiopia such as Šeka, Boša, Na'o, Šay, Yäm, Konta, and Dawro. He is also remembered in K. oral traditions as a king who accepted Christianity (Bäqqälä Wäldä Maryam Addəlo 2003:96), an indication that between the 16th and the 19th cent. kings were still following traditional religion. He encouraged long distance trade that was reviving at the time. His persecution of the followers of the traditional religion brought him many enemies and it was apparently for this reason that he was overthrown by his brother, Bodi. Bodi assumed the regnal name of Gaha Nečočči and ruled from ca. 1805 to 1841 (Lange 1982:186) or from ca. 1821 to 1841 (Bäqqälä Wäldä Maryam Addəlo 2003:96). Gaha restored the traditional religion to its position of supremacy.

His successor was the important king Kaye Šeročo or Taten Kami (r. 1854-1870). He was an

astute ruler who marshalled K. traditional religion (the *doče* spirit cult) for political purposes. In 1855 he allowed Italian Catholic missionaries into his realm (↗Massaja), thus creating competition for the Orthodox Christians. He expelled them again in the 1860s when he thought they made too many converts.

This policy was continued by his son, king ↗Galli Šeročo, who also hindered if not persecuted Christians as well as Muslims, prohibiting people's conversion to either religion. In the 1880s, Galli conducted fruitless negotiations with Ethiopian imperial emissaries (e.g., *ras* Gobäna) on tribute-paying of K. to the Šäwan imperial court.

All in all, the Miŋǧo-Bušašo dynasty comprised ten kings, who ruled the kingdom from the last decades of the 17th cent. to 1897. Even if scanty, the sources show that some of them were remarkable personalities. The last king was ↗Gaki Šeročo. Gaki had to face the invasion of his kingdom by the generals of Mənilək – *ras* ↗Wäldä Giyorgis Aboyye, *däǧǧazmač* Däməssäw Nasibu, *däǧǧazmač* ↗Täsämma Nadäw and king ↗Abbaa Ǧifaar II of Ǧimma. They overwhelmed him and he was captured and imprisoned in Šäwa where he died in 1919.

The Miŋǧo-Bušašo dynasty was famous for its well-organized though authoritarian political system, and the rulers of the Šäwan kingdom were much impressed by its solidity. Gäbrä Śəllase, the chronicler of Mənilək, enthused about the vast powers of the kings of K. He said that K. was a well-governed polity because it had supposedly excellent laws and traditions (GSMen 277). Like all royal houses, the dynasty intermarried widely with the other royal lines of the region. They took wives and concubines from the Gibe kingdoms as well as from Šeka and the other Gonga states and also went to Wälaytta, across the Omo river, for the same purpose. The motives for this intermarriage were predictable – to obtain enduring political alliances and a more far reaching regional influence.

Src.: GSMen 277.

Lit.: BÄQQÄLÄ WÄLDÄ MARYAM ADDƎLO, የከፋ፡ ሕዝቦችና፡ መንግሥታት፡ አጭር፡ ታሪክ (*Yäkäfa ḫəzboččənna mängəśtat aṭṭər tarik*, 'The Short History of Käfa Peoples and Kingdoms'), Addis Abäba 1996 A.M. [2003 A.D.]; NOČČO WÄDEBUŠO (pseud.), የከፋ፡ ህዝብ፡ ታሪካዊ፡ ምንጭ (*Yäkäfa ḫəzb tarikawi mənṭ*, 'A Historical Source of the Käfa People'), Addis Abäba 1993 A.M. [2000/01 A.D.]; PAUL KRETSCHMER, "Das Sardonische Lachen", *Glotta* 34, 1955, 1–9, here 7f.; WERNER LANGE, *History of the Southern Gonga (South West Ethiopia)*, Wiesbaden 1982 (SKK 61); AMNON ORENT, *Lineage Structure and the Supernatural: the Kafa of Southwest Ethiopia*, Ph.D. thesis, Boston 1968.

Shiferaw Bekele

Käfa language

K. (self-name: *Kafi noonoo*, lit. 'the mouth of Käfa'; in linguistic research also identified as Kafiččo, Keffa, Kafa, Kefa, Kaffa, or Caffino) is an ↗Afro–Asiatic language of the ↗Gonga subgroup of the North-↗Omotic family. According to the 1994 population census, K. is spoken by ca. 570,000 people (Hudson 1999: 91).

Most of the linguistic research on K. has been limited to lists of words and phonological and morphological sketches. Major works are Reinisch (1888) and Cerulli (CerStud IV).

Until recently K. has been an unwritten language. Today, using Latin script, K. serves as a medium of instruction at the elementary education level. Efforts are also being made to promote K. as a language of administration.

According to Fleming (in BendNonSLang 366f.), K. has 22 consonant phonemes: *p, b, p̣, f, m, w, t, d, ṭ, n, l, r, š, č, ǯ, ç, y, k, g, q, h, ʾ*, and five vowel phonemes: *a, e, i, o, u*.

Consonant gemination, vowel length, and tone are phonemic. Pitch is largely independent of vowel length, and words with the same pitch patterns can have different vowel lengths: *gàròó* (LR) 'thorn' vs. *gààròó* (LR) 'raw', *kòtò* (L) 'sit' vs. *kòòtò* (L) 'untrue'. In K. rising tone (R) appears only on long vowels.

Consonant gemination is common but never occurs word-initially, nor can every consonant phoneme geminate: consonants such as *ʾ*, *r*, and *w* resist gemination. Others such as *č*, *ǯ*, *p̣* and *l* are underlyingly geminates. Still others (*f*, *š*, *h* and *y*) are realized as either a stop or an affricate when they geminate.

Tone has a semantic and a grammatical function. K. is basically a register tone language in which a high tone (H) and a low tone (L) are realized on relatively level pitches. E.g.:

(1) *kášó* (H)	'ripe'	*kàšò* (L)	'soul'
kášò (HL)	'farm tool'	*kàšó* (LH)	'breathe'
(2) *kémò* (HL)	'buy'	*kémó* (H)	'sell'

Rising and falling contour tones also occur in the language. The falling contour has a very limited distribution, being restricted to some morphologically complex forms.

The unmarked default ending of nouns, adjectives and verbs is *-o(o)*, which is replaced with a thematic vowel when a suffix is added. In addi-

tion, these lexical items are grouped into three conventional morphological classes. Class I: ending *-ó* (H); thematic vowels *-e-* and *-i-*. Class II: ending *-ò* (L); thematic vowel *-e-*. Class III: ending *-òó* (R); thematic vowel *-i-*.

K. nominals are inflected for gender, number, and case. Gender distinction is sex-based; only inherently fem. nouns are marked by *-e*. The plural marker is *-naʾo*, e.g., 'bird' *kafo* (sg.) – *kafe-naʾo* (pl.); 'porcupine' *čaayo* (sg.) – *čaayi-naʾo* (pl.).

Independent pronouns include *ta*, 'I'; *no*, 'we'; *ne*, 'you (sg.)'; *ittoši*, 'you (pl.)'; *bi / aroo*, 'he'; *bi / aree*, 'she'; *boonoši / areenaʾo*, 'they'. The difference between *bi* and *aroo*, *bi* and *aree*, and *boonoši* and *areenaʾo* is that of proximity: the former are proximal pronouns, the latter are distal. The reflexive pronouns are formed with the reflexive form *qellona* (< *qello*, 'head') and the corresponding independent pronoun: *ta qellona*, 'myself'; *no qellona*, 'ourselves', etc.

In K. accusative is marked by the ending *-n*: *bii-n danet*, 'I met him'; *aro košo-n maate*, 'He ate food'. Dative and locative are marked by *-č*: *menin taa-č imb(e)*, 'Give that to me'; *ta meče gaʾo-č*, 'near my wife'. Genitive is marked by *-či*: *buše-či kooriço*, 'the girl's book'. Instrumental is marked by *-na*: *ginoo-na*, 'with a spear'; *gumboona*, 'with a stick'. Allative is marked by *-waan*: *Bongi-waan hammite*, 'He went toward Bonga'.

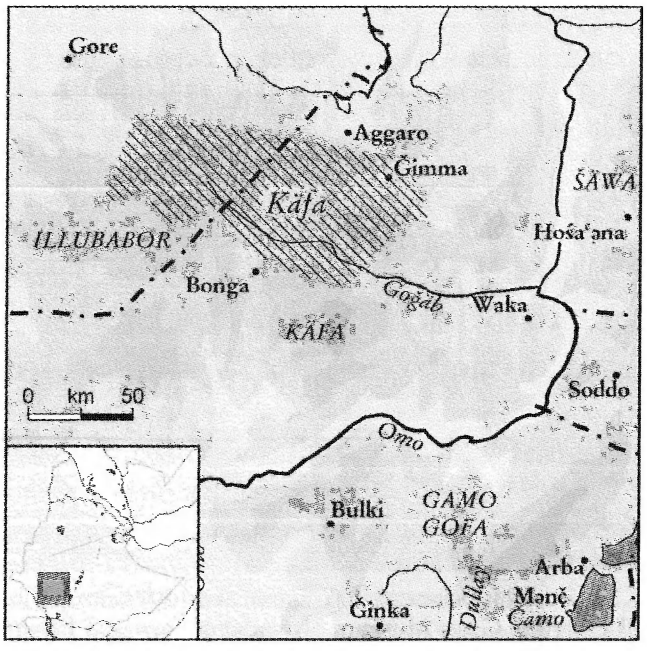
Attributive adjectives precede the head noun. When adjectives are used attributively, the ending vowel is either *-e* or *-i*. When they function predicatively, a copula *ne* is cliticized to them: *Bušoo gendzoo-ne*, 'The boy is tall'.

The verb is inflected for person, gender, and tense. There are five tenses: perfect, simple present, present perfect, present progressive, and future.

Like in other Omotic languages, the canonical word order in K. is Subject–Object–Verb: *bušoo*$_1$ *košon*$_2$ *maahe*$_3$, 'The boy$_1$ eats$_3$ food$_2$'. Adverbs tend to appear between an object and a verb, although they occur in many different positions in questions. In negative constructions, the negation markers *-aač-*, *-aan-*, *-aay-* (*-aah-*), *-toon-* or *-aall-* (used in different tenses) are attached to the verb: *bušoo košon maat-aač-e*, 'The boy does not eat the food'.

K. ten-word list is: 'one' *ikko*, 'two' *guttoo*, 'three' *keemo*, 'fire' *qaaqo*, 'water' *aaço*, 'blood' *damo*, 'sun' *aabo*, 'moon' *ageno*, 'tooth' *gašo*, 'tongue' *eçiyo*.

Src.: GROVER HUDSON, "Linguistic Analysis of the 1994 Ethiopian Census", *NEASt* 6, 3, 1999, 89–107.



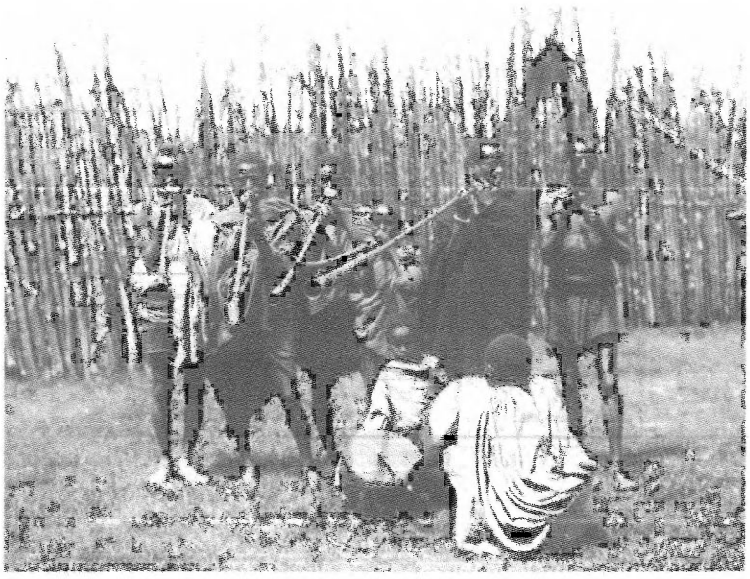
Lit.: CARL BROCKELMANN, "Zur Grammatik der Kafa-Sprache", in: ID., *Abessinische Studien*, Berlin 1950 (Berichte über die Verhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse 97), 40–60; CecZeila vol. 3, 401–51; CerStud IV (Lit.); HAROLD C. FLEMING, "Kefa (Gonga) Languages", in: *BendNonSLang* 351–76; ID., "Proto-Gongan Consonant Phones, Stage One", in: HANS G. MUKAROVSKY (ed.), *Leo Reinisch. Werk und Erbe*, Wien 1987, 141–60; LEO REINISCH, *Die Kafa-Sprache in Nordost-Afrika*, 2 vols., Wien 1888; TADDESE HABTE ADDO, *The Tonology of Kafi Noonoo*, Trondheim 2001 (= *Working Papers in Linguistics* 35) (Lit.).

Taddese Habte Addo

Käfa ethnography

The K. (Käfiččo) are an ethno-linguistic group or people in southern Ethiopia, formerly belonging to the ↗Käfa kingdom. In the census of 1994 they, together with the related Šekačo ["Moča"], numbered ca. 654,000 (s. CSO 1998:66), and are probably today more than 700,000. The people are of diverse ethnic origins, as various pre-existing and conquered groups were incorporated over time (Orent 1970). Many trans-ethnic clans are present among the K. The oldest royal clan was Matto, which was later replaced by the Miŋgo. Their language belongs to the ↗Omotic family.

K. are predominantly farmers and small-scale traders. Some 90 % of the people live in rural areas, the rest in small towns. Craft workers also live among them. Young people increasingly move out to gain employment and education elsewhere, notably in towns in central Ethiopia. As with other groups in Ethiopia, there is also a growing K. "diaspora" outside Ethiopia.



Käfa court-musicians of the Migero, early 20th cent.; photo courtesy of Peter the Great Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography of the Russian Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg

The economy of the K. today is based on the cultivation of barley, *ṭef*, maize, wheat, sorghum, spices, roots, tubers (taro, sweet potato, yam), lentils and vegetables. The country is also one of the core areas of the "↗*ənsät* complex" in southern Ethiopia. The K. grow ↗coffee, cotton, and ginger as cash crops. Tea is cultivated predominantly on commercial plantations, mostly owned by outsiders. K. also produce and trade ↗honey and several forest products. In the 19th and early 20th cent. K. was also noted for its civet musk oil production (↗Zibeth), and had substantial numbers of livestock. The country is fertile and always produced a food surplus. Women are the mainstay of the rural economy in terms of labour hours and tending to household chores. While originally the agricultural economy was based on the hoe, in the 20th cent. the plough was gradually adopted (Orent 1979). K. is still one of the most forested places in Ethiopia, and the forest still plays an important role in securing livelihoods (gathering of wild food plants and medicinal plants). But since the mid-1980s the forest cover has been declining rapidly due to population explosion and poverty, causing a reduction in livelihood opportunities (Yihenew Zewdie 2002). Until the 1975 Agrarian Reform the governors of K. kept their farmers as ↗*gäbbar* tenants.

K. social organization is characterized by clans (*tibbo*) and patrilinear descent reckoning (Orent 1968). There was a prestige hierarchy of clans, with the royal and noble (formerly land-owning) clans at the top. The total number of clans is estimated at well over a hundred. People from occupational castes (blacksmiths, weavers, tanners, potters, hunters) are still at the lower end of the social scale, although such categories of the past are shifting as people find new occupations and move across social groups. Polygamous marriages are frequent, and the custom of bride wealth transfer exists (in cattle or money). People live in scattered homesteads or hamlets across the land. In the course of the past century, many economic, social and cultural similarities have evolved between K. and neighbouring groups like the Oromo, Benç, Dawro and Wälaytta, although K. historical consciousness differs, contributing to a distinct ethnic identity. K. bards recorded much of K. oral traditions in their epics and songs (cf. Lange 1979). In the 1930s the K. actively resisted the Italian occupation of Ethiopia.

Traditional K. religion recognized a supreme god, Yero, paramount clan spirits (↗*Eqo*) with their own shrines, and several other spiritual forces. Spirit mediums (*allamō*) were always very influential among the K., as evidenced by the very powerful and widespread ↗*gäramanǧo* cult and *detateno* cult. There were also diviners (*maraččo*) and folk healers with special powers. While the traditional religion never died out, Christianity gained a foothold in K. from the 16th cent., although it never developed a mass following. A Catholic mission, led by ↗Massaja, was established in K. in the 1850s, well before the northern imperial conquest. In the second part of the 19th cent. Christianity re-emerged, but spirit mediums also gained in influence. Despite repression by the K. king ↗Galli Šeročo, Orthodox Christianity has grown slowly since the 1870s and today predominates (ca. 72 %). But Evangelical Christianity (ca. 12 %) is nowadays on the increase. Muslims constitute some 6 % of the population, and traditional believers constitute the remaining 10 % (extrapolated from 1996 CSA figures).

It appears that the historical K., although an authoritarian state not free from internal conflict (Lange 1979) or socio-economic oppression and inequality, was quite prosperous and sustained a much larger population than today. Economic and social decline in K. set in after 1897, accompanied by a substantial drop in population numbers. Low fertility figures, a sign of the more general socio-cultural crisis and perhaps due to certain practices that heighten health risks (cf.

Orent 1975:83), have only slowly recovered, and fertility rates are presently comparable to those of other rural areas in Ethiopia.

Social and historical research on the K. region since the 1970s has been quite limited, with most recent studies concerned with environmental and development matters. In the *Därg* period (↗Provisional Military Administrative Council) K. suffered another period of stagnation. In the 1990s, as part of ethno-regional decentralization, a K.-Šeka Zone and in 2000 a K. Zone was instituted in the Southern Ethiopian Regional State, which gave local people some autonomy in deciding on certain community affairs relating to land and forest use and dispute mediation. But customary forest holdings and use rights of farmers are under threat from not properly regulated state encroachment.

Lit.: FRIEDRICH JULIUS BIEBER, *Kaffa: Ein altkuschitisches Volkstum in Inner-Afrika*, Münster – Vienna 1920–23; CSA 1998; GEZAHEGN PETROS, "Kafa", in: DENA FREEMAN – ALULA PANKHURST (eds.), *Peripheral People: the Excluded Minorities of Ethiopia*, London 2003, 80–96; WERNER JÜRGEN LANGE, *Domination and Resistance: Narrative Songs of the Kafa Highlands*, East Lansing, MI 1976; ID., *History of the Southern Gonga (South West Ethiopia)*, Wiesbaden 1982; AMNON ORENT, *Lineage Structure and the Supernatural: the Kafa of Southwest Ethiopia*, Ph.D. thesis, Boston University 1968; ID., "Cultural Factors Inhibiting Population Growth among the Kafa of Southwestern Ethiopia", in: MONI NAG (ed.), *Population and Social Organization*, The Hague 1975, 75–91; ID., "From the Hoe to the Plow: a Study in Ecological Adaptation", in: *PICES* 5, 187–94; YIHENEW ZEWDIE, *Access to Forest Resources and Forest-based Livelihoods in Highland Kafa, Ethiopia: a Resource Management Perspective*, Ph.D. thesis, Huddersfield University 2002; ID., "Room for Manoeuvre: Local Organisations and Resource Tenure Administration in Highland Kafa, Southwest Ethiopia", *Eastern Africa Social Science Research Review* 20, 2, 2004, 31–58.

Jon Abbink

Käfoid ↗Gonga

Kagnew Station ↗Qañňäw

Kahən(at) ↗Kəhnät

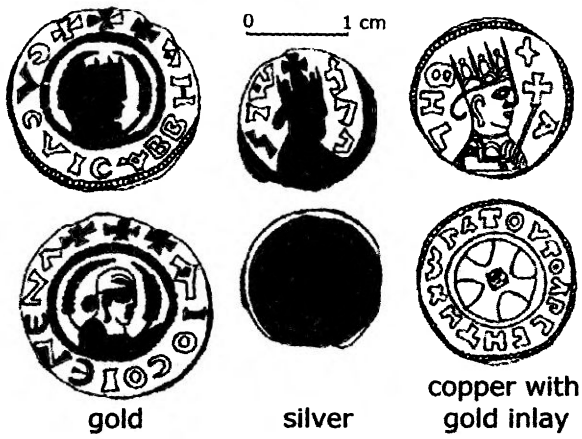
Kaleb

K. (ካሌብ, 'Caleb', Syr. Kāleḇ) was a king of ↗Aksum in the first half of the 6th cent. A.D. who is known by both this name, indeed a biblical one (Num 13:6, etc.; s. Hahn 2001:126 and figs. 3–5, cp. Lusini in AfrHorn 97 and n. 23), and his throne name, ∃llä Aṣbəḥa (እለ፡ አጽብሐ, also ∃llä Aṣbäḥa, 'The one who brought about the morning' or, rather, 'collected tribute', Epigraphic South Arabian *ʾl ʾṣbḥ, Arab. *aṣ-Ṣabaḥ*, *Al[l]asbās*, Gr. Ἐλεσβόας, Ελεσβοάμ, Ἐλεσβαάν, Ἐλλατζβάας Ἐλλεσθεαῖος, i.e. -σβεαῖος, and vars.; s. Fiaccadori 2006b:59f. and n. 74, 64 and n. 97, 68), or just Aṣbəḥa in later hagiography and traditions (↗Abrəha and Aṣbəḥa). K. is also a saint of the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox (Tawaḥədo) Church: a brief ↗*dərsan* in his honour – possibly derived from an older Vita, and drawing (thereby?) on Greek materials – is transmitted in the 14th-cent. ms. EMML 1763, fols. 34v–35v. (ed. Getatchew Hayle 1981); and he is inscribed in the ↗*Sənkəssar* on 20 *Gənbot* (ColSyn XIII, 298–303). Since the late 16th cent., by influence of the ↗Jesuits and their mission to ↗Ethiopia, "Saint Elesbaas" is also venerated, on 27 October (together with "Saint Frumentius", i.e. ↗Sälama Käśate Bərhan), in the Catholic Church ([Carpentier] 1884).

The son and successor of ↗Tazena (cp. ↗∃llä ʿAmida [II]), K. is attested in a variety of epigraphic, numismatic and literary sources, the latter in Greek, Syriac and Ethiopic (not, however, in Chinese: against MHAksum 92f., and K.'s implied kinship with a *nəguś* "Saifu", actually the Yemenite king ↗Sayf b. Ḏī Yazan, s. Hahn 2000a:299 and nn. 66–77, and Fiaccadori 2006a:130–38 and 2006b:67f.). They refer mostly to his intercourses with ↗Ḥimyar, esp. to his military intervention(s) at the request of the Roman emperor Justin I after the persecutions launched there, at ↗Naǧrān, by the local ruler Ḏū Nuwās (↗Yūsuf Asʾar Yaṯʾar) in ca. 517 or 522 (Bausi – Gori 2006:3f. and n. 4). This was part of the long-standing struggle between Rome, then the ↗Byzantine empire, and the Sasanians (↗Iran) for the exclusive control of the trade route to India – indeed, "a specific meeting-point of the 'world history' of late antiquity and early Middle Ages" (Harmatta in PICES 4, vol. 1, 95).

Against such an epochal background, involving economic and political relationships, as well as diplomatic and military confrontations, the eschatology of the ↗*Kəbrä nägäśt* should also be viewed, which stages the encounter of the two emperors – K. and Justin I – in Jerusalem at the end of the times (BezKebr 170a [ch. 117]; cp. Fiaccadori 1992:74, 80, 91; Lusini 1999:236ff.).

Whatever the much disputed chronology of the events in South Arabia may be, thanks to the support of the Roman fleet, the Aksumites, led by K., crossed the ↗Red Sea and landed in Yemen (South ↗Arabia). Ḏū Nuwās was vanquished and executed, his country Christianized and definitely brought into the sphere of influ-



Coins of Kaleb: silver, copper and copper with gold; drawing, courtesy of Wolfgang Hahn

ence of the Byzantine empire; Ethiopian control was thus reasserted on South Arabia (seemingly, the zenith of Aksumite hegemony) and a local ruler, ↗Sum(u)yafa^{c} Ašwa, made king (Fiaccadori 2006b:61ff.). He is the possible author of a South Arabian inscription mentioning *ʾl ʾ<ṣ>bḥ*, i.e. ∃llä Aṣbəḥa (Ist. 7608bis = RÉS no. 3904).

While staying in Yemen, for about seven months or three years (Fiaccadori 2006b:63), K. (re)built and consecrated churches in the most important cities of Ḥimyar (ibid. 52–58). After that, he returned to his own land and, according to the *Martyrdom of Arethas* (IX, 39, ed. Carpentier 1869:758F), the Vita of ↗Gregentius (ch. 9, ed. Berger 2006:400) and the *Kəbrä nägäśt* (ch. 117, BezKebr 170b–71a), abdicated in order to end his life as a hermit next to his monastic mentor, *abba* Zōnainos in the Greek *Martyrdom* (VII [31] and IX [39], ed. Carpentier 748DE and 758F–59A), who may well be one and the same as *abba* ↗Ṗänṭälewon of Ethiopic hagiography (cp. ↗Nine Saints), living in a cell on a "high mountain" (actually, a small hill) to the northeast of Aksum (Fiaccadori 2006b:64f.). This cell was the kernel of the monastery of ∃nda Abba Ṗänṭälewon, in which, according to local traditions collected by Manoel ↗Barradas, K. would have been buried with his son ↗Gäbrä Mäsqäl (BecRASO IV, 235; Barradas 1996:125).

Some 2 km to the north of Ṗänṭälewon's monastery, not far from ∃nda Abba ↗Liqanos, lies a monumental complex with two underground tombs attributed to K. and Gäbrä Mäsqäl (↗∃nda Kaleb), and linked by local tradition to the former's triumphal expedition to Ḥimyar, as a secret passage through which he and his army would have left Aksum and come out at ↗Mäṭära (DAE I, 23, 53; II, 60). In such earlier sources as the Acts of ↗Zämika^{ʾ}el Arägawi (Guidi 1896:19f.) and the *Gädlä ↗ṣadəqan* (Conti Rossini 1903:13, 15ff.; Schneider 1963:167f.), or Barradas' writings (BecRASO IV, 235; Barradas 1996:125), all aware of the events in Naǧrān, the same episode is instead traced to K. successfully rebuking the "people of Bur" (called "of Gämora" in the *Sənkəssar* of Däbrä Bizän, 12 Gənbot, as made known in Sapeto 1857:422, cp. Fiaccadori 2006b, 64 n. 100) who had revolted against him.

K.'s abdication was to trigger a succession struggle, echoed in the *Kəbrä nägäśt* and other Ethiopic sources, between his two sons ↗∃sra^{ʾ}el/↗∃llä Gäbäz and W^{c}ZB/Gäbrä Mäsqäl; and already could have taken place by 523/24, when he is said to have sent his crown to Patriarch John III of Jerusalem to suspend on the Holy Sepulchre as a thanksgiving for his victory (*Martyr. Arethae*, IX [39], ed. Carpentier 1869:758F; cp. the Arab. and Gə^{c}əz versions, ed. Bausi – Gori 2006:88, 302), or within 529/30, i.e. the year of Zōnainos/Ṗänṭälewon's death according to the figures in the published manuscript of his Vita (ch. XII, ed. Conti Rossini 1904:59f.; s. Fiaccadori 2003:184f., 232f. and 2006b:65f. and n. 108). Here, a brother of K., ↗Muse, who left for Jerusalem as a monk, is also mentioned (ed. Conti Rossini 1904:60).

Around 535, if not already by the end of 531, ↗Abraha, a former slave of a Roman citizen based in ↗Adulis, then a soldier, or better an officer, in the Ethiopian army occupying Ḥimyar, deposed Sum(u)yafa^{c} Ašwa, and became himself king, repelling two subsequent expeditions organized against him by K. (who would have briefly emerged from retirement for that purpose), but eventually paying tribute to the latter's successor (Procopius, *Hist.* I, 20, 3–8, ed. Haury 1905:106ff.).

The wealth and variety of surviving gold, silver and copper coins issued in K.'s name, mostly found in Yemen (at ^{c}Aden and the nearby al-Maḍariba), suggests that he had rather a long reign. Should the Nine Saints really have come to Aksum as a part of the monastic reaction that followed the issuing of the Henotikon, i.e. the "Edict of Unity" (aimed at reconciling Chalcedonians and monophysites), by Emperor Zeno in 482 (Fiaccadori 2006b:65 and nn. 104f.), this would agree with the somehow loose information in the *Gädl* of Ṗänṭälewon about *abba* Liqanos dying "in the 21st year" of his seclusion, "after K. ascended the throne, (but) before he waged war to Saba" (ed. Conti Rossini 1904:45).

K. minted a larger number of gold issues than any other Aksumite ruler, owing perhaps to the need to pay for the Ḥimyarite wars. His coins (Types 91–110 in Munro-Hay – Juel-Jensen 1995:198–207) bear the King's image on both sides, half-length profile bust rightwards, robed in the "humped style" (limited, though, by restricted space) and wearing a tiara or head cloth on the obverse and reverse, respectively; the tiara is of triple-element style, with a curved ribbon hanging always behind; the king's arm falls free of draperies and is adorned with a bracelet; his hand holds a short stick and/or, sometimes (Type 109), the stem of one of the two small wheat stalks (emerging at about shoulder level) flanking his figure, encircled by a beaded inner border further framed by a Greek legend and an outer border. The obv., with Gəᶜəz monogram ħΛΠ, *KLB*, 'Kaleb', at top, is inscribed: XA(Λ)HB BACIΛEYC, i.e. *Cha(l)ēb basiléus*, 'King Caleb' (minor vars. in Types 98–110). On the rev., more often with the same monogram: YIOC ΘEZENA(C), i.e. *Hyiòs Thezena(s)*, 'Son of Thezena' (Types 91–96), or ΘEOY EYXAPICTIA, i.e. *Theoû eucharistía*, 'By God's grace' (Type 97).

Only one silver type is known (no. 111, *ibid.*, 208f.), also with the King's image on both sides, in a border, more often beaded or ribbed on the the obv., profile bust rightwards descending to the base of the coin; clad in the "double-fold style", he wears a round collar/necklace and an arcaded triple-element tiara or a head cloth respectively, with a curled ribbon hanging behind. A flared-arm cross at the top divides the Gəᶜəz legends into two parts. On the obv.: *ngś Klb*, 'King Kaleb'. On the rev.: *zydl lhgr*, 'May this please the country'.

Copper types (nos. 111i–114, ibid., 209ff.) are repeats of either the silver one (nos. 111i and 113–14, *ibid.*, 209, 211) or older anonymous issues (Hahn 2000:66), presenting on the obv. the bust of the king, with no cross behind head, and the Greek legend XAΛHB, i.e. *Chalēb*, 'Caleb'; on the rev., a Greek cross with central punch-hole inlaid with gold in a beaded or ribbed outer border, the arms of the cross touching upon or merging into a plain inner circle inscribed TOYTO APECH TH XωPA, i.e. *Toûto arésē tê chōra*, 'May this please the country' (no. 112, ibid. 210).

In spite of the Greek legends on coins, K.'s reign seems to have witnessed a certain decline of Aksumite Hellenism: it may well be symptomatic that the copy of the ↗Monumentum Adulitanum he requested on preparing his first South Arabian expedition, in order to claim previous rights over the other side of the Red Sea, was made by ↗Cosmas Indicopleustes with the aid of his fellow merchant Minas, both happening to be then in Adulis. As a matter of fact, K.'s surviving inscriptions, none of them dated, are in Gəᶜəz: RIE 195, from Mārib, attributable to him, commemorating his victory and the conquest of Saba's ancient capital, with a detailed account of the foregoing military occurrencies; RIE 263–64, from Ẓafār, and 265–66, from South Arabia, also traceable to him, as they refer to the presence of Ethiopians in Yemen at that time or in the immediate aftermath; RIE 191, from Aksum, actually in "pseudo-Sabaic", which attests to an Ethiopian overseas expedition and the setting of "a sanctuary [*mqds*] in Ḥimyar [...] in the name of God's Son", as well as, of the building (or repairing) and consecrating of "his ↗Gäbäz [*gbzh*]", i.e., possibly, Aksum cathedral (↗Aksum Ṣəyon; s. Fiaccadori 2003:204). In this text, the King's full name (followed by his titlary) is also given: *klb/ʾl/ʾṣbḥ/wld/tzn/bʾs/lzn*, 'Kaleb ∃llä Aṣbəḥa, son of Tazena, man of LZN', which include his "gentilicium" or "clan-name", likely to be vocalized **La-/Läzen(ə)*, and compared with the (↗Saho?) *Laziné* of the Monumentum Adulitanum (Fiaccadori 2004:122).

Cosmas' work, however, includes interesting eyewitness hints at Aksum's architecture and art in the age of K., drawing attention to "the four-towered palace of the king", decorated with stuffed rhinoceroses and bronze unicorns (*Top. Christ.*, XI, 2 and 7, ed. Wolska-Conus 1973:317, 327), as well as to the tamed giraffes kept inside it for his amusement (XI, 4, ibid., 321). Cosmas also tells of the trading expeditions to the far remote land of ↗Sasou ("towards the sources of the [Blue] ↗Nile") that were organized every two years by the King "through the governor [*árchōn*] of Agaw [↗Agäw]", so as to take there salt, iron and meat, i.e. cattle driven on the hoof, and exchange them for ↗gold (II, 51ff., ed. Wolska-Conus 1968:361ff.; cp. Fiaccadori 2004:120f.).

Further colour to the impression conveyed by this narrative is added by the description of the King himself in the vivid accounts of Procopius and ↗John Malalas (s. ↗Historiography) on the embassy of Julian, who was sent to K. (and Sum[u]yafaᶜ Ašwa) by the Byzantine emperor Justinian I in 530/31 – a date compatible with the above chronology of K.'s life – to propose

diverting the ↗silk route from Persia to Aksum and Alexandria (↗Egypt).

News about K.'s success in Yemen fostered the legend of him bringing Christianity to Ethiopia – already evangelized, though, by Frumentius under King ↗ʿEzana. The deeds of this sovereign and his brother Śəʿezana (↗ŚʿZN) were in fact confused with, and then dimmed by, those of K. and his "lieutenant" in South Arabia, giving birth to the popular legend of the "God-fearing" brothers Abrəha and Aṣbəḥa (s. Fiaccadori 2006a:128 and n. 24; 2006b:64 and nn.98f.). Their names, resp. understood as 'He made light' and 'He brought about the morning', paved the way for them to be the perfect companions of Frumentius, also called *Käśate Bərhan* ('Revealer of the Light'). As many witness to the enduring fortunes of that legend, several churches in Ethiopia claim their foundation from K. or from Abrəha and Aṣbəḥa (e.g., ↗Däbrä Wärq), the latter two being, likewise, prestigious ancestors in local ↗genealogies (e.g., of the Arbaʿatä Zufan of ↗ʿAgamä, where they are also called "Tazänay and Azänay").

K. appears, too, with 50 years of reign, in the traditional "king lists" (CRList 286: list C, no. 6; 300: list F, no. 2; cp. 299: list E, no. 3, with no regnal years).

Src.: RIÉ 191, 195, 263–66; Ist. 7608bis = RÉS 3904 (*Répertoire d'Épigraphie Sémitique*, 8 vols., Paris 1900–68); PROCOPIUS CAESARIENSIS, *Opera omnia*, ed. by J. HAURY, Lipsiae 1905 [rev. by G. WIRTH,1962], vol. 1, 106ff.; ALESSANDRO BAUSI – ALESSANDRO GORI (ed., tr.), *Tradizioni orientali del «Martirio di Areta». La prima recensione araba e la versione etiopica*, Firenze 2006 (Quaderni di Semitistica 27), 88 and 302 (t.) = 89 and 303 (tr.), cp. 3f. and n. 4 (Lit.); EDUARDUS CARPENTIER, "De Ss. Aretha et Ruma ...", in: *Acta Sanctorum*, Octobris X, Parisiis – Romae 1869, 661A-762F; ALBRECHT BERGER (ed., tr.), *Life and Works of St. Gregentios, Archbishop of Taphar*, Berlin 2006 (Millennium-Studien 7), 400; GETATCHEW HAILE, "An Anonymous Homily in Honor of King ƎllāAṣbäḥa of Axum, EMML 1763, ff. 34v-35v", *NEASt* 3, 2, 1981, 25–37; BezKebr 170a–71a (text) = 136f. (tr.); ColSyn XIII, 298-303; IGNAZIO GUIDI (ed., tr.), "Il Gadla 'Aragâwi", *RALMm* ser. 5ª, 2, 1896, 54-96, here 19f. (text) = 39f. (tr.); MARC-ANTOINE VAN DEN OUDENRIJN (tr.), *La vie de saint Mīkāʾêl 'Aragāwī*, Fribourg (Suisse) 1939, 51f. (cp. 77 nn. 107–08); ROGER SCHNEIDER, "Une page du Gadla Ṣādqān", *AE* 5, 1963, 167–69, here 167f.; BecRASO IV, 235 [II, 34]; MANOEL BARRADAS, *Tractatus Tres Historico-Geographici (1634): a Seventeenth-Century Historical Account of Tigray, Ethiopia*, tr. by ELIZABETH FILLEUL, ed. by RICHARD PANKHURST, Wiesbaden 1996 (AeF 43), 125; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, *Ricordi di un soggiorno in Eritrea*, Asmara 1903, 13, 15ff.; ID., *Vitae sanctorum antiquiorum*, I. *Acta Yārēd et Panṭalēwon*, Louvain 1904 (CSCO 26, 37 [SAe 9, 10]), 59f. (text) = 54ff. (tr.); DAE I, 23, 53; II, 60; CRList 286, 299f.; WOLFGANG HAHN, "Die Münzprägung des Axumitischen Reiches (mit Katalog, metallurgischem u. theologischem Anhang)", *Litterae Numismaticae Vindobonenses* 2, 1983, 113–80, here 170ff., nos. 41–43; STUART C. MUNRO-HAY, "Kaleb AV 1d, 3d, AR 1", in: *AfrZion* 111f., nos. 36–38; ID., *Catalogue of the Aksumite Coins in the British Museum*, London 1999, 42f., nos. 446–514, pls. 43–48; ID. – BENT JUEL-JENSEN, *Aksumite Coinage*, London 1995, 208–11; LUIGI PEDRONI, "Una collezione di monete aksumite", *Bollettino di Numismatica* ser. 1ª, 15, 1–2 [28–29], 1997 [1998, but 2000], 7–147, here 121f. [nos. 263–70, pls. 23–26], cp. 52, 63–67, 80; GIUSEPPE SAPETO, *Viaggio e missione cattolica fra i Mensâ, i Bogos e gli Habab ...*, Roma 1857, 422–25.

Lit.: [EDUARDUS CARPENTIER], "De S. Elesbaa rege et Sanctis Novem monachis ...", in: *Acta Sanctorum* Octobris XII, Bruxellis ²1884, 296C-337F; CRStor 157–60, 171f., 250ff., 260f.; GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, *Teofilo Indiano*, Ravenna 1992 (Biblioteca di «Felix Ravenna» 7), 74, 80, 91; ID., "Πρόσοψις, non πρόοψις: Efeso, Gerusalemme, Aquileia (Nota a *IEph* 495, 1 s.)", *La Parola del Passato* 58, 2003 [2004], 182-249, here 184f., 204, 232f.; ID., "Sembrouthes 'gran re' (*DAE* IV 3 = *RIÉth* 275). Per la storia del primo ellenismo aksumita", *ibid.* 59, 2004 [2005], 105–57, here 122; ID., "ʾElla Gabaz/(ʾElla) Ḥētāzā", *ibid.* 61, 2006a [2007], 115–41, here 128 and n. 24, 130–38; ID., "Gregentios in the Land of the Homerites", in: Berger 2006b, 48–82, here 59f. and n. 74, 61–68 and nn. 97, 100, 104f., 108; ERIC GODET, "Bilan de recherches récentes en numismatique axoumite", *Revue numismatique* 6ᵉ sér., 28, 1986, 174–209, here 194, 209, pl. VIII (L–M); WOLFGANG HAHN, "Aksumite Numismatics – A Critical Survey of Recent Research", *Revue numismatique* 155, 2000a, 281–311, here 293–99, 311 and nn. 66–67; ID., "Der Heilige Kaleb Ella Asbeha – [Ein] König des Abessinierlandes und seine Münzen", *Money Trend* 32, 3, 2000b, 60-67; ID., "Nachtrag zu: Kaleb Ella Asbeha, König des Abessinierlandes", *ibid.* 32, 4, 2000c, 2; ID., "Noe, Israel und andere Könige mit biblischen Namen auf axumitischen Münzen. Der Gottesbund als Legitimation der christlichen Königsherrschaft im alten Äthiopien", *ibid.* 33, 12, 2001, 124–28, here 126 and figs. 3–5; JANOS HARMATTA, "The Struggle for the Possession of South Arabia between Aksūm and the Sāsānians", in: *PICES* 4, vol. 1, 95–106; ARTHUR K. IRVINE – SERGEW HABLE-SELASSIE, "Kaléb", in: *DicEthBio* 96f. (Lit.); GIANFRANCESCO LUSINI, "Escatologia e Scrittura nelle più antiche tradizioni etiopiche", *Annali di storia dell'esegesi* 16, 1999, 235–40, here 236ff.; ID., "Philology and the Reconstruction of Ethiopian Past", in: *AfrHorn* 91–106, here 97 and n. 23; MHAksum 92f.; SerHist 123–43.

Gianfranco Fiaccadori

Kalef

K. (ካሌፍ; fl. 1579–80) was a Fälaša (↗Betä Ǝsraʾel) chief (probably the same person as the Kaləb of the "short chronicle", DombrChr 185). Between October 1579 and March 1580, together with his brother ↗Rädaʾi, he commanded the Betä Ǝsraʾel resistence in ↗Səmen against *aṣe* ↗Śärṣä Dəngəl. Between 1579 and 1588, the latter carried out a series of campaigns against the Betä Ǝsraʾel, which have variously been interpreted as simply slave raids, or as part of his northern foreign policy needed to secure the territory between Lake

↗Ṭana and the port of ↗Massawa (Merid Wolde Aregay 1971: 284–87; Quirin 1992:77–81).

In an early effort to resist the Emperor's attacks, K. employed scorched earth tactics aimed at preventing the Emperor's troops from obtaining provisions. The royal forces bombarded the Betä Ǝsraʾel mountain-top stronghold with cannons (this having produced a marked effect on K.'s forces) and K.'s forces rolled stones down the hill in response. Although offering fierce resistence, K.'s soldiers were defeated. Many people were captured and killed, not willing to submit quietly. The Chronicle and Betä Ǝsraʾel oral traditions state that in one incident a Fälaša woman, who had been tied to her captor, leaped off a cliff, shouting, "Adonai, help me", taking both of them to their deaths (CRHist 101; Quirin 1992:79). The royal chronicler praised Fälaša bravery, comparing it to the efforts of the ancient Israelites to resist conquest by the Roman empire.

K. was not killed in this battle, but is said to have lost his courage and gone mad, no longer knowing where he was. The Emperor's troops stayed two weeks in the region and left in November 1579 in order to carry out additional attacks against Rädaʾi in the next few months.

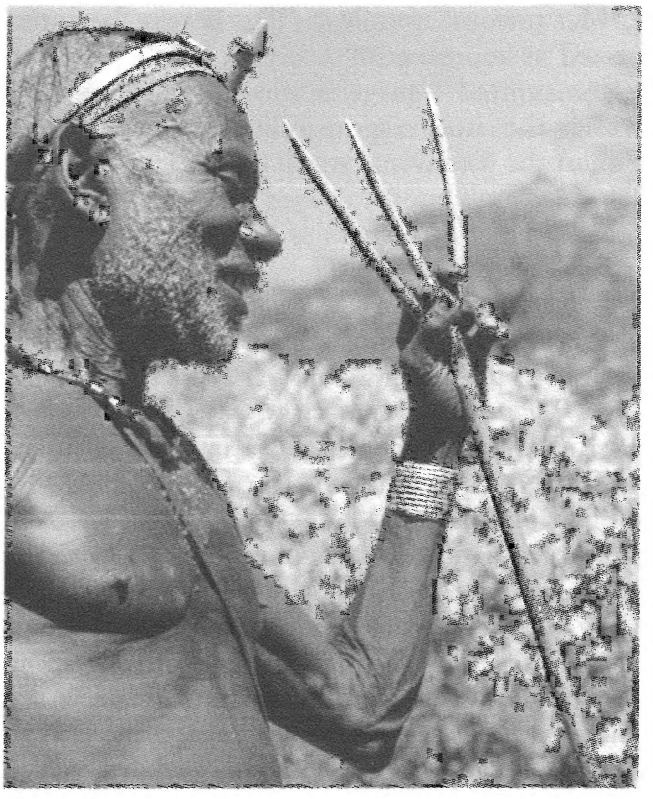
Src.: Betä Ǝsraʾel oral traditions collected by the author; interview with Gete Asräss, age 78, Ambaher, 11 June 1975; CRHist 97–102 (tr.) = 85–89 (text); DombrChr 185 (Lit.); JOSEPH HALÉVY, "La guerre de Sarsa-Dengel contre les Falashas", *RevSem* 15, 1907, 122–27; JULES PERRUCHON (ed.), "Règne de Sarsa-Dengel ou Malak-Sagad 1st (1563–1597)", *ibid.* 4, 1896, 177–85 (text) = 273–78 (tr.), 180 (text) =275 (tr.).

Lit.: BecRASO III, 141–45; STEVEN KAPLAN, *The Beta Israel (Falasha) in Ethiopia: from Earliest Times to the Twentieth Century*, New York 1992, 85–88; MERID WOLDE AREGAY, *Southern Ethiopia and the Christian Kingdom, 1508–1708*, Ph.D. thesis, University of London 1971, 284–87; JAMES QUIRIN, *The Evolution of the Ethiopian Jews: a History of the Beta Israel (Falasha) to 1920*, Philadelphia, PA 1992, 77–81.

James Quirin

Kallačča

The K. (also *kallaačča*; Amh. *käläčča*) is an attribute of dignity and rank in many ethnic groups of Southern Ethiopia, especially among the ↗Oromo. On an arched white plate (shell or ivory) a metal cylinder is fixed, which ends in a tapering head. To this head often four small metal balls are fixed. The K. is worn on the forehead, held by a strap made of leather or snake-skin. The strap hangs down the back to hold the K. in a nearly upright position. The K. is worn in combination with a hairstyle, which leaves bald the forehead where the K. is placed (VSAe II, 51).



Balko priest of the Ṣamay with a *kallačča* on his forehead and carrying a trident, by which he magically protects the community against locusts; photo 1950/52, by Elisabeth Pauli, courtesy of the Frobenius-Institut, Frankfurt am Main

By some researchers (e.g., Bieber 1920, 1923), the K. has been interpreted as a phallic symbol. Yet within the respective cultures this interpretation is largely rejected. Dittmer (1964:70–74) disproves Bieber's hypothesis, and for him the K. is an insignia of divine ↗kingship which diffused down to lower-rank office holders. He proposes another speculative hypothesis, and suggests that the K. is derived from the "Meroitic crown". Through analysis of formal elements he relates the K. to earlier headgears in late-Pharaonic and Coptic Egypt and identifies stylistic elements from India. A similar influence, mediated by Nubia, is assumed by Dittmer for the headgear of the Yoruba "bronze heads" (Dittmer 1964:75–88).

In ↗Boorana oral tradition the origin of the K. is located in heaven from where it fell to earth together with the first ↗*qaalluu* priest and the *laka*-armring; according to some legends the first cattle came down together with the K. In ↗Arsi oral tradition it is said that the K. was created together with the ↗*gadaa* (VSAe II, 159, 302, 476ff.).

In general, the wearing of a K. indicates full manhood, reproductive ability and merit

(↗Meritorious complex). The K. can be interpreted as representing a mystical power which is transmitted transgenerationally and gives its wearer the ritual responsibility for the perpetuation of the traditional social order. The power of the K. is ambiguous, if used properly it has the power to bless; for enemies or people in a ritually impure state, it can be dangerous.

The right to wear a K. varies from group to group. Formerly, among the Boorana a man was permitted to wear a K. only after he had reached the ↗*gadaamoği gaada*-class. During the feast of transition to *garša*-status of a man of advanced age, it was to be handed over to the eldest son, while younger sons had to buy their K. from smiths from outside the community (in the case of the Boorana from Konso). With the exception of the *gadaamoği*, who could wear the K. every day, it was used only during feasts. In other Oromo groups only the *qaalluu* and the ↗*abbaa gadaa* and ↗*hayyuu* were permitted to wear the K.

The K. can also be found in societies which have no *gadaa*-system, e.g., as worn by ↗Amarro dignitaries as well as by ↗Hadiyya high-priests (pl. *anǧaama*).

Three K. were applied to the metal crown-like headgear of the kings of ↗Käfa. The king of Ǧanǧäro's crown is said to have been furnished with four K. pointing in four directions. K. were also parts of the royal insignia of Amarro and in the kingdom of ↗Limmu Ǝnnarya.

↗Jewellery; ↗Bokkuu

Lit.: HERMANN AMBORN, "The Phallsification of the *kallaččа*: or, why Sometimes a Cigar is a Cigar", paper presented at the 16th International Conference of Ethiopian Studies, Trondheim, July 2007 (ms.); FRIEDRICH JULIUS BIEBER, *Kaffa. Ein altkuschitisches Volkstum in Inner Afrika*, vol. 1, Münster 1920, vol. 2, Wien 1923; BrHad 242; KUNZ DITTMER, "Zur Herkunft und Bedeutung der altyorubischen Kronen und der äthiopischen Kalatscha", in: EIKE HABERLAND – MEINHARD SCHUSTER – HELMUT STRAUBE (eds.), *Festschrift für Ad. E. Jensen*, vol. 1, München 1964, 63–90; HabKön 104, 296f., 298; ADOLF ELLEGARD JENSEN et al., *Im Lande des Gada. Wanderungen zwischen Volkstrümmern Südabessiniens*, Stuttgart 1936 (Verlauf und Ergebnisse der XII. Deutschen Inner-Afrikanischen Forschungs-Expedition), 391, 395f., 402; VSAe I, 54f.; VSAe II, 51 159, 174f., 206, 218f., 302, 305f., 476ff.; VSAe III, 106, 337.

Dirk Bustorf

Kambaata

Kambaata language

K. (self-name: Kambaatissáta), together with ↗Allaaba, ↗Qabeena and ↗Ṭimbaaro, belongs to the Kambaata language group which is a subgroup of the ↗Highland East Cushitic family. The closest relative of K. is Ṭimbaaro with 95 % lexical similarity. According to the 1998 population census, the number of K. speakers is 606,241, among them 345,797 are monolingual (Gordon 2005: 116).

The consonant phonemes of K. are:

	Labial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Plosive	*b*	*t* *d*	*č* *ǧ*	*k* *g*	*ʾ*
Fricative	*f*	*s* *z*	*š* (*ž*)		*h*
Ejective	*p*	*ṭ*	*ç*	*q*	
Nasal	*m*	*n*			
Approximant	*w*	*l*, *r*	*y*		
Glottalized approximant		*l̰*, *r̰*			

Consonant gemination is phonologically distinctive. The vowel system consists of five phonemically short and long vowels (*i*, *e*, *a*, *o* and *u*). Accentuation (marked here with ´) is of grammatical importance, especially for case marking.

K. has an elaborate case system (nominative, accusative, genitive, dative, locative, instrumental/comitative, ablative, vocative). K. is a marked-nominative language, i.e. accusative is the citation form of nouns. In the same way as Allaaba and Qabeena, K. grammaticalized demonstratives into overt markers of gender on common nouns: feminine nouns have a *-ta*-suffix in the accusative (*hiz-óo-ta* 'sister', *sulum-ú-ṭa* 'heifer', *gar-í-ta* 'truth'). Some masculine nouns have an optional *-ha*-suffix (*hiz-óo*(*-ha*) 'brother'); however, most of the masculine nouns are not overtly marked for gender (*worǧaam-ú* 'young bull', *qoppan-á* 'lie'). With respect to number, basic, singulative, and plurative nouns are distinguished. *-(č)č-ú* is the singulative morpheme (*meent-ú* 'women', *meent-iččˇ-ú-ta* 'woman'). Plurality on nouns is indicated (i) by a geminate last stem consonant and the case-gender morpheme *-á-ta* (*boor-á* 'bull', *boorr-á-ta* 'bulls') or (ii) by the morpheme *-aakk-á-ta* (*ʾam-á-ta* 'mother', *ʾam-aakk-á-ta* 'mothers').

Due to a recent innovation in the plural, K. makes a distinction between pl. and honorific (hon.) personal pronouns in the 2nd and 3rd pers. and has thus two pronouns more than Allaaba and Qabeena. The nominative/accusative pronouns of K. are: 1st pers. sg. *ʾáni/ʾéesi*, 1st pers. pl. *naʾóoti/naʾóota*, 2nd pers. sg. *ʾáti/kéesi*, 2nd pers. hon. *ʾáʾnu/kiʾnéta*, 2nd pers. pl. *ʾaʾnoʾóoti/kiʾneʾéeta*, 3rd pers. masc. *ʾísi/ʾisú*, 3rd pers. fem. *ʾíse/ʾiséta*, 3rd pers. hon. *ʾíssa/ʾissáta*, 3rd pers. pl. *ʾissoʾóoti / ʾissoʾóota*.

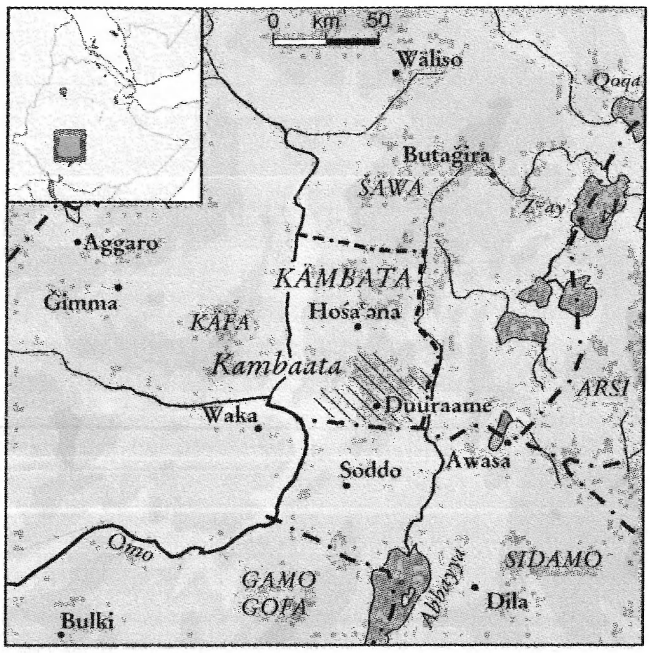
Verbs are inflected for aspect (imperfective *ʾaanš-áno* 'he washes, he will wash' vs. perfective *ʾaanš-éeʾu* 'he washed' vs. progressive *ʾaanš-áyyooʾu* 'he is washing'), mood (indicative vs. jussive/imperative *ʾáanš-uni* 'he should wash' / *ʾáanš-i* 'wash!' vs. preventive *ʾaanš-ókkooʾu* 'he must not wash, he should not dare to wash'), subordination (main verb vs. perfective converb/imperfective converb *ʾaanš-í* '(he) having washed' / *ʾaanš-áni* '(he) washing') as well as person, gender, number, and social status of the subject. The subject agreement markers are 1st pers. sg. *-Ø-*, 1st pers. pl. *-n-*, 2nd pers. sg. *-t-*, 2nd pers. pl. *-teen-*, 3rd pers. masc. *-Ø-*, 3rd pers. fem./3rd pers. pl. *-t-*, 3rd pers. hon. *-een-*. The infinitive is marked by *-ú* in the accusative (*ʾaanš-ú* 'to wash'). K. has the following negation morphemes: *-baʾa* for indicative main verbs (*ʾaanš-áno-baʾa* 'he does not, won't wash', *ʾaanš-im-báʾa* 'he did not wash, he is not washing'), *-ooti* for imperatives (*ʾaanš-itóoti* 'do not wash!'), *-ka* for jussive verbs (*ʾaanšún-ka* 'he should not wash') and *-úʾna* for converbs (*ʾaanš-úʾna* 'without (he) having washed, without (he) washing').

Tense may be superimposed on aspect marking. The invariant enclitic *ʾíkke* situates an event or situation in the past: progressive 3rd pers. pl. *čanč-itáyyooʾu* 'they are chattering' > *čanč-itáyyooʾu ʾíkke* 'they were chattering'; imperfective 3rd pers. masc. *heʾ-áno* 'he lives' > *heʾáno ʾíkke* 'he used to live'; perfective 3rd pers. masc. *ʾafuuʾl-éeʾu* 'he has sat down' > *ʾafuuʾl-éeʾu ʾíkke* 'he had sat down'.

The following derivational morphemes are found on verbs: middle *-ʾ-/-aqq-* (*min-* 'build' > *miʾn-* 'build for one's own benefit'; *ṭaʾm-* 'ask' > *ṭaʾm-aqq-* 'ask for one's own benefit'), simple causative *-(i)s-* (*ros-* 'learn' > *ros-is-* 'teach'), double causative *-(i)siis-* (*gob-* 'sew' > *gob-(i)siis-* 'make someone sew'), and passive (*it-* 'eat' > *it-am-* 'be eaten').

K. is a strictly head-final language with a complex sentence structure. Each sentence has usually only one main verb form. Special verb forms (converbs) are used for non-final clauses. Besides, K. makes abundant use of relative clauses (i) as modifiers of nouns, (ii) as base of adverbial and complement clauses, and (iii) in cleft sentences. The latter are frequently in use for focus marking.

Since 1993 K. has been the medium of instruction in primary schools. The official orthography is Latin-based and follows the Oromo orthography. Some married K. women still use a special avoidance vocabulary (*balliššáta*) as a sign of respect for their parents-in-law.



The Herman Bell ten-word list: 'one' *matú*, 'two' *lamú*, 'three' *sasú*, 'fire' *giiráta*, 'water' *woʾá*, 'sun' *ʾarriiccúta*, 'moon' *ʾagančú*, 'blood' *qegú / qegí*, 'tongue' *ʾarrabíta*, 'tooth' *inqúta*.

Src.: RAYMOND G. GORDON (ed.), *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*, Dallas, TX [15]2005, 116.

Lit.: GROVER HUDSON, "Highland East Cushitic", in: *BendNonSLang* 232–77; ID., *Highland East Cushitic Dictionary*, Hamburg 1989 (Cushitic Language Studies 7); ELSA KORHONEN – MIRJA SAKSA – RONALD JAMES SIM, "A Dialect Study of Kambaata-Hadiyya (Ethiopia)", part 1, *AAP* 5, 1986a, 5–41; part 2 (Appendices), *ibid.* 6, 1986b, 71–121; WOLF LESLAU, "Notes on Kambatta of Southern Ethiopia", *Africa* 22, 1952, 348–59; ID., "Additional Notes on Kambatta of Southern Ethiopia", *Anthropos* 51, 1956, 985–93; MARGARET G. SIM, "Kambaata Verb Morphophonemics", *AAP* 2, 1985, 44–63; EAD., "Palatalization and Gemination in the Kambaata Verb", *Journal of Afroasiatic Languages* 1, 1988, 58–65; YVONNE TREIS, "Avoiding their Names, Avoiding their Eyes: How Kambaata Women Respect their In-Laws", *Anthropological Linguistics* 47, 3, 2005a, 292–320; EAD., "Kambaata Kinship Terminology", *Annual Publications of African Linguistics* 3, 2005b, 27–48; EAD., "Form and Function of Case Marking in Kambaata", *Afrikanistik Online* 2006.

Joachim Crass – Yvonne Treis

Kambaata ethnography

The K. inhabit a highland area of ca. 1,200 km² of central-southern Ethiopia between the Omo (Gibe) and the middle Bilate rivers. Linguistically they belong to the Highland East Cushitic cluster and are closely related to the ↗Ṭimbaaro and ↗Allaaba, with whom they, until recently, shared a common zone, to the ↗Dubamo and Looka in

Typical Kambaata farms, the houses surrounded by *ənsät* groves, the fields being situated mostly below each house and trees above; photo 2005, courtesy of Wolbert Smidt

↗Hadiyya zone and to the ↗Qabeena in Gurage zone. The K. proper who amount to ca. 413,000 (1994) in the three *wärädas* of Angača, Qädida Gamila and Qača Bira are mainly Protestants, Roman Catholics and Orthodox Christians.

The first reference to K. as a political unit is found in praise songs of *aṣe* ↗Yəsḥaq (r. 1414–29) who annexed it as a province to the Christian empire. From the 15th to the 18th cent. Orthodox Christianity was the dominant religion of the K., as documented by numerous remains of churches and sacred objects. However, after the area had increasingly been cut off from the centres of Christianity in the north, a syncretic religion (↗Syncretism) evolved which was influenced, e.g., by the ↗*fandaanano* faith of the Hadiyya. In particular, the cult of possession spirits, rooted in Christianity and in Islam as well as in Cushitic folk religion, became very powerful (cf. BrKam 256ff.).

According to oral tradition the ethnogenesis of the K. occurred after the wars of Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī from a federation (*kokaata*) of seven "original clans" on Mount ↗Ambäriččo, the Oyyata, Gulba, Hinnira, Taza, Effegenna, Ebbeğenna and Fuga'a. A new dynasty was established at the beginning of the 17th cent. by ↗Ḥamälmal, the nominal governor of the Christian empire in K., but it was named after his wife Oyyata (Oyeta), a daughter of the Muslim ruler *ḥāğğī* ʿAli[ye] Umär, the alleged apical ancestor of the ↗Səlṭi. The subsequent kings (*woma*) of the Oyyata dynasty enlarged their kingdom by military and diplomatic actions against the neighbouring Hadiyya. The list of the kings of the Oyyata dynasty, as reported by oral tradition (BrKam 45), is as follows: (1) Ḥamälmal, (2) Zigančo, (3) Gerečo, (4) Hammo, (5) Dammo, (6) Anno, (7) Kätäma, (8) Dilaapa, (9) Haadallo, (10) Goğobbo, (11) Waaqo (r. ca. 1790–1810), (12) Dagoiye (r. ca. 1810–45), (13) Dilbatto (r. ca. 1845–92; last *woma*), (14) Agaago (r. ca. 1893–96; d. 1916; first *balabbat*), (15) Molisso (r. ca. 1896–1920), (16) Barganno (r. ca. 1920–47), (17) Anniyo (r. 1947–?).

From the 17th until the end of the 18th cent. the K. peasants were dominated by surrounding Hadiyya nomads and had to pay tribute to them. Under King Dagoiye a "formative" period started from ca. 1810 onwards during which the state of K. became politically well organized and started expanding at the expense of the Hadiyya. A "classical" period followed under the rule of his successor Dilbatto when K. reached the apogee of its power. The King took advantage of the deep-rooted rivalries between the Hadiyya subgroups, the Leemo and the Sooro in particular, in order to enlarge the territory of K. by diplomatic and military means. The boundaries of the state were largely demarcated and fortified by earth walls (cf. BrKam ch. 2.6 and 2.7). K. was conquered by Mənilək's army between 1891 and 1893.

From then on, a process of re-Christianization started. In particular, members of the family of the former king and the "noble" clans joined the Orthodox church. From the 1930s onwards Roman-Catholic and Protestant missions became active in K. and henceforth converted the majority of the population.

The K. are highland peasants practising an intensive cultivation with *Ensete ventricosum* as

their staple food and growing wheat and barley as well as coffee as an important cash crop. Cattle have obviously never been numerous in the densely populated highland areas, but the K. were well-known for their horse-breeding. Until the end of the 20th cent. the society of the K. was highly stratified in clans of noblemen (Oyyata and, as the second in hierarchy, the Gulba), commoners (generally labelled *kontoma*) and craftsmen (tanners-potters *fuga'a* [↗*Fuga*] and blacksmith or *tumaano*). Because of the extraordinary population density (sometimes reaching up to more than 500 people/km²) of K. its inhabitants have increasingly been involved in voluntary and enforced resettlement programmes.

Src.: CSA 1996, 223f.

Lit.: BELACHEW GEBREWOLD, *The Impact of the Socio-cultural Structures of the Kambata/Ethiopia on their Economic Development*, Wien 2002 (OEFSE Forum 19); BrKam passim; WOLDE-SELASSIE ABBUTE, "The Socio-Economic Role and Status of Handicraftsmen among the Kambaata of Southern Ethiopia", *Aethiopica* 4, 2001, 96–120; ID., "Kambata", in: DENA FREEMAN – ALULA PANKHURST (eds.), *Peripheral People: the Excluded Minorities of Ethiopia*, London 2003, 60–69.

Ulrich Braukämper

Kämbata

After the kingdom of ↗Kambaata in central-southern Ethiopia had been conquered by Mənilək's army in 1893, its name (in its Amh. version ከምባታ, K., also Känbata, for location s. Kambaata) was converted into an administrative area of the empire. The province of K. included Kambaata-speaking peoples, the Kambaata proper, the ↗Ṭimbaaro, ↗Dubamo and ↗Allaaba, as well as most of the ↗Hadiyya, some Səlṭi-speakers (before the establishment of the ↗Hayqočč-Butağira *awraǧǧa*) and the western ↗Arsi.

The first capital was Angaǧa (Hangaǧa) in central K., but in ca. 1904 the governor *ras* ↗Abatä Bʷayaläw moved the headquarters of the province to ↗Hossäyna (Waaččamo) in Hadiyya land. Although the Kambaata were a minority, the whole territory was called after them, because their (former) king emerged as the most prominent ↗*balabbat* under the Ethiopian administration. After the Italian occupation, during which K. was called "Residenza del Cambátta", the province of K. was reduced to the status of an *awraǧǧa* of Šäwa province which comprised the territories of the Kambaata proper, the Ṭimbaaro and most of the Hadiyya. The K. *awraǧǧa* consisted of five *wärädas* each with two sub-districts (administrative centres in brackets): Leemo (Hossäyna), Kontäb (Morsito), Ṭimbaaro (Gimbiiču), Angaǧa (Angaǧa) and Qädida Gamila (Durame) [CSA 1964:198; CSA 1970:15].

Following protests from the Hadiyya majority the name of the *awraǧǧa* was changed to Kambaata-Hadiyya (Kämbata-Hadiyya) in 1977. In the course of the new territorial division of the 1990s a zone called Kambaata-Allaaba-Ṭimbaaro was established within the "Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples' Regional State" with Duraame as its capital in western K. It comprised the *wärädas* Omo Šäläko (mainly inhabited by Ṭimbaaro), Angaǧa, Qädida Gamila, Qača Bira and Allaaba (mainly inhabited by the ↗Allaaba ethnic group). The population of this zone amounted to ca. 727,340 (1994). Allaaba recently gained the status of a "special *wäräda*" with a population of 187,034 (1994).

Src.: CSA 1964, 198; CSA 1970, 15; CSA 1996, 223f.

Lit.: BrHad 297–301, 332ff., 369, 371; BrKam.

Ulrich Braukämper

Kämkäm ↗Libo

Kane, Thomas Leiper

K. (b. 21 November 1926, Kane, Pennsylvania, d. 24 September 2000, Annapolis, Maryland), born in a town named after his ancestor, Thomas Leiper Kane (1822–83, a general in the United States Army and mediator between the early Mormon Church and the United States government), was a prominent lexicographer and scholar of Amharic and Təgrəññа literature.

K. began his studies focusing primarily on Germanic languages, and received an M.A. from the University of Pennsylvania in 1954. Switching focus, he went on to study Semitic languages with Wolf Leslau at the University of California at Los Angeles, and whilst there received an M.A. in 1963 and a Ph.D. in 1971. His doctoral thesis, published in 1975 in an expanded version under the title *Ethiopian Literature in Amharic* (KaneLit), served as the foundation for his future work in lexicography.

During the 44 years he worked for the United States Department of Defence, K. continued to read, edit and translate both Amharic and Təgrəññа texts. His dedication to studying these languages culminated in the dictionaries that defined his career: *Amharic–English Dictionary* (KaneDic publ. in 1990), and *Tigrinya–English Dictionary* (KaneTDic, 2000), the latter appear-

ing only two weeks before his death. Both works are the product of intense and lengthy textual studies. A collection of texts with translations and notes edited by K. and Wolf Leslau, *Amharic Cultural Reader*, was published posthumously.

Src.: KaneLit; KaneDic; KaneTDic; THOMAS LEIPER KANE – WOLF LESLAU, *Amharic Cultural Reader*, Wiesbaden 2001.
Lit.: "Obituaries", *The University of Pennsylvania Gazette*, January–February 2001; RAINER VOIGT, "In Memoriam Thomas Leiper Kane (1926–2000)", *Aethiopica* 4, 2001, 197–99.

Monica S. Devens

Käntiba

The term K. (ክንቲባ, Amh. pl. *käntäbt*, Tgn. pl. *känättəb*, also *käntäbti*, *käntibatat*) has been used mainly in two different ways, depending on the region and time. It meant either a city governor, as the representative of the monarch, or, in the north, a quite autonomous regional governor, mostly in possession of a ↗*nägarit*. K., thus, was basically an appellation for an officeholder, but was also used as a title (even after having left the office the former office holder could keep it as a title). The etymological origin of the title is unknown, it is probably ancient (a connection with the Semitic root *ktb* for 'book/writing' is possible, but also an Agäw root is not excluded). The term was first mentioned in chronicles and other historical records as the office of the ruler of ↗Ḥamasen and that of the ruler of ↗Dämbiya.

According to *aṣe* ↗Zärʾa Yaʿəqob's chronicle (PerrZarY 47f., 96), Ḥamasen was governed at that time by two K., who were placed under the ↗*baḥər nägaš*; the chronicle relates that they often rebelled against the rule of the "king of kings". In the 17th cent. "the two K." still belonged to that half of the dual province of ↗Təgray ruled by the *baḥər nägaš* (Barradas 1912:2). Later, also governors in ↗Akkälä Guzay carried that title; it was not known in Təgray proper. The title, allegedly being that of an autonomous local leader originally, might have originated in Təgrəñña-speaking areas before the establishment of the Solomonic dynasty, as oral traditions of ↗Ḥamasen and Təgray suggest. It can be presumed that governors in the north were either called K. (i.e., a ruler originally not appointed by the monarch?) or ↗*šum* (*śəyyum*, 'appointed [by the monarch]', e.g. the *wag šum*, *śəyyumä əggäla* or *śəyyumä bur*). Similar to the *śəyyum*, a K. was normally in possession of a *nägarit*. This meant that he could call his people to war and had full jurisdiction over them.

The unit governed by a K. became considerably smaller with time. In the late 17th cent. there were already numerous K. governing different smaller territories in Ḥamasen and Akkälä Guzay. The group inhabiting the territory lead by a K. was often defined through descent, and the title was often transmitted within local leading families, a son being chosen as K. if he was fit for the office (for numerous genealogies of K. families s. KolTrad II, index; the ʿAd Däggiyazmati or Ǝnda Däggäzmati, i.e. the petty dynasty of ↗Ṣəʿazzäga of Ḥamasen, counted a K. among their ancestors, KolTrad II, 42; also the *šum ʿagamä* dynasty of ↗Säbagadis Wäldu claims descent from a K. called Dəfuʿ in the area of ʿAddi Qäyyəḥ in Akkälä Guzay). Most of these K. office holders are not recorded, except in genealogies.

With time, the title also became used for heads of smaller, but historically important, settlements in Eritrea (e.g., *käntiba* Gila Mikaʾel, an influential 19th-cent. head of the Godayf area close to Asmära, s. Bairu Tafla 2007). K. can be the title of a Təgrəñña village chief (Tgn. *käntiba ʿaddi*) to this day.

The title K. also appeared in non-Təgrəñña areas. The most ancient holder of the title in Agäw/Amhara areas seems to have been the provincial governor of Dämbiya in north-western Ethiopia, the title being inherited within a local dynasty (as de Almeida asserts; BeckHuntAlm 72). According to the *Gädlä ↗Yafqəränna Ǝgzi*ʾ, the K. of Dämbiya was defeated in the late 14th cent. by the rebellious "↗*ʿayhud*" and forced to join them (Kaplan 2002:86; Conti Rossini 1920:571ff.). 17th-cent. Portuguese sources and maps mention a province called "Ambiancantiva", which is a corruption of *dämbiya käntiba* (cp. LudHist L.I. c. 4, 7; Ludolf 1691), i.e. the governor of Dämbiya (following a particularity of the colloquial language, which sometimes calls a land after the governor).

The ↗Təgre title *käntebay* (variants *käntibay*, *käntay*, pl. *känäčəb*, cp. Littmann – Höfner 1962:417) is a derivation of K. In the early 18th cent., following a local power struggle and conflict with Ḥamasen, a Christian Təgre leader was nominated K. of the ↗Ḥabab by the Ethiopian "king of kings" (d'Avray 1996:45). This implied that he received his own *nägarit*, which confirmed his position as an autonomous governor. His successors inherited the office, together with the *nägarit*, independently from the Ethiopian ruler. They kept it even after the Ḥabab had lost all their ties to the Ethiopian centre due to their Islamiza-

tion and the colonization of Eritrea (cp. d'Avray 1996:96ff.). Today, the title *käntebay* is still in use for the local Ḥabab leader, even if he does not have any officially recognized political function. Also, ↗Mänsa^{c} (cp. ↗Aftay *käntibay* Bula) and Bet Asgäde (s. TrIslam, index) leaders were called K. It was reported that still in the mid-19th cent., the *käntebay* of the two Mänsa^{c} groups Bet Abrəhe and Bet ƎšḥaqänReceived their investiture from the ruler of Ethiopia, paying a little tribute to him (Lejean 1869:748f.), even if later they became completely independent from him.

There might also be an etymological relation to the *kontäm* (variant *kontäb*), a title of a historical local leader in Səlṭi, who is said to have been a "northerner" (Dirk Bustorf: field notes). If there is such a relation, this would support the idea that the title is ancient. In addition, there was also a class of nobles among the Hadiyya, called *kontäm* (BeckHuntAlm LXIV).

At least starting from the Gondärine period, the title K. was also bestowed upon the city governor of Gondär ('mayor'), which reflected Gondär's status as an autonomous political centre (e.g., Ṣäḥayä Ləda in the mid-18th cent., s. CrumLand 110; *käntiba* Kaśay, s. Gobat 1834:111f.; *käntiba* Gäbru [↗Gäbrä Ɜgziʾabəher Dästa]; s. Solomon Getahun 2004). In rank, the K. of Gondär corresponded to the military title of *fitawrari* (MahZekr 648). 30 years after Addis Abäba was founded, the Ethiopian government called the city administrator K. (before this the title had been ↗*näggadras*), following the example of Gondär. His rank was elevated and corresponded to the military title of *däğğazmač*. He was the chief of administration, justice and of the city guards (MahZekr 646).

Today, by extension all mayors of modern capital cities in Ethiopia are called K. (KaneDic 1441; different from mayors of ordinary cities, Amh. **የማዘጋጃ፡ ቤት፡ ሹም** (*yämazzägağa bet šum*), MahZekr 646; Leslau 1973:777). Post-1974 terminology introduced new official denominations (Təgray–Tgn. [**ናይ**] **ማዘጋጃ፡ ቤት፡ ሓላፊ** ([*nay*] *mazzägağa bet ḥalafi*); Eritrea–Tgn. **ናይ፡ ምምሕዳር፡ ከተማ፡ ሓላፊ፡ ኣማሓዳሪ** (*nay məmməḥədar kätäma ḥalafi* or *ammaḥädari*), 'administrator' [of a *zoba*]'). However, the term K. continues to be used in spoken language in Ethiopia and Eritrea for "mayor" (of a major city). In the capital city of Təgray, Mäqälä, K. is the official denomination of the mayor.

In derivation, 'municipality' is called **ክንተባ** (*kəntäba*) in Təgrəññaa (officially: *məmməḥədar kätäma* in Eritrea, *mazzägağa bet* in Təgray); the function of a K. is called the *kəntəbənna* (KaneTDic 1650). *Kəntəbənnät* in Tgr. means 'chieftainship'; 'to appoint as a chieftain' in Tgr. is *känätäbä* (Littmann – Höfner 1962:417).

Several Təgrəññaa descent groups are called after a K. (e.g., the ʿAddi K̲äntiba Zärʾay, a lineage from the political centre ↗Hazzäga in Ḥamasen, s. KolTrad, ch. V). The *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*Aksum* mentions a place name called ʿAd Käntiba Səḥay in 1519 (i.e., a group claiming descent from a K.; s. CRAxum II, 34 [no. 27]). Also place and other localities' names are derived from title-holders, like the Gäza Käntiba ('House of the K.') in Kärän, Eritrea. In their territory, a mountain situated above the valley of ʿAylät was called Käntiba (Lejean 1869:750).

Src.: interview with *märigeta* Bawzan Gäbrä Mäsqäl, Mäqälä, June 2004; *fitawrari* Iyasu Aṣbəḥa, Mäqälä, 86 years, July 2004; Dirk Bustorf: field notes (2005); EMMANUELE BARRADAS, *Il Tigrè, Descritto da un missionario gesuita del secolo XVII*, ed. by CAMILLO BECCARI, Roma 1912, 2; BeckHuntAlm ixiv, 72; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Appunti di storia e letterature falascia", *Rivista degli studi orientali* 8, 1920, 571–73; CRAxum I, 29 (text) = II, 34 (tr.) [no. 27]; FRANCESCO DA BASSANO, *Vocabulario Tigray–Italiano e repertorio Italiano–Tigray*, Roma 1918, 606; SAMUEL GOBAT, *Journal of a Three Years' Residence in Abyssinia ...*, London 1834, 93, 111f.; GuiIyas I, 156 = II, 166f.; GuiVoc 542 (Lit.); KaneDic 1441; KaneTDic 1650; KolTrad II, 42, 216–35; WOLF LESLAU, *English–Amharic Context Dictionary*, Wiesbaden 1973, 777; PerrZarY 47f., 96, 172; ENNO LITTMANN – MARIA HÖFNER, *Wörterbuch der Tigrē-Sprache, Tigrē – Deutsch – Englisch*, Wiesbaden 1962 (Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Veröffentlichungen der Orientalischen Kommission 9), 417.

Lit.: ANTHONY D'AVRAY, *Lords of the Red Sea: the History of a Red Sea Society from the Sixteenth to the Nineteenth Centuries*, Wiesbaden 1996 (AeF 45), index; ID., *The Nakfa Documents: the Despatches, Memoranda, Reports ...*, Wiesbaden 2000 (AeF 53); BAIRU TAFLA, *Troubles and Travels of an Eritrean Aristocrat, A Presentation of Käntiba Gilamika'él's Memoirs*, Aachen 2007; ALESSANDRO BAUSI, "Un indice del Liber Aksumae", *Aethiopica* 9, 2006, 102–46, here 125; CrumLand 110; GueCopMen 528, n. 3 (Lit.); STEVEN KAPLAN, "Notes Towards a History of Aṣe Dawit I (1382–1413)", *Aethiopica* 5, 2002, 71–88, here 86; KilHDic 258f., 281; GUILLAUME LEJEAN, "Le Sennaheit, Souvenirs d'un voyage dans le désert nubien", *Revue des deux mondes*, 1 juin 1869, 742–63; HIOB LUDOLF, *Ad Historiam Aethiopicam antehac editam Commentarius*, Francofurti ad Moenum 1691, 1–31; LudHist L.I. c. 4, 7, L.II. c. 17, 8; MahZekr 645f., 648; SOLOMON GETAHUN, *History of the City of Gondar*, Trenton, NJ 2004; TrIslam 153, 159, 161f.

Wolbert Smidt

Kapuściński, Ryszard

K. (b. 4 March 1932, Pińsk, Poland, today Belarus, d. 23 January 2007, Warsaw) was an inter-

nationally prominent Polish journalist. He set a new standard for reporting and created a new literary form, which emerged from journalism and developed well beyond it, towards a more artistic and fictional genre.

K. witnessed 27 revolutions and *coups d'état* all around the world. He also met and made friends with the leading politicians of the second half of the 20th cent. from Africa, Asia, South and Central America. His reports and books presented many parts of the outside world to thousands, and as such he closely participated in creating the picture of the cultures which he described. K.'s books were translated into 30 languages. According to K.'s own words, he felt that his duty was to serve as an interpreter; not, however, from one language to another, but from one culture to another. He visited and wrote about different parts of Africa (a collection of essays from his African trips, *The Shadow of the Sun*, being the most complete presentation of the author's vision of the continent), South and Central America, India, Iran, Soviet Union, etc.

His connection with Ethiopia was marked by probably the most popular of his works, *The Emperor: Downfall of an Autocrat*. K. wrote the book after his two visits to Ethiopia, soon after the ↗Revolution of 1974 and ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I's death in 1975. The book presented the Emperor and his court, and strongly influenced the way in which the Ethiopian ruler and his entourage were perceived by the outside world. It was received negatively by the scholarly world, since its presentation was ethnocentric and at times inadequately superficial. In spite of this controversy, *The Emperor* was translated into many languages and brought K. international fame.

Towards the end of his life, K. abandoned the reporter's style completely and published books which contained his thoughts on basic questions dealing not just with the contemporary world.

Src.: RYSZARD KAPUŚCIŃSKI, *Cesarz* ('The Emperor'), Warszawa 1978; ID., *Heban* ('The Shadow of the Sun'), Warszawa 1998; ID., *Podróże z Herodotem* ('Travels with Herodotus'), Kraków 2004.

Lit.: HAROLD GOLDEN MARCUS, "Ignorance and Prejudice in Reviewing Books on Africa", *History in Africa* 17, 1990, 373–78; HANNA RUBINKOWSKA, "In memoriam Ryszard Kapuściński", *Aethiopica* 10, 2007, 220–22.

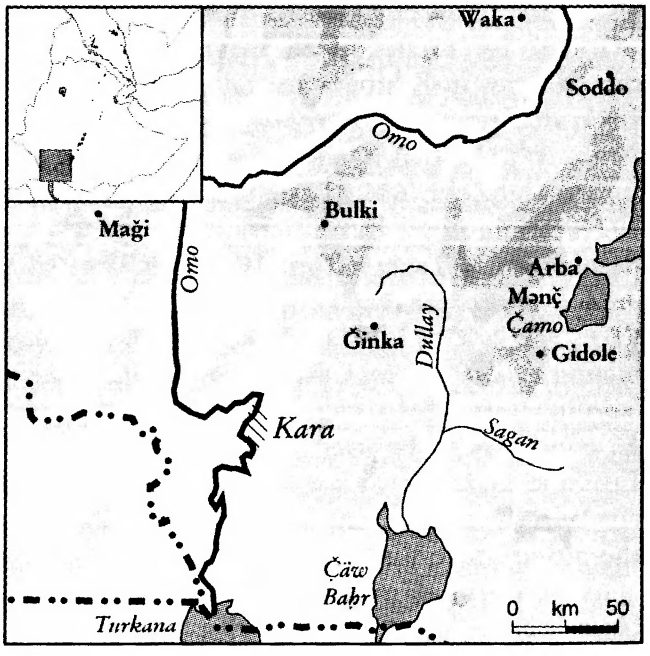
Hanna Rubinkowska

Kara

The K. is the self-denomination of a people inhabiting the central part of the lower Omo valley, Hamär *wäräda*, South Omo Zone of the Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples Regional State. They currently number ca. 800. The designation used by outsiders is Karo, and both "Kere" and "Kerre" can be found in 19th-cent. reports. The term "Karo" was used as an ethnic designation encompassing two groups, the K. and the Koegu (↗Kwegu-Muguği) until 1990, when they separated after a conflict. Other ethnic groups, called Gomba and Bogudo, were also included amongst the K., but of these, neither cultural identities nor languages remain. The K. language (*Kara apo*) is a dialect of the ↗Hamär cluster belonging to the South Omotic family. The K. inhabit the villages of Dus and Labuk which are also the names of their two *kabare* (smallest political units).

K. oral history recounts that the people came from three directions – somewhere in southern Sudan, the ↗Ðáasanač area and the ↗Arbore (Marle) area – and that they then settled in the Hamär highlands. One day, according to the legend, an ox escaped and reached the area of the Omo river to drink water. The people led the ox back to the herd and realized that the lowlands were fertile, and consequently all of them moved there. Another version says that they came from southern Sudan to the Omo delta and formed the Ðáasanač, then some of them moved and formed the Marle, and again some of them moved through Bodiland (↗Me'en) to the present Karo area. In either event, the period of the migration is assumed to be the early 19th cent.

K. subsistence economy today mainly depends on sorghum cultivation along the banks and in



Kara women threshing sorghum; photo 1986, courtesy of the author

the flood plain of the Omo River. Maize and cowpeas are also planted as secondary crops. Some goats and sheep are kept in the camps at the foot of the Hamär mountains, but the herds are small. According to oral history, cattle herding was the main activity when the K. came to their present area. However, all the cattle were lost through epizootic disease and attacks by neighbouring groups. They have neither donkeys nor camels. Bee-keeping and honey collection is an important source of income for adult men. Some honey is taken to market and sold to highland merchants. Honey is also used as a gift to the bond-partners of neighbouring groups. Fishing was taboo previously; but for women, children and unmarried men fish is now an important addition to the diet outside the crop season. Eating the meat of wild animals is said to have been taboo in former times. Ivory and leopard skins were the main items used for paying tribute or selling to merchants until the middle of the 20th cent. Hunting is still a prestigious activity among the K.

The K. have ten named exogamous patrilineal clans: the Kalaza, Garšima, Dangar, Kogo, Ešeppa, Gorosbolo, Ongosula, Dirtta, Dingolo, and Bitolo. In the mid-1990s, the age groups included: *ñikatakori*, *ñapuan*, *ñyikarakat*, *ñamprus*, *ñakomo*, *ñičekapus*, *ñiserikori*, and *ñiremalai*, all of these names having been adopted from the ↗Ñaŋatom (↗Age group systems). The K. have been strongly influenced by the Eastern Nilotic-speaking Ñaŋatom in some aspects, for example in matters of social structure and pastoralism. They have not been fully "Ethiopianized", but it is unique that they incorporate cultural elements of both Nilotic- and Cushitic- (or Omotic-) speaking peoples.

The main village, Dus, has been involved in tourism since the 1970s, and K. territory overlaps Mago National Park today. There is one primary school but no clinic or police station. How to recreate a new identity is an urgent issue for this group.

Lit.: GEZAHEGN PETROS, *The Karo of the Lower Omo Valley; Subsistence, Social Organisation, and Relations with Neighbouring Groups*, Addis Ababa 2000 (Social Anthropology Dissertation Series 6); HIROSHI MATSUDA, "Riverbank Cultivation in the Lower Omo Valley: the Intensive Farming System of the Kara, Southwestern Ethiopia", in: SHUN SATO – EISEI KURIMOTO (eds.), *Essays in Northeast African Studies*, Osaka 1997 (Senri Ethnological Studies 43), 1–28; IVO STRECKER, *Traditional Life and Prospects of Socio-Economic Development in the Hamar Administrative District of Southern Gamu Gofa: a Report to the Relief and Rehabilitation Commission of the Provisional Military Government of Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 1976.

Matsuda Hiroshi

Kärabu

K. (the ↗Harari linguistic equivalent of ↗*käbäro*) refers to a family of kettledrums made from a bowl of wood that is covered at the top with cow or goat hide. It is played by hand or with two wooden sticks, usually wrapped at the top with a piece of fabric.

According to oral tradition, the first K. were given to Harari by the ↗*ğinn*. Every important Muslim shrine in Harär keeps at least two drums for the ceremonies. Some of the wooden bases are said to be centuries old; some locals claim they may date back to the time of *šayḫ* ↗Abādir ʿUmar ar-Riḍā, while their membranes are renewed every few years.

Dimensions of K. may vary considerably. The larger drums (50–100 cm diameter, 30–60 cm height), played with sticks, are used to accompany the chanting during local Islamic religious rituals, *zikri* (↗*Ḏikr*). They are usually played by men, but also women occasionally sing *zikri* and play K.

There are several differentiating names given to the drums, most of which use the root *zär* (in Harari, 'river'): *dīnzär*, usually the largest drum of the set, means 'river of religion' (although Leslau 1963:167 proposes the meaning 'sulphur' for *dīn*); *ḫayzär*, usually the smallest one, means 'river of milk'; less common are the terms *dūssär* ('river of honey'), *mīzär* ('river of water'), and *sirağo* ('illuminator'). A very small version of K. (named *qandīl*, 'lamp') appears only in the rituals of the *Nabi gār* (a devotional place, lit. 'House of the Prophet', s. Tarsitani in PICES 15, 483) such as the closing of the *Nabi gār* weekly gatherings, or at the climax of the rituals performed during ↗*Ramaḍān*.

Kärabu drums in the *Nabi gār* of *āw* Basor *näggadras*, Harär; photo 2003, courtesy of the author

The rhythmic patterns played on the K. are usually based on the alternation of a higher pitched and a lower pitched sound, the two sounds being generated by the specific pitches of the selected drums, or by hitting alternatively the centre or the periphery of the membrane of a single drum. The most common layout is that of a pair of drums of different sizes, even if it is not unusual to have only one drum or more than two.

K. are tuned by heating the skin with sunlight or fire. During the performance, they are commonly placed on stones or tires that keep them stable with the membrane at a more than 45 degrees angle to the floor, while players sit in front of them.

A type of smaller and flatter K. (40–50 cm diameter, 20–30 cm height), named *āyāč kärabu* ('drum of the mothers'), is played by women when they perform secular and religious songs during wedding celebrations. The number of drums used in these ritual occasions may vary from one upwards, each being held on the player's lap. There developed a form of professionalism among the women playing *āyāč kärabu*: the best singers and K. players are regularly invited to the wedding celebrations with remuneration.

The K. family of kettledrums presents similarities with several other membranophones. The shape of the instruments and the softheaded wooden sticks used for playing show similarities to the ↗*nägarit*; use in religious rites and performance features may reveal connections with *käbäro* and other drums used in secular and religious performances all over the Horn of Africa.

↗Instruments, musical; ↗Käbäl; ↗Music

Src.: WOLF LESLAU, *Etymological Dictionary of Harari*, Berkeley, CA – Los Angeles, CA 1963 (University of California Publications, Near Eastern Studies 1), 93, 167.

Lit.: SIMONE TARSITANI, "*Zikri* Rituals in Harar: a Musical Analysis", in: *PICES* 15, 478–84; ILARIA SARTORI, Gey fäqär, *il canto della città, Repertori vocali femminili nella comunità islamica di Harar*, Ph.D. thesis, Roma, in preparation.

Simone Tarsitani

Kärän

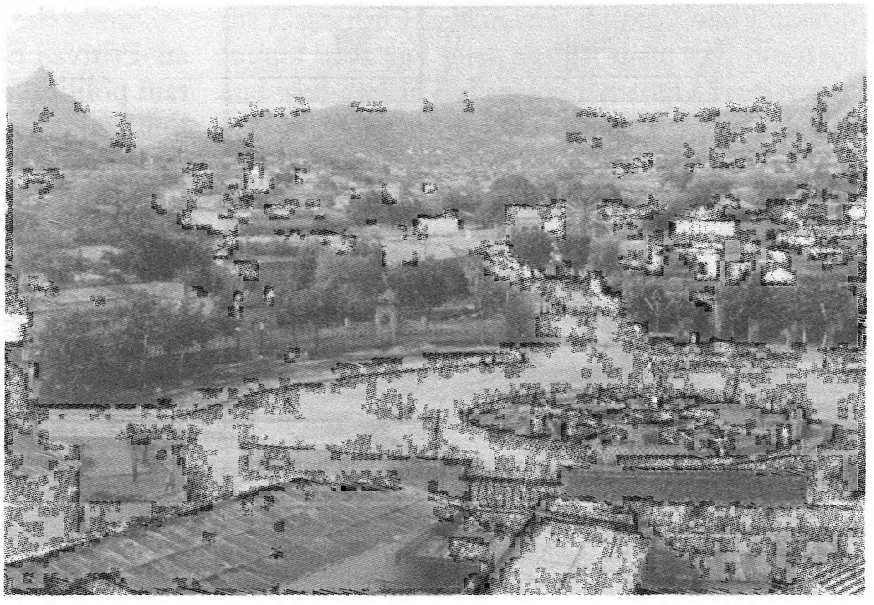
K. (ክረን, Ital. Cheren, 1392 m A.S.L., 15° 46' 40" N, 38° 27' 29" E) is the second largest city in Eritrea. The town witnessed rapid economic development especially during the 1930s under Italian rule. Main routes and the Italian-built railway (now dismantled) connect K. with ↗Asmära, ↗Naqfa and ↗Aqordät. Today the city has approximately 75,000 inhabitants.

K. lies in a plain surrounded by a range of mountains. Situated on an old trade route connecting the Red Sea port of ↗Massawa with the northern extension of the Eritrean highlands and the Sudanese hinterland, it was originally a caravan post and settlement of the sedentary ↗Bilin people, and was visited by nomads and traders of different origins (e.g., Təgre, Beğa, Sudanese Arabs). In the mid-19th cent. it had around 2,000 inhabitants, most of them Bilin.

K. was administered by local notables, who paid tribute to the governor of Ḥamasen, at the same time jealously protecting their autonomy. This was only shattered during the raids of *däğğazmač* ↗Wəbe Ḥaylä Maryam from Təgray in the 1840s. A few years later, Təgre groups from the Egyptian-dominated lowlands raided K. and kidnapped a number of inhabitants to sell them as slaves in the Sudan. British and French protests in Egypt led to their liberation, and K., together with all of ↗Bogos, was subsequently declared a French "protectorate" by the French vice-consul of ↗Massawa. This, however, did not change the tributary relationship of K. to Ḥamasen.

Beginning in the early 1850s, European researchers and travellers visited K. Situated in a border area and having a warm, but temperate climate, the town attracted foreign interest. Werner ↗Munzinger settled there starting from 1854. The K. caravan post and missionary station then served as a base for all the important ↗expeditions in the Eritrean region (e.g., by ↗Heuglin in 1861/62; cp. de Rivoyre 1885; Traub 1889).

K. had been noted for its religious diversity. Originally the population was Christian Orthodox, but with some adherents to Islam. The nearby ancient monastery of ↗Däbrä Sina was



View over Kärän, from the roof of the Kärän Hotel; photo 1993, courtesy of Esther Gallodoro

the main Christian centre in the area; another Christian centre nearby was ↗Ṣäᶜada Ǝmba (the churches of K., however, were deserted). A Catholic mission, led by Giovanni ↗Stella, had been established in K. in the early 1850s (s. Sapeto 1857). K. then became the most important centre of the Vicariate Apostolic of Abyssinia, run by the ↗Lazarists, and a substantial number of people converted to ↗Catholicism. Fot the most part French missionaries ran the mission, in collaboration with local converts, such as the Ethiopian diplomatic envoy and Catholic priest *abba* ↗Ǝmnätu. A Catholic printing press at K. at the time produced a number of Amharic and Təgrəññа religious books (↗Incunabula; ↗Printing).

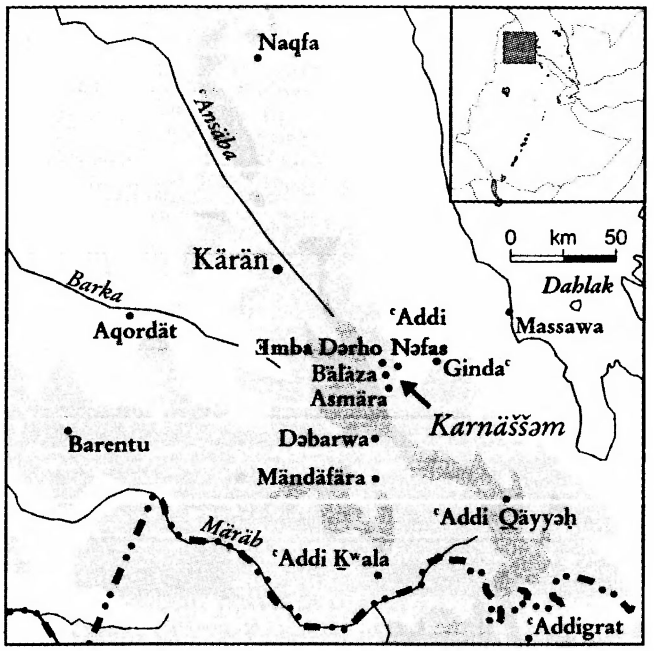
French colonists settled there and cultivated tobacco. In 1868 the humble French settler Gérard René was even appointed governor of Bogos (i.e. a tax collector), based at K., under the authority of the governor of Təgray. The period of French influence, however, only lasted until the demission of the French Vice Consul Munzinger in Massawa in 1871. Egyptian troops, invited by several Bilin leaders, and opposed by others, occupied K. on 2 July 1872. K., together with the whole Bogos-Ḥalḥale area, was included into the Sudanese-Egyptian ↗Massawa Governorate, the realm of Munzinger *bāšā*, now Egyptian governor. He built the fort of Sanaḥīt (Arab., from ↗Sänḥit, the toponym of the K. region) on a central hill in K., today known as Forto (Ital. "forte") or Tigu. The Catholic church of *qəddus* Mikaᵓel (San Michele) is also attributed to Munzinger. Later, his former secretary Franz Hassen *bey* from Hungary, married into an Ethiopian noble family and became the Egyptian governor of K.

During these years, the population of K. was regularly forced to pay taxes to the Ethiopian ruler of the ↗Märäb Məllaš, *ras* ↗Alula Ǝngəda, who regularly raided the area around K. during the period 1879–83, but was unable to expel the Egyptians. They in their turn harboured Alula's local rival *balambaras* Kəflä Iyäsus, son-in-law of *ras* ↗Wäldä Mikaᵓel Sälomon, who himself stayed at K. while claiming the governorship of Ḥamasen. Following the 1884 ↗Hewett Treaty, K., together with the whole Bogos region, was ceded by Egypt to Ethiopia, thus formally ending the ↗Egyptian–Ethiopian war. The period of Ethiopian administration was, however, short. Already in 1888 K. was seized by Italy's new ally *bärämbəras* Kəflä Iyäsus, and then in June 1889 annexed by Italy, which was expanding from the Massawa Protectorate. With the proclamation of the Colonia Eritrea in 1890, K. became the capital of a new colonial administrative province, the Zona di Cheren (later Commissariato Regionale di Cheren, later Sänḥit; ↗Eritrea).

The Friday mosque was built in 1894 with support of the colonial authorities. In 1897 the Lazarists of K. and all of Eritrea were expelled by the Italians and replaced by Italian ↗Capuchins, and K. was integrated into the new Catholic "Prefecture of Erythraea".

In 1938, K. had ca. 9,700 inhabitants (Guida 213). There was a telegraph post, cinema, hotels, a Catholic seminary, schools and administrative buildings. Colonial settlers received large areas around K. as agricultural concessions (esp. for sisal, tobacco, coffee, fruits, vegetables), such as at Maryam Däᶜarit in K. or at nearby ↗ᶜEla Bärᶜəd.

After the decisive battle (↗Kärän, battle of) in early 1941, the Italians retreated from K. and lost control over ↗Africa Orientale Italiana. Italian and British war cemeteries at K. witness the high number of victims. An example of the symbolic importance of K. in British international politics – and an indirect claim for control of the Eritrean region during World War II – was the inclusion of the name K. in the titulature bestowed on



General ↗Wavell ("Viscount Keren of Eritrea and of Winchester") after the battle.

K. is known for its silversmiths and goldsmiths, some of them established at K. since many generations; local craftsmen make jewelry. The population of K. is multilingual (mainly Təgre and Təgrəññña, but many in addition also speak Bilin, Sudanese Arabic as a *lingua franca*, ʿAfar and a few even ↗Hausa). Ethnically K. is dominated by the Təgre, even if historically being the centre of the Bilin. K. as a colonial administrative centre created opportunities for employment not only for Bilin and Təgrəññña speakers, but also for members of different Təgre groups (like the ↗ʿAd Täkles, ↗Mänsaʿ), for whom K. became one of the main administrative centres. Modern Eritrean administration and commerce (including the restaurants and crafttrade) led to a considerable rise in the number of Təgrəññña speakers.

Islam is the dominant religion in K. The Mīrġanī family has its second main centre (after Kassala) in K. (↗Islamic brotherhoods). K. also hosts the important shrine and grave of Abū Bakr al-Mīrġanī. The Təgre group ↗Bet Ǧuk, centred in the ↗ʿAnsäba valley north of K., established an important Muslim centre of learning in K. Many Mänsaʿ of K., however, are still Christians. There are important Orthodox (including Greek Orthodox) and Catholic churches in K. The church Sant'Antonio was founded in 1925 by the Capuchin mission. The chapel of St. Mary built inside an old hollow baobab tree, known as Maryam Däʿarit, is a site of Christian pilgrimage (feast day 29 May) and was consecrated on 18 July 1881.

During the post-war period and the ↗Ethiopian–Eritrean Federation K. was a centre of important political activities. It is there that the ↗Muslim League, a major factor in Eritrean politics of the time, was established in December 1946 by ↗Ibrāhīm Sulṭān ʿAlī from K. In K., elections to the ↗Eritrean Assembly were held by direct vote as in Asmära. During the ↗Eritrean People's Liberation Front's (E.P.L.F.) liberation struggle K. was abandoned by the *Därg* after the five-day-battle of K. of July 1977 and then became the unofficial capital of the E.P.L.F. administration. Following the major offensive of the *Därg* in 1978, K. was inturn abandoned by the E.P.L.F. in November 1978 and a great part of the population fled. It then became a garrison and in 1988 the Ethiopian army's headquarters in the north, until 1991.

In 1995 K. became the capital of the new *zoba* ʿAnsäba, comprising most of the highlands surrounding the ʿAnsäba river. The main neighbourhoods of the city of K. are Laʿli Kärän (Tgn. 'Upper K.'), Gäzabanda ('House of the *banda*' [↗Askari]), Šuq ('Market', this area also being called Taḥti Kärän, Tgn. 'Lower K.'), Däʿarit ('Fig tree'), ʿAd Ḥabab ('Place of the ↗Ḥabab'), Gäza-Wäräqät ('House of the Paper'), Ḥilät Ǧäbärti ('Quarter of the ↗Ǧäbärti'), Ḥilät Sudan ('Sudanese Quarter'), Ḥilät Täkʷarir ('Quarter of the Westafricans' [↗Tukrīr]). K. is crossed by the mostly dry riverbed of a tributary of the ʿAnsäba, often called Šəfšəfit after a dam in K. The sub-region of K. comprises the districts of K. city, Ḥalḥal, Ḥagaz, ʿEla Bärʿəd and Mälbaso.

Src.: *Die Deutsche Expedition in Ost-Afrika, 1861 und 1862* ..., Gotha 1864 (Petermann's Geographische Mittheilungen, Ergänzungsheft 13); *Guida* 213f.; KolTrad II; ARTURO ISSEL, *Viaggio nel Mar Rosso e tra i Bogos*, Milano 1876; MunSt; DENIS DE RIVOYRE, *Aux pays du Soudan. Bogos, Mensah, Souakim*, Paris 1885; RubActa I, II; GIUSEPPE SAPETO, *Viaggio ai Mensa, ai Bogos, e gli Habab*, Milano 1857; PAUL TRAUB, "Voyage au pays des Bogos et dans les provinces septentrionales de l'Abyssinie", *Bulletin de la Société géographique neuchâteloise* 4, 1888–89, 96–191.

Lit.: AbbGeogr; ADHANA MENGSTE-AB, "Yohannes IV and Keren", in: TADDESE BEYENE – RICHARD PANKHURST – SHIFERAW BEKELE (eds.), *Kasa and Kasa: Papers on the Lives, Times and Images of Téwodros II and Yohannes IV (1855–1889)*, Addis Ababa 1990, 247–52; ErlAlula ch. 3; ḤAYLU TÄSFAY, የከረን: አውራጃ: አጭር: ታሪክ (*Yäkäränawraǧǧa aṣṣər tarik*, 'A Short History of Kärän *awraǧǧa*'), Asmära 1980; KilHDic 75, 119, 122, 283f., 411; MIKAEL GHABER, *The Bilin of Bogos*, Baghdad 1993; JONATHAN MIRAN, "A Historical Overview of Islam in Eritrea", *Die Welt des Islams* 45, 2, 2005, 177–215; PankHist I, index; RubInd, s. index; WOLBERT SMIDT, "Discussing Ethnohistory: the Blin between Periphery and International

Politics in the 19th Century", *Chroniques yéménites* 14, 2006, 131-44; TEKESTE NEGASH, *Eritre & Ethiopia: the Federal Experience*, Uppsala 1997; TrIslam, s. index.

Wolbert Smidt

Kärän, battle of

The battle of K. (3 February–27 March 1941) was the turning point in the allied campaign in East Africa. Sir Archibald Percival ↗Wavell devised a strategy that involved two pincer movements. The southern force, led by General Sir Alan ↗Cunningham, advanced through Italian Somaliland. The northern arm, commanded by Sir William ↗Platt, quickly drove Italian forces out of ↗Kassala and then entered ↗Africa Orientale Italiana through Eritrea. However, the campaign became bogged down as allied forces stalled before the mountain stronghold of K., which is more than 1,300 m A.S.L. and the capital of Sänḥit.

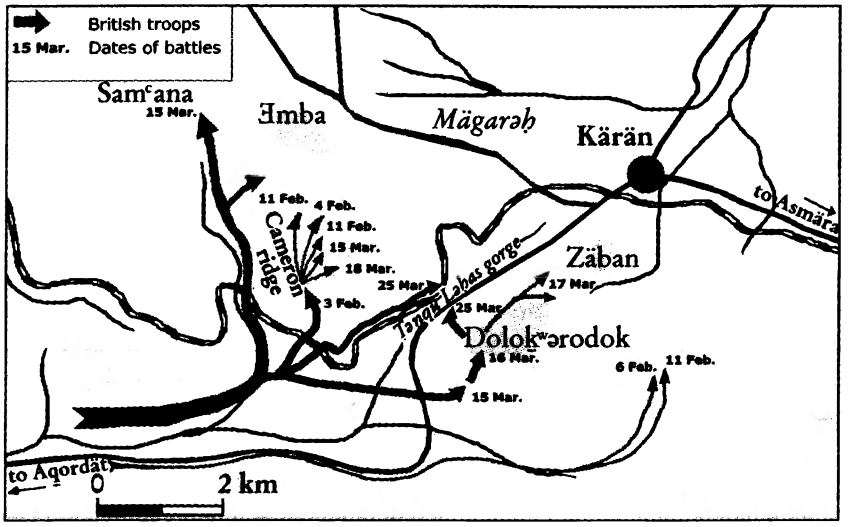
On 1 February 1941, allied forces captured ↗Aqordät, a victory that facilitated the offensive against K. where they had to face 23,000 Italian troops under Generale di Corpo d'Armante Luigi Frusci's command (including the 11th Savoy Grenadiers Regiment; the 1st and 2nd Grenadier Battalions; 3rd Bersaglieri Battalion; XI Brigade; IV Colonial Cavalry Group; CIV Motorized Artillery Group; the 1st Colonel Division's V Brigade and V Artillery Group; as well as an engineering company). In addition to regular battaglioni nazionali, Savoy elite troops, Alpini, Black Shirts (Camicie Nere) and 21 ↗*askari* battalions gathered in K. and fortified the town and fort – after Italian forces, withdrawing from Aqordät had managed to secure the Ṭənqu Ləḥas Gorge (in European publications the "Dongolaas Gorge" or "Keren Pass") just before the British arrived. To halt the British pursuit and win precious hours Ponte Mussolini bridge, crossing the Barka river bed, had been mined and partly destroyed. Thus the campaign proved to be arduous as the Italians occupied the high ground, and their supply lines were not as steep as those used by the allies.

On 2 February 1941, the Gazelle Force – a unit under the command of Colonel Frank W. Massery that had been formed by troops from the Sudan Defence Force's Medium Machine Gun Companies and Skinner's Horse, a troop from the 28th Field Regiment, Royal Artillery – reached the hills around K. Plateau. The following day, the 11th Brigade, commanded by Brigadier Reginald A. Story, attacked north of Ṭənqu Ləḥas Gorge towards Sankil (Ital. "Sanchil"). Over the next three days, the Cameron Highlanders, Rajputs, and Punjabis fought back and forth against their well-prepared and well-dug-in Italian and Eritrean adversaries.

Major General Henry Nole de la Poer Beresford-Peirse, commander of the 4th Indian Division, realized that single brigade attacks had accomplished nothing. He therefore prepared a combined operation battle plan for operations north and south of the Ṭənqu Ləḥas Gorge. On 10 February 1941, the 5th Indian Infantry Brigade, 11th Indian Infantry Brigade, Gazelle Force, and the Cameron Highlanders went into battle. Two days later, Beresford-Peirse terminated operations because of a lack of progress.

For the next month, there were no significant ground operations. However, the Royal Air Force (RAF), operating from the recently captured bases of Aqordät and Barentu, conducted bombing raids over several targets, including K. Italy's Regia Aeronautica retaliated by destroying 13 RAF planes at Aqordät. Shortly thereafter, the RAF dropped propaganda leaflets announcing support for Ethiopian patriotism as well as early Eritrean nationalism that resulted in nearly 600 desertions, a lot of whom were Šäwan or Goğğame levies from the VI and XI brigades. The Italians retaliated by appointing *ras* Śəyyum "*nəguś* of Təgray" and giving him 7,000 rifles to fight the allied forces (Barker 1966:185; however, other sources state that *ras* Śəyyum was given the rank of *mäsfen* and sent 3,000 rifles; Del Boca 1982:468). On 23 February 1941, the Italians launched a minor offensive, commanded by Colonel Siro Persichelli, which drove some Indian troops from their positions.

General Sir William Platt, the increasingly frustrated commander of the East Africa Command (1941–45), started planning for a two division (4th Indian Division and 5th Indian Division) assault against K. He also ordered Brigadier Harold Rawdon Briggs, commander of the 7th Indian Infantry Brigade, to support the operation by attacking from locations along the Red Sea coast. On 15 March 1941, the offensive began with a bombing attack on the Ṭənqu Ləḥas Gorge followed by an artillery barrage. The 4th Indian Division then attacked north of the Ṭənqu Ləḥas Gorge while the 5th Indian Division moved on Dolo$\underline{k}^{w}$ərodok (Ital. "Dologorodoc"). 15 Indian battalions, three English battalions, and two Scottish Battalions also participated in the campaign. After two days of intense fighting, allied forces had managed to occupy only



The British troop movements near Kärän; drawing by Evgenia Sokolinskaia, after Barker 1966 and Ministry of Information 1942

Dolokʷərodok while the rest of the territory in and around K. still remained under control of the Italian troops under the command of General Nicolangelo Carnimeo. Carnimeo, however, lost one of his most capable officers in a counter-attack, when Brigade Commander Orlando Lorenzini was killed by a British grenade splinter in Ṭənqu Ləḥas Gorge.

In support of the British Free French Forces, the "↗Brigade d'Orient", entered northern Ethiopia, partly marching from Tchad, partly sailing from Cameroon via Freetown round the Cape of Good Hope. The latter debarked in Port Sudan, 14 February, and entered northern Eritrea. The Foreign Legion's 13th Half-Brigade, siding with Charles de Gaulle in London in July 1940 after the French defeat by Nazi Germany, carried the entrenched Italian positions at the "Engiahiat"-massif on 1 March, and joined the siege of K. at its Northern Front, 13th March. Among them was company commander Pierre ↗Messmer, later Georges Pompidou's prime minister of France. Commander-in-chief was Raoul Magrin-Vernerey, called Montclar by *nom de guerre*.

On 14 March 1941, the RAF laid the groundwork for another offensive against K. by bombing a train carrying 40 trucks with 30,000 artillery shells. The following morning, the 4th Indian Division occupied the Italian fortress at Samʿana (Ital. "Samanna") and, on 17 March 1941, accepted the surrender of Sankil.

On 20 March the awkward situation of the French Foreign Legion, trapped in rocky and bushy terrain in the North, suffering from Italian shelling, heat and reduced water rations, improved decisively when the 2nd company's Captain Morel found a spring, securing the water supply for the planned offensive and increasing the troops' morale.

On 25 March, allied forces began the final assault against K. by occupying Dolokʷərodok. Two days later, British, Indian and Free French troops entered K. only to discover that the Italians had evacuated the town the previous evening.

Some 40,000 troops had fought at K. The 56-day campaign claimed 536 allied lives and 3,299 wounded while Italian casualties included more than 3,000 killed and 4,500 wounded (there is no record of Eritrean deaths or injuries). Hundreds became prisoners of war. The famous "Devil Commander" and Italian post-war ambassador in Yemen Amedeo Guillet, then Captain of the Cavalleggeri del Monferrato, a mounted local warriors band, was among those who managed to flee.

The allied victory at K. was an important step in the relatively poorly equipped allied campaign in Eritrea and Ethiopia, to open up the way to Asmära, seized by Platt's British, Indian and Sudanese troops (the ↗Gideon Force under the command of Wingate) on 1 April, and Massawa, freed by the Montclar's Legionnaires in a surprise coup on 8 April, before being directly called to Damascus to face French Vichy forces.

Nevertheless, scattered Italian resistance and guerrilla operations continued for a short period of time. However, on 19 May 1941, the Viceroy, Amedeo di ↗Savoia Duke of Aosta, surrendered after the Battle of Ǝmba Alage (↗Ambalage).

Lit.: ʿALÄMSÄGÄD TÄSFAY, አይንፈላለ – ኤርትራ *1941–1950* (*Aynəffälalä – Erətra 1941–1950*, 'Let's Stay together – Eritrea 1941–1950'), Asmära ²2002; ALESSANDRO ARUFFO, *Storia del Colonialismo Italiano: da Crispi a Mussolini*, Roma 2003; ARTHUR JAMES BARKER, *Eritrea 1941*, London 1966, 174, 215; ERWAN BERGOT, *La légion au combat. Troupes de choc.* Paris 1975; FERDINANDO BERSANI, *Kismet. Con gli ascari tra Eritrea e Sudan*, Padova 1962, 14-17, 38f., 112; ANGELO DEL BOCA, *The Ethiopian War 1935-1941*, Chicago, IL 1969 (English tr. of *Guerra d'Abissinia, 1935-41*, Milano 1965); ID., *Gli italiani in Africa orientale: la caduta dell'impero*, Roma 1982; J.R. KHERBÉGUIAN, "Il y a vingt-deux ans, le jour de nouveau se levait sur l'Ethiopie. Petite histoire sincère et passionnée de la libération", *L'Ethiopie d'aujourd'hui* 10/11/12, 3–5, 1963, 55–91; MINISTRY OF INFORMATION (ed.), *The Abyssinian Campaigns, issued for the British War Office*, London 1942; MockWar 327–37; NEIL ORPEN, *East African and Abyssinian Campaigns*, Cape Town 1968, 237; BISHESHWAR PRASAD (ed.),

Official History of the Indian Armed Forces in the Second World War 1939–45: East African Campaign, Agra 1963, 92–121; VITTORIO D. SEGRE, *La Guerra privata del tenente Guillet*, Milano 1993; ROBERT NORMAN THOMPSON, *Liberation, the First to be Freed*, Vancouver 1987, 77ff..

Thomas P. Ofcansky – Magnus Treiber

Karnäššəm

The Eritrean historical district of K. (**ካርንሻም**, also Karnəššəm, for location s. Kärän) lies in the ↗Ḥamasen region, immediately north of Asmära and south of the Təgre-dominated ↗Saḥəl area; it borders on the historical district of Dämbäzan (s. vol. 5). The historical centres of K., which is one of the most fertile areas of the Eritrean highlands, are ᶜAd(di) Nəfas, Bäläza and ↗Ǝmba Dərho, the main town along the Asmära–Kärän national road. The population of K. consists of Təgrəññaspeakers (sg. Karnäšəmätay, KaneDicT 1598), among whom a small minority in northern K. are Muslims (NadEr 86). K. encompasses 16 villages (Favali – Pateman 2003:23).

Scattered archaeological findings, especially those of Bäläza, reveal the presence of pre-Aksumite, non-Sabaean settlements of the ↗ᶜOna culture in this part of Ḥamasen. According to al-Yaᶜqūbī (ca. 872 A.D.), the ↗Beğa kingdom of Ğārīn (al-↗Yaᶜqūbī: Five Beğa Kingdoms) included a settlement called Ḥalladdağāğ, which could be an Arabic rendering of the place-name Ǝmba Dərho ('mountain of chicken'; CRStor 275, 279).

In 1407, the whole district of K. (*mədrä* Karnəssəm) was given as a *gʷəlt* by *aṣe* ↗Dawit II to the monastery of ↗Däbrä Bizen within a richly endowed land grant, along with Dämbäzan, ↗Ṣänᶜadäglä, ↗Mänsaᶜ among others (CRAxum I, 23; Huntingford 1965:34). In the 16th cent., *aṣe* ↗Ləbnä Dəngəl gave Ǝmba Dərho and Baqla (today in ↗Ḥabab territory) as a *gʷəlt* to a noble man (CRAxum I, 35, II, 41). Local traditions, most probably referring to events from the 16th–17th cent., claim that all the villages of K. were founded by groups coming from ↗Təgray, with one exception: Mäsfənto, a village inhabited by the "sons of Kam". This is the same name as that preserved by tradition for the father of ↗Angäbo who, after killing the dragon ↗Arwe, gave birth to ↗Makədda (KolTrad § 36).

According to their tradition, several Təgre groups seem to have originated from K. In the traditions of the Ḥabab, ᶜAd Nəfas plays an important role as a village founded by the ancestor of the Təgre-speaking ↗Bet Asgäde (Ḥabab, ᶜAd Tämaryam, ᶜAd Täkles) after he abandoned the rest of his family.

In the first half of the 19th cent., K. reached a certain degree of autonomy, as suggested by the title of ↗*käntiba* carried by the leaders of Ǝmba Dərho. A definite impetus to this political situation was given by *däğğazmač* ↗Wəbe Ḫaylä Maryam, *de facto* head of Ḥamasen between 1839 and 1855; following a rebellion of local Ḥamasen chiefs, he submitted K. and other districts in a battle near Guraᶜ, and appointed a local chief his deputy over K. (*wanna* K.; KolTrad § 183).

Again, following an internal rivalry among K. leaders, *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II declared ᶜAd Nəfas *wəsäṭe gʷəlti*, i.e., territory directly depending from the Crown, and thus autonomous from the *käntiba* of Ǝmba Dərho. This situation, which included a special status for Ǝmba Dərho, was also recognized by the Italians much later, within their system of indirect rule. In the geographic reports of Werner ↗Munzinger (MunSt 137), K. appeared as an autonomous district in the 1860s, and were in possession of tributary territories at the coast. During Italian colonization, K. was administratively included into the Ḥamasen district.

The customary ↗law of the K. (**ስርዓት፡ ካርንሻም** *Sərᶜat Karnəššəm*; full text in Zärʾa-Yaᶜəqob Ǝsṭifanos et al. 1990:405–28) highly resembles that of Ḥamasen, the ↗*Ḥəggi Hab Səllus Gärä Ḵəstos*; this reflects both the internal autonomy of the K., and their close connection with the rest of Ḥamasen. The *Sərᶜat Karnəššəm* has been enacted by a local elders' assembly in the village Zagər, seemingly in the early 20th cent., and was first published in Təgrəññä in 1918 (Favali – Pateman 2003:23). It is still used in local tribunals.

During the war against the Ethiopian central government, the K. area suffered particularly, being a border area close to the Saḥəl, which was the stronghold of the ↗Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF). A great percentage of young adults of the K. villages then joined the struggle. K. belonged to the areas at times controlled by the EPLF, and was the stage of land reforms in the 1970s, during which land was redistributed basing on principles of equality.

Src.: AḤMAD B. ABĪ YAᶜQŪB AL-YAᶜQŪBĪ, *Ibn-Wādhih qui dicitur al-Jaᶜqubī, Historiae*, ed. by THEODOR MARTIN HOUTSMA, Leiden 1969, 217; CRAxum I, 23, 35 (text) = CRAxum II, 26, 41 (tr.) = GEORGE WYNN BRERETON HUNTINGFORD, *The Land Charters of Northern Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa – Nairobi 1965, 34 (tr.); KaneDicT 1598; KolTrad I 15f., 30ff., 34, 164 (text) = II 12f., 24–27, 125 (tr.); MunSt 79, 137, 197; ZÄRʾA-YAᶜƎQOB ƎSṬIFANOS – WÄLDÄ

MARYAM ABRAHAM – GÄRIMA GÄBRÄMÄSQÄL (eds.), ሕግን፡ ሥርዓትን፡ ናይ፡ መሬት፡ ዓደቦ, *Codes and Bylaws of Eritrean Regions & Counties*, n.p. [West Germany] 1990, 405–28.

Lit.: CRStor 275, 279; ERIC GODET, "Répertoire des sites pré-axoumites et axoumites d'Éthiopie du Nord, IIe partie: Erythrée", *Abbay* 11, 1980–82, 73–113, here 86; LYDA FAVALI – ROY PATEMAN, *Blood, Land, and Sex, Legal and Political Pluralism in Eritrea*, Bloomington, IN 2003, index (Lit.); FRIEDERIKE KEMINK, *Die Tegreñña-Frauen in Eritrea: Eine Untersuchung der Kodizes des Gewohnheitsrechts 1890–1941*, Stuttgart 1991 (SKK 101), 34; SIEGFRIED NADEL, "Land Tenure on the Eritrean Plateau", *Africa*: Journal of the International African Institute 16, 1, 1946, 1–22; NadEr 86; PollEr 98, 105–10, 122, 178, 192f., 203; RUFFILLO PERINI, *La zona di Asmara: circoscrizione storica del Marèb-Mellàsc'-Negghiàu*, Roma 1894, 37, 48f.; ID., *Di qua dal Marèb (Marèb-Mellàsc')*, Firenze 1905.

Gianfrancesco Lusini

Karra

K. (ካራ, Amh., lit. 'knife, scimitar', also *Karra haymanot*, 'the Faith of K.') is the denomination of the right wing of the Monophysite doctrine of ↗*Hulätt lədät* (i.e. 'two births [for Christ]') and a group of its adherents (called *karroč̌č̌*, lit. 'Knifists', by its adversaries). The name emerged in the aftermath of the ↗Jesuits' 17th-cent. attempt to introduce ↗Catholicism in Ethiopia, the other two doctrines being ↗*Qəbat* and ↗*Ṣägga* (supported by the "Unctionists" and "Gracists", respectively). The origin of the name K. is unclear, neither is it clear whether the original name was the Amharic word or its Gəʿəz equivalent መጥባሕት (*mäṭbaḥt*). Both terms appear in the literature. It is quite possible that the "Knifists" might have defended their faith with violence.

For the K., Christ, in whom humanity and divinity are united inseparably, is the Son of God by the union of humanity and divinity. He became the Son of God, in his humanity as well, when divinity was united with humanity, just as he, as the Word, has been the Son of God in eternity. The K. maintain that calling any of the persons in the ↗Trinity the "anointer and giver of power to Christ" is tantamount to giving the Son an inferior place in the Trinity. To avoid relating unction to his sonship, they teach that Christ himself is the ointment and the anointer, using the formula በተዋሕዶ፡ ወልድ፡ ዋሕድ (*Bätäwaḥədo wäld waḥəd*, '[Christ is] the Only Son by union').

The K. sources blame Alfonso ↗Mendes for the schism. He is reported to have raised the issue of unction with two of his students, Ewosṭatewos of Sänkʷa Giyorgis and Täklä Haymanot of Ğärr Gäbrəʾel. Mendes first urged them to accept the ↗Christology of one person in two natures. When they rejected this explanation, Mendes tried other approaches. Ultimately, the explanation that Christ has "two births" but that he is Son of God by unction of the Holy Spirit pleased Ewosṭatewos, whereas Täklä Haymanot accepted the explanation that Christ has "three births" (↗*Śost lədät*), the third making him Son by Grace, similar to those who go through the ritual of ↗Baptism. This traditional account of the birth of the schism refutes, unless it was later devised to refute, the idea that the rivalry of the time was not between the followers of the two great saints of Ethiopia, *abunä* ↗Ewosṭatewos and *abunä* ↗Täklä Haymanot, but between the followers of the two heretics who just happened to have the same names.

↗Kəflä Giyorgis and ↗Kidanä Wäld Kəfle, who do not adhere to the K., recognize five subgroups within this doctrine (KWKDic 491f.; Berhanou Abebbé 1986:92ff.). Four call the Holy Spirit ointment and are differentiated by the role they give to the Holy Spirit: (1) it was instrumental for the conception of the Word without the seed of man, (2) it purified from Adam's sin the body that the Word took from St. ↗Mary, (3) it compounded the ointment from different perfume plants with oil, as the high priest of the Old Testament did, and (4) it anointed Christ like other people so that he might be an example for us, and not to benefit him in any way. The fifth, and now dominant, group calls the Son himself both the ointment and the anointer (*wäld qəbʿə*, 'the Son [is] the ointment'), and takes the position *Bätäwaḥədo wäld zäbaḥrəy* ('By union [of divinity with humanity], [Christ is] the natural Son [of God]'). Further on, Kəflä Giyorgis and Kidanä Wäld Kəfle mention *azzaž* Zädəngəl and *abba* Zäkrəstos from Gondär, *abba* Gärima from Təgray, and others from Tämben and Däbrä Damo as originators and defenders of K.

The two champions of Orthodoxy, who succeeded in making the K. teaching the *Täwaḥədo* faith, were *mämhər* Niqolawos of ↗Mändabba and Addam of ↗Däbrä Libanos of Šäwa. The former defended the faith against the Unctionists twice, first against their spokesman ↗Akalä Krəstos of Gondär at a council summoned by *aṣe* Yoḥannəs I (1667–82), and second during the reign of *aṣe* Iyasu I (1682–1706). In 1716, when *aṣe* Dawit III ascended the throne, the Unctionists had their turn. The sources, possibly by K., report that a group of *qəbatoč̌č̌* claimed to the king's mother that her son would live and reign

long if he proclaimed *Qəbat* the official teaching. So he did, and Niqolawos was executed with 44 other teachers who refused to adhere to *Qəbat* (ms. EMML 1710, fols. 15r–20r).

K. represents the extreme right of the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥədo) Church (EOTC), while the *Ṣägga*, who lean toward Catholicism, represent the extreme left (CrumMis 24). The former were based in ↗Təgray, while the latter were based in ↗Šäwa. As much as the question of unction was injected in the life of the EOTC to convince the *liqawənt* of the importance of the Catholic concept, the K. was born in reaction to that concept. Nonetheless, each of the three groups claims that it alone represents the true teaching of the Alexandrian faith; each has, at one point or another, been the official teaching.

Today, the teaching of the EOTC, especially since the 19th-cent. Metropolitan *abba* ↗Sälama, is that of K., though the term itself has fallen out of use. The controversy settled at the ↗Boru Meda council in 1878 is understood as a controversy between the followers of the *Hulätt lədät* and *Śost lədät*, whereas in fact it was between the K., who worshipped the Blessed Virgin with Christ, and the *Ṣägga*, and the declared winners were those who taught that Christ is God in his humanity as well (GSMen 90ff.). They succeeded in making the teaching of K. (or *Hulätt lədät*) the official faith of the church and country.

Src.: BERHANOU ABEBBÉ (ed.) – KIDANÄ WÄLD KƎFLE, ሀይማኖተ፡ አበው፡ ቀደምት። *La foi des pères anciens*, 1. *Texte éthiopien. Enseignement de Mamher Kefla Giyorgis* ..., Stuttgart 1986 (SKK 79), 92ff.; EMML V, 172, ms. 1710, fols. 2r–34r [*Nägärä haymanot*]; GSMen 90ff.; KaneDic 1382; KWKDic 491f.

Lit.: AYMRO WONDMAGEGNEHU – JOACHIM MOTOVU, *The Ethiopian Orthodox Church*, Addis Ababa 1970, 95f.; BERHANOU ABBEBÉ, "Un procès en recherche de paternité au XVIIIe s.", in: *PICES* 10, vol. 1, 399–410; CrumMis 24, s. index; DONALD CRUMMEY – GETATCHEW HAILE, "*Abunä* Sälama: Metropolitan of Ethiopia, 1841–1867. A New Gəʿəz Biography", *JES* 37, 1, 2004, 5–40; GETATCHEW HAILE, "Materials on the Theology of the Qəbʿat or Unction", in: *PICES* 6, 205–50; IGNAZIO GUIDI, "Uno squarcio di storia ecclesiastica di Abissinia", *Bessarione* 5, 8, 1900–01, 10–25.

Getatchew Haile

Karrayyuu ↗Baarentuu

Karum ↗ʿAfar depression

Kaśa Golğa

Däğğazmač K.G. (ካሣ ፡ጎልጓ, also Kasa Gurğa, "horse name" Abba Käysi; d. after 1882) was a pretender to the throne in the early 1870s in competition with the later *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV.

K.G. descended from a wealthy and influential Təgrayan family from the line of *šum ʿagame* ↗Kəflä Waḥəd and the Solomonid princess Krəstosawit. At a young age K.G. joined the army of *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II. When in the mid-1860s Tewodros lost control over Təgray, *balambaras* Kaśa Mərṣa (the future Yoḥannəs IV) took the lead and started to distribute local governorships to his followers and his early ally K.G. received in 1868 the *gʷəlti* of ↗Ǝntiṭṭo province. There K.G. continued the potato farming project started by his predecessor, the German settler Wilhelm ↗Schimper. He also kidnapped and married Schimper's daughter Ṣäḥaytu from ʿAdwa, widow of the missionary ↗Kienzlen, who was herself of noble descent through her mother (a relative of *däğğazmač* ↗Wəbe Ḫaylä Maryam).

In about 1869 ca. *däğğazmač* Kaśa Mərṣa, who by then was openly claiming the Ethiopian throne, additionally offered K.G. the governorship of Akkälä Guzay, which K.G. refused, saying that he himself was of a more direct Solomonic descent and therefore should succeed to the Ethiopian throne himself. Referring to the prophecy that "Kaśa will reign after Kaśa" (i.e. Tewodros), K.G. assembled numerous followers to fight for his claim. At times, K.G. controlled most of the ↗ʿAdwa region and ↗Ḫamasen, while Kaśa Mərṣa could rely on eastern ↗Təgray only. K.G. is still remembered in local oral tradition as a "strong and fearless hero". His main stronghold area was then the border region of Ḫalḥale Bogos (↗Ḫalḥal; ↗Bilin) north of Ḫamasen (s. BTafY 118f.). By a second marriage, to Ṭərru, daughter of *däğğazmač* ↗Ḫaylu Täwäldä Mädḫən (s. KolTrad II, 165), K.G. strengthened his links to Ḫamasen and assumed formal governorship over that province in early 1871.

However, on 9 December 1871 Kaśa Mərṣa's army attacked K.G. at ↗Däbrä Sina, near Kärän, with a great force, won the battle, and destroyed most of K.G.'s followers. Kaśa Mərṣa was crowned *nəguśä nägäśt* Yoḥannəs IV shortly thereafter in Aksum. K.G. had to retreat to the ↗Märäb valley area. After a second battle, probably a year later, Yoḥannəs caught and tortured Ṣäḥaytu (s. Rohlfs 1883:326f.), but K.G. escaped again and sought protection under ↗Munzinger *bey* in Egyptian territory. In 1875, K.G., allied himself to the rebellious Ḫamasen governor *raʾsi* ↗Wäldä Mikaʾel Sälomon and sided with the Egyptians in

the ↗Egyptian–Ethiopian war. At the battle of ↗Gura^{c} in March 1876 K.G. was finally caught and blinded by order of *aṣe* Yoḥannəs IV.

K.G. then retreated to Amba Gälila near ^{c}Adwa, an area which he had raided many times before, now receiving shelter from the local peasants. Later K.G. is said to have lived near ^{c}Addigrat (Rohlfs 1883:327) and to have received income from his rich possessions. He had many children by several wives.

Src.: interviews with *fitawrari* Iyasu Aṣbäha, 86 years old, Mäqälä, June 2004; *ato* Bärhe from Färäs May, Mäqälä, June 2005; peasants of Dibärä, Ǝntičč̣o, July 2005; "Abessinischer Räuberfürst heiratet Mannheimerin", "Aba Kaissi entführt Fräulein Schimper vom Kartoffelacker", *Bürstadter Zeitung* 16 January 1936; BRÜNING, "Nachrichten Dr. Schimper's über die gegenwärtigen Zustände Abyssiniens", *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin* 1872, 364–66; BTafY 118–21; KolTrad II, 157, 163, 165; GERHARD ROHLFS, *Meine Mission nach Abessinien*, Leipzig 1883, 323–27 [based on a report by Ǝngəda Ǝšät Schimper]; RubActa III, 23, 77.

Lit.: RubInd 293f., 302f.; ErlAlula; ZewYohan 35, 49.

Wolbert Smidt

Kaśa Ḫaylu

Lə^{c}ul ras K.Ḫ. "of Darge" (ካሣ፡ ኃይሉ፡ ዘዳርጌ, *K.Ḫ. zädarge*; b. 12 November 1880, Ḫəruy Giyorgis, district of Farṭa, Bägemdər, d. 19 November 1956, Mitäk Amanu^{ə}el) was an Ethiopian statesman, field marshal and writer. The most eminent of the Ethiopian Lords in the period of *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I, K.Ḫ. was the premier prince of the realm preceded in protocol only by the Emperor. Generally, it was considered that his title to the throne was at least as good as *aṣe* Ḫaylä Śəllase's, descending from the Solomonic lines of Gondär, Šäwa and Lasta Lalibäla (↗Solomonic dynasty).

His father was *däǧǧazmač* Ḫaylu Wäldä Kiros of Lasta, a brother of *aṣe* ↗Täklä Giyorgis (r. 1868–72), and his mother was *wäyzäro* Təssäme Darge, a granddaughter of *nəguś* ↗Śahlä Śəllase of Šäwa. His early childhood was spent in his father's fiefdom in Däbrä Tabor, until he was sent to Lasta at the age of eight to study Amharic and Gə^{c}əz under the auspices of *däǧǧazmač* Wäldä Kiros, his paternal grandfather. Thereafter he went to Šənkurt in the province of Sälale, where he was to receive the traditional military training for young aristocrats and learn courtly manners in the estate of his maternal grandfather, *ras* ↗Darge Śahlä Śəllase. He accompanied his grandfather on various military campaigns, including the battle of ↗Arsi in 1885 A.M. [1892/93 A.D.]. After a few years under his tutelage, *ras* Darge presented his grandson to *aṣe* Mənilək II, where he was to serve as a page and junior officer. K.Ḫ. accompanied the Emperor at the battles of: Z^{w}ay (1886 A.M. = 1893/94 A.D.); Wälamo (1887 A.M. = 1894/95 A.D.) and ^{c}Adwa (1896 A.D.). At the age of 24, Mənilək appointed him governor of the district of Loya in the province of Däbrä Bərhan. In 1895 A.M. [1902/03 A.D.] he married Lə^{c}əlt Ṣəge Bäšäh, a daughter of the *balabbat* of Wagda, *däǧǧazmač* Bäšäh Biṭa and his wife *wäyzäro* Śəläši Kätämma, daughter of the *balabbat* of Adisge. In 1900, he also became the *gäbäz* of ↗Däbrä Libanos, in succession of his grandfather, *ras* Darge. His son, *lə^{c}ul ras* ↗Aśrate, succeeded him in this post in 1957.

In 1897 A.M. [1904/05 A.D.] K.Ḫ. was transferred to the province of Sälale as *məsläne*, becoming its Governor in 1902 A.M. [1909/10 A.D.], receiving the title of *däǧǧazmač*. In this capacity, he led the Ethiopian delegation to the coronation of King George V of Great Britain in 1911. He visited Egypt, Palestine and various European countries during this trip. On his return, the province of Lasta was added to his administration. In 1906 A.M. [1913/14 A.D.] he was created a *ras* and the provinces of Ǝnsaro, Märhabete, Dära, Mida and Boorana were added to his governorship.

In 1916, when *ləǧ* Iyasu was deposed from the throne (↗Coup d'état, 1916), K.Ḫ. was one of the three candidates presented to the council of nobles with the best claim to the crown. However, they decided in favour of his cousin *ras* Täfäri, whose closest friend and most trusted advisor he was to remain until the end of his life, despite this competition. In the same year, K.Ḫ. partook in the battle of ↗Sägäle against *nəguś* Mika^{ə}el of Wällo as a divisional commander, capturing *ras* Yazäw, one of the commanders of the Wällo army. After the defeat of *nəguś* Mika^{ə}el and the subsequent capture of his son *ləǧ* Iyasu, the Minister of War and the most influential politician in Ethiopia at that time, *fitawrari* ↗Habtä Giyorgis Dinagde, entrusted the deposed ruler to K.Ḫ., where he was to be held prisoner in his fiefdom of ↗Fəčče. K.Ḫ. dealt with his royal prisoner, who was also his cousin, most respectfully, until he escaped in May 1932.

During the coming five years, the provinces of Wällo, Gəndäbärät, Bägemdər, half of Yäǧǧu, Sayənt and Wadla and Dälanta were added to

K.Ḫ.'s administration, making him the most powerful politician in the Empire. In 1929 he was given the title of *ləʿul ras* (cp. ↗*Ləʿul*) and was appointed Field Marshal (Amh. *marešal*) in 1934. When Fascist Italy invaded Ethiopia in 1935, K.Ḫ. became Supreme Commander of the Northern Front. He fought against Marshal Pietro ↗Badoglio at Tämben and ↗Amba Aradom, but was defeated by the advanced technology and the use of mustard gas sprayed on his troops by the Italian Air Force. After the defeat of the combined Ethiopian Armies at ↗May Čäw on 31 March 1936, K.Ḫ. was influential in persuading Ḫaylä Śəllase to leave the country and present Ethiopia's case at the League of Nations, sharing the five years of exile with him in England. During the liberation campaign in 1941, K.Ḫ. was responsible for routing the Italian units stationed from Fəčče to Addis Abäba, entering the capital with the Emperor on 5 May 1941. During the later part of May 1941, K.Ḫ. was engaged in pursuing Colonel Saverio Maraventano's division, who were still holding out in Dära and Boorana. Together with a British brigade under the command of Brigadier Orde ↗Wingate, a joint victory was gained after a three-day fight at Čiqäta and Wägdi and Maraventano surrendered. The Italian troops in captivity were paraded in front of the Emperor in Fəčče in June 1941.

Kaśa Ḫaylu; photo courtesy of the author

In 1944 he accompanied Ḫaylä Śəllase to Suez, when he held talks with President Franklin Delano Roosevelt, which led to the U.S. military and civilian engagements in Ethiopia during the coming years. After the establishment of Ethiopian independence, K.Ḫ. served as the President of the Imperial ↗Crown Council. His body laid in state at the ↗Qəddəst Śəllase Cathedral in Addis Abäba and his funeral was held with full military honours befitting a field marshal. His bodily remains were finally buried underneath the crypt of the Church of Our Saviour in Čagäl, which was built by him, and three days of national mourning were declared. K. was ordained a priest in his youth and was considered an important ally of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church. He wrote over a dozen books on various spiritual subjects, two of which were published after his death.

Src.: GueCopMen, s. index; KAŚA ḪAYLU, ፍኖተ፡ አእምሮ (*Fənotä aʾəmro*, 'The Path of Intellect'), Addis Abäba 1953 A.M. [1960/61 A.D.]; ID., ጣፋጭ፡ ጥበብ (*Ṭafač ṭəbäb*, 'Sweet Wisdom'), Asmära 1965; [*fitawrari* NÄBIYÄ LəʿUL (compiler)], ልውል፡ ራስ፡ ካሣ፡ ኃይሉ፤ ስለ፡ አርባው፡ መታሰቢያ፡ በተለይ፡ የተሰናዳ፡ አጭር፡ የሕይወት፡ ታሪክ (*Ləʿul ras Kaśa Ḫaylu, səlä arbaw mättasäbiya bätäläy yätäsänadda aṭṭər yäḥəywät tarik, 'Ləʿul ras* Kaśa Ḫaylu, a Short Biography Specially Prepared for the 40-day Commemoration'), Addis Abäba 1953 A.M. [1960/61 A.D.].

Lit.: PIETRO BADOGLIO, *The War in Abyssinia*, New York 1937; BƎRHANU DÄNGE, ከወልዋል፡ እስከ፡ ማይጨው (*Käwälwäl əskä Mayčäw*, 'From Wälwäl to May Čäw'), Addis Abäba 1942; ClapHS; THOMAS M. COFFEY, *Lion by the Tail: the Story of the Italian–Ethiopian War*, London 1974; ANGELO DEL BOCA, *Il Negus – Vita e Morte dell'Ultimo Rei dei Re*, Bari 1995; ID., *The Ethiopian War 1935–1941*, Chicago, IL 1965; MockWar; ALBERTO SBACCHI, *Ethiopia under Mussolini, Fascism and the Colonial Experience*, London 1985; DAVID SHIRREFF, *Bare Feet and Bandoliers, Wingate, Sandford, the Patriots, and the Part They Played in the Liberation of Ethiopia*, London – New York 1995.

Asfa-Wossen Asserate

Kaśa Ḫaylu ↗Tewodros II

Kaśa Ḫaylu ↗Yoḥannəs IV

Kaśa Wäldä Maryam

Däğğazmač K. (ካሣ፡ ወልደ፡ ማርያም, b. 1931 [16 Mäggabit 1924 A.M.], Belta, Gamo Gofa, d. 1978, Addis Abäba) was one of the most prominent foreign-educated Ethiopian civil servants of the post-Liberation period. He was the son of *däğğazmač* Wäldä Maryam Oodaa, an Oromo of south-western ↗Wälläga, who had fought against the Italians at ↗May Čäw, and later as an *arbäñña* (↗Patriots) before going into exile in ↗Kenya in 1937. One of his grandfathers was ↗Ğootee Tulluu.

K. attended the Lycée Guebre-Mariam and the General Wingate Secondary School, both in Addis Abäba, before taking a Bachelor's degree in International Law from Canada and a Master's degree in Public Administration at the Univer-

sity of Washington in Seattle. On returning to Ethiopia in 1958 he spent three years as assistant, and later head, of *aṣe* Ḫaylä Śəllase's Special Secretariat, and married the Emperor's granddaughter Princess Säblä Wängel Dästa.

In 1961 K. became the first Ethiopian President of Ḫaylä Śəllase I University (↗Addis Ababa University). He played a major role in establishing that body, and in seeking its external funding, as well as in founding its constituent departments. These included the ↗Institute of Ethiopian Studies, as well as the Faculties of Medicine, Law, and Business Administration, the Building College, the Kennedy Library, the Creative Art Centre, the Bäʾədä Maryam Laboratory School and the College of Medicine in Gondär. He also did much to establish the Ethiopian University Service, in which students devoted a year of service before taking their degrees, and was active in establishing the Association of African Universities. Despite K.'s devotion to University matters, student activists sometimes attacked him on account of his close relationship to the Imperial Family.

In 1968, K. was appointed Governor of his home province of Wällaga, with the rank of *däğğazmač*, and was much involved in road-building, public works, and allocating land to the landless. In 1973, he was appointed Minister of Agriculture, and travelled abroad seeking aid for the Wällo famine.

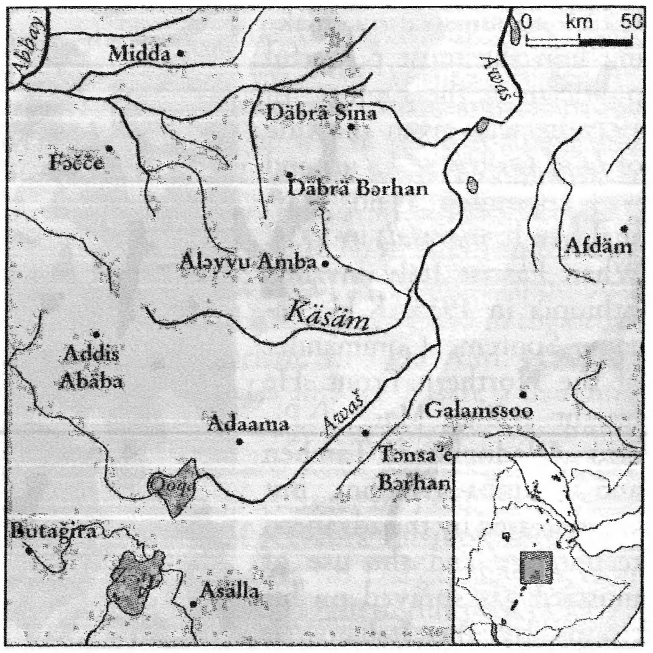
K. was abroad during the early days of the 1974 ↗Revolution. Rejecting advice from his friends, he returned to Ethiopia, and was promptly arrested. During his ensuing imprisonment he taught English to fellow prisoners, helped in clothes-washing for the disabled, and produced a Biblical Concordance in Amharic, Oromiffa, and English. Called out of prison in July 1978, he was executed without trial (Taffara Degueffe 2003:400).

Lit.: ClapHS 62, 129; Taffara Degueffe, *A Tripping Stone: Ethiopian Prison Diary*, Addis Ababa 2003, s. index; Teshome Wagaw, *The Development of Higher Education and Social Change: an Ethiopian Experience*, East Lansing, MI 1990, s. index.

Richard Pankhurst

Käsäm

The K. (ከሰም) river, which is set in a deep gorge and was impossible to cross during the rainy season, is a major tributary of the northern ↗Awaš river. The K. begins with the name Gärmäma river and has its source 30 km north-east of Addis Abäba. The K. then runs in a north-westerly direction to the south and west of historic ↗Šäwa, which it separated from ↗Fäṭägär and other the Muslim-inhabited territories to the south and east (TadTChurch 65, 133).



Situated 60 km south-west of the old Šäwan capital of Ankobär (and 80 km to 150 km west of Addis Abäba) the K. was an important landmark in Ethiopian historical geography. The river was doubtless familiar to *aṣe* ↗ʿAmdä Ṣəyon, who was born nearby, as well as to all the kings of Šäwa, who, however, never established themselves beyond it; and was also known to Saint ↗Täklä Haymanot, who preached in its vicinity (HuntGeogr 103, 108), and to *aṣe* ↗Susənyos, who established a camp nearby (PerChron vol. 2, 17). Near the river stands a mountain of the same name, which was occupied by the armies of *imām* ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī (BassHist 97 [tr.]).

Src.: PerChron vol. 2, 17 (tr.); BassHist 96f., 354f. (tr.).
Lit.: HuntGeogr 103, 108, s. index; TadTChurch 65, 133.

Richard Pankhurst

Käśate Bərhan ↗Sälama I, *abunä*

Käśate Bərhan Täsämma ↗Täsämma Habtä Mikaʾel

Käskäse

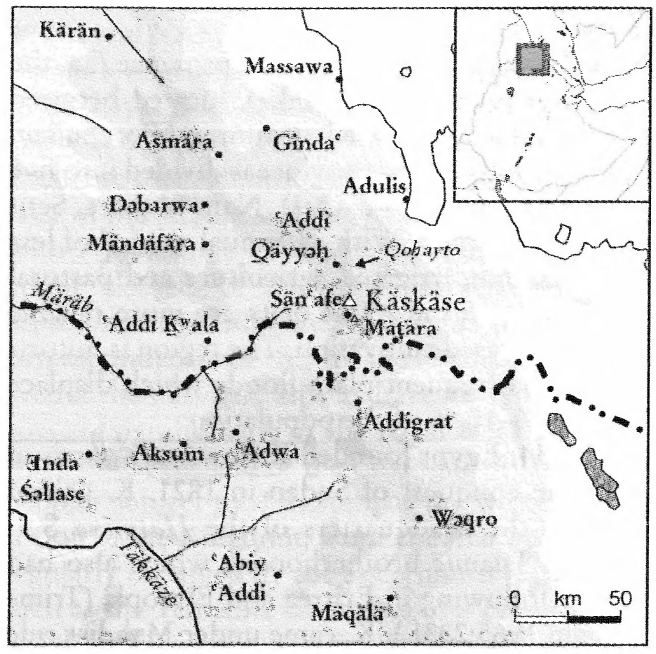
K. (ከስከሴ) is a locality in Akkälä Guzay, ca. 5 km north of ↗Sänʿafe (Eritrea; 39° 25' 50" E, 14° 44' 90" N). It is one of the most important sites of the so-called ↗pre-Aksumite period in the northern Horn of Africa. No systematic archaeological investigation has been so far conducted at this site. The site was described by ↗Conti Rossini

at the end of the 19th cent. and then by ↗Dainelli and ↗Marinelli in 1905. In 1906 the ↗Deutsche-Aksum Expedition led by ↗Littmann surveyed the site and provided a more careful description of its ancient ruins. K. was again visited in the 1960s by Francis Anfray, who collected some potsherds, and in the early 1970s by the Italian amateurs Bernardino Trucca and Giuseppe Tringali, who recorded an ancient graveyard and excavated a tomb at a few hundred meters to the west of the main site. Recently, in 1995, K. was visited by Andrea Manzo, who outlined its general topography and state of preservation, and in 2005 by Jean-François Breton and Rodolfo Fattovich.

K. is located in a plain at the base of Amba Täriqa, close to a valley descending to the Gulf of Zula in the region of ↗Adulis, and consists of a large mound with evidence of collapsed walls, four broken pillars on the ground in front of the mound, and some fragments of another two pillars on the top of an outcrop at about 200 m to the north of the mound (cp. Fiaccadori 2004:129). A concentration of pottery with some fragments of architectural decoration in South Arabian style is visible on the surface to the north of the main group of pillars. The aforesaid graveyard, along the road to Sänᶜafe, was partly destroyed by the construction of this road. No pottery is visible on the surface in the area, but some ancient graves are apparently marked with concentrations of pebbles and white quartz flakes.

The pillars are monoliths, ca. 7–9 m high, with a quadrangular cross-section, but in two cases with a rounded smooth side and a hole at the top (and/or bottom). These monoliths, though reminiscent of the typical pillars used in South Arabian monumental buildings, are different in style and were probably erected on the ground which suggests that they originally formed an

The Käskäse site in 1906; from DAE I, 24



alignment of ↗stelae. Only one pillar from the main group has been preserved in full length. The ceramics from the surface include possibly pre-Aksumite orange ware.

On the two northern monoliths two short texts are engraved in ↗Epigraphic South Arabian (Sabaean) script with the names of two kings of ↗DᶜMT, WᶜRN ḤYWT and RDᵓM respectively (RIÉ nos. 11 and 12), which also occur in inscriptions from other pre-Aksumite sites of Təgray.

The excavated tomb to the west of the site was quite a rich pit-grave, and contained undecorated and decorated vessels in orange ware, light or dark red ware, black-topped ware, and black ware, including a frankincense burner, as well as copper/bronze artifacts and personal ornaments such as stone, bronze and glass beads.

Src.: DAE 24 (ill.), 35; RIÉ 81f., nos. 11–129, cp. 44. 61.
Lit.: FRANCIS ANFRAY, *Les anciens éthiopiens*, Paris 1990; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Ricerche e studi sull'Etiopia", *Bollettino della Regia Società Geografica Italiana* 4ª ser., 1 [28], 1900, 104–20, here 109f.; DAE I, 24 (ill.); DAE II, 143f.; GIOTTO DAINELLI – OLINTO MARINELLI, *Risultati di un viaggio scientifico nella Colonia Eritrea*, Firenze 1912, 508f.; DANIEL HABTEMICHAEL, "'The Sabean Man's Burden': Questioning the Dominant Historical Paradigm with New Archaeological Findings at Keskese Valley", *Journal of Eritrean Studies* 3, 2, 2004, 25–52; GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, "Sembrouthes 'gran re' (*DAE* IV 3 = *RIÉth* 275): per la storia del primo ellenismo aksumita", *La Parola del Passato* 59, 2004 [2005], 103–57, here 129; MANFRED KROPP, "Stelenstumpf mit sabäischer Aufschrift aus Kaskase", in: *WenDAE* I, 333–42; ANDREA MANZO, "Breve notizia su un viaggio di studio in Eritrea", *RSE* 37, 1993 [1995], 115–33; GIUSEPPE TRINGALI, "Necropoli di Cascasè ed oggetti sudarabici (?) della regione di Asmara (Eritrea)", *RSE* 26, 1973–77 [1978–79], 47–66.

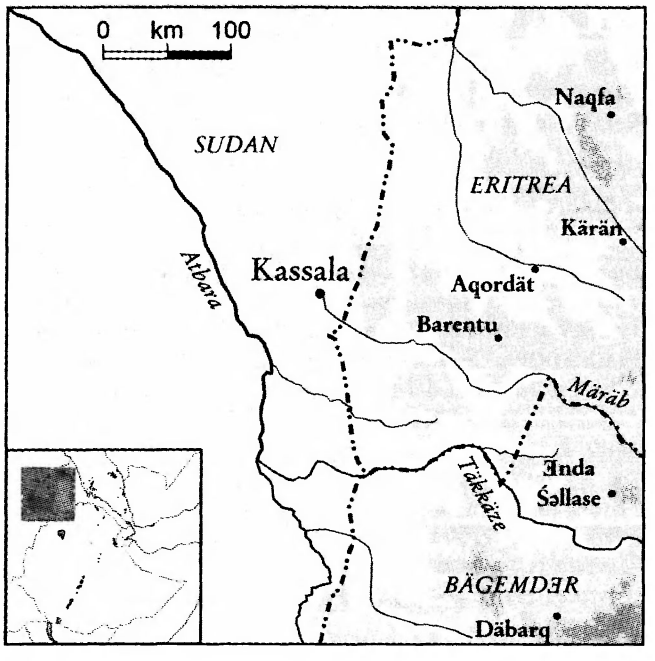
Rodolfo Fattovich

Kassala

K. is the name of a town and a province (i.e. the historical province of ↗Taka), located between the Sudanese capital ↗Khartoum and Port Sudan. Administratively, K. province is divided into five regions: K., al-Gaš (al-Qaš), Nahr ᶜAṭbara, Setit and Hamškūrayb. With an annual rainfall of less than 300 mm, irrigated agriculture and pastoral production in the ↗Gaš delta are more reliable than rain-based cultivation. The region is notorious for its frequent plain floods which displace between 6–10 % of the population.

In 1834, Egypt founded K. town as a garrison after the conquest of Sudan in 1821. K. gained fame as the headquarters of the *Ḫatmīya* Sufi order (↗Islamic brotherhoods), which also had a large following in Eritrea and Ethiopia (Trimingham 1965:233f.). K. came under Mahdist rule from 1885 to 1894 (Hollis 1941). During the period of Turkish-Egyptian rule (1840–97) horticultural production was introduced in the fertile lands near the ↗Gaš and ↗Barka rivers, and the British introduced cotton (The Kassala Cotton Company, part of Sudan Plantations Syndicate, Daly 1991:98).

When the Mahdīya state was established, the Egyptian garrison of K. was encircled by the ↗Mahdist forces (Daly — Holt 1979:30). Following the 1884-↗Hewett treaty, the Ethiopians, led by *ras* ↗Alula Ǝngəda, tried to rescue the Egyptians. Though Alula managed to defeat the Mahdists in the battle of ↗Kufit, he was unable to penetrate K. and free the Egyptians, who in 1886 finally surrendered to the Mahdists under ᶜUṯmān Diqna (Erlich 1996:100f.).



On 17 July 1894 the Italians annexed K. to Eritrea. They fortified K. and pacified the ↗Beğa, the dominant population of the territory. However, the defeat of Italy in the battle of ↗ᶜAdwa (1896) also changed its fortunes. Italy was soon to evacuate K. after failing to hold it until the advancing Anglo-Egyptian troops were able to re-occupy and annex it to the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan (Hollis 1941:39).

In the early 1900s a railway was constructed linking K. first with the Red Sea port of Port Sudan – constructed in 1906 to replace ↗Sawākin – and then with ↗Sinnār (1929) on the southern frontiers of the Gezira Cotton Scheme (Daly 1991; Daly – Holt 1979:140).

When the Anglo-Egyptian forces re-occupied the Sudan, they developed K. into a vibrant trading centre serving the Ethiopian hinterlands. Italy re-occupied K. for a short period during World War II. This time the British, fighting under the banner of the Allied Forces, expelled them. In the struggle over Ethiopia's trusteeship over Eritrea and the formation of the Eritrean liberation fronts that launched a war of independence against Ethiopia, K. became the headquarters for numerous independence organizations (Pool 2001:36ff.).

The presence of a centre of the *Ḫatmīya* in K. today is due to the activity of *šayḫ* Ḥasan al-Mīrġanī, the son of *sayyid* Muḥammad ᶜUṯmān al-Mīrġanī, the founder of the *Ḫatmīya* order and of the Democratic Unionist Party (DUP). In 2003, the population of K. town was estimated at 530,950 inhabitants. It is ethnically diverse and includes various peoples: ↗Beğa, ↗Beni ᶜAmər, Amarar, Bišārīn, ↗Rašāʾida and Halanga, and large immigrant communities from northern and western Sudan such as the ↗Fellata and Nuba. Between 1988 and 1993, there were over 700,000 registered Ethiopian and Eritrean refugees living in K., Qadarif, or in large refugee camps (El-Bagir 1984; Kuhlman 1994) located throughout K. province (now K. State). It is estimated that the 1998–2000 Ethiopian–Eritrean war displaced 110,000 Eritreans, mainly from the border towns of ↗Barentu, ↗Täsänäy and Šəllalo, which were overrun by the Ethiopian army. A large number of them settled in refugee camps around K. (Jaquin-Berdal – Plaut 2004).

Today, K. is a vibrant modern town, with a small industrial complex and airport, and is linked to Port-Sudan via the Khartoum highway (for more recent developments s. Post 1989). Its connections with Eritrea and Ethiopia as a major

commercial and trading hub have also survived the conflict between the three countries.

Lit.: MARTIN W. DALY, *Imperial Sudan: the Anglo–Egyptian Condominium, 1934–1956*, Cambridge 1991; MARTIN W. DALY – PETER MALCOLM HOLT, *History of the Sudan: from the Coming of Islam to the Present Day*, London 1979, 66; PETER MALCOLM HOLT, "Kasala", in: *EI²* vol. 4, 686f.; ErlAlula²; CHRISTOPHER M. HOLLIS, *Italy in Africa*, London 1941; IBRAHIM El-BAGIR, *Labour Markets in the Sudan: a Study Carried out within the Framework of the ILO/UNHCR Project in Income-generating Activities for Refugees in Eastern and Central Sudan*, Geneva 1984; INSTITUTE OF PLANNING AND DEMOGRAPHY, UNIVERSITY OF AMSTERDAM – KASSALA STATE GOVERNMENT, *Economic Survey*, Kassala 2003; TOM KUHLMAN, *Asylum or Aid? The Economic Integration of Ethiopian and Eritrean Refugees in the Sudan*, Aldershot 1994 (African Studies Centre Research Series 2); R.G. LAING, *Mechanisation in Agriculture in the Rainlands of the Anglo–Egyptian Sudan*, Khartoum 1952 (Sudan Survey Department, Document N. 750); HAROLD GOLDEN MARCUS, *The Life and Times of Menelik II: 1834–1913*, Oxford 1975; PankHist II; DAVID POOL, *From Guerrillas to Government: the Eritrean People's Liberation Front*, Oxford 2001 (Eastern African Studies); JOHAN POST, *Economic Activity in Kassala Town*, Amsterdam 1989; JOHN SPENCER TRIMINGHAM, *Islam in the Sudan*, London 1965.

M. A. Mohamed Salih

Kasu

The inscription DAE 11 = RIÉ 189 by the 4th-cent. Aksumite king ↗ʿEzana reports a military campaign against the ↗Noba (to be identified with the ancestors of the modern Nuba of Sudan) and the K. (ከሱ) living "at the confluence of the rivers Täkkäze and Seda" (lines 28f.), i.e. the ↗Atbära and the ↗Nile. There, "up along the Seda", the K. had "cities with walls of stone and straw, the names of which are Alwa and Däro" (lines 31f.). The former name recalls ʿAlwa or ʿAlwā of the Arabic sources, a designation of both the town also known as Soba (↗Soba Noba in Gəʿəz sources), at the confluence of the ↗Abbay and the Nile, and of the entire Christian Kingdom (Alodia) of which it was the capital. Apparently the Noba and the K. had been in conflict prior to ʿEzana's campaign: "the cities of the K. with walls of stone, which the Noba had taken, were first Täbito and then Fərtoti" (lines 36f.).

K. appears regularly in ʿEzana's royal title (*DAE* 9 = *RIÉ* 187.3, *DAE* 10 = *RIÉ* 188.4, *DAE* 11 = *RIÉ* 189.4), spelled in consonantal script as ከሰ (*DAE* 6 = *RIÉ* 185[I].2, *DAE* 7 = *RIÉ* 185[II].1, *RIÉ* 185*bis*[II].2), KSW (*RIÉ* 185*bis*[I].3) or ከሠ (*DAE* 8 = *RIÉ* 186.4). The Greek inscriptions show the adaptation ΚΑΣΟΥ (*DAE* 4 = *RIÉ* 270.5, *RIÉ* 270*bis* = *FHN* 298.4) and ΧΑΣΩ (*RIÉ* 271 = *FHN* 299.8). After ʿEzana's reign, K. (ከሰ) is mentioned constantly in the royal titles of kings ↗Kaleb (*RIÉ* 191.10) and ↗WʿZB (*RIÉ* 192.6).

On the basis of the location of K. at the confluence of the Atbara and the Nile, its identification with ↗Meroë, or at least with some important ethnic element of this state, is commonly accepted amongst scholars, as well as the implicit correspondence of K. to the Biblical ↗Kush, even if the phonetic aspects have never been discussed. Significantly, in the royal titles K. is always put at the end of the catalogue of lands and peoples subject to ↗Aksum, as the westernmost region of the Kingdom, while the first position is regularly occupied by the easternmost territories, such as the Yemenite territories of ↗Ḥimyar and Raydān. According to this reconstruction, coincidencing with the 4th-cent. Aksumite expansion, K. entered Gəʿəz vocabulary as a designation for Meroë, while the Greek name ↗Aithiopía – used by classical authors for the whole of ↗Nubia (the Biblical Kush) – was considered as a synonym of ↗Ḥabašāt, refering to the highlands dominated by Aksum (as is clearly shown by the inscriptions *DAE* 4 = *RIÉ* 270.2–3, *DAE* 6 = *RIÉ* 185[I].1 and *DAE* 7 = *RIÉ* 185[II].1). The writing ΧΑΣΩ, occurring once (*RIÉ* 271 = *FHN* 299.8), can be explained as a confusion with the name of different people, such as the Ḫasa of Eritrea mentioned in *DAE* 11 = *RIÉ* 189.9 (cp. ↗Hazo).

Src.: DAE I nos. 4, 6–11; RIÉ nos. 185–89, 191f., 270f.; FHN III, 1094–100 [no. 298], here 1095, and 1100–03 [no. 299], here 1101; ROGER SCHNEIDER, "Trois nouvelles inscriptions royales d'Axoum", in: *PICES* 4, vol. 1, 767–86; SIEGBERT UHLIG, "Eine trilinguale ʿEzana-Inschrift", *Aethiopica* 4, 2001, 7–31.

Lit.: CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Documenti per l'archeologia eritrea nella bassa valle del Barca", *RRALm* ser. 5ª, 12, 1903, 139–50; AUGUST DILLMANN, "Über die Anfänge des axumitischen Reiches", *Abhandlungen der Königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin* 1878, 177–238, here 208f.; GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, "Sembrouthes 'gran re' (*DAE* IV 3 = *RIÉth* 275). Per la storia del primo ellenismo aksumita", *La Parola del Passato* 59, 2004 [2005], 103–57, here 117 and 125f.; ENNO LITTMANN, "Äthiopische Inschriften", in: *Miscellanea Academica Berolinensia*, vol. 2/2, Berlin 1950, 97–127; GIANFRANCESCO LUSINI, "Note linguistiche per la storia dell'Etiopia antica", in: *StudAeth* 67–77, here 73ff.

Gianfrancesco Lusini

Kätäma

Kätäma as royal military camp

K. (ከተማ), originally meaning 'extremity, top, summit', became the common designation for

the Ethiopian royal itinerant military camp. Gəᶜəz ሀገር (*hagär*) or መዲና (*mädina*, a loanword from Arabic *madīna*, 'town, city') were both used to refer to a town, but their usage was arguably limited by the low degree of ↗urbanization and, with a few exceptions, the virtual absence of proper urban centres in Ethiopia until the ↗Gondärine kingdom.

The term K. with the meaning 'summit' appears already in the Gəᶜəz ↗Bible (e.g., Gen 17:11, 47:31). As a term designating the itinerant military (royal) camp, it was in use at least from the 16th cent. However, in historical texts, the camp is frequently called ትዕይንት (*təᶜəyyənt*, s., e.g., MarAmdS). Among the other terms applied to it are: ቤተ፡ መክረም ([*betä*] *mäkräm*, lit. 'home of the rainy season'), or ቤተ፡ ንጉሥ (*betä nəguś*), or ሰፈር/ስፍራ (*säfär/səfra*), the precise meaning of these terms (e.g., the exact difference between K. and *təᶜəyyənt*) not always being clear.

The historical phenomenon of royal military camps functioning as wandering courts and capitals has parallels in other cultural traditions (Horvath 1969:205f.); yet in Ethiopia, owing to the specific conditions of the region, K. remained an important element of political and social organization of the state for many centuries and became a distinctive cultural feature.

It is assumed that the K. acquired importance following the transformation of Ethiopian polity after the decline of the Aksumite empire (↗Aksum), when the political centre of the state moved southward, losing its urban character and acquiring new organizational features. The model of the mobile royal military camp, or K., was probably fully developed by the 15th cent. (cp. Horvath 1969:207). With the expansion of the Solomonic state, and in the absence of a properly developed administrative apparatus, the monarch's personal presence was crucial for controlling and defending such a vast territory. To this end, the court had to be mobile and the monarch had to have at his disposal substantial contingents of reliable military force (cp. ↗Army).

The military role of the K. was important, but not the only one, since it was also the political centre of the state and as such the ultimate destination of foreign envoys and ambassadors. The K. was the site of the royal court of justice (cp. ↗*Čəlot*). There, regular tribute, gifts, booty, etc. were collected and redistributed among the emperor's vassals. At the K., representatives of peripheral regions and different ethnic groups met and were assimilated into "Ethiopian culture". The main language of communication in the K. was ↗Amharic, elevated to the position of a de facto *lingua franca* of the state. The court housed several churches, the royal church being served by a group of influential elite ecclesiastics called ካህናተ፡ ድብተራ (*kahnatä däbtära*, lit. 'the priests of the [the royal] tent'). The K. was frequently visited by monastic leaders from different regions. Learned and literate clergymen recruited from the Empire's churches and monasteries were attached to the K. and employed in different tasks. It could also occasionally be the dwelling place of the metropolitan (↗*Paṗpas*). Finally, the life of the K. revolved around an elaborate system of court rituals, focussed on the sacred personality of the monarch.

The population of the K. was not stable. In the absence of any emergency situation, it would dwindle during the rainy season. The soldiers of royal regiments and vassals with their retainers were allowed to return to their home regions, and the emperor would spend the rainy season with his family members served by the "minor court", with minimal wandering. During the dry season, the population would drastically increase: the subjects of the monarch gathered in preparation for the regular trips across the country for collecting tribute or mounting military campaigns (the former being sometimes very similar to the latter). When the population increased, the K. could not stay in one place for long, because of the quick depletion of resources (food, grass, water, wood etc.) and the danger of ↗epidemics. The choice of a new location required careful consideration and counsel, and the presence of the K. was a heavy burden for local population, more often imposed by force.

In the course of Ethiopian history, there were periods of general stability and stronger royal power, which allowed the emperor to travel less and to stay a number of years in one and the same region, preferably near a sanctuary, which would be constructed on such occasion (cp. the famous ↗Däbrä Bərhan period of *aṣe* ↗Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob). Remaining in one place for a longer period, the K. could also form a "quasi-urban" settlement (cp. a *mädina* – in fact, a K. – with a "tower" that *aṣe* Gälawdewos built in ↗Wäğ, during a peaceful period of his reign, s. ConzGal 46f.; s. also TadTChurch 274 n. 3). In the 16th–17th cent., stone mansions for the emperor were sometimes built at such places (cp. ↗Gubaᵓe; ↗Dänqäz).

Still, the K. usually lacked a properly urban character, having no permanent population, and being neither a centre of handicrafts, nor necessarily of trade. After the monarch and his court had moved, virtually no traces of a K. were left behind. Despite its dimensions, the K. was flexible. If the situation required, the emperor could detach parts of his army or entourage for special tasks; he frequently left the K. and quickly marched forward with his core troops, to return to the K. later – at the same or another place. However, accompanied as they were by huge entourages, the large 16th–17th cent. royal K. were vulnerable, especially in territories beyond the emperors' control, and easy prey for more mobile enemies (cp. ↗Oromo).

European travellers to Ethiopia were impressed by royal K. which could have a diameter of several kilometres and thousands of tents. The K.'s basic structure was strictly prescribed: in passages of the ↗*Śərᶜatä mängəśt* that might go back to 14th cent. and refer to a more ancient practice, the structure of the K., the ritual procedures for assembling and dismantling the camp, and different features of the K. within "national" and "foreign" (i.e. enemy's) grounds are described (Varenbergh 1915–16, §§ 21–24).

The camp construction began with the planting of the royal standard, marking the centre of the emperor's compound, usually on the highest point of the vicinity. Subsequently, the surveyors determined the sites of the tents around it.

The traditional organization of the royal K. followed a characteristic pattern: it was circular and concentric, around two perpendicular axes often oriented to the cardinal points, the main axis being east-west. In the centre, or the inner circle, screened by curtains (*mägaräğa*) or a fence (ጌገል, *ğägʷäl*), were the emperor's quarters. The inner circle also housed the royal chapel(s) and clergy, the royal kitchen and some other services for the emperor alone. The inner circle had 13 gates (one being the main gate), each meant for different groups of dignitaries and called by a special name. The gates were watched by numerous royal guards; the inner circle could be entered by special pages and a very limited number of dignitaries, courtiers and members of the royal family (some of them, upon special permission, could also camp within the inner circle).

Another row of curtains delimited the second, or outer circle. This space accommodated the compounds of the royal spouses (*gra bäᶜaltiḥat*, *qäññ bäᶜaltiḥat*, and *bäᶜaltä šəhna*; s. ↗*Bäᶜaltiḥat*), the queen mother and princes and princesses. Tents of high-ranking courtiers and officials (such as ↗*bitwäddäd*) and ecclesiastics (such as the ↗*ᶜaqqabe säᶜat* or the metropolitan) were located there as well. The two queens – *gra bäᶜaltiḥat* and *qäññ bäᶜaltiḥat* – defined the division of the royal camp into left and right, respectively. All the court and state dignitaries were divided into dignitaries of the left and right; the centre was symbolically indivisible and occupied by the emperor. The outer circle had the same number of gates as the inner one, and was also strictly guarded. Owing to the structure of the core of the K., the emperor's exact whereabouts were known to a very limited number of people, which made any attempt on his life very difficult, with conventional weapons or ↗magic. In view of the frequent periods of political instability and mutiny, the constant concern of the emperors in the K. was security, mostly depending upon the loyalty of pages, guards and courtiers.

The space outside the circles was occupied by the tents of vassals and their retainers and families. There were also such institutions as prisons, market places and churches. A long tent, called *säqäla*, stood in the middle of a vast open space nearby, functioning as a place for administering justice. The emperors kept with them ↗lions, the symbols of the ↗Solomonic dynasty.

Apart from the royal centre, there were secondary camps organized around the compounds of the respective chiefs (according to the disposition of the troops on march or in battle; s. ↗Warfare): the vanguard led by a ↗*fitawrari*, the central part led by a *däğğazmač*, left and right wings led by *grazmač* and *qäññazmač* respectively (↗*Azmač*), and the rearguard led by a ↗*däğän*. Royal officials moved within the K., transferring orders.

The population of a royal K. could reach some 40,000 (BeckHuntAlvar vol. 1, 268) and probably more, only a portion of these people being soldiers (cp., e.g., ↗*Däbän Ansa*); the number of horses, mules, donkeys was also immense. Strict social hierarchy and order were kept and perpetually updated through a number of court rituals and social events (↗*Gəbər* being one of the most peculiar among them; cp. Kropp 1988).

The arrangement of the royal K. was imitated by the smaller courts of regional governors and rulers. The model of the royal K. shows a clear similarity to certain types of (round)

church structures with the ↗*tabot* hidden in the ↗*mäqdäs*, reflecting the Ethiopian conception of the cosmos and society (Lagopoulos – Stylianoudi 2001). Being an integral part of the political system and warfare, the culture of the K. did not disappear with the foundation of ↗Gondär, but influenced, promoted and, to a large extent, defined further urban development in Ethiopia (cp. ↗Addis Abäba; ↗*Gəbbi*).

↗Forts; ↗Monarchy

Src.: BeckHuntAlvar vol. 1, 267–72; ConzGal 46f. (text) = 149 (tr.); ALEKSANDR BULATOVIČ, *S vojskami Menelika II* ('With the Troops of Mənilək II'), ed. by ISAAK KATSNELSON, Moscow 1971, schemes pp. 257, 259, 261, 263; HENRI DEHÉRAIN, "Les Katamas dans les provinces méridionales de l'Abissinie pendant la règne de l'empereur Ménélik", *Bulletin de la section de géographie du comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques* 29, 1914, 225–51; DillmLex 851f.; DTWDic 691; GueCopMen, s. index; KWKDic 553; LesCDic 80, 216, 298, 330; MarrAmdS 64f., 68f., 80f., 84f., 92f., 94f., passim; FRANCESCO MARIA ESTEVES PEREIRA, ዜና፡ ግናስ፡ *Historia de Minás, Además Sagad, rei de Ethiopia*, Lisboa 1888 (Extrahido do Boletim de Sociedade de Geographia de Lisboa 12, 7), 19, 38, 59; PerChron 72, 74, 90, 109, 133 (text) = 56, 58, 90, 85, 103 (tr.), passim; JOSEPH VARENBERGH, "Studien zur abessinischen Reichsordnung (*Šerʿata Mangešt*)", *ZA* 30, 1915–16, 1–45, here 23f. (text) = 39ff. (tr.) [§§ 21–24].

Lit.: MARCEL GRIAULE, "Un camp militaire abyssin", *Journal de la Société des Africanistes* 4, 1, 1934, 117–22; BERTRAND HIRSCH – BERTRAND POISSONNIER, "Recherches historique et archéologiques à Meshalä Maryam (Mänz, Éthiopie)", *AE* 16, 2000, 59–87, here 63–67, 85ff. (Lit.); RONALD HORVATH, "The Wandering Capital of Ethiopia", *JAH* 10, 2, 1969, 205–19 (Lit.); MANFRED KROPP, "The Śerʿātā Gebr, a Mirror View of Daily Life at the Ethiopian Royal Court in the Middle Ages", *NEASt* 10, 1988, 51–87 [= *PICES* 8, vol. 1, 219–32]; ALEXANDROS PH. LAGOPOULOS – M.-G. LILY STYLIANOUDI, "The Symbolism of Space in Ethiopia", *Aethiopica* 4, 2001, 55–95; PankHist I; PankHist II, 191–201 (Lit.); RICHARD PANKHURST, "Ethiopian Medieval and Post-Medieval Capitals: their Development and Principal Features", *Azania* 14, 1979, 1–19, here 3f. (Lit.); TadTChurch 103–06, 268–75.

Lily Stylianoudi – Denis Nosnitsin

The *kätäma* in southern Ethiopia

Originally the term for a royal and/or military camp, K. in today's Ethiopia refers to any kind of dense human settlement that functions as a centre of a given area. The degree to which such a locality has urban features and fulfils urban functions may vary considerably. A cluster of houses with a weekly market or some small shops may be called K. as well as are the three biggest cities in Ethiopia, ↗Addis Abäba, ↗Dərre Dawa and ↗Adaama. Today, "K." also serves as a unit within the system of administrative division.

In the South, a network of permanent military camps or fortified villages, K., became the backbone of *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II's conquest and then the basic means of consolidation of imperial rule. They were "the inevitable results of the new, centralized and at the same time regionally anchored rule of the politico-military organization" (Alula Abate in PICES 4, vol. 1, 728). K. were established preferably in fertile areas and sometimes near already existing villages or market centres. Due to strategic but also health considerations, the location of the first generation of K. was predominantly on hilltops (↗*Amba*). Trenches and palisades combined with natural features of the landscape served as fortifications. The name of a K. was often adopted from the name of the district or ethnic group it was meant to control.

The core of the K. infrastructure was established to serve Mənilək's soldiers and their families and servants as well as different kinds of settlers. The basic function was to control the surrounding population and to guard the main trade routes and military roads. As the frontier of conquest moved forward, some K. lost parts of their population in favour of newly established camps. Others maintained or even increased their importance and became centres of administration and jurisdiction. For the permanent settlers, churches were established. Providing security and economic opportunities, such K. became important trading posts and market places.

The role of the K. in the cultural transformation of the conquered people as well as the multiethnic K. population into "Ethiopians" cannot be overestimated. As an outpost of the northern Christian culture and ↗Amharic language, the K. was a kind of cultural and linguistic bridgehead which served, by force and by attraction, as a model for the surrounding cultural environment. Between these centres ↗*näfṭäññä* settlements (sometimes called አማራ፡ ሰፈር, *amara säfär*) spread, which not only played a crucial role in the security and the economic supply of the K. population but also in the diffusion of K. culture into the countryside.

The development of many, but by no means all, south Ethiopian towns started with a military camp that was turned into the permanent seat of a governor (*gäzi*) or district administrator. Around his residence (*gəbbi*), with bigger buildings for the law court and administration, a fortified settlement emerged. The K. had a permanent housing for the *tabot* (church) and

a regular market. However, the status as administrative centre was not very stable. Whenever a newly appointed administrator chose another location for his residence, a great part of the old K.'s population followed him. In some cases the old site was completely abandoned.

Among the important early K. in southern Ethiopia, founded in the course of the conquest, were: ↗Galamso, ↗Ǧiǧiga, ↗Läǧo, ↗Gobba and ↗Ginnir (established in the 1880s); Bakko and Kokke (established in the 1890s; s. also ↗Hamär Bakko); Damota, ↗Ċenča, ↗Gardula (established after 1894). For western Ethiopia examples of such K. are, e.g.: ↗Nonno Migra, ↗Arǧo and Sayyoo (↗Dambi Dolloo).

The history of the "capitals" of ↗Sidamo Province is a good example of how dynamic the fate of the first K. was. After 1891, when Sidamo was conquered by *däǧǧazmač* (later *ras*) ↗Ləʿul Sägäd, the K. of Därasa (↗Gideʾo) developed into its first administrative centre. *Däǧǧazmač* ↗Balča Safo in 1900 moved the seat of the provincial governor to Abära, and later shifted to Aläta. Under the governor, *däǧǧazmač* Täfari Mäkʷännən (later ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I), Abära was restored as the capital of Sidamo. In 1916, when Balča returned as governor, he moved the capital some kilometres and founded ↗Hagärä Sälam.

The original lay-out of the "classical" K. may be recognized in some towns to this day, although modernization, European ideas of urban planning (e.g., Italian influence during the occupation) as well as the villagization program of the ↗Provisional Military Administrative Council and constantly increasing ↗urbanization covered most of the old patterns.

Src.: HENRI DEHÉRAIN, "Les Katamas dans les provinces méridionales de l'Abissinie pendant la règne de l'empereur Ménélik", *Bulletin de la section de géographie du comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques* 29, 1914, 225–51.
Lit.: ALULA ABATE, "The Growth and Development of Small and Medium-sized Ketema Settlements in the Harar Highlands", in: *PICES* 4, vol. 1, 727–44 (Lit.); MARCEL GRIAULE, "Un camp militaire Abyssinie", *Journal de la Société des Africanistes* 4, 1, 1934, 117–22; PankHist I; PankHist II, 191–201 (Lit.).

Dirk Bustorf

Kätäma Yəfru

K.Y. (**ክተማ፡ ይፍሩ**, b. 12 December 1928, Gara Mulläta, d. 14 January 1994, Addis Abäba) was a prominent Ethiopian politician and diplomat.

K.Y. was born to *ato* Yəfru Däǧän and *wäyzäro* Yəmmäññušal Gobänna and started traditional church education in ↗Gara Mulläta. In 1936 his family emigrated fleeing the Italian invasion, first to British Somaliland and later to Kenya. K.Y. completed his elementary education at refugee schools. After the Liberation in 1941, K.Y.'s family returned to Ethiopia. On completing his secondary education at Ḫaylä Śəllase I Secondary School in Kotäbe, Addis Abäba, in 1948, K.Y. was sent by the government to the U.S.A. for further education. K.Y. obtained his B.A. from Michigan Hope College in 1951, and his M.A., in International Relations and Political Science, with distinction, from Boston University in 1952. While researching for his M.A., he worked for a year as an intern for the ↗United Nations in order to acquire work experience.

Kätäma Yəfru; photo courtesy of the family

Upon his return to Ethiopia, K.Y. started his career in the imperial government. In 1952 he joined the Italian Section of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. A year later, he was appointed Director-General of the American and Asian Department. In 1956 K.Y. became Assistant Minister, alongside *ləǧ* Mikaʾel Ǝmməru and *ləǧ* ↗Ǝndalkačč̈äw Mäkʷännən. In 1957 he was appointed as both the Private Secretary to *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I, and Assistant Minister of the Ministry of Pen (↗*Śäḥafe təʾəzaz*). In 1959 he was promoted to the rank of Vice Minister and later Minister of State. After a brief imprisonment under suspicion of being involved in the abortive ↗coup d'état of 1960, in 1961 K.Y. was transferred, once again, to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, where he served first as Minister of State and later as Minister. Altogether he served in various capacities at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs for 15 years.

During the years he headed that Ministry, he played an important role in the African political arena. In 1962 and 1963, he played a major part in bridging the gap between the Monrovia and the Casablanca group, thus paving the way for the African Summit that led to the creation of the ↗Organization of African Unity in 1963.

K.Y. accompanied the Emperor on his official visits to numerous world capitals. He also played a major role in settling a number of international disputes: the Congo crisis, the Algeria–Morocco conflict, the Somalia conflict, the Nigerian civil war and the Southern Sudan crisis. K.Y.'s diplomatic participation in the U.N. ↗Non-aligned Movement and Group of 77 was also significant. From 19 August 1972, K.Y. served as a Minister in the Ministry of Commerce, Industry and Tourism. He left the government when the Aklilu Habtäwäld Cabinet resigned on to 28 February 1974 in the face of the mounting crises.

From April 1974 to September 1982, K.Y. was detained by the Military Government of Ethiopia as a political prisoner. Whilst in prison, he occupied himself with extensive reading in different fields. After his release from prison, K.Y. joined the Food and Agriculture Organization (March 1984 to September 1991), first serving as Senior Advisor in Rome, and later as Area Director of East Africa for the World Food Program stationed in Kenya.

K.Y. spent his last years in Addis Abäba; he was buried within the premises of ↗Qəddəst Śəllase Cathedral. He was survived by his wife *wäyzäro* Raḥəl Sənä Giyorgis, whom he had married in 1960, and their four sons, Mulugeta, Yoḥannəs, Mikaʾel, Mäkʷännən. For his services, he was decorated by both his own and foreign governments.

Src.: *Nägarit Gazeṭa*; letters of appointments; interview with K.Y.'s friends and family.

Lit.: MAKONNEN KETEMA, *Ketema Yifru: an Agent of Change*, ms.; ClapHS 195; Memorial Booklet published by K.Y's family in 1994.

Aberra Jembere

Katte, (Karl Friedrich Rudolf) Albo von

K. (b. 9 January 1805, Neuen-Klitsche, d. 10 October 1850, Berlin) was a former Prussian officer who visited northern Ethiopia and its border provinces in the late 1830s. Through his reports on Ethiopia and Egypt (1838–41) for the popular newspapers *Augsburger Allgemeine Zeitung* and *Das Ausland*, he was among those, together with the natural scientists ↗Rüppell and ↗Schimper, who considerably enhanced German public interest in the region.

In 1836 K. departed from Ḥudayda, ca. 30 km north of al-Muḫā, crossed the Red Sea and reached Massawa, from where he moved to ᶜAdwa. His technical equipment was destroyed or stolen on the way by prince ↗Ḫaylu Täwäldä Mädḫən of Ḥamasen, which forced K. to cancel his plans to cross Ethiopia from east to west. In addition, a war between different Oromo groups erupted, and K. and many of his companions fell ill. In ᶜAdwa K. stayed with ↗Isenberg and *däğğazmač* ↗Wəbe Ḫaylä Maryam for six weeks in late 1836, and met most of the local Ethiopian governors there who had come together for talks. He then left ᶜAdwa, and reached Cairo in late 1837. The unidentified German officer staying in ᶜAdwa in "February 1838", who is mentioned by Arnauld d'↗Abbadie (Abb Séjour 6), was seemingly not K., but another officer called Kielmeyer (RubInd 71). D'Abbadie mentions that he (as K.) had come following advise of Protestant missionaries. From 1838 to 1842 K. lived in Alexandria. He returned to Germany in about April 1842 and resided in Berlin from 1842, where he shot himself in 1850.

In his *Reise durch Abyssinien* K. gives a precise description of Ethiopian geography, politics and fauna, as well as reflecting on the character and religion of the people.

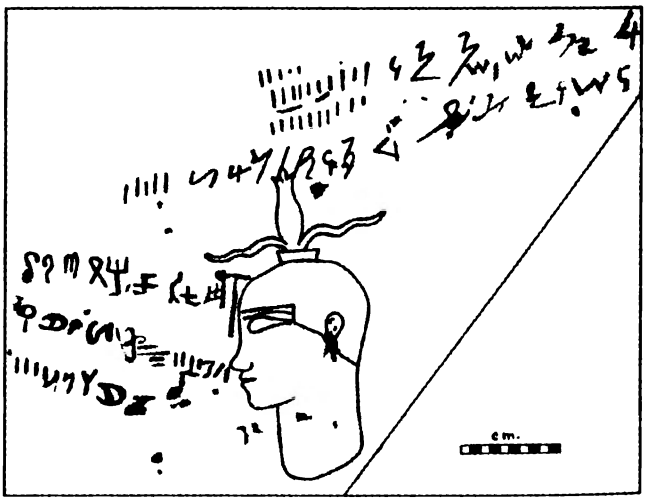
Src.: ALBO VON KATTE, *Reise in Abyssinien im Jahre 1836*, Stuttgart – Tübingen 1838; editorial issues of the *Augsburger Allgemeine Zeitung* and letters of K. to his publisher Cotta 1836–43, Cotta-Archiv/Deutsches Literaturarchiv, Marbach.

Lit.: AbbSéjour 6; *Augsburger Allgemeine Zeitung* no. 222, 1850; *ibid.* no. 225, 1850; *Gothaisches Genealogisches Taschenbuch* 1908, 372; RubInd 72f.

Birgit Slenzka

Kawa

K. is an archaeological site in today's ↗Sudan (for location s. Kush), located in the Middle Nile Valley (Upper Nubia) on the east bank of the river in the fertile Kerma Basin facing Dongola. The



The Kawa inscription; from Laming Macadam 1949, pl. 58

site was excavated by the Oxford Expedition to Nubia headed by Francis Llewellyn Griffith and Miles Frederick Laming Macadam in 1929–36.

K. (the ancient name of which is Gem-[pa]-Iten) was founded during the New Kingdom, most probably by Pharaoh Amenhotep III (18th Dynasty). It was an important religious centre which newly crowned Kushite kings had to visit during their coronation journey to receive acceptance by the god Amun-Re of Gem-(pa)-Iten. Remains of three temples have been excavated: Temple "A" dates back to the reign of Tut-ankh-Amun; Temple "B" is a mark of revival under King Shabaqo of the 25th dynasty (↗"Ethiopian dynasty"); Temple "T" was built by King Taharqo (690–64 B.C.); several stelae by him have also been found.

Three faint lines of a graffito in Ethiopic characters, probably dating back to the late Meroitic period, have been discovered on the outer northern wall of Temple "T" (Laming Macadam 1949: 117f., no. 107, pl. 58). The text could not be decyphered. The vertical strokes in the third line, should they mark the end of a phrase as in the ↗Meroitic language, would indicate here a right-to-left reading for the line. The tentatively identified letters, however, suggest a left-to-right reading for the first two lines.

The K. graffito shows some similarity to the unvocalized Ethiopic graffito found in ↗Meroë (DAE I, 50; RIÉ I, 356, no. 267) and tentatively dated to the first half of ↗ʿEzana's reign. The K. ↗inscription is likely to go back to the same period and to be interpreted as an indication that ʿEzana's armies reached the place in their campaigns (Fiaccadori 2004: 126).

Src.: DAE I, 50; MILES FREDERICK LAMING MACADAM, *The Temples of Kawa*, vol. 1: *The Inscriptions*, London 1949, 117f. [with note by C. RABIN], no. 107, pl. 58 (ill.); RIÉ I, 356, no. 267.

Lit.: ABDELGADIR M. ABDALLA, "Meroitic Kush, Abyssinia and Arabia", in: SERGIO DONADONI – STEFFEN WENIG (eds.), *Studia Meroitica 1984: Proceedings of the Fifth International Conference of Meroitic Studies, Rome 1984*, Berlin 1989 (Meroitica 10), 383–87, here 383; GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, "Sembrouthes 'gran re' (*DAE* IV 3 = *RIÉth* 275): per la storia del primo ellenismo aksumita", *La Parola del Passato* 59, 2004 [2005], 103–57, here 126 (Lit.).

Steffen Wenig

Kaye Šeročo

↗*Tato* K.Š. (also known as Kami or Taten-Kami, d. 1870, Andaračа [?]) was a powerful monarch of the ↗Käfa kingdom, reigning probably from 1843 to 1868. Successor of Gawe Šeročo, he was the predecessor of ↗Galli Šeročo and grandfather of the last Käfa king ↗Gaki Šeročo. All were from the Minǧo clan and had their court at ↗Andaračа. K.Š. consolidated the K. kingdom and further reinforced its defences with trenches and gates, but had to face growing expansionist designs from ↗Ǧimma Abbaa Ǧifaar and ↗Šäwa.

As king, K.Š strengthened the religious, priestlike authority of Käfa kingship by appropriating ownership of the *detateno* or *dooči*, the main spirit (s. ↗*Eqo*) recognized in Käfa. This happened after the death of the then powerful and wealthy *eqo* cult "high priest", the *ibeda godo*. The king himself thus became the carrier and incarnation of this spirit (Orent 1970: 280), perhaps to reinforce his position over his political advisors/councillors, the elite drawn from noble families. K.Š. was reputed to have previously been a Christian (Bieber 1923: 400) and is said to have continued some Christian rituals (Lange 1982: 208). The above-mentioned three kings of Käfa were styled as *atioccо* or full-blown "divine kings" (↗Kingship, divine) and led an authoritarian if not despotic regime over the Käfa kingdom, based on control of the supernatural and political aspects of the lives of their subjects.

Under K.Š.'s rule the opening up of Käfa to the outside world was continued, with more traders, missionaries and others coming into the kingdom, many for the slave trade. Initially, in 1855, K.Š. welcomed the settlement of Catholic missionaries led by Cesare da Castelfranco and Guglielmo ↗Massaja. Opinions differ about his motives, with some authors maintaining that K.Š. intended to create a counterbalance to the gradual expansion of Ethiopian Christianity in Käfa, or to seek reinforcement against the expanding Muslim state of Ǧimma. Some years later, probably advised by the leaders of the *eqo* cult, he banned the missionaries again. However, he did not persecute Kaficcо Christians, either Orthodox or Catholic. The Muslims were also left in peace.

Whilst K.Š. strengthened the religious authority and power of the kingship, it did not go uncontested. There were tensions between the "secular" political elite (councillors and advisers) and the religious power-holders (mediums and top ritual specialists). In the 1860s K.Š. faced regional insurrections among the Še and Nao (↗Nayi) people and in Goba and Wota regions, in response to which he reformed the administrative division of the kingdom by instituting 18 regions (*worafo*) and providing them with more *de facto* autonomy. Lange (1979) also reports an

oral tradition stating that the Käfa people prevented K.Š. from engaging in another war with the state of Ǧimma Abbaa Ǧifaar, the perennial enemy of Käfa. K.Š. gave in to popular wishes, probably to stave off rebellion against his rule. Nevertheless, overall, he was able to establish his status as "divine king" and keep the kingdom together. Many aspects of his rule over Käfa remain unclear due to a lack of precise information.

Lit.: AbPrince; FRIEDRICH JULIUS BIEBER, *Kaffa: Ein altkuschitisches Volkstum in Inner-Afrika*, Münster – Wien 1920–23; CerEt vol. 1, 187, 200, 213, 216, 221; HuntGal 120, 123; WERNER JÜRGEN LANGE, *Domination and Resistance: Narrative Songs of the Kafa Highlands*, East Lansing, MI 1979, 64f.; ID., *History of the Southern Gonga (Southwestern Ethiopia)*, Wiesbaden 1982 (SKK 61); AMNON ORENT, "Refocusing on the History of Kafa prior to 1897: a Discussion of Political Process", *African Historical Studies* 3, 2, 1970, 263–93.

Jon Abbink

Kayla

K. (ካይላ) is a term of ↗Agäw origin used to refer to the people also known as ↗Betä Ǝsraʾel (Fälaša). According to *abba* Yəsḥaq, a Betä Ǝsraʾel monk who spoke to Antoine d'↗Abbadie, K. was a pejorative term referring to those among the Israelites who travelled with ↗Mənilək I and "who did not cross the sea" on the ↗Sabbath; thus, in the local language K. means 'did not cross'. According to this tradition, on their way from ↗Jerusalem to ↗Aksum Mənilək's party arrived at the edge of a sea on the Sabbath. While the majority continued onward, a portion of the group refused to travel on the Sabbath and became known thereafter as K. These were the ancestors of the Betä Ǝsraʾel.

The designation K. first appears in written records in the 17th-cent. Chronicle of *aṣe* ↗Susənyos, which mainly uses the term *Fälaša*, but sometimes equates the two. In one campaign, for example, the Emperor ordered "his troops *Fälaša* who are called K." to scale a steep ↗*amba* (PerChron 307). During the reign of *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs I this connection is explicitly repeated in a decree of 1668 that "... the *Fälaša*, called K., who are of the Jewish religion, must not live with the Christians" (GuiIohan 9). The area where K. were settled became known as ↗Kayla Meda.

The two terms (*Fälaša* and K.) appear to be combined in the use of the term *Kaylaša*, although d'Abbadie suggests that *-ša* might be a suffix, and not part of the term *Fälaša*.

Ethiopian migrants in Israel from the ↗Təgray region claim that the term K. is derived from the Hebrew term *kehilla* ('community') and cite it as proof that their ancestors were originally Hebrew speakers. Others link the term to an agricultural instrument used to separate wheat from chaff or to the Gəʿəz *ḫayl* and Hebrew *hayla*, meaning 'strength'.

According to Appleyard (1996), today extinct Kayləññа language appears to be intermediate between the ↗Ḫamtaŋa and ↗Kəmantnäy clusters of Agäw dialects.

Src.: ANTOINE D'ABBADIE, "'Réponses des Falashas, dits 'juifs d'Abyssinie' aux questions faites par M. Luzzato", *Archives israélites* 12, 1851–52, 179–85, 234–40, 259–69, here 240; GuiIohan 9 (text) = 8 (tr.); JOSEPH HALÉVY, "Excursion chez les Falacha, en Abyssinie", *Bulletin de la Société de géographie de Paris* 5e sér. 17, 1869, 270–94; PerChron 150f., 154ff., 177, 189, 271, 278ff., 282ff., 307f. (text).

Lit.: DAVID APPLEYARD, "Kailiña – a 'New' Agaw Dialect and its Implications for Agaw Dialectology", in: RICHARD J. HAYWARD – IOAN MYRDDIN LEWIS (eds.), *Voice and Power: the Culture of Language in North-East Africa. Essays in Honour of B.W. Andrzejewski*, London 1996 (African Languages and Cultures, Supplement 3), 1–19; JAMES ARTHUR QUIRIN, *The Evolution of the Ethiopian Jews*, Philadelphia, PA 1992, 11–15, 73, 85, 87, 102ff., 115, 118; ID., "The Bēta 'Esrāʾēl (Falāshā) and 'Ayhud in Fifteenth Century Ethiopia: Oral and Written Traditions", *NEASt* 10, 1988, 89–104; CHAIM ROSEN, "Falašim, Kayla, o Betä Yisraʾel? Haʿarot Etnografiyot le-kinuʾim šel ʿadat yehudai Etiyopya" ('Falasha, Kayla, Beta Israel? Ethnographical Observations on Names for the Jews of Ethiopia'), *Peʿamim* 22, 1985, 53–58; HAGAR SALAMON, *The Hyena People: Ethiopian Jews in Christian Ethiopia*, Berkeley, CA – Los Angeles, CA 1999, 21ff.

Steven Kaplan

Kayla Meda

K.M. (ካይላ፡ ሜዳ, lit. 'field of the ↗Kayla') is a locality to the west of ↗Gondär, on the banks of the Qaḥa River. It lies to the left of the Gondär–Azäzo road (Guida 359) and takes its name from the Kayla ethnic group, more commonly known as Fälaša or ↗Betä Ǝsraʾel, whose settlement in the area apparently long pre-dated the founding of the city in the 1630s (Quirin 1992:103).

In 1668 *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs I decreed residential segregation of "the Franks, the Muslims and the Turks, and also the *Fälaša*, called Kayla, who are of the Jewish religion, so that they not live with Christians" (GuiIohan 9). How this would have affected the already existent settlement at K.M. is uncertain. A pottery market was held there in Gondärine times. It was also a place in which proclamations were issued, and, on one occasion,

in 1763, a major church council was held there. However, K.M. took part in the general decline of Gondär town in the 19th cent. and lost much of its vibrancy.

Between 1–5 October 1763 (22 *Mäskäram* 1756), under the rule of ↗Iyoʾas I, a major church council was held at K.M. Counting with the presence of ↗Bərhan Mogäsa, *ras* ↗Wäldä Lᵉul and *däğğazmač* ↗Ǝšäte of Qʷara, it gathered to face the emergence of a third theological party, *Wäld bäṣägga* (↗*Ṣägga*); the followers of the Unctionists (↗*Qəbat*) and the Alexandrian traditionalists (↗*Karra*; ↗*Täwaḥədo*) united to depose *əčč̣äge* Henok and reject a doctrinal letter of the Alexandrian patriarch. The council marked, however, the definitive emergence of the ↗*Yäṣägga ləğ* and the *de facto* division of the church into three mutually hostile parties.

Src.: *Guida* 359; GuiIohan 9 (text) = 8 (tr.).

Lit.: CrumMis 23f.; GETATCHEW HAILE, "Materials on the Theology of Qəbat or Unction", in: *PICES* 6, 205–50; KINDENEH ENDEG MIHRETIE, *The Role of Qebatoč in the Christological Controversy within the Ethiopian Orthodox Church (1620–1764)*, M.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 2004; PankHist I, 127, 258; JAMES ARTHUR QUIRIN, *The Evolution of the Ethiopian Jews*, Philadelphia, PA 1992, 98, 103f., 133ff., map 3, 96.

Donald Crummey

Kəbr Yəʾəti

K.Y. (**ክብር: ይእቲ**) is a type of ↗*qəne*-hymn which is composed of four verses (*bet*, pl. *abyat*) and sung, together with the ↗*ᶜəṭanä mogär*, during the celebration of the Eucharistic liturgy (↗*Qəddase*) when Communion is taken. During the celebration, other Eucharistic hymns are sung, such as the ↗*Mälkəʾa qʷərban* and ↗*Zəmmare* (cp. ↗Eucharist).

The melody of the K.Y. depends on the melody used for the liturgy. If it is sung in ↗*gəᶜəz* mode, then the *ᶜəṭanä mogär* with its second strophe (*asärä nəguś*) is sung in ↗*araray* mode. But if the mode of the liturgy is ↗*ᶜəzəl*, the four-*bet* K.Y. and the *ᶜəṭanä mogär* with its second strophe are sung in the same mode, that is *ᶜəzəl*.

The content of the K.Y. must always relate to the eucharistic liturgy of the same day and the *Zəmmare* elements of the feast – *ḫəbəst*, 'bread', *ṣəwwaᶜ*, 'chalice', *mänfäs*, 'spirit', *məśṭir*, 'mystery' and *akkʷätet*, 'thanksgiving'. K.Y.'s subject matter mainly concerns the ↗Crucifixion, especially Christ's suffering on the Cross, and the events following his death as described in Mt 27:51–54. Ps 149 is alternately read with the K.Y., and for this reason the *qəne* takes its name from the same psalm (Ps 149:13, *Kəbr yəʾəti zatti* ..., 'This is an honour ...'). As with all other *qəne*, the K.Y. is improvised. If the liturgy is celebrated in the afternoon, the expert *qəne* composer must observe the fast as the celebrants do. In such cases, the *qəne* composer is treated the same as a celebrant of the Divine Liturgy. During Niqodemus week of the ↗Lent (the week before Holy Week), the K.Y. *qəne* is not composed because there are *qəne* given in the ↗*Dəggʷa* the content of which addresses the body and blood of Christ, and the Holy Spirit.

Lit.: ADMASU ĞÄMBÄRE (ed.), **መጽሐፈ: ቅኔ (ዝክረ: ሊቃውንት)** (*Mäṣḥafä qəne [zəkrä liqawənt]*, 'The Book of the *Qəne* [The Memory of the Scholars]'), Addis Abäba 1963 A.M. [1970/71 A.D.]; ENRICO CERULLI, "Di alcune varietà di inni della chiesa etiopica", *Orientalia* nuova ser. 3, 1934, 294–305; CRAbb IV, 222–32; ᶜƎNBAQOM QALÄ WÄLD, **ስለ: ቅኔ: ትምህርትና: ስለ: ጥቅሙ** (*Səlä qəne təmhərtənna səlä ṭəqmu*, 'About the Teaching and the Importance of the *Qəne*'), in: *PICES* 3, vol. 2, 117–32; ERIC GODET, "La métrique du qənē guèze", *Abbay* 12, 1983–84, 117–203, here 162; IGNAZIO GUIDI, "Di alcuni inni abissini", *RSO* 1, 1907, 217–20; HabTent 179; HabUff 215f.; *mämhər* YƎḪEYYƎS WÄRQE, **ንባብ: ወትርጓሜ: ዘቅኔያት: አዕማደ: ምሥጢራት** (*Nəbab wätərgʷame zäqəneyat; aᶜəmadä məśṭirat*, 'Reading and Interpretation of the *Qəne*: the Pillars of Mysteries'), Addis Abäba 1960 A.M. [1967/68 A.D.].

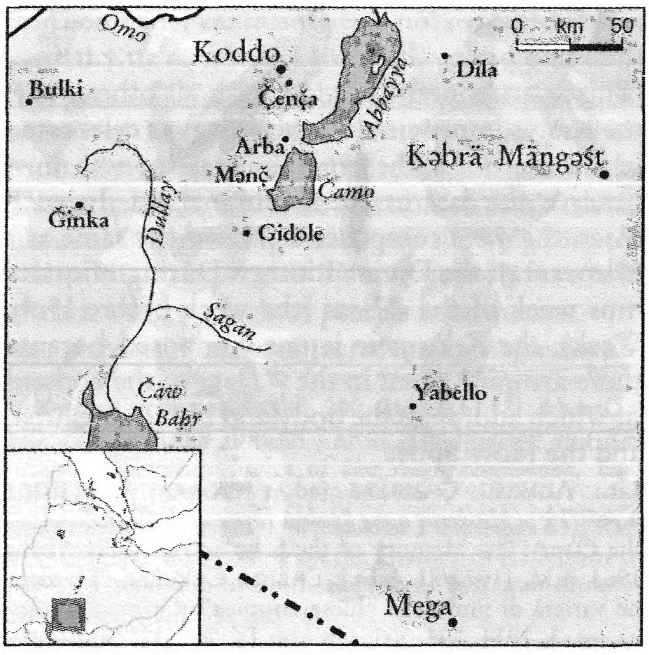
Habtemichael Kidane

Kəbrä Mängəśt

K.M. (**ክብረ: መንግሥት**; 5° 53' N, 39° 00' E; 2,170 m A.S.L.), formerly known as Adola, is a town located at the confluence of the Ganaalee and Dawa valleys, ca. 20 km north-east of Šakisso. The area is traditionally inhabited by the ↗Guğği Oromo.

The status of the town has grown since ↗gold deposits were discovered in the region in the 1930s. It was then that the name was changed to K.M., which literally means 'the glory of the kingdom'. Moyale graphite and granite deposits have also been found at K.M.

During the reign of *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I, ↗Käbbädä Bəzunäš was the governor of K.M. Since 1991 it has been the capital of Adola *wäräda*, which is a division of the Boorana zone (Oromiyaa *kəllәl*). The population has been growing quickly in the past years, mostly because of gold miners who come to stay (especially since gold mining and production boomed after 2000): 14,391 inhabitants in 1984; 27,099 in 2000; and 34,395 in 2004 (CSA 1984; 2000; 2004).



From 1942 till 1987 K.M. was the administrative centre of the Ğämğäm *awraǧǧa* of Sidamo province. In the later administrative division it belonged to the Boräna region, and since 1991 it has belonged to the Adola and Wadä *wäräda* of the Boorana zone in *kəllәl* Oromiyaa.

Src.: CSA 1984; CSA 2000; CSA 2004; *Guida* 598.

Lit.: GEORGI GALPERIN, *Ethiopia: Population, Resources, Economy*, Moscow 1981, 30; RICHARD GREENFIELD, *Ethiopia: a New Political History*, London 1965, 327; HAILE-MICHAEL FENTAW et al., "The Moyale Graphite Deposit in Southern Ethiopia", *Norges geologiske undersøkelse Bulletin 436*, 169–73; IID., "Building Stone of Central and Southern Ethiopia: Deposits and Resource Potential", *ibid.* 175–82; DANILO A. JELENC, *Mineral Occurrences of Ethiopia*, Addis Abäba 1966, 295; MesfAtlas; SALAKA ATNAFU MAKONNEN, *Ethiopia Today*, Tokyo 1960.

Tesfaye Akalu

Kəbrä nägäśt

The K.n. (**ክብረ፡ ነገሥት**, 'Glory of the Kings', or, better, 'Nobility of the Kings') is a kind of "historical novel", intended, according to the majority of scholars, to justify and glorify the Ethiopian ↗Solomonic dynasty by demonstrating its Israelite descent. The work is in fact untitled, but at least since the 15th cent. it has been known as K.n., from the heading of the first (**በእንተ፡ ክብረ፡ ነገሥት**, *Bä'əntä kəbrä nägäśt*, 'On the Nobility of the Kings') of its 117 chs., each one with a title of its own. Otherwise, the title K.n. is also sometimes used to denote other, later compositions dealing with the history of Ethiopia and incorporating only excerpts or summaries of the K.n. proper (e.g., mss. EMML 1515, 3081).

Contents

The K.n. is composed as an exposition of St. Gregory the Wonderworker, disciple of ↗Origen (3rd cent.), to the 318 Orthodox Fathers on the occasion of the Council of ↗Nicaea, but the person to whom the text alludes is actually Gregory the Illuminator, the "apostle" of Armenia (3rd–4th cent.).

The work can be divided into three parts. The first (chs. 1–94) can in turn be subdivided into sections. After the preface (chs. 1–2), the first section (chs. 3–18) tells the history of the kings of the earth from Adam to Shem to David and Solomon (the tradition of the Ethiopian descent from Ham to ↗Ityopis to ↗Aksumawi is never mentioned), clearly stating (ch. 11) the prominence of the ↗Ark of the Covenant in the Creation, and its identity with St. ↗Mary. The second section, told by Domitius patriarch of Costantinople (366–84), speaks of a book found by him in the cathedral of St. Sophia, on the primacy of the kings of "Rome" (↗Byzantine Empire) and of Ethiopia, but on the superiority of the latter, the first-born of Solomon (chs. 19–20). At this point the story of ↗Solomon and ↗Makədda (called here **ንግሥተ፡ አዜብ** *nəgəśtä azeb*, 'Queen of the South', as already in the N.T. and in post-Christian classical tradition), is inserted (chs. 21–56), undoubtedly the more attractive part of the K.n. and more pivotal to the main goal of the work, and allegedly taken from the same book found by Domitius. The Queen hears from a merchant, Tamrin, of the wisdom and ability of Solomon, goes to visit him in ↗Jerusalem, and is well received by him. She becomes pregnant after having been tricked: Solomon invites her to dinner, and to sleep in his room, promising not to touch her, unless she steals something there; but she takes a sip of water (the dinner was intentionally prepared very spicy). The third section tells how the Queen returns home and after nine months and five days gives birth to a son, ↗Mənilək (I), who in turn, when 22, goes to Jerusalem to meet his father, but also to comply with his mother's invitation to establish, after his return, the first Ethiopian kingdom governed by a man. Having been made king by his father who gives him the name of David, he assumes the royal office (ch. 39). From Jerusalem M. goes back to Ethiopia with the first-born sons of the Israelite notables (given to him for the organization of the new kingdom by Solomon himself, in the hope of acquiring another kingdom under his control). Yet,

those young men, unbeknownst to Mənilək, take with them the Ark of the Covenant, which thus reaches Ethiopia. After a break in the chs. 63b–83 the story ends by recounting the arrival of Mənilək in Ethiopia, the abdication of his mother (who personally orders that the kingdom is never again given to a queen), and his first victorious wars (chs. 84–94).

The second part (chs. 57–83) dwells on the remaining life of Solomon, in particular his fondness for non-Christian women, and subsequent idolatry due to their influence. It also includes the story of the Pearl, told by an angel to the dying Solomon – a symbol of salvation, a gnostic and patristic concept, usually identified with Christ, but in the K.n. identified with Mary, deposed in the belly of Adam and passed to Mary and Christ through Solomon and Israel (ch. 68). It continues with the events of the various peoples after Solomon's reign. The narrative frame resumes with the conciliar assembly of the Nicene fathers, who conclude by stating the clear superiority of the king of Ethiopia, first-born of Solomon, over the king of Judah (son of Solomon's second-born, Rehoboam, and king of the deicides) and king of Rome (son of Solomon's youngest son, Adrami, and king of the heretic Christians; ch. 95, but also passim).

King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba with her attendants; painting on parchment, 20th cent., London, Horniman Museum, no. 19.4.99/20x; photo 1995, courtesy of Michael Gervers

In the third part (chs. 96–112), Gregory gives a series of Christian interpretations to Old Testament passages, with a strong anti-Judaic bias. Toward the end (chs. 113–16), the superiority of Ethiopia is again stated by the Fathers, as well as by Gregory, asserting that the Ark will remain in Ethiopia until the second coming of Christ (↗*Dagəm məṣʾatu läkrəstos*); the close (ch. 117) evokes the events of the 6th cent. war between Aksum and South Arabia, and terminates with a colophon.

Edition

The 1905 edition by Bezold (BezKebr), a good one, although of pre-Lachmannian type, is based on the ms. Paris, BN éth. 94 (of the 13th cent. according to Zotenberg [ZotBNat 9], but this is impossible in view of the date of composition, s. below), collated with 6 other mss.: Paris, BN éth. 123 (17th cent.); Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bruce 87 and 93 (both second half of the 18th cent.); Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Orientabteilung, Ms. or. fol. 395 (between 1680 and 1730); London, BritLib Orient. 818 (first half of the 18th cent.) and part of 819 (between 1682 and 1706, cf. WrBriMus 297). There are at least six more known mss., all from the 18th–20th cent.: Paris, BN d'Abbadie 97, 132, 152; EMML 50, 2101; Roma, ANLin Conti Rossini 27.

Aim and date of composition

Alongside the usual interpretation of the K.n. as an ideological instrument for the legitimisation of the new Solomonic dynasty against the ↗Zagʷe (e.g., GuiSLett 45; CRStor 319), some scholars also emphasize the bias of the local clergy in favour of the glorified northern tradition against a kingdom more and more based in the Amharic-speaking south (RicLett 815f.). A new and interesting approach is that of Chernetsov (1982:37f., following some clues given by Conti Rossini 1925:506ff.), speaking of a work linked with northern aspirations for independence. In agreement with him, we can stress the following points: 1) as the colophon states, the work was composed on the orders of *mäkʷännən* (or *śəyy-*

um) ↗Yaᶜəbikä Ǝgziᵓ, ruler of ↗Ǝndärta; 2) it is well known that Yaᶜəbikä Ǝgziᵓ, appointed some years before 1318, was no longer in power in 1322, when he was substituted by Queen Bəlen Saba (CRDLib no. 20); this is why the ultimate date proposed for the completion of the K.n. is 1321; 3) what must now be stressed, is that Yaᶜəbikä Ǝgziᵓ rebelled against ↗ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon I, as already hinted at in the *Liber Axumae*, in a document of Ləbnä Dəngəl (CRAxum doc. 29), but above all by a dramatic document from ↗Däbrä Ḥayq Ǝsṭifanos, contemporary to the events (Taddese Tamrat 1970: 95f.). So, the K.n. may well have been composed for the Ǝndärta dynasty, or at least for one or some of the ruling classes of Təgray, against the claims of the south: it is to these dynastic claims that the proper names of rulers might also refer, nearly always fixed with Ǝgziᵓ as the fixed second member. This agrees with the clearly "northern" traditions the K.n. elaborates; only subsequently it would have been adopted by the Solomonic dynasty.

As for the general background of the text and the implied claims, it must be understood within the problem of Ethiopian ↗Judaism. Israelite descent was a phenomenon equally known in other Oriental monarchies, and in Ethiopia itself it was also claimed by the Zagʷe, as documented by ↗Abū Ṣāliḥ in 1208 (descent from Moses); this in turn is obviously related to the widespread tendency of early Christian communities to identify themselves with the *Verus Israel*, as described by Simon (1948).

Sources and parallel traditions

The literary sources and traditions exploited in the K.n., as well as other traditions (Jewish, Coptic, Islamic) parallel to them (above all on the Queen and Solomon), are indicated by Hubbard (1957): naturally, the O.T. and the N.T.; rabbinical and midrashic lore (esp. the Midrash Haggadol, but also such texts as the Bereshit Rabbah or the Pirqe Rabbi Eliezer, with Cain and Abel, the angels and other motifs); traditions (Cain and Abel, the angels, other motifs); such apocryphal works as ↗*Enoch*, the *Book of* ↗*Jubilees*, the *Book of Adam and Eve* and the very similar *Cave of Treasures*, the *Wisdom of Sirach*, the *Apocalypse of* ↗*Peter*, the *Gospel of Nicodemus*, the *Acts of Philip in Greece* and the *Acts of John*, the *Book of James*, the *Didascalia* (↗*Didəsqəlya*), the *Preaching of Peter*, maybe the *Testament of Reuben*, the *Wisdom of Solomon*, and the *Ascension of* ↗*Isaiah*; patristic concepts and sources (such as, e.g., Origen, ↗Gregory of Nyssa, ↗Cyril of Alexandria, ↗Gregory of Nazianzus, ↗Severus of Antioch, ↗Epiphanius, ↗Athanasius of Alexandria). According to Caquot (in PICES 10) and Beylot (2002), the apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius of Patara should also be considered; Beylot adds three more texts of Copto-Arabic origin. In many cases, it is not a question of direct borrowing, but only of a parallel use of the same traditions. Such consideration might also apply to the abundant Jewish and Islamic material about the Queen and Solomon, protagonists of some of the most important legendary cycles of the Near East, obviously quite independent from the K.n.

Ethiopian elaborations

The "magic" and fabulous material found in Jewish and Islamic sources has been completely excluded from the K.n., but that some of these traits were also known in Ethiopia is revealed by some of the legends of the dragon of Aksum (↗Arwe), and above all by a ↗Təgre (Littmann 1904) and a ↗Təgrəññña legend (Conti Rossini 1911-12), where a young girl is saved from the dragon by the ↗Nine Saints (here, resp., only four and seven in number), while the monster's blood transforms one of her feet into hoofs. She is healed by Solomon, who also sleeps with her and with her servant (s. Caquot 1955). Conversely, the episode of the seduction and pregnancy of the Queen seems to be an original Ethiopian trait (present also in those legends, and in popular iconography, s. ↗Painting).

Authorship

This is one of the most discussed issues of the K.n., based particularly on the colophon (ch. 117), which states: 1) "in the Arabic book it is said" that the work has been translated from Coptic into Arabic in 1225, during the reign of King Gäbrä Mäsqäl, "whose surname was ↗Lalibäla"; 2) this translation was done by Abäləz and Abälfäräg; 3) they did not translate the text into Gəᶜəz because the Zagʷe were an impious dynasty not coming from Israel; 4) the K.n. was translated (and/or worked out? the text is very vague on this point) by Yəsḥaq (known from other documents as the *nəburä əd* of Aksum), on the order of Yaᶜəbikä Ǝgziᵓ. The opinions about the value of this colophon vary greatly, from complete truthfulness (e.g., BezKebr; Nöldeke 1905; Budge 1922) to complete falsity (e.g., DillmBLond).

Some important elements are: 1) the identity of Abälfäräg is not known (as we have to look for an Egyptian, it is improbable that we have here to do with Abū l-Faraǧ b. aṭ-Ṭayyib al-ʿIrāqī, a philosopher, physician, monk and priest, of the first half of the 11th cent., born in Baghdad and author of exegetical and theological works and commentaries, or with the more famous Barhebraeus [Gregorius Abū l-Faraǧ b. al-ʿIbrī] born in 1225/26 in Melitene, and resident in Syria, cf., however, Munro-Hay 2003); 2) the identity of Abäläz is uncertain, but an Ibn al-ʿIzz was minister of *aṣe* ↗Yagbəʾa Ṣəyon (Conti Rossini 1925:506); 3) the K.n. abounds with Arabic terms, sometimes words merely transcribed (see BezKebr XXXVf.); 4) although the particular goal of the K.n. is limited to Ethiopian interests, the legendary material it makes use of belongs to one of the most important legendary cycles of the Near East; 5) the style and Gəʿəz language of the work are of a high standard (the novel is also purified from any popular or rough elements). This could lead to the conclusion that the K.n. is an original literary Ethiopian work drawing on various older sources (s. CerLett 36–42 and already Conti Rossini 1921–23:606f.). In any case, for further clarification, new data from the Coptic and Copto-Arabic traditions could be useful, to be added to the 11th-cent. text published by Erman (1897), and to that summarized by Amélineau (1888) from an unspecified (now lost) ms. in Cairo, but also found, in a more expanded form, in the Arabic ms. Paris BN, Suppl. 92, of 1594 at the latest (already referred to by Zotenberg apropos of ms. Paris BN, éth. 123; ed., tr. BezKebr XLIII–LX; tr. Budge 1922). Whether the Copto-Arabic text derives from the Ethiopic (ZotBNat 223; BezKebr LX, and the majority of scholars) or vice versa, or whether they depend on a common source (Nöldeke 1905), especially in view of Erman's text, and at least as far as literary motifs are concerned (s. also the connection with the legend of the Holy Cross [↗*Mäsqäl*], absent in the K.n.) is exactly the core of the problem.

Kəbrä nägäśt in popular Ethiopian culture

The K.n. has proven to be significant in the political, religious and social life of the Ethiopians. Irrespective of the original purpose of its composers, it provided the legal foundation for both the Solomonic ↗monarchy's claim to political power and the institution of divine ↗kingship at least from the 14th cent. onward; in this function, the authority of the K.n. was ultimate and largely uncontested, at least among Amhara and Təgrəñña-speaking communities of the Ethiopian Highlands. Ethiopian tradition referred to the K.n., though indirectly, when explaining the origin of the ↗law and judiciary and state rituals (Varenberg 1915-16:11; cp. Doresse 1959:14f.; cp. ↗*Śərʿatä mängəśt*; ↗*wäg*), and as well as many other features of Ethiopian culture.

The central topics of the K.n. – Ethiopia as *Verus Israel*; the Ethiopians as the chosen people (BezKebr 130) and the Ethiopian kings' supremacy (BezKebr 171) – offered the people a sense of shared cultural identity and shaped their mentality. An affiliation to Solomon/biblical Israel was also claimed for some other ethnic groups (such as ↗Irob), the respective narratives being connected to the legend of the Queen of Sheba and Mənilək, and, ultimately, to the K.n. (s. Conti Rossini 1910). The narrative of the K.n. became, indeed, the Ethiopian "national saga"; as such, it greatly contributed to the development of Ethiopian nascent national ideology, in particular in the 19th–20th cent.

Remarkably, by letters addressed in 1872 to Queen Victoria of England and the 2nd Earl Granville, *aṣe* Yoḥannəs IV urged the British to return the manuscript of the K.n. sized by them from Mäqdäla (today preserved at ↗Ǝnṭoṭṭo Raguʾel; ms. EMML 50 [= Orient. 819, s. WrBriMus 297]), an item of great importance for the Empire, as its text contained "the regulations ... of the land" (RubActa III, nos. 88, 89; UllBibl 74f.).

It is noteworthy that, while the main topics of the K.n. were popular in Ethiopia, the text itself was less widespread (a feature also reflected in the comparatively small number of mss. containing the work) and never printed, although in the 20th cent. monarchs generally welcomed proposals by foreign scholars to translate it into European languages. The authority of the K.n. stood behind ch. 2 of Ethiopia's 1955 ↗Constitution, proclaiming the emperors of Ethiopia descendants of the Queen of Sheba and Solomon (cp. Ullendorff 1960:194). After 1974 the stipulation lost its legal power, yet the K.n. still remains an important element of the culture and consciousness of the Ethiopians, both in the country and in the ↗diaspora.

Src.: BezKebr; ERNEST ALFRED WALLIS BUDGE (tr.), *The Queen of Sheba and her only son Menyelek*, London 1922, 1932² [repr. 2001]; GÉRARD COLIN (tr.), *La Gloire des rois* (Kebra nagast): *Epopée nationale de l'Éthiopie*, Genève 2002 (Cahiers d'Orientalisme 23); CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Studî su popolazioni dell'Etiopia" [i], *RSO* 3, 1910, 849–900,

here 875f. (text) = 893f. (tr.); [ii], *ibid.* 4, 1911–12, 599–651; CRAbb 203, 205, nos. 202, 203, 205 [d'Abbadie 132, 97, 152]; DillmBerl 68f., no. 76 [Ms. or. fol. 395]; DillmBodl 68–74, nos. XXVI, XXVII [Bruce 93, 87]; EMML I, 54, no. 50; V, 17f., no. 1515; VI, 195f., no. 2101; VIII, 77f., no. 3081; StrANL 100–02, ms. Conti Rossini 27; AṬ-ṬAʿLABĪ, *Storia di Bilqīs regina di Saba*, ed., tr. by GIOVANNI CANOVA, Venezia 2000, 101–08 (Lit.); RubActa III, nos. 88, 89; JOSEPH VARENBERGH, "Studien zur abessinischen Reichsordnung (*Šerʿata Mangešt*)", *ZA* 30, 1915–16, 1–45, here 11 (text) = 29 (tr.); WrBriMus 297–314, no. 391 [Orient. 818]; ZotBNat 6–9, no. 5 [éth. 94]; 222–49, no. 146 [éth. 123].

Lit.: EDOUARD AMELINEAU, *Contes et romans de l'Egypte chrétienne*, Paris 1888, 144–64; JEAN DORESSE, *Ancient Cities and Temples: Ethiopia*, London 1959, 13ff.; ROBERT BEYLOT, "Notes de littérature éthiopienne. 1. Sur deux passages du *Kebra Nagast* ...", *Semitica* 27, 1977, 159–61; ID., "Note sur le *Kebrä Nägäst*", *Aethiopica* 5, 2002, 204f.; ID., "Du Kebra Nagast", *ibid.* 7, 2004, 74–83; ANDRÉ CAQUOT, "La Reine de Saba et le bois de la Croix selon une tradition éthiopienne", *AE* 1, 1955, 136–47; ID., "Le nom du roi de Rome dans le *Kebra Nagast*", in: JOSEPH TUBIANA (ed.), *Guirlande pour Abba Jérome*, Paris 1983, 153–65; ID., "Le Kebra Nagast et les Révélations du Pseudo-Méthode", in: *PICES* 10, 331–35; CerLett 36–42; SEVIR CHERNETSOV, *Efiopskaja feodal'naja monarhija v XIII–XVI vv.* ('Ethiopian Feudal Monarchy in the 13th–16th Cent.'), Moscow 1982, 37f.; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, [rev. of Budge 1922], *RSO* 9, 1921–23, 606–08; ID., "Aethiopica (II[a] Serie)", *ibid.* 10, 1925, 506–08 [§41]; CRAxum; CRDLib; CRStor 253–57, 261; ADOLF ERMAN, *Bruchstücke koptischer Volkslitteratur*, Berlin 1897 (Abhandlungen der Königlichen Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin 1897, 1), here 24ff.; GuiSLett 45f.; DAVID ALLAN HUBBARD, *The Literary Sources of the* Kebra Nagast, Ph.D. thesis, University of St. Andrews 1957; DAVID W. JOHNSON, "Dating the *Kebra Nagast*: Another Look", in: TIMOTHY MILLER – JOHN NESBITT (eds.), *Peace and War in Byzantium: Essays in Honor of George T. Dennis, S.J.*, Washington 1995, 197–208; MANFRED KROPP, "Zur Deutung des Titels 'Kəbrä Nägäśt'", *OrChr* 80, 1996, 109–15; ENNO LITTMANN, *The Legend of the Queen of Sheba in the Tradition of Axum*, Leyden 1904 (Bibliotheca Abessinica 1); VASILIJ M. LURIE, "Iz Ierusalima v Aksum čerez hram Solomona: arhaičnye predanija o Sione i Kovčege Zaveta v sostave Kebra Negest i ih translatsija čerez Konstantinopol" ('From Jerusalem to Aksum through the Temple of Solomon: Archaic Traditions Related to the Ark of Covenant and Zion in the *Kəbrä Nägäśt* and their Translation through Constantinople'), *Hristianskij Vostok* new ser. 2 [8], 2000 [2001], 137–207, here 188ff.; STUART MUNRO-HAY, "A Sixth Century *Kebra Nagast*?", *AE* 17, 2001, 43–58; ID., "Abu al-Faraj and Abu al-ʿIzz", *ibid.* 20, 2004, 23–28; THEODOR NÖLDEKE, [review of BezKebr], *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 19, 1905, 397–411; LANFRANCO RICCI, "Edipo e storia", *Paideuma* 24, 1978, 169–77; RicLett 815f.; IRFAN SHAHÎD, "The *Kebra Nagast* in the Light of Recent Research", *Le Muséon* 89, 1976, 133–78; MARCEL SIMON, *Verus Israel: Étude sur les relations entre chrétiens et juifs dans l'Empire romain, 135–425*, Paris 1948 (Bibliothèque des écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome 166); TADDESE TAMRAT, "The Abbots of Dabra Hayq 1248–1535", *JES* 8, 1, 1970, 87–117; UllBibl 74f.; EDWARD ULLENDORFF, *The Ethiopians*, London 1960, 194.

Paolo Marrassini

Kəbran

K. (ክብራን) is a small island located on the southern part of Lake Ṭana, with a church dedicated to the Archangel Gabriel. This church also houses a *tabot* of St. Mary, either at the same church or on the nearby island of ↗Mädo (Bosc-Tiessé 2001:30 n. 2, 240; ChTana 155f.).

The island must have been inhabited by hermits before the monastic community was organized in the first half of the 14th cent., when it was founded by the monk Zäyoḥannəs, according to his *gädl* (Cerulli in Schneider 1972:V–IX; Schneider 1972:13ff., 18; Wajnberg 1936:25; Cornuau 1994:18ff.). K. has been connected to the network of ↗Däbrä Libanos at least since the time the *Gädlä Zäyoḥannəs* was written in the 15th or first half of the 16th cent. (Cerulli in Schneider 1972: V–IX; BassÉt 100).

The monastery claims to have first been endowed by *aṣe* ʿAmdä Ṣəyon (Schneider 1972:17;

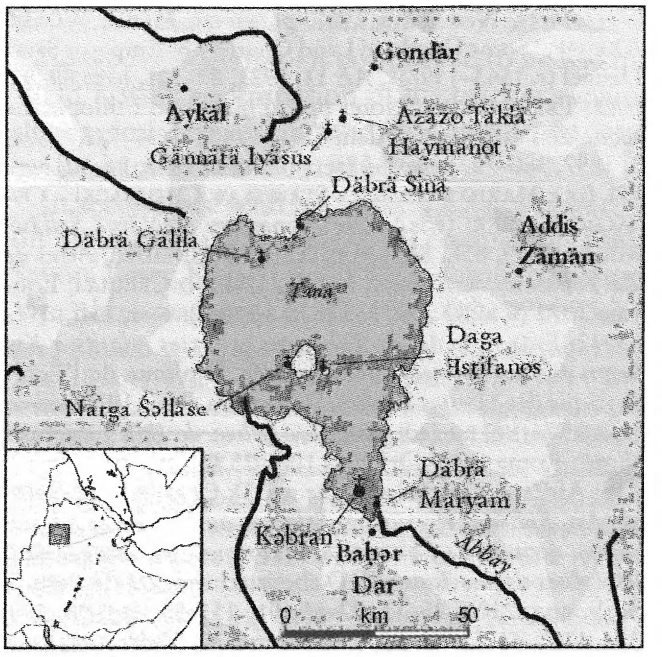
Beheading of John the Baptist; wall-painting, 17th cent., church of Kəbran Gäbrəʾel, Lake Ṭana; photo 2006, courtesy of Michael Gervers

ms. Ṭānāsee 1, fol. 3vb). During the 15th cent., the church celebrated the *täzkar* for the kings and their families: first for *aṣe* Dawit and his parents – he ordered it in 1412/13 and donated *gʷəlt* lands on the occasion (ms. Ṭānāsee 1, fol. 3ra, 236v) – and then for *aṣe* Yəsḥaq (ms. Ṭānāsee 1, fol. 237rv). Endowments from *aṣe* Ləbnä Dəngəl (1508–40) are also registered in the monastery's documents (ms. Ṭānāsee 22, fol. 15ra–va). *Aṣe* Śärṣä Dəngəl granted lands as well (ms. Ṭānāsee 1, fol. 184ra) and intervened in the monastery's internal affairs to settle certain problems concerning the administration and the appointing of the ↗*mämhər* (ms. Ṭānāsee 1, fol. 11v; Schneider 1970:ix–x; another copy in ms. BritLib Orient. 650, fol. 5v–6v, s. Merid Wolde Aregay 1985:89, 92).

The church, apparently restored for the first time under the patronage of *aṣe* Dawit (1379/80–1412; ms. Ṭānāsee 1, fol. 235r; Bosc-Tiessé 2001:151), was rebuilt between 1596 and 1615. The work began under the supervision of *abba* Dämalyos and it was continued by *däğğazmač* ƎḪʷä Krəstos, who also gave two *rəst* lands to the *mämhər* and the *qesä gäbäz* (ms. Ṭānāsee 1, fol. 22r; Schneider 1970:VIII; Bosc-Tiessé 2001:83ff.). During his reign, *aṣe* Fasilädäs endowed the monastery with lands (ms. Ṭānāsee 1, fol. 184rb; Schneider 1970:x; Bosc-Tiessé 2001:91); one of these *gʷəlts*, granted in 1646, was shared with the monastery of ↗Daga (Perruchon 1897:366; 1898:87f.) and was renewed by *aṣe* Yoḥannəs in 1677 (ms. Ṭānāsee 1, fol. 3rb).

The monastery's important library (over 200 mss.; 58 microfilmed by Hammerschmidt, s. HamTana I, and some by EMML, not yet catalogued) contains several manuscripts with historical notes. Among them, a ms. of the Four Gospels is a remarkable document from both the historical and artistic point of view (ms. Ṭānāsee 1, HamTana I, 84–91, pl. XX–XXII; Leroy – Wright – Jäger 1961, pl. vii–xi). Written between the second third of the 14th cent. and the beginning of the 15th cent. (cp. Heldman 1979:359, 362, 369 n. 4; AfrZion 178f.; Bosc-Tiessé 2001:25–32), this manuscript is illuminated with 35 full-page miniatures depicting the Eusebian ↗canon tables, Christological scenes and the portraits of the ↗evangelists. Some details in the miniatures are enhanced with gold, an exceptional feature in Ethiopian ↗painting.

The monastery's ties with the throne were particularly close during ↗Iyasu I's reign. He had the present church building constructed between



1683–90, built from red, cut stones (ms. Ṭānāsee 3; Schneider 1972:39–42; Bosc-Tiessé 2001:151–55; Di Salvo – Chojnacki – Raineri 1999:85f., 88f.) and decorated with a large programme of wall-paintings; particularly notable is the copy of the depiction of the beheading of ↗John the Baptist from the *Evangelium arabicum* (which is very rare in mural art at that time; Bosc-Tiessé 2001:161–69, 480–83, fig. 50–59). However, an earlier canvas – from the second half of the 15th–early 16th cent., produced in ↗Fəre Ṣəyon's style by one of his assistants, or a later artist who worked in the same tradition – still hangs on the *mäqdäs* (Bosc-Tiessé 2000:242, fig. 13; 2001:82–85, 470, fig. 31).

In 1700, the eldest son of Iyasu, Fasil, was buried in the church (GuiIohan 229 [tr.]). A year later, the Emperor promoted the *mämhər* of K., *abba* Abranyos, also called Gämoč, to *ʿaqqabe säʿat* (GuiIohan 231 [tr.]; BassÉt 162). Abranyos played an important role as a patron of the arts, ordering the first illuminated manuscript of the *Gädlä Giyorgis* in Ethiopia (ms. Ṭānāsee 17), marking the beginning of the narrative iconographical cycles for saints' lives and allowing us to date the evolution from the First Gondärine Style to the Second (Bosc-Tiessé 2001:170–98, 493–502; ↗Gondär-style architecture).

The church was restored by *aṣe* ↗Iyoʾas I after it was burnt in 1765/66 (ms. Ṭānāsee 1, fol. 92va); the paintings on the western wall of the *mäqdäs* were redone during the 19th cent. (Bosc-Tiessé 2000:242; 2001:384, 420f., 427f., fig. 183).

Src.: BassÉt 162; ChTana 155f.; GuiIohan 229, 231 (tr.); HamTana I [Ṭānāsee 1, 3, 17, 22, 34, 41]; JULES LEROY – STEPHEN WRIGHT – OTTO JÄGER, *Éthiopie: Manuscrits*

à peintures, New York 1961, pl. vii–xi; MERID WOLDE AREGAY, "Some Unedited Land Charters of Emperor Särsä Dengel (r. 1563–1597)", *AE* 13, 1985, 87–101, here 89, 92; JULES PERRUCHON, "Notes pour l'histoire d'Éthiopie. Le règne de Fasiladas ou Alam Sagad (1632–1667)", *RevSem* 5, 1897, 360–72, here 366 (text); *ibid.* 6, 1898, 84–92, here 87f. (tr.); MARIO DI SALVO – STANISŁAW CHOJNACKI – OSVALDO RAINERI (eds.), *The Monastery of Nārgā Śellāsē*, Milano 1999, 85f., 88f.; MADELEINE SCHNEIDER, *Actes de Za-Yoḥannes de Kebran*, intr. by ENRICO CERULLI, Louvain 1972 (CSCO 332, 333 [SAe 64, 65]), v–ix, 13ff., 17f., 39–42; EAD., *Vie de Za-Yohannes et textes relatifs à Kebran: édition et traduction annotée*, Diplôme de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études, IVe section, Paris 1970, viii–x; ISAAC WAJNBERG (ed., tr.), *Das Leben des Hl. Jāfqerana ʾEgzīʾ*, Roma 1936 (OrChrA 106), 25.

Lit.: AfrZion 178f. [Catalogue no. 3]; CLAIRE BOSC-TIESSÉ, *Art, Église et royauté en Éthiopie aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles: écriture de l'histoire et "fabrique" des images dans les églises du lac Tana*, Ph.D thesis, Université de Paris I-Sorbonne, 2001, 25–32, 82–85, 91, 151–55, 161–98, 240, 384, 420f., 447f., 480–83, 493–502, fig. 31, 50–59, 183 (Lit.); EAD., "Notes sur l'histoire et l'art des églises du lac Tana: Rapport de mission (27 décembre 1997–28 janvier 1998)", *AE* 16, 2000 [2001], 207–70, here 240–44 (Lit.); RODOLPHE CORNUAU, *Moines et monastères du Godjam et du lac Tana en Éthiopie aux XIVe et XVe siècles: Évangélisation et intégration dans l'empire salomonide*, M.A. thesis, Université de Paris I 1994, 18ff.; MARILYN HELDMAN, "The Kibran Gospels: Ethiopia and Byzantium", in: *PICES* 5b, 1979, 359–72, here 359, 362, 369; OTTO JÄGER – IVY PEARCE, *Antiquities of North Ethiopia*, Stuttgart 1965, 72f.

Claire Bosc-Tiessé

Kəflä Giyorgis

K.G. (**ክፍለ፡ ጊዮርጊስ**, b. 14 *Gənbot* 1817 A.M. [21 May 1825 A.D.], Ankobär, d. 3 *Paguəmen* 1900 A.M. [8 September 1908 A.D.], Jerusalem), also known as *mämhər* or *däbtära* K.G., was a renown Ethiopian scholar and theologian. K.G. was baptized on the 23 *Säne*, the commemoration day of St. ↗George of Lydda, and thus named after him. K.G.'s first teacher was *mämhər* Wäldä Śəllase who introduced him, at an early age, to the Triple Birth doctrine (↗*Śost lədät*; ↗*Yäṣägga ləğ*) then predominant in Šäwa, to which K.G. adhered throughout his life.

K.G. studied at ↗Däbrä Wärq in Goğğam under the famous teacher *arat ʿayna* Goššu, proficient in traditional exegesis (↗*Andəmta*) of O.T. and N.T., as well as in the monastic books (*Mäṣaḥəftä mänäkosat*) and the writings of the Church Fathers (*Liqawənt*). Then he moved to Gondär, to the school of *aläqa* Wäldä Ab Wäldä Mikaʾel. On returning to Ankobär, K.G., together with his friend *aläqa* ↗Täklä Ṣəyon, devoted himself to the exegesis of such religious texts as Genesis, I Kings and II Kings, and ↗Isaac of Nineveh. K.G. took a special interest in the Book of Ezekiel. After spending many years in search of a good Gəʿəz text of this book, he worked on the commentary till the end of his life. The results of his labours were included by his pupil ↗Kidanä Wäld Kəfle in his edition of Ezekiel (Kidanä Wäld Kəfle 1924; s. Cowley in SegBodLes).

The situation of the followers of the *Śost lədät* deteriorated after the council of ↗Boru Meda in May 1878, in which K.G. took part as a delegate. Exiled to ↗Kärän, then part of the Egyptian ↗Sudan, he crossed then the border and took refuge at the Catholic Mission near Massawa (↗Ǝmkullu), with the approval of the head of the Mission, *abunä* Yosef (alias Mgr. Joseph Touvier). Subsequently, he was offered the professorship of Gəʿəz in the Catholic Seminary of Kärän, and settled there after a short visit to Jerusalem. Working at Kärän, K.G. contributed to the preparation of some early imprints (cp. ↗Incunabula). He helped edit a traditional Gəʿəz-Amharic grammar, the *Säwasəw* (1879) of *abba* Gäbrä Mikaʾel, and translated the catechism *Təmhərtä krəstiyan* (1880) in collaboration with ↗Coulbeaux. He revised the second edition of the Psalter (*Dawit*, 1885), which included the Song of Songs and ↗*Wəddase Maryam*, and translated, with Coulbeaux, the *De imitatione Christi*, which appeared with the title *Krəstosən sälä mämsäl* (1883). All these works were issued in Kärän by the St. Lazare printing press (s. Fumagalli 1893, nos. 1148, 1395, 1395c, 1395d). While in Kärän, K.G. was also working on an exposition of the *Yäṣägga ləğ* doctrine that was completed in 1883, probably to meet the 33rd anniversary of the death of *əṣṣäge* ↗Maḥṣäntä Mikaʾel, the fervent adherent of *Śost lədät* (published under the title **የጸጋ፡ ልጆች፡ ባህል**, *Yäṣägga ləğoṣṣ bahəl*, 'The Doctrine of the Adherents of the Son of Grace [School]' in Yaqob Beyene 1981:49–211; cp. Berhanou Abebbé 1986:11ff.). K.G.'s excellent teaching aroused the suspicion of *abba* ↗Täklä Haymanot of Məmsah, the head of the Seminary of Kärän, but K.G. was able to prove that accusations against him of "disseminating heresies" were groundless (Yaqob Beyene 1981:9, n. 10).

In 1887 K.G. left Kärän for Rome, where he was invited to teach Gəʿəz at the Ethiopian College in the Vatican (↗Santo Stefano dei Mori). During the ten years he spent there, K.G. had the opportunity to learn Latin and Italian, and he became an informant and consultant to ↗Guidi. Their collaboration resulted, *inter alia*, in a col-

lection of Amharic folklore (Guidi 1891:27, n. 1) and historical texts (Id. 1900:11), a fundamental Amharic–Italian dictionary (s. GuiVoc VIII–X), and the edition and translation of the ↗*Fəṭḥa nägäśt* (Guidi 1899:XVf., 1897:IX, n. 1). The ↗*Märḥa ʿəwwur* (Id. 1896) is possibly a composition by K.G. himself. Guidi felt very fortunate to be able to rely on such a competent source in matters concerning the Ethiopian Church, but somewhat underestimated the impact of K.G.'s own belief in the doctrine of *Śost lədät*. As a matter of fact, works like GuiVoc or "Uno squarcio di storia ecclesiastica di Abissinia" (Guidi 1900), considered to be standard pieces of scholarship by generations of students, reflect more often, inevitably, the views of K.G. and his school (cp. Tesfazghi Uqbit 1973:77f.).

Having left Rome in 1897, K.G. went to Jerusalem. There, he befriended *mämhər* Wäldä Säma^{c}ət, the superior of the monastery of Däbrä Gännät, and encountered a talented monk, Kidanä Wäld Kəfle, who became his disciple. During the eleven years they spent together, K.G. taught Kidanä Wäld Kəfle, sharing with him his vast theological knowledge. In January 1900, K.G. was visited at Däbrä Gännät by ↗Littmann, who briefly passed through Jerusalem looking, among other things, for help in translating the Old Amharic "Royal Songs". Littmann (1914:7) found K.G. exceptionally competent in language matters, but eager to help to interpret sacred hymns rather than popular songs. Littmann testifies that K.G. converted to Catholicism during his stay in Rome, "and kept connection with the Latin Patriarchate" of Jerusalem (Littmann 1902:106, n. 1). Thus, when K.G. came to Jerusalem, he must have lived within the Catholic community (cp. [Stoffregen-]Pedersen 1983:56f., 61). His collection of Ethiopic manuscripts was indeed bequeathed by him to the Latin Patriarchate (ZanBibl 137, no. 246). Yet, his wish to stay with his countrymen was so strong that he settled at, or spent much time in, the community of Däbrä Gännät. Devoting all his time to books and studies, K.G. led an ascetic life, with no interest in mundane things.

In May 1908 K.G. said to Kidanä Wäld Kəfle that he would not survive the month of *Paguəmen*. He bequeathed to his disciple his spiritual heritage and entrusted him with the task of finishing the Gə^{c}əz dictionary, which became the work of three scholars and was published only in 1955/56 by ↗Dästa Täklä Wäld (s. KWKDic). Likewise, the *Haymanotä abäw qäddämt* – a text on the *Yäṣägga ləǧ* doctrine – is considered to be Kidanä Wäld Kəfle's continuation of his teacher's major theological exposition, and was published later by Berhanou Abebbé (1986:36).

In accordance with his wishes, K.G. was buried on Mount Zion at the side of his companion Täklä Ṣəyon. Later, Kidanä Wäld Kəfle compiled a short *Vita* of his teacher (EMML 1523, fols. 67b–73a).

Src.: EMML V, 21 [no. 1523, fols. 67b–73a], 60 [no. 1558, fols. 169a, 170a], s. index; VI, s. index; ክርስቶስን፡ ስለ፡ መምሰል (*Krəstosən səlä mämsäl*, '*De imitatione Christi*'), tr. by KƎFLÄ GIYORGIS – JEAN-BAPTIST COULBEAUX, [Käränˆ] 1883; ዳዊት (*Dawit*, 'Psalter'), [Käränˆ] ²1885; GIUSEPPE FUMAGALLI, *Bibliografia etiopica. Catalogo descrittivo e ragionato degli scritti pubblicati dalla invenzione della stampa fino a tutto il 1891 intorno alla Etiopia e regioni limitrofe*, Milano 1893, nos. 1148, 1395, 1395c, 1395d; *abba* GÄBRÄ MIKAʾEL, ሰዋስው (*Säwasəw*, 'A Grammar'), [Käränˆ] 1879; IGNAZIO GUIDI, "Proverbi, strofe e favole abissine", *Giornale della Società asiatica italiana* 5, 1891, 28–82; ID., "Proverbi, strofe e racconti abissini", *ibid.* 6, 1892, 3–36; ID. (ed.), "Il 'Marḥa 'ewûr'", *RRALm* ser. 5ª, 5, 1896, 363–85; ID., *Il "Fetha Nagast" o "Legislazione dei Re": Codice ecclesiastico e civile di Abissinia*, Napoli 1897, XVf., Roma 1899, IX; ID., "Uno squarcio di storia ecclesiastica di Abissinia", *Bessarione* 8, 1900, 10–25; GuiVoc VIII–X; KIDANÄ WÄLD KƎFLE (ed.), መጽሐፈ፡ ሕዝቅኤል፡ ከትርጓሜው፡ ጋራ ... (*Mäṣḥafä Ḥəzqəʾel kätərgʷamew gara* ..., 'The Book of Ezekiel with its Interpretation ...'), [Dərre Dawa] 1916 A.M. [1924 A.D.]; BERHANOU ABEBBÉ (ed.) – KIDANÄ WÄLD KƎFLE, ሃይማኖተ፡ አበው፡ ቀደምት። *La foi des pères anciens*, 1. *Texte éthiopien. Enseignement de Mamher Kefla Giyorgis* ..., Stuttgart 1986 (SKK 79) ["Introduction", 3–54, here 7–17 (Lit.)]; JOSEPH TOUVIER, ትምህርተ፡ ክርስቲያን (*Təmhərtä krəstiyan*, 'The Doctrine of Christianity'), tr. by P. GIOVANNI COULBEAUX – *mämhər* KƎFLÄ GIYORGIS, Käränˆ 1880 A.M. [1887/88 A.D.]; YAQOB BEYENE, *L'unzione di Cristo nella teologia etiopica: contributo di ricerca su nuovi documenti etiopici inediti*, Roma 1981 (OrChrA 215), 9-23, 49-211.

Lit.: AmhChurchD vol. 5, 73-77; ROGER COWLEY, "A Geez Prologue concerning the Work of *Mämhər* Kəflä Giyorgis on the Text and Interpretation of the Book of Ezekiel", in: *SegBodLes* 99–114; ID., "Mämhər Esdros and his Interpretations", in: *PICES* 6, 41–69, here 55; KWKDic [introduction by DÄSTA TÄKLÄ WÄLD]; MAURO DA LEONESSA, *Santo Stefano Maggiore degli Abissini e le relazioni romano-etiopiche*, Città del Vaticano 1929, 298f.; ENNO LITTMANN, "Aus den abessinischen Klöstern in Jerusalem", *ZA* 16, 1902, 102-24, 363-88; ID., *Die Altamharischen Kaiserlieder*, Straßburg 1914, 7, 35; KIRSTEN [STOFFREGEN-]PEDERSEN, *The History of the Ethiopian Community in the Holy Land from the Time of Emperor Tewodros II till 1974*, Jerusalem 1983, s. index; WOLBERT G.C. SMIDT, "Before Eritrea, Before the Diaspora: *Habesha* in Exile and on Missions Abroad in the 19th Century", *Eritrean Studies Review* 4, 2, 2005, 1–36, here 20ff.; TESFAZGHI UQBIT, *Current Christological Positions of Ethiopian Orthodox Theologians*, Roma 1973 (OrChrA 196), 22 n. 2, s. index; ZanBibl 137, no. 246.

Ewa Wołk – Denis Nosnitsin

Kəflä Maryam

Liqe, or *liqä mäṣane* K.M. (ክፍለ፡ ማርያም, also Kəfle, b. 1641/42, Arba Amba, d. 11 October 1726, Gondär) was a nobleman, renowned legal authority and judge of the high court in ↗Gondär who lived during the prosperous times of the ↗Gondärine kingdom. The main source for his life is the ዜና፡ ዝክረ፡ ስሙ ... (*Zena zəkrä səmu* ..., lit. 'Narrative of the commemoration of the name ...') "of the blessed and glorious" K.M., a rare example of Gəᶜəz biographic writing (with hagiographic features), composed by K.M.'s son, *azzaž* Täklä Haymanot soon after his father's death (Bachmann 1893:33–44, 49f.). According to this text, K.M. was of noble origin, his lineage tracing back to "the house of Barzillai of Gilead" (2 Sam 17–27; 1 Kgs 2:7), which came to Ethiopia with ↗Mənilək I who brought with him "44 laws" from Jerusalem.

K.M. was already prominent at the court of *aṣe* ↗Iyasu I, serving as *liqä mäṣane* – one of the high judges (s. ↗*liq*). He became famous for his eloquence, memory, and his just decisions. In particular, amongst his innovative judgements concerning corporal punishment became known, he cancelled an old practice according to which a person of noble origin (*angebenawi* [cp. Schall in PICES 8], or *əsraʾelawi*, i.e. 'Israelite') who refused to accept the decision of the judges would be publicly stripped of their clothes and flogged. Instead, he/she was supposed to abstain from eating, drinking wine, sleeping in a bed etc. (Bachmann 1893:36; cp. Kropp in PICES 6, 363f.). In addition to the title and office of *liqä mäṣane*, Iyasu I also conferred upon K.M. that of *wəsṭ* ↗*azzaž* (s. GuiVoc 115, 682f.); both were made hereditary to K.M.'s family. In ca. 1694 K.M. was promoted to *liqä mäṣanənt*, 'head of the *liqä mäṣane*-judges' (DombrChr 285 and n. 902), a position he held until his death.

The *Zena* states that St. Mary once appeared to both K.M. and his wife Ǝskəndərawit; soon after, Iyasu I proposed that K.M. found his own church. The *Zena* culminates with a description of K.M.'s efforts to build the church of Kidanä Məḥrät in Arba Amba (his estate near Däbrä Tabor), the list of the clergy installed there and the property given to the church, the ↗*ᶜawaǧ* of Iyasu I and *abunä* ↗Sinoda's blessing of the *tabot*. K.M. died at the age of 85 (under *aṣe* ↗Bäkaffa) and was buried in his Kidanä Məḥrät church. The death of his wife *ətege* Ǝskəndərawit (at the age of 68) occured on 1 January 1720, and is both recorded in a note by her son Täklä Haymanot (Kropp in PICES 6, 361f.) and mentioned in the "Short Chronicle" (e.g., DombrChr 267). The *Zena* does not provide further detail of K.M.'s life, though as a contemporary of six kings he must have witnessed and participated in several important events. The "Short Chronicle" only reports that K.M. was a member of the court that sentenced to death three ↗Capuchins in 1716 (DombrChr 264f.).

After K.M.'s death, the office of *liqä mäṣane* was inherited by his son *azzaž* Giyorgis, and in 1744 (probably after the latter's death) by his other son Täklä Haymanot, who was married to *wäyzäro* Wälättä Nägäśt and died in 1758. The family kept its high position at the Gondärine court, as well as its estate at Arba Amba (for a number of property transaction documents, s. Crummey 1983:211). It has been surmised that Täklä Haymanot was connected with the composition of the "short chronicles" (↗Historiography), and that there were relations between K.M. and *liq* ↗Aṣqu, one of the most learned persons of the time (according to Eduard ↗Rüppel, a grandson of a certain Täklä Haymanot; cp. Kropp in PICES 6, 366 and n. 37).

Src.: BassÉt I, 403f.; II, 359; JOHANNES BACHMANN, *Aethiopische Lesestücke: Inedita Aethiopica für den Gebrauch in Universitäts-Vorlesungen*, Leipzig 1893, 26–33 [repr. in: ERNST HAMMERSCHMIDT (ed.), *Anthologia Aethiopica*, Hildesheim 1988]; BegCron 217; DombrChr 264, 267, 285; GuiIohan 316 (text) = 339 (tr.); GuiVoc 115, 682f.

Lit.: DONALD CRUMMEY, "Family and Property amongst the Amhara Nobility", *JAH* 24, 1983, 207–20, here 211f.; IGNAZIO GUIDI, "Sopra due degli 'Aethiopische Lesestücke' del Dr. Bachmann", *ZA* 11, 1896, 401–16; MANFRED KROPP, "An Hypothesis Concerning an Author or Compiler of the 'Short Chronicle' of the Ethiopian Kings", in: *PICES* 6, 359–72; ANTON SCHALL, "Zu Bedeutung und Herkunft des Äthiopischen *ʾangebenay*", in: *PICES* 8, vol. 2, 581–83 [= *OrChr* 72, 1988, 133–35].

Denis Nosnitsin

Kəflä Maryam

Abeto K.M. (ክፍለ፡ ማርያም, d. December 1607) was one of the four sons of *aṣe* ↗Śärṣä Dəngəl by his concubine Tägäzzañ Ḫarägo (or Ḫarägʷa; *tägäzzañ* being probably a title; elsewhere she is called *əmmäbet*), a converted ↗Betä Ǝsraʾel woman from ↗Səmen. The others were Zämaryam, ↗Yaᶜəqob and Mätäkko. During his lifetime Śärṣä Dəngəl, who had no legitimate sons, intended to make Zämaryam his heir, but the latter died and Śärṣä Dəngəl chose his next son

Yaᶜəqob as the heir apparent (s. BecRASO III, 327). When Yaᶜəqob was proclaimed emperor, his brothers K.M. and Mätäkko spent the turbulent years of his reign in the safety of Səmen, which they used as their local power base.

When *aṣe* Yaᶜəqob was killed on 10 March 1607 in a battle with *aṣe* ↗Susənyos, the brothers began their struggle for the throne. According to the Chronicle of Susənyos, Mätäkko wanted to become emperor and to make his brother his *wazīr* (PerChron vol. 1, 101). However, the two were arrested and in November 1607 put into Susənyos's hands, who had them brought to trial in December and beheaded. The Chronicle (ibid. 282) also hints at K.M.'s and his brother's links to ↗Gedewon, possibly Ḫarägo's brother (Quirin 1992).

Src.: BecRASO III, 327f.; BegCron 41; PerChron vol. 1, 101, 282 (text) = vol. 2, 79 and n., 217 (tr.).

Lit.: SEVIR CHERNETSOV, *Efiopskaja feodal'naja monarhija v XVII veke* ('Ethiopian Feudal Monarchy in the 17th century'), Moscow 1990, 63; JAMES ARTHUR QUIRIN, *The Evolution of the Ethiopian Jews*, Philadelphia, PA 1992, 80-83, 245f. nn. 215, 227; TSTarik III, 345.

Sevir Chernetsov

Kəflä Waḥəd

Däğğazmač K.W. (ክፍለ፡ ዋሕድ, also Kəflä Waḥid; b. ca. 1560s, d. 1618, Gorgora) was a governor of ↗Təgray until ca. 1607/08. The son of *šum ᶜagamä* Däbrä Ṣəyon Azäzäy from Wurəḥät (near ᶜAddigrat), he inherited his father's governorship over ↗ᶜAgamä, and later extended his rule over wide areas of Təgray. In about the 1580s, K.W. was married by *aṣe* ↗Śärṣä Dəngəl to the latter's daughter *əmbäytäy* Krəstosawit (in oral tradition: Kəsəsayit or Səsayit [corrupted form: Qäsisawit]; Mendez mentions K.W. as Śärṣä Dəngəl's son-in-law, BecRASO VIII, 92). Through his wife, K.W. controlled a great number of *gʷəlti* lands (↗*Gʷəlt*) in Təgray, such as in ↗Ǝntičč̣o and Dəbdəbo, and in areas up to Bägemdər.

During the 1597 power struggle, which followed the death of the monarch, K.W. sided with the party that successfully supported the claim to the throne of *aṣe* Śärṣä Dəngəl's minor son, *aṣe* ↗Yaᶜəqob. Yaᶜəqob's reign gave K.W. the opportunity to briefly occupy a central power position within the state (BecRASO VIII, 92f.; Ludolf 1681:L. II. c. 6. 57; Bartnicki – Mantel-Niecko 1978:158f.). Together with *ras* ↗Atnatewos he controlled the interim government. However, K.W. soon left the court to return to Təgray and reassume its governorship, *ras* Atnatewos becoming Yaᶜəqob's tutor.

K.W. was able to extend his rule even up to the coast, and assumed both the titles of ↗*təgre makʷännən* and *nəguśä baḥər* (i.e., ↗*baḥər nägaš*). In 1603 his seat was ↗Dəbarwa in Ḫamasen, the capital of the *baḥər nägaš*, where he received Pedro ↗Paez. The powerful nobleman Səbḥat Läᵓab of Ḫamasen stood in K.W.'s services; he was charged by K.W. to detain *ras* ↗Zäśəllase, the rebellious head of the Qʷərban regiment banned from the Ethiopian court (Chernetsov 1990:38). K.W. then nominated Zämaryam from Tämben as governor of the *baḥər nägaš*'s realm in Dəbarwa, and married his daughter Amätä Ṣəyon to him (BecRASO IX, 294f.; PerChron II, 349).

The conflicts at the court led to a battle between *aṣe* Yaᶜəqob and the future monarch *aṣe* ↗Susənyos, which took place on 12 April 1606 at Č̣äč̣äho, Bägemdər. K.W. intervened with his Təgrayan troops and again sided with Yaᶜəqob (BTafA 293); however, this time K.W. was beaten and fled to Təgray. After his accession to power, *aṣe* Susənyos solemnly forgave K.W., who submitted and sent precious gifts, an example followed by the other governors from Ḫamasen to Baqla (PerChron vol. 2, 77f.; Chernetsov 1990:62). Only a few years thereafter, however, K.W. was replaced by another governor, *aṣe* Susənyos's half-brother *ras* ↗Səᶜəlä Krəstos (in ca. 1608; ibid. 65; BecRASO VIII, 93). A decade later, K.W. died of pest at the Emperor's *kätäma* of ↗Gorgora (PerChron vol. 2, 156, 349).

K.W.'s descendants enjoyed a number of practical and symbolic privileges until 1974, owning the rich *gʷəlti*, which with time turned into *rəsti* (family heritage; ↗*Rəst*). K.W.'s six children, three sons and three daughters, received six *gʷəlti*: reportedly, Bakimos got Gʷadəb; Amätä Ṣəyon (by some called "Lättäṣəyon") ᶜAddi Qälqäl; Wälättä Dəngəl ("Lättädəngəl") got Wäᶜaga; Zäwäldämaryam Dagga; Yəḥannəs, who had first gone to Wälqayt, got ᶜAddi Krəs (Dəbdəbo) [in some traditions this son is replaced by Bakimos's son Arqanos]; Wälättä Ḫawaryat ("Lättähawarya[t]") got Məsəḥəl. One line of descendants is also known in Eritrea, e.g., in ᶜAdəgna in ↗Ǝggäla (s. KolTrad 2, 16). Bakimos of ᶜAgamä is known from historical sources as the grandson of *aṣe* Śärṣä Dəngəl, upholding the Orthodox faith against Catholicism (Barradas 1996:80). It was probably due to his genealogi-

cal connection to K.W.'s descendants that *aṣe* ↗Iyoʾas I in the mid-18th cent. built the church at Sägli, another *gʷəlti* of Krəstosawit.

The office of *šum ᶜagamä* was later transferred to another line, allegedly also descending from Däbrä Ṣəyon (*šum ᶜagamä* ↗Säbagadis).

K.W. plays an important role in Təgrayan oral historiography. He is remembered as the founder of the capital of ᶜAgamä, ↗ᶜAddigrat (the church of Č̣ärqos is attributed to him). Besides, he is important as the apical ancestor of Təgrayan leading families, both Christian and Muslim, who can claim Solomonic origin through his wife Krəstosawit (e.g., ↗Kaśa Golǧa). Her grave is still shown in the monastery of Ǝnda Maryam Wəhabit (near Dəbdəbo) in Mägarya Ṣämri, where she lived as a widow. Her grandmother is said in oral tradition to have been from the *Däqqi Bortukan*, i.e. from ↗Portugal. K.W. also figures in Təgrayan legends; for example, his mother is said to have been a *zarti* (*däqqi ḥədərtäna*, female earth spirits), and he himself to have been "taken back" by them.

Src.: MANOEL BARRADAS, *Tractatus Tres Historico-Geographici (1634): a Seventeenth-Century Historical and Geographical Account of Tigray, Ethiopia*, tr. by ELIZABET FILLEUL, ed. by RICHARD PANKHURST, Wiesbaden 1996 (AeF 43), 80; BecRASO VIII, 92f.; IX, 294ff.; BTafA 293, 933f.; KolTrad 2, 16; LudHist, L. II. c. 6. 57; PerChron vol. 1, 81, 99, 202 (text) = vol. 2, 63, 77f., 156 (tr.), 349 (Lit.); DombrChr 187, n. 278; interviews with Muluwärq Kidanämaryam, Mäqälä, July 2005; *č̣əqa šum* Kämal Saʾid Salәḥ, Ǝntič̣č̣o, July 2004; Marqos Gäbrä Maryam Ǝngəda, ᶜAddikrəs/Dəbdəbo, August 2005.

Lit.: ANDRZEJ BARTNICKI – JOANNA MANTEL-NIEĆKO, *Geschichte Äthiopiens: Von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart*, Berlin 1978, 158; SEVIR CHERNETSOV, *Efiopskaya feodal'naya monarhiya v XVII veke* ('Ethiopian Feudal Monarchy in the 17th Century'), Moscow 1990, 35, 38, 43, 53, 62, 65.

Wolbert Smidt

Kəfle ᶜƎrgätu

Däǧǧazmač K.ᶜƎ. (ክፍሌ፡ ዕርገቱ; b. 1906, Bulga or Tägʷəlät, d. 23 November 1974, Addis Abäba) was a politician during *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I's reign. K.ᶜƎ. was the son of a guard at the French legation in Addis Abäba and received his education at the military school of Saint-Cyr in France (ClapHS 195; de Juniac 1976:407). In the ↗Italian war 1935–36, K.ᶜƎ. was leading the ↗Imperial Bodyguard units as a junior commander during the battle of ↗May Č̣äw (KTMast 145; HSLife 277). At that time he bore the title of *grazmač*.

After the Liberation, K.ᶜƎ. was appointed *däǧǧazmač*. A close associate of *ras* ↗Wäldä

Kəfle ᶜƎrgätu, photo from Ministry of Information 1963:7

Giyorgis Wäldä Yoḥannəs, he was at that time concerned with public security, occupying first the post of Director-General of the State Security from 1942 to 1949 and then the post of Vice-Minister of Public Security until 1955. When Wäldä Giyorgis lost his influence at court in 1955, K.ᶜƎ. was also removed from his post and appointed Governor of Harär. He re-entered the ↗Government in 1961 as Minister of State for Public Security, and was appointed Minister of Interior in 1966 (ClapHS 113, 116, 195). In his capacity as Minister of the Interior, he participated in the committee established by Ḫaylä Śəllase I in July 1968 to review the situation in the region of ↗Goǧǧam that went through a peasant's rebellion, and to suggest means of ending the crisis (Schwab 1970:253). He was executed together with other officials during the ↗Revolution in November 1974.

Two young brothers of K.ᶜƎ. had also risen to senior positions during the time of Ḫaylä Śəllase I. The most known is General Täšomä ᶜƎrgätu, who was ambushed and killed in Eritrea on the road to Kärän in 1970 for which reason martial law was declared in the region.

Src.: HSLife 277; KTMast 145.

Lit.: ClapHS 113, 116, 195; GONTRAN DE JUNIAC, *Le dernier Roi des Rois: l'Ethiopie de Haïlé Sélassié*, Paris 1976, 407; PIERRE JACOB, "The Saint-Cyriens of East Africa", in: *PICES* 15, 275-78, here 276; MINISTRY OF INFORMATION (ed.), *Harar's Progress and Development*, Addis Ababa 1963, 7 (ill.); PETER SCHWAB, "Rebellion in Gojam Province, Ethiopia", *Canadian Journal of African Studies / Revue Canadienne des Études Africaines* 4, 2, Spring 1970, 249-56; YEMANE MENGESHA, [review of KilHDic], *JAH* 40, 1999, 520.

Estelle Sohier

Kəfle Wädağo

K.W. (ክፍሌ፡ ወዳጆ; b. August 1935, Addis Abäba, d. 28 April 2004, South Africa) was a distinguished diplomat, a chief architect of the ↗Organization of African Unity and the 1994 Ethiopian ↗constitution.

K.W. was born to *näggadras* Wädağo Ali and *wäyzäro* Məntəwwab Täkle. Wädağo Ali was a diplomat, serving as a consul general in Eritrea in the early 1930s entrusted with following and averting Italian preparations to invade Ethiopia. Upon the Italian occupation the family, including K.W., was interned in a concentration camp in Italy. Following the Liberation in 1941 K.W. was sent to the Täfäri Mäkʷännən School. He graduated from the University College of Addis Abäba in 1957 and from the University of Wisconsin, where he received Master of Arts degrees in Political Science and Legal Institutions, in 1959.

Upon returning to Ethiopia, he joined the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He also held important posts such as Ethiopia's Deputy Permanent Representative to the UN (1961–63 and 1968–70); the first acting Secretary General of the Organization of African Unity (1963–64); Ambassador to the United States (1971–74); and Minister of Foreign Affairs (1974–77).

In protest against the *Därg* (↗Provisional Military Administrative Council), he resigned from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and went into exile in the United States. Except for a brief stay at Harvard's John F. Kennedy School of Government, he spent the *Därg* years working tirelessly to end military dictatorship. Upon the overthrow of the *Därg*, K.W. returned to join the Transitional Government and was the chair of the Constitutional Commission (1991–94). The draft constitution included a minority position, put forward by K.W., offering dissenting provisions on the right to secession and collective land ownership. This was presented to the constituent assembly together with the majority draft proposal of the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (E.P.R.D.F.). The preamble and the human rights provisions of the constitution are among K.W.'s critical contributions to the constitution.

When the Transitional Government came to a close, K.W. left the government to promote peace in a non-governmental organization working in collaboration with the Inter-Africa Group. He also was an ardent advocate of gender and ethnic equality as well as freedom of the press and freedom of association. He remained committed to African liberation and to liberalism causes throughout his long career in public service. In post-imperial Ethiopia, K.W. was Ethiopia's most prominent voice for liberal democracy.

Kəfle Wädağo in the 1970s; photo courtesy of the family

Src.: KIFLE WODAJO, "Wedding Customs among the Amhara", *Addis Ababa University College Ethnological Society Bulletin* 1, 2, December 1953 (repr. in: ALULA PANKHURST [ed.], *Addis Ababa University College Ethnological Society Bulletin ...* 1953–1961, Addis Ababa 2002, 27–29); TELAHUN PAULOS – ABDULA ABDURAHMAN – KIFLE WODAJO – ABDUL JELIL MOHAMED, "Life in the Monastery [Field Trip to Dabra Libanos]", *ibid.* 1, 3, December 1954 (repr. in: *ibid.* 53ff.); KIFLE WODAJO, "Redefining the Problems of the Horn of Africa", in: CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF THE HORN OF AFRICA (ed.), *Conflict and Conflict Resolution in the Horn of Africa, Proceedings of the First International Conference on the Horn of Africa*, New York 1986, 38–48.

Lit.: JAMES H. POLHEMUS, "The Provisional Secretariat of the OAU, 1963–4", *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 12, 2, 1974, 287–95; JOHN SORENSON, "Discourses on Eritrean Nationalism and Identity", *ibid.* 29, 2, 1991, 301–17; ID., "History and Identity in the Horn of Africa", *Dialectical Anthropology* 17, 3, 1992, 227–52; PAUL H. BRIETZKE, "Ethiopia's Leap in the Dark: Federalism and Self-Determination in the New Constitution", *Journal of African Law* 39, 1, 1995, 19–38; ALEM HABTU, "Ethnic Pluralism as an Organizing Principle of the Ethiopian Federation", *Dialectical Anthropology* 28, 2, 2004, 91–123.

Andreas Eshete

Kəflo

K. (ክፍሎ, d. 22 June 1617, Magač, Dämbəya) was a courtier and one of the most important political figures during the reigns of Emperors ↗Yaᶜəqob,

↗Zädəngəl and ↗Susənyos. The author of the latter's Chronicle, *ṣäḥafe təʾəzaz* ↗Täklä Śəllase, devoted almost an entire chapter to K. (ch. 49, PerChron vol. 1, 185-90 [text]) depicting him as a villain, as he did with other resolute enemies of Susənyos such as ↗Zäśəllase, ↗Yolyos and ↗Yämanä Krəstos. The reports of Pedro ↗Paez (less emotional yet similar to Täklä Śəllase's in disdaining the personality of K., unique even for that time) mostly agree with Täklä Śəllase's information, completing it at some points.

According to Täklä Śəllase, K. was of relatively humble origin: his father was from the ↗*čäwa* of Däwaro, and his mother was from Šäwa. They separated, as Täklä Śəllase stresses, because of their poverty. K. tended his aunt's cattle. When the region was raided by the ↗Oromo, K. was badly wounded and emasculated, yet survived and was later accepted into the service of *azmač* Moṭä Gärrad (s. also CRHist 51), his relative. One day, when K. was angry with his master, he put a burning coal into the chest which contained Moṭä Gärrad's silk vestments. When Moṭä Gärad opened the chest the next day, he found his cloths burnt to ashes. Nobody knew that it had been K., but Moṭä Gärad soon banished the mischievous servant.

K. joined *aṣe* Yaᶜəqob and was made ↗*bäᶜal däräba* of a certain Wakaha, but was soon dismissed for his bad conduct. He joined *ras* ↗Atnatewos and followed him to ↗Goğğam, having become his favourite. When Atnatewos quarreled with Yaᶜəqob and was arrested, K. briefly served under Yaᶜəqob, but then joined the rebellion against him, following *abetohun* ↗Yonaʾel. When Yaᶜəqob was deposed in 1603 and *aṣe* Zädəngəl came to power, Atnatewos joined the rebellion against the Emperor (killed at ↗Barčʿa on 14 October 1604, s. PerChron ch. 21), and also quarreled with K., who went to look for Yaᶜəqob in ↗Ǝnnarya. Not finding him there, on his way back he met *ras* Zäśəllase along with the powerful Qʷərban regiment and other nobles. The message that Yaᶜəqob "was not found" prompted the decision to dispatch a delegation to Susənyos, which swore loyalty to him in April/May 1605; at that time already *nägaš* of Goğğam, K. was among the delegation's members. Possibly by chance, K. thus contributed to Yaᶜəqob's failure in his struggle for the crown, ending with his death in 1607.

Susənyos favoured K., who served him on campaign, leading a *čäwa*-regiment called Ḫaylat (PerChron ch. 36). However, he plotted against Susənyos on several occasions. In 1609 he joined a plot hatched by *ras* Yolyos, which was foiled by *ras* ↗Səᶜəlä Krəstos. K. was imprisoned on ↗Däq, but was soon pardoned (ibid. ch. 39, 43) and appointed ↗*blatten geta*. He quitted the office after some time, offended at not being appointed ↗*säḥafe lam* of Damot. In October 1613, K. was again found plotting; he was arrested and briefly imprisoned in Wäläqa, but soon forgiven and brought back to court.

In May 1615, K. was sent on campaign against the Oromo in ↗Bizamo and to collect tribute in Ǝnnarya. He was again appointed *blatten geta*; his power grew, and so did, according to Täklä Śəllase, his arrogance and the scale of his wrongdoings. When Susənyos was campaigning against ↗Gedewon and Täkluy, K. concentrated power in his own hands. He became ↗*wämbär* and ↗*käntiba* of ↗Dämbəya and even took *ṣäḥafe təʾəzaz* Täklä Śəllase's seal from him thus incurring the latter's hatred.

Upon receiving complaints, Susənyos reproached his favourite, but did not punish him, and K. was able to keep his position for two years and seven months. Then he secretly joined the anti-Catholic rebellion of Yolyos. K. promised him to stay on the side of Susənyos and to assassinate the Emperor at the right moment, on condition that Yolyos would kill *ras* Səᶜəlä Krəstos. However, during the battle of 11 May 1617, in which the rebels were defeated and *abunä* ↗Səmᶜon was killed, K. did not do this. Some days later, still playing the loyal servant, K. tried to organize another attempt on the Emperor's life, which also failed. In response, K. was arrested, brought to court, quickly sentenced to death and beheaded on 22 June 1617.

Src.: BecRASO II, 395, 399, 401f.; III, 316ff., 330, 339, 346, 350, 364; VIII, 105–10; CRHist 51 (text) = 51 (tr.); PerChron chs. 21, 36, 39, 43, 49, s. index.

Lit.: SEVIR CHERNETSOV, *Efiopskaja feodal'naja monarhija v XVII veke* ('Ethiopian Feudal Monarchy in the 17th cent.'), St. Petersburg 1990, 18f., 66, 69ff., 75ff., 111, 119ff., 291; DIMITRI TOUBKIS, *Les* Blatténočgétä: *des dignitaires de la cour du roi chrétien d'Éthiopie au xviiᵉ siècle. Essai de prosopographie (c. 1588–1721)*, DEA, Université Paris I–Sorbonne (CRA), 2000, here 72–75 (Lit.).

Denis Nosnitsin

Kəfu qän

K.q. (**ክፉ ቀን**, Amh. 'evil day') is a term often applied for a time of famine and more specifically for the Great Ethiopian Famine of 1888–92.

This last famine owed its intensity to the fact that it represented a coincidence of calamities, any of which would by itself have been serious. First, there was an outbreak of rinderpest, possibly due to the import by the Italians in 1887 of cattle infected by a new virus against which the local animals lacked immunity (Pellenc 1987:18f.). The disease spread rapidly from the northern highlands across most of Ethiopia and into other parts of eastern Africa. Cattle infected died within three days. Not more than 7–8 % of livestock were said to have survived (Skinner 1906:196). This led to an acute shortage of meat for consumption and to the virtual disappearance of plough oxen, with a resultant collapse of agricultural production. In addition, there was an unusually severe drought, beginning in 1888, which culminated in a major harvest failure (GueCopMen 258, 296–99).

Finally, plagues of locusts and caterpillars appeared, apparently induced by abnormally hot weather. These events combined to produce a spectacular increase in food prices and acute shortages, resulting in high human mortality. Many of the survivors, debilitated by hunger and wandering in search of food, fell victim to epidemics of smallpox, dysentery, typhus and virulent influenza (GueCopMen 322f.). One estimate suggested that a third of the population died (Pankhurst 1966:273).

The K.q. had numerous repercussions. These included migration to the coast, west and south in search of food; temporary replacement of ploughs by hand tools; collapse of resistance to Italian expansion in Eritrea and of Oromo opposition to *aṣe* Mənilək II's southward advance; scarcity of supplies, which contributed to the Emperor's subsequent reorganization of the agricultural tax system; depopulation of fertile Eritrean land, which, as a consequence, was claimed for the settlement of Italian colonists; enhanced proselytism by European missionaries providing charity.

↗Famine; ↗Epidemics

Src.: GueCopMen 258, 296–99, 322f.; ITALIA, CAMERA DEI DEPUTATI, *Documenti diplomatici presentati al Parlamento italiano, Missione Antonelli in Ethiopia*, Roma 1890, 869ff.

Lit.: BZHist 72; RICHARD PANKHURST, "The Great Ethiopian Famine of 1888–1892: a New Assessment", *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* 221, 1966, 96–124, 271–94, here 273; ANDRÉ JEAN JOACHIM AUGUSTIN PELLENC, *Les Italiens en Afrique (1880–1896)*, Paris 1897, 18f.; ROBERT PEET SKINNER, *Abyssinia of To-day: an Account of the First Mission Sent by the American Government to the Court of the King of Kings, 1903–1904*, London 1906, 196.

Richard Pankhurst

Kəhnät

The term K. (**ክህነት**, Gəᶜəz, Amh. lit. '[office of] priesthood, clerical condition) refers to both the sacerdotal character and the ministry of the members of the clergy of the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥədo) Church (EOTC). It is derived from **ካህን**, *kahən* (pl. *kahənat*), 'clergyman', the cognates of which, with the same meaning, are attested in such other Semitic languages as Hebrew, Syriac and Arabic (DillmLex 814; LesCDic 278).

In the Ethiopic ↗Bible, *kahən* is used in the O.T. to indicate the sacred ministers of the Temple (cp. Hebrew *kohen*, 'priest [of the Temple]', descendant of Aaron). In the N.T., it is applied to Jesus Christ as corresponding to Gr. ἱερεύς (cp. also ↗*liqä kahənat* [Gr. ἀρχιερεύς, 'high-priest'], e.g., in Heb 4:14); the expression **ሕዝበ፡ ክህነት** (*ḥəzbä kəhnät*) refers to the "sacerdotal people" as a whole (cp. DillmLex 814b). In contrast, the term ↗*qäsis* (cp. Gr. πρεσβύτερος, 'presbyter, priest') applied originally to elders flanking the bishop (DillmLex 433a).

Since the early 3rd cent. at least, the liturgy and the life of the Christian community were presided by the monarchic bishop, a fact documented in the ↗*Traditio apostolica*, also in its Ethiopic version (cf. Horner 1904:138f.; Duensing 1946:20f.; cp. Bradshaw 2002:38f.; cp. ↗*Senodos*), as well as in the *Mäṣḥafä kidan* (cf., e.g., Beylot 1984:35; s. ↗*Testamentum Domini*). The "Constitutions of the Apostles" show a change, referring to both the *epískopos* and the *arhieréus* for the celebrant (Metzger 1987:179, 204), and using the term *hiereîs* for priests outside the liturgy (ibid. 212f.), the same equation being established, consequently, in the Ethiopic ↗*Didəsqəlya*, where the bishop is the high-priest (Harden 1920:50). The term *kahən* (or **ንፍቀ፡ ካህን**, *nəfqä kahən*) has since then been referred to the celebrant of the liturgy (↗*Qəddase*), whether a bishop or a member of the presbyterium delegated by him to assume liturgical presidency in his stead. *Kahən* and *qäsis* have therefore quickly become synonymous. (English does not distinguish both either, hence the artificial notions of the "priesthood" of Christ and the people of God and the "ministerial priesthood" of the Church's clergy.) In current usage *kahən* applies to monks who have

received the priestly ordination, while the married priests are generally called *qäsis*, although they share the same K.-priesthood.

The *nəfqä kahən* (lit. 'half-*kahən*', i.e. the assistant priest) assists the main celebrant in a given Eucharistic service in the awareness that the full liturgical functions may be fulfilled by the latter only. Priests swap their roles from one liturgy to another, on a weekly basis (hence the term *sämonäññə*; ↗*sämon*), or more, depending on the number of priests qualifying to celebrate the liturgy (*qäddaš kahənat*). The liturgy likens the pair *kahən – nəfqä kahən* to Joseph and Nicodemus (Jn 19:38–42; *Mäṣḥafä qəddase* 1981/82; ch. III, 12; Böll 1998:206f.) while K. is referred to the figure of ↗Melchizedek.

The term *liqanat* (sg. ↗*liq*, cp. DillmLex 25f.) renders Gr. *presbýteroi* ('elders, priests') in the phrase *ʿəśra wäʾarbaʿəttu liqanatä sämay*, 'the 24 Heavenly Elders' (Rev 4:4–10), who are commonly known, however, as Heavenly Priests (**ካህናተ ሰማይ**, *kahənatä sämay*). The hymn of the Heavenly Priests praising the Lamb ("To you, power, honour, glory and dominion forever ...", *məqnay* after Rev 4:11, 5:12) is sung with prostrations at each canonical hour of Holy Week (cp. ↗*Gəbrä Ḥəmamat*). The Ethiopian tradition considers the Heavenly Priests (for their names, s. Basset 1895:21; Conti Rossini 1896:470) a particular category of ↗Angels. Occasionally in the early period (e.g. in ↗Gännätä Maryam), but more systematically since the development of the first Gondärine style up to the present, the 24 Heavenly Priests have been depicted as accompanying the ↗*Maiestas Domini*, the Ancient of Days or the ↗Holy Trinity (ChojPaint 132f.), thus conveying to the faithful a sense of their participation in the heavenly liturgy through the concrete celebration held in the particular community and church. In this regard, the Ethiopian tradition, in keeping with the conceptions found in the *Didəsqəlya* (Harden 1920:1) and developed by Pseudo-Diyonysius the Areopagite's *Celestial Hierarchy* (esp. ch. 1 and 3), understands that there is a correspondence between the earthly hierarchy of K., with all its ten ranks (including the minor orders) and the heavenly hierarchy of the ten choirs of angels (*Fətḥa nägäśt* 1965/66:133; cp. Paulos Tzadua 1968:56; Yared Fanta forthcoming, 162f.).

K. is regarded as one of the seven sacraments of the Church: namely, the **ምሥጢረ ክህነት**, *məśṭirä kəhnät* (lit. 'Mystery of the Priesthood', i.e. Holy Orders; cp. ↗Ordination). It concerns the bishops and the patriarch (cp. ↗*eppisqoppos*, ↗*pappas*), priests among whom the *qomosat* (sg. ↗*qomos*) receive a specific ordination, and the deacons (↗*diyaqon*), i.e. the major orders, given by the laying on of a bishop's hands and the blowing of his breath, as distinct from the minor orders given by a blessing only: sub-deacon (*nəfqä diyaqon*), lector (*anagʷənəsṭis*), cantor (*mäzämmər*), doorkeeper (*aṣawe ḫoḫət/anaqəṣ*). The functions inherent to K. are to govern the Church, teach the faithful and conduct the liturgical services. The actual level of responsibility varies according to the ordination received, the mandate given by the concerned authority and, in the case of a bishop, the prerogative of the episcopal see to which he is appointed (e.g., the apostolicity of the see of Alexandria or Addis Abäba being a capital city).

The bishops are in living diachronic communion, throughout the history, with their predecessors, as well as their living counterparts. This uninterrupted apostolic succession supports the apostolic tradition (**ሐዋርያዊ ትውፊት**, *ḥawaryawi təwfit*) that witnesses to the identity of today's EOTC with the Church of the Apostles and expresses its catholicity, also in a synchronic manner, through their participation in the Holy Synod at the level of the local Churches of Ethiopia (and now of Eritrea) while the communion between local sister Churches is expressed through letters and visits, participation in the enthronement of the new head of a particular Church and councils (cp. ↗*gubaʾe*; in modern times the Addis Ababa Conference held in 1965).

Historically, many of the EOTC and state leaders sought to bring the conditions of the clergy in stricter correspondence with the Canon ↗law, and both raise their quality and heighten their involvement in the lives of believers (in particular, *aṣe* ↗Zärʾa Yaʿəqob, cf. CRRicBerhan 19ff., 48–53). In modern times this became one of the primary missions of the educational establishments such as ↗Holy Trinity Theological College.

With the emergence of the administrative structure of the EOTC, the Church headquarters at every hierarchical administrative level are referred to as **ቤተ ክህነት**, *betä kəhnät*, lit. 'the house of priesthood': **ጠቅላይ ቤተ ክህነት**, *ṭäqlay betä kəhnät*, i.e. the Patriarchate; **የመንበረ ጵጵስና የሃገረ ስብከት ቤተ ክህነት**, *yämänbärä pəpəsənna yähagärä səbkät betä kəhnät*, i.e. the diocesan curia; **የአውራጃ/ወረዳ ቤተ ክህነት**, *yäʾawraǧǧa/*

wäräda betä kəhnät, i.e. the *awraǧa/wäräda* Church office (cp. ↗Administrative division).

Since the establishment of the Patriarchate, dioceses, Holy Synod and of the almost parallel centralizing institution of the ↗*Yäsäbäka mänfäsawi guba'e*, the *betä kəhnät* offices have supervised the parish councils at every level (s. EOTC 1999:25f., organogramme on back cover). In case of conflicts, the authority of the heads of *betä kəhnät*, from the *liqä kahnat* on the *wäräda* up to the Patriarchate, can be called upon (cp. Canon ↗law).

Among the ↗Betä Ǝsra'el, priesthood followed many of the characteristics of K. among the Christians particularly with regard to rules regarding ↗matrimony and the role of confessor (↗*näfs abbat*). An additional responsibility was the performance of sacrifices. Since the Betä Ǝsra'el did not have formal sacraments, *kahən* or *qes* were not indispensable. Indeed, many villages did not have a *kahən*. Since arriving in Israel, Beta Ǝsra'el K. have largely lost their ability to officiate in formal ceremonies such as marriages, funerals etc.

↗Churches and church administration

Src.: RENÉ BASSET (tr.), *Apocryphes éthiopiens. V: Les Prières de la Vierge a Bartos et au Golgotha*, Paris 1895, 21; ROBERT BEYLOT (ed., tr.), *Testamentum Domini éthiopien*, Louvain 1984, 35; VERENA BÖLL, *'Unsere Herrin Maria'. Die traditionelle äthiopische Exegese der Marienanaphora des Cyriacus von Behnesa*, Wiesbaden 1998 (AeF 48), 206f.; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "La redazione etiopica della preghiera della Vergine fra i Parti", *RRALm* ser. 5ª, 6, 1896, 457–79, here 470f.; DillmLex 25f., 433, 814b; HUGO DUENSING, *Der äthiopische Text der Kirchenordnung des Hippolyt: Nach 8 Handschriften herausgegeben und übersetzt*, Göttingen 1946, 20f.; ፍትሐ፡ ነገሥት፡ ንባብና፡ ትርጓሜው (*Fətḥa nägäśt nəbabənna tərgʷamew*, 'Law of the Kings, its Reading and Interpretation'), Addis Abäba 1958 A.M. [1965/66 A.D.], 133b; JOHN MASON HARDEN, *The Ethiopic Didascalia*, London – New York 1920, 1, 50; GEORGE WILLIAM HORNER, *The Statutes of the Apostles or Canones Ecclesiastici*, London 1904, 131 [Statute 11]; LesCDic 278; *abba* MARQOS Ityopyawi zädäbrä Bizän, መጽሐፍ፡ ዘሲመተ፡ ክህነት። መጽሐፈ፡ ሥርዓተ፡ ሲመት፡ ዘሥዩማኑ፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ ኢትዮጵያዊት (*Mäṣḥaf zäsimätä kəhnät. Mäṣḥafä śərʿatä simät zäśəyyumanä betä krəstiyan ityopyawit*, 'Book of the Ordination of Priesthood. Book of the Ordination Rules of those Ordained of the Ethiopian Church'), ms., *Mäggabit* 1933 A.M. – *Taḥśaś* 27, 1935 A.M. [1941/42 A.D.]; መጽሐፈ፡ ቅዳሴ (*Mäṣḥafä qəddase*, 'The Book of the Hallowing [Missal]'), Addis Abäba 1974 A.M. [1981/82 A.D.]; MARCEL METZGER (ed.), *Les Constitutions apostoliques*, I–II, III–VI, VII–VIII, Paris 1985, 1986, 1987 (Sources chrétiennes 320, 329, 336); PAULOS TZADUA (tr.), *The Fetha Nagast. ፍትሐ፡ ነገሥት. The Law of the Kings*, Addis Ababa 1968, 17–51, 54–64; THOMAS PELL PLATT, *The Ethiopic Didascalia: or the Ethiopian Version of the Apostolic Constitutions Received in the Church of Abyssinia*, London 1834, 115f.; ETHIOPIAN ORTHODOX TÄWAḤƎDO CHURCH (EOTC), *Qalä ʿAwadi: the Voice of the Herald of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church. Regulation of the Parish Spiritual Council Improved and Published for the Third Time in 1991 A.M.*, Addis Abäba ³1991 A.M. [1999 A.D.], 25f.; CRRicBerhan 19ff., 48–53 (text) = 11f., 48ff. (tr.); INTERIM SECRETARIAT, ORIENTAL ORTHODOX CONFERENCE (ed.), *The Oriental Orthodox Churches, Addis Ababa Conference, January 1965*, Addis Ababa 1965.

Lit.: STÉPHANE ANCEL, *Épiscopat et encadrement des pratiques religieuses en Éthiopie chrétienne contemporaine. Caractéristiques et évolutions*, Ph.D. thesis, INALCO, Paris 2006 (Lit.); PAUL BRADSHAW, *The New Westminster Dictionary of Liturgy and Worship*, Louisville, KY 2002, 38f.; ChojPaint 132; *liqä śəlṭanat* HABTÄ MARYAM WÄRQƎNÄH, የክህናት፡ ትልእኮ (*Yäkahənat təlʾəko*, 'Service of the Priesthood'), Addis Abäba 1982 A.M. [1990 A.D.], 53f.; *abune* MEKARIOS (ed.), *The Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Church Faith, Order of Worship and Ecumenical Relations*, Addis Ababa ²1996, 40ff.; LevWax 166–74; UllBibl 91.

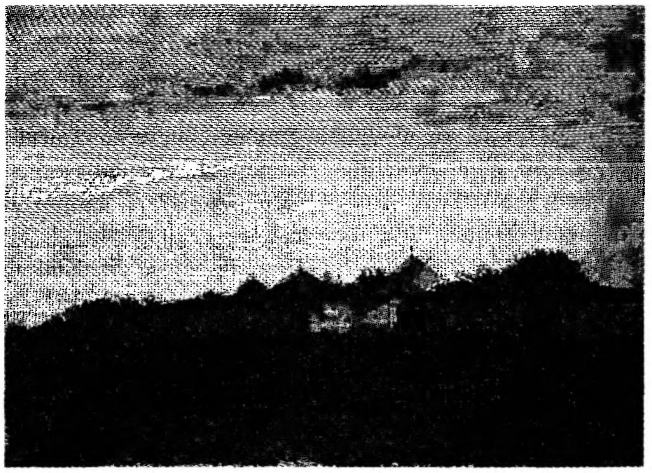
Steven Kaplan – Emmanuel Fritsch

Kələttä Awlaʿəlo s. EAE vol. 5

Kella

K. (ኬላ) is the term for a customs post, checkpoint or toll station (cp. KaneDic 1365). Such posts – an essentially feudal institution – were usually established at sites geographically difficult or impossible to by-pass (cp., in ancient times, the station of ↗Gäbäz[a] at the coast of the gulf of ↗Adulis). They played an important role in traditional Ethiopian ↗taxation, for they constituted the principal means of extracting duties on long-distance ↗trade. They provided local chiefs or rulers with highly prized imported articles, as well as ↗*amole*, otherwise virtually impossible to obtain.

The burden imposed at K. posts was noted by 17th-cent. Jesuit authors. Pedro ↗Paez declared that every customs post on the route inland from the coast levied a tax of one-tenth of imports passing through it (BecRASO II, 285f.), while Manoel de ↗Almeida stated that caravans transporting *amole* from the salt mines would thus lose "nearly a third" of their original loads (BeckHuntAlm 45). Though most K. belonged to local rulers, *aṣe* ↗Susənyos reserved for himself an important one at the high mountain of Lämälmo, yielding annually 100 ↗*wäqet* of gold (BeckHuntAlm 87). The system of K. was substantially reorganized during the ↗Gondärine kingdom, when *aṣe* ↗Iyasu I summoned the chiefs of Təgray in 1698, and interrogated them on the taxes then exacted at the customs posts between Ǝndärta and Wägära. Learning that the merchants were then suffering from considerable abuse, he



A *kella* at the border between two territories, Ğimma Abbaa Ğiffaar; from Traversi 1888:904

was reportedly saddened, and inquired as to the taxes paid in previous times. He was informed that at major customs posts there was formerly a charge of two *amole* on every mule carrying salt, and one on every donkey so laden, while human porters carrying salt were free of tax. Smaller K. in the past likewise levied no tax. The monarch thereupon ordered the Təgray chiefs to consult among themselves, and decide upon the rate of taxes for the future. They duly deliberated, and proposed that there should henceforward be only one single tax, payable at the frontier, at a rate of one *amole* for every five salt-laden mules, or eight laden donkey. Human porters were declared tax-free, the king declaring that anyone attempting to tax them would have his property confiscated, and be punishable by death. Iyasu accepted these far-reaching proposals, and ordered that they, and the location of all Təgray K., be announced by herald, and recorded in the royal chronicle – where they may still be consulted today (GuiIohan 206ff.).

Detailed descriptions of the country's many K. were subsequently provided by 19th- and early 20th-cent. foreign observers, who emphasized the wasted time and exploitation they involved (PankEcon 521ff.).

The need to curtail the country's innumerable K. and thus to establish a more centrally controlled and centrally taxed state was first recognized by Emperor ↗Tewodros II. According to Consul Plowden he "put an end to a number of vexatious exactions", by reducing the number of K. posts to only three (Great Britain, House of Commons 1868:151). Likewise, *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II in the ↗Italo–Ethiopian Treaty of 1889 and *ras* ↗Mäkʷännən Wäldä Mikaʾel in the Additional Convention of 1890 both agreed that Italian trade in Ethiopia should be taxed only in one place (Rossetti 1910:42, 46). This principle was later adopted also for the Addis Ababa–Djibouti ↗railway. Efforts to cut down on excessive K. posts gained greater impetus early in the centralizing reign of ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I (PankEcon 521ff.; Bahru Zewde 1984:20f.), but a few such customs posts have continued to exist for certain items, notably coffee and ↗*č̣at*, down to the present.

Src.: BecRASO II, 28f.; BeckHuntAlm 45, 87; GEORGE MONTADON, "Au Pays Ghimirra. Récit de mon voyage à travers le Massif éthiopien (1909–1911)", *Bulletin de la Société Neuchâteloise de Géographie* 22, 1913, 1-424, esp. 62, 79, 104, 322, 351f. (fig. 174); CARLO ROSSETTI, *Storia diplomatica dell'Etiopia durante il regno di Menelik II. Trattati, accordi, convenzioni, protocolli, atti di concessione ed altri documenti relativi all'Etiopia ...*, Torino 1910, 42, 46; GREAT BRITAIN, HOUSE OF COMMONS, *Correspondence Respecting Abyssinia 1846–1868*, London 1868, 151; GuiIohan 206ff. (tr.); KaneDic 1365, ZerEth 152f..

Lit.: BAHRU ZEWDE, "Economic Origins of the Absolutist State in Ethiopia (1916-1935)", *JES* 17, 1984, 16–23; PankEcon 521–32 (Lit.); PankIntro 188–91 (Lit.), 264; PankSoc 219, 300; LEOPOLDO TRAVERSI, "Escursione nel Gimma. Relazione alla Società Geografica", *Bollettino della Società Geografica Italiana* 1888, 901–23 (ill.).

Richard Pankhurst

Kəllәl ↗Administrative divisions

Kəmant

The K. (**ክማንት**, also Qəmant), speaking the ↗Agäw language of ↗Kəmantnäy, and the ↗Betä Ǝsraʾel, speaking a similar language, constitute an old extant cultural substratum of the Ethiopian civilization. The land of the Kəmant is located in the *wäyna däga*, north of Lake Ṭana. It surrounds ↗Gondär, extending westward through Kärkär and ↗Č̣əlga. Communities consist of clusters of several houses widely dispersed and totalling 100 to 400.

The ethnic charter and identity of the K. are not primordial but a fluctuating development from interactions with the dominant Christian Ethiopian society. Scant documentation exists for K. history in the Gondärine era (1632–1755) or previously (Quirin 1998:203–08). In Quirin's conceptual framework of class, especially after the late 1700s, the K. chiefdoms, imbedded in the Ethiopian conquest state, could be viewed as an emergent ↗*rəst*-holding, lower-class peasantry within ↗Amhara society. After the 1830s, we find narrow glimpses into K. society, mainly as reported by European travellers. By 1850, K. construction work and supplying of timbers and other building materials in Gondär waned but safeguarding of the caravan routes through the

land of the Kəmant to Gondär waxed. As supporters and soldiers of *ras* Kaśa who rose to power as *aṣe* ↗Tewodros, the position of the K. as a loyal, subordinated, ethnic enclave, then became secure. Some K. elite converted to Christianity during the reign of Tewodros, mainly for social advancement. K. had prominent roles during his reign. The best-known was Galmo who was governor of Č̣əlga and then of Western Ethiopia. During the reign of *aṣe* ↗Yohannəs IV, the K. were forcible converted to Christianity (Quirin 1998:209–17).

The oral history of the earliest past of the K. consists of mythic charters. In the K. beginning, Noah, of the flood, begat Ham, who begat Canaan, who begat Yanər, the "first K.". Yanər's son, Aydərki, is the earliest culture hero (*kədus*) of the K. He and his wife, Anzäkonba, having aspects of a fertility heroine, are each prayed to in their separate sacred groves as intermediaries to the god Məzgäna. The couple's son, Kəbərwa, is the most important K. hero and putative founder of the superordinate *kəbər* moiety of K. society (Gamst 1969:65–69, s. below). Some elder K. recount a vague tale of conquest of other related Agäw speakers by the *kəbər* thereby creating the K. society. Conti Rossini considers an origin of the *kəbər* in Semitic-speaking conquerors of the K. (1912:19, n. 2). However, the adoption of the Semitic label *kəbur* by a group of occupying Agäw would be a less baroque hypothesis, thereby not involving both total language and religious conversion by these victorious overlords.

K. were proud of keeping their religion hidden from the dangerously prying activities of all outsiders, African and European, and they admit to telling tall tales to the unclean inquiring stranger. Some of the 19th- and early 20th-cent. accounts about the K. by Europeans are nonsensical, such as the K. worship the sun and cut the throats of a loved one just before the natural death (Gamst 1969:9, 34). With religious secretiveness and unresisting subservience to the Amhara, the K. say they kept their ways largely intact until recent times, thus, free from significant Amharization. Some take pride in their people's close political relationship with *aṣe* Tewodros, whom a few claim was partially a K.

Aṣe Yoḥannəs IV's forcible conversion and national integration of the K. irreparably ruptured the native K. societal boundaries, centred on their religion and their political-religious leaders and resulted in a declining of K. culture. Amharization of the K., and others, was re-emphasized

Azmari playing for a group of harvesting Kəmant peasants, Kärkär; photo 1965, courtesy of the author

after World War II. During his fieldwork of 1964–65, Gamst could observe Ethiopian Orthodox "development priests", working from a base funded in part by the US AID, actively searched for the remaining K. of the original faith. Almost all K. had converted to some form of Christianity by the 1970s.

Traditional K. political organization was a theocratic chiefdom, antecedent to and surviving subordinated in the Ethiopian state. The chiefdom posed no threat to the Amhara, who built their capital, Gondär, in Kəmantland. The K. chiefdom was a centralized political institution of a territory, permanent, hierarchical, and hereditary. A chief's legitimization was sacrosanct, hence, theocratically authoritative and grounded in religious ideology. The K. chiefs (*wämbär*, 'judge', lit. 'seat') regulate life. They proclaim and enforce holidays, grant permission for divorce and ceremonial marriage, judge disputes unsettled at lower adjudicative levels, and invoke sanctions.

The K. chiefdom had two territories, separated by the Guwang River, each under a superior chief of which the *wämbär* of Kärkär was paramount and the *wämbär* of Č̣əlga subordinate. Each demi-chiefdom consisted of several communities headed by an area *wämbär*. Subordinated to a *wämbär* were higher priests (*kämäzäna*), lower priests (*abäyəgäriya*), and *wämbärs'* spokesmen-enforcers (*afäliq*). Before the mid-1800s, *wämbärs*, through their re-distributive exchange, controlled much inter-area trade. Superior, area, and community religious leaders collected three days of agricultural and other corvée from their

territories. The *wämbärs* redistributed much of the collected wealth in services and alms. As Ethiopian market exchange developed, the exchange of collection-redistribution diminished.

K. society bifurcates into exogamous moieties, the politically superior *kəbər* and the inferior *yətänti*. All religious positions except *abäyəgäriya* are occupied by *kəbər*. Elite patrilineages supplied the hereditary leaders. Traditional social stratification comprised *kəbər* elite, *kəbər* commoners, *abäyəgäriya* elite, *abäyəgäriya* commoners, and, before the 1920s, hereditary non-K. slaves.

Among the K., land does not remain in use from generation to generation as part of a lasting family estate associated with family lines. Potentially, all of a man's children could divide his *rəst* rights, but actual practice was complex. A corporate group, descended from the apical ancestor first cultivating the land, controls *rəst*. Actually, from 30 to 100 or more people take use-rights in an ambilineage of an apical first-tiller of the corporate land. Traditionally, members of the Amhara and K. feudal elite and the church held ↗*g^{w}əlt* rights (a form of fief over production) to particular lands but not its cultivators. Although K. social organization displays strong elements of patrilineality, especially in transmitting positions of leadership, claims in land use were traced ambilineally.

Families arrange monogamous marriages and formerly required exogamy to the seventh degree but, now, the fourth degree of remoteness from a person. A vestigial bride price remains and the families of the bride and groom contribute money and goods to the couple, whose residence in a nuclear family is eventually ambilocal. During menses and after childbirth, a woman is segregated in a special hut because vaginal blood is thought to be polluting. The male infant is circumcised and the female clitoridectomized. By 30 days after birth, infants receive a *qənona* rite of passage into K. society.

Today, except for a few devout persons, the K. are Ethiopian Orthodox Christians but manifestations of their former religion abounded through the 1970s. Məzgäna is the god (*adära*), a "Bronze-Age" sky father, super-ordinate over other spirits, angels, and ghosts of once-human culture heroes. Only *kəbər* patrilineages have apical culture heroes, each venerated in an eponymous sacred grove. Gänel (Satan, s. ↗Devil) is the anti-deity. Məzgäna will triumph over Gänel and descend on His horse to the flat earth, when He will render His Last Judgement of good and evil K., sending them up to heaven or down to cold, fiery hell.

The ↗Sabbath extends from Friday dusk through Saturday dusk. In sacred groves, prayers mentioning the Ark of Moses orient toward ↗Jerusalem. The high point of annual ceremonies is a Rite of Spring, during *Mäggabit*, concerning fertility in all aspects. The superior *wämbär* uses a ceremonial phallic plough to inseminate the labia (furrows) of the earth with a mixture of blessed seeds and sacred beer. Prayers and animal sacrifices to Məzgäna complete the rite, after which the agricultural season begins.

Agricultural technology uses the plough and draft oxen. Agriculture includes *ṭef*, emmer, wheat, two- and six-row barley, *Eleusine coracana*, sorghum, maize, flax, nug, castor-oil plant, chick peas, lentils, peas, broad beans, potatoes, squashes, cayenne, garlic, shallots, and gourds. Animal husbandry includes cattle, sheep, goats, horses, donkeys, chickens, and bees. K. are not craftsmen. Houses are wattle-and-daub ovaloids or cylinders roofed by thatch cones.

Src.: author's own fieldnotes; KASSEGNE ALEMAYEHU, "Kimant", ms., ed. by JAMES ARTHUR QUIRIN, Gondär 1975.

Lit.: CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, *La Langue des Kemant en Abyssine*, Wien 1912 (Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaft, Schriften der Sprachenkommission 4); JOHANN MARTIN FLAD, *A Short Description of the Falasha and Kamants*, London 1866; FREDERICK C. GAMST, "The Religious World View of the Qemant of Ethiopia", in: MICHAEL W. COY JR. – LEONARD PLOTNICOV (eds.), *African and African-American Sensibility*, Pittsburgh, PA 1995 (Ethnology Monographs 15), 91–106; ID., "The Qemant Domestic Cycle, Ambilineality, and Time", in: *PICES* 10, vol. 1, 411–18; ID., "The Qemant Theocratic Chiefdom in the Abyssinian Feudal State", in: *PICES* 8, vol. 1, 793–98; ID., *Peasants in Complex Society*, New York 1974; ID., "Peasantries and Elites without Urbanism: the Civilization of Ethiopia", in: *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 12, 1970, 373–92; ID., *The Qemant: a Pagan-Hebraic Peasantry of Ethiopia*, New York 1969; *Travel and Research in Northwestern Ethiopia*, Haile Sellassie I University, Addis Ababa 1965 (Notes for Anthropologists and Other Field Workers in Ethiopia 2); JAMES QUIRIN, "Caste and Class in Historical North-West Ethiopia: the Beta Israel (Falasha) and Kemant, 1300–1900", *JAH* 39, 1998, 195–220 (Lit.).

Frederick C. Gamst

Kəmantnäy

K. (self-name; also known as Kəmant, Qəmant; Amh. Qəmantəññña) is the language of the ↗Kəmant people; the language name is derived from the ethnonym with the abstract suffix *-näy*. K. belongs to the Central Cushitic (↗Agäw) branch of the ↗Cushitic language family (Appleyard

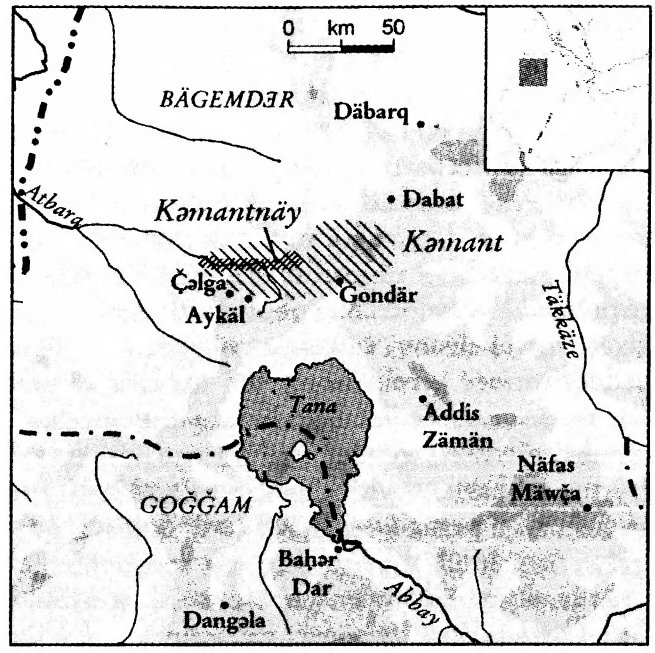
1988; Bender et al. in BendLang). K. dialects mentioned in the literature are Dämbəya (Halévy 1873:156) and Qʷara [Qʷaräsa, Qʷarəññña, Falašan] (Reinisch 1885–87). A further dialect, Kayla (Kayləññña, s. ↗Kayla), was probably a variety between the K. and ↗Ḫamtaŋa (Appleyard 1996, 2006:4f.). K. was widely spoken in the area north of Gondär stretching from Kärkär up to ↗Qʷara near the Sudan border. K. (mainly Qʷara dialect) was also used by some Fälaša (↗Betä Ǝsraʾel). At present K. is limited to some scattered villages of Č̣əlga and Gaba-galla-agär to the west and south-west of Gondär.

The number of K. native speakers is 1,650 according to the 1994 population census; in addition, ca. 3,180 people use it as a second language (Gordon 2005:118). Thus, K. is spoken by around 3 % of the Kəmant population at different levels of proficiency. As a rule, K. is well retained by individuals above the age of 60. K. is an endangered language, being superseded by ↗Amharic. Amongst other reasons, the advent of Christianity and the mass conversions during the reigns of *aṣe* Yoḥannəs (1871–89) and Ḫaylä Śəllase I (1930–74) have contributed a great deal to the foreseeable extinction of the language and culture of the Kəmant (cf. Zelealem Leyew 1998a).

The consonant phonemes of K. are: labials *b*, *f*, *m*, *w*; alveolars *t*, *d*, *s*, *z*, *n*; palatals *š*, *č*, *ǧ*, *y*; sonorants *l*, *r*; velars *k*, *g*, *x*, *y*, *ŋ*; labiovelars k^w, g^w, x^w, y^w, $ŋ^w$. Phoneme *b* has allophones *ß* and *v*. In addition, there are a number of borrowed phonemes recorded only in Amharic loanwords: the ejectives *ṭ*, *ṣ*, *č̣*, *q*, the palatal nasal *ñ*, and the glottal fricative *h*. Whereas in the speech of old fluent speakers all consonant phonemes are fully preserved, the younger speakers cannot produce *x*, *y*, *ŋ*, x^w, y^w, and $ŋ^w$ (Zelealem Leyew 1998b).

K. has seven vowel phonemes: *i*, *e*, *ə*, *ä*, *a*, *u*, and *o*. The seven-vowel system makes the language (together with ↗Bilin) different from the rest of the Agäw languages and is believed to be the result of the influence of the ↗Ethio-Semitic languages, especially Amharic.

K. has seven independent subject personal pronouns: *an* (1st pers. sg.), *ənta* (2nd pers. sg.), *nay* (2nd pers. polite), *ni* (3rd pers. sg.), *annew* (1st pers. pl.), *əntändew* (2nd pers. pl.) and *naydew* (3rd pers. pl.). Gender distinction in the 3rd pers. sg. pronouns (masc. *ni* vs. fem. *niy*) is shown in the works of Conti Rossini (1912) and Appleyard (1975). However, present-day speakers neutralize the distinction. The above subject pronouns have



corresponding bound object and possessive pronouns. The object pronouns are *yə-* (1st pers. sg.), *ku-* (2nd pers. sg.), *na-* (2nd pers. polite), *ni-* (3rd pers. sg.), *annew-* (1st pers. pl.), *əntändew-* (2nd pers. pl.), *naydew-* (3rd pers. pl.). The possessive pronouns are: *yə-* (1st pers. sg.), *ti-* (2nd pers. sg.), *na-* (2nd pers. polite), *ni-* (3rd pers. sg. masc.), *niš-* (3rd pers. sg. fem.), *anä-* (1st pers. pl.), *ənt-* (2nd pers. pl.), *na-* (3rd pers. pl.). In the possessive paradigm, gender distinction is shown in the 3rd pers. sg.

As in all Agäw languages, the morphology of K., especially the verb, exhibits complex grammatical structure. The verb carries person, number, gender, and tense/aspect inflections, e.g. *an xal-əy^w*, 'I saw'; *ənta xal-iy-əy^w*, 'you (sg.) saw'; *nay xal-n-əy^w*, 'you (polite) saw'; *ni xal-əy^w*, 'he saw'; *ni xal-ət*, 'she saw'; *annew xal-n-əy^w*, 'we saw'; *əntändew xal-i-n-əy^w*, 'you (pl.) saw'; and *naydew xal-n-əy^w*, 'they saw'. As in most Cushitic languages, gender is not distinguished in the 2nd pers. There are three tense/aspect categories: perfect, imperfective, and progressive. Indicative, gerundive, jussive, imperative, conditional, and interrogative moods are employed. As in all Agäw languages, relative verbs have a special paradigm, distinguishing between Subject Relative (verb subject is identical with head noun: *anǧəŋ$_1$ täk^{w}äsəm-ey$_2$ ni$_3$ səmb-i-t$_4$*, 'the one who sat down$_2$ yesterday$_1$ was$_4$ her$_3$') and Oblique Relative (verb subject and head noun are not identical: *ni$_1$ was-əy-ay$_2$ gaba$_3$*, 'the thing$_3$ that she$_1$ heard$_2$'). Negation in the main verb is shown by a special paradigm, in which the negative formant *-la* (*-l* for 1st pers.), combined with personal markers, replaces the corresponding morphemes

of the affirmative paradigms. A different negation marker *-g* (*-k* for 2nd pers. and 3rd pers. sg. fem.) is employed for subordinate verbs.

The noun in K. has three morphological cases: nominative, accusative, and genitive. The citation form is either marked with *-a* or unmarked. The semantics of dative, locative, instrumental etc. are expressed by adpositions. Plural number is expressed by various morphological means (suffixes, vowel elision, vowel or consonant change, reduplication, gemination); the choices among them are not predictable. Nouns do not have gender markers; gender is, however, expressed by the agreement with quantifiers and with the verbs of 3rd pers.: *la-y gəzəŋ* 'one dog' vs. *la-y gəzəŋ* 'one bitch'.

Like other Cushitic languages, K. is a Subject-Object-Verb language, e.g. *an*$_1$ *ku-t*$_2$ *kašəŋ-äk*^{w}$_3$ 'I$_1$ will call$_3$ you$_2$', *kasa*$_1$ *ni-nəŋ-əs*$_2$ *kəz-äk*^{w}$_3$ 'Kasa$_1$ will sell$_3$ his house$_2$'. K. is a head-final language, e.g. *fəray*$_1$ *yər*$_2$ 'big$_1$ man$_2$', *an*$_1$ *anğəŋ*$_2$ *ğax-ay*$_3$ *səlaya*$_4$ 'the beer$_4$ which I$_1$ drank$_3$ yesterday$_2$'. Exceptions are quantified NPs such as *əyyän*$_1$ *niŋa*$_2$ 'two$_2$ men$_1$', *xurrä*$_1$ *säğğa*$_2$ 'four$_2$ children$_1$'.

Demonstratives are (citation form): *əndän / ən* 'this', *yəndän / yən* 'that', *əndäw* 'these', *yəndäw* 'those'. Question words include: *aw* 'who', *awət* 'where', *wä-* 'what', *awi-* 'whose', *awən* 'when' and *wixa* 'how many/much'. The verb of existence has the stem *ga-* for present and a suppletive stem *səm(b)-* for past: *ni ga-la* 'he is' vs. *ni səmb-ey*^{w} 'he was'. Note that *ga-la* 'he is' is affirmative in meaning, but inflects like a negative verb.

The lexicon of K. shows massive borrowings from Amharic (e.g., *sämay* 'sky', *ədme* 'age'). The ten-word list is as follows: *lay*^{w}*a* 'one', *niŋa* 'two', *sey*^{w}*a* 'three', *wəzəŋ* 'fire', *ax*^{w} 'water', *k*^{w}*ara* 'sun', *məzbära* 'moon', *bər* 'blood', *lanx*[*ə*] 'tongue', *ərk*^{w}*ə* 'tooth'.

Src.: RAYMOND G. GORDON (ed.), *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*, Dallas, TX [15]2005, 118.

Lit.: DAVID L. APPLEYARD, "A Descriptive Outline of Kemant", *BSOAS* 38, 2, 1975, 316–50; ID., "The Agaw Languages: a Comparative Morphological Perspective", in: *PICES* 8, vol. 1, 581–92; ID., "Kaïliña – a 'New' Agaw Dialect and its Implications for Agaw Dialectology", in: RICHARD J. HAYWARD – IOAN MYRDDIN LEWIS (eds.), *Voice and Power. The Culture of Language in North-East Africa. Essays in Honour of B.W. Andrzejewski*, London 1996 (= African Languages and Cultures, Supplement 3), 1–19; ID., *A Comparative Dictionary of the Agaw Languages*, Köln 2006; M. LIONEL BENDER et al., "Introduction", in: *BendLang* 1–19; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, *La langue des Kemant en Abyssinie*, Wien 1912 (Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften. Schriften der Sprachenkomission 4); JOSEPH HALÉVY, "Essai sur la langue Agaou: Le dialecte des Falachas (Juifs d'Abyssinie)", *Actes de la Société philologique* 3, 4, 1873, 151–88; LEO REINISCH, *Die Quarasprache in Abessinien*, 3 vols., Wien 1885–87 (Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien. Philosophisch-historische Classe 108, 2, 1885, 655–722; 109, 1, 1885, 3–152; 114, 2 1887, 639–88); ZELEALEM LEYEW, "An Ethiopian Language on the Verge of Extinction: K'emant, a Preliminary Sociolinguistic Survey", *The International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 134, 1998a, 69–84; ID., "Some Structural Signs of Obsolescence in K'emant", in: MATTHIAS BRENZINGER (ed.), *Endangered Languages in Africa*, Cologne 1998b, 163–85; ID., *The Kemantney Language: a Sociolinguistic and Grammatical Study of Language Replacement*, Köln 2003.

Zelealem Leyew

Kənfä Mikaʾel

K.M. (ክንፉ፡ ሚካኤል, fl. first half of the 18th cent.) was ↗*ṣäḥafe təʾəzaz* during the time of *aṣe* ↗Bäkaffa. He continued writing the Chronicle of Bäkaffa after the death of *azzaž* ↗Sinoda, a talented and prolific historiographer, calling himself "the son of Sinoda". The latter has therefore usually been considered his father (GuiSLett 89; GuiIohan 345), though Chernetsov (1989:348) indicated that the word "son" could be used here in its broader meaning: "(close) pupil" or "associate". Otherwise, nothing is known about K.M.'s background. He wrote the last 14 chapters of the Chronicle, recording events from ca. mid-August 1726 till mid-January 1727 (a period poor in important political developments; cp. DombChr 284f.).

K.M.'s style was remarkably different from that of his predecessor. Sinoda's was a coherent and informative narrative of high literary quality, marked by his outstanding intellect and skills. Far from that, K.M. was rather keen on describing in detail "amazing" or "interesting" events. Such is his detailed description of the "ship", built for Bäkaffa under the guidance of the "Egyptians" Dəmeṭros and Giyorgis on Lake ↗Ṭana (chs. 1–5). Another extensive account is devoted to the litigation between *bašša* Rətuᶜ and *däğğazmač* Täklä Haymanot (chs. 10, 12; cp. ↗*Muggət*). The final judgement of Bäkaffa remained unknown, since the Chronicle ends suddenly (8 *Ṭərr*/17 January), and the rest of his reign is described only in the "short chronicles" (Dombr Chr 285–89).

↗Historiography

Src.: BegCron 116–22; DombrChr 284–89; GuiIohan 290–321 (text) = 310–45 (tr.).

Lit.: SEVIR CHERNETSOV, *Efiopskie hroniki XVII–XVIII vekov* ('Ethiopan Chronicles of the 17th–18th Cent.'), Moscow 1989, 322–27, 338–48, esp. 348; GuiSLett 89.

Denis Nosnitsin

Kənfu

Wag šum K. (ክንፉ, fl. 19th cent.) controlled his hereditary region of ↗Wag and ↗Lasta during the 1830s. Since his inmediate predecessors did not belong to the ancient ↗*wag šum* lineage, his ascendance was regarded as a reinstallation of the legitimate heir, even though K. belonged to the lineage via his mother, the daughter of *šum* Märqorewos. K. came to power through the support of *ras* ↗Wäldä Śəllase of Təgray, who was himself related to the *wag šum* dynasty. Local manuscripts report positively on K.'s rule, which occurred after the region had been dominated and devastated by the ↗Yäğğu dynasty. With the strong backing he received from the ruler of Təgray, K. began raiding the region of Yäğğu in retaliation for the devastation of his homeland.

After Wäldä Śəllase's death in 1816, however, *ras* ↗Gugsa Märsa, the Yäğğu kingmaker, attacked Wag and Lasta, a move that forced K. to change allegiance and join Gugsa's stronger army. This brought relative peace to the region, and K. became active in the political affairs of the kingdom as a whole. He married Gugsa's daughter Tərəngo and in 1827, fought on the side of *ras* Yəmam, Gugsa's son, against *däğğazmač* ↗Maru. The latter was killed, either by K. or one of his soldiers, and a few years later, K. was also killed, as revenge for Maru's death.

Wag šum Kənfu depicted below the scenes of the Passion; wall-painting, 19th cent., the church of Däbrä Yoḥannəs Kidanä Məḥrät near Säqota; photo 1993, courtesy of Michael Gervers

K. was succeeded by his son Wäsän Kənfu, who was followed by Täfäri Wäsän and eventually by another of K's grandsons, ↗Gäbrä Mädḫən, son of his daughter Bätäha.

Src.: BTafA 934; GueCopMen 120, 202; CRReal 50, 57ff., 63f.; CLEMENTS MARKHAM, *A History of the Abyssinian Expedition*, London 1869, 50–85; NATHANIEL PEARCE, *The Life and Adventures of Nathaniel Pearce* ..., London 1831, vol. 1, 68, 70, 80, 108, 228; SalTrav² 280.

Lit.: RubTew 20ff.; WUDU TAFETE KASSU, *A Political History of Wag and Lasta, C. 1543–1919*, M.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1995, 101, 116–21; ZewYohan 21.

Wudu Tafete Kassu

Kənfu Addam

K.A. (ክንፉ፡ አዳም; d. 1782) was a powerful lord of the ↗*Zämänä mäsafənt*. Of Oromo descent, he was a ↗*balabbat* of Mäčča (in Goğğam) during the 1760–70s.

For his services to *aṣe* ↗Täklä Haymanot II, particularly for having killed the rebellious *ras* Fasil, the Emperor granted K.A. the title of *däğğazmač*. However, in 1777, together with *ras* ↗Ḫaylu Yosedeq and ↗Wänd Bäwäsän, K.A. deposed Täklä Haymanot (who had to flee to Waldəbba), and installed the new emperor, *aṣe* ↗Sälomon I, who had been previously kept on ↗Wähni Amba. For this, he was made governor of ↗Damot. In 1778 K.A. repeatedly besieged Wähni where the future *aṣe* ↗Täklä Giyorgis I was being kept, cutting off the latter's food supplies, probably at the wish of the Emperor.

Some months later, in 1779, K.A. violated the peace agreement he had with *ras* Ḫaylu and defeated the latter's troops at Śabisa Bär on the Rəb. Hoping to obtain full control over Goğğam, he deposed Sälomon who had to flee to Wägära, letting Täklä Giyorgis ascend the throne.

Not satisfied with the position offered by the newly-made Emperor to his relative ↗Ṣädalu and possibly deluded at the lack of his own promotion, K.A. rebelled again. Whilst the Emperor was fighting another rebel, Gädlu from Wälqayt, K.A. approached Gondär. After a temporary spell of peace, K.A., who was then staying in Wälläga, started another rebellion. He was stopped and captured by the forces of Bäqätu Abba Ğale at Maryam Wəha. An ↗*azmari* commemorated the battle in a song written in the ↗*sämənna wärq* genre (BTafA 446f.).

Bäqätu died in 1780, and K.A. escaped from captivity in 1781. This time the Emperor himself left Gondär to take pursuit. Two weeks later the armies of K.A. and his ally Adära Ḫaylu were defeated and dispersed by the royal regiment under *fitawrari* Ikonyan; Adära Ḫaylu was captured. K.A. fled to his home Mäčča and assembled a new army, allying with Andayl, but in 1782 he was defeated again by *fitawrari* Ikonyan and *däğğazmač* Addəgäh. K.A. escaped but several weeks later was captured again, along with several other powerful lords of Mäčča, by *azzaž* Bälya.

K.A. and other prisoners were brought to the Emperor for trial with stones on their shoulders. Täklä Giyorgis pardoned some, had feet cut off of others, whereas K.A., Andayl and Adära Ḫaylu were left in chains. When they fled and

were recaptured, Andayl had his feet cut off, and K.A. and Adära Ḫaylu were blinded. The death penalty was officially remitted, but most probably K.A. was killed, or died, shortly thereafter.

Src.: BlunChr 231f., 249, 251–57, 262–68; BTafA, s. index; IGNAZIO GUIDI, "La storia di Ḫāyle Mikā'ēl", *RRALm* ser. 5ª, 11, 1902, 2–79, here 42–68; NATHANIEL PEARCE, *The Life and Times of Nathaniel Pearce*, London 1831, vol. 1, 275; WILHELM EDUARD RÜPPELL, *Reise in Abyssinien*, vol. 2, Frankfurt am Main 1840, 365–71.

Lit.: SHIFERAW BEKELE, "The Chronicle of Tecle Giyorgis I (first r. 1779–1784): an Introductory Assessment", in: *StudAeth* 247–58, here 248, 253f.

Evgenia Sokolinskaia

Kənfu Ḫaylu

Däğğazmač K. (ክንፉ፡ ኃይሉ; b. ca. 1800, d. 1839, Fanğa) was a protagonist of the era of the ↗*Zämänä mäsafənt*, whose power was at its peak in the 1830s when he was governing the vast lands known as ↗*Maru Qämmäs* and comprising the historical provinces of ↗Dämbəya, ↗Qʷara, ↗Agäwmədər, stretching as far as Mätämma in the south-west.

K. was the son of Ḫaylä Maryam (or ↗Ḫaylu) Wäldä Giyorgis, a petty governor of Qʷara under *däğğazmač* ↗Maru, and Wälättä Täkle, Ḫaylu's first wife and Maru's niece. He was therefore related, though distantly, to both the Solomonic dynasty (through his father, whose son by his second wife ↗Aṭṭətägäb was Kaśa Ḫaylu, the future *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II) and to the Warrasek dynasty of ↗Yäğğu (through his mother, Maru being ↗Gugsa Märsa's son-in-law). This latter connection made him raise his claims over Maru's domain after the latter's death in 1827.

During the early 1830s he is mentioned as governing Dämbəya and frequently fighting on the side of ↗Dori Gugsa, or the rising ↗Wəbe Ḫaylä Maryam. Following his defeat of Säbagadis and rise to power in 1831, Dori, afraid of K.'s growing popularity, threw him in prison. The last of Gugsa's children, he died several months later, and *ətəge* ↗Mänän came to power as the regent of the young ↗Ali Alula. Subsequently, K. was freed and given the governorship of the *Maru Qämmäs*. He ruled over the region from his base at Fanğa in Dämbəya till his death.

K.'s importance grew considerably when in 1836–37 he fended off the Egyptians who had advanced into Ethiopian territory around and beyond Mätämma. His complete victory over the small Egyptian force headed by Aḥmad Ġāšim of ↗Qadarif at Wad Kaltabu in 1837 and destruction of Mätämma did not, however, prevent the subsequent Egyptian aggression that eventually culminated in the ↗Egyptian–Ethiopian war. One of the numerous ↗*qəne* celebrating K.'s victory was included in one of the chronicles of *aṣe* Tewodros's reign. The future emperor, a minor at that time, was growing up at his half-brother's court in Dämbəya.

K.'s paramount role in the Ethiopia of the *Zämänä mäsafənt* is underlined by the fact that his name appears among the authors of the two letters sent by the then emperor ↗Śahlä Dəngəl to Queen Victoria and Louis Philippe. The letters were composed by *əčč̣äge* ↗Maḥṣäntä Mika'el and carried to Europe by Antoine d'↗Abbadie. K. is listed as one of the two most powerful governors of *ras* Ali, along with Wəbe Ḫaylä Maryam.

The chronicles of Tewodros's reign mention a quarrel Kaśa had with his brother towards the end of 1838 that made him leave Dämbəya and seek asylum in Goğğam. He only returned to Fanğa upon K.'s death from illness in 1839. K.'s sons, Yəlma and Mäkʷännən (the youngest son, ↗Gärad, still too young at that time) contested for their father's lands but were disinherited by Ali and Mänän in favour of ↗Bərru Goššu. In the battle of Dəngəl Bärr in late 1839 Yəlma and Mäkʷännən were defeated by the army of Bərru and his father ↗Goššu Zäwde and had to retreat to Qʷäraṣa. Yəlma died, falling from a horse, Mäkʷännən and Gärad lived on as ↗*šəfta* until their deaths, in 1856 and 1860 respectively. K.'s only daughter, Wəšän, married Yəlma Asfaw; their daughter Wärqənäš later became John ↗Bell's wife.

In 1847 Maru Qämmäs was conquered by Kaśa Ḫaylu and from then on his brother's former domain served as the future emperor's power base.

Src.: AbbSéjour vol. 1, 41–45, 159, 181, 193, 196, 406f., 486; BlunChr 487, 490f.; CRNuov 408; FusTeo 1 (text) = 64f. (tr.); SAMUEL GOBAT, *Journal of a Three Years' Residence in Abyssinia* ..., London 1834, 119, 149, 163, 298; MorTeod 143; MonVidTheo 1 (text) = 1 (tr.); RubActa I nos. 58f., 100; RubTew 56 n. 34.

Lit.: AbPrince 37f., 102f., 105, 109, 126; BZHist 26; RubInd 69ff., 77–80, 84, 90, 208; RubTew, s. index.

Evgenia Sokolinskaia

Kenya, relations with

In pre-colonial times, the social organization in the Ethio-Kenyan region was mainly based on descent groups and age grades, and political entities were seldom defined by clear territorial or even national boundaries. Several linguistic groups extend across the Ethiopian–Kenyan

boundary: the language of the ↗Ñaŋatom belongs to the same dialect cluster as that of the ↗Turkana on the Kenyan side, the ↗Đáasanač straddle the boundary, and on both sides of the boundary there are large, continuous areas of ↗Oromo (s. also ↗Orma) and ↗Somali speakers (e.g., the ↗Garre). In addition to these continuous areas of linguistic unity across the international boundary, it is possible to find numerous ethnic minorities of Ethiopian origin within K. During the colonial period, the British encouraged the ↗Burǧi to settle on Mount Marsabit as agriculturalists. Today, Burǧi trade networks extend from Mombasa to Addis Abäba.

The grounds for the British foundation of K. were laid effectively by a business company, the Imperial British East Africa Company, which enjoyed the protection of the British Crown and extended this "protection" to the territories under its control, thus forming the British East African Protectorate.

Diplomatic contacts concerning the relations between Ethiopia and British East Africa date back to the late 19th cent. They find expression in *aṣe* Mənilək's Circular Letter to the European Powers of April 1891, which defined the Ethiopian frontiers to which he aspired and announced that he intended to "re-occupy all ancient territories of Ethiopia as far as Kartum and Lake Niyānsā" [i.e. Lake Victoria] (Bairu Tafla 1981:217). After the conquest of Gamo Gofa in 1894, *ras* Wäldä Giyorgis and ↗Bulatovich raised the Ethiopian flag at the northern tip of Lake ↗Turkana. However, Ethiopian activities reached as far as beyond River Turkwel in today's K. There, the adventurer *fitawrari* Baron Chedeuvre for a short time established an Ethiopian fort by the name of "Mənilək II" (Bulatovich 2000:344–48; Leontieff 1900:107; PankHist II, 195).

In the Anglo–Ethiopian treaty of 8 December 1907 (↗Treaties), the two highland-based political entities, Ethiopia and colonial K., defined a boundary by dividing the marginal lowlands that lay between them (Hamilton 1974:345–92; ↗Boundaries). Apart from being a necessary feature of modern statehood in the eyes of state-builders, this boundary (like the one with future Somalia) served the purpose of keeping rival powers, including Italy, at a distance from the core areas of K. Additionally, it facilitated the control of mounted Ethiopian raiders and poachers known as "Təgray", a group formed from diverse ethnic origins.

Jomo Kenyatta on a state visit to Ethiopia, with *aṣe* Ḫaylä Śəllase I; photo courtesy of the IES

The Ethio–Kenyan boundary was instrumental in regulating citizens of both countries as they travelled from one territory to the other. The British distinguished between resident and alien Somali and repatriated some of the latter by force into Ethiopia. On the other hand, those Garre, who normally resided on the Kenyan side, under Hassan Gababa temporarily withdrew into Ethiopia to avoid taxation by the British. The zone on both sides of the common frontier was moreover largely unpoliced, with the result that British colonial administrators complained of "everlasting murderous raids across the Abyssinian frontier" (Mitchell 1954:271).

Relations between the two countries were correct, but hardly cordial, for the British were interested in partitioning Ethiopia. K.'s white settlers moreover disliked the concept of an independent African State. One of them, Lord Cranworth, described Mənilək's victory at the battle of ↗ᶜAdwa as "the foulest crime" of the 19th cent., as it had destroyed the Ethiopians sense of "the superiority of the white man", and had prevented European access to the Ethiopian highlands, which "onwards to Addis Ababa" he considered "typically suitable for white settlement" (Cranworth 1939:149f., 167). In 1920, mediated colonialism through the British East Africa Company was abolished in favour of direct control, and the Protectorate was renamed K. Colony.

Throughout the colonial period, the focus of economic development and administrative effort was directed towards Uganda Railway, which connected Kampala and Nairobi to the port of Mombasa, and the fertile agricultural highlands found along this axis. It is noteworthy that through the history of Ethio–Kenyan relations, the frontier

areas between the two polities were regarded by both as far-off, and of secondary importance.

The opinion of the Kenyan Africans on Ethiopia was very different from the white man's colonialist view cited above. Jomo Kenyatta, then a student in England, reported in *Facing Mount Kenya* (1938) that Africans in his country were inspired by references to Ethiopia in the Kikuyu Bible, and found particular "depth" in the prophesy "Princes shall come out of Africa; Ethiopia shall stretch forth her hands unto God" (Kenyatta 1953:225). Local legend also held that ↗Mənilək I had been buried on the summit of Mount Kilimanjaro (↗Ethiopianism).

Kenyan African interest in Ethiopia increased during the ↗Italian war 1935–36. Kenyatta, then representative in London of the Kikuyu Central Association, founded, and became the secretary of an embryonic pro-Ethiopian Pan-African society in England (↗Pan-Africanism). Entitled the International African Friends of Abyssinia, its objective was to "assist the maintenance of the integrity and political independence of Ethiopia". He was at London's Victoria Station to greet the Ethiopian Emperor's arrival in exile in 1936. Support for Ethiopia was also voiced in the US by another prominent Kikuyu nationalist leader, Mbiyu Koinange (Padmore 1956:144ff.).

After Mussolini's entry into World War II in June 1940, a British force, under General Alan Cunningham, participated in the Ethiopian Liberation campaign. Though the extent of white settler participation was criticized by Churchill (MockWar 253), the soldiers of the King's African Rifles from K. advanced rapidly into southern and central Ethiopia in Spring 1941. They were accompanied by many Ethiopian refugees from K., with whom the Emperor was in contact (Marcus 1994:88, 109). They included *däğğazmač* Wäldä Maryam, *däğğazmač* Zäwde Ayaläw and *fitawrari* Tadämma Zällaka (MockWar 238). With the defeat of the Italians, British East Africa currency was officially introduced into Ethiopia by the British Military Administration and came into extensive circulation in Ethiopia. The British Government sought, unsuccessfully, to persuade the Emperor to cede Ethiopia's Boorana province to K. The East African Shilling (↗Currency) was in use until the 1950s (Caravaglios 1984:341–50; Pankhurst 2003:146f., 166f., 170, 174; Spencer 1984:94, 99).

Ethiopians, liberated only a decade earlier, sympathized with K.'s struggle for independence, and recalled Kenyatta's support at the time of Italian invasion. They were moved by repression in K. during the Mau Mau emergency (1952–57), which some likened to ↗Graziani's earlier reign of terror in Ethiopia. ↗Gärmame Nəway, later ideologue of the ↗Coup d'état of 1960, wrote his Colombia-University thesis on *The Impact of White Settlement Policy in Kenya* (1954). The Ethiopian consul in Nairobi, *ato* Bərhanu Täsämma, himself a former refugee in K., developed close relations with the 14 elected African members of the Legislative Council of K. The National Library of Ethiopia, with the backing of an unofficial Africa Society composed of Ethiopian returnees from study abroad, held crowded lectures by the Kenyan leaders Mbiyu Koinange, Tom Mboya and James Gichuru. The Ethiopian press carried supportive articles (s., e.g., ↗*Mänän* magazine, October–November 1958 and April 1965), and twelve students from K. (*EthObs* 3, no. 3) were given Ethiopian Government scholarships to the University College of Addis Abäba and other Ethiopian educational institutions. One of them, Robert Ouko, later became Foreign Minister of K. (*EthObs* 2, 12). Ethiopia secretly gave asylum to many Mau Mau refugees.

After K.'s independence, in 1963, the two countries developed warm relations. This owed much to personal friendship between K.'s leader, President Kenyatta, and the Emperor, who, in June 1964, was the first head of state to visit the country after its independence. Joint fears of Somali irredentism – as territories of both countries were claimed by the state of Somalia starting from 1961 – led to the signing of a Mutual Defence Pact, as well as some training of Kenyan soldiers in Ethiopia. A Nairobi street was called after Ḫaylä Śəllase I and one in Addis Abäba after Kenyatta. Visas between the two countries were abolished. A treaty of friendship between the two countries was signed on 9 June 1970, by which date the 790 km long common frontier had at last been delineated. The border city of ↗Moyale developed into an important market after that.

In recent decades, K. has been affected by Ethiopia in a variety of ways. In 1991, the remnants of Mängəśtu Ḫaylä Maryam's army, abandoned by its leader, destabilized northern K. by flooding it with fire-arms, which they sold in order to buy food. *Därg* supporters were then put into the same UNHCR refugee camps as those who had fled from them while they were in power. This led to clashes inside the camps. Addition-

ally, the fact that the ↗Oromo Liberation Front had periodically operated from Kenyan territory brought a degree of tension to the relationship between the two countries. However, the instability that spread from Somalia created a mutual fear that brought the two sides closer together. Both countries are member states of the Inter-Governmental Authority on Development, and they have had an active role as "frontline states" in the 14th Somalia peace process since 2002. In 2007 the two countries cooperated in the war against the Islamist Somali Sharia Courts.

↗United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland

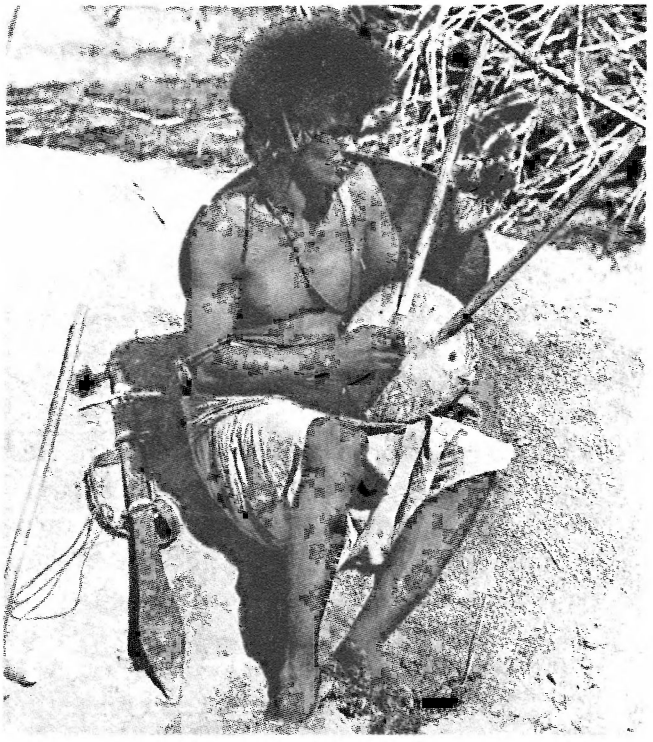
Src.: ALEXANDER BULATOVICH, *Ethiopia through Russian Eyes, Country in Transition*, ed., tr. by RICHARD SELTZER, Asmara 2000, 344–48; BAIRU TAFLA, *Ethiopia and Germany ...*, Wiesbaden 1981 (AeF 5), 215ff.; NIKOLAS STEPANOVICH DE LEONTIEFF, *Provinces Équatoriales d'Abyssinie. Expédition du dédjaz Comte N. de Léontieff*, Paris 1900, 107 (map).

Lit.: MARIA GENOINO CARAVAGLIOS, "Ethiopian Currency during World War II according to Unpublished Documents of the British and Italian Archives, 1894", in: *PICES 7*, 341–50; LORD CRANWORTH, *Kenya Chronicles*, London 1939; KENNETH GANDER DOWER, *Abyssinian Patchwork*, London 1948, 108–24; MOHAMED I. FARAH, *From Ethnic Response to Clan Identity: a Study of State Penetration among the Somali Nomadic Pastoral Society of Northeastern Kenya*, Uppsala 1993; DAVID NAPIER HAMILTON, *Ethiopia's Frontiers: the Boundary Agreements and their Demarcation, 1896–1956*, Ph.D. thesis, Trinity College, Oxford 1974; JOMO KENYATTA, *Facing Mount Kenya: the Tribal Life of the Gikuyu*, London 1953; DELPHINE LECOUTRE, "Quelques éléments de réflexion sur les relations entre l'Éthiopie et le Kenya (1936–1991)", *L'Afrique Orientale* 2003, 351–403; PHILIP MITCHELL, *African Afterthoughts*, London 1954; MockWar 238, 253; GEORGE PADMORE, *Pan-Africanism or Communism. The Coming Struggle for Africa*, London 1954; RICHARD PANKHURST, *Kenya: the History of Two Nations*, London 1954 (Lit.); ID., *Sylvia Pankhurst, Counsel for Ethiopia. A Biographical Essay on Ethiopian, Anti-Fascist and Anti-Colonialist History*, Hollywood, CA 2003; PankHist II, 195; GÜNTHER SCHLEE, *Identities on the Move: Clanship and Pastoralism in Northern Kenya*, Manchester 1989; GEORGE L. SIMPSON, *On the Frontiers of Empire: British Administration in Kenya's Northern Frontier District, 1905–1935*, Ph.D. thesis, West Virginia University 1994; JOHN HATHAWAY SPENCER, *Ethiopia at Bay*, Algonac, MI 1984, 94, 99.

Günther Schlee – Richard Pankhurst

Kərar

The K. (Amh., Tgn. ክራር; Harari *kirār*) is a five- or six-stringed plucked lyre consisting of two upright or v-shaped pillars joined by a crossbar at the top, and held by a taut sound-box skin at the bottom near the front surface of the sound box. Resonating boxes can be round or in the



Beğa (Marar) nomad playing a *basinkoob*, bowl-lyre similar to *kərar*; photo 1926/27 by Ernest B. Schoedsack, from Cooper 1928:475

shape of a rectangle or trapezoid. The word K. may derive from Amh. ክረረ, *kärrärä* ('to twine into a fine stretched cord', Ashenafi Kebede 1967:156; KaneDic 1386); alternatively, Leslau compares Ethiosemitic terms for K. with the Semitic terms for lyre (Hebrew *kinnōr*, Arab. *kinnāra*, Akkadian *kinnāru*; Leslau 1979:350; cf. also MonVidMus 3186).

The origin of the K. remains uncertain. Although ancient lyres existed in Asia, it is thought that the lyres of East Africa and the Horn came via Egypt (Powne 1968:57 suggests an Egyptian origin both for the K. and the ↗*bägäna* – the larger trapezoid lyre). Egyptian lyres include an asymmetrical instrument held horizontally and played with a plectrum (ca. 2000 B.C.) and a smaller symmetrical lyre played upright (ca. 1000 B.C.). The Hebrew *kinnōr* was also a box lyre (*New Encyclopaedia Britannica* 2003:592f.).

The K. and similar instruments are widely spread in Ethiopia and Eritrea among various ethnic groups, sometimes under local names, such as *kihayta* in Konso, *dita* in Diraaššа, etc. (s. also VSAe I, III). The *masinkoob*, or *basinkoob* (a term etymologically related to ↗*mäsinqo*) of the ↗Beğa of Eritrea are said to be similar to the K. (Wedekind 2005:151, 130f.). The present entry describes the K. amongst the Amhara, Təgrəññа, and Dorze. Lyre-type musical instruments simi-

lar to the K. are wide-spread not only in Ethiopia, but also among many East African peoples (s. *Asnaqetch Werqu* ... 2004; Kidula 2001; Tamasuza 2005; Kwabena Nketia 2000:140; for the various lyre names s. Marcuse 1975:319–23).

Whereas the *bägäna* is used in Ethiopia and Eritrea for meditation and prayer, the K. – sometimes described as a "popular lyre" – is used primarily to accompany popular secular song. Traditionally the K. was associated with hunters and men of the wilderness (Tesfaye Lemma 1975:11). Its shape, resembling an "inferior imitation" of the *bägäna*, could have inspired the legends told by ↗*azmari*-singers that refer to the "Satanic" origin of the K., whereas the form and dimensions of the *bägäna* are said to have been revealed to the biblical King David by God (Ashenafi Kebede 1967; 1977). Today, the K. is played by both men and women, to accompany popular songs and solo, for personal amusement and relaxation (Kimberlin 1986:3f.; 1996:8f.). Most people learn to play the K. by themselves through observation and imitation, and/or by apprenticing with a master K. player.

Professional K. players are usually soloists who compose their own texts on traditional melodies that have been passed down from generation to generation. Sometimes a vocal soloist or group is accompanied on the K. by another musician. In Eritrea and Təgray, K. players are more numerous than *mäsinqo* players but in Šäwa the reverse is true. Thus, in order to make more money, Təgrayan K. players make annual trips to Šäwa.

Although all K. are basically made of wood and have the same fundamental shape, there are some regional differences. Traditionally, Təgrayan K. have gut or horsehair strings (outside urban areas) and a wooden resonating box covered with goatskin, resulting in a mellow sound. More recently, K. players have also started to use metal strings and an enamel bowl-shaped resonating box covered with animal hide, resulting in a louder metallic sound. The two side pillars form a slight "V" shape, and the five metal strings are wound around friction pegs which are pushed through the crossbar and rotated to change the pitch. If the K. has six strings, the sixth string is a duplicate of another string sounding an octave apart. The Amhara K. has a wooden, clay or metal bowl-shaped resonating box that is covered with goatskin, and the two side pillars form a slight "V" shape. The six gut, metal, or nylon strings are wound around the crossbar and peg levers. The peg lever is set against the crossbar and is always perpendicular to it when rotated to change the pitch. The Dorze K. has a rectangular resonating box that is made of wood and covered with cow hide. The two side pillars are perpendicular to the crossbar, and the five gut-strings are wound around the crossbar, which acts as a friction bar. A plectrum of bone, plastic, or talon may be used by Təgrayan and Dorze players. The bridge has frets equal to the number of strings. Each string passes through a fret to the tuning peg and crossbar. The purpose of the bridge is to lift the strings off the stretched skin covering the resonating box, enabling the K. to produce clear tones. However, in parts of southern Ethiopia, K. are played without a bridge (Tesfaye Lemma 1975:11).

K. can be played both standing (held almost horizontally against the left hip) and sitting (held vertically). Playing techniques vary from region to region (although nowadays, due to technological advances in communication, a player may adapt techniques from other regions). E.g., the Təgrayan player picks and strums the K. strings with a plastic plectrum held in his right hand, while his left hand stops (making the frequency higher) and mutes (lessening the intensity of the sound, e.g. vibration and upper harmonics) the strings. Tunings are not based on pitch but on interval set or sequence. Pitch range is determined by tessitura. Musically he plays various rhythmic patterns outlining the basic melody of his voice. The Amhara player plucks the strings with his left hand and with the thumb of the right hand. No plectrum is used and there is no muting or stopping of strings. The K. and vocal accompaniment are performed by a soloist who plays in heterophony, whereby the instrument plays a melodic variant with chords of the vocal melody. The Dorze player uses a leather plectrum and plays ostinato chordal rhythmic patterns with shifting accents while he sings an independent melody. Heterophony is a form of polyphony where there is simultaneous use of modified versions of the same melody by two or more vocal and/or instrumental parts (Kimberlin in PICES 15, 452).

The Təgrayan, Amhara, and Dorze K. players observed use chords that are intentionally played and are fully integrated into their music compositions (s. Kimberlin in PICES 15). The K. may use chords approximating perfect 4^{th}s or 5^{th}s, and 3^{rd}s or octaves, whose combinations are also favored by musicians from North Africa and the Middle East, and are not necessarily part of the

Western music notion of chordal progression. To vary the tone quality, the player may experiment with various sound combinations with or without a plectrum.

↗Instruments, musical; ↗Music

Src.: KaneDic 1386; WOLF LESLAU, *Etymological Dictionary of Gurage (Ethiopic)*, vol. 3: *Etymological Section*, Wiesbaden 1979, 350.

Lit.: ASHENAFI KEBEDE, "The Krar", *EthObs* 11, 3, 1967, 154–61; ID., *The Music of Ethiopia: its Development and Cultural Setting*, Ph.D. thesis, Wesleyan University 1971, 145-49; ID., "The Bowl-Lyre of Northeast Africa, Krar: the Devil's Instrument", *Ethnomusicology* 21, 3, 1977, 379–95; BISRAT TAMENE, *Krar Method: for the Development of Ethiopian Traditional Musical Instruments Technic*, Addis Ababa 1998, 114; MERIAN C. COOPER, "Two Fighting Tribes of the Sudan", *The National Geographic Magazine* 54, 2, 1928, 421-86, here 475 (ill.); VILLOTEAU GUILLAUME-ANDRÉ, "Du kissar, ou de la lyre éthiopienne", in: ANTOINE CÉCILE, *Description de l'Égypte*, vol. 1, Paris 1809, 918-30; JEAN NGOYA KIDULA, "The Choral Arrangements and Performance Practice of Arthur Kemoli", paper presented at the Conference on Composition in African and the Diaspora, Cambridge, UK, 2-6 August 2001; CYNTHIA TSE KIMBERLIN, "The Music of Ethiopia", in: ELIZABETH MAY (ed.), *Musics of Many Cultures: an Introduction*, Berkeley, CA 1980, 232–52; EAD., "'Who Dared?': Twenty-Two Təgrəññña Songs from Mändäfära, Eritrea'", in: *PICES* 15, 446–58; VSAe I, ill. 31.1, s. index; III 26, 288, ill. 26.1–2, s. index; JOSEPH H. KWABENA NKETIA, *Die Musik Afrikas*, Wilhelmshaven ³2000 (Taschenbücher zur Musikwissenschaft 59), 140; SIBYL MARCUSE, *Musical Instruments: a Comprehensive Dictionary*, New York 1964; *Musical Instruments of Ethiopia: Catalogue of the Collection of the Ethiopian Museum of the IES*, Addis Ababa 1999, 38–41; MonVidMus 3186 [repr. in: *AE* 19, 2003, 149–88]; *The New Encyclopaedia Britannica*, vol. 7, Chicago, IL ¹⁵2003, 592f.; MICHAEL POWNE, *Ethiopian Music: an Introduction: a Survey of Ecclesiastical and Secular Ethiopian Music*, London – New York – Toronto 1968, 43–52; CURT SACHS, *The History of Musical Instruments*, New York 1940; ARTUR SIMON (ed.), *The Berlin Phonogramm-Archiv, 1900–2000: Collections of Traditional Music of the World*, Berlin 2000 [German – English]; JUSTINIAN TAMASUZA, "African Pianism in Abakadde Abaagalana be Balima Akambugu", in: CYNTHIA TSE KIMBERLIN – AKIN EUBA (eds.), *Towards an African Pianism: Keyboard Music of Africa and the Diaspora*, vol. 1, Point Richmond, CA 2005, 87–95; TESFAYE LEMMA, *Ethiopian Musical Instruments*, Addis Ababa 1975, 11; KLAUS WEDEKIND, "Contrastive Analyses of a Beja Song", *Journal of Eritrean Studies* 4, 1–2, 2005, 132–66, here 139f., 151, 164, n. 8; ULRICH WEGNER, *Afrikanische Saiteninstrumente*, Berlin 1984 (Veröffentlichungen des Museums für Völkerkunde Berlin. Abteilung Musikethnologie 5).

Discography: *Asnaqetch Werqu – The Lady with the Krar* [one CD with a booklet], 2004 (Ethiopiques 16); CYNTHIA TSE KIMBERLIN, *Ethiopia III: three Chordophone Traditions*, Paris 1986 [stereo disc with notes, song texts, transcriptions, and photographs (by JEROME KIMBERLIN); reissued as CD, *Ethiopia: three Chordophone Traditions*, 1996].

Cynthia Tse Kimberlin

Kəśtät

K. (**ክሥተት**, lit. 'Revelation') is a technical term designating a liturgical unit formed of verses from the Psalms to be recited before the Gospel during ↗funerals (Grébaut 1931:29f., with reference to the Latin gradual, sung or said in the Mass after the Epistle). It occurs frequently in the *Mäṣḥafä↗gənzät*, where several kinds of K. are mentioned: for priests, deacons, monks, the righteous, children, etc. (GréTisVat I, 265f., with a list of the relevant Psalms; cp. GrébGriaule III, 180ff., 279f.).

Src.: DillmLex 833; GréTisVat I, 265f.; GrébGriaule III, 180ff., 279f.; LesCDic 297.

Lit.: SYLVAIN GRÉBAUT, "Notes lexicographiques. Supplément sémantique au Dictionnaire éthiopien (*Suite*)", *Aethiops* 4, 1931, 29–31, here 29f. [§ 22. "**ክሥተት** (terme liturgique)"].

Gianfranco Fiaccadori

Kəśtätä aryam

The K.a. (**ክሥተተ፡ አርያም**, 'Revelation of ↗*aryam*', i.e. the highest heaven, with unceasing performance of angelic praise) is a set of hymnological compositions (↗*Dəggʷa*) taken from the Psalms and Canticles. Originally a monastic nocturnal prayer, it developed into a proper office, which is used on many occasions in the Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥədo) Church (↗*Qəddase*): chiefly, for the ↗feasts of Mary, the saints and the Cross; but also for other major feasts falling on week days (when the ↗*Səbḥatä nägh* is not prescribed), and for such other observances throughout the liturgical year as the feast of the Trinity, ↗*ʿƎrgät*, ↗*Ṭəmqät*, ↗*Fasika* eve etc., as well as at funeral services.

Like the ↗*Mäwäddəs* and ↗*Məhəlla*, the K.a. forms one of the longest services of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, including 150 psalms (Psalter), the entire collection of the O.T. and N.T. canticles, a great number of ↗prayers, ↗litanies, invocations, ↗hymns (e.g., ↗*aryam*, *mästäbqʷəʿ*) and ↗*qəne*. Its performance consists of a preliminary recitation of individual psalms (often beginning with Ps 136 *əsmä läʿaläm*), canticles (↗*Maḫlet*) and ↗*kidan*; singing of verses related to the specific feast; singing of psalms with the elements of *Dəggʷa* and *qəne* in alternating choirs; ↗*mäwaśəʿət*; and, finally, invocations to the saints, biblical and non-biblical readings (e.g., from ↗*Wəddase Maryam*).

Src.: GÄBRÄ TÄSFA SƎLLASE (ed.), **መዋሥዕት፡ ዘዶረሰ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ያሬድ፡ ኢትዮጵያዊ** (*Mäwaśəʿət zädäräsä qəddus Yared ityopyawi*, 'The *Mäwaśəʿət* Composed by Saint

Yared the Ethiopian'), Addis Abäba 1976 A.M. [1983/84 A.D.], vol. 2, 4ff., 135–40, 146f., 162; KWKDic 830; VelMe II, 40, 398f., 419f., 431.
Lit.: HabTent 66f., 121ff.; HabUff 280–86, s. index.

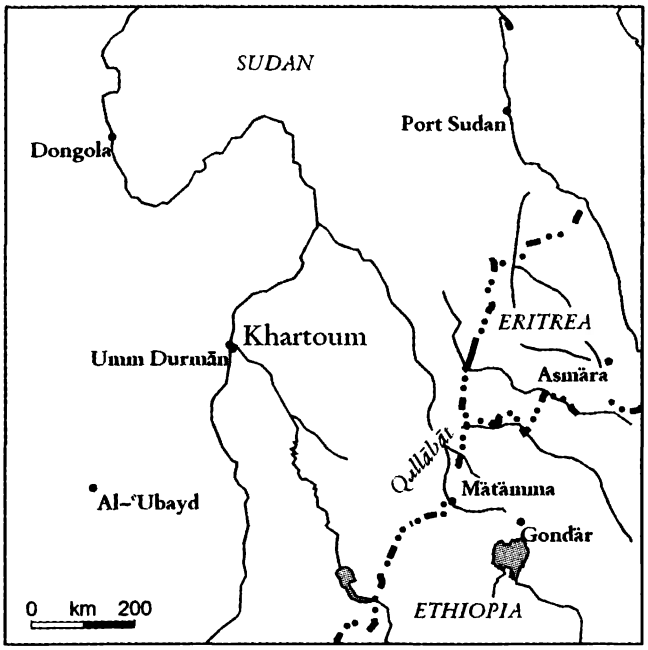
Habtemichael Kidane

Kevorkoff, Matig ↗Armenians

Khartoum

Located at the confluence of the White and Blue Niles, present-day K. (Arab. خرطوم, Ḫarṭūm) consists of three parts, namely the cities of K. in the south, Umm Durmān (Omdurman) in the west and modern semi-industrial K. Baḥrī in the north. Though there are no actual data available since the last census in 1993, the population of the agglomeration also comprising the former suburbs may have well grown up to five million inhabitants through refugees from military conflicts in neighbouring states and the civil war, causing the erection of non-permanent displaced people's camps along the city limits.

For most of its history K. remained a temporarily inhabited small fishing village located in an unhealthy swampy environment at the fringes of the various empires dominating ↗Sudan since antiquity. It has not been until the Turco–Egyptian conquest of the Sudan in 1820/21 (↗Egypt; ↗Ottoman Empire), that the occupants recognized its strategic position, after all other garrisons were annihilated by local resistance. Protected by both Niles, Egypt shifted the seat of the colonial government from Wad Medani to K. in 1823, which became a permanent settlement and underwent rapid development as well as a population growth in the subsequent decades not only by its elevation



to capital status, but also because of the economic decline of rival towns, which transformed K. into a crossroads of long distance caravan trade from the inner Sudan and Ethiopia. K. also became an embarkation point for traders as well as foreign explorers and adventurers upriver and thence to Ethiopia (s. Hill 1967), e.g. for such as the later consul Theodor von ↗Heuglin, Konstantin Reitz, the Russo–German Wilhelm Junker, who was the first to explore the Ḫor Baraka (↗Barka) in 1876, and Charles ↗Gordon.

From the late 1840s onwards, K. became the seat of several European consulates and in 1848 the centre of the (initially Austrian-dominated) "Vicariate Apostolic of Central Africa", founded on 3 April 1846, adjacent to the "Vicariate Apostolic of Abyssinia" and that of "the Galla" (↗Catholicism). However, not until 1876, in an attempt to tighten the relations between these units, was the foundation of a mission station at Famaka on the Sudanese–Ethiopian border considered, but the latter never came into being. After ↗Kärän, in today's Eritrea, was occupied by the Egyptians in 1872, the Catholic mission there came under the influence of the K. mission, which was headed from that year onwards by the (Verona based) newly consecrated apostolic vicar Daniele Comboni.

A significant change took place in 1854, when most of the city was destroyed by heavy rainfall and rebuilt with houses constructed of mud brick or stone, replacing those made of thatch. It was that same year that through European pressure on Egypt the city's public slave market was closed, although slaves continued to be traded outside, some of them captured in raids in Ethiopian border areas. Various travellers, e.g. Alfred ↗Brehm, mention that Oromo girls were sold there (e.g., by ↗Ğäbärti; s. Hartmann 1861). A considerable number of Europeans in K. were married to baptized Oromo women in the 1850's and before, such as Eugène de Pruyssenaere de la Wostyne, the physician Alfred Peney and the Austrian consul Martin Ludwig Hansal (married to Pruyssenaere's widow Maria Amina from Ğimma; s. Bano 1976 for their European names).

The Protestant ↗St. Chrischona Pilgermission incorporated K. in their 1860s "Apostolic Highway", which connected ↗Jerusalem with Ethiopia, establishing the St. Thomas missionary station at K. This was also done in view of the slave market; young freed Oromo slaves, who were not pressed into the Egyptian army, were

taught at the mission school until 1871 by European and African missionaries (Smidt 2005).

From 1856 to 1860, K. temporarily lost its significance as an administrative centre, when the Egyptian viceroy Saʿīd *bāšā* created a short-lived decentralized government. Afterwards, K. regained its former position and in 1872 became the capital of the newly founded General Governorate of the Eastern Sudan and the Red Sea Coast (cp. ↗Massawa Governorate, which included newly annexed Ethiopian border areas, such as Bogos, cp. ↗Bilin). K. experienced a turning point in its development in the course of the ↗Mahdist revolution, which laid siege to the city from September 1884 onwards. Though fortified by a trench and a wall connecting the Blue and the White Niles, it was conquered by Mahdist forces on 26 January 1885. The surviving inhabitants were deported to the new capital Umm Durmān, while the city was abandoned.

Palace of the Governor General in Khartoum; photo 1878, by Richard Buchta, from Buchta 1881, "Photo 4", collection of the author

With the re-conquest of the Sudan by Anglo–Egyptian troops in 1898, the capital was returned to K., which was rebuilt according a street plan in the shape of the Union Jack. K. Baḥrī was established as a garrison comprising a dockyard and railhead to Egypt, while Umm Durmān (remaining the most populous part) largely kept its old shape. The National Record Office of K. contains the archives of this period, including detail documentation on the border areas ↗Gaš, ↗Barka (Eritrea), ↗Mätämma and ↗Gambella (Western Ethiopia).

Beginning from the first decade of the 20th cent., K. was the starting point of the steamer service connecting Gambella town with the Sudan and also became the hub of the railway system interconnecting the whole region.

In 1940/41 the city again became involved in Ethiopian affairs, when after the entry of Italy into ↗World War II the British started their efforts for the Liberation of Ethiopia. Emperor ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I resided in the Sudanese capital for almost half a year, where he established his headquarters at the "Pink Palace". From K., he called on the people of Ethiopia by radio broadcast to continue their fight against the occupying forces. Initially, however, he had to face the open hostility of both the governor-general in K., and the commander-in-chief for the area, General William ↗Platt (Spencer 1984:90; cp. ↗Wavell).

After Sudan achieved independence in 1956, K. remained its administrative centre, also playing an important role for Eritrean opposition forces. During a congress of the ↗Eritrean Liberation Front (E.L.F.) in 1965 in K. a revised organizational structure was created. The Revolutionary Command (E.L.F.-R.C.) was replaced by a Supreme Council (E.L.F.-S.C.), whose headquarters were moved from Cairo to K., whilst a new Revolutionary Command was established at ↗Kassala on the Ethiopian border. In the 1970s and 1980s, the Sudanese capital was exposed to tens of thousands of refugees from Eritrea and Ethiopia, fleeing climatic catastrophe and military conflict.

Src.: BTafA 205, 933; National Record Office (NRO), Khartoum; Catholic parochial archives Khartoum, Archivio Comboniani, Roma (ACR); Privatarchiv Spittler (PA 653), Staatsarchiv Basel.

Lit.: LEONZIO BANO, *Mezzo Secolo di Storia Sudanese 1842–1898 dall'archivio parrocchiale di Khartum*, Verona 1976; RICHARD BUCHTA, *Die oberen Nilländer. Volkstypen und Landschaften, dargestellt in 160 Photographien. Mit einer Einleitung von Dr. R. Hartmann*, Berlin 1881 [with original photographs] (ill.); S. EL-BUSHRA, "The Definition of a Town in the Sudan", *SNR* 54, 1973, 66–72; ROBERT HARTMANN, "Die katholischen Missionen und der Menschenhandel am weissen Flusse", *Zeitschrift für allgemeine Erdkunde* 11, 1861, 446–61; RICHARD HILL, *A Biographical Dictionary of the Sudan*, London 1967; PETER M. HOLT – MARTIN W. DALY, *A History of the Sudan from the Coming of Islam to the Present Day*, London 2000; T. ABDOU MALIQALIM SIMONE, *In Whose Image? Political Islam and Urban Practices in Sudan*, Chicago, IL 1994; WOLBERT SMIDT, "Les Africains de Bâle du 19e siècle", in: SANDRA BOTT et al. (eds.), *Suisse – Afrique (18e–20e siècles): de la traite des Noirs à la fin du régime de l'apartheid*, Münster 2005; JOHN H. SPENCER, *Ethiopia at Bay, a Personal Account of the Haile Sellassie Years*, Algonac, MI 1984, 90; HERBERT TOMANDL, *Die Bevölkerungsentwicklung der Städte Nordafrikas im Hinblick auf*

die naturräumliche Ausstattung, M.A. thesis, Wien 1987; C.E.J. WALKLEY, "The Story of Khartoum", part I, *SNR* 18, 1935, 221–41; part II, *ibid.* 19, 1936, 71–92; MICHAEL H. ZACH, "Die Entwicklung Khartums bis zum Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts im Spiegel der österreichischen Reiseliteratur", *Wiener Ethnohistorische Blätter* 29, 1986, 39–66.

Michael H. Zach

Kidan

K. (ኪዳን, 'testament, covenant, pact') in Ethiopian Christian literature and tradition designates a solemn promise given by Jesus Christ to a saint to the benefit of the latter's faithful. Religious archetypes for the K. can be found in the Bible (cp., e.g., the "testaments" of the O.T. Patriarchs; Late Jewish and Christian "testament literature"), as well as in the "Covenant" or "Pact of Mercy" given to St. ↗Mary by Jesus in such apocryphal tradition as that preserved in the *Liber de transitu* (*Mäṣḥafä* ↗*ʿəräfta lämaryam*, likely to have been translated from Greek) and other texts, or later in the *Miracles of Mary* (↗*Täʾammərä Maryam*, translated from Latin via Arabic). The "Covenant of Mercy" became one of the most important elements of the Ethiopian veneration of St. Mary (↗*Kidanä məḥrät*). The biblical idea of the "pact" between God and men, known since Aksumite times, was then extended to local ↗saints, but only came into prominence at a later date, after the (re)establishment of the Solomonic dynasty fostered the spread of monasticism and enhanced the role of the ↗holy man.

The same idea of a pact for the saintly life exists in Coptic and Christian-Arabic literature, but its position in religious practice was not that prominent. Hagiographic works translated into Gəʿəz usually do not include K., whereas a few of the earliest-known pieces of original Ethiopian ↗hagiography have K.-like passages: cp., e.g., the Homily in honour of Mäṭaʿ (↗Libanos), dating from 1340 A.D. at the latest (s. Getatchew Haile 1990:37f. and Bausi 2003, §§45–46, 108; the term K. is not used here). Although the issue has not been investigated in detail, scholars generally connect the origins of the K. in the Acts (↗*Gädl*) of Ethiopian saints with the literary models found in the Greek hagiography of Egypt (Conti Rossini 1936–37:405), or the *Kidanä məḥrät*-related texts (Cerulli 1957:53). In many Acts of Ethiopian saints, K.-related accounts, indeed, have a specific literary shape apparently influenced by works in which the pact of St. Mary is described (cp., e.g., Arras 1974:73–76, which is the *Sənkəssar* lesson for the feast of *Kidanä məḥrät*, ColSyn X, 552–57; BudSaint 635–38; extended version in Cerulli 1957:58–64).

Usually, saints receive the K. shortly before their death, s., e.g., ↗Bäträ Maryam's pact on 1, his death on 7 *Ḥamle*. Some receive the pact twice: ↗Iyäsus Moʾa on the eve and on the very day of his death; ↗Samuʾel of Däbrä Wägäg some time before and again just prior to his fatal illness. In a number of Acts, before the "ultimate K.", a saint may receive several K.-like promises, long before death. Sometimes the pact is given in particular circumstances: ↗ʿƎnbaqom receives it in prison, ↗Filmona after victory over temptation. When offering the pacts, Jesus arrives alone (Filmona, Iyäsus Moʾa, Samuʾel of Däbrä Wägäg) or with other "heavenly witnesses" – St. Mary, angels, "heavenly priests" etc.

In the Acts of the saints, even a short K. has an established form and terminology ('to give a pact', *wähabä kidanä*; whereas a saint 'takes' or 'accepts' it: *näśʾa* or *täwäkkäfä* respectively). The Vita of Filmona seems to contain the simplest and briefest K.: "The Lord has given him the pact of mercy for the sake of his sons and all those who will trust in his prayers, and ensured anew that he will stay with the anachorite Pantaleon in the Kingdom of Heaven". Most of the other Acts have more developed K. First, they contain the reference to the eternal salvation of the saint's soul. Then they present detailed directives to the faithful as to how the latter should venerate and honour the saint (proper celebration of the saint's feast, ↗*täzkar*, commemoration of the saint's name in prayers, ↗pilgrimage to the saint's grave, charitable deeds in his name etc.; the writing of the saint's Acts also being included), in order to rely upon his help and intercession during their lifetime and after death. Thereafter, the Acts include the description of the rewards to those who fulfil the requirements, first of all the salvation of their souls and eternal rest in the saint's heavenly "fief" (which is sometimes also described). Promises concerning the flourishing of the saint's monastery are also common: e.g., it will never face a famine nor any other calamity, but turn into a "second ↗Jerusalem", etc.

No doubt, the K.-passage was one of the most important parts of any saint's Acts, and was apparently considered one of the major pieces of evidence for his sanctity (although a few Acts contain no K., for unclear reasons). In Ethiopian hagiography, the gradual development of the K.-

passages was directly connected to the growing importance and "differentiation" of the soteriological function of the saints and to the spread of their veneration, in which increasing numbers of faithful were involved. In fact, the K. was written to establish, formalize and announce the relations between the faithful and their patron-saints. In the context of a feudal society (↗Feudalism), this may well be considered as a "heavenly replica" of the traditional patron-vassal relation existing on the earth (Taddesse Tamrat in PICES 7). K., therefore, was one of the elements making the cult of the saints an even more attractive religious practice. On the whole, it became one of the most peculiar features of Ethiopian ↗Christianity.

Src.: VICTOR ARRAS, *De Transitu Mariae. Apocrypha Aethiopice*, II, Louvain 1974 (CSCO 342, 343 [SAe 66, 67]), 73–76 (text) = 56–59 (tr.); ALESSANDRO BAUSI (ed.), *La «Vita» e i «Miracoli» di Libānos*, Lovanii 2003 (CSCO 595, 596 [SAe 105, 106]), XV no. 11, §§ 45–46, 108; BudSaint 635–38; ENRICO CERULLI, "Gli Atti di Batra Māryām (fine)", *RSE* 5, 1946 [1947], 42–66, here 61; ID., "La festa etiopica de patto di misericordia e le sue fonti nel greco 'Liber de transitu' e nel racconto latino dei cinque dolori di Maria", in: *Silloge Bizantina in onore di Silvio Giuseppe Mercati*, Roma 1957 (= Studi Bizantini e neoellenici 9), 53–71; ID., *Les vies éthiopiennes de Saint Alexis l'Homme de Dieu*, Louvain 1969 (CSCO 298, 299 [SAe 59, 60]), 66ff. (text) = 81ff. (tr.); MARIUS CHAÎNE, *Apocrypha de B. Maria Virgine*, Louvain 1909 [repr. Louvain 1955] (CSCO 39, 40 [SAe 22, 23]), 42ff. (text) = 36ff. (tr.); ColSyn X, 552–57; MAURICE ALLOTTE DE LA FUŸE, *Actes de Filmona*, Louvain 1958 (CSCO 181, 182 [SAe 35, 36]), 45f., 52ff. (text) = 41, 49f. (tr.); GETATCHEW HAILE, "The Homily of Abba Eləyas, Bishop of Aksum, on Mäṭṭaᶜ", *ABoll* 108, 1990, 29–47"; STANISLAS KUR, *Actes de Samuel de Dabra Wagag*, Louvain 1968 (CSCO 287, 288 [SAe 57, 58]), 24ff., 65ff. (text) = 19f., 50f. (tr.); KurMoa 46 (text) = 37f. (tr.); OSVALDO RAINERI, *Atti di Habta Märyäm (†1497) e di Iyäsu (†1508), santi monaci etiopici*, Roma 1990 (OrChrA 235), 39–43; RicEnbYoh v, 87f.; MADELEINE SCHNEIDER, *Actes de Za-Yohannes de Kebrān*, Louvain 1972 (CSCO 332, 333 [SAe 64, 65]), 18f. (text) = 18f. (tr.).

Lit.: *abba* AYELÈ TEKLEHAYMANOT [Mario da Abiy-Addì], *La dottrina della Chiesa Etiopica dissidente sull'unione ipostatica*, Roma 1956 (OrChrA 147); CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "L'agiografia etiopica e gli Atti del santo Yâfqeranna-Egziᵓ (Secolo XIV)", *Atti del Reale Istituto Veneto di scienze lettere ed arti* 96/2, 1936–37, 403–33, here 405; ERNST HAMMERSCHMIDT, *Äthiopien: Christliches Reich zwischen Gestern und Morgen*, Wiesbaden 1967, 135f.; FRIEDRICH HEYER, *Die Kirche Äthiopiens: Eine Bestandsaufnahme*, Berlin – New York 1971 (Theologische Bibliothek Töpelmann 22), 90f.; STANISŁAW KUR, "Le pacte du Christ avec le Saint dans l'hagiographie éthiopienne", in: *PICES 7*, 125–29 (Lit.); PAOLO MARRASSINI, *Gadla Yohannes Mesraqawi: Vita di Yohannes l'Orientale*, Firenze 1981 (Quaderni di semitistica 10), CI–CII; RicLett 813; TADDESSE TAMRAT, "Feudalism in Heaven and on Earth: Ideology and Political Structure in Medieval Aethiopia", in: *PICES 7*, 195–200; TadTChurch 2.

Stanisław Kur – Denis Nosnitsin

Kidan zäᵓəgziᵓənä Iyäsus Krəstos ↗Testamentum Domini; ↗Testamentum Domini in Galilea

Kidan zänägh ↗Testamentum Domini

Kidanä Maryam

Näggadras K.M. (ኪዳነ ማርያም, fl. mid-19th cent.) was a leading merchant in ↗Gondär. He was, almost certainly, the only Christian among the six ↗*näggadras* in northern Ethiopia at that time. There is some evidence, based on oral tradition, that suggests that the first *näggadras* of Addis Abäba, and scion of a major Gondärine family, ↗Aggədäw Wäldä Maryam, was related to him. As the *näggadras* of Gondär, K.M. had two major tasks; he was responsible for assessing local commercial taxes in the Gondär markets and administered the quarter in Gondär called Ǝslamge (↗Addis ᶜAläm).

He also regularly headed trade caravans from/to Egypt (Gobat 1834:87) and was befriended by Samuel ↗Gobat who visited his house on several occasions (ibid. 87, 125, 167f.). K.M. had a certain level of church education since on several occasions he discussed theological issues with the missionary during 1830–31.

Src.: AbbSéjour vol. 1, 163f.; SAMUEL GOBAT, *Journal of a Three Years' Residence in Abyssinia ...*, London 1834, 87, 125, 167f., 305, 311; WALTER CHICHELE PLOWDEN, *Travels in Abyssinia and the Galla Country*, London 1868, 376–82, 390–93.

Peter Garretson

Kidanä Maryam Kaśa

Abunä K.M. (ኪዳነ ማርያም ካሣ, b. 21 April 1886, ↗Hebo, d. 1 September 1951, Asmära) was the son of *aytä* Kaśa Tammänu and *wäyzäro* Ḥagosa Tare. His grandfather was one of the first people converted to ↗Catholicism by Giustino De ↗Jacobis. K.M.'s father died when he was five, and his widowed mother became a nun. He joined the seminary at ↗Kärän when he was fourteen, on 12 November 1900. In 1909, on completing his regular education, he was sent to ↗Jerusalem for further theological training at the Latin Patriarchal Seminary.

In 1914, K.M. returned to Eritrea and was ordained priest a year after, in Sägänäyti, by Mgr. Camillo Carrara, where from 1915 to 1925 he taught candidates for the priesthood. At the same time, he became involved in pastoral activities in the surrounding region. He also assisted Franc-

esco da ↗Bassano in preparing the edition of the Gəᶜəz ↗Bible.

On 5 April 1926, K.M. was elected Pro-Vicar General for the local clergy, under Mgr. Celestino Cattaneo. For about two years, he performed the delicate task of acting as intermediary between the bishop and the local clergy. He proved to be a wise man, capable of listening and sensitive to the needs of the priests. From 1928 to 1930 he studied Canon Law at the Pontifical Gregorian University in Rome.

The growing number of indigenous clergy called for the appointment of a native bishop, and on 4 July 1930, following Cattaneo's recommendation, Pope Pius XI named K.M. "Ordinary for the indigenous Catholics of the Ethiopic Rite and Titular Bishop of Tibari". He was ordained Bishop by the then prefect of the Sacred Congregation for the Oriental Churches, Cardinal Luigi Sincero (assisted by Mgr. Agostino Zampini and Mgr. Giovanni Santini), in the Ethiopian College's chapel at the Vatican (↗Santo Stefano dei Mori) on 3 August 1930. On 16 January 1931 K.M. returned to Asmära.

Bishop Kidanä Maryam Kaśa as elected "ordinary bishop for the Catholics of Ethiopian rite"; from Mauro da Leonessa 1930, front page

K.M. was a man of dialogue who tried to foster harmony among his priests. He devoted special attention to seminary students. During his tenure as bishop, the number of ordinations increased, and he sent many students to the Ethiopian College in Rome.

K.M. tried, sometimes successfully, to introduce Catholicism into several traditional Orthodox Täwaḥədo areas, e.g., Dəgsa, Maᶜəräba, Dəbarwa, ᶜAddi K̲ʷala and ᶜAmäṣi.

During World War II, the Vatican asked K.M. to move to Addis Abäba because of the vacuum created by the missionaries who had been expelled from Ethiopia. On 18 February 1943, K.M. took over the regency of the Apostolic Delegation of Addis Abäba and the pastoral administration of the whole country. In this new role, K.M. was assisted by priests whom he had brought from Asmära: ↗Gäbrä Yäsus Ḫaylu, Täklä Maryam Fətaw, Täsfa Maryam Täkläzgi, Yoḥannəs Gäbrä Maryam, Gugsa Gidäy and Habtä Gäbrəᵓel Täsfu. K.M. served in Ethiopia till 1949. He then returned to Eritrea were he had to deal with an open revolt from several of his priests, the bone of contention being the proposed transfer of the seminary. The challenges K.M. had to face, especially during the last phase of his ministry, took a heavy toll on his health. His increasing frailty induced the Holy See to appoint two Apostolic Administrators to succeed him: *abunä* Yaᶜəqob Gäbräyäsus for Eritrea, and *abunä* ↗Ḫaylä Maryam Kahsay for Ethiopia, who were both consecrated on 1 May 1951, four months before K.M.'s death.

K.M. was buried in his birthplace, Hebo.

Src.: archives of the Diocesan Curia of Asmara.

Lit.: ABRAHA FRANÇOIS, "Etiopia Cristiana", *Selezione Missionaria* 10, 3, 1953; RINALDO CORDOVANI, *I Cappuccini della Provincia Romana*, Roma 1997, 75; ErDizBio; EZECHIA DA ISEO, *Pionieri di Fede e di Civiltà in Eritrea e regioni limitrofe. Sintesi storica*, Asmara 1937; MAURO DA LEONESSA, "Cenni biografici", in: *30 agosto 1930: a Sua Eccellenza Mons. Chidanè Mariam Cassà ... nel fausto giorno della sua consacrazione episcopale*, Città del Vaticano [Pontificio Collegio Etiopico] 1930, 8–9 (ill.); MANNA GHEBREMEDHIN, *The History of the Catholic Church in Eritrea: its Inculturation as a Model for Neo-Evangelization in AMECEA* [Association of Member Episcopal Conferences of Eastern Africa] *Regions*, Nairobi 1996; METODIO DA NEMBRO, *La Missione dei Minori Cappuccini in Eritrea (1894–1952)*, Roma 1953; GIUSEPPE PUGLISI, "Tre vescovi eritrei", *Africa* [Roma] 6, 1951, 257–58.

Tedros Abraha

Kidanä məḥrät: Mäṣḥafä kidanä məḥrät

The expression K.m. (ኪዳነ ምሕረት, lit. 'Covenant of Mercy') refers to the covenant, or pact (cp. ↗*Kidan*), concluded by Jesus Christ and St. ↗Mary in which he promised that, as a reward for the sorrows she had to endure, he would forgive the sins of everyone who remembered them and would do pious deeds in her name. K.m. is celebrated by the Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church on 16 *Yäkkatit* (23 February) as a major Marian feast and commemorated on the 16th day

of each month (↗Calendar; s. BudSaint 635–38; ColSyn X, 552–57).

↗Gəᶜəz literature has a number of texts related to K.m. and the feast of 16 *Yäkkatit*, with the name *Mäṣḥafä kidanä məḥrät* (መጽሐፈ: ኪዳነ: ምሕረት, M.k.m.):

a) A rather short text (Cerulli 1957:54ff., "redazione breve"; here part of the ↗*Täᵓammärä Maryam*) is a translation probably dating to Aksumite times (Cerulli 1957:69), from a Greek original (the *Liber de transitu*, cp. *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*ᶜəräfta lämaryam*; ibid. 56f.). The content is simple: Mary praises Christ and is granted the Covenant.

b) Another very short text (Budge 1900:10, 1933:58f. ["Version II"]; Euringer 1938:77f.; Cerulli 1957:64–67) is ultimately adapted from a Latin *Vorlage*, through an Arabic intermediary translated from a French text (ibid. 66f.). In this version, Christ asks Mary about the sorrows she had to endure because of his passion and death. After she explains the five greatest ones, he promises her that "whosoever shall give an offering for thy name's sake, I will remit to him his sins, and I will make him inherit the kingdom of heaven."

c) A longer M.k.m. is attested, e.g., in mss. Dabra Māryām 14, VII; Dāgā Ǝsṭifānos 4, v; s. also Budge 1900:77f. (text) and 1933:54–57 (tr., "Version I"); Euringer 1938:78ff. Cp. an extended version of this text in Cerulli 1957:58–64 ("redazione ampia", here part of an edition of the *Täᵓammärä Maryam*), still depending upon a Greek text, but influenced by the *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*ᶜəräfta lämaryam*; s. also ColSyn X, 552–57 (the "second recension" of the ↗*Sənkəssar*) and Arras 1974:73–76 (text). This M.k.m. relates how Jesus left Mary with his apostle John, how she wanted to visit his grave, and how the Jews wanted to prevent her from doing so, but, through divine intercession, were not able to molest her, and how Mary was then taken through heaven to Christ. There she adjures her son that whoever does a good deed in her name, even a very small one, should be spared from hell. Christ concedes this as the K.m.

d) A ↗*dərsan* bearing the title *Zäkidanä məḥrät*, 'Of the [Feast of] K.m.' (Arras 1974:77–85) relates how, after adjuring her son for a long time, Mary finally receives the Covenant of Mercy.

e) Still another M.k.m. (Conti Rossini 1910:593–621) was composed during the reign of *aṣe* Naᶜod (1494–1508). Many miracles of Mary are recounted exemplifying the covenant. The last chapters contain miracles on behalf of the contemporary Emperor and his immediate predecessors.

f) The K.m. is also the topic of a ↗*mälkəᵓ*-hymn (cf. DillmChr 147f.; ChRep no. 96; Euringer 1938, 1941).

In Ethiopian ↗Christianity, the belief in the Virgin's intercession on behalf of all human beings and the power of salvation of her covenant is been very strong. The topic of the K.m. is the basis of many Ethiopian legends about Mary, one of the most illustrious being, for instance, the story of the "cannibal of Qəmər" (*bäläᶜe säbəᵓ*), who, after a very wicked life, was saved from hell because once he gave a sip of water to a leper who had asked him in the name of Mary (Euringer 1938:84). The K.m. is a frequent subject in Ethiopian traditional ↗painting (s. subarticle).

Many churches and monasteries are dedicated to the K.m. The idea of the K.m. is even reflected in Ethiopian anthroponomastics, in personal ↗names like Kidanä Dəngəl, 'Covenant of the Virgin', or Kidanä Maryam, 'Covenant of Mary' (Elias Yemane 2004:206). Sometimes St. Mary herself is referred to simply as K.m.

Src.: VICTOR ARRAS (ed., tr.), *De transitu Mariae apocrypha aethiopice*, II, Louvain 1974 (CSCO 351, 352 [SAe 68, 69]), 73–85 (text) = 56–67 (tr.); ERNEST ALFRED WALLIS BUDGE (tr.), *The Miracles of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and the Life of Ḥannâ (Saint Anne)* ..., London 1900, 10, 77f. (text) = 145–48 (tr.); ID., *Legends of Our Lady Mary the Perpetual Virgin and Her Mother Ḥannâ* ..., Oxford – London 1933, 54–59; BudSaint 635–38; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Il convento di Tsana in Abissinia e le sue laudi alla vergine", *RRALm* ser. 5ª, 19, 1910, 581–621; DillmChr 147f.; SEBASTIAN EURINGER (tr.), "Das Hohelied des 'Bundes der Erbarmung'", *OrChr* 13, 1938, 71–107, 192–213; *ibid.* 14, 1941, 68–73; ColSyn X, 552–57; HamTana II, 79f., ms. Ṭānāsee 72 = Dabra Māryām 14; SixTana III, 66, ms. Ṭānāsee 115 = Dāgā Esṭifānos 4.

Lit.: CerMaria 74, 76f.; ENRICO CERULLI, "La festa etiopica del Patto di Misericordia e le sue fonti nel greco 'Liber de transitu' e nel racconto latino dei cinque dolori di Maria", in: *Silloge Bizantina in onore di Silvio Giuseppe Mercati*, Roma 1957 (= Studi Bizantini e neoellenici 9), 53–71; ChRep no. 96; ELIAS YEMANE, *Amharic and Ethiopic Onomastics: a Classic Ethiopian Legacy, Concept and Ingenuity*, Lewiston 2004 (Studies in Onomastics 7).

Stefan Weninger

Kidanä məḥrät in art

The iconography of the K.m. seems to be a creation of the Ethiopians, based originally on the longer version of the K.m. story (Budge 1933:54–60). Some elements of the scene, however, might have been borrowed from Byzantine depictions of the Assumption of St. ↗Mary, her elevation into heaven and her coronation.

The oldest images of the K.m. go back to the second half of the 17th cent. and belong to the

"Pact of Mercy"; miniature in ms. *Täʾammərä Maryam*, fol. 13r, 17th cent., the church of Kidanä Məḥrät at Ǝnda Ǝčč̣äge, Tämben; photo 2004, courtesy of Michael Gervers

so-called First Gondär school of ↗painting. Two main pictorial formulas can be distinguished. The abbreviated one shows Jesus and Mary facing each other (standing or sitting), sometimes accompanied by a group of ↗angels. Jesus either extends his hand in the gesture which in the context of the story should be understood as the expression of the solemn promise or raises Mary's hand as proclaiming her the intercessor of humanity. It can not be excluded that the ancient idea of the alliance between Christ and the Church, symbolized by Mary, is also present here. Since the concept of the K.m. echoes Ps 45 which is quoted in the K.m. story and added to some K.m. miniatures (cf. fol. 13r in the ↗*Täʾammərä Maryam* of the Kidanä Məḥrät Ǝnda Ǝčč̣äge church, Tämben), Mary is usually depicted on the right side of Jesus. The second, more developed formula, adds the figure of enthroned King David playing lyre (traditionally represented as a ↗*bägäna*) as well as patriarchs, prophets, the righteous and sometimes the apostles.

Both pictorial versions of the K.m. illustrate the 17th-cent. *Täʾammərä Maryam* manuscripts where they are part of the pictorial cycle preceding the miracles. Usually this contains the following scenes: Mary praying by the sepulchre of Christ; Mary in heaven paid homage by the prophets who bow before her; the developed version of the K.m. formula; Mary looking into hell; the K.m. in the presence of the angelic hosts.

In churches with the ↗*mäqdäs* decorated in the First Gondär style (e.g., ↗Däbrä Sina, Gorgora, ↗Kəbran Ǝsṭifanos, Abba Ǝnṭonəs near Gondär [presently Paris, Musée des Arts et Civilisations d'Afrique], ↗Qoma Fasilädäs) the short version of the K.m. formula occupies the prominent place on the west side of the tambour, just below the scene representing the Ancient of Days with 24 Heavenly Priests. The paintings on wood in the same style (diptychs and triptychs) usually place K.m. on the left-hand wing, below the Anastasis.

Some sumptuous manuscripts of the *Täʾammərä Maryam* decorated in the Second Gondär style follow the tradition of the previous century and introduce the miracles with the K.m. pictorial cycle. Sometimes other scenes are added, e.g., in the manuscript of Tägogäwa Yoḥannəs, the Last Judgement is included with the depiction of the fate of sinful and righteous souls watched by Mary.

From the second half of the 18th cent. the K.m. disappears from the tambours of the *mäqdäs* and, with exception of churches dedicated to the K.m., the scene is seldom included in decoration schemes. The iconographical innovation, which should be ascribed to the painters of the Second Gondär style, is the figure of Mary portrayed as the Queen of Heaven, either wearing a crown or receiving it from the angels.

The K.m. also appears on objects used for private devotion such as pendant icons and ↗*sənsul* but rarely on crosses (e.g. London, BritMus no. 68.12–30.5).

From the second half of the 18th cent. the scene is sometimes included in the groups of devotional miniatures gathered at the beginning or at the end of a manuscript. In such cases the figure of a prostrate supplicant may be included at the feet of Jesus and Mary.

Lit.: CLAIRE BOSC-TIESSÉ - ANAÏS WION, *Peintures sacrées d'Ethiopie. Collection de la Mission Dakar-Djibouti*, St-Maur-des-Fossé 2005, 70f., 88f.; BudSaint 635–38; ERNEST ALFRED WALLIS BUDGE, *Legends of our Lady, the Perpetual Virgin, and her Mother Ḥannâ*, London 1933, 54–60; ChojPaint 78, 140, 358, figs. 53, 56, 147; STANISŁAW CHOJNACKI, *Ethiopian icons: Catalogue of the Collection of the Institute of Ethiopian Studies Addis Ababa University*, Milano 2000, 294f., cat. nos. 16, 77, 89, 147, 167, 189, 194, 196, 232, 234, 239, 267; OTTO JÄGER, "Ethiopian Manuscript Painting", *EthObs* 4, 1960, 354–91, here 366–70; ID. – ERNST HAMMERSCHMIDT, *Illuminierte Äthiopische Handschriften*, Wiesbaden 1968, 57, figs. 24, 46; JULES LEROY, *Ethiopian Painting in the Late Middle Ages and under the Gonder Dynasty*, London 1967, 54–56, pls. 21, 26–29; JACQUES MERCIER (ed.), *L'Arche Éthiopienne. Art chrétien d'Ethiopie. 27 septembre 2000–7 janvier 2001, Paris. Pavillon des Arts*, Paris 2000, 140; ID., *Les Vierges d'Éthiopie*, Montpellier 2004, 56f, 130f.; WILHELM STAUDE, "Une peinture éthiopienne datée dans l'église de Betälehem (région de Gaynt, province Begemder)", *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 156, 1959, 65–110, here 72ff., figs. 89–91, 94; ID., "Étude sur la décoration picturale des églises Abbä Antonios de Gondar et Dabra Sinä de Gorgora", *AE* 3, 1959, 185–235, here 67, 104–07.

Ill.: AfrZion cat. 104; GUY ANNEQUIN, "L'Illustration des Ta'amra Maryam de 1630 à 1730: Quelque remarques sur le premier style de Gondar", *AE* 9, 1972, 193–226, here 196–99, figs. 1, 2, 10; ID., *Aux sources du Nil Bleu: enluminure et peintures chrétiennes du XIe au XVIIe siècle*, Genève 1999, vol. 2, figs. 56, 61; CLAIRE BOSC-TIESSÉ, *Art, église et royauté en Éthiopie aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècle: écriture de l'histoire et "fabrique" des images dans les églises du lac Ṭänä*, Ph.D. thesis, Université de Paris I 2001, Annexes, figs. 38, 42, 50; DEBORAH HOROWITZ (ed.), *Ethiopian Art: the Walters Art Museum*, Baltimore, MD 2001, cat. 18; EWALD HEIN – BIRGITTE KLEIDT, *Ethiopia. Christian Africa: Art, Churches and Culture*, Ratingen 1999, 174, 181, 192; OTTO JÄGER – IVY PEARCE, *Antiquities of Northern Ethiopia*, Stuttgart ²1974, 50f., 65; MARIO DI SALVO, *Churches of Ethiopia: the Monastery of Närgä Śellāsē*, Milano 1999, figs. 143, 148f., 172; ANAÏS WION, "Un nouvel ensemble de peintures murales du premier style gondarien: le monastère de Qoma Fasilädäs", *AE* 17, 2001, 277–306, fig. 13.

Ewa Balicka-Witakowska

Kidanä Wäld Kəfle

Aläqa K. (ኪዳነ ወልድ ክፍሌ, b. 1862 or 1864 A.M. [1869/70 A.D. or 1871/72 A.D.], Ǝmbiṭaṭa, Tägulät, d. 24 *Säne* 1936 A.M. [1 July 1944 A.D.], Addis Abäba) was a celebrated Ethiopian theologian, grammarian and lexicographer.

K. was born to a family of respected ecclesiastics. His father's name was Däbru Yäwnätu (later, K. substituted his second name with the name of his mentor ↗Kəflä Giyorgis). While still very young, K. was taught calligraphy by his grandfather, *mämhər* Yäwnätu. The early years of K.'s church ↗education are obscure; however, at the age of 20 he left for ↗Jerusalem to lead a monastic life. On his way, he stayed in Egypt for about a year before reaching Jerusalem in 1890, where he lived for 30 years. Yet after ten years K. still was not a monk, since his name is mentioned without the title *abba* in the list of Ethiopians residing in the monastery Däbrä Gännät, obtained by ↗Littmann upon his visit to the Ethiopian community of Jerusalem in 1900 (Littmann 1902:107, 112).

In Jerusalem, K. was earning a living by copying manuscripts, eagerly waiting to attain his monastic profession, when *mämhər* Kəflä Giyorgis, a renowned traditional scholar, arrived in Jerusalem in 1897. Understanding the great intellectual potential of K., Kəflä Giyorgis was committed to continuing his education and taught K. the traditional exegesis (↗*Andəmta*) of the ↗*Qerəllos*, the works of ↗John Chrysostom and ↗Epiphanios of Salamis, which were followed by other Church Fathers (*Liqawənt*), and the exegesis of the Scriptures and ↗Abušakər.

K. remained with Kəflä Giyorgis until the latter's death in 1908. Apart from Amharic, Gəᶜəz and Təgrəñña, K. acquired proficiency in Arabic; intending to continue his teacher's work on Gəᶜəz lexicography, K. studied Hebrew, Syriac and Greek.

Having been personally summoned in 1920 by *ras* Täfäri Mäkʷännən (the future *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I), K. returned to Ethiopia and stayed at Dərre Dawa, preparing for publication the Book of Ezekiel and its Amharic interpretation (the work conceived, in fact, by Kəflä Giyorgis, s. Cowley in SegBodLes 103ff.). The print, one of the most remarkable Ethiopian ↗incunabulas, was produced in 1924 by the St. Lazare printing press at Dərre Dawa (in two issues, s. Wright 1967:99). Remarkably, it included a new translation of Ezekiel from the Hebrew Bible, and a commentary for which K. used, apart from Ethiopian, also Hebrew sources (s. Knibb 1988:22; Cowley in SegBodLes 110). Later on, K. lived in Dərre Dawa on grants made to him by *ras* Täfäri. He was attended to by *wäyzäro* Bälaynäš Gobäna, daughter of *ras* ↗Gobäna Dači and wife of *blatta* Aššəne Kidanä Maryam.

Berhanou Abebbé (1986:19f.) refers to a number of early Ethiopian prints – mostly Gəᶜəz texts and Amharic commentaries – that K. must have prepared for publication in the 1920s: *Mar Yəsḥaq* (1922/23; cp. ↗Isaaq of Nineveh), *Mäṣḥafä qəddase* (cp. Wright 1967:29, 33), the works of ↗monastic literature under the title *Mäṣaḥəftä mänäkosat* (comprising [a reprint of] *Mar Yəsḥaq*, ↗*Arägawi mänfäsawi* and

↗*Filkəsyus* in one volume, 1927/28). The following year, K. was asked by *ras* Täfäri to translate the *Larousse Universel* dictionary into Amharic. The project turned out to be too difficult and was never realized (instead, it obviously became the beginning of the Amharic lexicon prepared and published by K.'s disciple ↗Dästa Täklä Wäld, s. DTWDic 4). Yet K. published small studies on the syllabary (1934a, 1934b) and kept working on the comprehensive Gəᶜəz dictionary – a work he inherited from Kəflä Giyorgis.

Apart from his main engagements, K. began compiling theological texts, also transmitted to him by Kəflä Giyorgis, on the doctrine of ↗*Yäsägga ləğ*, to which K. too was persuaded (having taken as an additional name Wäldä Abba Täkle, lit. 'son of *abba* Täkle', reportedly in honour of *abunä* ↗Täklä Haymanot). However, this work, under the title *Haymanotä abäw qäddämt* ('Faith of the Ancient Fathers'), was completed by Dästa Täklä Wäld only in 1941/42 and edited by Berhanou Abebbé (1986).

During the occupation, K. courageously spoke out against the Italians, was put into prison for three months and lost his sight, but his library was rescued by Dästa Täklä Wäld. After the liberation, aged and weak K. moved to Addis Abäba, to be taken care of by *blatta* Aššəne and Dästa Täklä Wäld. After his death, K. was buried at ↗Däbrä Libanos of Šäwa.

A few of K.'s works were published posthumously (cp. Berhanou Abebbé 1986:24, 26 n. 115). The lexicographical work, commenced by Kəflä Giyorgis and carried on by K., was published in 1955/56 by Dästa Täklä Wäld over a decade after K.'s death (s. KWKDic). The book provides a lengthy grammatical review of Gəᶜəz, based on traditional ↗*säwasəw* terminology, and a large lexicon. The latter is arranged by roots according to the ↗*abugida* ("Hebrew") order. Verbal roots are usually introduced by the infinitive of the basic verb, followed by derived nouns and verbal stems in the form of 3rd pers. masc. sg. perfect. Amharic explanations of the meaning (sometimes with illustrations) are as a rule followed with relevant quotations from Gəᶜəz texts. Basic etymological information is also provided, such as cognates or sources of borrowing (Hebrew, Syriac, Arabic, Greek and Latin). The lexicon is still one of the most authoritative works on Gəᶜəz published to date.

Src.: EMML V, VI, s. index; KIDANÄ WÄLD KƎFLE (ed.), **መጽሐፈ ሕዝቅኤል ከትርጓሜው ጋራ** ... (*Mäṣḥafä Ḥəzqa᾽el kätərgʷamew gara* ..., 'The Book of Ezekiel with its Interpretation ...'), [Dərre Dawa] 1916 A.M. [1924 A.D.]; ID., **መዝገበ ፊደላት ፤ የግእዝና ያማርኛ ቋንቋ መከፈቻ። መዝገበ ፊደላት ሲማሯት ወእማንቱ ፊደላት ግእዝ ወአምሐራ** (*Mäzgäbä fidälat, yägə᾽əzənna yamarəñña qʷanqʷa mäkfäča. Mäzgäbä fidälat semawəyat wä᾽əmmantu fidälat gə᾽əz wä᾽amḥara*, 'Collection of *Fidäls*, Key to the Gəᶜəz and Amharic Languages. Collection of Semitic Letters which are Gəᶜəz and Amharic Letters'), Dərre Dawa 1926 A.M. [1934a A.D.]; ID., **ፊደልኛ ፊደላዋርያ** (*Fidäləñña fidälawarya*, 'Syllabary and Evangelical Lessons'), Dərre Dawa 1934b; ID., **ሃይማኖተ አበው ቀደምት።** *La foi des pères anciens*, 1. *Texte éthiopien. Enseignement de Mamher Kefla Giyorgis* ..., ed. by BERHANOU ABEBBÉ, Stuttgart 1986 (SKK 79) ["Introduction", 3–54, (Lit.)]; KWKDic; **መጻሕፍተ መነኰሳት። ማር ይስሐቅና ፊልክስዩስ አረጋዊ መንፈሳዊ** (*Mäṣaḥəftä mänäkosat: Mar Yəsḥaqənna Filkəsyus Arägawi mänfäsawi*, 'The Books of Monks: *Mar Yəsḥaq* and *Filkəsyus, Arägawi mänfäsawi*'), Addis Abäba 1920 A.M. [1927/28 A.D.]; **ማር ይስሐቅ የጻፈው መጽሐፍ** ... (*Mar Yəsḥaq yäṣafäw mäṣḥaf* ..., 'The Book Written by *Mar* Yəsḥaq ...'), Addis Abäba 1915 A.M. [1922/23 A.D.].

Lit.: AmhChurchD vol. 5, 24–27; ROGER COWLEY, "A Geez Prologue concerning the Work of *Mämhər* Kəflä Giyorgis on the Text and Interpretation of the Book of Ezekiel", in: *SegBodLes* 99–114; MICHAEL KNIBB, "Hebrew and Syriac Elements in the Ethiopic Version of Ezekiel?", *JSS* 33, 1, 1988, 11–35; ENNO LITTMANN, "Aus dem abessinischen Klöstern in Jerusalem", *ZA* 16, 1902, 102–24, 363–88; TESFAZGHI UQBIT, *Current Christological Positions of Ethiopian Orthodox Theologians*, Roma 1973 (OrChrA 196), s. index.

Baye Yimam – Red.

Kienzlen, Gottlieb

K. (d. 1865, Gafat) was a German lay missionary sent to Ethiopia in 1856 by the ↗St. Chrischona-Pilgermission and the Anglican Bishop Samuel ↗Gobat. K. was a member of the first St. Chrischona group which planned to start a reformation movement from within the Ethiopian Orthodox Church.

After a stay in the Gondär region, K. was transferred in 1857 to Mäqdäla, the centre of ↗Tewodros II's army, when the Emperor went north to fight against "Agäw" ↗Nəguśe. Here the lay missionaries had to do different kinds of artisan work; at the same time K. was actively establishing friendly links with *abunä* Säläma, but could not avoid confrontation with priests, since, among other things, he rejected fasting rules (Strebel 2001:152f.). In 1858 he, together with Johannes ↗Mayer, convinced Tewodros's secretary *aläqa* ↗Zännäb of Protestant doctrines, Zännäb becoming the first Ethiopian "evangelist" within the Ethiopian Church (Flad 1968:32). K. also used his stay in Mäqdäla to learn ↗Oromiffa, preparing himself for a possible Oromo mission. From 1859 to 1862 K. together with Christian

↗Bender was mainly involved in the building of a street in Čäčäḥo with the help of several hundred Oromo workers.

After that K. joined the colony of European craftsmen at ↗Gafat, which focused on weapons production for the Emperor. From here, with the permission of Tewodros II, he travelled to ↗Dämbəya in late 1862, where he preached among the ↗Betä Ǝsraʾel (Smidt 2005). In Gafat K. also worked on an Amharic grammar (Strebel 2001:139), which, however, seems to be lost; in January 1865 he was already sick, after having breathed toxic gas during the production of a mortar, and had not finalized his work on the manuscript (s. *Mittheilungen* 1865).

Together with Theophil ↗Waldmeier, Karl ↗Saalmüller and Johannes Mayer, K. caused controversy among the missionaries by marrying a local woman in 1863, which was, by some, seen as entailing the risk of getting too much involved in Ethiopian affairs (cp. Strebel 2001:140f.). His wife Ṣäḥaytu was the daughter of Wilhelm ↗Schimper of ʿAdwa (thus becoming Bender's brother-in-law, who had married Yäšimmäbet Dästa Schimper). After K.'s death, his widow married the Təgrayan noble ↗Kaśa Golğa.

Src.: Staatsarchiv Basel, PA 653, D3, Mappe 2, No. 5, Magdala 1858–1859; *Mittheilungen aus der Correspondenz der Pilgermission, zunächst für deren auswärtige Brüder bestimmt* 3, September 1865, 18–20.

Lit.: ArEvang; JULIUS FLAD, *Johann Martin Flad: Ein Leben für Äthiopien*, Basel – Gießen 1968, 32; WOLBERT SMIDT, "Deutsche Briefe von Äthiopiern 1855–1869 aus dem Umkreis der protestantischen Mission zur Regierungszeit von Tewodros II.", in: DENIS NOSNITSIN et al. (eds.), *Varia Aethiopica: in the Memory of Sevir Chernetsov (1943–2005)*, St. Petersburg 2005, 287–316; BARBARA STREBEL, "Leben auf dem Missionsfeld. Chrischona-Pilgermission in Äthiopien (1856–1868)", *Aethiopica* 4, 2001, 121–57.

Wolbert Smidt

Kings, Books of ↗Historical Books, biblical

Kingship, divine

K. is a monarchic institution found in many parts of Eurasia, Africa, America and Oceania from antique times until the early 20th cent. Since James Frazer's first edition of *The Golden Bough* (1890), it has become an important focus in historical and anthropological literature, particularly on north-eastern Africa (for the Western approach s. Kantorowicz 1957). The bulk of the studies has been based, however, on the interlacustrine areas of Buganda, Ruanda etc., whereas Ethiopia, which also offers a rich spectrum of relevant phenomena of the K., has featured much less in this field.

K. can be defined as a special type of ↗monarchy, in which the princely leader is considered as a mediator between the natural and supernatural worlds, between the microcosmic and the macrocosmic spheres, between men and supreme beings. In this position he does not primarily act as a political ruler of his group, but rather as a symbol of numinous powers in this world, and as a guarantor of an equilibrium between transcendental and earthly spaces. K. is therefore sometimes also labelled as "cosmic kingship" (L'Orange 1982). The monarch usually acts in close co-operation with representatives of symbolic statuses such as arch-ministers and female relatives, particularly his mother. In certain societies, such as the Pabir of northern Nigeria, the "queen mother" is chosen from another clan and required to give birth to a new king after having been offered the royal paraphernalia (↗Kinship). Rulers of matrilineal descent are frequent in K. of Central African regions. All executive matters of the state and the society are carried out by more or less profane authorities that are under the spiritual supremacy of the king.

According to the socio-religious system of K., the ruler is not regarded as an immediate incarnation of a god, as was the dogma, for example, in the case of the god-kings of Pharaonic Egypt. It is rather based on a set of ideas centred upon the conviction that after his installation the incumbent becomes a vehicle or shrine of a god, a royal ancestor or a cultural hero. In order to represent a strong and well functioning universe, the holder of the position had to be physically and psychically unblemished. If he became too weak to perform the necessary ritual and ceremonial actions, the whole community was considered to be threatened, and as a consequence he had to be replaced. Oral traditions in eastern as well as in central and western parts of Africa even report that divine kings were killed either when they revealed signs of weakness or as a routine after a fixed number of years. This custom of regicide, emphasized especially by Leo ↗Frobenius (1931) for the areas between the Red Sea and Zimbabwe, has not been able to be proved. As can still be observed up to the present in the kingdoms of eastern Africa, K. comprises an extensive catalogue of behavioural prescriptions demanded from the monarch himself and from his subjects with regard to him. They imply, for example, taboos separating the king from contact with profane persons, relationships,

objects and activities. Furthermore, they contain notions that the king's physical, moral and ritual condition affects the welfare and fertility of the people, livestock and crops. It may finally involve the custom of deposition or potentially even regicide.

The culture historical position was opposed by the functionalist and structuralist approaches; Edward Evans-Pritchard in his work on the Shilluk of the Sudan suggested that K. is "typical of, though doubtless not restricted to, societies with pronounced lineage systems in which the political segments are parts of a loosely organised structure without government functions. In societies of this kind political organization takes a ritual or symbolic form which in polities with a higher degree of organization gives way, though never entirely, to centralized administration" (1948:37). The structuralist Luc de Heusch (1987) mainly emphasized that the connection between the social and the natural worlds is made through the body of the king as created by diverse groups of people. He furthermore focussed on the ideas and practices through which the single person of the king is infinitely enlarged through constellations of "twinning" such as of the king and his mother, the ritual queens of the right and left, etc.

Most of the above-mentioned cultural features have been documented from kingdoms in Ethiopia, and traces can still be found in some monarchies in the south of the country. The historian Carlo ↗Conti Rossini and several anthropologists tackled this issue in various monographs, before Eike ↗Haberland (1965) ventured a comparative study of the topic analysing the relevant historical literature on the Christian empire as well as the ethnographic materials relating to southern Ethiopia. According to one of his crucial assumptions, Ethiopia is of decisive importance for any research into the historical age of kingship in Africa since it is geographically situated close to the High Culture of the "Near East" where K. was first documented. Haberland argued that K. developed in Ethiopia primarily through strong influence from western Asia, and within this country it spread from north to south. Since the early Aksumite period, in which the influence of Graeco–Roman elements (via Ptolemaic Egypt), including the Hellenistic idea of K., can be considered (Fiaccadori 2004), ideas and practices of the institution spread either by direct expansion of Highland Ethiopian monarchic systems or by stimulus diffusion to adjacent Omotic- and Cushitic-speaking peoples. Friedrich ↗Bieber (1920–23) even put forward the dubious hypothesis of cultural traces of the "Ancient Egyptians" in the kingdom of ↗Käfa.

The Christian empire after the restoration of the ↗Solomonic dynasty in the late 13th cent. obviously contained a set of characteristic features of K., such as rites of enthronement, royal rituals and symbols of authority, mainly consisting of armlets, finger rings and earrings, etc. most of which go back to, or are more or less consciously revived from the Aksumite period. The "archaic" custom of regicide is said to have been replaced by the practice of holding the bypassed royal kin in honourable, almost sacral captivity on the "mountain of the kings" (cp. ↗Amba Gəšän, ↗Wähni Amba). Royal animals were, as in other parts of Africa, the lion, the elephant and the bee, whose honey and wax were originally reserved for the monarch and his entourage. According to Haberland, many kingdoms of southern Ethiopia, such as ↗Ǝnnarya, ↗Wälaytta, ↗Yäm, ↗Kämbata, etc., reflected the model of the Christian empire to such an extent that elements which were partly obliterated by Christianity and the Old Testament prototype appeared to have remained almost unmodified. This view has been partly revised by more recent research. It is certain that the Omotic- and Cushitic-speaking regions underwent the strong influence of Highland Ethiopia in the sphere of K. But autochthonous cultural elements obviously predominated. These include the myths of supernatural origins, either celestial descent or solar procreation, the rule of succession through the epiphany of charisma, a highly sophisticated system of taboos concerning food and behaviour, the seclusion and untouchability of the monarch, his function as rainmaker and guarantor of fertility, peculiar forms of burials, human sacrifices at his death (as for example documented from Yäm; VSAe 339, 349f., 355f.). All these cultural features existed in the Christian kingdom of Highland Ethiopia only as a relatively weak substrate, and therefore the hitherto neglected possibility of a diffusion from the south to the north has to be considered in the context of K. in north-eastern Africa. In order to gain a more solid base of data on this topic much further historical and anthropological research is needed.

↗Aksum; ↗Monarchy

Lit.: FRIEDRICH BIEBER, *Kaffa, ein altkuschitisches Volkstum in Inner-Afrika*, 2 vols., Münster – Wien 1920-23; DAVID CANNADINE – SIMON PRICE (eds.), *Rituals of Royalty: Power and Ceremonial in Traditional Societies*, Cam-

bridge 1987; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "La regalità sacra in Abissinia e nei regni dell'Africa centrale e occidentale", *Studi e materiali di storia delle religioni* 21, 1947–48, 1–21; ID., "Aethiopica [II]", *RSO* 10, 1925, 418–520, here 483f.; EDWARD EVAN EVANS-PRITCHARD, "The Divine Kingship of the Shilluk of the Nilotic Sudan", in: *Social Anthropology and Other Essays*, New York 1948 [²1962], 192–212; GILLIAN FEELEY-HARNIK, "Issues in Divine Kingship", *Annual Review of Anthropology* 14, 1985, 273–313; GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, "Sembrouthes 'gran re' (*DAE* IV 3 = *RIÉth* 275). Per la storia del primo ellenismo aksumita", *La Parola del Passato* 59, 2004 [2005], 103–57; JAMES GEORGE FRAZER, *The Golden Bough: a Study of Magic and Religion*, London 1922; LEO FROBENIUS, *Erythräa: Länder und Zeiten des heiligen Königsmordes*, Berlin – Zürich 1931; EIKE HABERLAND, *Untersuchungen zum äthiopischen Königtum*, Wiesbaden 1965; LUC DE HEUSCH, *Ecrits sur la royauté sacrée*, Bruxelles 1987; VSAe III, 339, 349f., 355f.; ERNST KANTOROWICZ, *The King's Two Books*, Princeton, NJ 1957 [repr. 1985]; HANS PETER L'ORANGE, *Studies on the Iconography of Cosmic Kingship in the Ancient World*, Athens – New York 1982.

Ulrich Braukämper

Kinship

Only a few comprehensive or comparative studies on K. in Ethiopia and Eritrea have been made. This is probably due to the remarkable diversity of the social and ethnic group traditions within these countries, which show a very broad range of K. types and terminologies, but also to the often-noted aspect of self-centredness in ↗Ethiopian [and Eritrean] studies within Africanist social sciences as a whole. The main sources for our understanding of K. in Ethiopia and Eritrea are the works of field anthropologists published since ca. 1960. Further material can be gathered from historiographic sources and works on dynastic and elite histories, as K. linkages have played an interesting but usually not clearly visible role in the national politics of the two countries. In what follows, various traditions of K. organization will be described on the basis of areal and typological affinities. Some major examples and reflections on a few recent changes in the relevance and role of K. will be given.

K. can be defined as the biologically based but socially constructed pattern of human relationships relating to ↗genealogy and filiation, i.e. descent reckoning in the wider sense. Historically it has marked, if not constituted, both local social life as well as elite politics in Ethiopia. While K., as an original form of social organization and as a social practice, cannot be considered in isolation from other social principles, such as age organization (↗age group systems), relations of areal contiguity, friendship or association, it has a relative autonomy based on certain systematic classificatory principles and terminologies that order the representations of descent, generation, family and affinity. K. can also be seen as an ideology of social positioning guided by the desire to regulate offspring. K. terminologies, of which there are six recurring types, are usually a good first guide to the social structure and kin norms within a population.

A basic distinction in K. is often made between consanguinal ("blood-related") or cognatic kin (kin tracing through any link), and affinal kin, the latter based on relationships established through ↗marriage but relevant to the kin-related transfer of rights, group membership and property. While not always distinguished as such, the difference is relevant and widely recognized, also terminologically, e.g., in Amharic respectively called ዝምድና (*zəmdənna*) and አማች (*aməčča*), and, for instance, among the Omotic-speaking ↗Aari in southern Ethiopia as *wa-sus* and *baysi*. However, adoption and fostering practices blur the distinction and often lead to the inclusion of non-kin into relations of K.. Thus, non-"blood-related" people can become (like) kin (s., for instance, ↗*Guddifaččaa*, ↗*Moassa*). In practice, a strict separation of the two spheres can therefore not be made.

Virtually all Ethiopian and Eritrean societies were deeply shaped by K. links, and also on the national political level these came to play a role in forging alliances between individuals and groups on the basis of descent and marriage. The Ethiopian political elites or would-be elites in the imperial era actively used K. bonds to consolidate rule and incorporate newcomers (cf. Heran 2002). Smaller-scale societies outside the highlands were marked by a kin-ordered mode of production, usually based on clan or lineage organization. Core concepts in K. are "clan", as a putative descent group with some corporate identity, "lineage", as a historical descent line with a known ↗ancestor and with either patrilineal or matrilineal bias, "generation", distinguishing genitors, children and grandchildren, and "filiation", rules or notions on the basis of which people, notably parents and children, are recognized as forming intimate lines of descent, either "real" (biological) or constructed. All K. systems are cultural systems, and it is important to note that societies or people have these notions of lineage, clan, segmentation, filiation, etc. as cultural representations or rule systems, and

not to assume that they exist in a realistic sense in material practice, settlement structures, etc.

An important issue for understanding K. types and terminologies in Ethiopia/Eritrea is that among several groups hybrid forms exist and changes have emerged: K. is a dynamic concept and practice. Neither can one say that all groups of a certain people or ethnic tradition follow exactly the same type of K. "system". For instance, the diversity in social and K. organization among the Oromo is remarkable, as they developed differently for reasons of economic and socio-political adaptation following their 16th-cent. expansion. "Pure" types cannot therefore be presented, because being logical (re-) constructions they probably never existed.

Overview

The remarkable diversity in K. rules, terminologies and systems in Ethiopia/Eritrea cannot be listed here in full; only examples can be discussed. While K. systems and rules across the various groups sometimes differ notably in relation to modes of subsistence, age group organization, ↗migration histories or articulation with state formation, socio-economic crisis, or externally induced change, there are also marked similarities and overlaps. There is no clear correlation between K. systems/ideas of groups with their cultural or linguistic provenance.

The major distinction of types seems to be between groups who have conceptions of clan/lineage organization, and those who have not, working instead with notions of bilateral or ambilineal descent and kin relationships. More rare is cognatic descent: tracing of descent from an apical ancestor through both males and females of any line. Among the clan-type societies are for instance the ↗ʿAfar, the ↗Saho, the ↗Somali, most of the ↗Oromo (↗Boorana, ↗Guğği, ↗Arsi), the ↗Sidaama, the ↗Wälaytta, most of the smaller ethnic groups in the south and west of Ethiopia, as well as the ↗Kunama, ↗Nara, ↗Rašāʾida, and ↗Beni ʿAmər in Eritrea. In several cases, the two types mix, as for example in the ↗Ñaŋatom case (Tornay 1981:151ff.), where both clan identity and bilateral kin ties are important in various contexts, but lineages have no large role. This attests to the versatility and pragmatics of K.

Theoretically, the concept of "clan", as a defined descent group relating agnatically related males and with an (unknown) person as original ancestor, is problematic, due to its situational and often mere emblematic nature instead of its being a corporate reality or "biological" unit. In societies with clans, clan identity is seen as the prime social identity, because it is based on exogamy, defining permitted and excluded marriage partners, the "legitimacy" of children, and indicating rights to land or other resources such as cattle as well as inheritance, and the rights and duties in crucial rituals (e.g., holding ↗*täzkar* or commemorative service) and in dispute resolution. Many societies also have specific terms for "clan", like *qommo* in Wälaytta and ↗Gamo, *olo* in ↗Kara, *kedo* among ʿAfar, *tooki* in ↗Maale, *kafa* among ↗Konso, *kèno* among ↗Suri, or *kabi* among ↗Mursi, to mention but a few peoples. Only in exceptional cases do clan members form a cohesive territorial unit. Certain localities, however, are seen as the domain of predominantly one clan, members of which originally settled there. This again shows that the idea of clan is a conceptual model, and not a blueprint for behaviour.

A result of descent thinking and clan organization is often a concomitant system of choosing marriage partners in some structured way. Rules about whom not to marry imply rules about who can or should be married. This has given rise to the "alliance theory" of K., which states basically that K. is constructed through affinal relations. It looks at marriage exchange patterns between groups, which can be both symmetrical, as in Ethiopia among the ↗Gumuz, who practise "sister exchange" (s. James 1986) and asymmetrical, as among the ʿAfar, who have the prescriptive patrilateral cross-cousin marriage or *absuma* (Getachew Kassa Negussie 2001:72), a form very rare in the Horn of Africa.

K. relations and the situating of individuals in K. links are of essential importance for personal identity, formation of "social capital", and economic rights and opportunities. Especially in the absence of a welfare state or even of predictable governance and adequate judicial structures, the role of K. solidarity and norms of assistance in achieving social status, claiming rights and performing duties is essential. Productive assets, such as rights to land, to livestock and to labour, are realized through K., underlining its economic functions next to its moral and social ones. In many clan-organized societies, clans serve as units mobilizing for the defence of individual members' interests or the settling of conflict. The threat of feuding was usually "bought off" with the payment of compensation ("blood money"),

as in several traditional Eritrean societies (Favali – Pateman 2003:73). Codified state law has been replacing these kin-based customs.

Clan and lineage societies: patrilineal societies

Clan or lineage-based K. forms are probably predominant in Ethiopia and Eritrea, both among pastoral groups and sedentary-agricultural peoples (as well as among the little studied caste groups). A few examples will be mentioned.

Most societies with lineages trace descent either through the paternal or the maternal line and are concerned with the determination of people's group affiliation. In Ethiopia/Eritrea, paternally traced kin or patrilineality predominates. Such societies also have a patriarchal slant, with males dominant in most spheres of life. The aim in lineage societies is to avoid children without recognized social *paters*/fathers (or in some cases *maters*/mothers). Many of these societies were originally organized in "moieties": a structure of duality grouping the clans in two halves and reflecting some kind of reciprocity.

The Oromo, the most numerous and diversified people in Ethiopia, are historically a segmentary, patrilineal clan society, based on named clans. The genealogical principle is strong. Among the Boorana, who often see themselves as the archetypical, "first-born" (*angaffa*) Oromo, one finds the clans (↗*gosa* or *mana*), lineages (also called *mana*) and sub-lineages (*balbala*) in full force. The Boorana clans are divided into moieties, or mirroring exogamous halves of a wider descent group, above the clans. But none of these kin units live together. A similar system is found among the Guğği and Arsi Oromo, although moieties are variable and change in composition. In non-pastoral Oromo societies such as ↗Mäčča (Hultin 1987), ↗Tuulama, ↗Ittuu, or Qottu, the clan-lineage basis is transformed and the "nuclear" patrilineal families (*warra*) and neighbourhoods (*olla*) are more important. Migrations and socio-economic change have led to local adaptations of the system. These societies are, however, still strongly patriarchal, and polygamy is frequent. There is no clear rule of clan exogamy among Oromo; instead there is (or was) a rule of not marrying within the *hidda* group of close relatives, reckoned five generations back (Haberland 1963:113).

Clan and lineage organization is also prominent among the Ogaden and ↗ʿIssa Somali of Ethiopia, who ground their basic social identity in patrilineal agnatic descent or *tol*. The principle leads to a complex segmentary structure within the large clan-family (of which there are six among the Somalis as a whole). Clan and lineage identity are essential for social and economic support, both within and outside Somali territory. Among several southern Ethiopian Cushitic-speaking peoples, K. organization is cross-cut by a generation set system, which impacts on marriage choice and timing as well as on cooperation patterns. Examples are the Gideʾo, Burği, Đáasanač, the Konso, with a particularly complex system (Hallpike 1972), and of course the Boorana (AsmGada; Bassi 2005).

The Cushitic-speaking Sidaama also are a strongly clan-oriented society (Hamer 2005), with patriclans that originally were the basis for the allocation of land rights. Hamer (1996:527) noted that there is much circulation of individuals between clans, as people are able to enter another clan though affinal relations and by using various non-clan ties. The Sidaama also have a notable gerontocratic generational class system (*luwa*), which "cross-cuts" the clans. Male members of a generational class count each other as "kin", and the bond created among elder males by ↗initiation into a new *luwa* class overrides clan membership on the basis of descent. Clans, however, function as exogamous units and reserve certain rituals for those born into them. Sidaama clans are also ordered in two groups: the Aletaa and the Yamaričo, a moiety-like structure.

Lineage systems vary in K. terminologies used, e.g., with some societies distinguishing (cross- or parallel-) cousins and generations with a more detailed terminology. This reflects the different status or social position of relatives vis-à-vis *ego* for purposes of marriage, ritual action, even mutual assistance or certain rights.

Clan and lineage societies: matrilineal societies

Matrilineality, tracing descent through the female line, can be seen as daughter-oriented parental investment, and it is often found in non-plough, horticultural societies with relatively few cattle. Only the Kunama trace descent through the maternal line. The Nara people, also in Eritrea, originally seem to have had this matrilineal system as well but gradually moved to patrilineality, influenced by their adopting Islam in the 19th cent. Also in the matrilineal system the males are dominant (notably the mother's brother of a person), but usually women are respected and have more rights.

The best example of a matrilineal society are the Kunama of south-west Eritrea. K. in the wider sense, including affinal relations, is termed *dugulè*.

Matrilineal kin or *kebesè šàdia* is the most important unit. Culturally this is expressed by metaphors about the mother as being formative of the child's "bones" (*sangà*) or essential being. As in virtually all matrilineal societies, the mother's brother (*imba*) is very important. The matrikin group is actualized in cases of homicide ("blood") compensation or feuding (*marbàta*), when the members must show solidarity and a sense of corporateness. Also land issues are (or were) decided on the basis of matrilineal identity. A patrilineal tracing of descent (*kiškišè*) occurs for some purposes but does not give rise to lineages. In one Kunama section there is a matriclan-based moiety system.

Bilateral/ambilineal societies

In the central highland societies of Amhara, Təgray, several Gurage groups, but also among the Omotic-speaking Dizi in the south-west, clans do not exist and people trace descent along bilateral lines. Both the above types rest on ideas of lineal K. through descent from a father's line, a mother's line or through both, but bilateral tracing or ambilineality excludes clanship. Males and females can inherit through both their mother's and father's line, but actualization of the rights of the claims is strongly situational.

In ambilineal societies, the nuclear family tends to be the most important unit, although in the rural areas this unit is often at least two-generational. Among the Amhara, wife and husband kept their rights of possession in property brought into the marriage, making for a relatively equal, or at least independent, and somewhat competitive relation between spouses. As clans are absent to define the kin circle outside of which one has to marry, bilateral or ambilineal societies use a generational rule of distance, e.g., the well-known one among Amhara (and taken over by many other groups) that one may not marry "within seven generations" reckoned from ego upwards, i.e., no descendant from a common great-great-great-grandparent on either mother's or father's side. Such a group of descendants from an apical male (*wanna abbat*) is often called *bet* ('house') among the Amhara or ↗*ənda* among Təgrəñña-speakers. This rule is the norm but not always the practice. Ambilineal or bilateral descent tracing in Ethiopia necessitates good genealogical knowledge. When applied to the pursuit of rights (e.g., to land), this system often gives rise to overlapping claims and therefore to disputes. Bilateral K. seems to be historically associated with diffuse, open-access property relations, i.e. where no collective kin group identity defines or exhausts a person's rights to claim and acquire property. While descendants do not live together, they keep rights to claim land even if they are long settled elsewhere. The best description of the specific form of cognatic descent, found among the Goğğam Amhara, was given by Hoben (1973).

The bilateral K. system in the case of the Amhara, and probably even more so the Təgray (s. Bauer 1985), has led to a highly individualistic ethos where kin bonds are subject to high variability and negotiation. As among clan group members, there are no automatically solidary kin group units in this society. Təgray K. in particular is marked by a strongly contractual, "political" character. Locality and neighbourhood are more important than kin-based households (Bauer 1985; Rosen 1974). Ambilineal societies have thus given rise to an extraordinary social dynamism, generating individual competition (thus perhaps contributing to the ↗meritorious complex in Ethiopia) but also to a high conflict potential on the level of households.

Among the Dizi of south-west Ethiopia, a people living in the midst of lineage societies like Me'en, Benç and Suri, there is neither clan organization nor lineage thinking. They trace bilateral lines on both sides, and in this they resemble northern Semitic-speaking societies, which whom they indeed claimed historical affinity (cf. Haberland 1993:141, 159). It is likely that as the Dizi evolved as an hierarchical chiefdom society, with frequent internal conflicts, the principles of chiefly hierarchy and territorial authority (based on military means) came to be dominant over that of descent. An intricate ranking system, of social strata and of labour and ritual obligations linking them, may have subverted the relevance of any lineage thinking and clan orientation. Chiefs traced long genealogies, however. Dizi exogamy rules are based on generational distance reckoning (the "seven generation" rule), as among the Amhara and Təgray. In the last century, the influence of the mode of life, culture and religion of northern immigrants reinforced bilateral K. thinking among the Dizi, but they still retain much of their complex system of social group ranking.

Hybrid forms

While "hybrid forms" actually may be a misnomer, because it may suggest a too strict typology of lineage, bilateral and other forms, kin-relation

systems vary in their degree of relative emphasis on certain descent relations. The Ñaŋatom have already been mentioned as a good example of the broad scope and variety of K. The K. organization of these southern Ethiopian agro-pastoralists can neither be described as purely a clan or lineage type nor as a bilateral one, because they combine elements of both. They have some 20 patriclans, but these are "emblematic" entities rather than descent units. Agnatic relatives are rivals in this system, and affines can develop into kin (s. Tornay 2001). One might term the Ñaŋatom system a bilinear or cognatic one, but even that is intersected by age organization, territorial organization, and artificial K. through ritual friendship bonds. This pattern is found among many smaller ethnic groups in the South. For example, among the Konso (Hallpike 1972:89), where the clan is only an emblematic identity defining ritual duties and forbidden marriage/sex partners. The importance of ritual bond friendship is obvious in societies like the Karo (Gezahegn Petros 2000), Đáasanač (Almagor 1978), Suri (Abbink 2006) or Arbore (Taddese Wolde Gossa 2000). What has become clear from recent K. studies is that strict patrilineal or matrilineal forms of K. excluding other relatives do not exist. Even among a strongly patrilineal, if not "patriarchal", society like the Somali, mother's kin is very important for individuals. The same is found among the nominally patrilineal clan society of the Mağaŋgir in south-west Ethiopia (Unseth 1998:153). Here the difference between siblings of the same mother or of the same father is also socially important, and reflected in kin terminology. What was known in ethnology as "complementary filiation" (a term of the British K. theorist Meyer Fortes) meant basically the recognition of the ties established through the mother. In practice, K. is always a pragmatic system of relations forged among people who have reason to believe they are related by descent or filiation, but have room to construct or "manipulate" relationship notions in social praxis. This idea is substantiated in work of the more recent generation of K. studies (cf. Carsten 2004).

The interface of age-grading and K. was already mentioned in the case of the Sidaama, and can be found among the Nuer and various Oromo groups, such as Boorana and Guğği. Like K., age organization is a largely metaphorical social system and allows the superseding of kin ties by cultural rules such as the ritual distinction of age groups or grades, which create solidarity across groups defined by birth.

The patrilineal Gamo societies of southern Ethiopia have an inclusive notion of K. (*dabo*) in that it can include both "blood" relations and other relations. As close proximity of groups over time generated an emphasis on territorial identity (*dere*) instead of existing clan difference, there seems to have emerged no strict minimum rule of "clan exogamy" (Freeman 2002:60), and a quite limited terminological differentiation of kin relations. The Gamo are also a society where important sacrificial and initiatory rituals created supra-kin solidarities, which perhaps contributed to a relative de-emphasizing of K., i.e. of clan identity, as well.

Among various Omotic-speaking societies in southern Ethiopia, it is interesting to note that descendants of 14th–15th cent. northern immigrant groups from the Amhara and Təgray regions, e.g. priestly families, came to form their own clans. For instance, the Wälaytta and Gamo have *kesiga* and *təgre* clans.

Kinship and modernity

Much of the relevance of K. as a social idiom of social relations and rights, however, has been de-emphasized since the Ethiopian Revolution of 1974, which by its land tenure policies and general disregard for the value of inherited social fabrics and customs, created a major rupture in social organizational continuity. In highland Amhara–Təgray society and in Oromo territorialized states and in several smaller chiefdom societies in the west and south, K. identity and linkages were realized or manifested in claims to land or disputes, but when land became state property, obviously K. as an idiom of rights and social identities became less important, although it kept some relevance in local community contexts. This pattern of "decline" was continued under the post-1991 regime, where land remained state property and customary law was ignored, although not as rigidly as under the *Därg*. Already in revolutionary situations, such as Eritrea or Təgray during the armed struggle of insurgent movements against the central government, traditional kin relations were often the issue of reform campaigns, leading to rather dubious programmes to "eliminate" K. (cf. Silkin 1989).

Apart from the political changes, Ethiopian and Eritrean societies also underwent general processes of modernization and social differen-

tiation. The impact of "modernity" and globalization in recent decades has meant the growth of economies of scale and also an increased pervasiveness of non-local socio-cultural influences. With the traditional land-holding systems gone in the early 1980s, urban society expanding and state-bureaucratic definitions of law redefining personal and group identities of people, K. lost much of its central place and constitutive role. But kin bonds are not gone. In times of social and economic insecurity they survive and are revived. Enduring crises, as seen in drought, famine, disease and HIV/AIDS mortality, poverty, and livelihood decline, may nevertheless tax existing K. arrangements to their limits. Traditional notions and norms of mutual assistance of kin folk in crisis are the last social rules to go, but cannot always be upheld and guarantee help and survival, due to generalized poverty and a physical inability to help. This is a frequent condition in Africa, including Ethiopia and Eritrea, and particularly evident in conditions of famine and in urban contexts ravaged by HIV/AIDS mortality.

In today's Ethiopia, people's knowledge of K. and family histories is also diminishing – in line with a decline of its social relevance. For example, the issues described in Hoben's (1973) study of Amhara K. and land tenure in Goğğam would be largely unrecognizable to the current generation of Goğğames. This fact of decline can be expected to further reduce people's "social capital", enlarge their dependence on outside forces, reshape political identity, and probably lead to more recourse to other means to realize their interests (including pressure, deceit, and coercion).

Nowadays, ethnic group identity (↗Ethnicity) is often more generally conceptualized as a "K. group writ large", as a social metaphor, whereby members perceived as being of the same (language or ethnic) group appeal to trust networks and group solidarity in order to advance socially, and these bypass criteria of individual merit, open access or educational qualification. K. both in the specific and the general sense will thus not disappear, and may gain new relevance in conditions of scarcity, state failure and trans-national mobility, when K. links provide generalized, larger scale networks of affinity, diffuse obligations, and mutual trust. These subjects stand in great need of comparative research.

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Jon Abbink

Kirkham, John Charles

K. (in Tgn. tradition *däggiyat* ካርነል [*karnäl*, 'Colonel'], b. ca. 1830, Scotland, d. June 1876 Massawa) was a Scottish sergeant who participated in the ↗Napier expedition of 1867–68, and later served, with the rank of "General" (*däğğazmač*), as a military assistant and envoy for *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV.

Little is known of K.'s earlier life except that he had been a hotelier or ship's steward, and served as a soldier with William Walker in Nicaragua and in China under General Charles ↗Gordon during the Taiping rebellion in 1864 but was seriously injured (Mayo 1876:37f). He subsequently became a sutler, or small-time vendor, for the Napier expedition against *aṣe* Tewodros II, after which he gave his allegiance to *däğğazmač* Kaśa Mərčа (the future *aṣe* Yoḥannəs IV). The latter, impressed by British power and military prowess, had appealed to Napier to lend him two or three members of the ↗Mäqdäla expedition to train Ethiopian soldiers in the use of the weapons the British had given him. Napier refused, whereupon Kaśa, to the British Government's displeasure, employed K. privately.

K. later assisted Kaśa in his victory over *aṣe* ↗Täklä Giyorgis at the battle of ↗ᶜAssäm on 11 July 1871. On becoming the ruler of Ethiopia, Kaśa promoted K., though a man of humble origin, to the possibly sef-styled rank of "Colonel", and later *däğğazmač*. *Aṣe* Yoḥannəs also granted him a lucrative *gʷəlt* or tax-raising estate at ↗Ginda^{c}, on the edge of the northern plateau, overlooking the Red Sea port of ↗Massawa, and made him the Ethiopian governor of the newly created border Province of Ginda^{c} (including the village of Bet Maḵa near Asmära, where K. built his residence). K. established a second residence and a customs post at his estate at Ginda^{c} (KolTrad II, 165) and is reported to have flown the British Union Jack for a time in 1874 to deter possible Egyptian incursions (Dye 1880:127). He also attempted to import weapons for the Emperor, who also ordered him to train one or two thousand Ethiopians in British-style military discipline. This they reputedly disliked, as a result of which the project was abandoned. K. was, however, more successful in supervising building work for the monarch.

Faced with the Egyptian annexation of the ↗Kärän area in 1872 (the district of Bogos; ↗Bilin), Yoḥannəs employed K. to inform the British Government, and appealed for the restitution to Ethiopia of the annexed district, and control over ↗Amfilla port and part of the Arho salt plain. The monarch also dispatched him to London with letters to the governments of Britain, France, Germany, Austria and Russia. He was duly received at the Foreign Office, and by the French and Austrian ambassadors in London, but the European governments ignored the Emperor's appeal. *Ḫidīw* ↗Ismāᶜīl in his turn later complained that K.'s position as governor of Asmära, Ginda^{c} and Amfilla constituted a threat to Egyptian paramouncy in the area, Amfilla being part of the Egyptian "*mudirīya* al-Muṣuwwaᶜ" (↗Massawa Governorate). Later, after the Emperor's victory at ↗Guraᶜ, K. accompanied the returning Egyptian prisoners to Massawa. Though a British subject, he was arrested by the Egyptians and subjected to terrible prison conditions, and died in captivity after a long illness (according to Yoḥannəs having been poisoned, s. RubInd 333) and was buried at Massawa.

Src.: EMELIUS ALBERT DE COSSON, *The Cradle of the Blue Nile*, London 1877, vol. 1, 302, vol. 2, 63f.; WILLIAM MCENTYRE DYE, *Moslem Egypt and Christian Abyssinia*, New York 1880, 125–27, 180–85, 471–77; KolTrad II, 165 [no. 234:2]; WILLIAM WING LORING, *A Confederate Soldier in Egypt*, New York 1881; DERMOT ROBERT WYNDHAM BOURKE, EARL OF MAYO, *Sport in Abyssinia: or the Mareb and Tackazzee*, London 1876, 37–40, 218f.; RubActa III, s. index; GABRIEL SIMON, *L'Ethiopie*, Paris 1885, 177–80; AUGUSTUS BLANDY WYLDE, *'83 to '87 in the Soudan*, London 1888, vol. 1, 310, 315, 323.

Lit.: JOHANNES DE COURSAC, *Le règne de Yohannès*, Romans 1926, 107–18, 305; DouinIsm III.3b, s. index; FREDERIC FISHER, *Naval Reminiscences*, London 1931, 103f.; WILLIAM BEST HESSELTINE, *The Blue and the Gray on the Nile*, Chicago, IL 1964, 181; RubInd 277, 297–309, 332f.; ZewYoh 329, s. index.

Richard Pankhurst

Kiros

K. (ቂሮስ, Copt. Kārās, i.e. Cyrus) is a saint of Roman origin, venerated by the ↗Coptic and the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥədo) Church. K. is commemorated in the Ethiopian ↗*Sənkəssar* on 8 *Ḥamle* (corresponding to 8 *Abib* of the Synaxary of the Coptic Church).

K. is a popular saint in Ethiopia, as evidenced by several written traditions devoted to him, preserved in a large number of sources. There are at least four types of Ethiopic texts about K.: two different hagiographic accounts of the life of the saint (↗*Gädl*; s. 1 and 2 below) and two entries from the *Sənkəssar* (s. 3 and 4 below). K. is also honoured by at least seven different kinds of

↗*sälam* and ↗*mälkəʾ*. He is often mentioned, together with other saints, on the occasion of the death of various persons in hagiographic texts, and appears frequently in connection with ↗Gäbrä Mänfäs Qəddus and ↗Täklä Haymanot (s. Marrassini 2003:LX–LXII). K. is also frequently depicted together with the latter two saints. Asceticism and desert (in a general framework which can be labelled "Egyptian", s. Marrassini 2005) are undoubtedly the main concerns of K.'s Vita.

Abba Kiros; wall-painting, early 17th cent., church of Abba Yoḥanni, Qʷälla Tämben, Təgray; photo 2000, courtesy Michael Gervers

(1) The first *Gädlä Kiros* has not yet been edited (for detailed summary s. Marrassini in StudAeth). It is known from at least 30 mss. (for an extensive but incomplete list s. ibid. 80f.) and is often bound together with the Lives of such other saints as Gäbrä Mänfäs Qəddus, ↗Gäbrä Krəstos and/or Abib/Bula (unlike the latter two, the *Gädlä Kiros* does not appear in the ↗*Gädlä Sämaᶜətat*). The text exists in at least two distinct versions, "long" and "short", which are not clearly distinguishable in the catalogues. The "long" version is for sure the one in mss. BritLib Orient. 701, BN d'Abbadie 103, Ṭānāsee 143 = Dāgā Esṭifānos 32, Ṭānāsee 164 = Dāgā Esṭifānos 53; the "short version" is found in mss. BN d'Abbadie 123, Vat. aeth. 142 (here apparently very short as many fols. are lacking; s. for details Marrassini in StudAeth 80–84). In any case both versions derive from the same model (only a critical edition can reveal if also from a single archetype); the only difference is the omission of short sentences or adjectives, whereas the story seems to be basically the same.

(2) A completely different story (s. Turaev 1903, after ms. BN, éth. 56, fol. 96–109), written by a certain *abba* Bamwa, is preserved in at least two mss., BN Z 136 (where it is combined with the Lives of ↗Täklä Haymanot and of ↗Samuʾel of Waldəbba) and BN d'Abbadie 94 (combined with the Life of Abunäfər and homilies on Melchizedek and the archangel Afnin). It is possibly a translation of an Arabic *Vorlage* documented in at least ten mss. (s. GrafLit I, 532), which in turn may be a translation of a Coptic original, of which six mss. and fragments are preserved (Orlandi 1970:94f.). The author, Bamwa (Pambo), is different from the famous saint by the same name; the Life of St. Hilaria is also ascribed to him.

(3) A *Sənkəssar* entry for 8 *Ḥamle* with the story of *abba* "Misaʾel the meek whom *abba* K. buried". The narration is very similar to that included in the first hagiographic account on K.

(4) A *Sənkəssar* entry for the same day devoted to K. himself. It is entirely different from the *Gädl* and, according to Turaev (1903) probably depends upon text (2).

The story, according to the version of the saint's hagiography here numbered as (1), is more or less as follows: K., whose birth name was Dilasor, was the son of a Christian king of "Rome" Abya (son of Yonani) by his wife Genaser (vars. Anaser, Menaser etc.). Three years after his brother Tewodosyos succeeded their father, K. becomes a hermit. He first stays in a cave in the mountains of Adasar and then in the desert of Bardanos, where he receives the monastic habit from the hermit Paphnutius (*abba* Babnuda) who brought it for K. from Scetis. For sharing his "heavenly food" with a thievish monk from Däbrä Tona(ḥ) of Scetis, Paphnutius is condemned by God to be devoured by a lion. The thief is saved from Hell in accordance with the ↗*kidan* K. concludes with Jesus Christ. After a period of wanderings in the desert, K. meets a poor and ailing person – Misaʾel, the son of the king of Chalcedon. K. consoles him by telling him his story so that Misaʾel might accept his fate and, after the intervention of the Lord, he dies peacefully and goes to heaven. On accusing the monks of mistreating Misaʾel in life and death, K. is carried away by Elijah. Later, K. again intercedes for unworthy monks sent to hell and receives a new *kidan* from Jesus; the sinners are returned to their monastic life so they may later enter Paradise. After years

of asceticism K. receives a visit from Jesus (in the image of an old monk from Däbrä Erara) who announces K.'s approaching death; *abba* Bamwa of Scetis is to write down his life. In heaven, all the saints visit K., in particular such "desert fathers" as St. ↗Anthony, ↗Macarius, ↗Shenouda etc.

Src.: RENÉ BASSET, *Le Synaxaire Arabe Jacobite*, Paris 1923 (PO 17), 639f.; BudSaint 1090–93, 1095–99; GuiSyn II, 281–86, 289–96; JACOBUS FORGET, *Synaxarium Alexandrinum. Pars posterior*, Lovanii 1926 (CSCO 67, 90; Scriptores Arabici 11, 13), 215ff., 211f.; PAOLO MARRASSINI (ed., tr.), *"Vita", "Omelia", "miracoli" del santo Gabra Manfas Qeddus*, Louvain 2003 (CSCO 598, 599 [SAe 108, 109]), vol. 1, LX–LXII; BORIS TURAEV, "Kopto-efiopskoe skazanie o prepodobnom Kire" ('Copto-Ethiopic Tale of the Venerable Cyrus'), *Zapiski vostočnago otdelenija I. R. Arheologičeskago Obščestva* 15, 1903, 1–14 (Vita), 14f. (lesson); mss. BN d'Abb 94, 102, 123; BN, éth. 56, 136; EMML 319, 1834, 2107, 2137, 2504, 2610, 3418, 3554, 4002, 4679, 4683, 5712, 6603, 6709, 6743, 6933, 6981, 7032, 7037, 7133, 7211, 7316; WrBriMus no. 277; Vat. aeth. 142; Ṭānāsee 143 = Dāgā Eṣṭifānos 32; Ṭānāsee 164 = Dāgā Eṣṭifānos 53.

Lit.: ERNEST ALFRED WALLIS BUDGE, *Coptic Martyrdoms ... in the Dialect of Upper Egypt*, London 1914, 128–34 and 381–89; GrafLit I, 532; B. GROTERJAHN, "Saʿidische Bruchstücke der Vita des Apa Kyros", *Le Muséon* 51, 1938, 33–67; PAOLO MARRASSINI, "Il *Gädlä Kiros*", in: *StudAeth* 79–90 (Lit.); ID., "'The Egyptian Saints' of the Abyssinian Hagiography", *Aethiopica* 8, 2005, 112–29; TITO ORLANDI, *Elementi di lingua e letteratura copta*, Milano 1970, 94f.; JOSEPH-MARIA SAUGET, "Ciro", in: *Bibliotheca Sanctorum* vol. 3, Roma 1962, 1343–44.

Paolo Marrassini

Kismaayu

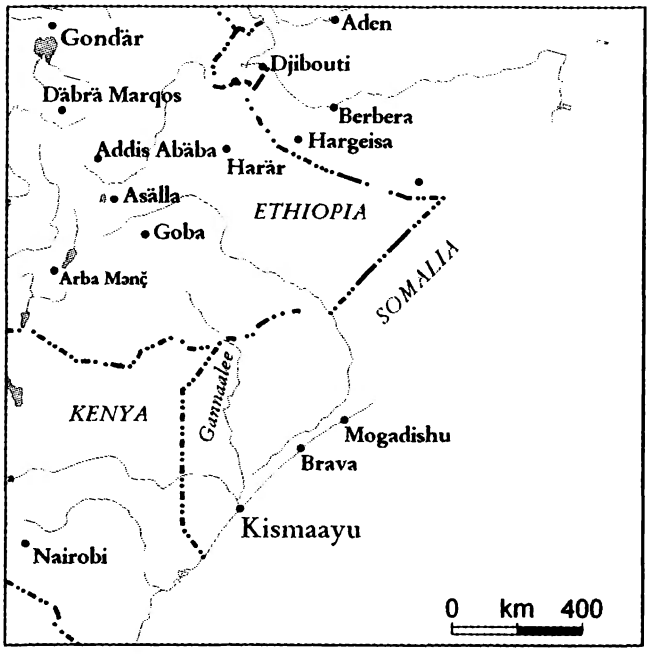
K. (also Kismaayo, Kismayuu, Kisimaayu, Kisimayu, population ca. 40,000) is a town in southern Somalia located near the mouth of the Juba River (↗Ganaalee) where it runs into the Indian Ocean. The word K. consists of Swahili *kisima* ('well') and *yuu* ('high ground'), being also the name of a nearby well. Located on a hill by the Indian Ocean, approximately 2 km south of the city, this well is still in use today. According to oral tradition (s. Freeman-Grenville 1996), K., along with ↗Mogadishu, ↗Merka and ↗Brava, was founded by Caliph ʿAbdalmalik b. Marwān (5th Caliph of the Umayyad line, r. 685–705). The Caliph had a "... soul long[ing] to found a new kingdom", and for this project he chose the Swahili coast of East Africa. He commissioned Persian (↗Iran) and Syrian immigrants to build a line of cities on the East African coast from Mogadishu in the north to Kilwa (Tanzania) in the south.

Not much is known about the history of K. during the ensuing centuries, until the Portuguese arrived on the East African Coast in the 16th and 17th cent. In the following two centuries, K. came under the suzerainty of the *sulṭāns* of Oman and Zanzibar. For a short interlude (1875–76), Egypt, under *ḫidīw* ↗Ismāʿīl *bāšā*, occupied the city and its environs. Shortly after this the German company Witu laid claim to K. (1889–90). From 1886 onwards Britain also began acquiring the extreme south-western edge of the Somali peninsula, an area including K. that became known as "Jubaland". K., along with part of Jubaland, was later ceded to Italy (1925) and merged with Italian Somalia.

K. is a coastal city that still retains Portuguese and Arab style buildings, and as the largest city in the Lower Juba area, it serves as the region's capital. It saw an economic and social transformation in the late 1960s when the old colonial harbour was replaced with a perennial modern facility capable of handling several large-scale vessels per day. Today a varied selection of local produce is exported from the port: bananas, Somalia's principal export product, skins, cattle, myrrh, and a variety of citrus fruits. In the early 1970s, when General Muḥammad Siyad Barre's socialist regime became increasingly involved with the Soviet Union, Somalia began to receive a considerable amount of military and economic aid from there. Part of this aid included the construction and operation of a large meat processing plant in K. that employed hundreds, which added to the city's growing prosperity.

Of all the Somali coastal cities, K. is the richest in agricultural and marine resources. In addition to the aforementioned modern port facilities, the nearby sea abounds with numerous varieties of fish, and the mouth of the Juba is home to shrimp, lobster and other kinds of sea life. The Juba overflows annually leaving behind a sizeable floodplain covered with fertile alluvial soil that creates ideal conditions for growing corn, millet and bananas. Additionally, the nearby woodlands are replete with fruits, principally papaya and mango. An all-weather asphalt road connects this fertile region to Somalia's capital, Mogadishu, several hundred miles to the east. K.'s population is a vibrant cross-cultural environment, featuring numerous cultures and languages – Somali, Bantu, Arab and Indian. As late as the 1970s, a third of the city's residents spoke the Baraawa (Bravanese) dialect of Swahili, as in Brava (now most live in other parts of East Africa and in Oman).

With the collapse of the Somali state (1991), the ensuing civil war and the cataclysmic social up-



heavals, K. diminished in importance. Numerous militia forces pursuing a host of warlords in the region led to the city being pillaged on several occasions causing K.'s indigenous inhabitants to either flee or suffer severe oppression. Much of the flora and fauna found on the outskirts of K. is endangered. Poachers continue to threaten the diverse wildlife – such as ↗elephants, giraffes, ostriches and several species of deer. Worse still, the slender stretches of forest on the banks of the Juba are constantly being cut down by smugglers and sold as charcoal to the Arab Emirates on the other side of the Red Sea.

Recent developments in the region, however, hint that the situation is improving. A truce between the region's two principal warlords is leading to a marked reduction of violence and looting. Additionally, the Bantu peasants – of diverse origins – in the east of the city, whose labour has historically contributed to K.'s economic stability, are beginning to plant crops again. Additionally, there has been a slow return in the number of entrepreneurs from K.'s skilled classes – merchants, artisans, craftsmen, etc.

Lit.: MARGARET CASTAGNO, *Historical Dictionary of Somalia*, Metuchen, NJ 1975, 92–93; GREVILLE STUART PARKER FREEMAN-GRENVILLE, *The East African Coast: Select Documents from the First to the Earlier Nineteenth Century*, Oxford 1966, 241f.; DAVID D. LAITIN – SAID S. SAMATAR, *Somalia, Nation in Search of State*, Boulder, CO – London 1987, 49, 94, 116; IOAN MYRDDIN LEWIS, *A Modern History of Somalia: Nation and State in the Horn of Africa*, London – New York 1980, 3, 97, 98, 175.

Said S. Samatar

Kitāb al-farāʾiḍ ↗Farāʾiḍ, Kitāb al-

Klingenheben, August

K. (b. 11 May 1886, Barmen, Rhineland, d. 26 January 1967, Hamburg) was a German scholar of African studies. After a period studying theology which awoke in him an interest in oriental languages, he continued his studies in Halle with Franz ↗Praetorius and Carl ↗Brockelmann. In 1911, though not having earned any academic degree, K. was employed by Carl Meinhof, director of the *Seminar für Kolonialsprachen* at the Institute of Colonial Studies in Hamburg, to accompany him on an extended field research trip into the Sudan. K. spent World War I as Turkish First Lieutenant in Mesopotamia and Asia Minor. In 1920 he obtained his doctorate from the University of Leipzig with a dissertation on the Katagum Dialect of ↗Hausa. K. was appointed Associate Professor (Extra-Ordinarius) in Leipzig in 1930 and Full Professor in Hamburg in 1933. Having been the last Dean of Faculty under the Nazi regime K. was unemployed between 1945–48. Thereafter, from 1954, when he retired, he resumed his former office. He continued researching especially in ↗Amharic and Fulfulde up to a few months before his death in 1967.

Although K. authored several insightful studies on Ethiopian languages his major merits lie in the field of African linguistics, particularly in the field of Ful (Peulh/Fulfulde) language studies. His meticulous and methodically sound analysis of the nominal class system of that language was key in to demolishing the highly speculative, ill-founded ↗Hamitic theory developed by Meinhof, which presumed that "white" invaders in several waves had brought civilization to Africa.

In 1966 he published a 5,000-entry German–Amharic dictionary with a highly condensed 45-page grammatical introduction that has never received due attention, mainly because, for technical reasons, K. did not use the Ethiopic ↗script. He was assisted in that task by Däğğänä Ḥəllätä Wärq, lecturer in Amharic at Hamburg University in 1961-62. In addition, K. left an unfinished Amharic grammar, which appears to be lost. K. gave ↗Ethiopian studies its first home and a solid foundation in Hamburg, in co-operation with a long series of Ethiopian language assistants of whom Wäldä Maryam Dästa was the first from 1920 to 1925 (when he gave classes in Amharic and Oromo). This specialization of K. in Ethiopian studies was the reason that three years after his death the Chair in Hamburg was given to Ernst ↗Hammerschmidt.

The volume Brauner – Wolff (1988) was published at the occasion of the 100th anniversary of K., containing several articles highlighting K. as a scientist and as an amiable person. Johannes Lukas edited a Festschrift (1966) at the occasion of K.'s 80th birthday. A very incomplete bibliography is contained in Dammann et al. 1966–67.

K. was married to the Africanist Maria Klingenheben-von Tiling, who worked on Oromo, Somali and other Cushitic languages.

Src.: AUGUST KLINGENHEBEN, "Amharisch des täglichen Lebens", *Zeitschrift für Eingeborenen-Sprachen* 11, 1920–21, 296–305; ID., "Die Laryngalen im Amharischen", *ZDMG* 100, 1950, 374–84; ID., "Zum Problem der Verbalstämme im Amharischen", in: *PICES* 2, 42–46; ID., "Die Präfix- und die Suffixkonjugation des Hamitosemitischen", *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung* 4, Berlin 1956, 211–77; ID., "Die Tempora Westafrikas und die semitischen Tempora", *Zeitschrift für Eingeborenen-Sprachen* 19, 1928–29, 241–68; ID., "Die w- und y-haltigen Konsonanten abessinischer Semitensprachen unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Amharischen", *RSE* 14, 1955–58, 28–47; ID., *Deutsch-Amharischer Sprachführer*, Wiesbaden 1966.

Lit.: DAVID W. ARNOTT, "Obituary Professor Dr. August Klingenheben", *Journal of African Languages* 6, 1967, 189–92; ERNST DAMMANN, "August Klingenheben als Wissenschaftler und Mensch", in: SIEGMUND BRAUNER – EKKEHARD WOLFF (eds.), *Progressive Traditions in African and Oriental Studies*, Berlin 1988 (Asia, Africa and Latin America, Special Issue 21), 26–36; ERNST DAMMANN – EMMI KÄHLER-MEYER – JOHANNES LUKAS, "August Klingenheben †", *AuÜ* 50, 1966–67, 241–43; JOHANNES LUKAS (ed.), *Neue afrikanistische Studien*, Hamburg 1966; HILKE MEYER-BAHLBURG – EKKEHARD WOLFF (eds.), *Afrikanische Sprachen in Forschung und Lehre, 75 Jahre Afrikanistik in Hamburg (1909–1984)*, Berlin 1986 (Hamburger Beiträge zur Wissenschaftsgeschichte 1); RENATE RICHTER, "August Klingenhebens Erbe für die Äthiopistik", in: Brauner-Wolff 1988, 137–43.

Ludwig Gerhardt

Kłobukowski, Antony Wladislas

K. (b. 23 September 1855, Auxerre, France, d. 24 April 1934 Paris) was for a short time a French diplomat in Ethiopia. His father, from the Polish nobility (Szlachta), fled to France after the battle of Crochow in 1830 and married a French woman. Their son, K., started his career in prefectorial administration before serving in the French colonial administration, in Indochina from 1882 to 1889. Then sent to China, Peru and India, he was later appointed to the post of *chargé d'affaires* at the Alexandria consulate in 1907. Following the difficulties triggered by the question of the Franco–Ethiopian railway (↗Railways), he was designated official minister extraordinary of France in Addis Abäba, standing in for ↗Lagarde.

He defined his politics in Ethiopia as follows: "Nous ne pourrons, je le répète, faire œuvre utile en Ethiopie, qu'en pratiquant une politique d'association avec un souverain qu' [...] il faut persuader et non pas intimider". On excellent terms with ↗Mənilək II, he signed a new Franco–Ethiopian agreement on the 10 January 1908 settling the political affairs between the two countries as well as commercial disputes (↗Kłobukowski treaty). He also settled the railway question, leading to the "Concession ↗Vitalien" and the constitution of a new company (Franco–Ethiopian railway company. In February 1908 he left Ethiopia to take up a post as a governor in French Indochina. He ended his career as French ambassador in Belgium.

↗France, Ethiopian relations with; ↗Treaties

Lit.: LUKIAN PRIJAC, *Antony Klobukowski et le traité franco-ethiopien de 1908*, Paris 2003 (ARESAE, Conférences et documents 17) (Lit.); JEAN-PIERRE ROCHER, "Antony Klobukowski (1855–1934)", *Bulletin de la Société des Sciences* 95, 1947–52.

Lukian Prijac

Klobukowski treaty

The K.t. was a Treaty of Friendship and Commerce (Traité d'Amitié et de Commerce) signed between Ethiopia and ↗France on 10 January 1908 (full text s. Gingold Duprey 1955; Vanderlinden 1971:259). It was named after the French delegate Antony Wladislas ↗Kłobukowski.

At its origin were the crisis in the Ethio–French relations following the French takeover of the Ethio–French Railway (↗Railways) in 1902 and the increase in the number of foreigners in Ethiopia under *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II and the need to fix their legal status. Another motivation for the K.t. was the Tripartite Treaty of the year 1906. Towards the end of 1906 the three Great Powers, Britain, France and Italy, in part prompted by the belief that *aṣe* Mənilək II's failing health meant that his reign was coming to a close, decided on resolving their rivalries in this part of Africa. On 13 December 1906, they signed the Tripartite Treaty providing for concerted action in Ethiopia which was to be divided into three spheres of influence.

The K.t. gave the nationals of each contracting party the permission to enter the territory of the other party for the sole purpose of agricultural, industrial or commercial activities. In Art. 5 it was stated that Ethiopia had the right to import firearms freely. This important condition legal-

ized the entry of weapons through the French Somaliland Protectorate (Djibouti). Mənilək in return accepted a measure of French extraterritorial privileges, following the model of extra-territoriality praticed in the Ottoman empire. Art. 7 regulated the jurisdiction over French citizens on Ethiopian territory. It was agreed that in penal or civil cases in which French citizens complained against each other, the dispute should be judged by the French consul. In cases in which the defendant was an Ethiopian and the prosecutor a French citizen, or vice versa, the case should be decided by a judge of the Ethiopian state court in co-operation with the French consul or his proxy. However, in the first instance Ethiopian law was applied, whilst in the second judgement had to be in accordance to French law. If the Ethiopian judge and the French consul were not able to agree, the case should be judged by the Emperor, a clause that outraged the representatives of the ↗United Kingdom and ↗Italy.

Although the K.t. was binding on France alone, Britain and Italy were forced to accept its terms because of the "most favoured nation" clause – which was agreed in one of their former treaties with Ethiopia – and the absence of a similar treaty signed with these two nations. The clause, which was a regular feature of all commercial treaties contracted between Ethiopia and any other country, gave the other contracting nation the right to claim for her citizens on Ethiopian territory the same rights as those citizens who were subjects of the most favoured nation.

From the British and Italian point of view, the term concerning the "jurisdiction over Europeans in Ethiopia" opposed the ↗Tripartite Treaty of 1906 concluded between Britain, France and Italy. Therefore, their representatives made great efforts to convince Kłobukowski that the appointment of an international judge would be of much greater advantage for European nationals. However, *aṣe* Mənilək, who was already alerted by the Tripartite Agreement, strongly rejected anything having an international nature or limiting the sovereignty of the Ethiopian government. In consequence, Kłobukowski had nothing but to agree on this mixed (Ethiopian–French) jurisdiction.

Kłobukowski had also been sent to Ethiopia with the task of negotiating with the Emperor to transfer the Concession to a new company. On 30 January 1908, the Emperor, who had long since withdrawn his support from the old Company, willingly granted a new Concession for the operation of the railway. This Concession was granted to his personal physician, Dr. Vitalien, a black man from Guadeloupe, appointed physician to the railway in 1899.

In 1922 the ↗Special Court of Ethiopia was established by Imperial Decree along the lines of the above mentioned Art. 7. Emperor Ḫaylä Śəllase I complained about this treaty at an early stage already, mentioning in his memoires that already during his governorship of Harär it caused problems (HSLife I, 37). When he visited Europe in 1924, as heir apparent, he asked the French government for improvements of the K.t. concerning "in particular the judicial matters laid down in paragraph 7, [which] were extremely irksome to us" (ibid.). He did not succeed. The K.t. remained in force to 1936.

↗Law; ↗Treaties

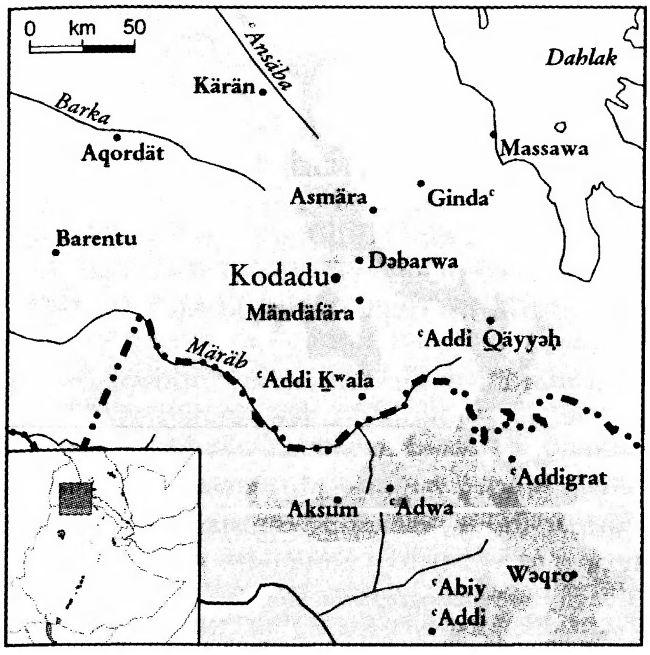
Lit.: ABERRA JEMBERE, *An Introduction to the Legal History of Ethiopia 1434–1974*, Münster 2000, 109ff.; A. GINGOLD DUPREY, *De l'invasion à la libération de l'Ethiopie*, vol. 1, Paris 1955, 426–28; HSLife I, 37; LUKIAN PRIJAC, *Antony Klobukowski et le traité franco–éthiopien de 1908*, Paris 2003 (ARESAE, Conférences et documents 17); RICHARD PANKHURST, "The Franco–Ethiopian railway and its history", *EthObs* 6, 1963, 343–79; HEINRICH SCHOLLER, "The Special Court of Ethiopia 1922–1936, Mixed Jurisdiction as an Instrument of Legal Development", in: *PICES 7*, 381–92; ID., *The Special Court of Ethiopia 1920–1935*, Stuttgart 1985 (AeF 15), 14–23, 29–37, 122ff., 315; ID., "Der Special Court und die Rechtsentwicklung in Äthiopien", in: SIEGBERT UHLIG – BAIRU TAFLA (eds.), *Collectanea Aethiopica*, Stuttgart 1988 (AeF 26), 131–44; JACQUES VANDERLINDEN, *La Création du Tribunal Special d'Addis Abeba 1900–1908*, Paris 1971, 259.

Leul-Tamrat Temesgen

Kodadu

The Təgrəññə word K. (ኰዳዱ, *kʷädadu* or ኮዳዱ, *kodadu*, pl. of *kʷədo* or *kudo*, 'hillock, small hill' [*nəʾəšto kʷərba*]) can be found in several placenames of Eritrea and Təgray.

A prominent example is the village K. lying in the Eritrean district of Ṣəlləma, south-west of ↗Dəbarwa. This settlement is mentioned in the *Gädlä ↗Bəṣuᶜa Amlak*, the hagiography of a 15th-cent. Eritrean monk and founder of the monastery of Ǝnda Śəllase, now Däbrä Məᶜəwan, in Ǝggäla Ḥamus, Akkälä Guzay. After a formative period in ↗Däbrä Bizän and ↗Däbrä Damo, Bəṣuᶜa Amlak left Təgray and reached the "region of K." (*bəḥerä Kʷädadu*), not far from the place where he was born (Ṭaṭya), and there he established his own community, from which a monastery later developed. During the pres-



ence of Bəṣuʿa Amlak in K., a political agreement occurred between the monastic leader and Yoḥannəs, the head of the region (*mäkʷännənä hagär*, *śəyyumä hagär*). In the words of the hagiography, the ruler agreed to initiate a religious celebration in honour of the Trinity and the saint blessed him on the eve of his departure for a victorious expedition against unspecified enemies.

The village no longer exists, but the monastery of Däbrä Abunä Bəṣuʿa Amlak is still active and is known in the whole region under the name of K. (a transfer of names that happened in several cases; e.g., ↗Wägariqo, the name of an old village in the Eritrean district of Liban, is used by the local people to indicate the monastery of Ǝnda Abunä Täklä Haymanot). There were ca. 25 monks and 40 nuns in 1993 living in stone cells; a recently built circular church stands at the centre of the compound. The *ʿəqa bet* preserves ca. 52 manuscripts, some of them of scholarly interest (e.g., a 15th-cent. illustrated Gospel originating from Däbrä Bizän; ↗Käbäsa).

Src.: BauEr III, 32–37 (no. 13); CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Beṣuʿa Amlāk e il Convento della Trinità", *RRALm* ser. 5ª, 11, 1902, 389–429, here 392, 411, 413f.; KaneTDic 1683f.; TÄKKƏ'Ä TÄSFAY, ዘመናዊ፡ መዝገበ፡ ቻላት፡ ትግርኛ (*Zämänawi mäzgäbä qalat təgrəññña*, 'Contemporary Təgrəññña Dictionary'), Asmära 1999, 663.

Lit.: BerTarik 69f.; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Saggio sulla toponomastica dell'Eritrea tigrina", *Bollettino della Reale Società Geografica italiana* ser. 7ª, 3, 1938, 785–816, here 807; ALESSANDRO BAUSI – GIANFRANCESCO LUSINI, "Appunti in margine a una nuova ricerca sui conventi eritrei", *RSE* 36, 1992 [1994], 5–36, here 17; LANFRANCO RICCI, "Appendice. Di due toponimi dell'Eritrea", *RSE* 16, 1960, 124–26.

Gianfrancesco Lusini

Koddo

K. (ኮዶ, also Goddo), located on a commanding peak west of ↗Čenča and south-west of Ezo, used to be the *moṣa* (cattle breeders' secondary home) of Zadˀa of ↗Gamo (for location s. Kəbrä Mängəśt). In the mid-1890s it was occupied and fortified by the soldiers of *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II under *fitawrari* Täklä Maryam whilst the surrounding peoples of Gamo were made *gäbbar* (A. Asane 2000). The forts of Ezo and K. were designed to reinforce that of Čenča (PankHist II, 199).

During the ↗Italian war 1935-36 Gamo garrisons including K. were active in military operations under *fitawrari* Yəggäbawwal, *fitawrari* Dañña and *däğğazmač* Mäkʷəriya. At the same time, the Zadˀa, fearing that the occupation would mean double taxation, revolted and burnt down K., looting it (Gäbrä Śəyyum Dästa 1990; A. Asane 2000). In the revenge operation led by *fitawrari* Dañña the Zadˀa and Liša of K. were burnt and women and children were taken as slaves. *Däğğazmač* Wäldä Maryam, who was sent there from Belta Qara to calm the situation, performed the public execution of 40 Zadˀa men and two women.

Src.: GÄBRÄ ŚƏYYUM DÄSTA, "Life, Family and Land", personal communication, Arba Mənč 1990 (tape recording); A. ASANE, "Life in Zadˀa", personal communication with Zadˀa elders, Giyassa, Zadˀa 2000 (video recording).

Lit.: JACQUES BUREAU, *Les Gamo d'Ethiopie: étude du système politique*, Paris 1981; ARNOLD WIENHOLT HODSON, *Seven Years in Southern Abyssinia*, London 1927, 156–200; PankHist II, 199.

Wolde Gossa Tadesse

Kolmodin, Johannes Axel

K. (b. 22 February 1884, Stockholm, d. 9 October 1933, Addis Abäba) was a prominent Swedish Orientalist who also worked as advisor to *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I.

K. grew up in the missionary school of the ↗Evangeliska fosterlandsstiftelsen at Ulvsunda Lake near Stockholm, run at the time by his father Adolf, the director of the Foundation, who later became professor of N.T. exegesis at Uppsala University; the missionary school was then transferred to Uppsala and renamed Johannelund Theological Institute.

K. studied Semitic languages and Turkish, as well as history, at Uppsala University, graduating in 1905. He continued his studies in ↗Təgrəññña and ↗Amharic receiving his licentiate in 1908. In order to gather material for his Ph.D. thesis, he went to the (then Italian) Eritrea and to Ethiopia,

at the beginning accompanying his father, who was to inspect the missionary stations there on behalf of the Foundation. K.'s purpose was to study less known Ethio-Semitic languages of the region, mainly Təgrəññа. He spent two years there, and after his return he published both a report (1910) and a series of works the most important of which is the collection of the documents (including the Annales by Maḥṣäntä Maryam) and oral traditions of the Təgrəññа-speaking people of ↗Ḥamasen, with a French translation (KolTrad I–III). For the first two volumes he received his Ph.D. degree in 1914, and the same year became associate professor (*docent*) in Uppsala.

In 1917, he spent some time in Berlin studying Turkology at the Orientalisches Seminar. Later that same year he went to Istanbul where he was soon appointed honorary attaché at the Swedish legation. He used his time there also for research in the Turkish archives. He became an expert on Turkey's political life in the period crucial for the beginning of Kemalist Turkey, to which both his diplomatic reports and his letters to family and friends testify (Kolmodin 1999; Kahle 2006).

In June 1924, during his visit to Sweden, *ras* Täfäri Mäkʷännən met in Uppsala Nathan Söderblom, the Archbishop of the Swedish Lutheran Church. When *ras* Täfäri mentioned that he was looking for a political advisor, Söderblom suggested K. as a person suitable for the position. The proposition, which K. received in 1925, concerned, however, an advisory position either at the Ministry of Finance or at that of Trade, and K. was not interested. Eventually, thanks to the mediation of Söderblom and Knut Hanner, the Swedish consul and physician in Ethiopian service, K. received a position in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He arrived in Ethiopia in April 1931 (Halldin Norberg 1977:127); after a trial period, his next term on a new contract began in November 1931. Among his tasks was evaluating other foreign councillors' recommendations before they were submitted to the Emperor. He organized the Ethiopian diplomatic service dividing it into several departments according to the Swedish model. He was also instrumental in finding a compromise in the negotiations concerning the border question between ↗British Somaliland and Ethiopia (1931). He played a (marginal) role in drafting the ↗Constitution of 1931, and penned the speech the Emperor gave at its proclamation.

K. did not live to finish his second contract. His body was transported to Sweden and was buried in Uppsala.

K.'s collection of Ḥamasen ↗oral literature remains his most important contribution; recently it regained importance as a record of national traditions of Eritrea (Ezra Gebremedhin 2006). His other publications include a study of Ethiopian book catalogues (1916), a collection of folk poetry in ↗Təgre (1917), a collection of songs for child birth in Təgrəññа (1918), and critical remarks on some published texts in ↗Bilin (1914–15).

In addition to his writings in ↗Ethiopian studies he also published a few studies in Biblical matters, a chapter on the ancient Near East in a world history monograph, as well as articles in Turkic studies, including translations of Turkic texts into Swedish (s. Kolmodin 1999:128f.).

Src.: [for full bibliography, s. Kolmodin 1999:128f.] KolTrad I–III; JOHANNES KOLMODIN, "Meine Studienreise in Abessinien 1908–1910: vorläufiger Bericht", *Le monde oriental* 4, 1910, 229–55; ID., "Abessinische Glossen: zu Littmann's Artikel Z.A. 21, S. 50–109", *ZA* 24, 1910, 301–06; ID., "En intervju med Abba Fesaha", *Varde Ljus!* 1911, 66–77; ID., "Über die 3 pers. masc. sing. perf. im Tigré", *Le monde oriental* 6, 1912, 1–4; ID., "Observations sur les textes bilin de M. Reinisch, *ibid.* 8, 1914, 81–91; *ibid.* 9, 1915, 152–57; ID., "Sur la date du Ms. éthiopien d'Abbadie 105", *ibid.* 10, 1916, 163–64; ID., "Abessinische Bücherverzeichnisse", *ibid.* 241–55; ID., "Tigrinische Wochenbettlieder", in: *Studier tillegnade Esaias Tegnér den 13 januari 1918*, Uppsala 1918, 65–101.

Lit.: LARSOLOV ERIKSSON, "The Swedish Evangelical Mission as a Background to Johannes Kolmodin's Life and Work", in: ELISABETH ÖZDALGA (ed.), *The Last Dragoman: the Swedish Orientalist Johannes Kolmodin as Scholar, Activist and Diplomat*, Istanbul 2006 (Swedish Research Institute in Istanbul, Transactions, vol. 16), 70–82; EZRA GEBREMEDHIN, "Zanta Tsazzegan Hazzegan: Johannes Kolmodin's Contributions to an Understanding of Eritrean Highland Culture", *ibid.* 83–95; VIVECA HALLDIN NORBERG, *Swedes in Haile Selassie's Ethiopia, 1924–1952: a Study in Early Development Co-operation*, Uppsala 1977 (Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis: Studia Historica Upsaliensia 92); GUNNAR JARRING, "Kolmodin, Johannes Axel", in: ERIK GRILL (ed.), *Svenskt biografiskt lexikon*, vol. 21, Stockholm 1977, 479–81; SIGRID KAHLE, "Johannes Kolmodin: his Youth, Political Thinking, and Life with the Turks Reflected in his Letters to his Parents", *ibid.* 7–69; CARL GUSTAF KOLMODIN, *Johannes Kolmodin i brev och skrifter*, Stockholm 1999 (Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien, Filologiskt arkiv), 41 (Lit.).

Witold Witakowski

Koman

K. is one of the "small" language families of the Ethio–Sudanese border area, belonging to ↗Nilo-Saharan, probably within a larger "core" grouping which includes East Sudanic, ↗Gumuz (exclusive to Ethiopia), and the Kadu languages

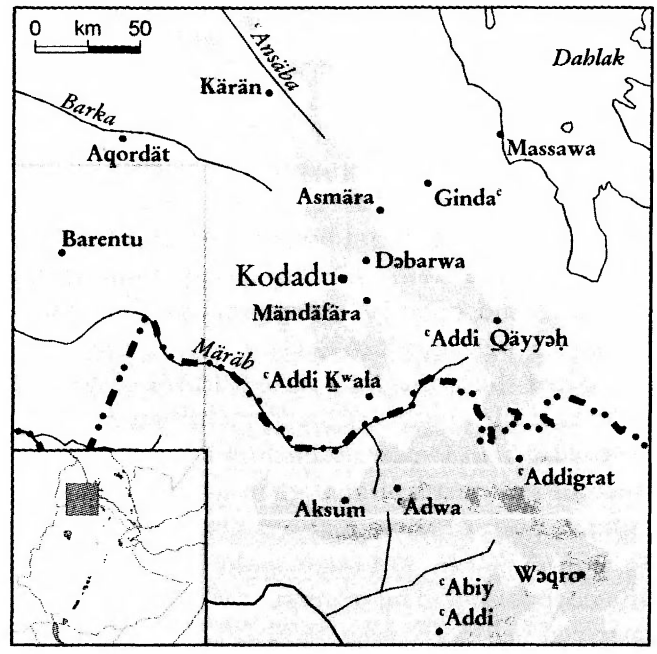
of Kordofan, Sudan (s. Bender 1996). Bender (1994) proposed grouping K. and Gumuz as a "Komuz" family, but this no longer seems supportable: K. and Gumuz are quite distinct, though they share much lexicon because of their geographical propinquity. The above genetic classification is opposed by Ehret (2001), who sees K. as the most deviant family in Nilo-Saharan because of its extensive consonantal inventory. However, he ignores morphological and lexical evidence which links K. to many other Nilo-Saharan languages, especially East Sudanic, Gumuz, and Kadu languages. In fact, K. belongs to a larger sub-family which is distinct from the really deviant Nilo-Saharan families: Songay, Saharan, and Kuliak (Bender 1996:64ff.).

The term K. was first used by the Italian scholars (spelled "Coman"), derived from the name of one of the languages (Komo?), and was revised by Greenberg 1950 to K. as an isolated family of African languages. For earliest accessible sources, s. Seligmann 1911–12 (Gulé), Corfield 1938 (Komo, Opuuo, "Kusgilo-Buldiit"), and Grottanelli 1946 (some Kwama material).

There are five distinct K. languages: ↗Ṭwampa (usually known as Uduk), ↗Komo, ↗Opuuo, ↗Kwama, and Gulé. The latter language, called after its locale around Jebel Gulé in eastern Sudan (the people refer to themselves as Aneǧ or ↗Funǧ, based on a myth of descent from an ancient Sudan political state in the area), was near extinction in 1978–79 when Bender found about four speakers (s. Bender 1983; 1994) and is noted as extinct in Gordon 2005:191. It is somewhat a "mystery language" because of inadequate data, especially grammatical, but there is little doubt that it is K.

Several other reported varieties, notably the "Kusgilo-Buldiit" of Corfield, have not been identified for sure, though it is likely they are merely regional in nature. ↗Šabo (= Mikeyir), a language of the Maǧaŋgir area of Illubabor Province does not belong to K.: although it has some K. content in a very mixed lexicon, the grammar is utterly unlike K. (s. Anbessa Teferra 1991; Anbessa Teferra – Unseth 1989).

The internal classification of K. is fairly clear: Ṭwampa and Komo are close to dialectal status with ca. 77 % common basic vocabulary. Opuuo has about 61 % in common with the foregoing. Kwama is more distant at about 42 % against these and, as mentioned above, Gulé is still more divergent, having from 18 % (vs. Kwama) to 33 % (vs. Ṭwampa) common lexicon with the others.



As for the sources on the K. family, there are partial descriptions of the languages, though much of this is unpublished. Ṭwampa has a grammatical sketch by Stevenson (contained in his 1966) based on 130 pages of grammar and lexicon notes compiled from correspondence with the missionary Malcolm I. Forsberg. There is an extensive Uduk–English dictionary (Beam – Cridland 1956) which is phonetically accurate but of limited use because of lack of an English index and the artificial nature of much of the lexicon (Bible-translation terms). Bender collected extensive notes on Ṭwampa and Gulé in 1978–79, somewhat less on Kwama in 1973–74 and Opuuo in 1980–81. Komo has an unpublished grammar of ca. 60 pages by missionary Samuel J. Burns (1947). Wordlists collected by various other investigators exist. More recently, there are lists of "North Kwama", "Begi Mao" (actually Kwama), and Komo (Wedekind – Wedekind 1993). There is no literature aside from missionary primers and partial Gospels in Ṭwampa and Komo.

The most interesting aspect of K.-languages, and one which has led Ehret to classify them as a primary branch of Nilo-Saharan, is the multiplicity of consonants. Ehret has reconstructed Nilo-Saharan to have the consonant system of Ṭwampa, the most developed system of the K. family. However, given that this multiplicity is atypical in Nilo-Saharan outside of K., it seems more likely that it is a later development in Ṭwampa, and not original in Nilo-Saharan.

The Ṭwampa system, according to the analysis of Bender (1983:262), has a minimum of 34 consonantal phonemes and five vowels. There

are six positions (labial, dental, alveolar, palatal, velar, glottal) and five manners of articulation in obstruents (aspirates, voiced and voiceless stops, ejectives, implosives). Other languages have reduced inventories, e.g., Komo lacks dentals and most palatals, but has ejective *ṣ*. Kwama and Opuuo are similar, and both have *f*, but Gulé, as is typical of a dying language, was reduced: no aspirates and only 19 consonants in all (for details, s. Bender 1983: 261–65).

One of the most intriguing features of K. languages is the combination of inclusive-exclusive distinctions in 1st pers. pl. pronouns and the presence of grammatical gender in 3rd pers. sg. pronouns. Both of these features are relatively rare in Nilo-Saharan and seem to be innovations in the core family. The occurrences in K. are summarized below (Bender 1989: 27, 29):

3rd pers. sg.: gender

	Ṭwampa	Komo	Opuuo	Kwama	Gulé
masc.		*har*	*ɔtaare*	*hal*	*ar*
fem.	*adi*	*hap*	*baare*	*hap*	*ab*
neut.		*hen*			

1st pers. pl.: inclusive / exclusive (subject forms)

	Ṭwampa	Komo	Opuuo	Kwama	Gulé
incl.	*ana*	*ana*	*mana*	*ma* (?)	*anog, anuuk*
excl.	*am*	*amo*	*miini*	*miini*	

As can be seen, only Ṭwampa lacks a gender distinction and only Gulé lacks an inclusivity distinction. Except for one dubious instance in Central Sudanic, 3rd pers. sg. gender in Nilo-Saharan is restricted to the four "core" families (East Sudanic, K., Gumuz, Kadu). Could the existence of gender in the core family be owing to influence from ↗Afro-Asiatic? Perhaps, though the particular exponents of gender are very dissimilar to those of Afro-Asiatic. Inclusive/exclusive is also found in all four families, but further in one Central Sudanic case, Kunama, and Kuliak. Such distinctions are not found in Afro-Asiatic, at least in the area.

In the sphere of syntax, K. languages are sharply opposed to Afro-Asiatic languages of Ethiopia in that they all have S[ubject]–V[erb]–O[bject] basic word order as opposed to Afro-Asiatic SOV (Bender 1996:39). This is another feature linking K. to the core family (ibid. 55f.).

The ten-word list for Gulé is as follows (for the other K. language s. corresponding entries): 'one' *dıdín*, 'two' *dùsùit*, 'three' *dúnnúme*, 'fire' *kəs*, 'water' *aaye*, 'moon' *àyún*, 'sun' *ta*ˀ, 'blood' *'gɔǧɔb*, 'tongue' *adatˀwai*, 'tooth' *seen* (< Arab.).

Even in such a limited corpus as ten-word lists, one can see a high degree of independence in basic lexicon among K. languages. As expected from the figures given above under classification, Ṭwampa-Komo-Opuuo share more than the others, especially Ṭwampa-Komo. But Opuuo and Kwama have unique forms for 'three' and 'blood'. Gulé is most divergent and also has the only loan word from outside.

Src.: RAYMOND G. GORDON (ed.), *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*, Dallas, TX [15]2005, 191.

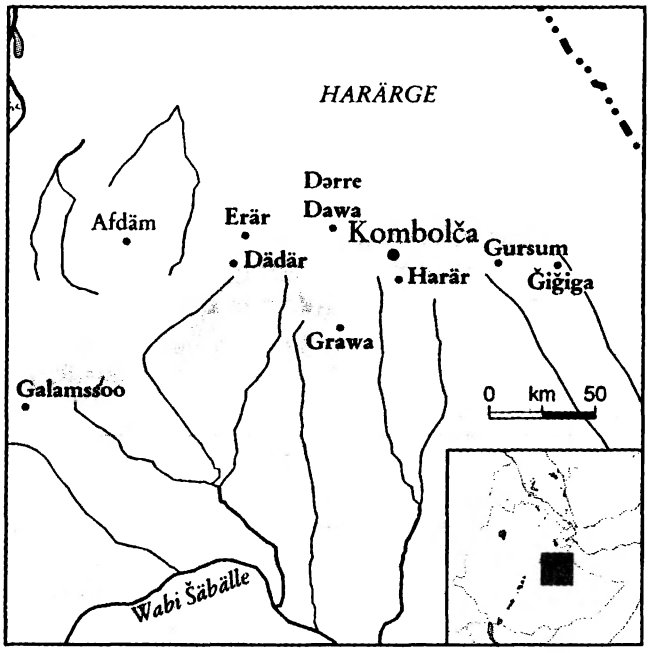
Lit.: ANBESSA TEFERRA – PETER UNSETH, "Toward the Classification of Shabo", in: M. LIONEL BENDER (ed.), *Topics in Nilo-Saharan Linguistics*, Hamburg 1989 (Nilo-Saharan Linguistic Analyses and Documentation 3), 405–18; MARY S. BEAM – A. ELIZABETH CRIDLAND, *Uduk–English Dictionary*, Khartoum 1956 (Linguistic Monograph Series No. 4, Sudan Research Unit) [repr. 1970]; M. LIONEL BENDER, "Proto-Koman Phonology and Lexicon", *AuÜ* 66, 2, 1983, 259–97; ID., "Nilo-Saharan Pronouns/Demonstratives", in: ID. (ed.), *Topics in Nilo-Saharan Linguistics*, Hamburg 1989 (Nilo-Saharan Linguistic Analyses and Documentation 3), 1–34; ID., "Comparative Komuz Grammar", *AuÜ* 77, 1, 1994, 31–54; ID., *The Nilo-Saharan Languages*, München 1996 (LINCOM Handbooks in Linguistics 6); SAMUEL J. BURNS, *Notes toward a Grammar of Koma*, ms., 1947; FRANK D. CORFIELD, "The Koma", *SNR* 21, 1, 1938, 123–65; CHRISTOPHER EHRET, *A Historical-Comparative Reconstruction of Nilo-Saharan*, Köln 2001; JOSEPH H. GREENBERG, "VII: Smaller Families, Index of Languages", *Southwest Journal of Anthropology* 6, 4, 1950, 388–98; VINIGI LORENZO GROTTANELLI, "Materiali di lingua Coma", *RSE* 5, 1946, 122–55; BRENDA Z. SELIGMANN, "Note on Two Languages Spoken in Sennar Province of the Anglo–Egyptian Sudan", *Zeitschrift für Kolonialsprachen* 2, 4, 1911–12, 297–308; ROLAND C. STEVENSON, "The Koma Group" [from 1944 notes of Malcolm I. Forsberg], in: ARCHIBALD NORMAN TUCKER – MARGARET A. BRYAN (eds.), *Linguistic Analyses: the Non-Bantu Languages of North-Eastern Africa. With a Supplement on the Ethiopic Languages by WOLF LESLAU*, London – New York – Cape Town 1966 (Handbook of African Languages 3), 356–69; KLAUS WEDEKIND – CHARLOTTE WEDEKIND, "Survey of Languages of the Asosa-Begi Area Part II", *S.L.L.E. linguistic reports* 12, 1993.

M. Lionel Bender

Kombolča

K. (ኮምቦልቻ, 9° 26' N, 42° 07' E) is the name of a town and a *wäräda* in the East Harär zone of the Oromiyaa *kəlləl*. They owe their name to the small tree, common to the highlands, called *kumbulča* in Oromiffa (*Maytenus ovatus, undatus*, Strelcyn 1973: 186; or *Maytenus obscura, senegalensis*, Fichtl – Admasu 1994:263f.).

K. town lies to the north of ↗Harär on the road to Eğersa Goro at an altitude of 2,125 m A.S.L. It used to be a rest stop on the caravan route to ↗Ğildessa. It is surrounded by irrigated terraces cultivated with a mix of ↗*č̣at* and potatoes, which



are sold at the urban markets of Harär, Dərre Dawa and Djibouti. The town is small (400 inhabitants in 1938), and the number of inhabitants is declining; it is not listed as a town by the CSA. Princess ↗Tänañña Wärq Ḫaylä Śəllase was baptized in the church of St. Mary in K.

K. *wäräda*, with the capital in Mälka Räfu (7,383 inhabitants in 2000 and 8,942 inhabitants in 2004) had a population of 98,885 inhabitants (density: 222.8 inhabitants/km²) in 2000 and 109,889 inhabitants (density: 249.1 inhabitants/km²) in 2004. Slumping ↗coffee sales together with population growth prompted the local ↗Qottu Oromo to engage in the cultivation of highly profitable cash crops (↗*č̣at*, ↗potatoes).

K. *wäräda* suffered much from ↗famines in 1946–48, 1978 and 1984–85. It was heavily affected by the 1975/76 Ethio–Somalian war and by the villagization programme of 1985–86. A major inter-ethnic conflict between Somali and Ǧaarso Oromo took place in K. in 1992.

Src.: CSA 2000; CENTRAL STATISTICAL AUTHORITY, *Ethiopia: Statistical Abstract* 2004, Addis Ababa 2004; GraggDic 249; HUGUES LE ROUX, *Menelik et nous*, Paris 1902, 125.

Lit.: EZEKIEL GEBISSA, *Leaf of Allah: Khat and Agricultural Transformation in Harerge Ethiopia 1875–1991*, Oxford – Addis Ababa – Athens, OH 2004 (Eastern African Studies), 66f., 72, 78, 118, 123, 132, 143, 146; ALAIN GASCON, "Intégration économique, intégration nationale et irrédentisme : le Harär, la rivalité somalo-éthiopienne et l'emprise de Djibouti", *NEASt* 3, 2–3, 1991, 51–67; GasEth 158; *Guida* 451; REINHARD FICHTL – ADMASU ADI, *Honeybee Flora of Ethiopia*, Weikersheim 1994, 263f.; HABTEMARIAM KASSA, *Livestock Production, Household Food Security and Sustainability in Smallholder Mixed Farms: a Case Study from Kombolcha Woreda of Eastern Ethiopia*, M.A. thesis, Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences, Uppsala 2000, 49ff.; NEGA MEZLEKIA, *Notes from the Hyena's Belly: an Ethiopian Boyhood*, New York 2000; STEFAN STRELCYN, *Médecine et plantes d'Éthiopie. II. Enquête sur les noms et l'emploi des plantes en Éthiopie*, Napoli 1973, 186; TESFAYE GEBRE SELLASSIE, "Harer Awraja", *Ethiopian Geographical Journal* 5, 1, 1967, 37–46.

Alain Gascon

Kombolča

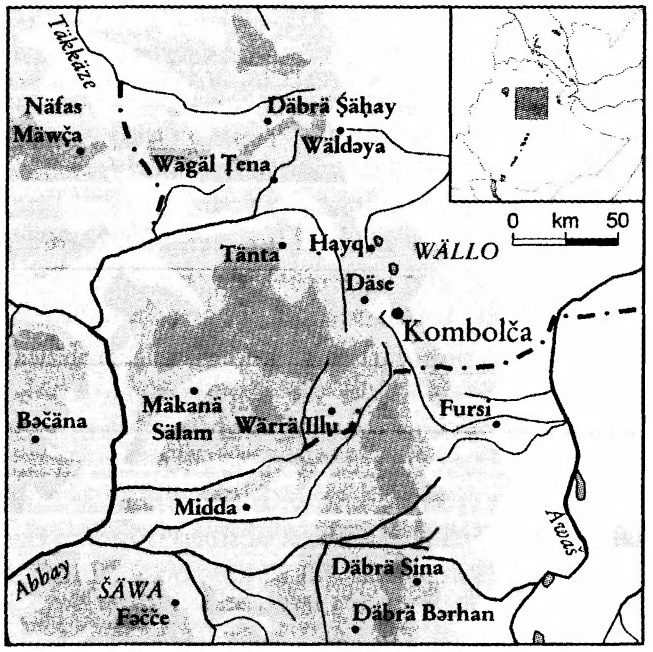
K. (ኮምቦልቻ, popularly also known as Kombälša; 11° 4' N, 39° 44' E) is an important town of South ↗Wällo and the main industrial centre of this region. It is located at 1,850 m A.S.L. in the ↗Borkänna river valley, with the Arägo mountain to the north and a chain of steep ridges to the east. It is 23 km south-east of the zonal capital of ↗Däse.

The K. site was an early settlement area. A large isolated stone sculpture of a ↗lion (described as a sphinx by ↗Lefebvre in 1843) dating back to the ↗post-Aksumite or Salomonic period was discovered on the Č̣əqa Bärät mountain a few kilometres south of the town.

Once a swampy and malaria infested area, K. served as a halting place for long-distance merchants and regional and imperial armies in the second half of the 19th cent. K. grew rapidly in the 20th cent., particularly during and after the Italian occupation, mainly thanks to the construction of the all-weather road between ↗Addis Abäba and ↗Asmära, branching to ↗ᶜAsäb. Under the Italians K. became the site of a military camp (associated with an Italian officer called Poricelli; hence Borčälle, the main market area), a prison, and a depot of road construction materials. They also built a saw-mill at the foot of the nearby Yägof mountain.

One of the decisive battles between the British and Italian forces, on 22 April 1941, took place near K. In April–May 1991 K. and its environs were the scene of fighting between the forces of the ↗Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front and the retreating *Därg* troops.

The development of K. is directly linked with its location at the junction of the Addis Abäba–Asmära road and the second road leading eastwards to ᶜAsäb and Djibouti. At the end of the Italian occupation K. was still scarcely a town, Ančarro being the main trading centre in the area, but when in the 1950s the transport system changed from camels to roads and trucks, the latter was doomed. K. is a hub of freight truck traffic between the capital and north-eastern Ethiopia.



Owing to its warmer weather and more sprawling ambience than Däse, it has served as a weekend retreat for the affluent residents of Däse and a popular overnight stopover for lorry- and bus-drivers and visitors to north-eastern Ethiopia.

The main industries in K. are tanning, meat-processing, textiles, corrugated iron sheets, brewery and poultry farming. Its large Saturday market, attended by traders from Däse, ↗Bati, Ančarro and Kämise, is a major centre of exchange and distribution of agricultural and horticultural products. K. is conveniently located near a number of Muslim shrines (e.g., Gäta, Ğäma Nəguś, Mäğit). There is a small airstripe in K. whose relocation is currently under consideration.

K.'s urban landscape has been influenced by a number of factors: population growth, rural migration, recurrent famines, the stationing of army and militia units (on their way to ↗Təgray and ↗Eritrea against insurgency movements in the late 1970s and throughout the 1980s), the presence of factory workers and civil servants, the increasing volume of traffic and trade with the north ↗[c]Afar region, and through it, with the port of Djibouti (hence K.'s importance as a principal customs checkpoint). K. has retained, however, the ethos of the rural hinterland as evidenced by the daily contacts and interactions with the surrounding peasants, craftsmen, merchants, and predominantly Muslim teachers and their students through trade, intermarriage, the bureaucracy, and the traditional Islamic and government education systems.

With the growth of K., the surrounding farming areas (famous for the cultivation of high-quality *ṭef*) were transformed into residential and industrial zones. The resulting construction boom (which has gained momentum since 1991) created new jobs as well as a market for building material and furniture. The modernization of the telecommunications network, the improvement of road transport, and the adoption of a liberal policy towards the private sector have created new opportunities for K.'s commercial and bureaucratic elite, with the marginal benefits slowly percolating down into the lower strata of the urban community. A new mosque by the bridge over the Borkänna river graces the approach to K. from Däse.

In the 1950s K. belonged to the Ančarro *wäräda*, with the capital in Ančarro. With the administrative reorganization of the 1960s K. became the capital of Qallu *awraǧǧa* in Wällo *ṭäqlay gəzat*. In the 1990s K. became an urban *wäräda* within the South Wällo Zone in the Amhara *kəllal*. Like Däse, the K. urban *wäräda* is administered separately from the general *wäräda* in which it is located and thus it lost its official role in relation to Qallu *wäräda* with the transfer of the *wäräda* capital to Harbu, though the *wäräda* agricultural office is still in K. (in 2004). In 1994, K.'s population was estimated at ca. 40,000 inhabitants, 60 % Muslims and 40 % Christians. The 2004 census counted 65,696 inhabitants.

Src.: CSA 1994; CENTRAL STATISTICAL AUTHORITY, *Ethiopia: Statistical Abstract* 2004, Addis Ababa 2004.

Lit.: FRANCIS ANFRAY, "Notes archéologiques", *AE* 8, 1970, 31–57, here 34f., 47 pl. Va–c; ID., *Les anciens éthiopiens*, Paris 1990, 141; BAHRU ZEWDE, "Forests and Forest Management in Wällo in Historical Perspective", *JES* 31, 1, 87–122; DONALD CRUMMEY, "Deforestation in Wällo: Process or Illusion", *ibid.* 1–42; DerDomTh 65f.; GerKir [Eng] 25, pl. 9f.; *Guida* 403; HABTAY ZÄRAYE TÄSFAY, *Historical Development of the Town of Combolcha, 1937–1974*, B.A. thesis, Department of History, Addis Ababa University 1987; MESFIN WOLDE MARYAM, *Suffering under God's Environment: a Vertical Study of the Predicament of Peasants in North-Central Ethiopia*, Berne 1991; TadTChurch 37.

Éloi Ficquet – Hussein Ahmed

Komo

Komo language

K. (self-name: Gokwɔm; also known as Koma, Hayahaya, Madiin) is a member of the ↗Koman language family that belongs to the ↗Nilo-Saharan phylum. K. is spoken on both sides of the Ethio–Sudanese border (for location s. Koman). In Ethiopia, K. speakers live together with the ↗Mao people in the Mao-Komo Special *wäräda*,

an area south of ↗Asosa in the Beni Šangul/Gumuz National Regional State. On the Sudanese side they live around the Ahmar, Tombak and Yabus (Dabus) rivers in the Southern Funj Region of the Blue Nile Province. Extrapolating the population census data from 1996, K. speakers today number about 3,000 in Ethiopia and up to 20,000 in Sudan (s. CSA 1998, vol. 1, 99, vol. 2, 345).

The population census (1996) indicates that a third of the K. are monolingual, another third is bilingual in ↗Berta, and about a quarter stated to be bilingual in ↗Oromiffa. The K. language area appears to be homogenous with no noticeable dialectal differences. The following description of K. grammar is based on Burn's (1947) study.

K. consonants are as follows: labials (*ṗ*, *ɓ*, *p*, *b*, *m*), alveolars (*ṭ*, *ɗ*, *t*, *d*, *n*, *s*, *z*, *l*, *r*), alveopalatals (*š*), velars (*q*, *k*, *g*), glottals (*ṣ*, *ʾ*, *h*), semivowels (*w*, *y*). The vowels are: *i*, *e*, *ɛ*, *a*, *ɔ*, *o*, *u*, *ã*, *ɛ̃*, *ĩ*. K. has five diphthongs: *ɛi*, *ai*, *ɔi*, *au*, *ou*.

Burns (1947) found "four significant tone levels", high, mid, norm (?), and low, plus high falling tones (particularly word and utterance final) and "inherent rising tone on one syllable, sometimes due to elision". High tone is marked here with ´, low with `, mid tone is unmarked. Grammatical tone has been noted in a few cases. Length and stress are present, but no minimal pairs have been found distinguished by length or stress.

Nouns are usually not inflected for number: *gubí*, 'house(s)'; *kémé*, 'day(s)'. Some derived nouns, even if they are plurals in themselves, may be prefixed by an optional *go-* for plural: (*go-*)*bayana*, 'old people'; (*go-*)*twolena*, 'tall ones'. In some nouns, gender is marked by prefixes *ba-*, *bapi-*, *op-* (fem.) vs. *ye-*, *ke-* (masc.). Diminutives are usually expressed by *ṣɔ* 'small': *ṣɔ-na wɔs*, 'a small stone' (*na-* is a pronominal suffix marker).

The personal pronouns are *aka-na/aka-ne*, 'I, me'; *ai-na*, 'you' (sg.); *har-ná*, *hal-ná-*, 'he, him'; *hàp-ná*, 'she, her'; *hèn-ná*, 'it'; *a-na*, 'we, us' (inclusive); *amo-ná*, 'we, us' (exclusive); *om-ná*, 'you' (pl.); *hon-ná*, 'they, them'; all these forms may be used without the pronominal suffix *-na*. The possessive pronouns are *bám/bém/báʾam*, 'my'; *biní*, 'your(s)'; *bebér*, 'his'; *bebép*, 'her(s)'; *bebén*, 'its'; *banà*, 'our(s)' (inclusive); *babon*, 'our(s)' (exclusive); *bóm*, 'your(s)' (pl.); *bubún*, 'their(s)'. Demonstratives are *ba*, 'this, these'; *di*, 'that, those'; *dwi*, 'that' (fem. sg.). The interrogative pronouns are *dí mene*, 'who' (masc.); *dó mene*, 'who' (fem.) and *giba mene*, 'who' (pl.). Reflexive is expressed by *eš*, 'self', plus possessive pronoun: *yɛʾa eš bam*, 'I cut myself'.

The numerals follow the noun they qualify: *gúhi*$_1$ *so*$_2$, 'two$_2$ houses$_1$'. The K. system of counting is five-based, employing the lexemes for 'finger' and 'toe' for fives and tens. 'Twenty' is *tɛylen giba de*, lit. '*tɛylen*-person-one'.

The typical K. verb is composed of a monosyllabic stem, plus one or more suffixes. No separate category for past tense is noted; rather, complete and incomplete action are morphologically distinguished (completed, definite action is marked with the particle *ké*): *haor gakán*, 'he came/comes/is coming today' vs. *haor ké*, 'he has come'. Continuous action or action for no reason is indicated by stem reduplication: *pólgen ga pol*, 'I am just throwing it'. Future is indicated by the auxiliary *o-*: *o-na ya*, 'I will go' (*-(n)a* is here a suffix to mark the subject).

In K., verbal locational marking (spatial deixis) is an important feature. Burns (1947) notes *-uk-*, *-k-*, and *-ku* for indicating direction away from the agent or speaker: *ógen yel-uk*, 'I will look at it'. An *-o* suffixed to the verb stem indicates action towards the agent or speaker, or an action performed at some other place: *pwɔt-o-gen*, 'I pluck it'; *har paop ám-o*, 'she runs here'.

Conditional dependent clauses are marked by the particles *da*, *a*, or *ma*, followed by the postpositions *ṭen* or *qaš* (which can also function as auxiliary verbs): *da ór ya ṭén gaṣánga*, *óna hao*, 'If he goes tomorrow, I will come'.

The normal word order is Subject-Verb-Object; however, it can also be Verb-Subject-Object. In the noun phrase, modifiers precede the head noun: *swoliman*$_1$ *gubi*$_2$, 'small$_1$ houses$_2$'.

The ten-word list is: 'one' *deʾ*, 'two' *suʾ*, 'three' *dišin*, 'fire' *wutti*, 'water' *ii*, 'sun' *te*, 'moon' *pai*, 'blood' *baš*, 'tongue' *leṭ*, 'tooth' *šei*[*t*].

Src.: SAMUEL J. BURNS, *Notes towards a Grammar of the Komo Language*, SIM mimeographed, 1947; CSA 1998 vol. 1, 99, vol. 2, 345; ANGELA DAVIS et al., "Survey of Northern Mao, Kwama and Komo", *SIL Electronic Survey Reports* (forthcoming).

Lit.: M. LIONEL BENDER, "Proto-Koman Phonology and Lexicon", *AuÜ* 66, 2, 1983, 259–97; ID., "Comparative Komuz Grammar", *ibid.* 77, 1, 1994, 31–54; ID., *The Nilo-Saharan Languages: a Comparative Essay*, Munich 1997, 54–62; FRANK D. CORFIELD, "The Koma", *SNR* 21, 1, 1938, 123–65; KLAUS WEDEKIND – CHARLOTTE WEDEKIND, "Survey of Languages of the Asosa-Begi Area Part II", *S.L.L.E.* 12, 1993.

Ralph Siebert

Komo ethnography

The K. (also Koma of Daga, Central Koma, South Koma, Koomoo, Gɔkwom, Hayahaya, Madiin, Burun) speak a language of the Nilo-Saharan ↗Koman language family. Together with the ↗Opuuo, ↗Uduk, Ganza (↗Mao) and ↗Kwama, the K. belong to a culturally and historically related group of peoples that is often referred to as "Koma".

Adäb Abos, Komo elder, spokesman at the Gambella Regional State Government; photo 2006, courtesy of Alexander Meckelburg

The K. live on both sides of the Ethio-Sudanese border. Historically they inhabited the area around Mount Ǧabal Gemi. The Sudanese K. today live in separated regions from the Yabus river (Blue Nile Province; in Eth. mostly called Dabbas) to areas along the rivers Daga and Lau (Upper-Nile Province) and along the River Ǧokaw (mostly called Garra in Eth.). In Ethiopia they inhabit areas around the towns of ↗Gambella, ↗Dambi Doolloo (Theis 1995:13) and ↗Asosa. The river Dota is their northern, and the Ǧokaw their southern border. While some 20,000 K. live in the Sudan, in Ethiopia the number of K. is today estimated to be 3,000 individuals. In Gambella their number is estimated to be 300 (Census of 1994). The major settlement in Gambella is Pokung, located near Itang.

Almost nothing is known about the belief system of the K. In terms of social structure the K. traditionally are divided in patrilineal clans. Their marriage system is traditionally based on sister exchange: the bridegroom is obliged to find a sister or close relative (i.e. the cousin) to marry a son from the bride's family. Today this has widely been abandoned and intermarriage with Oromo and ↗Añwaa, together with the payment of bridewealth is to be observed (James 1999:241).

The K. cultivate mainly sorghum, ground nuts, sesame, sweet potato, red pepper, cotton and tobacco. Additionally they keep a small number of cattle. In the past the domestication of pigs is reported, but cannot be confirmed for today. The pigs were "allowed to wander about in the forest feeding on roots and fruits of trees" (Corfield 1938:151). Fishing and hunting are practised.

The K. are one of the least studied ethnic groups of the area. Historical accounts are rare and the few we have (Schuver 1884; Marno 1886; Corfield 1938), though being valuable, generalize the K. with the Opuuo and Kwama under the blanket term "Koma". While Marno uses the term Burun, ↗Schuver's account of the Koma has been verified by Theis (1995) as a probable account of the Kwama. Outsiders have constantly tended to see the Kwama and the K. as one ethnic entity. The Kwama of Ethiopia, who greatly outnumber the K., negate the existence of an independent K. ethnic unit, but instead discern them as being a Kwama clan. On the Sudanese side, where the numerical proportion is the opposite, the K. are dominant and the Kwama are bilingual in K. language (Burns 1950).

The history of the K. is one of ↗slavery, constant persecution and dispersal. Since the ↗Nuer expanded into Ethiopia, they periodically raided the K. While the K. lived in peaceful terms with the ↗Leeqaa Oromo, paying tribute to them in form of ivory and cotton, this changed after 1886. While from the north, the ↗Waṭāwīṭ raided the K., they fell prey to Oromo raids from the south. The Leeqaa ruler ↗Ǧootee Tulluu and the Waṭāwīṭ enslaved especially women and children. This led to a demographic imbalance and the destruction of the traditional social order (Theis 1995:30). Both invaders saw the K. as their natural property and, according to Corfield (1938:135), Ǧootee's underlying idea in raiding the K. was to save his "ancestral properties" from the expansion of the Waṭāwīṭ. He captured as many of them as possible to "save" them from falling into the hands of his rival *šayḫ* ↗Ḫʷağalī. After Ǧootee's death he was succeeded by his son *fitawrari* ↗Mardassaa Ǧootee. During his rule the Oromo raids even increased in violence.

In 1924 the British administration established police posts to end the systematic slave raids in the area, and in 1928, during the "Anti Slavery Campaign", captured *asit* Amna, the wife of *šayḫ* Ḫʷağalī, who was herself highly engaged in slave trade. Nevertheless, the K. were still exposed to periodic raids by the Nuer. Corfield (1938:134) notes that "by 1924 when Daga and Kigille Po-

lice were founded, only remnants of these unfortunate communities were left".

Since the K. were displaced in history and sensitive to the war in southern Sudan, their scattered villages along the Ethio-Sudanese border show hardly any contact among each other. Rather the K. intermingle with their close neighbours, like, e.g., in Gambella the Añwaa or Oromo. Like most of the small ethnic units inhabiting the Ethio-Sudanese borderlands, the K. are at least bilingual in the language of their neighbours.

Src.: SAMUEL BURNS – C.J. GUTH, *Koma Language*, ms. (Sudan Interior Mission), Daga Post, Sudan; RAYMOND G. GORDON (ed.), *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*, Dallas, TX [15]2005, s. index.

Lit.: CerPeople; FRANK D. CORFIELD, "The Koma", *SNR* 21, Part 1, 1938, 121–65; VINIGI GROTTANELLI, "Burial among the Koma of Western Abyssinia", *Primitive Man* 20, 4, 1947, 71–84; WENDY JAMES – GERD BAUMANN – DOUGLAS JOHNSON, *Juan Maria Schuver's Travels in North East Africa 1880–1883*, London 1996, 128–39; WENDY JAMES, *The Listening Ebony: Moral, Knowledge and Power among the Uduk of Sudan*, Oxford 1999, 5–21, 241; ERNST MARNO, *Reisen ins Gebiet des Blauen und Weissen Nils, im Egyptischen Sudan, 1868–1873*, Wien 1874; TESEMA TA'A, *A Brief Historical Account of the Goma of the Ethio-Sudanese Frontier (ca. 1880–1950)*, in: BAHRU ZEWDE (ed.), *Land, Gender and the Periphery: Themes in the History of Eastern and Southern Africa*, Addis Ababa 2003, 167–78; JOACHIM THEIS, *Nach der Razzia: Ethnologie und Geschichte der Koma*, München 1995; YASIM MOHAMMED, *The Komo of Gidami*, B.A. thesis, Department of History, Addis Ababa University 1982; CSA 1996.

Susanne Hummel – Alexander Meckelburg

Komoru

In various ↗Surmic-speaking societies of southwest Ethiopia one finds a peculiar type of community leader: the K. The word is not easily translated but refers, in essence, to a kind of supernaturally sanctioned, priest-like community mediator, who is the embodiment of the well-being of the society as a whole. The K. has "authority" but it is difficult to define its nature. He is a mediator or conductor of energy (such as, e.g., fertility) between the Sky God and the people. He carries a kind of institutionalized charisma or personal power. A K. always belongs to a certain lineage within an ancient clan, but the candidate is nevertheless "chosen" or selected by the people he serves. A K. is always a male and has to be free from blemishes or physical defects. Neither must he have killed anyone. He has also to be a socially agile and accessible person, showing restraint and inspiring the quest for mediation and peace.

Three groups in south-west Ethiopia have this type of leader: the ↗Mursi (who have two K.), the ↗Suri (who have three) and the ↗Me'en (also three, called *komorut*). All are historically related and were originally agro-pastoral societies, where cattle and mobility is highly valued. Similarities exist between the K. position and forms of ritual leadership in other agro-pastoral societies in East Africa, e.g. among the ↗Nuer, Dinka, Pokot and other Surmic-speaking groups like Didinga, ↗Murle and Larim in southern Sudan. The political structure of these societies was traditionally marked by segmentary organization, a clan structure and a stratum of age grades, whereby the senior grade provides a kind of collective community leadership (via assemblies as political decision-making forums; cp. ↗*abbaa bokkuu*). In Me'en society, which is now predominantly sedentary-agricultural, new types of leaders have emerged, and among them the K. function has declined significantly. Except for a few semi-transhumant subgroups near the confluence of Šorum and Omo Rivers, the large majority of Me'en do not know of, or recognize, any K. Only the Bodi-Me'en (Mela and Čirim), east across the Omo river, also have K.

The K. carries no political, executive power and does not dispense justice. He is a ritual figurehead. The range of functions of a K. comprises: providing ritual blessings for collective actions (including raiding or the agricultural cycle), carry out rain control ritual, initiate mediation, bless cattle and the land, issue occasional curses on plagues and enemies, and summarizing or sanctioning decisions taken in public assemblies. In some rituals the K. also canalizes the discord or anger that may exist in a community and which is then symbolically directed at him.

The K. is nominally tied to the land of his people and is not allowed to leave it for any length of time. As these societies have become more linked to the wider Ethiopian society, new political functions (e.g., local councillors) were introduced that will rival with or transform the K. position within these groups. State authorities usually bypass or ignore the role of the K.

Lit.: JON ABBINK, "The Elusive Chief: Authority and Leadership in Surma Society (Ethiopia)", in: EMILE ADRIAAN BENVENUTO VAN ROUVEROY VAN NIEUWAAL – RIJK VAN DIJK (eds.), *African Chieftaincy in a New Socio-Political Landscape*, Hamburg 1999, 49–74; ID., "Restoring the Balance: Violence and Culture among the Suri of Southern Ethiopia", in: GORAN AIJMER – JON ABBINK (eds.), *Meanings of Violence: a Cross-Cultural Perspective*, Oxford – New York 2000, 77–100; ID., "Remembering Londósa:

Mediator and Counterpoint in a 'Violent' Society", in: *StudAeth* 371–82; DAVID TURTON, "The Relationship between Oratory and the Exercise of Influence among the Mursi", in: MAURICE BLOCH (ed.), *Political Language and Oratory in Traditional Societies*, London 1975, 163–83; ID., "The Politician, the Priest and the Anthropologist: Living beyond Conflict in Southwestern Ethiopia", *Ethnos* 68, 2003, 6–26.

Jon Abbink

Konč ↗Konta

Konso

Konso language

The K. ([*xonso*], sometimes spelled as Xonso; also Komso) language was first established by Bender (1971) as a language of ↗Konsoid group, which is a close relative of ↗Oromiffa within the ↗Lowland East Cushitic group. K. itself is divided into two main dialects, Faša and Karatti. K. grammar is described by Black (1973), morphology and phonology also by Sim (1973). The syntax has also been studied by Bliese and Sokka Gignarta (1988) and by Daudey and Hellenthal (2004). Uusitalo (2001) has studied K. discourse. K. is spoken south of Lake Čamo in south-western Ethiopia, according to the 1998 census by 149,508 speakers (among them, 138,696 monolinguals; Gordon 2005:116).

Even though the Latin alphabet was adopted for K. in 1997, most materials in K. are still written in Ethiopic script. The texts published so far include the N.T. and other religious, cultural and educational material, and are used mainly by the church literature programme. K. is used by its speakers in all areas of everyday life, ↗Amharic being employed for wider communication and education.

K. consonants are unvoiced stops (*p, t, č, k* – allophonically voiced between vowels when they are non-geminated), voiced implosives (*ɓ, ɗ, f, g*), fricatives (*f, s, š, x*), nasals (*m, n, ŋ*), liquids (*r, l*), semivowels (*w, y*), and laryngeals (*h, ʾ*). Vowels are *i, e, a, o, u*. Length is phonemic, expressing both grammatical and lexical differences (e.g., *ama*, 'breast' ~ *amma*, 'now'; *tika*, 'house' ~ *tikka*, 'houses'; *mana*, 'house' ~ *maana*, 'what?'). Lexical prominence is achieved by both pitch (acute) and stress accent. In isolated words it usually falls on the penultimate syllable. Pitch and stress can be meaning-distinctive: some lexical pairs differ by pitch only (e.g. *písa*, 'flower' ~ *pisá*, 'all'). Pitch can also have grammatical value, showing sg./pl. distinction (e.g. *harká*, 'hand' ~ *hárka*, 'hands'), imperative (e.g. *dáma*, 'food' ~ *damá*, 'eat (pl.)!') and yes/no question. Pitch in K. needs further studies.

The citation form of all K. nouns ends in *-a*, except for proper names, which end in *-i, -o*, or *-e*. Nouns have either fem. or masc. gender in the singular, which is neutralized in the plural. Gender can sometimes be inferred from a special masc./fem. derivational suffix, but the basic stems do not exhibit any overt gender marker.

There are various plural-forming devices: geminating the root-final consonant, segmental phonological change, change of pitch, or adding one of the pl. suffixes *-ad(d)a, -aw(wa), -ew(w)a, -ay(y)a, -iy(y)a*. Often several devices are possible, even at the same time. E.g. *tik-a*, 'house' (masc.) ~ *tik-k-a / tik-k-adda / tik-adda*, 'houses'. Some nouns are plural in their grammatical behaviour, taking plural adjectives and verb forms, while at the same time referring to singular or mass objects (e.g. *innaa*, 'boy').

Some words have a vocative form with final *-o* (*moott-o*, 'friend!').

The K. personal pronouns have two sets of forms in the singular, one for non-focused subjects, the other for other cases (focused subject, object, indirect object, object of preposition): *anti/ana* (1 sg.), *atti/ke* (2 sg.). E.g. *atti i-k-kii-t-e, "i-n-ke-ʾ-daaš-a"*, 'You SAID, "I will give you (something)"' ~ *ke kid-e, "i-n-ke-ʾ-daaš-a"*, 'YOU said, "I will give you (something)"'. Possessive pronouns have both free and suffix forms, the latter having separate sets for sg. and pl. head nouns (*tik-ayti*, 'your house' ~ *tik-k-aatti*, 'your houses'). With nouns denoting family relationships, the sg./pl. distinction is used to differentiate meaning differences as well, e.g. *aapp-iyyo*, 'my husband'; *aapp-inno*, 'my/our father'.

K. adjectives form a small class (Black 1973 lists 31 adjectives) with both nominal and verbal features. They either precede or follow the head noun. In predicate position they take normal person prefixes for both positive and negative clauses (*in-kutt-i*, 'I am big'; *an-kutt-an*, 'I am not big').

In the K. verb, suffixes and prefixes are used to distinguish tense (past with *-e*, present/future *-a*), person (prefix *-n-* [1st pers.], *-ʾ-* [2nd pers.], suffix *-t-* [2nd, 3rd pers. fem.]) and focus (*i-*) on the predicate. E.g., past tense of *kat-* 'sell': *i-n-kat-e* (1st pers. sg.), *i-k-kat-t-e* (2nd pers. sg.), *i-kat-e* (3 masc. sg.), *i-kat-t-e* (3rd pers. fem. sg.), *i-n-kan-n-e* (1st pers. pl.), *i-k-kat-t-e-n* (2nd pers. pl.), *i-kat-e-n* (3rd pers. pl.). There is also a continuous form, which uses the same suffix *-n*

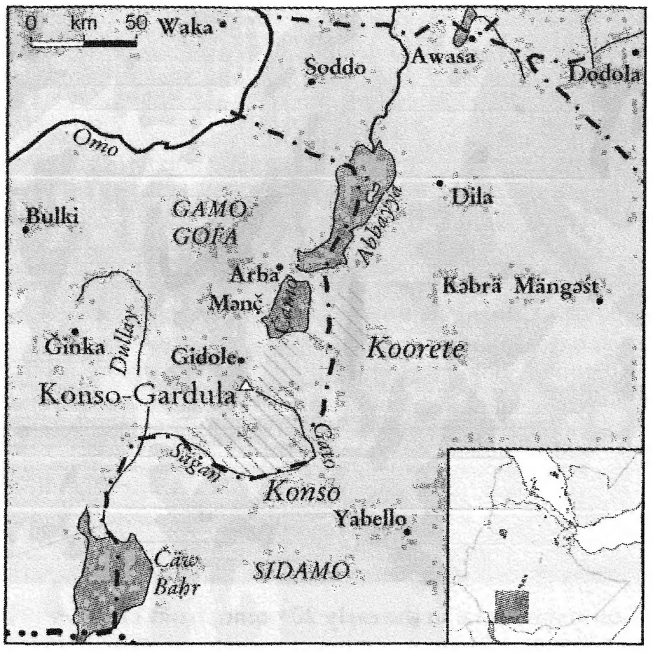
as the dependant verb form, and suffix *-i*. While other persons retain their personal prefixes and suffixes, 3rd pers. sg. and pl. do not differ. E.g., *i-n-kan-n-i* (1st pers. sg., 'I am buying'), *i-k-kan-n-i* (2nd pers. sg.), *i-kan-n-i* (3rd pers.), *i-n-kan-n-i-nna* (1st pers. pl.), *i-k-kan-n-i-ttan* (2nd pers. pl.). Dependant verb form uses the suffix *-o* instead of the *-i* of the continuous form (e.g. *ee kat-o-yye*, 'when he sold'). The verb is reduced to 3rd pers. sg. when the subject is focused.

Suffixes are employed to form direct causative (*-š-*), indirect causative (*-ačiis-*), benefactive (*-ad-*), and passive (*-am-*) (e.g. *i-n-sook-e*, 'I went out'; *i-n-sook-š-e*, 'I put out'; *i-n-sook-s-ačiis-e*, 'I caused somebody/something to be put out'; *i-n-sook-ad-e*, 'I went out for myself' [= 'I went to work in the fields']; *i-n-sook-s-ad-e*, 'I put out for myself'; *i-n-sook-s-am-e*, 'I was put out'). Reduplication of the last root consonant usually indicates singulative action (*i-ik-t-e*, 'she drank' ~ *i-ik-k-i-t-e*, 'she took a drink'); a reduplicative initial syllable of the root denotes prolonged or quick action, e.g. *keer-e*, 'run!' ~ *ke(k)-keer-e*, 'run! (many times/quickly)'.

K. is a S[ubject]O[bject]V[erb] language (e.g. *nama*$_1$ *tika*$_2$ *gupe*$_3$, 'A man$_1$ built$_3$ a house$_2$') with some peculiar features of its own, enumerated by Bliese and Sokka Gignarta (1988). Thus, K. places relative clauses and other determiners after the head in noun phrases; the person marker (= subject clitic) is either prefixed to the main verb (or a larger focused unit), or suffixed for focus on other clause arguments. The negative markers are found before and/or after the verb. The speech act verb normally precedes the quotation it introduces. Subordinate clauses often have both clause-initial and -final markers. In other respects K. shares the typical features of SOV languages (subordinate clauses precede main clauses, infinitives precede the main verb, the standard of comparisons precedes the topic, postpositions are used).

Normally indirect object comes after direct object, unless the order is changed for discourse purposes. The direct object is unmarked, while the indirect object is marked by a glottal stop (phonetically realized as doubling of the initial consonant of the following word) at the end of the phrase: *ahata*$_1$ *piša*$_2$ *enenta*$_3$ *daasse*$_4$ [*ahata piša enenta ddaasse*], 'Mother$_1$ gave$_4$ water$_2$ to the girl$_3$'.

The ten-word list for K. is: *takka*, 'one'; *lakki*, 'two'; *sessa*, 'three'; *apitta*, 'fire'; *piša*, 'water'; *atoota*, 'sun'; *lea*, 'moon'; *ilkitta*, 'tooth'; *diika*, 'blood'; *arrapa*, 'tongue'.



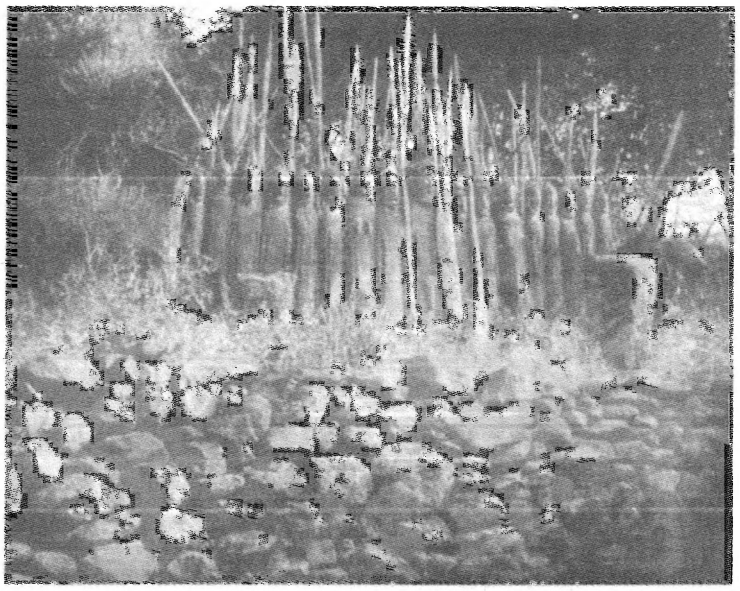
Src.: PAUL BLACK, *Draft Sketch of Konso Phonology, Morphology and Syntax*, Murray Hill, NJ 1973, ms.; ID. – SHAKO OTTO, *First Draft of a Konso Dictionary*, 1973, ms.; RAYMOND G. GORDON (ed.), *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*, Dallas, TX [15]2005, 116; MIRJAMI UUSITALO, *Konso Discourse Features Outline*, Summer Institute of Linguistics, Addis Abäba 2001, ms.

Lit.: MAHAMOD ADEN, *Relativization in Konso*, B.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1999; M. LIONEL BENDER, "The Languages of Ethiopia", *Anthropological Linguistics* 13, 1971, 165–288; PAUL BLACK, *Konsoid: an Example of Extreme Dialectal Differentiation*, Murray Hill, NJ 1973; ID., "Linguistic Evidence on the Origins of the Konsoid Peoples", in: *USCES* 291–302; LOREN BLIESE – SOKKA GIGNARTA, "Konso Exceptions to SOV Typology", *JES* 19, 1988, 4–40; DANIEL DAMTEW, *Compounding in Konso*, B.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 2000; HENRIËTTE DAUDEY – ANNE-CHRISTIE HELLENTHAL, *Some Morphosyntactic Aspects of the Konso Language*, M.A. thesis, Leiden University 2004; GETAHUN AMARE, "Noun Phrase Structure in Konso", *JES* 32, 1999, 51–88; YOHANNES HADAYA – GEMECHU GEDENO, *Konso–English–Amharic Agricultural Dictionary*, Addis Abäba 1996 (Farmer's Research Project [FRP] Technical Pamphlet 10); BENIAM MITIKU, *Noun Morphology of Konso: Some Inflections and Derivations*, B.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 2000; ONGAYE ODA, *The Structure of Simple Sentences in Konso*, B.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 2000; ID., *An Overview of Complex Sentences and Complement Clauses in Konso*, M.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 2004; RONALD J. SIM, *A Linguistic Sketch: Phonology and Morphology of the Word in Konso*, M.A. thesis, University of Nairobi 1977; ANDRZEJ ZABORSKI, *The Morphology of Nominal Plural in the Cushitic Languages*, Wien 1986 (Beiträge zur Afrikanistik 28).

Mirjami Uusitalo

Konso ethnography

The K. are a south-western Ethiopian agricultural people. Apart from agricultural produce they trade in crafts, their speciality being cotton blan-



Konso memorial in the early 20th cent., from Hodson 1916:76/77

kets (like the ↗Gamo). They number around 167,000 (Watson – Regasa 2001) and occupy an area rising up to 2,000 m above the Ethiopian Rift Valley floor bordering on the ↗Boorana and ↗Burği, the ↗Diraaśša and Gatto, the ↗Gawwada and ↗Ṣamay and Karmet/↗Waṭa on the east, north, west and south, respectively.

Ethnic K. and administrative K. territories are quite different and are conceptualized differently by the people themselves. The latter is much larger than that recognized by the elders of the community. The main divisions of the K.-speaking area are Karatti and Takkaḍi; K̲olme; Turo and Arfayte; Pa'ayti and Kusuma [Kusumi] (also known as Gato; Amborn 2002). When in the 1890s the K. were incorporated into the Ethiopian Empire their land included the sections of Karatti, Takkaḍi and K̲olme and Turo, while the territories of the Gawwada, and Ṣamako, Ale, etc. were added later to administrative K. Much of their relations with their neighbours is based on trade and the markets of K. attract peoples of the neighbouring areas. Trade routes from the Indian Ocean, northern Ethiopia, and the west cross through K. country and give it prominence in the region (Kluckhohn 1962; Sobania 1991). K. skills in terrace building and in engraving of ancestral images from wood have won them fame.

According to the K. elders, the K. took over the present territory from a people known as the Wärra Dayya, who also left some of the big terraces and water wells. Unlike the elders, some of the clan leaders (*poqalla*) wield ritual and religious power, command sectional control and claim outside origin. Similarly handicraft workers such as iron forgers and potters claim outside origin (Amborn 1990).

Whilst the K. had occasional conflicts in the past with such close and distant neighbours as the ↗Guğği and the Boorana as well as, in the early 19th cent., the Ṣamako and the Gatto, peace was usually soon achieved by elders on both sides. The K. generally maintain good relations with their neighbours and have over the years peacefully spread into the territories of the Boorana, Gamo, Burği, Hoor (↗Arbore) and other peoples of the Omo region.

Local memory keeps that a number of K. settlements were burnt down and devastated by the army of *ras* ↗Lə'ul Sägäd during the conquest. A number of K. took refuge in British Kenya. The K. also can be found in the Sagan river valley. One Sawgame family already lived in the valley during the Italian occupation.

K. society as it stands today makes a distinction between farmers (*etenta*) and craft workers (*hauwuda*; Watson 1998, 2006; Wolde Gossa Tadesse 1999, 2001, 2002, 2003; Hallpike 2002). Neither clan membership nor settlement patterns distinguish between them, although in some parts (e.g., in Sawgame) potters take separate residence and are buried in places reserved for public defecation (*d'ina*). Both cultivators and non-cultivators belong to nine similar clans. The divide may have been quite clear in the past but today both cultivators and non-cultivating craftsmen and traders do not occupy independent occupational spheres and do not exclude or marginalize the other any more. Cultivators, e.g., take up weaving as a source of additional income (they apparently do not become blacksmiths and pot makers or tanners). Traders take up cultivation by purchasing land; this has considerably changed their position of power within K. society. Today they own land and also take cultivator spouses. Hallpike (1972) estimated ca. 700 weavers among both cultivators and craftsmen in a population of 50,000 and indicated that there were as many as ten blacksmiths in a population of 3,000 in Turo. He estimated a much lower numers of potters and tanners than blacksmiths in Karatte. In the period covered by Hallpike's account non-cultivators owned little cultivable land; the share has grown by today. The ↗*Fulḍo* trading society locally operates in K. with similar networks among the neighbouring peoples with the purpose of facilitating trade and providing security to traders and goods along trade routes.

The K. political system varies slightly within its sections. Appointed officials operate at the *wäräda* level, while in sections and settlements indigenous authority coexists side by side with state authority staffed by unpaid state appointees with political affiliation to a pro-government political party. In Karatti, e.g., both indigenous age organization and local state agents (*qäbäle*) exercise power with a strong bias towards the former. Every seven years followed by eleven years, new age sets take power while those in power retire. This takes place after a lengthy process of feeding seniors and getting power after erecting columnar stones to commemorate a retiring generation. Handing over of power occurs in one of the main public places by symbolically chasing out the retiring generation. The K. have many public places in their settlements and in the bush which they use for assemblies and other ritual purposes. The handing over of power is preceded by a ↗hunting festival (*Kara*) where a big beast must be killed (Wolde Gossa Tadesse 1991, 1993).

Most K. sections are led by hierarchically positioned clan chiefs and ritual leaders, the *poqalla*. Their prominence is to be observed especially during their elaborate ↗funerary ritual, which is said to last up to nine years (Wolde Gossa Tadesse 1992). Most of them emphasize the importance of their leadership rather than their religious role due to the continued intimidation by state bodies and powerful Christian organizations that abuse their practices, as occurs in many parts of southwest Ethiopia.

Lit.: HERMANN AMBORN, *Differenzierung und Integration, vergleichende Untersuchungen zu Handwerkern und Spezialisten in südäthiopischen Agrargesellschaften*, München 1990; ID., "Concepts in Wood and Stone: Socio-religious Monuments of the Konso of Southern Ethiopia", *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 127, 77–101; CHRISTOPHER R. HALLPIKE, *The Konso of Ethiopia: a Study of the Values of a Cushitic People*, Oxford 1972; ID., *The Konso of Ethiopia: the Integration of Tribal Culture into a Modern State*, ms. 2003; ARNOLD WIENHOLT HODSON, "Southern Abyssinia", *The Geographical Journal* 51, 1916, 76–77 (ill.); RICHARD KLUCKHOHN, "The Konso Economy of Southern Ethiopia", in: PAUL BOHANNAN – GEORGE DALTON (eds.), *Markets in Africa*, New York 1962; NEAL SOBANIA, "Feasts, Famines and Friends: Nineteenth Century Exchange and Ethnicity in the Eastern Lake Turkana Region", in: JOHN GALATY – PIERRE BONTE, *Herders, Warriors, and Traders: Pastoralism in Africa*, Boulder, CO 1991; WOLDE GOSSA TADESSE, "The Death and Burial of Kalla Qagnazmach Kayote: a Ritual Leader of the Konso People of Southern Ethiopia", *Sociology Ethnology Bulletin* 1, 2, 1992, 12–21; ID., "Some Gamo and Konso Public Places and their Social and Ritual Function", in: *PICES* 11, 325–39; ID., *Blessing, Insiders and Outsiders in Kara: a Ritual of the Konso of Ethiopia*, M.A. thesis, London School of Economics 1993; ID., *Warfare and Fertility: a Study of the Hor (Arbore) of Southern Ethiopia*, Ph.D. thesis, Department of Anthropology, London School of Economics, University of London 1999, 335; ID., "Property And Age Organisation among an East African Pastoralist Group", *Rivista di anthropologia* 44, 1, 2001, 149–84; ID., "Evading the Revolutionary State", in: WENDY JAMES et al. (eds.), *Remapping Ethiopia: Socialism and After*, Athens, OH 2002; ID., "The Postsocialist Agrarian Situation in Southern Ethiopia", in: CHRISTOPHER HANN et al. (eds.), *The Postsocialist Agrarian Question: Property Relations and the Rural Condition*, Halle 2003 [Lit.]; ID., "Entering Cattle gates – Trade, Bond-Friendship and Group Interdependence in Southwest Ethiopia", *NEASt* 3, 2000, 119–62; ELIZABETH WATSON, *Ground Truths: Land and Power in Konso*, Cambridge 1998; EAD. – LAKEW REGASA, "Konso", in: DENA FREEMAN – ALULA PANKHURST, *Peripheral People: the Excluded Minorities of Ethiopia*, London 2003, 240–61; VSAe I.

Wolde Gossa Tadesse

Konso-Gardula

The K.G. (also Konso) palaeoanthropological research area is located near the town of ↗Konso in south-western Ethiopia at an altitude of 1,100 to 1,500 m A.S.L. close to the headwaters of the Gato/Iyanda drainage system, a major tributary of the Sägän River (for location s. Konso). The K.G. palaeoanthropological research area includes important fossiliferous sediments dating from approximately 1.95 million years ago to younger than 1.3 million years ago of the Konso Formation, a component of the south-western section of the main Ethiopian Rift. The K.G. palaeoanthropological research area was first documented in 1991 and research carried out by the international Konso Palaeoanthropological Project since 1993 has produced fossil evidence for both *Homo erectus* (alt. *Homo ergaster*) and *Australopithecus boisei* (alt. *Paranthropus boisei*) hominid species and a rich assemblage of Plio-Pleistocene terrestrial mammals. In addition, an array of Acheulean tradition lithic tools has been documented in stratigraphic horizons dating from 1.6 to 1.5 million years ago and younger, providing some of the earliest evidence for Acheulean artifacts in Africa.

↗Hominids; ↗Homo

Lit.: BERHANE ASFAW –YONAS BEYENE – GEN SUWA et al., "The Earliest Acheulean from Konso-Gardula", *Nature* 360, 1992, 732–35; GEN SUWA – BERHANE ASFAW – YONAS BEYENE et al., "The First Skull of *Australopithecus boisei*", *ibid.* 389, 1997, 489–92; GEN SUWA – HIDEO NAKAYA – BERHANE ASFAW et al., "Plio-Pleistocene Terrestrial Mammal Assemblage from Konso, Southern Ethiopia", *Journal of Vertebrate Paleontology* 23, 4, 2003, 901–16.

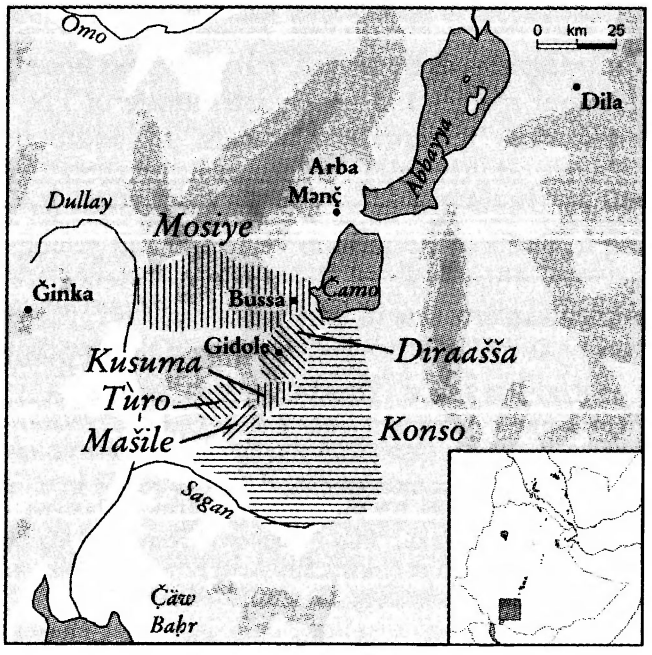
Matthew C. Curtis

Konsoid

The K. language cluster forms, together with ↗Oromo, a branch within ↗Lowland East Cushitic (↗Cushitic family). Comparative K. and its position within Cushitic is extensively treated by Black in his 1974 Ph.D. dissertation; Bender (1971) was the first to establish K. as a genetic unit. Some of the salient features of K. are absence of voice distinction in obstruents but rather one of glottic vs. pulmonic obstruents; length opposition in the vowels and in all consonants; the presence of an implosive *ɗ*; weakening (spirantization) of *k*; a singularative verbal derivation indicating an action done only once; a verbalizing suffix *-um* to indicate 'to become a person of a certain quality'. With the exception of spirantization of *k*, these features are shared with most of the ↗Dullay members and could well have arisen due to contact with the Dullay cluster (s. Sasse 1986).

The K. language area reaches from Bussa town in the north to the Sagan river in the south. The following seven varieties are distinguished: ↗Mosiye (also called Bussa), ↗Diraaśśa (also called Dirayta, Gidole, Gardulla), Mašile (Mašolle), Kusuma (Kato, Gato), Turo (Duro), Faša ↗Konso (including Kolme/Xolme), and Karatti Konso. Of these, Mosiye, Diraaśśa and Konso (which subsumes *inter alia* the Faša and Karatti dialects) are distinguished as languages, whereas Mašile, Kusuma, and Turo are dialects which are not usually subsumed under Konso or Diraaśśa but rather directly under the umbrella of the K. cluster.

Most varieties of K. do not have a written tradition; only Diraaśśa and Konso have publications in the language. Most linguistic research has also been carried out on these two languages.



Very little is known about the dialects in between Konso and Diraaśśa: (K.)-Mašile (not to be confused with a Dullay variety in the same area for which the same areal term Mašile [Mašolle] is used), Kusuma, and Turo. Black's survey shows that phonologically and grammatically Kusuma and Turo are closer to Konso while Mašile is equally similar to Konso and Diraaśśa. Lexically Mašile seems to be slightly closer to Diraaśśa than to Konso. The lexicostatistical percentages are lowest between the extremes Mosiye and Konso, around 50 %, and otherwise vary between 60 % and 80 % (Black 1974:38, 1973), showing that there is considerable variation within the K. cluster. Mosiye (Bussa) and Mašile denote two different varieties. The resemblance of their names has led to some confusion, for example, in the Bussa entry of *Ethnologue* (Gordon 2005:114), which mentions Mashile, Mashelle, Masholle as name variants of Mosiye (Bussa).

The K. cluster and the Dullay cluster are in close contact. Both are Lowland East Cushitic but only quite distantly related. These two clusters border upon each other with the Dullay chain of dialects in the west and the K. ones to the east. Many of the phonological and grammatical isoglosses go from east to west cutting right through the chains of genetically related dialects. This is evidence for a long established contact zone. The basis for this is presented in Black (1975); Sasse (1986) speaks of a south-west Ethiopian Language Area with these two dialect chains as its core. Sasse's wider picture suggest a key position for Diraaśśa. He also argues that at an earlier stage, before the southern advancement of the Konso people, there must have been contact between the Dullay and the ↗Burǧi speaking communities.

Lit.: HERMANN AMBORN – GÜNTER MINKER – HANS-JÜRGEN SASSE, *Das Dullay: Materialien zu einer ostkuschitischen Sprachgruppe*, Berlin 1980 (Kölner Beiträge zur Afrikanistik 6); M. LIONEL BENDER, "The Languages of Ethiopia: a New Lexicostatistical Classification and Some Problems of Diffusion", *Anthropological Linguistics* 13, 1971, 165–388; PAUL BLACK, "The Konsoid Dialect Chain: an Example of Extreme Dialect Differentiation", paper presented at the *Conference on African Linguistics, Queens College*, New York 1973; ID., *Lowland East Cushitic: Subgrouping and Reconstruction*, Ph.D. thesis, Yale University 1974; ID., "Linguistic Evidence on the Origin of the Konsoid Peoples", in: *USCES* 291–302; RAYMOND G. GORDON (ed.), *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*, Dallas, TX [15]2005, 114; HANS-JÜRGEN SASSE, "A Southwest Ethiopian Language Area and its Cultural Background", in: JOSHUA A. FISHMAN et al. (eds.), *The*

Fergusonian Impact: in Honor of Charles A. Ferguson on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday, vol. 1: *From Phonology to Society*, Berlin – New York 1986, 327–42.

Maarten Mous

Konta

K. (also Kʷinta, by Crawford [1958:98, 176, 188] identified with "Conce" mentioned in Zorzi's itinaries, i.e. Konč, Konča, also Kʷənča) was one of Omotic-speaking kingdoms incorporated into Ethiopia during the late 19th cent. At present the people of K. constitute a special *wäräda* of the Southern Nations Nationalities and People's Region (SNNPR). The *wäräda* capital, Ameya, lies next to Mount Damota (2,090 m A.S.L.), ca. 350 km west of the regional capital ↗Awasa, 25 km off the Ǧimma – Wälaytta – Soddo all-weather road (for location s. Kullo Konta). In 1994 the population of K. was 49,625 (CSA 1998), and had reached 72,453 in 2002 (Bureau of Agriculture 1994).

Except the Oromo of Ǧimma, all neighbours of the K. are Omotic speakers: ↗Dawro in the east, ↗Käfa in the west, ↗Aari, ↗Gofa and ↗Č̣ara in the south. The Č̣ara have historically been part of the kingdom of K. and are still part of the K. special *wäräda*, though some also live on the Käfa side of the border. Dawro and K. were both part of the ↗Kullo-Konta *awraǧǧa*.

K. is one of the least documented societies of south-west Ethiopia. According to the K. royal genealogy (Haberland 1981, based on the information he collected in K. in 1974 and travel reports), the K. kingdom was founded by the king (*kati* or *kawo*) Gobe. He is believed to have come from either Abbaa Maalo or the neighbouring ↗Dokko, crossed the ↗Omo river and invaded today's K. ca. 1800. It was thus the last state foundation before the Amhara came at the end of 19th cent. (Haberland 1981:740). Counterchecking the royal genealogy collected by Haberland with that of the neighbouring Dawro and having interviewed many K. elders, Elias Awato et al. (1999) suggest that the kingdom of K. must have been founded at least one generation earlier, in ca. 1764.

Today K., like many of its neighbours such as Dawro, Käfa and Gofa, is still predominantly an agricultural society which grows root crops (e.g., *ənsät*), potatoes, cash crops (e.g., coffee), spices (e.g., cardamom) and cereals (e.g., *tef*).

A caste-like ranking of the society widely practised in this region is still more or less intact in K. (s. Freeman – Pankhurst 2001; Haaland – Haaland – Data Dea 2004; Data Dea 2003). It is ranked from *goqa* ('farmers, or citizens') at the top to the *manǧa* (a group that depends on forest resources) at the bottom. Artisans such as potters, tanners, smiths and iron smelters are ranked in between these two extremes of wealth, power and prestige. Traditionally, these status groups have different access to political offices, land and social status.

Src.: BUREAU OF AGRICULTURE, KONTA SPECIAL WOREDA, **ለተግባር፡ መነሻ፡ የሚሆን፡ ዝርዝር፡ መርጃ** (*Lätägbar männäša yämmihon zərəzzər märrəǧa*, 'Register of the Means of Help, to Be a Motivation for Practice'), Ameya 2002; CSA 1998; CrawItin 98, 176, 188.

Lit.: DATA DEA, "Clans, Kingdoms and Cultural Diversity in Southern Ethiopia: the Case of Omotic Speakers", *NEASt* 7, 3, 2000, 163–88; ID., *The Challenges of Integrative Power: Hierarchy and Political Change in Dawro, Southern Ethiopia*, Ph.D. thesis, Department of Social Anthropology, University of Bergen 2003; ELIAS AWATO et al., **የሰሜን፡ ኦሞ፡ ህዝቦች፡ ፖሊቲካዊ፡ ታሪክ** (*Yäsämen Omo həzbočč politikawi tarik*, 'The Political History of North Omo People'), Addis Abäba 1991 A.M. [1999 A.D.]; DENA FREEMAN — ALULA PANKHURST (eds.), *Living on the Edge: Marginalized Minorities of Craft workers and Hunters*, Addis Ababa 2003; GUNNAR HAALAND – RANDI HAALAND – DATA DEA, "Smelting Iron: Caste and its Symbolism in South-western Ethiopia", in: TIMOTHY INSOLL (ed.), *Belief in the Past: the Proceeding of the Manchester Conference on Archaeology and Religion*, Oxford 2004 (BAR International Series 1212), 75–86; EIKE HABERLAND, "Notes on the History of Konta: a Recent State Foundation in Southern Ethiopia", in: *2000 Ans d'Histoire Africaine. Le Sol, la Parole et l'Écrit – Mélanges en Hommage à Raymond Mauny*, Paris 1981, 735–49 (Lit.).

Data Dea

Koorete

Koorete language

K. (self-name; other names used: Koyra, Badditu, and Amarro) is an East-↗Ometo language of the ↗Omotic family. It is spoken by ca. 100,000 people called Kore or Koorete in and around Amarro, by the eastern shore of Lake ↗Abbayya in south-western Ethiopia (Hayward 1982:211; Gordon 2005: 116; for location s. Konso).

The consonantal segments of K. are as follows (the consonants in brackets are marginally used):

	labial	dental-alveolar	palatal	velar	glottal
plosive	*p, b, p*	*t, d, (t)*		*k, g, q*	*ʾ*
implosive	*(ɓ)*	*ɗ*			
nasal	*m*	*n*			
fricative		*s*	*š, ž*		
affricate		*ʦ, ʣ, ʃ*	*č, ǧ, č̣*		
liquid		*l, r*			
glide	*w*		*y*		

The vowels are *i*, *e*, *a*, *u*, *o*. Length is phonemic for both consonants and vowels. In K. there is

a clear distinction between two tones: high and low, but the occurrence of the high tone in a word is restricted. Because of this, K. is regarded as a tone-accent language. In this entry, high tone is marked by (´). Low tone is unmarked.

Three lexically determined terminal vowels *e*, *a*, and *o* characterize the endings of most nominals (i.e. nouns and adjectives). A fourth class consists of nominals that end in consonants. Number is distinguished by marking the plural with *-itte*; singular is unmarked, e.g. *qotto* 'hoe' vs. *qott-itte* 'hoes'. In kinship nouns, *-itte* may be replaced by *-atse*, e.g. *ʾáabbo* 'father' vs. *ʾaabbitte* or *ʾaabbwatse* 'fathers'. Object/accusative case is not marked, whereas nominative/subject case is marked by *-í*. For most nouns, accusative and genitive are not formally distinguished; in some nouns the genitive is marked by *-i*. Dative, instrumental, and ablative are marked by *-se*, *-na*, and *-apa* respectively. Examples: *ʾíndo* 'mother:ABS' vs. *ʾindose* 'for/to mother'; *tora* 'spear:ABS' vs. *torana* 'with a spear'; *wáatse* 'water' vs. *waatsapa* 'from water'. Nouns are not morphologically marked for gender. However, their gender (masc. or fem.) can be indicated through anaphoric 3rd pers. sg. pronouns or through pre-verbal pronominal clitics.

Four sets of pronouns are distinguished on the basis of case; the fifth set comprises pronominals used as possessive pronouns and as preverbal subject-agreement elements:

Pers.		Absolutive	Object	Nominative
1st	sg.	*tamba*	*taa*	*tani*
2nd	sg.	*nemba*	*niya*	*neni*
3rd	sg. masc.	*ʾesa*	*ʾesa*	*ʾesi*
3rd	sg. fem.	*ʾiso*	*ʾiso*	*ʾisi*
1st	pl.	*numba*	*numba ~ nuu*	*nuuni*
2nd	pl.	*hinumba*	*hinumba*	*hinuuni*
3rd	pl.	*ʾuso*	*ʾuso*	*ʾusi ~ ʾusini*

Pers.		Dative	Possessive or Pre-verbal
1st	sg.	*taase*	*ta*
2nd	sg.	*neese*	*ne*
3rd	sg. masc.	*ʾesuse*	*ʾe*
3rd	sg. fem.	*ʾisuse*	*ʾi*
1st	pl.	*nuuse*	*nu*
2nd	pl.	*hinuuse*	*hi*
3rd	pl.	*ʾususe*	*ʾu*

There are three basic deictic forms: *se-* 'far from speaker', *ha-* 'nearer to speaker', *ye-* 'nearer to second or third person than to speaker'. These are combined with 3rd pers. pronouns to form demonstratives distinct for gender, number, and case, e.g. *seʾesa* 'that (masc. abs.)', *seʾiso* 'that (fem. abs.)' vs. *seʾesi* 'that (masc. nom.)', *seʾisi* 'that (fem. nom.)'.

Question words include: *ʾonena ~ ʾona* 'who', *ʾamuna ~ ʾam* 'what', *ʾayna ~ ʾay* 'where', *ʾaydena* 'when', *ʾanṣuna ~ ʾanṣina* 'how much', and *ʾaʾesana* 'which one'.

Numerals, when modifying a noun, replace their final vowel with *-í*: cp. *bíddzo* 'one' and *bi(d)zzí ʾase* 'one man', *ʾóyde* 'four' and *ʾoydí ṣúnqe* 'four fingers'. Terms for tens are based on the element *tamma* (< *támme* 'ten'), and are followed by lower digits: *tamma bíddzo* 'eleven' (cp. *bíddzo* 'one'); *tamma lámʾe* 'twelve' (cp. *lámʾe* 'two'); *lamtamma bíddzo* 'twenty one'.

K. has a complex verb structure. For some verbs, up to four distinct verbal stems are used, depending on morphological and phonological criteria. E.g., the infinitive, perfective, imperfective, and imperative forms for 'to see' are respectively, *beet-*, *beed-*, *been-*, and *be-(ww)-*. Some verbs have three stems: *tup-* (infinitive), *tutt-* (perfective), and *tuk-* (imperfective and imperative) 'tie'. Others distinguish between two stems, e.g. *gett-* (perfective) vs. *geh-* (infinitive, imperfective, and imperative) 'sleep'. Aspect, mood, polarity, and subject-agreement markers are added to these verb roots, e.g. *gettosso* 'he slept', *gettobasso* 'he did not sleep', *gehwasso* 'he does not sleep', *gettobaye* 'has he not been asleep?', *gehesse* 'let him sleep!', whereas second person singular forms are: *gettonakko* 'you slept', *gettobanakko* 'you did not sleep', *gehwanakko* 'you do not sleep', *gettobanno* 'didn't you sleep?', *gehwa* 'sleep!'. Such verbs represent "simple paradigms". K. also has alternative "complex paradigms" in which the verb must occur twice. The affirmative declarative form of a complex paradigm has the structure: V1+*-akko* + pronominal + V2. None of these verbs is inflected. Rather, V1 is the "infinitive", and V2 represents the relative clause form of the verb. The pronominal element is selected from the pre-verbal/possessive pronouns. E.g., *gehakko ta gehe* 'I sleep', *gehakko ʾe gehe* 'he sleeps', *gehakko ʾi gehe* 'she sleeps'.

K. sentences have basic Subject-Object-Verb order; all modifying categories, including clausal modifiers, precede the head. E.g.:

kayma ʾatsí	*šooše*	*woddósso*
young man:Nom.	snake:Acc.	kill:3masc.sg.:perf.

'The young man killed a snake'

The standard ten-word list for K. is: 'one' *bíddzo*, 'two' *lámʾe*, 'three' *háydze*, 'water'

wáatse, 'fire' *táma*, 'sun' *qosse*, 'moon' *ʾagunna*, 'blood' *súuse*, 'tongue' *ʾerṣúmme ~ ʾorṣúmme*, 'tooth' *gággo*.

Lit.: AZEB AMHA, "Verb Derivation in Ometo: the Case of Maale, Basketo, Kullo and Koorete", in: *PICES* 12, vol. 1, 1121–30; CAROLYN FORD, "Notes on Koorete Phonology", in: RICHARD J. HAYWARD (ed.), *Omotic Language Studies*, London 1990, 413–24; RAYMOND G. GORDON (ed.), *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*, Dallas, Texas [15]2005, 116; RICHARD J. HAYWARD, "Notes on the Koyra Language", *AuÜ* 65, 1982, 211–68; STEPHEN H. LEVINSOHN, "Some Observations on the Storyline Status of Gerunds in Koorete (Omotic)", *Journal of Translation and Textlinguistics* 15, 2003, 27–34.

Azeb Amha

Koorete ethnography

The K. (also Koore, Amaaro [or Amarro]) live in the northern part of the ↗Amaaro mountain range east of Lake ↗Čamo, and count ca. 107,000 people (census of 1998). Their Oromo-speaking neighbours to the East and West, call them Badditu. The designation "K." or Koore for the language and the people has been introduced by linguists' informants and most likely is derived from the name of the marriage class of *koorese* (*koorese* as a name for the group, *koorete* for the language, as the postfix *-te* is sometimes used in the wider region to denote languages). Some K. use the name Koyra, which is also employed by the ↗Burği. Koyra originally was the name of the northern district of the K. country, which was the seat of the lineage of the priestly chiefs.

Due to fighting and alternating alliances between K. and Burği in the southern part of K. country (especially in Naddalay and Walley) the cultural features of the K. and the neighbouring Burği overlap each other; a fact that is mirrored in the language as well (Kellner 2006, ch. 2). According to Straube the southern area was politically dominated by the Burği while the northern K. constituted an independent kingdom (VSAe III, 76f.).

The high mountain region (up to 3,300 m A.S.L.) is covered with meadows and is unpopulated. In the highland below (1,800–2,000 m A.S.L.), scattered hamlets or homesteads within ↗*ənsät* gardens are the common settlement pattern. For several decades, the main settlement area has lain above the Galane river valley. Amaaro *kätäma*, the administrative centre of today's Amaaro Special *wäräda* and an important market town with access to an all-weather road, is situated there. The villagization programme of the *Därg* (↗Provisional Military Administrative Council) in the late 1980s that resettled people to lower areas did not have such a disastrous effect as in many other mountain regions of the south, because this demographic movement had already started voluntarily before the Revolution.

The fertile step at the eastern slope, well-watered by small rivulets, is intensively used for agriculture. The K. cultivate a great variety of cereals, *ənsät* types and vegetables. They practice crop-alternating on permanent fields, which are often on artificially irrigated stone terraces. Work in the fields is restricted to men, while women only help during harvest. Despite the fact that ample pasture is available, cattle-breeding is of limited importance. ↗Handicrafts such as smithing, pottery and leatherworking are done by professional craftspeople, who form endogamous groups, while weaving or wood-carving is not restricted to a special group of people. ↗Blacksmiths are sacred persons; to shed the blood of a blacksmith causes mischief for the country. Agriculturists ask potters to curse plagues, pests and ↗*buda* and the enemies of the K.

It is particular to the K. that they are subdivided into 83 patrilineal clans, which is an extraordinary number for this region. K. as a whole falls into the two exogamous marriage classes, *kanéi* and *koorese*. After marriage, women maintain the membership of their original clan. Every clan has an hereditary clan-leader (*kašáče*), whose most important task is to lead sumptuous rites of sacrifice. Probably clans originally were localised at specific places, as names for clans and places are often identical.

Koorete graves with forked grave planks, on the left note the slanting remnants of the *kombotse*-frame; photo 2003, courtesy of the author

Before the conquest of the Amaaro highlands by *däğğazmač* (later *ras*) ↗Ləʿul Sägäd at the end of the 19th cent., K. could be called a small state with a hierarchical structure of offices. At its centre was a priestly chief (*kaati*), mostly called king in the literature. The last independent K. *kaati* was Amole. Among his regalia the golden bracelet was the most prominent. The sacred character of the *kaati* was expressed in the belief in the primal ancestor's solar origin and his role as the one who brought *ənsät* (K.: *šunša*), barley, cabbage and hailstones to the people. A *kaati* was prohibited to look into fire or to touch the earth. He was separated from the common people in his compound and when travelling. Tradition holds that a boy was sacrificed on the occasion of the enthronement of the new *kaati* (VSAe 105–09).

The K. recognize a sky-god (*wonto*) who is a *deus otiosus*. Under extraordinary circumstances *wonto* may form a numinous union with the *kaati* via the *kaalača*, a metallic object used in ceremonies (cp. ↗*Kallačča*; VSAe III, 106; cf. Amborn in preparation). Next to traditional religion, ca. 30 % of the Koorete adhere to Christianity.

The transition of the living into the world of the dead plays an important role. The K. celebrate grandiose ↗funerals for the deceased. If a respected person is buried several hundred persons would take part. In honour of the deceased a conical scaffolding ca. 2.5 m high is erected, covered with clothing and insignia of rank. A calabash symbolizes the head of the deceased. After the feast the *kombotse*-scaffolding is placed on the grave, in addition to the grave board (ending in three or more prongs, s. ill.), which will gradually decay thereafter. The feasts were forbidden by the *Därg* state administration because they were considered immoral. However, the tradition of lavish ceremonial burial is still maintained.

Src.: author's own field notes (ms.), January 2003.
Lit.: HERMANN AMBORN, "The Phallsification of the Kallačča: or, Why Sometimes a Cigar is a Cigar", paper presented at the *ICES* 16, Trondheim 2007; ALEXANDER KELLNER, *Mit den Mythen denken: Die Mythen der Burji als Ausdrucksform ihres Habitus*, Münster 2006; VSAe III, 72–140.

Hermann Amborn

Koräm

K. (ኮረም) is a town located halfway between Däse, Wällo, and Mäqälä, where the road forks west for ↗Säqoṭa at 100 km. It lies at an altitude of 2,490 m A.S.L. on the top of an escarpment, 6 km southeast of Lake ↗Ḫašəngä (for location s. May Č̣äw).

Historically, K. and its surroundings were a crossroads in peacetime and a key point in wartime between the regions of ↗Wag, ↗Təgray and ↗Azäbo. In September 1909, K. was the place where *däğğazmač* ↗Abrəha Arʾaya tried, unsuccessfully, to stop, ↗Abatä Bʷayaläw, then the appointed governor of Wag, Lasta and Təgray with the title of *wag šum*. Many died and thousands were wounded in the battle. Carlo Annaratone was asked to take care of them and organized their treatment at K. for several weeks (Annaratone 1914).

In 1936, K. was the base of operations of the Ethiopian army before the battle of ↗May Č̣äw. More recently, during the 1984–85 drought, K. was an important feeding centre for refugees.

Today K. is the capital of the Wäfla (or Ofla) *wäräda* in the Southern Təgray zone in the *kəlləl* Təgray. Its area was once part of Wällo in the past. The evolution of the territorial extent of K. can not be accurately documented as historical maps are often blurred and inexact. What is certain is the fact that K. has been at the crossroads between Wag and Təgray. From 16,895 inhabitants in 1994, the population increased to 28,046 in 2004 (CSA 1994, 2004). A recently-built motor road bypassing K. has diminished its importance as a transit town between Däse and Mäqälä.

Src.: CARLO ANNARATONE, *In Abissinia*, Roma 1914; Guida 312f.; GebMolIyas 315f.; CSA 1994, 2004.

Eloi Ficquet

Koro ↗Ğimma

Koso

K. (ኮሶ) is the Amharic name for *Hagenia abyssinica*, which belongs to the family of *Rosaceae* (Hedberg 1989). K. is an indigenous tree that grows to a height of about 20 m in the forests of the highlands at altitudes of about 2,500–3,000 m A.S.L. It is also cultivated as a garden and roadside tree in urban areas. K. wood is used as firewood and for the production of furniture, as flooring and for carving. The tree may serve as a firebreak. The fallen leaves have a beneficial influence on the soil.

The dried female flowers are commonly known to be an important taenicide in traditional medicine (Gelahun Abate 1989). Both the tree and the medicine are known as K. The latter has been in use to expel tapeworm since at least the 16th cent. and is an extremely bitter but powerful taenicide. Research into the chemistry of K. has shown that

there are a number of kossotoxins responsible for its taenicidal effect (Belachew Desta 1995).

The dried and pounded female flowers are mixed with water and given to a person having the signs and symptoms of tapeworm. The crushed flowers are soaked, usually in water but also in ↗*ṭälla* or ↗*ṭäǧǧ* overnight. In the morning the filtered solution is drunk on an empty stomach and abstention from food is maintained up to mid-day. The proglottids (the mature segments) of the worm are expelled in the faeces.

In Ethiopia, where the consumption of raw meat is widespread, tapeworm infections are common, and a number of taencides are in wide use. The problem with K. is that it often fails to expel the entire tapeworm. The latter's head in many cases remains in the host's body. There it grows again, thus necessitating the taking of the taencide every two or three months (Pankhurst 1969; 1979). The taking of K. was therefore a frequent and important occasion: courtiers, when taking K., were excused from attending the king's presence, while murderers would have their sentence of execution postponed.

In the 19th cent., *aṣe* Tewodros's then destitute mother was accused of being a K. vendor, an allegation illustrating the low status attached to the occupation. On the other hand, oral tradition relates that *aṣe* Ḫaylä Śəllase I had planted a K. tree at Eǧersa Goro in Harärge, where he was born.

A *koso* tree in Aṣbi, Aṣbi Dära; photo 2005, courtesy of Ewa Balicka-Witakowska

K. was traditionally a major trade item in Ethiopia and has for long been a widely available and cheap commodity. The first modern pharmacy in Addis Abäba was called *koso bet*, 'K. house' or 'medicine house' (Fekadu Fullas 2001). The taenicide also enjoyed some short-lived popularity in early 19th cent. Europe (Pankhurst 1979).

↗Diseases

Src.: GETATCHEW HAILE (ed., tr.), *The Epistle of Humanity of Emperor Zar'a Ya'əqob*, Louvain 1991–92 (CSCO 522, 523 [SAe 95, 96]), vol. 2, XII.

Lit.: AZENE BEKELE TESEMMA, *Useful Trees and Shrubs for Ethiopia*, Nairobi 1993, 268f.; BELACHEW DESTA, "Ethiopian Traditional Herbal Drugs", part 1: "Studies on the Toxicity and Therapeutic Activity of Traditional Teanicidal Medications", *Journal of Ethnopharmacology* 45, 1995, 27–33; FEKADU FULLAS, *Ethiopian Traditional Medicine: Common Medicinal Plants in Perspective*, ms. 2001, 149; GELAHUN ABATE, ዕፀ፡ ደብዳቤ (*ʿƎśä däbdabbe*, 'Epistle of Medicine'), Department of Biology, Addis Ababa University 1989; PAULOS CORNELIS MARIA JANSEN, *Spices, Condiments and Medicinal Plants in Ethiopia, their Taxonomy and Agricultural Significance*, Wageningen 1981; OLOV HEDBERG, "Rosaceae", in: *Flora of Ethiopia*, vol. 3, 31–34, Addis Ababa – Uppsala 1989; RICHARD PANKHURST, "The Traditional Taenicides of Ethiopia", *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* 24, 3, 1969, 323–34; ID., "Europe's Discovery of the Ethiopian Taenicide – *Kosso*", Medical History 23, 3, 1979, 297–313; I.E. SIGENTHALER, *Useful Plants of Ethiopia, Imperial Ethiopian College of Agricultural and Mechanical Arts. Jima Experiment Station, Bulletin* 14, vol. 1, Oklahoma State University – USAID (n.d.).

Zemede Asfaw

Kote

K. (ኮቴ, r. ca. 1710–25), was king (*kawo*) of the ↗Wälaytta, the son of Adaye. Concerning his life, oral traditions among the Wälaytta differ markedly; some claim that he was the fifth (Wanna Wagesho 2001:20) or the seventh king of the "Təgre" dynasty that took over royal power from the ruling aristocratic ↗Wälaytta-Malla clan in the mid-16th cent. (s. HabKön 260). Most traditions, however, state that K. was the first full king of the "Təgre" dynasty, and that he married the daughter of the last Wälaytta-Malla king, Lačia Očče. After the marriage, she allegedly helped her new husband usurp the royal title by a ruse. Another tradition (Chiatti 1984:312) associates these deeds with K.'s father, Adaye. K.'s paramount rule was symbolized by the possession of a royal golden ring; worn on the right index finger, it served as an insignia of power and was inherited by his successors.

There are traditions stating that K. established his court in Dälbo, the later royal capital, centrally located and opposite Mt. Damota, near

the current Wälaytta capital of Soddo. However, these present inconsistencies. it is likely that he was based in either Kindo or Lašo, further west.

In Wälaytta oral tradition, K. is predominantly remembered as a wise, generous and tactful ruler who reformed the Wälaytta political structure and established more peaceful relations with neighbouring peoples such as the Dawro, Kambaata, Arsi and Hadiyya, against whom his predecessors had frequently fought. At the end of his rule, however, he was forced into exile, his position contested by a conspiracy of powerful nobles. K. died childless whilst exiled in Dawro, across the Omo River, and was buried there. K.'s successors, his brother Libana and the latter's son, Tube, expanded the kingdom to the northeast, but also died in exile, due to their alleged abuse of office and disagreements with the people.

Src.: author's own fieldnotes on Kote, 2002, 2004.

Lit.: JACQUES BUREAU, "Comment s'écrit l'histoire d'une province d'Éthiopie: le Wollaita", *Abbay* 11, 1980–82, 225–41; ID., "Un fragment de l'histoire du peuple Wollaita d'Afework Gebre-Sellassie", *AE* 15, 1990, 47–81; ID., "The 'Tigre' Chronicle of Wollaita; a Pattern of Kingship", in: *PNCES* 1, 49–64; REMO CHIATTI, *The Politics of Divine Kingship in Wolaita (Ethiopia), 19th and 20th Centuries*, Philadelphia, PA 1984, 313f.; HabKön 255–80 ("Das Königtum von Wolamo"); EIKE HABERLAND, "Zum Geschichtsbewusstsein der Wolayta (Süd-Äthiopien)", in: PETER SNOY (ed.), *Ethnologie und Geschichte*, Wiesbaden 1983, 212–20; WANNA WAGESHO, *History of the Wolayta People*, Addis Ababa ²2001.

Jon Abbink

Kotzikas, Ioannis

K. (also Cozzikas; b. early 19th cent., fl. mid-19th cent.) was a Greek merchant and visionary in Egypt and Sudan, who championed Ethiopia, and was a strong admirer of *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II with whom he enjoyed good relations. K., who married the "Rose of Taka", the half-Oromo daughter of Giyorgis Mika'el, a Coptic trader and scholar at ↗Kassala, Province of ↗Taka, was a keen Greek patriot, and a strong opponent of the ↗Ottoman Empire.

K. established himself at Kassala, just across Ethiopia's frontier with Sudan, around 1847, and later appointed a certain *šayḫ* ʿAbdalqādir as his commercial agent at Qallābat (↗Mätämma). K., who was later assisted by his nephew Panayiotis Kotzikas, was actively involved in Ethiopian foreign trade, i.e. export of coffee and musk, and import of cotton cloth, velvet, beads, bracelets, sugar and fire-arms. Anxious to expand such commerce he travelled to and in Ethiopia in 1851, when he met *ətege* ↗Mänän Libän at Däbrä Tabor, and again in 1853, shortly before she lost power. Interested in supporting Christian Ethiopia, building up Orthodox opposition to the Turks – as well as opposing the slave trade on Ethiopia's western frontier – he proposed the establishment of a Philo-Abyssinian Association, and provided information on the country to the Athens newspaper *Pandora*. He also corresponded with St. Folk, the Russian consul in Cairo, and drew up a report on Ethiopia in 1859 for King Otto of Greece.

K. later emerged as a staunch supporter of *aṣe* Tewodros, whom he considered enterprising, brave, and kind-hearted, and conceived of as a potential Peter the Great. K. supplied him with a sizeable number of rifles, and proposed that the monarch should send his son and other young Ethiopians to study in Greece, and surround himself with Greek advisers. K. also held that Tewodros, benefiting from the opening of the Suez Canal, should establish his capital at Aksum, and extend his empire from the Red Sea to the Nile. Passionately opposed to the ↗Napier expedition of 1867–68, which he considered an act of folly, he wrote an appeal against it to the "People of Great Britain", in Greek, which was later published in French as a pamphlet entitled *Question d'Abyssinie*. It contained a detailed, but probably exaggerated evaluation of Ethiopia's military potential.

Src.: JEAN COZZIKAS, *Question d'Abyssinie. Au People de la Grande Bretagne*, Constantinople 1867.

Lit.: Archbishop METHODIOS OF AKSUM, "An Unpublished Document", *Abba Salama* 1, 1970, 35–66; THEODORE NATSULAS, "The Hellenic Presence in Ethiopia", *ibid.* 8, 1977, 5–218; RICHARD PANKHURST, "Yohannes Kotzika, the Greeks and British Intervention against Emperor Tewodros", *ibid.* 3, 1972, 87–117.

Richard Pankhurst

Kračkovskij, Ignatij

K. (Ignace Kratchkovski etc., differently rendered in transliteration; Arabic pen-names Ġanṭūs [shortened form of Iġnāṭiyūs] ar-Rūsī and al-Ġarīb ['the Alien'] ar-Rūsī; b. 16 March 1883, Wilno [= Vilnius], d. 24 January 1951, Leningrad) was the greatest Russian Arabist of the 20th cent. who made a noticeable contribution to ↗Ethiopian studies.

K.'s father, Julian Fomič, son of a Belorussian peasant, was ennobled for his service in the sphere of public education in the Russian Empire. K. finished the 1st gymnasium of Wilno with distinction in 1901 and was admitted to the faculty of Ori-

ental languages of St. Petersburg University. He studied Arabic, Persian and Ottoman Turkish accompanied by regular courses on classical Oriental philology and the history of the Middle East. In addition, K. attended ↗Turaiev's lectures on the Christian Orient and Gəᶜəz classes. In December 1905 K. graduated from the University with a first-class diploma and a gold medal for his thesis *The Reign of the Caliph al-Mahdī according to Arabic Sources* and was left at the Chair of Arabic philology "for training for Professorship".

In 1908, after the sudden death of the famous Russian Arabist Baron Victor Rosen, K.'s tutor and the Faculty dean, K. was sent on a two-year scholarly mission to Syria and Egypt. In Beirut he attended the lectures of Louis Sheikho, Henry Lammens, Carlo ↗Nallino and other prominent Orientalists at the Faculté orientale of the Université de St. Joseph. On his return in July 1910 K. was recruited by St. Petersburg University as a "Privat-Dozent" (Assistant Professor without salary). In May 1915 he defended his Master's dissertation on Abū l-Farağ al-Waᵓwāᵓ's poetry (equivalent to Ph.D.).

During the first years of his scholarly activities, K. took great interest in Christian Arabic and Ethiopian studies, the development of which he later followed closely. The hostility of the new regime towards religion forced K. to abandon the study of the Christian Orient and to concentrate on Arabic studies. He acquired fame as the author of the edition of Ibn al-Muᶜtazz's treatise on poetics, as well as a monograph on the Arabic geographic literature, a translation of the ↗Qurᵓān with commentary and numerous essays.

In 1918 K. was promoted to Professor. After the disbandment of the faculty of Oriental languages he offered courses in Arabic language and philology at Petrograd (later Leningrad) University, at the Institute of living Oriental languages and other educational institutions. When ↗World War II broke out, he stayed in the besieged city from 1941 to July 1942; for his efforts in the preservation of cultural heritage during the war he was awarded the Order of Lenin in 1944.

From 1944, when the faculty of Oriental languages reopened under the name of the Oriental faculty, till his death in 1951, K. was the head of the Arabic philology department. In 1947 ↗Amharic was introduced into the permanent curriculum of the Oriental faculty. In 1948–49 K. delivered at the faculty the course *Introduction to Ethiopian Philology*. Printed posthumously, this work (with ca. 950 bibliographic items) focuses on Ethiopian written culture and Ethiopian philology, but contains, in fact, a general evaluation of the state Ethiopian Studies had reached by 1940s. The last years of K. were darkened by the persecutions of classical Russian Orientalism organized by the Soviet authorities in the late 1940s and early 1950s.

K. was member of many scholarly institutions. In 1916 he was recruited by the Asiatic Museum (from 1930 – the Institute of Oriental studies) and from 1930 till his death was at the head of its Arab Cabinet. In 1921 K. became a member of the Russian Academy of Sciences, from 1922 till 1929 he was Academic Secretary (i.e. head) of the Department of history and philology. In addition, K. was honorary or corresponding member of many foreign academies and research societies, such as the Arab Academy of Sciences in Damascus (1923), the Polish Oriental Society (1928), the Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft (1934), the Islamic Research Association in Bombay (1935), the Iranian Academy of Sciences (1944), the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland (1946), the Polish Academy of Sciences (1946), the Flemish Academy of Sciences (1946), the Asia Institute in New York (1947).

Src.: IGNATIJ JULIANOVIČ KRAČKOVSKIJ, *Izbrannye sočinenija* ('Selected Works'), 6 vols., Moscow – Leningrad 1955–60; ID., *Abū-l-Faradž al-Va'vā Damasskij: Materialy dl'a harakteristiki poetičeskogo tvorčestva* ('Abūᵓl-Farağ al-Waᵓwāᵓ of Damascus. Materials for Characterizing his Poetical Work'), Petrograd 1914; ID. (ed.), *Kitāb al-Badiᶜ of Abdallāh ibn al-Muᶜtazz*, Leningrad – London 1935 ("E. J.W. Gibb Memorial" Series, New Series 10); ID., *Avec les manuscrits arabes (Souvenirs sur les livres et les hommes)*, tr. by MARIUS CANARD, Alger 1954 (Publications de l'Institut d'Études orientales de la Faculté des Lettres d'Alger 94); ID. (ed., tr.), *Koran* ('Qurᵓān'), Moscow 1963, ²1986; ID., *Vvedenie v efiopskuju filologiju* ('Introduction into Ethiopian Philology'), Leningrad 1955; ID., "Arabskaja versija 'psalij' Takla-Haymanotu" ('Arabic Version of the *psaliae* to Täklä Haymanot'), *Zapiski vostočnogo otdelenija Russkogo arheologičeskogo obščestva* 18, 1907–08, 41–44; ID., "Iz efiopskoj geografičeskoj literatury" ('From the Ethiopic Geographical Literature'), *Hristianskij Vostok* 1, 1912, 127–45; ID., "Zapiska o sobranii efiopskih rukopisej akad. B.A. Turaeva" ('Note on the Collection of Ethiopic Manuscripts of the Academician B.A. Turaev'), *Izvestija Rossijskoj Akademii Nauk* 6 ser. 15, 1921, 175–76; ID., "Zara Jakob ili Džusto Da Urbino ('Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob or Giusto Da Urbino')", *ibid.* 18, 1924, 195–206; ID., "Abissinskij magičeskij svitok iz sobranija F.I. Uspenskogo" ('An Abyssinian Magic Scroll from the Collection of F.I. Uspenskiy'), *Doklady Akademii Nauk SSSR* 5 ser., 1928, 163–67; ID., "Literatura Abissinii" ('The Literature of Abyssinia'), *Vestnik Leningradskogo universiteta* 7, 1948, 93–104.

Lit.: VIKTOR I. BELJAEV – ISAAK N. VINNIKOV, "Pamjati akademika I.Ju. Kračkovskogo (16. III. 1883–24. I. 1951)"

('To the Memory of the Academician I.Ju. Kračkovskij'), *Palestinskij sbornik* new ser. 1 [63], 1954, 91–105; MARIUS CANARD, "Quarante ans sur les manuscrits arabes", *Revue africaine* 406–09, 1945, 118–39; ANNA A. DOLININA, *Nevol'nik dolga* ('Slave of Duty'), St. Petersburg 1994; FRANCESCA GABRIELI, *Orientalisti del Novecento*, Roma 1993, 83–92; IGNATIJ JULIANOVIČ KRAČKOVSKIJ, *Avec les manuscrits arabes* (*Souvenirs sur les livres et les hommes*), tr. by MARIUS CANARD, Alger 1954 (Publications de l'Institut d'Études orientales de la Faculté des Lettres d'Alger 94); ISAAK N. VINNIKOV (ed.), *Ignatij Julianovič Kračkovskij*, Moscow – Leningrad 1949; ID., "Dopolnenija k bibliografii trudov akademika I.Yu. Kračkovskogo" ('Additions to the Bibliography of the Works of the Academician I.Yu. Kračkovskij'), *Palestinskij sbornik* new ser. 1 [63], 1954, 125–29.

Serguei Frantsouzoff

Krapf, Johann Ludwig

K. (b. 11 November 1810, Derendingen near Tübingen, d. 26 November 1881, Korntal, Württemberg) was a German Protestant missionary of the pietistic movement; a brilliant linguist and outstanding traveller in East Africa, famous for the first European description ("discovery") of the snow-peaked Mount Kenya as well as for his fundamental work on Swahili and Oromo languages. Together with Johann Rebmann, he initiated the search for the sources of the Nile from the Swahili Coast. Well researched are K.'s five journeys to Ethiopia (s. ArEvang; CrumMis) whose fruitful scientific results also had a deep impact on other 19th-cent. travellers (cp. the two biographies of K., Eber 2006; Gütl 2001).

The son of a farmer, K. received his initial education in Tübingen. There he showed, at a very early stage, his talent for learning languages (Latin, Greek, French, Italian). But young K. was also interested in geography and history – James ↗Bruce's narratives on Ethiopia were amongst his favourite literature. At the age of 15 he was attracted by missionary work and in 1825 K. applied for the Missionary School in Basle, which he entered two years later. Because of his mystic and theosophical attitude, he soon came in conflict with official opinions. In 1829 he therefore left the school, passed his final exams in Stuttgart and began to study theology in Tübingen until 1834. Employment as a trainee priest in Wolfenhausen and as a private teacher in Kirchheim near Nördlingen followed, and in 1836 he returned to the Mission in Basle. A short time later, while K. was learning Turkish and Modern Greek, he was instructed by the ↗Church Missionary Society (CMS) in London to start a mission in Ethiopia. Consequently, he read Hiob ↗Ludolf's *Historia Aethiopica* and began to learn Amharic.

On his first journey to Ethiopia in 1837, K. travelled via Cairo, where he studied Arabic. At the end of the same year, he set sail to ↗Massawa and proceeded via Ḥərgigo and Ḥalay to the highlands. In ↗ᶜAdwa he met the missionaries Carl Wilhelm ↗Isenberg and Carl Heinrich ↗Blumhardt. It was planned that K. was to work in ᶜAgamä and Ḥamasen, Blumhardt near Gondär, while Isenberg was to settle in ᶜAdwa. But the mission was not successful. Allegedly, French Catholics, mainly Antoine and Arnaud d'↗Abbadie, had instilled in the Ethiopian authorities and clergymen a distrust of them, and the missionaries had to leave the country after nearly two months. K. then tried to reach Šäwa via the coast, but failed because of serious illness and travelled back to Cairo.

The second journey to Ethiopia began in January 1839. K. and Isenberg again tried to reach Šäwa, via Tağūra. On 7 June, in Ǝslam Amba they met King ↗Śahlä Śəllase of Šäwa, who allowed them to start missionary work in Ankobär. K. settled down in the capital of Šäwa where he soon began to study the ↗Oromo language, in order to start his missionary work amongst the Oromo, while Isenberg went back to Cairo. At the same time K. translated the ↗New Testament into ↗Oromiffa (published in portions 1839-41), with an Oromo assistant, compiled geographic and ethnographic information and sent more than 80 Ethiopian manuscripts for linguistic studies back to Europe. He was also allowed to accompany Śahlä Śəllase on several military expeditions to Oromo regions. Together with the newly arrived French traveller ↗Rochet, he came close to the sources of the Awaš-River in the spring of 1840 and shortly afterwards visited the monastery of ↗Däbrä Libanos. Of scientific interest are also his notes on the "Doko", an allegedly "pygmy-like" people of the southern Omo (↗Dokko). In autumn 1840 K. met the explorer Charles Tilstone ↗Beke in Šäwa, and one year later he served as an interpreter for the official British expedition of Major William ↗Harris, in this position actively promoting the rise of British political influence in Ethiopia. K. went as far as thinking of a British protectorate, which would also promote missionary activities. Harris published much information which he had obtained from K., in his book *The Highlands of Ethiopia* (HarAeth). The same was done by Rochet, who used the missionary's geographic and linguistic knowledge for his own report.

Until springtime the following year, K. was able to proselytize in Ankobär, and on 10 March 1842 he left Šäwa to marry his fiancée Rosine Dietrich of Basle. He travelled to the Red Sea coast via ↗Tänta but was imprisoned near Gitara. His travel description is an important source on Wällo, that was not easily accessible in that time. The same year K. was given an honorary doctorate by the University of Tübingen for his geographical collections and his linguistic studies.

Accompanied by his wife and the missionaries Johannes Mühleisen and Carl Wilhelm Isenberg, K. set out for his third journey to Ethiopia at the end of 1842. The group first sailed to Aden and then tried to reach Šäwa through the ᶜAfar desert, in the first place via Taǧūra, later via Zaylaᶜ in Somalia. But both roads were blocked because of opposition against Protestants by the Ethiopian clergy and the royal court, who feared the political implications of their presence and a split within the Ethiopian Church. The Protestant-educated *abunä* ↗Sälama seems to have played a decisive role here.

In 1843 Mühleisen and Isenberg decided to go to Gondär instead, while K. planned to travel to the Swahili Coast where he intended to proceed to the Oromo region. A last attempt to enter Təgray from Saho ("Schoho") was undertaken in May 1843, but on the way, K.'s wife had a miscarriage and, in addition, *däǧǧazmač* ↗Wəbe Ḫaylä Maryam refused to let the mission enter Təgrayan territory.

While Isenberg and Mühleisen went back to Cairo, K. and his wife set sail from Aden to the Swahili Coast in November 1843. The Arabian dhow was shipwrecked in the north east monsoon. However, a second attempt was successful: via Soqoṭra, K. reached ↗Zanzibar on 7 January 1844, where he received permission from Sultan Sayyid Saᶜīd to establish a mission station on the Swahili Coast. In May 1844 the couple arrived in Mombassa and settled down; his wife died the same year. Together with Johann Rebmann, K. later proceeded to the mountain area near Mombassa where they established the first mission station in Rabai. In 1851, after his return, the famous first Kiswahili grammar and dictionary were published in Tübingen together with a translation of a portion of the Gospel in Kikamba. K.'s presence in eastern Africa was accompanied by hopes from missionary circles, that the Oromo could be reached from here. These were considered one of the most important peoples of Africa, and could, it was believed, become the "evangelizers" of all Africa, spreading Christianity everywhere after their expected conversion.

Portrait of Johann Ludwig Krapf; courtesy of Mission21, Basle (no. QS–30_006_0132_01)

With the help of bishop Samuel ↗Gobat of Jerusalem, the missionary Martin ↗Flad of the ↗St. Chrischona Pilgermission was sent to Ethiopia in 1855, accompanied by K., on his fourth journey to Ethiopia. Both initiated the Protestant mission under *aṣe* Tewodros II. K. returned to Württemberg in September 1855, where he took residence in the "Evangelische Brüdergemeinde" in Korntal near Stuttgart. He married for the second time on 10 May 1856. Two years later his well known *Travels in East Africa* were published in Korntal.

The last journey to the Swahili Coast took place in 1861–62. On his fifth journey to Ethiopia K. joined General Robert ↗Napier on behalf of the British intervention army in 1867/68, acting as an interpreter (together with Captain ↗Speedy), thus helping in the overthrow of Tewodros II, who had become an enemy of the Protestant mission. K.'s weak health forced him to return before the final release of Tewodros's European captives. In the same year his second wife died, and in October 1869 he married again. During his last years he worked for the diverse Protestant missions as a fund raiser, advisor and

continued to work on Amharic and Oromo bible translations. He planned to travel again to East Africa at the beginning of 1876, which, in the event, was unable to do.

K.'s role in the establishment and the pursuit of a Protestant mission in Christian Ethiopia and further south in the Oromo regions cannot be underestimated. He was the first and most ardent propagator of a Protestant Oromo mission, which he believed to be a fundamental Christian duty, given the importance of this population, both in their numbers and in their presumed openness towards conversion (cp. ↗Fathme, Pauline). K. was among the first to create Oromo texts (↗Oromo literature), together with diverse Oromo assistants starting from 1839. Of these the most important was ↗Ruufoo, a young Oromo slave he had ordered to be purchased in the Sudan and be sent to Germany to create an Oromo bible together with him (↗Bible translations, modern: Oromo). K.'s role in missionary history is subject to dispute, and it was already in his time. K. was ready to link himself with political power, whenever he believed that this could help in the establishment of a world-wide "Christocracy", even if this meant supporting foreign armies intervening in Ethiopia (s. Smidt 2005). In doing this he met opposition also in missionary circles, but his importance as a well-informed advisor in Ethiopian affairs guaranteed him a central position in any projected and implemented missionary activity in the region.

↗Protestantism; ↗Missions

Src.: for a complete bibliography s. GÜTL 2001; HarAeth; IsKrapf; JOHANN LUDWIG KRAPF, *An Imperfect Outline of the Elements of the Galla Language*, London 1840; ID., *Vocabulary of the Galla Language, together with an English–Galla Vocabulary*, ed. by CARL WILHELM ISENBERG, London 1840; ID., *Reisen in Ostafrika ausgeführt in den Jahren 1837–1855*, 2 vols., Kornthal 1858, Münster – Hamburg ²1994, English tr. 1860, ²1867; ID., *Travels, Researches, and Missionary Labours During an Eighteen Years' Residence in Eastern Africa*, Boston, MA 1860; MARTIN FLAD, *A short Description of the Falasha and Kamants in Abyssinia together with an outline of the Elements and a Vocabulary of the Falasha Language*, ed. by JOHANN LUDWIG KRAPF, St. Chrischona 1866; CHARLES ROCHET D'HÉRICOURT, *Voyage sur la côte orientale de la mer Rouge, dans le pays d'Adel et le royaume de Choa*, Paris 1841; *መንጌል፡ ቅዱስ፡ ንጐይታና፡ ናይመድኃኒትና፡ ንየሱስ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ ብትግራይ/ Evangelia Sacra Domini nostri et salvatoris Jesu Christi, sub auspiciis Caroli Guilielmi Isenberg ... in linguam tigricam vertit Debtera Matheos Habessinus, nunc primum in lucem edita per Johannem Ludovicum Krapf .../The Four Gospels of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ translated into the Tigre-Language by the Abyssinian Debtera Matteos, and revised by the deceased Rev. Mr. Isenberg ...*, Basel; betä krəstiyan ʾəngliz, 1867 (latin and engl. titlepage: 1866) 439.

Lit.: RICHARD ANDREE, *Abessinien, das Alpenland unter den Tropen und seine Grenzländer*, Leipzig 1869; ArEvang 13ff., 66ff.; ArEvang; CrumMis; JOCHEN EBER, *Johann Ludwig Krapf, Ein schwäbischer Pionier in Ostafrika, Biografie*, 2006; JOHANN MARTIN FLAD, *Zwölf Jahre in Abessinien* I, II [preface: Krapf], Leipzig 1887; ANGELIKA GRÄBER – GERD GRÄBER, *Sansibar mit Lamu, Pemba, Dar-es-Salaam*, Heidelberg 1999, 81, 164ff.; GERD GRÄBER, "Unterwegs in Abessinien: Das Photoalbum der Royal Engineers und die britische Magdala-Expedition im Jahre 1868", in: *Alles Wahrheit! Alles Lüge! Photographie und Wirklichkeit im 19. Jh.*, Köln 1997, 241–255; CLEMENS GÜTL, *Johann Ludwig Krapf: Do' Missionar vo' Deradenga zwischen pietistischem Ideal und afrikanischer Realität*, Hamburg 2001 (Lit.); EDWIN HENNIG, *Württembergische Forschungsreisende der letzten anderthalb Jahrhunderte*, Stuttgart 1953, 12–16; NIGEL PAVITT, *Kenya: the first Explorers*, London 1989; WALTER ROTH, *Die Evangelische Brüdergemeinde Korntal*, Neuhausen – Stuttgart 1994; RubInd, index; WOLBERT SMIDT, "'Schwarze Missionare' in Äthiopien im Dienst der Errichtung einer Welt-Christokratie", in: ULRICH VAN DER HEYDEN – HOLGER STOECKER (eds.), *Mission und Macht im Wandel politischer Orientierungen. Europäische Missionsgesellschaften in politischen Spannungsfeldern in Afrika und Asien zwischen 1800 und 1945*, Wiesbaden 2005, 485–505.

Gerd Gräber – Wolbert Smidt

Krencker, Daniel

K. (b. 15 July 1874 in Andolsheim, Haute Alsace, d. 14 November 1941 in Berlin) was a prominent German architect and archaeologist who was also an excellent draughtsman.

Trained in Berlin as an architect, he acquired his first field experience during the excavations at Baalbek, Lebanon, between 1900 and 1903 under the direction of Otto Puchstein. During these years he also studied several Roman sites in Syria, among others at Palmyra, and became an expert on Roman architecture.

Because of his excavation experiences K. became the Technical Director of the ↗Deutsche Aksum Expedition led by Enno ↗Littmann, which was likewise funded by Wilhelm II. The success of this expedition resulted not the least from his skills. Together with Littmann he wrote the preliminary report (1906), and contributed to the main publication as the editor of DAE II.

In 1907 K. participated in the German excavations in Boghazköy (Hattusa, 150 km east of Ankara). Between 1907 and 1911 he worked in Berlin, Düsseldorf, and Quedlinburg. Early in 1912 K. was appointed chief architect at Trier, where he worked for many years excavating late Roman ruins. He received honorary degrees from Bonn in 1919 (Dr. phil. h.c.) and from Aachen in 1921 (Dr.-Ing. h.c.).

From 1922 until his retirement 1939 he was professor of architectural history at the Technische Universität Berlin and again carried out many study trips to the Near East. He published many of the excavation results in the form of preliminary reports or final editions from Baalbek, ↗Aksum, Palmyra, Ankara, Aizanoi, Trier, either alone or together with others.

He continued to be interested in Ethiopian architectural history; Dabbert's study on the Lalibela churches strongly relies on discussions with K. (Dabbert 1938:5). Several of the unpublished photographs of the DAE were published by him in 1935 (Krencker 1935:679ff.).

Src.: DANIEL KRENCKER – ENNO LITTMANN, *Vorbericht der Deutschen Aksum-Expedition*, Berlin 1906; DAE II; DANIEL KRENCKER, "Aksum, die heilige Stadt der Aethiopier", *Baugilde* 21, 1935, 673–84.

Lit.: HERMANN DABBERT, *Die monolithenen Kirchen Lalibelas in Aethiopien*, Berlin 1938, 5; HANS v. LÜPKE, "Daniel Krencker 1874–1941", in: *WenDAE* I, 119–27.

Steffen Wenig

Krəstənna: Mäṣḥafä krəstənna

The M.k. (መጽሐፈ፡ ክርስትና, lit. 'the Book of Christening') is the service book for the administration of the Sacraments of Christian Initiation (↗Baptism) used by the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥədo) Church (today also by the Eritrean Orthodox Church and, in principle, the Catholic Church in Ethiopia and Eritrea). In manuscripts and editions, the M.k. is sometimes grouped with the much more recent ritual of the Blessing of the Waters for the Feast of the Epiphany (↗*Ṭəmqät*) known as the *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*ṭəmqät*. The M.k. proper is sometimes also referred to as *Mäṣḥafä ṭəmqät* (e.g., mss. EMML 432; 620; 3107) or *Mäṣḥafä ṭəmqät zäkrəstənna* (e.g., ms. EMML 3264).

The M.k. exhibits a basic dependence upon the baptismal book of the Coptic church. Prayers are not identical, some biblical readings not being fully equivalent (Chaîne 1913:38f.), but the structure is the same. The M.k. includes the preparatory rites and the threefold service of baptism, chrism (as a distinct sacrament) and ↗Eucharist, which is immediately administered, irrespective of the age of the neophytes (s. the synopsis of the service under Baptism).

The oldest M.k. witness of the present rite seems to be ms. Vat. Aeth. 4 (fols. 122–47v), attributed to the 14th cent. (GreTisVat I, 13–20; UhPal 241; but cp. LöfUpp 53). It provided the *Vorlage* for ↗Täsfa Ṣəyon's Latin translation of the ritual (*Modus baptizandi* ...), published in Rome in 1549 as an appendix to the second part of his ↗New Testament edition. It was the first Ethiopian ritual ever printed, preceded only by the Anaphora of the Apostles (↗Anaphoras), from Vat. Aeth. 16, in 1548. Other important witnesses are the 17th-cent. ms. Vat. Aeth. 188 (GréTisVat vol. 1, 652–55), and the 16th-cent. ms. Paris, BN 78, fols. 52vff. (ZotBNat 85: "this rite of baptism agrees almost entirely with that of the Church of Alexandria published by [Joseph Aloysius] Assemani, *Codex liturgicus ecclesiae universae* ..."). Interestingly, the first part of this ms. is paginated with Coptic numbers. The EMML collection lists nearly 70 copies of the M.k. on both parchment and paper, the oldest ones (ten) dating back to the 18th cent. Bilingual (Gəᶜəz–Amharic and Gəᶜəz–Təgrəññа) printed books have now replaced, with appreciable textual differences, the manuscripts almost everywhere in Ethiopia and Eritrea. No comprehensive critical edition has been undertaken so far (though Grébaut in his 1927–28 edition included the textual variants of Chaîne 1913).

Abunä ↗Sälama "the Translator" has been suggested, on the basis of the ms. evidence, as the possible translator of the Coptic rite of Christian Initiation into Ethiopic in the late 14th cent. Having a handbook to administer the Sacraments of Initiation, however, must have been a chief priority of the Ethiopian church from the onset. In terms of the history of dogma, the year 381 could be a *terminus ante quem*, albeit highly hypothetical, for the translation (from Greek) of the prayer for the Blessing of the Water "Domine, o Domine pater bone ..." (s. Scheidt 1935:52f., 55), and an even earlier dating being suggested for the "Benedictus sit Deus excelsus" (BrakKirche 161f., esp. n. 808). Documents representing earlier practice exist: e.g., the *Trois antiques rituels du Baptême* and the Ethiopic version of the ↗*Traditio Apostolica* (s. Duensing 1946:40–43, 52–67; Salles 1959; Brakmann 2003:534ff., 558), or the Ethiopic ↗*Testamentum Domini* (chs. 47–51). Yet, the extent to which the available texts actually bear witness to the earlier Ethiopian practice is unknown. It is likely that what was common in ↗Egypt extended somehow to Ethiopia (in spite of the alleged ↗Syrian influences): Ethiopian references point in particular to Middle or Upper Egypt, as in the cases of the *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*qəddase* or the ↗*Gəbrä ḥəmamat*. Assessing the extent to which the available canonico-liturgical literature reflects actual practice is a delicate matter, such collections being

an amalgam of different strata of additions with no certain continuity (Metzger 1998:610, Faivre 1980:214, 297; Bradshaw et al. 2002:13f., 108). Untangling the rich baptismal liturgy embedded in the Ethiopic *Apostolic Tradition* has hitherto proved impossible (Brackmann 1998:341f.).

Several ancient ritual elements can nevertheless be seen in today's rite. One example is the remains of the ancient Catechumenate of adults, when the Lenten season was the ultimate preparation to Baptism and included at its beginning the selection of catechumens found ready for Baptism (scrutiny, giving of ↗names), genuflexion prayers, exorcisms and profession of faith before the immersion. The fact that these elements used to be spread over several occasions is still witnessed by the repetition of certain initial prayers and dialogues. Another example is the ritual's prescription that the neophytes be given ↗milk and ↗honey after Communion (s. EOC 1973:93, no. 24; Salles 1959:62; Talvacchia [1922]:288, Bradshaw et al. 2002:120, 134f.). One also finds ritual adaptations of unchanged texts: the tying of the neck-cord (↗*matäb*) is the object of prayers hardly said and actually concerned with a crown. Finally, there is archaeological evidence for the palaeochristian character of such baptisteries as those at ↗Yəḥa, ↗Dəgum, or ↗Mäṭära (e.g., Anfray in PICES 4, 757; Lepage – Mercier 2005:51f.).

In the practice of today, the ministers regularly omit several parts of the lengthy ritual. The water is always blessed only by singing the doxology *Aḥadu ab qəddus* ('One is the Holy Father ...'), even though the anaphora-like prayer for the Consecration of the Jordan is faithfully reproduced in the M.k. (the same practice applies to any blessing of water). The sacramental water is likened, despite the absence of this theme in the Jordan Prayer, to the water and the blood that came out of Jesus on the cross (Jn 19:34) – water being for Baptism, blood for Communion (s. the unfinished 20th-cent. *Treatise on Baptism* in Amharic, EMML 1204, fols. 33rv). Since Chrism is poured into the Baptism water, as the blood and flesh of Christ are united in the Eucharistic rite of *Dəmmare* (lit. 'Joining together, uniting', i.e. the commixtion), it is often assumed that the baptized person receives the Chrismation automatically – it is exceptionally administered at Baptisms on the occasion of ↗pilgrimages or *Ṭəmqät* celebrations. Although necessary to allow the water to return to its natural condition, the prayer for the Absolution of the water is not always reproduced; in the EOC edition its title (*Sälotä fəṭḥatä may*) alone is given. The short service of the Purification of the mother (which precedes Baptism and is often performed apart from Baptism itself, either at home or in the church compound) is printed only in the ritual of Rome.

In the EOC edition of the M.k. (1973 A.M. etc.), the text is divided into two large parts. The first includes Preparation, Catechumenate and Service of Baptism, the second, introduced by the only title used in the book, "Chapter Two", and employing a separate paragraph numbering, includes the Service of the Chrism followed by the Eucharist reception and post-baptismal rites. The 2002 EOC edition of the M.k. includes an English translation. Recently, the EOC has issued the M.k. and the rites of ↗Matrimony, Penance for the Apostates (*Mäṣḥafä ↗qedər*) and ↗Unction in one single volume forming an actual "ritual" in the western sense.

Src.: ROBERT BEYLOT, *Testamentum Domini éthiopien*, Louvain 1984, chs. 47–51, 114–28 (text) = 217–25 (tr.); ChAbb 213; MARIUS CHAÎNE (ed., tr.), "Le rituel éthiopien – Rituel du baptême", *Bessarione* 17 [29] 123, 1913, 38–71; ID. (ed., tr.), "Le rituel éthiopien – Rituel de la confirmation et du mariage", *ibid.* [30], 124–25, 1913, 249–83; HUGO DUENSING, "Der aethiopische Text der Kirchenordnung des Hippolyt", *Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Philologisch-historische Klasse* 3, 32, 1946, 40–43, 52–67; EMML I–IX; SYLVAIN GRÉBAUT, "Ordre du baptême et de la confirmation dans l'Église éthiopienne", *ROC* 3e sér. 6, [26], 1–2, 1927–28, 105–89; GrébGriaule I, 176–97, ms. éth. 337 = Griaule 33, 278–81 (Lit.); GreTisVat I, 13–20, ms. Vat. Aeth. 4, 652–55, ms. Vat. Aeth. 188; HamTana II, 54 (Lit.); GEORGE WILLIAM HORNER (ed., tr.), *The Statutes of the Apostles or Canones Ecclesiastici*, London 1904, 147–78; LöfUpp 53; THE PATRIARCHATE OF THE ETHIOPIAN ORTHODOX TÄWAḤƏDO CHURCH [EOC] (ed.), መጽሐፈ: ክርስትና (*Mäṣḥafä krəstənna*, 'Book of Christening'), Addis Abäba 1973 A.M. [1981 A.D.], ²1988 A.M. [1996 A.D.], with tr. by MIKRE-SELLASSIE GABRA AMMANUEL – GETACHEW GUDIE, Addis Abäba 1994 A.M. [2002 A.D.]; JOHN MEDOWS RODWELL, "Aethiopic Prayers and Baptismal Offices, and a Selection from the Degua or Hymnal of Jared ...", *Journal of the Sacred and Biblical Record* 2, 1867, 63–107, here 69–73 (tr.); THE ROMAN CONGREGATION FOR THE EASTERN CHURCHES, *Sull'abbreviazione del rito alessandrino del battesimo* ..., Roma 1943; ID. (ed.), መጽሐፈ: ጥምቀተ: ክርስትና: ቅድስት (*Mäṣḥafä ṭəmqätä krəstənna qəddəst*, 'Book of Holy Baptism'), Rome 1965 A.M. [1973 A.D.]; ANTOINE SALLES (tr.), *Trois antiques rituels du Baptême*, Paris 1959 (Sources chrétiennes 59); GEORGE HENRY SCHODDE, "Baptismal Book of the Ethiopian Church", *Lutheran Quarterly* 12, 1882, 29–42; TÄSFA GÄBRÄ ŚƎLLASE (ed.), መጽሐፈ: ክርስትና (*Mäṣḥafä krəstənna*, 'Book of Christening'), Addis Abäba 1964 A.M. [1971/72 A.D.]; ²1983 A.M. [1990/91 A.D.]; [TÄSFA ṢƎYON], *Modus baptizandi, preces et benedictiones quibus Ecclesia Aethiopum utitur* ..., Romae 1549; ERNST TRUMPP, "Das Taufbuch der Aethiopischen Kirche", *Ab-*

handlungen der philosophisch-philologischen Classe der Königlichen Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 14, 1878, 147–83; ZotBNat 84f., no. 78 [ms. éth. 72].
Lit.: FRANCIS ANFRAY, "Deux villes axoumites: Adoulis et Matara", in: *PICES* 4, vol. 1, 761–65; ROBERT BEYLOT, "Langue et littérature éthiopiennes", in: MICHELINE ALBERT et al., *Christianismes Orientaux: Introduction à l'étude des langues et des littératures*, Paris 1993, 219–60; OSWALD HUGH EWART KHS. BURMESTER, "The Baptismal Rite of the Coptic Church", *Bulletin de la Societé d'Archéologie Copte d'Alexandrie* 9, 1945, 27–86; ID., *The Egyptian or Coptic Church: a Detailed Description of Her Liturgical Services and the Rites and Ceremonies Observed in the Administration of Her Sacraments*, Cairo 1967 (Publications de la Societé d'Archéologie Copte 10), 111–26; HEINZGERD BRAKMANN, "Axomis", in: *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*, Supplementband 1, 2001, col. 718–810, here 789; ID., "Katechumenat", *ibid.* vol. 20, 2003, cols. 497–574, here 534ff., 558; BrakKirche 161f. (Lit.); ALEXANDRE FAIVRE, "La documentation canonico-liturgique de l'Eglise ancienne", *Revue des Sciences Religieuses* [Strasbourg] 3, 1980, 204–19 and 4, 1980, 237–97; EMMANUEL FRITSCH, *The Ritual of Baptism of the Ethiopian Church*, Arba-Minch 1998; GABRAMARIAM EMAN, *Versio Latina ex Lingua Æthiopica Gheez Ritus Sancti Baptismi et Confirmationis a textu ex editione Ecclesiae Orthodoxae Æthiopicae*, Romae 1942 A.M. [1950 A.D.]; ID., *Ritus Sancti Baptismi Christiani et Confirmationis in usu apud Ecclesiam Orientalem Æthiopiae*, Romae 1968; GuiSLett 26f.; CLAUDE LEPAGE – JACQUES MERCIER, *Ethiopian Art: the Ancient Churches of Tigray*, Paris 2005, 51f.; MARCEL METZGER, "Tradition orale et tradition écrite dans la pratique liturgique antique. Les recueils de traditions apostoliques", in: ROBERT F. TAFT, S.J. – GABRIELE WINKLER (eds.), *Acts of the International Congress Comparative Liturgy: Fifty Years After Anton Baumstark (1872–1948)*, Roma 2001 (OrChrA 265), 599–612; RicLett 814; HUBERT SCHEIDT, *Die Taufwasserweihegebete im Sinne vergleichender Liturgieforschung untersucht*, Münster – Aschendorf 1935, 52, 55; FILIPPO TALVACCHIA, "Il rituale etiopico del S. Battesimo", *Bessarione* 24 [36] 1920, 206–09; 25 [37] 1921, 163–68; 26 [38] 1922, 283–96; *abba* TECLE MARIAM SEMHARAY SELAM, *De Ss. Sacramentis secundum Ritum Aethiopicum*, Romae 1931, 17–62; UhPal 241; ROCHUS ZUURMOND, *Novum Testamentum Aethiopice: the Synoptic Gospels*, part 1: *General Introduction*, Stuttgart 1989 (AeF 27), 148f. (Lit.).

Emmanuel Fritsch – Habtemichael Kidane – Tedros Abraha

Krəstodolu I

Abunä K. (**ክርስቶዶሉ**, fl. late 16th cent.) was metropolitan of the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox Church from before 1588 until after 1594. He is to be placed between *abunä* ↗Marqos II and *abunä* ↗Peṭros III (s. nos. 93, 94 in Guidi 1899: 11, n. 1). The *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*Aksum* contains the texts of two acts in which fiefs are awarded by *aṣe* ↗Särṣa Dəngəl: in the first, K. is mentioned in connection with Thomas, ↗*nəburä əd* of Aksum, who held this function around 1588 (CRAxum 56, no. 59); in the second, his name is paired with that of ↗Admas Mogäsa (ibid. 55).

K.'s name, absent in Guidi's list (1899–1900) and the royal chronicles, also occurs in the manifesto issued by *aṣe* ↗Susənyos in 1624 (s. Almeida in BecRASO VI, 399; VIII, 116; Ludolf 1691:510). Here Susənyos accused him of having kept several concubines, a fact described as being well known during K.'s days and put forward as one of the reasons for his joining the Roman Catholic Church. The manifesto formulates the same accusation against *abunä* ↗Peṭros III (d. 1607), and identical charges were also brought forward against *abunä* ↗Marqos under *aṣe* ↗Fasilädäs (s. van Donzel 1983:419–29).

Src.: BecRASO VI, 399, VIII, 116; CRAxum 55f.; CRHist; IGNAZIO GUIDI, "Le liste dei metropoliti d'Abissinia", *Bessarione* ser 1ª, 6, 1899, 1–16, here 11 and n. 1; IOB LUDOLF, *Ad suam Historiam Aethiopicam antehac editam Commentarius*, Francofurti ad Moenum 1691, 510.
Lit.: MHAlex [I] 64 and II, 4f., 63f., 72; TedEthPrel II, 1020; EMERI VAN DONZEL, "King Fāsiladas, abuna Marqos and Abeto Galāwdēwos", in: STANISLAV SEGERT – ANDRÁS J.E. BODROGLIGETI (eds.), *Ethiopian Studies: Dedicated to Wolf Leslau on the Occasion of his Seventy-fifth Birthday November 14th, 1981 by Friends and Colleagues*, Wiesbaden 1983, 419–29.

Emeri van Donzel

Krəstodolu II

Abunä K.II (**ክርስቶዶሉ**, r. 1664–71, d. 1675/76) is considered the 99th metropolitan of the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox Church (Guidi 1899–1900:12). He arrived in Ethiopia during the tenure of the Alexandrian patriarch Matthew IV (1660–75) in the 32nd year of reign of *aṣe* ↗Fasilädäs (BassÉt 291; BegCron 38f.; DombrChr 204). As a metropolitan, K. participated in three synods convened while he was in authority. One took place in 1666/67, the 35th year of Fasilädäs's reign, another during the reign of *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs I, when in April–May 1669 it was decided to expell the last remnants of the Roman Catholic Portuguese (↗Portugal) to ↗Sinnār. At the one convened in April 1670 the disputes between the ↗*qəbat* and the ↗*täwaḥədo* factions were re-examined, since the schism has become even deeper since the synod of 1664 when the Unionists gained the upper hand.

Soon after the third synod, *aṣe* Yoḥannəs, who favoured *qəbat*, imprisoned K. in an attempt to have him replaced (BassÉt I, 292; Perruchon 1899:173; DombrChr 207). Oral traditions preserved in Goğğam report that K. was put in jail

in Sarka – where a prison had been built during the ↗Jesuit period, and already used to detain *abunä* Yoḥannəs in 1649 (BassÉt 288; BegCron 51; Perruchon 1898:88) as well as later many other religious opponents throughout the 18th cent. The Chronicle of *aṣe* Yoḥannəs, however, presents a more cautious account of the change of patriarchs. It mentions a letter of 15 October 1671 from patriarch Matthew which announced the consecration of a new metropolitan, ↗Sinoda, who arrived in Gondär two days later. However, in the same letter the patriarch confirmed K. II in the dignity of metropolitan (GuiIohan 13) thus suggesting that K. may have been (partially) rehabilitated. Oral tradition claims that K. remained at Sarka until his death (in 1675/76 according to a version of the "short chronicles, s. Kropp 1990:107) and was buried in ↗Gonǧ Tewodros.

Src.: BassÉt [II] 288, 292; BegCron 51, 53f.; DombrChr 204, 207; IGNAZIO GUIDI, "Le liste dei Metropoliti d'Abissinia" *Bessarione* 6, 1899–1900, 1–17, here 12 (tr.); ID., "Uno squarcio di storia ecclesiastica di Abissinia" *Bessarione* 8, ser. 1ª, 1900, 10–25, here 17; GuiIohan 9f., 12ff.; KolTrad III, A 36; MANFRED KROPP, "Petite histoire de Yohannes Ier 'retrouvée dans un autre pays'", *AE* 15, 1990, 83–109, here 107; LudHist, vol. 3, 7, 25; JULES PERRUCHON, "Notes pour l'histoire d'Ethiopie. Le règne de Fasiladas ou Alam Sagad (1632–1667)", *RevSem* 6, 1898, 84–92; ID., "Notes pour l'histoire d'Ethiopie. Le règne de Yohannes Ier, roi d'Éthiopie de 1667 à 1682" *ibid.* 7, 1899, here 166, 173, 175; communications of *afä mämhər* Bərhanu Šəffärraw, *märigeta* Haymanot, *ato* Kassahun Mängəśtu to Anaïs Wion, Gonǧ Tewodros, March 2004.

Lit.: TedEthPrel II, 1024f; MHAlex II, 86f., 89f., 92.

Emeri van Donzel

Krəstodolu III

Abunä K. (ክርስቶዶሉ, d. 13 August 1735) was considered the 102nd Metropolitan of the Ethiopian Church. He arrived in Ethiopia during the reign of *aṣe* ↗Dawit III in 1720, replacing *abunä* ↗Marqos who had died on 5 July 1716. Upon K.'s arrival in the capital city of ↗Gondär, on 14 November 1720, the two conflicting theological parties of Unctionists and Unionists (↗*qəbat* and ↗*täwaḥədo* respectively) immediately appealed to him for help in resolving their differences. K., being unaware of the problem at that time, gave the most cautious answer and said that his faith was the same as that of *abunä* ↗Sinoda and *abunä* Marqos, his predecessors (but cp. DombrChr 268). *Ras bitwäddäd* Giyorgis made a proclamation on 8 April 1721 in the name of K. in favour of *Qəbat*, the faction supported by royal power. The opponents – the monks of "the house of Täklä Haymanot" led by *abba* ↗Zäwäldä Maryam from ↗Magʷina, *əčč̣äge* ↗Täklä Haymanot, *abba* ↗Niqolawos etc. – rushed to K. for an explanation, and he said: "The faith is: by union He stays the Only Son and by unction He became Christ (*bä-täwaḥədo wäld waḥd, wä-bä-qəbaʾt konä mäsiḥa*)" (BassÉt II, 387f.; DombrChr 268; BégCron 102). The supporters of *Täwaḥədo* considered these words as a verdict in their favour and on 19 April 1721 held a triumphant procession singing songs and praising their victory "over (the) infidels". There were even celebrations at the residence of the *əčč̣äge* in Gondär. Such rejoicing infuriated Dawit, and at his command his Oromo ↗Ǧawe guards pillaged the residence of the *əčč̣äge* and massacred many monks. Dawit then ordered K. to the top of the tower called the *ʿawaǧ mängärya* to proclaim the *Qəbat* doctrine: "By unction [He is] in his essence Son [of God] (*bäqəbʾat wäldä baḥrəy*)" (BassÉt II, 389; DombrChr 269; BégCron 103). This was considered a triumph for the *Qəbat* party, for which K. later (in January 1726) had to vindicate himself before the monks of ↗Waldəbba (GuiIohan 330f.).

This particular case is characteristic of the types of situation in which K. found himself throughout his sojourn in Ethiopia. He was in tenure during the last part of the reign of Dawit III and throughout the reign of *aṣe* ↗Bäkaffa, to whom a document mentioning K. should be most probably referred: Manchester, John Rylands University Library, Eth. Ms. 28, fol. 1 (Fiaccadori in MiscAethKur, 63ff. and n. 10). K. remained a prominent figure both at the court and in the Church, enjoying all outward signs of respect due to his title. Politically, however, he remained impotent and was used rather freely by the ruling powers for their own ends. The Long Chronicle of *aṣe* ↗Iyasu II states that in January 1733, when a rebellious warlord, ↗Tänśe Mammo, besieged the palace complex in Gondär to dethrone Iyasu II and his mother, *ətege* Məntəwwab (↗Bərhan Mogäsa), he captured K. and the *əčč̣äge* Täklä Haymanot and ordered them to excommunicate the Emperor, his mother and all their warriors: they complied. Tänśe Mammo was later defeated, captured and hanged. The *əčč̣äge* and K. were then put on trial but pardoned (GuiIyas 80). The Short Chronicles, on the contrary, picture the metropolitan trying, together with others religious prelates, to bring peace or even fighting against the rebels (Kropp 1982:166f., 184).

In April 1733 *abuna* K. blessed the *tabot* of ↗Däbrä Śaḥay Qʷəsqʷam church, to be placed in a temporary church. The construction of Qʷəsqʷam's buildings then began (GuiIyas 96f).

The Chronicle states that K. died on 9 *Nähasé* 7227 [13 August 1735 A.D.] and was buried at Däbrä Śaḥay Qʷəsqʷam (GuiIyas 88). He was succeeded by ↗Yoḥannəs III in November 1744.

Src.: BassÉt II, 329, 387f.; BegCron 101f., 105, 114; CrumLand 167; DombrChr 267ff., 271f., 275, 281, 295, 306; GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, "Un atto «feudale» del neguś Bakâffâ (1721–30). John Rylands University Library, Eth. Ms. 28, f. 1", in: *MiscAethKur* 63–69, here 63ff. and n. 1 (Lit.); GuiIohan 308 (text) = 330 (tr.); GuiIyas 73, 80, 88, 96f, 126; MANFRED KROPP, "Zur 'Kurzen Chronik' der äthiopischen Könige: 2. Die Rebellion des Tanse Mammo", *OrChr* 66, 1982, 144–88.

Lit.: CLAIRE BOSC-TIESSÉ, *Art, Église et royauté en Éthiopie aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles: écriture de l'histoire et 'fabrique des images' dans les églises du lac Ṭānā*, Ph.D. thesis, Université de Paris-1 2001, 236f.; MHAlex II, 4, 117–25, 127–33; TedEthPrel II, 1028; ANAÏS WION, "Why did King Fasilädäs kill his Brother? Sharing Power in the Royal Family in Mid-Seventeenth Century Ethiopia", *Journal of Early Modern History* 8, 3–4, 2004, 259–93, here 270 and n. 42.

Sevir Chernetsov

Krəstos Bezanä

K.B. (ክርስቶስ፡ ቤዛነ) was a 14th-cent. saint from ↗Däbrä Täʾamina in Tämben (Təgray). A manuscript of his unpublished ↗*Gädl* is reportedly kept in that monastery (KinBibl no. 87).

Abba Krəstos Bezanä; wall-painting, 20th cent., the church of St. Mary, Däbrä Täʾamina, Qʷälla Tämben; photo 2002, courtesy of Michael Gervers

K.B. was a disciple of ↗Mädḫaninä Ǝgziʾ and a contemporary of ↗Tadewos of Däbrä Bartarwa, in whose Acts K.B. is mentioned as visiting him immediately after the latter was martyred, when robbers set fire to the church of his monastery where he was sheltering with two disciples. K.B. went to Däbrä Bartarwa together with other monks of Däbrä Täʾamina when they were informed of those events by a certain Gäbrä Waḥəd. The Acts describe how Tadewos rose from the dead to respond to K.B.'s lamentations, and blessed him seven times before resting again. K.B. then wrapped Tadewos's corpse and took it with him back to Däbrä Täʾamina (§ 59f., ed. De Santis 1942:40f.).

Src.: CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Il Gadla Filpos e il Gadla Yoḥannes di Dabra Bizan", *RRALm* ser. 5ª, 8, 1901, 61–170, here 156; RICCARDO DE SANTIS, "Il Gadla Tādēwos di Dabra Bārtārwā, un contributo allo studio della letteratura agiografica etiopica", *Annali Lateranensi* 6, 1942, 1–116, here 40f. (text) = 90f. (tr.); KinBibl 79, no. 87.

Lit.: OSVALDO RAINERI, "Krestos Bezana", in: *EncSan* vol. 2, 292.

Osvaldo Raineri

Krəstos Śämra

K.Ś. (ክርስቶስ፡ ሥምራ; fl. 14th/15th cent.) is an Ethiopian female ↗saint. According to her Acts, the main source on her life (Cerulli 1956), she was a native of Šäwa; her parents were the pious Ǝleni and the wealthy Därgʷäni. They married K.Ś. to Śämrä Giyorgis, a son of *qes aṣe* Iyäsus Moʾa (cp. ↗*näfs abbat*), from the "clan of ᶜƎṣa Särgʷa": K.Ś. bore him eight sons and two daughters. Her future spiritual profession was symbolically foretold when one day the Archangel Michael appeared to her offering three loaves of "heavenly bread"; after eating them she no longer had need for food (Cerulli 1956:11).

Once K.Ś. became so upset at a mischievious maid that she pushed burning coals down the maid's throat, killing her. Repenting, K.Ś. vowed to God to leave the worldly life if he would resurrect the maid. The latter rose from the dead, and K.Ś. went to ↗Däbrä Libanos of Šäwa. Since no male was allowed into the nunnery, she left her child on the road (by chance, he was saved by a nun who took him into her hut, against monastic regulations).

The Acts do not tell explicitly how and why K.Ś. moved to the region of Lake ↗Ṭana. She spent 12 years praying in the water of the lake; she stayed

Krəstos Śämra saving souls from hell; wall-painting by Wägaḥta Kaśahun, 20th cent., church of Gäbrə'el Qänäf near Aksum; photo 2002, courtesy of Michael Gervers

at Narga (↗Narga Śəllase), ↗Ṭana Qirqos and other places, in solitary ascetic life. There she had numerous visions and saw "mysteries", conversing with Christ, St. Mary, angels and saints (cp. Raineri in EncSan vol. 1, 293). She settled on the isle of Gʷangut, where "the daughters of kings and officials" would soon come to "prostrate themselves beforethe soles of her feet", according to a prophecy she had received from the biblical patriarchs (Cerulli 1956:42f., 48). Yəsḥaq, a monk who came to K.Ś., built a church devoted to St. Michael (ibid. 49–52) and was in charge of introducing female novices into the monastic profession and celebrating the mass, whereas K.Ś. was the head of the new community. Later, K.Ś. withdrew for her last ascetic deed: three years of standing in a pit, surrounded by 12 iron "thorns" (similar to the last ascetic deed of *abunä* ↗Täklä Haymanot), and three years of standing in Lake Ṭana. Thereafter, she received the ↗*kidan*. She died on 24 *Näḥase* and was buried on Gʷangut by Yəsḥaq.

The Acts of K.Ś. are a remarkable work of Ethiopian ↗hagiography. The text lacks the proper narrative structure but represents a rare example of a ↗*gädl* composed mostly of descriptions of the saint's visionary experiences and revelations, told in the first person. The Acts contain a number of interesting accounts, e.g., a story about the "wings" of K.Ś.; how K.Ś. asked God to forgive Satan; a story of Yəsḥaq's life; a story about the "pest army"; a reference to the early usage of devotional images (Heldman 1994:170f.), etc. Particularly striking is the image of K.Ś. as a "repenting sinner", a rare (though not unique) case in Ethiopian tradition.

The Acts of K.Ś. were edited from two recent witnesses (Cerulli 1956:1ff.); the existence of a few others manuscripts has been reported. A text contained in ms. Oxford, Aeth. e. 4 (fols. 83r–90v, preceded by the Acts of K.Ś.) presents the life of K.Ś. briefly, but in a coherent, narrative way, with fewer "revelations" and miraculous accounts (s. Cerulli 1956:71–77). Being similar to the genre of the commemorative notice proper to the ↗*Sənkəssar* (where K.Ś. is not mentioned), this text is clearer on such points as, e.g., K.Ś.'s stay at Däbrä Libanos and her move to Gʷangut (ibid. 75); in fact, it might have been the basis of the lengthy Acts of K.Ś. (Cerulli 1956:1-61).

All colophons of the Acts (ibid. 60, 69f., 76) mention a certain Filəppos, a "son of Täklä Haymanot" as the author, who would have been inspired by K.Ś. herself; in one of them she is said to have informed him about her life during the time of "Dawit II" (ibid. 60), which may be a reference to *aṣe* ↗Dawit II or to ↗Bä'ədä Maryam I, also called Dawit II in certain traditions (Fiaccadori 1994:94f., n. 37); the identification with *aṣe* ↗Ləbnä Dəngəl (Cerulli 1956:1) is less likely. At the same time, the colophon in ms. Aeth. c. 4 says that K.Ś. died in the time of Gäbrä Mäsqäl (maybe *aṣe* ↗ʿAmdä Ṣəyon I or ↗Yəsḥaq; ibid. 69).

The presence of an old nunnery at Gʷangut is attested in the Acts of ↗Yafqərännä Ǝgzi', but it seems that the place was of limited importance. Surprisingly, the isle of which the Acts of K.Ś. explicitly speaks is not known today (cp. Cerulli 1956:v and n. 13; Ullendorff 2958:180). A small ↗*gädam* called K.Ś. is located on the shore of the lake, opposite to the island of Č̣əqla Mänzo. Despite the local tradition, which traces the foundation of the monastery directly to K.Ś. (Bosc-Tiessé 2000:222f.), it can be linked to *aṣe* ↗Iyasu I who built a stone mansion at Č̣əqla Mänzo (An-

nequin 1975:91f.), and possibly (re)established or transferred K.Ś.'s foundation from the island. In any case, the small monastic library of K.Ś. possesses a few old manuscripts (e.g., a precious early 15th-cent. Pentateuch, ibid.; Fiaccadori 1994:83 [EMML 8517, Bosc-Tiessé 2000:223f.]), at least one of which certainly comes from Gʷangut (15th-cent. Gospel book, EMML 8752, Bosc-Tiessé 2000:224).

The revival and extension of K.Ś.'s veneration (up to ↗Däbrä Ḥayq Ǝsṭifanos, Təgray etc.) may have taken place during the late 19th/20th cent. She has been praised as one of the few Ethiopian female saints, although the modern interpretation of her life tends to level the dramatic points in her Acts (AmhChurchD vol. 5, 47f.; ms. EMML 5350, fols. 64ff.).

Src.: ENRICO CERULLI, *Atti di Krestos Samrā*, Louvain 1956 (CSCO 163, 164 [SAe 33, 34]); EMML mfs. 5350, 8517, 8752 [not catalogued]; EDWARD ULLENDORFF, *Catalogue of Ethiopian Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library*, vol. 2, Oxford 1951, 18f., no. 78 [Aeth. e. 4]; ISAAK WAJNBERG, *Das Leben des Hl. Jāfqerana ʾEgzīʾ*, Roma 1936 (OrChrA 106), 27f.

Lit.: AmhChurchD vol.5, 47f.; GUI ANNEQUIN, "La lac Tana et ses îles", *Les dossiers de l'archéologie* [*Decouverte de l'Éthiopie chretienne*], 8, Janvier–Février 1975, 80–115; CLAIRE BOSC-TIESSÉ, "L'histoire et l'art des églises du lac Ṭana", *AE* 16, 2000, 207–70, here 221 (map), 222–25; GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, "Prototipi miniati dell'Ottateuco etiopico", *Bollettino del Museo Bodoniano di Parma* 8, 1994 [1995], 69–102, here 77 and n. 37 (95f.), 88 (Lit.); HamTana I, 49; MARILYN HELDMAN, *The Marian Icons of the Painter Frē Ṣeyon. A Study in Fifteenth-Century Ethiopian Art, Patronage and Spirituality*, Wiesbaden 1994 (Orientalia biblica et christiana 6), 170f.; FRIEDRICH HEYER, *Die Heiligen der äthiopischen Erde*, Erlangen 1998 (Oikonomia 37), 117ff.; KEFYALEW MERAHI, *Saints and Monasteries in Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 2001, 81–84; KinBibl 79, no. 88; RUDOLF KRISS – HUBERT KRISS-HEINRICH, *Volkskundliche Anteile in Kult und Legende äthiopischer Heiliger*, Wiesbaden 1975, 89–95; OSVALDO RAINERI, "Krestos Śamrā", in: *EncSan* vol. 1, 292–94 (Lit.); EDWARD ULLENDORFF, [Review of Cerulli 1956], *BSOAS* 21, 1, 1958, 179f.

Denis Nosnitsin

Kuᶜbar

K. (كعبر [also vocalized as Kaᶜbar], or Kaᶜban, Kufar etc.) appears as the name of the Ethiopian ruler's residence in the works of several medieval Arab authors. It is first mentioned by the 10th-cent. historian and geographer al-↗Yaᶜqūbī, who located it "near the harbour" of ↗Dahlak. Also al-↗Masᶜūdī refers to K. in his *Murūǧ aḏ-ḏahab* (vol. 3, 34, ll.3f.; ed. Pellat, vol. 2, 127, ll.14f. = § 877, French tr. Pellat, vol. 2, 331), yet without indicating that he drew on al-Yaᶜqūbī; he describes K. as a "huge city" and "residence of the ↗Nağāšī" (*madīna ᶜaẓīma wa-hiya dār mamlakat an-Nağāšī*). In a similar context, in his *Aḫbār az-zamān*, the same al-Masᶜūdī calls the Ethiopian capital Kafar or Kufar. In Arabic works of the 13th–14th cent. K. is mentioned quite often, e.g., by ↗Ibn Ḫaldūn in his *ᶜIbar* (*Taʾrīḫ al-ᶜallāma ...*, vol. 6, 411, l.2 [with reference to ↗Ibn Saᶜīd al-Maġribī] = Cuoq 1975:340).

Because of variations in the form of the name and the lack of localizing data, hypotheses about both the name itself and its geographical situation vary to a considerable extent. An early proposal of conti Rossini (1895:341, n. 2) to identify K. with the modern ↗Ankobär has to be discarded on factual, chronological and linguistic grounds, just as Littmann's suggestion (1915:264) to match K. with ↗Gondär. Later, conti Rossini preferred the idea (1906:51; CRList 263f.) that K. might be a corrupted spelling of ↗Aksum, where the ↗coronations took place. This explanation seems more plausible, and has been subsequently favoured by Guidi, Trimingham, Beckingham, Wagner and Kropp. Taddesse Tamrat and Baum, on the other hand, opted for locating K. in southern ↗Təgray or in ↗Angot. Lastly, connecting K. with Gəᶜəz *kəbur* ('glorious', DillmLex 846), Godet (in PICES 9, vol. 6, 56) concluded that K. was an epithet of the king's residence.

Src.: (Arab.) AḤMAD B. ABĪ YAᶜQŪB IBN ǦAᶜFAR AL-YAᶜQŪBĪ, *Taʾrīḫ*, ed. by MARTIN THEODOR HOUTSMA, *Ibn Wadih qui dicitur al-Ja'qubi historiae*, vol. 1, Lugduni Batavorun 1883, 219; ᶜALĪ B. AL-ḤUSAIN al-MASᶜŪDĪ, *Murūǧ aḏ-ḏahab wa-maᶜādin al-ǧawhar*, ed. by CHARLES BARBIER DE MEYNARD – ADRIEN PAVET DE COURTEILLE, vol. 3, Paris 1876, 34 [= ed. by CHARLES PELLAT, vol. 2, Beirut 1966, 127, § 877 and vol. 7, Beirut 1979, 597, index; tr. by CHARLES PELLAT, vol. 2, Paris 1967, 231, § 877]; ID., *Aḫbār az-zamān wa-man abādahū l-ḥidṯān wa-ᶜaǧāʾib al-buldān wa-l-ǧamir bi-l-māʾ wa-l-ᶜumrān*, ed. by ᶜABDALḤAMĪD AḤMAD ḤANAFĪ, Cairo 1357 H. [1938 A.D.], 67 l. 12; ᶜABDARRAḤMĀN IBN ḪALDŪN, *Taʾrīḫ al-ᶜallāma Ibn Ḫaldūn, Kitāb al-ᶜIbar wa-Dīwān al-mubataḍaʾ wal-ḫabar fī ayyām al-ᶜArab wal-ᶜAǧam wal-Barbar wa-man ᶜāṣarahum min ḏawī s-sulṭān al-akbar*, vol. 6, Beirut 1960, 411 [= tr. by MAC GUCKIN DE SLANE, *Ibn Khaldoun, Histoire des Berbères et des dynasties musulmanes de l'Afrique Septentrionale*, vol. 2, Paris 1969, 107]; JOSEPH M. CUOQ (ed., tr.), *Recueil des sources arabes concernant l'Afrique Occidentale du VIIIe au XVIe siècle (Bilād al-Sūdān)*, Paris 1975, 51 n. 6, 340.

Lit.: WILHELM BAUM, *Äthiopien und der Westen im Mittelalter ...*, Klagenfurt 2001 (Einführungen in das orientalische Christentum 2), 94f., 97f.; CHARLES FRASER BECKINGHAM, "al-Ḥabash in Muslim Geographical Works", in: *EI²* vol. 3, 6–7; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Appunti ed osservazioni sui re Zāguē e Tāklā Hāymānot. I.", *RRALm* ser. 5ª, 4, 1895, 341–59, here 341, n. 2; ID., "Sugli Ḥabašāt",

ibid., 15, 1906, 39–59, here 51; CRList 263, n. 1; ERIC GODET, "Tableaux chronologiques relatifs à la fin de l'epoque Axoumite et à la période des Zagwés", in: *PICES* 9, vol. 6, 22–57, here 56; IGNAZIO GUIDI, "Abyssinien", in: *EI*[1] vol. 1, 126–28, here 126b; MANFRED KROPP, "La Corne Orientale de l' Afrique chez les géographes arabes", *Bulletin des études africaines de l'INALCO* 9, 17–18, 1992, 161–97, here 174, 193, n. 33; ENNO LITTMANN, [review of Marquart 1913], *Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie* 22, 1915, 258–67, here 264; TrIslam 51 n. 1; JOSEPH MARQUART, *Die Benin-Sammlung des Reichsmuseums für Völkerkunde in Leiden ...*, Leiden 1913 (Veröffentlichungen des Reichsmuseums für Völkerkunde in Leiden, ser. 2, 7), LXXIV, n. 7, CCXCIII, CCCIV, CCCXII; TADDESSE TAMRAT, "The Abbots of Däbrä-Hayq 1248–1535", *JES* 8, 1, 1970, 87–117, here 88, n. 7; TadTChurch 37; EWALD WAGNER, "Yaᶜqūbī", in: *DicEthBio* 179.

Franz-Christoph Muth

Kučo ↗Kullo

Kufale: Mäṣḥafä Kufale ↗Jubilees, book of

Kufit, battle of

On 23 September 1885 a decisive battle between a Mahdīya force (↗Mahdists) and an Ethiopian army took place at K., half way between Asmära and ↗Kassala (for location s. Kunama). The commander (*amīr*) of the Mahdīya in north-eastern Sudan, ↗ᶜUṯmān b. Abī Bakr Diqna, had laid siege to the Egyptian garrison of Kassala, which the Ethiopians under the 1884 ↗Hewett Treaty were committed to rescue (cp. ↗Egyptian–Ethiopian war, 1875–84). The Mahdists also spread their influence among various Eritrean tribes in the Sudanese–Eritrean lowlands as ᶜUṯmān Diqna aimed at controlling the route down to the Red Sea and ↗Massawa.

Ras ↗Alula Ǝngəda, who in late 1884 began building his administration in the ↗Märäb Məllaš around his new capital of Asmära, was expected by *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV to march on Kassala. However, in February 1885 the Italians, to the Ethiopians' surprise, landed in Massawa and were preparing to encroach inland. While Alula was wavering where to turn, the British did their best to divert him away from the Italians into fighting the Mahdists and relieving the Egyptians. Though in August the garrison in Kassala surrendered, *ras* Alula Ǝngəda was not informed. Meanwhile he was already exchanging provocative messages with the Mahdists and ᶜUṯmān Diqna. The latter was ordered by the Mahdist *ḫalīfa* ᶜAbdullahi at-Taᶜāᵓišī to "leave the Ethiopians" and turn elsewhere, but the written message arrived too late. On 23 September ᶜUṯmān Diqna's force (reports ran between 6,000 to 12,000) took up position at K. and was attacked by *ras* Alula's army of 10,000 to 25,000. Alula's lieutenant *blatta* Gäbru was killed in the first assault. When Alula arrived, he outflanked the Mahdists and forced them to leave their fortifications and storm his main force. The day ended with some 1,500 Ethiopians dead, including most of Alula's commanders. The Mahdists were slaughtered, estimates ran between 3,000 to 5,500 killed. ᶜUṯmān Diqna himself escaped but Alula, his men exhausted, did not advance on Kassala. Instead he decided to ensure only the loyalty of the tribes of western Eritrea and returned triumphantly to Asmära. He would return to that area a year later, resorting to atrocities against the ↗Nara and the ↗Kunama in order to maintain this buffer zone.

The battle of K. was an Ethiopian success in stemming the Mahdist drive into Eritrea. Its drawback was, however, that *ras* Alula's attention was diverted to the west, allowing the Italians to solidify their hold in and from Massawa. The Mahdist defeat in K. was also a major cause for the *ḫalīfa*'s decision of late 1885 (or early 1886) to declare a holy war (↗*ǧihād*) against Ethiopia, a step that would eventually lead to Yoḥannəs's demise and to Ethiopia's loss of ↗Eritrea to the Italians.

Lit.: ISMĀᶜĪL B. ᶜABDALQĀDIR AL-KURDUFĀNĪ, *Aṭ-ṭirāz al-manqūš bi-bušra qatl Yuḥanā malik al-Ḥubūš* ('The Coloured Brocade in the News of Killing of Yoḥannəs, King of Abyssinians'), ed. by MUḤAMMAD IBRĀHĪM ABŪ SALĪM – MUḤAMMAD SAᶜĪD AL-QADDĀL, Beirut 1991, 57; ErlEth; ErlAlula², ch. 7; CARLO GIGLIO (ed.), *Etiopia/Mar Rosso*, 5: *Documenti* (*1885–1886*), Roma 1966 (L'Italia in Africa, Serie Storica 1); HENRY CECIL JACKSON, *Osman Digna*, London 1926; TÄKLÄ ṢADƎQ MAKᵂƎRIYA, **አጼ፡ ዮሐንስ፡ እና፡ የኢትዮጵያ፡ አንድነት** (*Aṣe Yoḥannəs ənna yäᵓityopya andənnät*, 'Aṣe Yoḥannəs and Ethiopian Unity'), Addis Abäba 1989 A.M. [1996/97 A.D.]; NAᶜŪM ŠUQAYR, *Taᵓrīḫ as-Sūdān al-qadīm wal-ḥadīṯ* ('Ancient and Modern History of Sudan'), Cairo 1903 (ed. by MUḤAMMAD IBRĀHĪM ABŪ SALĪM, Beirut 1981); MUḤAMMAD SAᶜĪD AL-QADDĀL, *Al-Mahdīya wal-Ḥabaša: dirāsa fī as-siyāsa ad-dāḫilīya wal-ḫāriǧīya li-dawla Mahdīya, 1881–1898* ('Mahdīya and Abyssinia: a Study in Internal and Foreign Policy of Mahdist State'), Khartoum 1973; AUGUSTUS BLANDY WYLDE, *Modern Abyssinia*, London 1900; ZewYohan.

Haggai Erlich

Kugler, Christian

K. (b. 6 October 1801, Schopfloch, Württemberg, d. 29 December 1830, ᶜAdwa) was an ordained Protestant missionary. He was trained in the mission seminary of Basle and later in England and Malta in Bible work, oriental languages and medicine. After Peter ↗Heyling he became

one of the first pioneers of Protestant Bible work in Ethiopia. With his friend Samuel ↗Gobat, K. was sent to Ethiopia by the ↗Church Missionary Society. Both actively practised great respect towards other Churches and religions, which opened them many doors.

In the beginning, in 1826, K. and Gobat rescued Ethiopian envoys stranded in Cairo and also nursed the sick. They helped the envoys to succeed in their diplomatic mission to ↗Muḥammad ᶜAlī *bāšā*. At this time it had been virtually impossible for Europeans to reach Ethiopia, but *däğğazmač* ↗Säbagadis Wäldu, ruler of the northern part of the country, encouraged by Muḥammad ᶜAlī, invited both to come in 1829.

Already in Egypt and Jerusalem, K. and Gobat had an excellent relationship with Ethiopians whom they considered as exemplary Christians. The Gospels they distributed – newly translated into Amharic (cp. ↗Bible translations, modern) – proved to be an essential tool for the progress of their mission. For his hosts K. started a Bible translation in Təgrəñña, which was not finalized, however. K.'s life ended tragically after a hunting accident. He had taken with him his fellow-countryman, the carpenter Aichinger. This craftsman made the mission popular through his skill in house building, especially in ᶜAddigrat, where he constructed the Ṣärqos church for Säbagadis.

K.'s and Gobat's mission opened the way for the distribution of many later editions of the Amharic Bible and especially, starting from the 1850s, for some of the missionaries from the ↗St. Chrischona-Pilgermission (cp. ↗Wäldä Śəllase Kənfu).

Lit.: SAMUEL GOBAT, *Bischof in Jerusalem*, Basel 1884; ArEvang; CrumMis.

Wilfred Heintze-Flad

Kuhi

K. (Kuki) is an archaeological site area located approximately 5 km south of ↗Aksum in Təgray. ↗Aksumite-culture-period artefacts including pottery, architectural remains, and stelae have been documented in the K. area. Results from regional archaeological survey directed by Michels in 1974 suggest that the K. area may have contained a large town settlement (over 11 ha in size) during the Aksumite culture period.

Lit.: RODOLFO FATTOVICH et al., *The Aksum Archaeological Area: A Preliminary Assessment*, Napoli 2000, 64; ERIC GODET, "Répertoire des sites pré-Axoumites et Axoumites du Tigre, Ethiopie", *Abbay* 8, 1977, 19–58, here 49; JOSEPH W. MICHELS, "Regional Political Organization in the Axum-Yeha Area during the Pre-Axumite and Axumite Eras", in: *PICES* 10, vol. 1, 61–80, here 78.

Matthew Curtis

Kullo

K. (self-name: Dawro) is a member of the North ↗Ometo branch of the ↗Omotic language family. It is spoken by the ↗Dawro people in southwest Ethiopia (number of speakers ca. 313,000 in 1994). Dialect variation, e.g., in ↗Kullo Konta and Waka areas, is reported but the exact differences are not well-documented (s. Dawro).

The consonant segments of K. are: plosives: *b*, *t*, *d*, *k*, *g*, *ʾ*; implosives: (*ɓ*), *ɗ*; fricatives: *f*, *s*, *z*, *š*, *ž*, *h*; ejectives: *ṣ*, *č̣*, *q*; affricates: *ʦ*, *č*, *ǧ*; nasals: *m*, *n*; approximants: *w*, *l*, *r*, *y*.

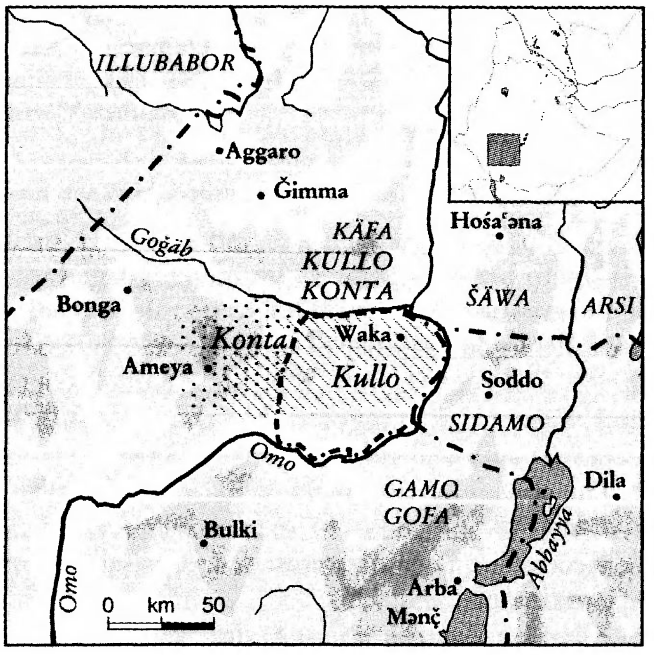
Allan (in BendNonSLang) doubts the phonemic status of *ɓ*. He also reports the velar implosive *g* and ejective affricate *ʦ̣* (instead of ejective fricative *ṣ*) but these are not attested in our data and in other unpublished manuscripts (e.g. M.A. theses and a study by Hirut Woldemariam).

Vowels are: *i*, *e*, *a*, *o*, *u*. Vowel length and gemination of consonants are contrastive. According to Allan (in BendNonSLang 328), pitch in K. is mostly predictable and non-contrastive, although he provides a few minimal pairs that are distinguished solely on the basis of pitch.

Nouns and adjectives end in one of the lexically determined terminal vowels: *i*, *e*, *o*, or *a*. These vowels are often deleted when a suffix is added. K. uses only suffixes for inflection and derivation.

Gender distinction in nouns is sex-based and is realized through portmanteau morphemes indicating case. Inanimate nouns have the same case and verbal subject-agreement marking as masculine singular nouns. Definiteness is overtly marked only on feminine nouns by *-tt-*; definite masculine is unmarked. The K. noun has nominative (Nom.), accusative (Acc.), dative (Dat.), directional (Dir.), ablative (Abl.), instrumental (Inst.), and (general) locative (Loc.) cases. The endings are: Nom: *-í/y* or *ú* for sg. masc. and pl., *-á* for sg. fem.; Acc. (marked only in definite nouns): *-á* for sg. masc. and pl., *-ó* for sg. fem.; Dat.: *-u/w*; Dir. *-kko*; Abl.: *-appe*; Inst./Loc.: *-n* (the last four cases being invariable for gender).

Number is distinguished by marking the plural with *-at*; singular is unmarked, e.g. 'guest' *ʾimattá* (sg.) vs. *ʾimatt-at-ó* (pl.); 'short' *qántsa* (sg.) vs. *qánʦ-at-o* (pl.).



Examples of the gender/case/number distinction: *na'á-y kaná déčč'eédda* 'The boy [Nom. masc.] hit a dog [Acc. indef.]'; *naa-tt-á kana-tt-ó déčč'aáddu* 'The girl [Nom. fem. def.] hit the dog [Acc. fem. def.]'; *kap-ú paalleédda* 'The bird [Nom. masc.] flew'; *kap-at-ú paalleédden* 'The birds [Nom. pl.] flew'; *bitán-í dorsá-a šammeédda* 'The man [Nom. masc.] bought the sheep [Acc. masc. def.]'. For locative cases cp.: *kana* 'dog' vs. *kana-w* 'for/to the dog'; *'álga* 'bed' vs. *'álga-kko* 'towards the bed'; *goll-íya* 'the house [Acc.]' vs. *goll-íya-áppe* 'from the house'; *goloodó* 'knife' vs. *goloodó-n* 'with a knife'; *'álga* 'bed' vs. *'alga-n* 'on/in bed'. Besides these, independent forms, e.g. *giddó* 'inside', *garsá* 'interior', *bollá* 'body/on/above' are used to express locational relations.

The personal pronouns are:

Pers.		Subject	Object	Dat.	Possessive
sg. 1st		*taání*	*taána*	*taás*	*ta*
2nd		*neéní*	*neéna*	*neéss*	*ne*
3rd	masc.	*'í*	*'á*	*'aáw*	*'aa*
3rd	fem.	*'ízá*	*'ízó*	*'iíw*	*'ii*
pl. 1st		*nuúní*	*nuúna*	*nuúss*	*nu*
2nd		*hintentú*	*hintentu*	*hintentass*	*hintentu*
3rd		*'untuntú*	*'untuntá*	*'untúss*	*'untuntu*

In nominalized possessive clauses, the gender and number of the possessed NP is distinguished as in *dorséy tawá* 'The sheep [masc.] is mine' – *dorsattá tawunnó* 'The sheep [fem.] is mine' – *dorsatú tawuntá* 'The sheep [pl.] are mine'.

The demonstratives are *háa* ('this') and *yée* ('that'). As modifiers, they are not marked for gender or number, but in nominal function they inflect for gender, number, and case of the noun they represent. Example: *háa dorsa* 'this sheep [masc.]' – *háa dorsáttó* 'this sheep [fem.]' etc. but *hawé* 'this one [Nom. masc.]', *hawá* 'this one [Acc. masc.]', *hanná* 'this one [Nom. fem.]', *hannó* 'this one [Acc. fem.]', *hawantú* 'these ones [Nom. pl.]'; *hawantá* 'these ones [Acc. pl.]'.

Numeral and adjective modifiers are not marked for gender or case. A kind of connecting vowel (CONN), namely *u*, replaces the final vowel of the numeral when the latter modifies a noun, e.g. *laa'á* 'two' vs. *laa'u kutatu* 'two chickens'. In data available, a noun modified by a numeral occurs in the plural form (as in above example, cp. *kuta* 'chicken').

Question words include: *'oóní* 'who', *'oóna* 'whom', *'ay* 'what', *'awdé* 'when', *wooóta* 'how' and *'aáppuno* 'how much'.

K. distinguishes perfective (PFV) and imperfective verbal paradigms for affirmative, interrogative and negative clauses. It also has an invariable future tense marked by *-aná*. For example, the perfective declarative-affirmative form of *'oočč-* 'visit/ask', is *'oočč-aáddi* 'I visited', *'oočč-aádda* 'you [sg.] visited', *'oočč-aáddu* 'she visited', *'oočč-eédda* 'he visited', *'oočč-eéddo* 'we visited', *'oočč-eéddita* 'you [pl.] visited', *'oočč-eéddino* 'they visited'. Examples of the negative perfective of *b-* 'go': *b-ábíkke* 'I did not go', *b-ábeíkka* 'you [sg.] did not go', *b-íbeénna* 'he did not go', *b-ábeékku* 'she did not go', *b-íbeékko* 'we did not go', *b-íbeékketa* 'you [pl.] did not go', *b-íbeékkino* 'they did not go'. Examples of the imperfective interrogative: *b-eénne* 'doesn't he go?', *b-eékke* 'doesn't she go?', *b-oókko* 'don't we go?'.

Singular and plural positive imperatives are marked by *-á* and *-ite* respectively: *pítt-á* 'sweep [2nd pers. sg.]!', *pítt-ite* 'sweep [2nd pers. pl.]!'. The optative/hortative is marked by *-ú* (fem.) and *-ó* (sg. masc., pl.): *pítt-ú* 'let her sweep!', *pítt-ó* 'let him sweep!' Examples of negative imperative: *pítt-óppa* 'do not sweep [2nd pers. sg.]!', *pítt-óppite* 'do not sweep [2nd pers. pl.]!'; negative optative: *pítt-úppú* 'let her not sweep', *pítt-óppó* 'let him/them not sweep'.

Among the numerous morphological categories used in dependent clauses, the converb (CNV) is special in that it is represented by a distinct paradigm indicating the subject of the dependent clause.

Verbal extension markers such as the passive *-ett-*, causative *-is-* and intensive *-eret-* occur

before the tense/aspect markers, e.g., *šoč-* 'beat' – *šoč-is-aáddi* 'I got someone beaten' – *šoč-étt-aáddi* 'I was beaten'.

K. has basic Subject-Object-Verb order. In noun phrases, modifier-head order is the most frequent but the reverse order is also attested. Dependent clauses precede main clauses.

naʾá-y	*ʾiččáš-u*	*míy-at-úwa*	*digg-ídí*
child-M:NOM	five-CONN	cow-PL-ACC	herd-CNV
haatsá	*ʾušš-ídí*	*maatá*	*buúçç-ídí*
water:ABS	drink:CAUS-CNV	grass:ABS	mow-CNV
ketsáa	*gel-is-eédda*		
house:LOC	enter-CAUS-3MS:PFV		

'The boy herd five cows, he gave them water and collected grass for them and brought them home'

The ten-word list is as follows: *ʾittó* 'one', *laaʾá* 'two', *heezzá* 'three', *tamá* 'fire', *haatsá* 'water', *ʾawá ʾípátto* 'sun', *ʾagína* 'moon', *suútsa* 'blood', *ʾinṣársa* 'tongue', *ʾaččá* 'tooth'.

Src.: CSA 1996; HIRUT WOLDEMARIAM, *A Preliminary Linguistic Description of Dawuro*, unpublished ms., Addis Ababa 1999; GROVER HUDSON, "Linguistic Analysis of the 1994 Ethiopia Census", *NEASt* 6, 3, 1999, 89–107, here 92.
Lit.: EDWARD J. ALLAN, "Kullo", in: *BendNonSLang* 324–50; AZEB AMHA, "Verb Derivation in Ometo: the Case of Maale, Basketo, Kullo and Koorete", in: *PICES* 12, vol. 1, 1121–30; HIRUT WOLDEMARIAM, "Demonstratives in Dawuro", *AAP* 65, 2001, 157–67.

Azeb Amha

Kullo Konta

K.K. (ኩሎ፡ ኮንታ, sometimes simply "Kullo") is the name of a former administrative unit of the province of ↗Käfa in south-western Ethiopia; situated south of the ↗Goğäb river, south and south-east of the territory of the former Käfa kingdom. Its name is a combination of two ethnolinguistic designations. ↗Kullo (also K^{w}illo, K^{w}ello) is a derogatory term for the Omotic-speaking ↗Dawro in the eastern part of the area, in a neutral sense still used by linguists. ↗Konta is the name of an Omotic-speaking group west of Dawro country. In some sources Kullo and Konta are mentioned together with a "kingdom" of Koyša, which is actually the lowland area of Konta towards the Omo river, which was separated from the Konta kingdom in 1837 (s. Haberland 1981:743, map: 744).

The area of K.K. is historically deeply linked to the kingdoms of Käfa and ↗Wälaytta as well as to the small kingdom of Kuča with which it shares most of its historical experience. The people of Konta were vassals of the king of Käfa from 1600. The country of Kullo became dependent to the ↗Wälaytta Malla dynasty until it was able, for a short period, re-establish its independence under the leadership of Mahedo in the early 18th cent. From the early 19th cent. the Dawro and Konta were tributary to the kingdom of Käfa (BeckHuntAlm lxvif.).

The region was conquered by the forces of *däğğazmač* (later *ras*) ↗Wäldä Giyorgis Abboyye between 1889 and 1893, who was then appointed the first governor. The Dawro under their *kawo* Ganza rebelled in 1896 but were defeated one year later. The area served as a concentration area for Wäldä Giyorgis's troops on their way to conquer Käfa in the same year. Groups of "Kullo" (i.e. Dawro) then joined the army of Wäldä Giyorgis as irregular troops.

After *ras* Wäldä Giyorgis was dismissed by *ləğ* Iyasu, the new governor of Käfa, *däğğazmač* (later *ras*) ↗Bərru Wäldä Gäbrəʾel, gave K.K. to *däğğazmač* Wäldä Kätäma. On the eve of the ↗Italian war (1935–36), K.K. was separated from Käfa; but after 1942 it was one of 32 "territories" to become a *wäräda* and later an *awrağğa* within the province of Käfa.

In 1964 K.K. *awrağğa* consisted of the eight *wärädas* (administrative centres): Čäta (later dissolved; Šoma), Tällo (later suspended; Waša), Toča (Toča), Wašaye (Wašaye), Loma (Loma, later Bale), Maräqa (Maräqa), Gänabossa (Gäna) and Illa (later Konta; Ameya). The *awrağğa* capital was the town of Waka (CSA 1964:196; CSA 1970:14). Today the area is part of North Omo Zone of Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples Regional State.

↗Administrative division

Src.: ZerEth 382f.; BeckHuntAlm LX, LXVIf.; ALEXANDER BULATOVICH, *Ethiopia through Russian Eyes: Country in Transition 1996–1898*, ed. tr. by RICHARD SELTZER, Asmara 2000, 193, 211, 219f., 228; CSA 1964, 196; CSA 1970, 14; GueCopMen 328, 360, 397, 461, n. 6, 7, 533.
Lit.: FRIEDRICH J. BIEBER, *Kaffa: Ein Altkuschitisches Volkstum in Inner-Afrika*, Münster in Westfalen – Wien 1920–23, 94–97, 101, 107f.; CerEt vol. 1, 191; EIKE HABERLAND, "Notes on the History of Konta: a Recent State Foundation in Southern Ethiopia", in: SOCIÉTÉ FRANÇAISE D'HISTOIRE D'OUTRE-MER, *Le sol, la parole et l'écrit. 2000 ans d'histoire africaine*, Paris 1981 (Bibliothèque d'histoire d'outre-mer, nouvelle ser. 5–6), vol. 2, 735–49; MARGERY PERHAM, *The Government of Ethiopia*, London 1948, map 1.

Dirk Bustorf

Kulmer, Friedrich Freiherr von

Louis Francis (Friedrich) Freiherr von K. (b. 15 April 1874, Vienna, d. 9 December 1908, Red

Sea) was a Hungarian Lieutenant in the Austro–Hungarian Army, from a Croatian noble family. After his education in Vienna and Graz he was sent as Kadett-Offiziersstellvertreter ('deputy officer') to the Divisions-Artillerie-Regiment 39 in Karlstadt in 1895. From 1902 on he worked as a teacher of French and drawing at the Artillerie-Kadettenschule in Vienna.

After a year of preparation, on 28 April 1907 K. embarked on a voyage to Ethiopia together with the businessman Louis Francis Kaden. Via Port Said, Aden, Djibouti and Dərre Dawa they reached the town of Harär a month later. From Harär they made some short journeys and hunting trips into the hinterland, which K. described in his journal. In autumn 1908 he left Harär and travelled via Dərre Dawa with a caravan and the German engineer Marquordt, General Mining Director of *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II, to Addis Abäba which he reached on 13 December 1907. In his journal he described in detail the living conditions in the city, the small foreign community, the court of Mənilək, the chances for Europeans to establish economic connections with the country and his short excursions into the environs of Addis Abäba.

In July 1908 Marquordt was accused of incorrect control of his work, imprisoned and expelled from Ethiopia. When Marquordt was arrested, his guest K. was mistreated by the palace guards and lost a part of his property. So he decided to leave the country. On 4 November 1908 K. started for Djibouti where he embarked. He died on board of the steamer during his voyage across the Red Sea of heart failure, caused by fever. His journal was published posthumously and describes the daily events of the journey with some interesting photographs, e.g. of Mənilək.

Src.: FRIEDRICH FREIHERR VON KULMER, *Im Reiche Kaiser Meneliks. Tagebuch einer Abessinischen Reise*, Leipzig 1910; Österreichisches Staatsarchiv/Kriegsarchiv, Qualificationsliste Kulmer 1905–1907.

Lit.: RUDOLF AGSTNER, "Vom k.u.k. Honorarkonsulat zur Österreichischen Botschaft. 100 Jahre österreichische Präsenz in Addis Abeba", *Römische Historische Mitteilungen* 46, 2004, 425.

Erich Korger

Kulub

K. (from English "club") was a nationalist movement in ↗Harär that began in the mid-1940s. Harari testimonies claim that following the Battle of ↗Čällänqo (1887) the Christian Emperor ↗Mənilək II signed an agreement guaranteeing the Muslim Harari religious freedom and limited self-government. In the decades that followed, these rights were gradually eroded until the Italians restored Harari prestige and the public respect for ↗Islam. After returning from exile in 1941, ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I failed to recognize fully the agreements made between the Italians and the Harari, so in the mid-1940s some Harari formed the *al-Ǧamᶜīya al-waṭanīya* ('The Nationalist League'). Popularly known as *Ǧamᶜīya* or *Waṭanī*, the group's primary goal was to persuade the Emperor to uphold the agreements made with his predecessors (Mənilək and the Italians). At about the same time, ca. 1946, the Somali Youth Club (SYC; later Somali Youth League = SYL), which was founded in 1943 to struggle for the unity and independence of all Somali, opened a branch office in Harär. Although initially there was no formal relationship between it and the *Ǧamᶜīya*, the two groups' politics were both somehow opposed to the central government. The SYC branch announced that a United Nations commission was travelling to Mogadishu to discuss the type of post-war administration the former Italian subjects would prefer. The Emperor had ignored the *Ǧamᶜīya*'s petitions, so a few Harari, hoping to increase pressure on Addis Abäba, joined the SYL delegation that was to meet with the U.N. This move apparently led Ethiopian security officials to associate the *Ǧamᶜīya* with the SYL, and the names of the Harari and Somali groups soon became synonymous. Most commonly they were referred to as K., a term that in Harari usage today usually means the Harari movement and the subsequent crackdown on it. Another sobriquet the groups received was *Hanolato*, from a Somali nationalist slogan in the ↗Ogaden: *Itoobiya ha dhinto, Somalia ha noolaato* ('Death to Ethiopia, long live Somalia').

For the Harari, the K. was primarily concerned with (re-)gaining previously promised rights, but from the government's perspective it was a seditious movement and a potential threat to national interests. At that time, while the Arab newspapers publicized the Christian-Muslim conflict in ↗Eritrea, and the British extended support to the SYL in the Ogaden, Ḫaylä Śəllase sought to obtain U.N. recognition of Ethiopian sovereignty over these two areas. On the other hand, he feared that domestic opposition activity might influence U.N. decision-makers to counteract his territorial ambitions.

In this context, the SYL's Islamic orientation and desire to remove the Ogaden from Ethiopian control made it politically dangerous. U.N. and British involvement compelled some Ethiopian restraint towards Somali nationalists (↗Somalia), but the Harari community was comparatively tiny and primarily considered a domestic concern. Therefore, when Ethiopian officials learned that the Harari had sent a delegation to meet with U.N. representatives, they reacted swiftly, closing the SYL and the *Ǧamᶜīya* offices, confiscating organizational and private properties, and arresting a significant number of Harari adult males. Many detainees were held for several months, and 81 prominent individuals remained in prison for a year and a half.

During interrogations, police asked the arrested men to identify: local leaders and their financial support, Harari grievances, and any ties the K./*Ǧamᶜīya* had with an earlier cultural group, the *Firmačč*, of whom Ethiopian officials knew little. The fact that the Harari were Muslims and allied with would-be Somali separatists only exacerbated the government crackdown.

Before the government's actions, residence in Harär was extremely important to the identity and ethnic unity of Harari society. Historically, when individuals left the town for travel, trade, or pilgrimage, they usually returned to live there. It was only after the state's oppression in 1948 that a significant number of ↗Harari people started to leave the town permanently. For this reason, the rise of the K./*Ǧamᶜīya* movement can be regarded as a highly significant 20th-cent. historical episode for the Harari people.

Src.: MAHDI M. SHUMBURO, *A Background Account to the Hannolatto Movement in Harär, and Reminiscences of its Aftermath (circa 1945–1960)*, ms., 1998.

Lit.: TIM CARMICHAEL, "Political Culture in Ethiopia's Provincial Administration: Haile Sellasse, Blata Ayele Gebre and the (Hareri) Kulub Movement of 1948", in: MELVIN E. PAGE et al. (eds.), *Personality and Political Culture in Modern Africa*, Boston, MA 1998; RAHJI ABDELLA, *The Kulub-Hannolatto Movement by the Harari, 1946–48*, Senior thesis, Addis Ababa University 1994; HAGGAI ERLICH, *Saudi Arabia and Ethiopia: Islam Christianity and Politics Entwined*, Boulder, CO 2007, 85–92; MÄKURIYA MÄKÄŠA, ትንሽዋ፡ ቁንዶ፡ በርበሬ (*Tənnəšwa qundo bärbäre*, 'The Black Pepper'), in: HARARI NATIONAL CONGRESS, የሀረር፡ አመጽ (*Yäharär Ammäṣ*, 'The Harari Rebellion'), Harär 2000, 110–57; RAHJI ABDELLA, *The Kulub-Hannolatto Movement by the Harari, 1946–48*, Senior thesis, Addis Ababa University 1994.

Tim Carmichael

Kumsaa Moroda ↗Gäbrä Ǝgziʾabəḥer

Kunama

Kunama language

K. (self-name: *Kù'nàmà àu'rà*, 'K. speech', or *Kù'nàmà ŋée'là*, 'K. tongue'; also called Baada, Baaza, or Diila) is a language spoken in western ↗Eritrea on the ↗Gaš and ↗Täkkäze Rivers with extensions westward into Sudan and south into ↗Təgray Region of Ethiopia.

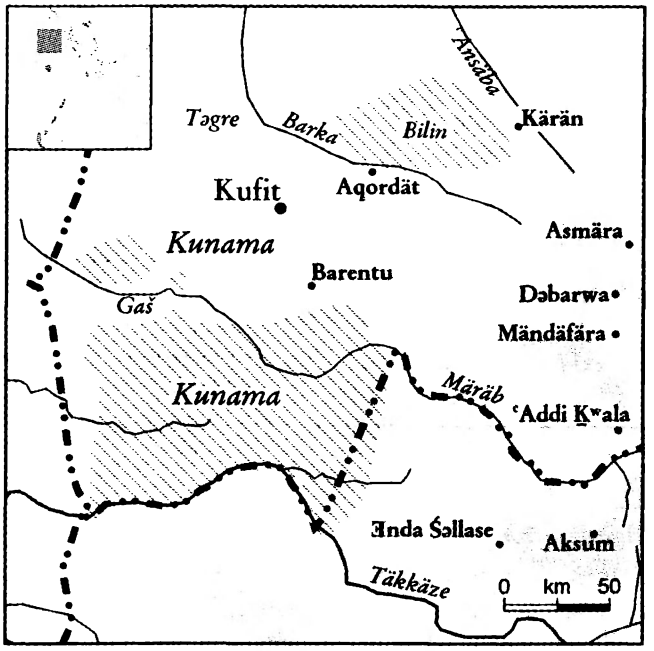
K. was once classified by Greenberg (1950) as an African isolate, but in recent years (s. Bender 1996a) analysis of both the old and new data places K. in the ↗Nilo-Saharan phylum as one of the "Satellites", co-ordinate with Maba, Fur, Central Sudanic, and the Core Family (East Sudanic, ↗Koman, ↗Gumuz, Kadu). Ehret's (2001) competing classification of Nilo-Saharan has K. as a branch of his "North Sudanic".

There are four main dialects: Marda (the most prestigious), ↗Barka, Aymasa, and Tika, and several minor varieties. Ilit and Sokodas (also known as "Western Kunama"; s. ↗Ilit and Sokodas) are reported by Daniel Teclemariam et al. (1997) as sharing less than 70 % of basic lexicon with other dialects and thus may perhaps be classified as closely related languages. The position of Bitaama dialect is not clear (most of its speakers seem to have completely shifted to ↗Təgre). The present sketch is based mainly on the Marda dialect described in Bender (1996b). The total number of speakers is ca. 110,000 (Gordon 2005:112). Literature so far is minor, including partial ↗Bible translations. K. is a language undergoing development by the Eritrean government.

The inventory of consonants is as follows: voiced stops *b, d, ǧ, g*; voiceless stops: *t, č, k*; fricatives: *f, s, š, h*; nasals: *m, n, ñ, ŋ*; liquids: *l, r*; glides: *w, y*. Notice the absence of distinctive */p/*, which is replaced by */f/* (an areal feature, s. ↗Ethiopian language area). Consonant sequences across a syllable boundary are rare except for geminates, e.g. *'ana* 'above, on top', *'anna* 'god, creator'.

Vowels are: *i, e, a, o, u*. Diphthongs (*ai, au, oi*) are widely used. Vowel length is phonemic, e.g. *'eesa* 'dig (pl.)!', *'esa* 'go out!'.

The suprasegmental system is complex, with tone and both vocalic and consonantal length involved. The distinctive function of tone and stress is problematical, but consider *má* 'weeding' (high tone marked as ´), *ma* 'tooth' (low tone unmarked) and *i'me* 'love!', *'ime* 'they (pl.)' (stress marked by the symbol ' before the stressed syllable). Connell – Hayward – John Abraha Ashkaba (2000) assert that there is no stress and that there



are three levels of tone; contours are all to be analyzed as sequences. This analysis is said to be true of both Barka and Marda. In the present article, Marda forms from Bender (1996b) are given (with high, low and falling [ˋ] tone), pending confirmation of this statement and presentation of a fuller lexicon under the Connell et al. analysis.

Almost all native K. nouns end in *-a* for sg. and *-e* for pl., reflecting an archaic Nilo-Saharan feature. There is no grammatical gender.

The pronoun system is unique in Nilo-Saharan and very different from ↗Afro-Asiatic systems. There is no gender, but there are three numbers (sg., dual, pl.), and the inclusion (in.) or exclusion (ex.) of the person spoken to is encoded. Independent pronouns: 1st pers. sg. *'aba* 'I'; 2nd pers. sg. *'ena* 'thou'; 3rd pers. sg. *'unu* 'he, she, it'; 1st pers. dual in. *'kiime* 'we two'; 1st pers. dual ex. *'aame* 'we two'; 2nd pers. dual *'eeme* 'you two'; 3rd pers. dual *'iime* 'they two'; 1st pers. pl. in. *'kime* 'we'; 1st pers. pl. ex. *'ame* 'we'; 2nd pers. pl. *'eme* 'you'; 3rd pers. pl. *'ime* 'they'. Phonological realizations vary dialectally, e.g. geminate consonants may be used rather than long vowels. There are corresponding possessives and two sets of verb subject affixes, all with a reduction in distinctions: e.g. in non-first persons, dual and pl. are identical. K. also has the rare feature of selectors (affixes that combine pronoun subject and object), found also in a few Nilo-Saharan languages (and similar to selectors in ↗Cushitic). Demonstratives show dialectal variation; the Marda preposed demonstrative adjectives are: 'this' *'nn+à* (sg.); *'nn+ame* (dual); *'nn+ae* (pl.); 'that' *'wain+à*/*'oin+à* (sg.); *'wain+ame*/*'oin+ame* (dual); *'wain+ae*/*'oin+ae* (pl.).

A peculiar feature of K. is that there are two classes of verbs: those taking pronominal prefixes and those taking pronominal suffixes in conjugation. There are two tenses, non-future and future. Verbs are inflected for person and number. Examples of conjugation for suffixing verb 'sit, stay' are: non-future 1st pers. sg. *go+na+ke*, 2nd pers. sg. *go+ŋ+ke*, 3rd pers. sg. *go+s+ke*, 1st pers. dual/pl. in. *go+t+ke*, 1st pers. dual/pl. ex. *go+ma+ke*, 2nd pers. dual/pl. *go+ŋ+ke*, 3rd pers. dual/pl. *go+ŋ+ke*; future 1st pers. sg. *go+na+na*, 2nd pers. sg. *go+nu+na*, 3rd pers. sg. *go+su+na*, etc.; for prefixing verb 'be present': non-future 1st pers. sg. *na+'kos+ke*, 2nd pers. sg. *no+'kos+ke*, 3rd pers. sg. *'kos+ke*, etc.; future 1st pers. sg. *ná+kósí+na*, 2nd pers. sg. *nó+kósí+na*, 3rd pers. sg. *kósí+na*.

Interrogatives appear in great variety and show dialectal variation. Many contain the element *ái*, basic meaning 'which?'. Examples from Marda: *ái'ka'dí* 'when?', *ái'kalle* 'how many, much?', *ai'kal'lé*/*'(í)nkálé* 'where?', *aikédi(bu)*/*áikédíp* 'how?', *a(i)mino* 'why?', *'náno*, pl. *nakeno* 'who?', *nan+ki* 'how, in what way?'.

There are several copulas: the invariable auxiliary *+(n)dia*, which alternates with zero; the verb 'be alive, live, reside' *'óiñóda*; the verb 'be, become' (also 'exit, go out') *i+ša*.

There are no case suffixes in K. (contrary to Grimes 1996:255): all case functions are handled by postpositions, e.g. *súba-la* 'at river'. Connectives are 'and' *+na... +na*; 'both ... and' *+inna... +inna* (both suffixed to both conjuncts); 'and, what about?' *+ki*.

The word order is Subject – Object – Verb: *u'nu*$_1$ *tukuša*$_2$ *kiŋke*$_3$ 'he/she$_1$ eats/ate$_3$ porridge$_2$'. K. is a Type D language in Heine's (1976) terminology, with nominal object, question particle, and adverbial preceding verb and usually auxiliary following verb. But K. is not a "rigid" verb-final language like the Afro-Asiatic languages of Ethiopia and Eritrea and has a "mixed" appearance syntactically as well as grammatically and lexically: ↗Ethio-Semitic, and Cushitic are involved, perhaps even ↗Omotic.

Ten-word list: 'one' *'élla*; 'two' *'báara*; 'three' *sat'te*; 'blood' *koko'ba*; 'tongue' *ŋée'là*; 'tooth' *ma*; 'fire' *to'ma*; 'moon' *tee'la*; 'sun' *wi'ya*; 'water' *bi'a*.

Src.: RAYMOND G. GORDON (ed.), *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*, Dallas, TX [15]2005, 112.

Lit.: M. LIONEL BENDER, *The Nilo-Saharan Languages*, München 1996a; ID., *Kunama*, München – Newcastle 1996b; ID., "English–Kunama Lexicon", *AAP* 65, 2001, 201–53; GERHARD BÖHM, *Grammatik der Kunama Spra-*

che, Wien 1984 (Beiträge zur Afrikanistik 22); BRUCE CONNELL – RICHARD J. HAYWARD – JOHN ABRAHA ASHKABA, "Observations on Kunama Tone", *Studies in African Linguistics* 29, 1, 2000, 1–41; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Per la conoscenza della lingua cunama", *Giornale della Società Asiatica Italiana* 16, 1903, 187–227; DANIEL TECLEMARIAM et al. (DEPARTMENT OF GENERAL EDUCATION [DGE], THE MINISTRY OF EDUCATION), *Eritrea Dialect Survey, December 1996–May 1997, Report*, Asmara 1997, 7ff., 13, 20–25, 32f., 43f.; CHRISTOPHER EHRET, *A Historical-Comparative Reconstruction of Nilo-Saharan*, Köln 2001 (Sprache und Geschichte in Afrika 12); GIUSEPPE FERMO DA CASTELNUOVO DELLA ZAPPA, *Grammatica della lingua cunama*, Asmara 1938; ID., *Vocabolario della lingua cunama*, Roma 1950; JOSEPH H. GREENBERG, "VII: Smaller Families, Index of Languages", *Southwest Journal of Anthropology* 6, 4, 1950, 388–98; BERND HEINE, *A Typology of African Languages*, Berlin 1976 (Kölner Beiträge zur Afrikanistik 4); JOHN ABRAHA ASHKABA – KLAUS WEDEKIND, [review of Bender 1996b], *Notes on Linguistics* 80, 1998, 27–30; NIKODIMOS IDRIS, *The Kunama and their Language*, B.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1987; LEO REINISCH, *Die Kunama-Sprache in Nordost-Afrika*, 4 vols., Wien 1881–91 (Sitzungsberichte der Philosophisch-Historischen Classe der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften 98, 87–174; 119, 1–93; 122, 1–112; 123, 1–136); E. DAVID THOMPSON, "Kunama: Phonology and Noun Phrase", in: M. LIONEL BENDER (ed.), *Nilo-Saharan Language Studies*, East Lansing, MI 1983, 280–322; E. DAVID THOMPSON, "Kunama Verb Phrase", in: M. LIONEL BENDER (ed.), *Topics in Nilo-Saharan Linguistics*, Hamburg 1989 (Nilo-Saharan 3), 305–46.

M. Lionel Bender

Kunama ethnography

The K. (Kù'nàmà, Baza, by outsiders: Bazen) are an ethnic formation of Nilo-Saharan linguistic stock who have for centuries inhabited the south-western lowlands of Eritrea near the ↗Gaš and ↗Setit rivers with an altitude ranging between 600 and 850 m A.S.L.

The region receives an annual rainfall of between 250 and 450 mm and the mean temperature is about 28° C. It borders ↗Säraye to the east, Sudan to the west, the ↗Barka region to the north and ↗Təgray to the south. The K. constitute about 2 % of the total population of Eritrea, but a relatively large proportion of the population of the western lowlands. As a consequence of contemporary wars and famine, in the last decades many families have moved to several main Sudanese towns and to western Təgray. Some K. groups in Təgray, living near the border, largely adapted to the Təgrayan way of life already some time ago, and speak Təgrəññña.

K. groups are the Marda, ↗Barka, Taguda, Aymasa, Tika and the geographically and linguistically separated ↗Ilit and Sokodas. The K. group Bitaama does not speak K. anymore, but Təgre.

The main internal subregional divisions are Tika, Barka, K. Marda, while Aymasa and Koyta Marda are falling out of use. Some villages near ↗Täsänäy are still inhabited by Sokodas and islamized Ilit and Bitama.

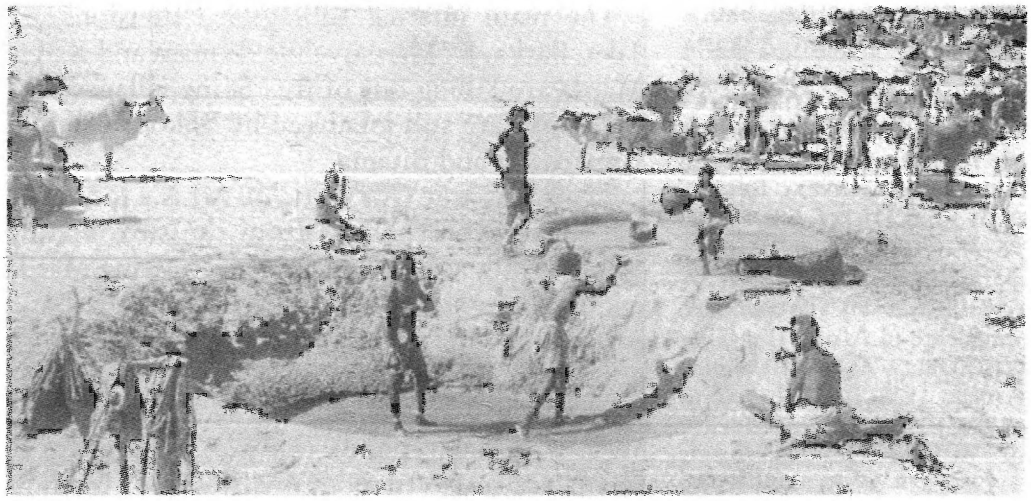
Their language (*Kù'nàmà àu'rà*) is a tonal one with lexical borrowings from the surrounding Semitic languages, the main dialects being Marda and Barka, which were first written in the Latin script by western missionaries. Other K. groups are the Taguda, Aymasa, Tika.

The K. live in villages, with sacred spaces and various burial grounds (*nabulé*). These settlements are scattered along the slopes of the hills and plains north and south of the Gaš. Villages like Kulluku, Fōde, Kedagul, Oganna, Alummu are already attested in the Ethiopian royal chronicles. There is no individual ownership of farmland and access to agricultural land was regulated through the ritual office of the "leader of the land" (*laga manna*), chosen from within selected matrilineal lineages. After Eritrean independence, the new land tenure policy states that land belongs to the State, which is encouraging the movement of people from highland Eritrea and the resettlement of most of the returnees from the Sudan in the K. Gaš-Setit region.

Agriculture is based on the use of the hoe, spades, sickles and the ox- (or camel)-drawn plough (*nauìt*); signs of a past terraced agriculture are still visible near villages like Kedagul. The main field crop is ↗sorghum (*kinà*), which has a ceremonial value, then millet (*bortà* or *bečà*) and additionally pulses and ↗maize (*àfokìna*).

The K. make use of assistance from neighbouring households in all agricultural activities where group effort is considered useful; this is called *kowa*. Harvesting is celebrated with a collective feast, *kina furda*. *Furda* is a key concept, meaning ceremony, ritual, ancestral heritage. Women collect firewood, fetch water, perform kitchen work, and sometime are engaged in petty market-exchange or as seasonal labourers on farms. The K. keep live-stock (goats, sheep, oxen, camels) and exchange them in the cattle-markets of Mogolo and Šambuko. A gender-related term refers to women possessed by spirits (*ašìrmè*) after the period of harvesting: among them are the *andinne* (sg. *andinna*) professionals who perform divination and healing with ppropriate rituals.

The K. claim that they are the first people who settled in Eritrea. They recall their ancestors who were thought to have brought their ancient ag-



Kunama boys fetching water for the cattle; photo 1950s, from Leuenberger 1955:179

ricultural skills from farther west, i.e. the Blue Nile flood plains of the Sudan.

The Arab traveller al-↗Yaᶜqūbī in 872 A.D. mentions the kingdom of Bāza, which is a self-designation of the K. (s. "Five Beğa Kingdoms" in vol. 5). Təgrəñña oral tradition ascribes K. origins to the legendary Aksumite king ↗Bazen. In the process of "attack and push", hierarchical forms of leadership could have been evolved among K. as a response to forcibly shifting settlement. Təgrəñña oral traditions state that the name K. derives from King Bazen's wife, Queen Kunamwe, who was highly respected: this myth of origin is employed today by the K. in the contemporary political arena.

The K. have been affected by sometimes dramatic historical processes, due to their crucial position between the two political and cultural main-streams, Sudanese influence and Ethiopian pressure. Thus, they experienced the ↗Funğ kingdom with its centre at Sinnār, and their in the 19th cent. raids and partial occupation from the Təgrayan ᶜAdyabo, the *Turkīya* (↗Egypt) and the *Mahdīya* (↗Mahdists); followed in the 20th cent. by Italian colonial rule and the ↗British Military Administration, the Federation, the *Därg* regime, the 30-year guerrilla war and the process of construction of the new Eritrean State. The K. learned how to cope with competition over water and agricultural resources mainly along the Gaš river (K.: Sonà) and the Setit (K.: Tika) and the raids of pastoral Beğa groups.

The slave trade dominated the region for centuries until the beginning of the 20th cent. The K. have been stigmatised as slaves (↗*Barya*), as blacks (Tgn.: *ṣällim*) and pagans. This has had a powerful and long-lasting impression on their oral tradition. The Təgrəñña from Wälqayt, ᶜAdyabo, and Säraye are remembered for their raids to obtain slaves, grain and cattle: *Ras* ↗Alula Ǝngəda's campaigns against the Mahdists (1885–89) are recalled as a painful and never-ending period of spoliation and devastation. The inter-ethnic conflicts over farming land during the British Military Administration are still referred to as *Salab biya* (1948–52) and have a bitter place in their historical memory. They refer to their neighbours by a variety of labels: they call Beni ᶜAmər *Šilè*, Təgrayans *Alakè*, *Makadè*, *Dalè*, the Nara Mogareb *Marda*.

K. society is dominated by a matrilineal social structure. Sharing the same blood does not place a father and his offspring in the position of primary relatives. The role played by the father's metaphoric "blood" in procreation pales into significance in contrast with the contribution of the mother. The closeness that defines relatives proper, i.e. the matri-kin (*kebesè šàdia*), among the K. is created by the "bones" (*sangà*) of a child being shaped inside the mother's womb. The mother's side prevails over the father's side and is expressed through the "bones' idiom". *Kebesà* means descent through female ancestors; *kebesè* form a corporate group and are those who pay compensation in the case of a feud (*marbàta*). The *kiškišè* are descendants through the male line, implying relationship between persons of different *kebesè* through one or more paternal links which never coalesce into proper lines. *Kebesè* and *kiškišè* taken as a whole are called *dugulè*, a term that has far-reaching implications for social alliances. The term *koynie* defines the relationship between the children of male *kebesè* (patrilateral parallel cousins). The mother's brother (*imba*) is a pivotal social figure, and the term *imba* is also used for the funeral commemorative feast, with ostentatious consumption of meat and local sorghum beer (*aifà*). At least 18 matrilineal subdivisions of the four ancestral exogamous clans (*Šua*, *Gurma*, *Karawa*) are recognized among the K. In the K. *Barka* section only, the four divisions

are paired in moities (*kosamate*): *Šua* with *Karawa*, *Serma* with *Gurma*.

The ↗Swedish Evangelical Mission established itself in the K. area as early as 1866, and the Catholic Mission from 1912 argued that this "exotic" kinship logic – characterized by the force of the bond between the mother's brother and the sister's sons (at that time defined as a "matriarchy") – should be transformed into a patrilineal kinship system.

Cattle, sheep and goats are highly valued on the occasion of an official marriage (*diginà*). They are used for the bride-wealth transfer of goods from the groom's relatives to the bride's side, a deep-rooted custom which has been challenged by the Christian churches. Although labelled "pagans" or "animists" by highlanders, the K. believe in a creator god, called *Annà*. The same name is used among the Christian K.; however, important feasts like *Anna sāsa* (Tuka among Marda), performed every eight to ten years, have now vanished.

Until the recent historical changes in K. customary laws a crucial role was played by the *sanga-anene* (forming "bone's idiom"). These are specific male traditional office-holders, responsible for granting asylum in the sanctuary of their compounds, who perform the ritual of reconciliation in the case of internal homicide, preventing retaliation. This respected office is hereditary, transmitted in matrilineal succession from the eldest brother to the next born in a ranking order. Along the Gaš river these office-holders descend from the *Karawa* lineage, in the Marda area from the *Sogonà* clan.

Src.: Stockholm Stadsarkiv; Evangeliska Fosterlandsstiftelsen Arkiv; Archive of the Vicariato Apostolico, Catholic Church, Asmara; personal field research (1993–95, 2002–06); LEO REINISCH, *Die Kunama-Sprache in Nordost-Afrika*, 4 vols., Wien 1881–91 (Sitzungsberichte der Philosophisch-Historischen Classe der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften 98, 87–174; 119, 1–93; 122, 1–112; 123, 1–136).

Lit.: MARVIN LIONEL BENDER, *Kunama*, Andover, MA 1999; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Schizzo etnico e storico delle popolazioni eritree", in: FERDINANDO MARTINI – OLINTO MARINELLI (eds.), *L'Eritrea economica* [...], Novara – Roma 1913, 61–90; DaiMarEr; VINIGI LORENZO GROTTANELLI – CLAUDIA MASSARI, *Missione di Studio al Lago Tana*, vol. 6: *i Baria, i Cunama e i Beni Amer*, Roma 1943; RODOLFO FATTOVICH, "Sulle origini dei Baria e i Cunama", in: *EtRicci* 27–67; HANS O. LEUENBERGER, *Äthiopien, Kaiserreich seit Solomon*, Zürich 1955, 179; DOMINIQUE LUSSIER, *The Interpretation of Moral Inequality among the Kunama-speaking Communities of Western Eritrea*, Ph.D. thesis, University of Oxford, Faculty of Anthropology and Geography 2000; MunSt; ALEXANDER NATY, *The Impact of Euro-Christian Missions on Kunama Traditional Culture*, Senior Essay in Applied Anthropology, Addis Ababa University 1982; NIKODEMOS IDRIS, *The Kunama and their Language*, M.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University, 1987; ALBERTO POLLERA, *I Baria e i Cunama*, Roma 1913.

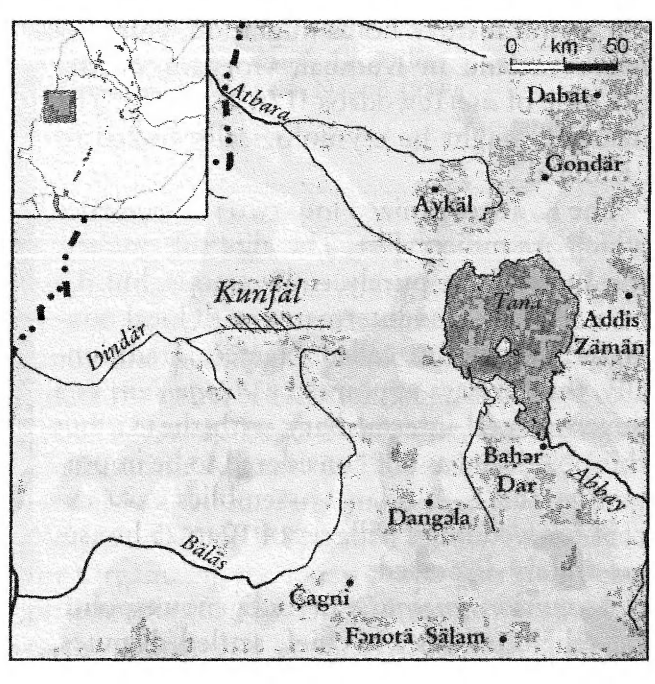
Gianni Dore

Kunfäl

Kunfäl language

K. is a little-known language close to ↗Awŋi (↗Agaw subgroup of ↗Cushitic language family), spoken to the west of Lake ↗Ṭana, in the south of the ↗Qʷara region along the north side of the Dəndär River. *Ethnologue* estimates the number of speakers as 2,000 (Gordon 2005: 116). There is widespread bilingualism with Amharic. The only information on K. language comes from a single brief survey by Teqebba Birru, Zena Adal, and Cowley (1971). The available data comprise a 100-item word-list, from which five entries are left blank, together with a list of numerals, demonstratives, a further 139 items of vocabulary classified according to semantic field, and lastly 21 short phrases.

The language material was first noted in Ethiopic script and then transcribed. Comparing this data with Awŋi it is evident that the researchers had difficulty in knowing how to deal with a number of non-Amharic sounds that apparently also exist in K. (note that within the present article voiceless uvular stop is represented as *q*, voiced uvular stop as *ɣ*, dental voiceless affricate as *c*): whilst a velar nasal */ŋ/* is recognized, there is hesitation how to represent what in Awŋi is */ɣ/* (sometimes noted as */k/*, sometimes */h/* and sometimes zero), nor is the uvular */q/* distinguished from the velar */k/*.



There is little grammatical information other than what can be gleaned from the phrases and some verb forms in the word-lists. So, most verb forms end in *-əw*, *-u*, or *-w*, which is presumably the 3rd masc. of the Past and perhaps equivalent to Awŋi Past Definite *-y^{w}à*; others end in *-a* which may be the same as the Awŋi Past Indefinite *-a*.

Of the 95 items in the primary word-list 80 % have cognates in Awŋi, and of these 49 % either have their only cognates in Awŋi when compared with the rest of the Agäw languages (e.g., *wəla* 'all', *-tala* 'father', *gaz-* 'go', *šəw* 'heart' and *biwi* 'star') or show the same developments in form or meaning as are only found in Awŋi (e.g., *kant-* 'see', *kumbi* 'mouth', *kasi* 'leaf' and *leŋ* 'fire'). There are also a few unexpected forms like *wəzgi* 'belly' (cf. Awŋi *guzəg*) or *nadi* 'bone' (cf. Awŋi *ŋac*), though there is the chance that these are defective recordings.

Ten-word list: 'one' *law / lahu*, 'two' *lama*, 'three' *šäwa*, 'water' *ah^{w}*, 'fire' *leŋ*, 'sun' *awi*, 'moon' *arfa*, 'blood' *buri / bure*, 'tongue' *caŋ*, 'tooth' *ərkuwi*.

Src.: RAYMOND G. GORDON (ed.), *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*, Dallas, TX [15]2005, 116; TEQEBBA BIRRU – ZENA ADAL – ROGER COWLEY, "The Kunfäl People and their Language", *JES* 9, 2, 1971, 99–106.
Lit.: DAVID L. APPLEYARD, *A Comparative Dictionary of the Agaw Languages*, Köln 2006, 5, passim.

David L. Appleyard

Kunfäl ethnography

The K., speaking an ↗Agäw language very similar to ↗Awŋi, live in the originally wooded lowland area west of Lake Tana, in the Dəndär River valley. Most K. are bilingual in Amharic. Their oral history notes migration from an earlier homeland in Kumbäl, Goggam, during the time of *ase* Tewodros II (r. 1855–68). The name K. might be etymologically linked to "Kumbäl".

The K. are organized into two sub-societies which are moiety-like. The elite sub-society, the *Sambiri*, are purely endogamous, but the non-*Sambiri*, also intermarry with local non-Agäw, sometimes called Haméč. Traditionally, the Amhara appointed a ↗*čəqa šum* as a governmental intermediary with the K., but this position was not considered to be important by the K. No large assemblies exist except for weddings. Villages of 10 to 25 houses are widely dispersed.

A *sambiri məsqaš*, an indigenous political-religious leader, a chief, settled disputes, prayed to the spirits for bountiful crops and livestock, and wielded supernatural powers, including cursing evildoers. *Sambiri* are the sole intermediaries with the *qole* spirits and make sacrifices to them.

Today, the K. are at least nominally Ethiopian Orthodox Christians. Manifestations of their former religion abounded through the 1970s. Conversion began in the time of Tewodros II and finished in Italian times. In the distant past, non-Christian K. could not touch a Christian. Doing so, the K. had to ritually bath to cleanse the ensuing pollution. The most important *qole* site is Agazän Mäbağo, a large hill in ↗Q^{w}ara. Only a *məsqaš* climbs the hill, to sacrifice goats and honey. K. swear oaths at the base of the sacred hill.

The economic backbone of the K. is slash-and-burn horticulture using a hoe. In annually rotated plots they produce dagussa (*Eleusine coracana*), sorghum, maize, nug, sesame, cayenne, and cotton. Since the 1940s sometimes the plough is used. Goats and chickens are common, sheep present, and cattle rare. Numerous wicker beehives rest in trees for beekeeping (↗Bees and Beekeeping) which is traditionally an important source of income. ↗Honey is plentiful, sold in markets, and was once used to pay taxes. The diet of the K. includes antelope, which are hunted with rifles. Traditionally the killing of a lion or elephant proved the manhood of a youngster (↗Meritorious complex). The K. are generally not craftsmen, but a few are blacksmiths. K. houses are cylindrically constructed of wattle which is smeared with some daub. Their cone-shaped roofs are thatched. Brenzinger estimated a K. population of 2,000 in 2000 (Gordon 2005:116).

Kunfäl women on their way to the market, near the Dəndär river; photo 1965, courtesy of the author

Src.: author's own fieldnotes; RAYMOND G. GORDON (ed.), *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*, Dallas, TX [15]2005, 116.
Lit.: ZENA ADAL – TEGEBBA BIRRU – ROGER COWLEY, "The Kunfäl People and their Language", *JES* 9, 2, 1972, 99–106; FREDERICK JOHN SIMOONS, *Northwest Ethiopia: Peoples and Economy*, Madison, WI 1960, s. index.

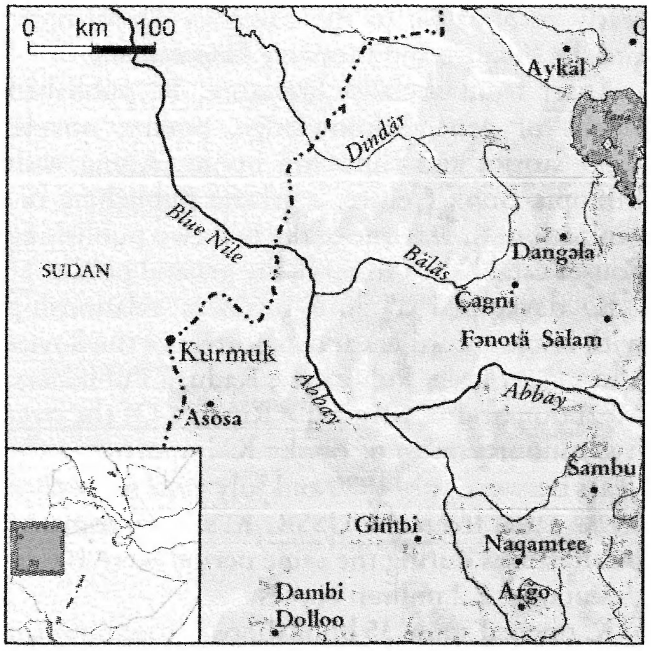
Frederick C. Gamst

Kurmuk

Strategically situated on the borderland between the former Blue Nile Province of ↗Sudan and the ↗Beni Šangul region of north–western Ethiopia, K. was established by the British in 1910 as a police post along the newly–established Ethio–Sudanese frontier (1902) to control clandestine trade in ↗gold and slaves (↗slavery). Across the frontier, the small market town of Dul grew as its Ethiopian counterpart.

The border area long benefited from the lively trade being exchanged between the Blue Nile hills and the Ethiopian escarpment. Sudanese merchants came to settle in this region, which they had named the *Ṣaᶜīd*, since the heyday of the old Kingdom of ↗Sinnār in the 18th cent. The Turco-Egyptian occupation of ↗Sudan, followed by the rule of the Mahdī, and then by British colonial rule and the short–lived Italian occupation, cared little about the border region and never managed to subdue or control the largely illegal transborder trade which animated a productive network of flourishing market villages and centres traditionally inhabited by local ↗Gumuz, ↗Berta and ↗Komo peoples living alongside with northern Sudanese traders and highland settlers from Ethiopia.

During the imperial regime, K., and its Ethiopian counterpart, Dul, were peaceful trading and administrative centres remote from central governments, though bustling with trading and smuggling activities. The area was relatively untouched by the first civil war raging in Sudan which started before independence in 1956 and lasted up to 1972, but became vulnerable after the *Därg* took over in Ethiopia in 1974 and civil war returned to the Sudan in 1983. During the 1980s and 1990s the border region became an important recruiting ground and an escape area for refugees fleeing from the liberation movements and successive governments' recruiting raids. During this period, the whole border region became increasingly politicized and K. became an important military target for both the Sudanese government and its southern opponents, the Sudanese People's Liberation Movement (SPLM) and their military arm, the Sudanese People's Liberation



army (SPLA), supported by their Ethiopian allies. The town was taken alternatively by the various opposition forces in their respective bids for power over the border region and suffered greatly since the late 1980s, witnessing recurrent dispersal of the original inhabitants and incoming flows of new refugees and settlers from across the border. From 1997, the SPLA-M retained control of K. up to the Comprehensive Peace Agreement of 9 January 2005. This created a new unit within northern Sudan, to be known as the Blue Nile State, with its capital Damazin, in which special constitutional arrangements would reflect the diverse character and history of the region.

Lit.: WENDY JAMES, "No Place to Hide. Flag–Waving on the Western Frontier", in: EAD. et al. (eds.), *Remapping Ethiopia: Socialism and After*, Oxford 2002, 259–75; ALESSANDRO TRIULZI, *Salt, Gold and Legitimacy. Prelude to the History of a No–man's Land: Belā Shangul, Wallaggā, Ethiopia (ca. 1800–1898)*, Napoli 1981.

Alessandro Triulzi

Kurraz

K. (ኩራዝ, lit. 'kerosene lamp') was an Ethiopian publishing agency functioning from 1979 till 1991. It was set up by the state with the aim of translating and publishing political literature, at first under the name of K. Book Store, and later, on 21 June 1979, as K. Book Publishing, Importing and Distribution Agency. In November 1980 it was established as K. Publishing Agency by Legal Notice no. 72 of 1980 issued by the Commission for Organizing the Party of the Working People of Ethiopia (COPWE). K. became "accountable to the appropriate organ of COPWE", being di-

rectly responsible to the Ideology Department and the Finance and Property Department.

Apart from socialist literature, K. published works of general knowledge, poetry, novels, short stories and children's books. Along with Ethiopia Book Centre, a private publishing organization, K. was one of the first two publishing houses established to serve the general public.

K. developed a close business relationship with book publishers and exporters of the Soviet Union (Progress Publishers, Raduga Publishers, Mežhdunarodnaja Kniga; ↗Russia). Of the over five million copies of books K. imported in the years between July 1980 and July 1987 more than 95 % came from the USSR. K.'s own domestic publications during the same period were 106 titles in over 2.2 million copies.

K. opened some 35 bookshops throughout the country; it also held a number of periodic book fairs. K's legal existence ended with the demise of its mentor, The Workers' Party of Ethiopia (WPE), in 1991. Eventually, K. was taken over by Mega Publishers.

Src.: "Legal Notice no. 72", *Nägarit Gazeṭa* 7, 25 November 1980; **የመጻሕፍትና፡ ሕትመት፡ ኤግዚብሽን** (*Yämäṣaḥəftənna ḥətmät egzibəšən*, 'An Exhibition of Books and Publications'), Addis Abäba 1987; **ኩራዝና፡ የሥነ፡ ጽሑፍ፡ ዕድገት** (*Kurrazənna yäśənä ṣəḥuf ʿədgät*, 'Kurraz and the Growth of Literature'), Addis Abäba 1988.

Asfaw Damte

Kush

Kush/Cush terminology

Geographic term

The toponym *K s/ś*, indicating the region south of ↗Egypt (2nd cataract) first occurs in Egyptian inscriptions (Urk. VII, 5:17) during the reign of pharaoh457 Sesostris I (ca. 1900 B.C.). It is written *K š(i)* in the late Middle Kingdom [MK], *Kši* in the so-called 2nd Intermediate Period and *Kš* in the New Kingdom [NK] (Erman – Grapow 1957:109, 1). In the texts of the 25th Dynasty and in Demotic, the form is *ikš*, corresponding to Coptic ⲉϭⲱϣ *ekjōš* (<*ĭkāš), 'Ethiopian, Nubian', Meroitic *qes* (Leclant 1975:105). The contemporary vocalization is reflected in Middle Babylonian KUR*Ka-ši*; Old Nubian ⲕⲁⲥ; Gəʿəz ↗Kasu (DAE no. 11.4; Gr. Κάσου; Vycichl 1957:177ff.), but also (*ā* > *ū*) in later Assyrian KUR*Ku(-u)-ši*; Old Persian *kusā*; Hebrew כּוּשׁ, borrowed as Gr. Χοῦς (> Bohairic ⲭⲟⲩⲥ). Syriac and Arabic texts have *kūš* (Vantini 1975, s. index). The graphical oscillations in Egyptian reveal K. as a loanword, obviously borrowed from a proto-language related to Meroitic, which itself has been deciphered, but is not yet properly understood (Rilly 1999; Hintze 1979; Hofmann 1981:291).

Linguistic term

In the ↗Bible, K. is the name of the son of Ham and grandson of Noah (Gen 10:6–8) as well as the toponym used for ↗Nubia (Ezek 29:10; 30:4, 9; Jes 11:11, 20:3–5). The Septuagint uses Χοῦς for the former and ↗Aithiopía for the latter. With reference to the sons of Noah, Lepsius (1880) coined the term ↗Hamito-Semitic as the designation of a language phylum, a branch of which is still called ↗Cushitic today, out of terminological continuation. This name is not related, however, to the language spoken in the Kingdom of K., although Zylharz (1956, 1960) suggested "Kaschitisch" for the Meroitic language.

Historical term

The 25th Dynasty in Egypt (about 765–655 B.C.) was traditionally called ↗Ethiopian dynasty, following Manetho's periodization (Zibelius-Chen 2006). Today, the hypercorrect term "Kushite period" is occasionally used.

Geographical framework

During the MK, K. stands for Upper Nubia (2nd–4th Cataract), specifically for the Kerma basin (Gratien 1978). It is only from the Hyksos period on that the term can be used for entire Nubia, i.e. the middle ↗Nile valley south of Egypt. In the Old Kingdom, Lower Nubia (Aswān to Wādī Ḥalfā) was divided into *w w t*, *irṯt* and *śṯw*; of which only the first one occurs in the MK. Since the NK, K. is the general term for Nubia, and Upper Nubia in particular. In this sense, after the Egyptian conquest, the "viceroy" of K. (*ś -nsw n[i] K.*) was responsible for the whole Nubia, while his deputies, the *idnw* of K. or *w w t*, only for the respective regions. Under the 25th Dynasty and in the Napatan and Meroitic periods, the term K. is seldom used. The place name continued to be used in Kordofan and Darfur: when David Reubenis travelled to ↗Funǧ in 1522, the area ruled by King Amara (Dunkas), between his capital Lamʾul south of ↗Sinnār and ↗Dongola, was called *kaš, kaǧ* (Arkell 1961:174; Vantini 1975:745ff; Herzog 1957:17). After the Arabian conquest of the Nile valley, the toponym K. was replaced by Arab. *Bilād as-Sūdān*, which parallels Gr. *Aithiopía*: it was also a general term for Africa south of Syene/Aswān derives from the word for "black" (in keeping with the popular etymology

for *Aithiopía*). Nubia was the artificial term created from the proper name of the ↗Noba – notwithstanding a wide-spread belief, it is not connected with the Egyptian word for 'gold' (Old Egypt. *nb.w* > Copt. ⲛⲟⲩⲃ; s. Bechhaus-Gerst 1996:153ff.). The Arabic-speaking ↗Beǧa group ᶜAbābda in Egypt still call darker-skinned people *kiš̓āb* (pl. *kašā̓īb*, *b* being a Beǧa masc. object marker; s. Vycichl 1983:50f.).

History

Kūš in the 2nd millennium B.C: the kingdom of Kerma

A cultural continuity can be traced between the early kingdom of Kerma and the Meroitic period. The capital Kerma, with its huge tumuli (including the burials of the entire royal entourage), its palace and temples, is probably the first true city in Black Africa. The ruler of K. (*ḥq n(.i) Kš*) gained military power after the end of the Egyptian domination in Lower Nubia during the Middle Kingdom. During the Hyksos period, he entered the international political scene. The reunification of Egypt at the beginning of the New Kingdom led to the destruction of the Kerma kingdom (Thutmosis I/III, mid.-15th cent. B.C) and to the second Egyptian colonization. By the beginning of the Kushite dynasty in the 8th cent. B.C., Nubian culture had been totally obscured by Egyptian culture.

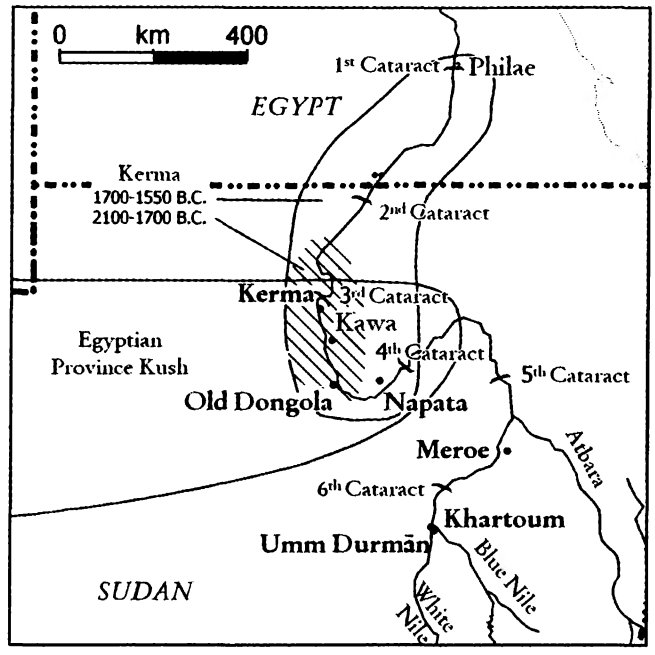
The kingdom of Kush

The 25th dynasty in Egypt

After the end of the Egyptian hegemony, an independent state developed near ↗Napata (Ǧabal Barkal) during the Third Intermediate Period, strongly influenced by Egyptian culture, as indicated by both the inscriptions written in Egyptian hieroglyphs and the worship of the Egyptian god Amun. The first rulers had their burial tumuli built at al-Kurru, later, pyramids for them can be also found at Nuri. King Piankhi conquered Egypt in about 765 B.C. Since then, Nubian rulers were seen and depicted as pharaohs. The struggle with Assyria began with the great builder, pharaoh Taharqa and culminated in the conquest of Thebes under pharaoh Tanutamani in 665 B.C., which marks the end of the Kushite rule in Egypt.

The kingdom of Napata

Tanutamani and his successors continued to reign in Nubia, even after Psammetik II's Nubian campaign in 593 B.C. (Herod. II, 161) which reached Pnubs/Kerma. The inscriptions began to be written in a special kind of Egyptian with



Meroitic substrate, called "Napatan" after Napata, the religious and political centre of the empire (Peust 1999).

The kingdom of Meroë

With the transfer of the royal necropolis to ↗Meroë in ca. 275 B.C., under king Ergamenes, the "African" elements of Meroitic society became more and more apparent. The Meroitic language used hieroglyphs and cursive script. At the same time, imported goods proved regular contacts to the Greco-Roman world. Under the Ptolemaic kings Ptolemy II and IV, Meroë lost influence in Lower Nubia; border conflicts also affected the relations with Rome. Petronius, the Roman prefect of Egypt, conducted a military campaign to Napata in 23 B.C., which was not as successful politically as it was propagandistically, for in 21/20 B.C. Augustus was forced to agree to a settlement with the ↗Candace Amanirenase in the peace of Samos. The border remained at Qaṣr Ibrīm until the Romans retreated from the Dodekaschoinos in 292 A.D. as a consequence of the Blemmyes invading Lower Nubia. The migration of ↗Noba and ↗Beǧa brought the kingdom of Meroë to an end as well as the intensified Red Sea trade, which bypassed Nubia. The campaign of an Aksumite king sometimes after 260 or 269, and then of ↗ᶜEzana himself in ca. 350 A.D. drew the final line under this process (s. Fiaccadori 2004:116f., 125f.).

Kush in Ethiopian tradition

K. has always played a role in Ethiopian tradition, beginning with the Candace (her proper

name being in fact a misinterpretation of the female Meroitic title *kdke*, a misunderstanding occurring first in ↗Greek literature; Zach 1992:98ff., 2001:513ff., 2004:449ff.).

Folklore etymology links Aksum to K. (but s. Schneider 1996; Müller 1998), generally personfied and seen as an ancestor of the Ethiopians: e.g., ↗Ityopis in the 15th-cent. *Liber Axumae* is styled "the son of Kwəsa, son of Kam" (CRAxum 3; for similar "genealogies" cp. also Fiaccadori 1992a:89f. and 1992b:439, 442f.). The main reasons for that are the confusion between K. and Gr. *Aithiopía* of the Septuagint, and the wish to be part of the biblical tradition, an issue closely connected with that of the origins of Ethiopian ↗Judaism (UllBibl and esp, Rodinson 1964; Marrassini 1979). It is therefore not surprising that several names of Kushite pharaohs of the 25th Dynasty (i.e. Pi[ankh]y, Taharqa, Tanutamani) and other Napatan and Meroitic kings (i.e. Aspelta, Nastasen), taken from scholarly Egyptological literature, are included in the "king lists" of *ras* Täfäri Mäkʷännən (Kropp 2005; Zach 2002, 2005). Today, Ethiopian politicians often stress the "Cushite legacy" against the "Semitic" (i.e. Old South Arabian) one.

Src.: CRAxum 3 (text) = 3 (tr.); ADOLF ERMANN – HERMANN GRAPOW, *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache*, vol. 4, Berlin 1957, 109.1; FHN I–IV; DIETRICH WILDUNG – JÜRGEN LIEPE, *Sudan. Antike Königreiche am Nil*, Tübingen 1996; GIOVANNI VANTINI, *Oriental Sources Concerning Nubia*, Heidelberg – Warsaw 1975, 745ff.; WERNER VYCICHL, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, Leuven 1983, 50f.

Lit.: ANTHONY JOHN ARKELL, *A History of Sudan to A.D. 1821*, London ²1961, 174; GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, *Teofilo Indiano*, Ravenna 1992a (Bibliotheca di «Felix Ravenna» 7), 89f.; ID., "Bâli", *La Parola del Passato* 47, 1992, 439–45, here 439, 442f.; ID.,"Sembrouthes 'gran re' (*DAE* IV 3 = *RIÉth* 275). Per la storia del primo ellenismo aksumita", *ibid.* 59, 2004 [2005], 103–57, here 116f., 125f. (Lit.); MARIANNE BECHHAUS-GERST, *Sprachwandel durch Sprachkontakt am Beispiel des Nubischen im Niltal*, Köln 1996 (Sprachkontakt in Afrika 3), 153ff.; BRIGITTE GRATIEN, *Les cultures Kerma: Essai de classification*, Lille 1978 (Publications de l'Université de Lille 3); ROLF HERZOG, *Die Nubier: Untersuchungen und Beobachtungen zur Gruppengliederung, Gesellschaftsform und Wirtschaftsweise*, Berlin 1957, 17; FRITZ HINTZE, *Beiträge zur meroitischen Grammatik*, Berlin 1979 (Meroitica 3); INGE HOFMANN, *Material für eine meroitische Grammatik*, Wien 1981 (Veröffentlichungen der Institute für Afrikanistik und Ägyptologie der Universität Wien 16 / Beiträge zur Afrikanistik 13), 291; TIMOTHY KENDALL, *Kerma and the Kingdom of Kush*, Washington D.C. 1997; MANFRED KROPP, *Die traditionelle äthiopische Königsliste und ihre Quellen*, in: MARTIN FITZENREITER (ed.), *Genealogie – Realität und Fiktion von Identität*, London 2005, 21–46; JEAN LECLANT, "Recherches sur la toponymie meroïtique", in: *La toponymie antique. Actes du Colloque de Strasbourg, 12–14 juin 1975*, Leiden 1977 (Travaux du Centre de Recherche sur le Proche-Orient et la Grèce antiques 4), 151–62; CARL RICHARD LEPSIUS, *Nubische Grammatik: Mit einer Einleitung über Völker und Sprachen Afrikas*, Berlin 1880; PAOLO MARRASSINI, "Note di storia etiopica", *Egitto e Vicino Oriente* 2, 1979, here 173–76 (186ff.) [§1. "L'«Etiopia» della Bibbia"] (Lit.); ROBERT G. MORKOT, *The Black Pharaohs: Egypt's Nubian Rulers*, London 2000; WALTER W. MÜLLER, "Südarabisches zum Namen Aksum", *Aethiopica* 1, 1998, 217–20; CARSTEN PEUST, *Das Napatanische: Ein ägyptischer Dialekt aus dem Nubien des späten ersten vorchristlichen Jahrtausends*, Göttingen 1999 (Monographien zur ägyptischen Sprache 3); KARL-HEINZ PRIESE, *Das meroitische Sprachmaterial in den ägyptischen Inschriften des Reiches von Kusch*, Ph.D. thesis, Humboldt Universität Berlin 1965, 52f.; CLAUDE RILLY, "Une nouvelle lecture du signe Q", *Göttinger Miszellen* 169, 1999, 101–10; MAXIME RODINSON, [review of UllBibl], *BiOr* 21, 1964, 238–45; ROGER SCHNEIDER, "Remarques sur le nom «Aksum»", *RSE* 38, 1994 [1996, pub. 1997], 183–90; ID., *Egypt's Nubian Rulers*, London 2000; LASZLO TÖRÖK, *The Kingdom of Kush*, Leiden – New York – Köln 1997; UllBibl s. index; WERNER VYCICHL, "Le pays de Kouch dans une inscription éthiopienne", *AE* 2, 1957, 177–79; STEFFEN WENIG (ed.), *Africa in Antiquity: the Arts of Ancient Nubia and the Sudan*, New York 1978; MICHAEL ZACH, "Meroe: Mythos und Realität einer Frauenherrschaft im antiken Afrika", in: EDITH SPECHT (ed.), *Nachrichten aus der Zeit: Ein Streifzug durch die Frauengeschichte des Altertums*, Wien 1992 (Reihe Frauenforschung 18), 98ff.; ID., "Gedanken zur kdke Amanitore", in: CARIS-BEATRICE ARNST – INGELORE HAFEMANN – ANGELIKA LOHWASSER (eds.), *Begegnungen: Antike Kulturen im Niltal*, Leipzig 2001, 513ff.; ID., "Die 'sudanesischen' Namen sogenannter frühäthiopischer Herrscher", in: TAMÁS A. BÁCS (ed.), *A Tribute to Excellence*, Budapest 2002 (Studia Aegyptiaca 17), 507–14; ID., "Shanakdakhete", in: TIMOTHY KENDALL (ed.), *Nubian Studies 1998*, Boston, MA 2004, 449ff.; ID., "Die Ras Tafari-Liste in sudanarchäologischer Sicht", in: MARTIN FITZENREITER (ed.), *Genealogie – Realität und Fiktion von Identität*, London 2005, 47–55; KAROLA ZIBELIUS-CHEN, *Die ägyptische Expansion nach Nubien: Eine Darlegung der Grundfaktoren*, Wiesbaden 1988 (Beih. zum Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients, Reihe B, 78), EAD., "Nubian Kingdoms, Dyn. 25 through the Kingdom of Meroe", in: ERIK HORNUNG – ROLF KRAUSS – DAVID A. WARBURTON (eds.), *Ancient Egyptian Chronology*, Leiden 2006 (Handbuch der Orientalistik 1, 83), 284–303; ERNEST ZYLHARZ, "Die Fiktion der 'Kuschitischen Völker'", *Kush* 4, 1956, 19–33; ID., "Zum Typus der kaschitischen Sprachen", *Anthropos* 60, 1960, 738–52.

Francis Breyer

Kusuma ↗Konso

Kʷäᶜatit ↗ᶜAdwa

Kwama

Kwama language

K. (also Takwama, Gwama, Goma, Gogwama, Afan Mao, Ṭwa Kwama) is one of the least-known Ethiopian languages and belongs to the ↗Koman subgroup of the ↗Nilo-Saharan phylum. K. is spoken along the Ethiopia-Sudan border in the

southern Beni Šangul/Gumuz Region, from south of Asosa to Gidaamii, and in Gambella and Bonga (for location s. Koman). There is a K.-speaking community in the Yabus area of Sudan. The K.-speaking population has been estimated as few as 99 (CSA 1998:79) and as many as 20,000 (Bender 1976). *Ethnologue* estimates the population to be around 15,000 (Gordon 2005:116).

One of the dialects of K., called Mao, is spoken in the Begi and Tongo areas (different from the ↗Mao of Bambasi, which belongs to ↗Mao group of Omotic languages, s. Davis et al., in preparation; Baye Yimam 2005). Dialectal differences have caused some confusion in terms of the language classification and names (Bender 1997; Davis et al., in preparation). Some of the variations in the data presented in this entry may be due to the fact that research was conducted in different dialects of K. by the various researchers.

Even though ↗Oromiffa is the most important language of wider communication in the area, the majority of the K. people have only basic proficiency in Oromiffa (ibid.).

Outsiders generally consider the K. and ↗Komo people one ethnic group, called "Koma" or "Komo". Some K. people do not recognize the existence of a separate Komo people or language and consider them to be one of the K. clans. The Komo people, who are fewer in number on the Ethiopian side of the border, seem fully aware of the differences between the languages and are bilingual in K. This situation is reversed on the Sudanese side of the border, where the Komo are dominant, greatly outnumbering the K., and the K. are bilingual in the language of the Komo (Burns 1950).

The phoneme inventory of K. is as follows (Bryant, in preparation): plosives: *pʰ, b, tʰ, d, kʰ, g*; ejectives: *p, t, q, ṣ*; fricatives: *s, z, š, h*; nasals: *m, n, ŋ*; liquids: *l, r*; glides: *w, y*.

Zelealem Leyew (2005:8) also lists *f* and *ʾ* as phonemes, but according to other data [*f, ɸ*] seems to be in free variation with */pʰ/*, and the glottal stop [ʾ] may not have phonemic status. Many examples of labialized and palatalized plosives, ejectives, and fricatives, and a few examples of labialized/palatalized nasals are found. Zelealem Leyew explains this as a redefining of vowel sequences (e.g. *ṭua* > *ṭwa* 'mouth') that are generally not allowed in the language.

Zelealem Leyew (ibid.) and Hellenthal (in preparation) have described K. as having a five-vowel system – *i, e, a, o, u* along with their lengthened counterparts. Some data indicate the possibility of a seven-vowel system including */ɛ/* and */ɔ/* (Bryant, in preparation), but minimal pairs among the three front or back vowels have not been found. Some contrastive pairs are: *ṣí* 'death', *ṣé* 'mouse', *ṣè* 'ear'; *tʰúš* 'to defecate', *ṭóš* 'to push', *ṭóš* 'to hurt'.

K. has both lexical and grammatical tone. Some lexical contrastive pairs are: *swè* 'house', *swé* 'to pour'; *šà* 'to dig', *šá* 'to eat (grain)'; *pʰɔ̀* 'to bark', *pʰɔ́* 'to throw'; *bìrìṭ* 'to lay down', *bìrítʰ* 'fork (in the road)'.

Although no consistent patterns have yet been found, grammatical tone occurs in verbs. The following examples show the contrastive tone between 1st and 3rd pers. in the verbs:

gà zénízé	'I exist'	*má zèmìzè*	'we (excl.) exist'
ùhày zènízé	'he exists'	*ùm zèmízè*	'you (pl.) exist'

Gender agreement occurs in pronouns, person marking on the verbs and the relative marker (Hellenthal, in preparation). Masculine nouns take a *-zi* or zero suffix and feminine nouns take a *-to/ta* suffix (Zelealem Leyew 2005:24). Nouns having the prefix *mə-* (ibid. 23) or *mu-* (Hellenthal, in preparation) indicate plural although no number marking was evidenced in the Zebsher dialect (Bryant, in preparation).

Adjectives follow the head in noun phrases and relative clauses: *iim*$_1$ *seere*$_2$ *bo*$_3$, 'that$_3$ white$_1$ cow$_2$'. They can easily be predicated:

ga	*seere-n-seere*	*gu*	*ik*	*seere-ki-seere*
1sg.	white-1/3pl.-white	and	2sg.	white-2sg.-white

'I am white and you are white'

Verbs are inflected for person, number and gender (in 3rd pers sg.) as follows (Hellenthal, in preparation; Bryant, in preparation; when two forms are given, the second is from the Zebsher dialect):

sg.	subject	object	pl.	subject	object
1	*-n*	*-ga*	1incl.	*-n*	*-me*
2	*-g*	*-ʾi/-gi*	1excl.	*-m*	*-ma*
3masc.	*-a/-n*	*-l/-ø*	2	*-m*	*-m/-um*
3 fem.	*-b/-a*	*-b/-ap*	3	*-n/-b*	*-n/-on*

Although much more research needs to be done on the tense/aspect marking, the following observations have been made (Zelealem Leyew 2005:15–20; Hellenthal, in preparation): present and future are indicated by the form stem+person marker+stem while *-ga* indicates past; perfect aspect is indicated by *ma*+person marker+stem; imperfective aspect is indicated by *a*+person marker+stem.

The normal word order is S[ubject]-V[erb]-O[bject], e.g.:

gà	*ṭóp-n-í*	*tòmát*
I	drink-1sg-continuous	cigarette

'I am smoking a cigarette'

Varying OV word orders exist. One such case of OV order is seen with negative constructions, which may mean that word order changes for reasons of focus.

uma	*gaya*	*dama*	*aya*
language-Rel	Oromo	Neg.1PlExclSub	know

'The language of Oromo we don't know.'

ay-me	*um*	*araba*
know-1PlExclSub	language	Arab

'We know the Arab language.'

The independent pronouns are given below. When multiple examples are given, the first set of data is from Bryant (in preparation), the second set is from Bender (1994) or Zelealem Leyew (2005:12f.) and the third set from Hellenthal (in preparation).

gà 'I' *má* 'we (excl.)' *mènè/miini* 'we (incl.)'
ìkʰ 'you' *úm* 'you (pl.)'
hày/hal 'he' *hón/hun* 'they'
hapʰ/happ 'she'

The possessive pronouns are:

anà 'mine' *ámà* 'ours (excl.)' *ámènè/amini* 'ours (incl.)'
ákέ/ake 'yours' *ákóm/akum* 'yours (pl.)'
ádέ/adal/wal 'his' *ábón* 'theirs'
ádápʰ/adab/wap 'hers' [*abun* 'theirs (fem.)', *akun* 'theirs (masc.)'
(Zelealem Leyew 2005:13)]

The ten-word list for K. is: 'one' *ásèn / àsíyéné*; 'two' *swìyà*; 'three' *twàsán*; 'fire' *ánṭ*; 'water' *ìyá*; 'sun' *kʰáyá / kʰáálá*; 'moon' *ṣέwàn*; 'blood' *ṣám*; 'tongue' *ṭákʰé / ṭakáll*; 'tooth' *ší*.

Src.: BAYE YIMAM, *A Comparative Morphology of Mao*, paper presented at the International Conference on Endangered Ethiopian Languages, April 2005; MICHAEL BRYANT, *Initial Observations on Gwama*, in preparation; SAMUEL J. BURNS – CHARLES J. GUTH, *Koman Language: Grammar and Lexicon*, unpublished material; CSA 1998; ANGELA DAVIS et al., "Survey of Northern Mao, Kwama and Komo", *SIL Electronic Survey Reports*, in preparation; RAYMOND G. GORDON (ed.), *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*, Dallas [15]2005; ANNE-CHRISTIE HELLENTHAL, *Notes on Mao*, in preparation.

Lit.: M. LIONEL BENDER, "Nilo-Saharan Overview", in: *BendNonSLang* 439–83, here 475–83; ID., "Proto-Koman Phonology and Lexicon", *AuÜ* 66, 2, 1983, 259–97; ID., "Comparative Komuz Grammar", *AuÜ* 77, 1, 1994, 31–54; ID., *The Nilo-Saharan Languages: a Comparative Essay*, München 1996 (Lincom Handbooks in Linguistics 06), 38f., 62; SAMUEL J. BURNS, *Notes Towards a Grammar of the Koma Language*, 1950, mimeographed; VINIGI LORENZO GROTTANELLI, "Materiali di lingua Coma", *RSE* 5, 1946, 122–55; ZELEALEM LEYEW, "Gwama: a Little-Known Endangered Language of Ethiopia", *Ethiopian Languages Research Center Working Papers* 1, no. 1, 2005, 1–52.

Ralph Siebert – Michael Bryant

Kwama ethnography

The K. (self-name: Gwama; Takwama, Goma, Gogwama, Koma of Asosa, Nokanoka, Northern Mao, Amam) are speakers of a ↗Nilo-Saharan language of the ↗Koman sub-group. The K., like the ↗Opuuo, Uduk, Ganza (↗Mao) and Komo, belong to a culturally and historically related group of peoples that is often referred to under the blanket term "Koma".

According to Corfield (1938:128), the K. historically inhabited the region around Mount Banga. The K. today live along the Ethio–Sudanese border with settlements in both countries (for location s. Koman). They share settlements with the Komo. In Ethiopia they live in southern ↗Beni-Šangul around ↗Asosa and in today's regional state of ↗Gambella around Itang, Gambella town and Bonga. According to the 1994 census (CSA 1996), 2,732 K. (including the Komo) are Ethiopian citizens.

The majority of the K. today are Muslims. The K. are agriculturalists who cultivate mainly sorghum, ground nuts, sesame, sweet potato, red pepper, cotton and tobacco. Additionally they keep a small number of domestic animals. Beekeeping as well as fishing and hunting are practised.

Little is known about the history and social organization of the K. The most comprehensive account is a chapter in ↗Schuver (1884), where he calls them "Amam and Koma". A vocabulary, collected by Schuver, was verified by Theis (1995) as an account of K.

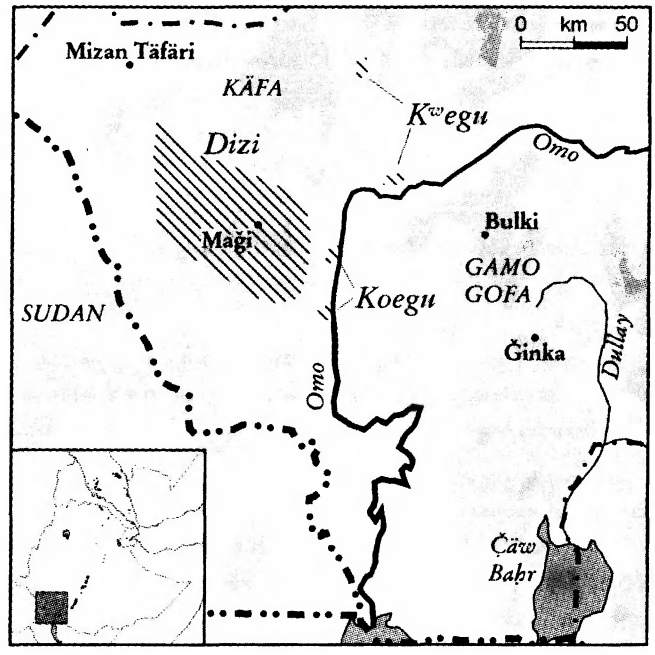
The K. suffered heavily from slave raids and the slave trade like all the small ethnic groups of the region of southern ↗Funǧ. According to Schuver (James – Baumann – Johnson 1996:155) the K. had trade relations with Arabs and Oromo who exchanged salt, cloth and beads for wild-honey and "abandoned women or orphan children".

Src.: CSA 1996; RAYMOND G. GORDON (ed.), *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*, Dallas, TX [15]2005, s. index; ZELEALEM LEYEW, *Gwama, a Little Known Endangered Language of Ethiopia: a Sketch of its Grammar and Lexicon*, ms.; YASIN MOHAMMED, *The Komo of Gidami*, B.A. thesis, Department of History, Addis Ababa University 1982.

Lit.: CerPeople; FRANK D. CORFIELD, "The Koma", *SNR* 21, 1, 1938, 121–65; VINIGI GROTTANELLI, "Burial among the Koma of Western Abyssinia", *Primitive Man* 20, 4, 1947, 71–84; WENDY JAMES – Gerd BAUMANN – DOUGLAS JOHNSON, *Juan Maria Schuver's Travels in North East Africa 1880–1883*, London 1996, 145–69; WENDY JAMES, *The*

Listening Ebony: Moral, Knowledge and Power among the Uduk of Sudan, Oxford 1999, 356–62; ERNST MARNO, *Reisen ins Gebiet des Blauen und Weissen Nils, im Egyptischen Sudan, 1868–1873*, Wien 1874; TESEMMA TA'A, "A Brief Historical Account of the Goma of the Ethio–Sudanese Frontier (ca. 1880–1950)", in: BAHRU ZEWDE (ed.), *Land, Gender and the Periphery: Themes in the History of Eastern and Southern Africa*, Addis Ababa 2003, 167–78; JOACHIM THEIS, *Nach der Razzia: Ethnologie und Geschichte der Koma*, München 1995.

Alexander Meckelburg



K^{w}egu-Muguǧi

K^{w}egu-Muguǧi language cluster

K.-M. is a language cluster that belongs to the south-eastern group of ↗Surmic languages, in turn part of the East Sudanic family within the ↗Nilo-Saharan phylum. The K.-M. cluster consists of two or possibly three languages.

1. Koegu (self-name): The speakers are called Muguǧi by the ↗Kara (Omotic speakers), and Umuču by the ↗Ñaŋatom (Eastern-Nilotic speakers). Koegu is spoken in a small area along the ↗Omo River in the extreme south-western corner of Ethiopia. The number of speakers is approximately 300; in addition to this, approximately 200 people speak Koegu as a second language (according to author's own information collected during a field research in 1987–89).

2. K^{w}egu (self-name): The speakers are called Nidi by the ↗Mursi and Yidi by the ↗Me'en. K^{w}egu is an endangered language, the number of its speakers being no more than 300 according to Turton – Bender in BendNonSLang (1976). The K^{w}egu live among the Mursi and Me'en, along the Omo River, north to the Koegu.

3. K^{w}oygi: The speakers are a caste of hunters among the ↗Dizi (an Omotic language-speaking people; Haberland 1966). Due to lack of linguistic data it is not clear whether the K^{w}oygi belongs to the K.-M. cluster.

Koegu and K^{w}egu show sufficient convergence to be classified into one language cluster:

	Koegu	K^{w}egu
'mouth'	*tok*	*tok*
'water'	*mwa*	*mua*
'eye'	*karbo*	*kerbo*
'girl'	*hinasi*	*inas*
'ground'	*daali*	*dalu*
'nose'	*gurun*	*guro*

Below a short sketch of the Koegu language is presented.

Koegu has 26 consonants: plosive voiceless: *p*, *t*, *č*, *k*, (ʾ); plosive voiced: *b*, *d*, *ǧ*, *g*; plosive ejective: *ṭ*, *č̣*, *q*; implosive: *ɓ*, *ɗ*; voiceless fricative: *s*, *š*, *h*; voiced fricative: *z*; ejective fricative: *ṣ*; nasal: *m*, *n*, *ñ*, *ŋ*; flap *r*; lateral: *l*; and semi-vowel: *w*, *y*. The status of glottal stop ʾ is unclear; it may be an allophone of *h*. The vowels of Koegu are: *i*, *u*, *e*, *o*, *a*. Vowel length is phonemic. There are two levels of tone, which, however, have not been adequately studied in any of the dialects.

Plural number in nouns and adjectives is marked with suffix *-an*:

	sg.	pl.
'white hair'	*puup*	*puup-an*
'head'	*šubo*	*šub-an*
'small, little'	*kudi*	*kud-an*

There are, however, a few exceptions: *hiŋ-aši* 'girl' ~ *hiŋ-atan* (alongside with the regular form), *tači* 'big' ~ *tatač̣an*.

Plurality is marked only once on the final element in a nominal phrase. When a noun is modified with the plural form of an adjective, the singular form of the noun should be used:

hur	*tatač̣an*	
man	big:pl.	i.e. 'adults (lit. big men)'

In verbs, the 1st and 2nd pers. (sg. and pl.) are marked by prefixes *a-* and *i-* respectively. The 3rd pers. is unmarked. For verbal stems with initial vowel, however, the 3rd pers. pl. is marked by a prefix *g(V)-*. With the exception of a few irregular verbs, the singular stem ends in the vowel *-i*, and the plural stem ends in *-a*. Tense aspect markers follow the singular or plural verb stems.

Non-past tense (morphologically unmarked):

	-mat- 'drink'		*-am-* 'eat'	
	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
1st	*a-mat-i*	*a-mat-a*	*a-am-i*	*a-am-a*
2nd	*i-mat-i*	*i-mat-a*	*i-am-i*	*i-am-a*
3rd	*mat-i*	*mat-a*	*am-i*	*ga-am-a*

Imperfective aspect (marked by *-ba*):

	-mat- 'drink'		*-am-* 'eat'	
	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
1st	*a-mat-(i)-ba*	*a-mat-a-ba*	*a-am-(i)-ba*	*a-am-a-ba*
2nd	*i-mat-(i)-ba*	*i-mat-a-ba*	*i-am-(i)-ba*	*i-am-a-ba*
3rd	*mat-(i)-ba*	*mat-a-ba*	*am-(i)-ba*	*ga-am-(a)-ba*

Following are examples of personal, possessive and demonstrative pronouns: *aan* 'I', *iin* 'you (sg.)', *irun ~ iši* 'he or she', *uao* 'we', *iyou* 'you (pl.)', *galgitaʾan ~ galgitaʾi* 'they', *naani* 'my', *nuunu* 'your (sg.)', *neeni* 'his, her', *guayu* 'our', *guuyu* 'your (pl.)', *ka galgitaʾan* 'their', *hiʾiŋ* 'this', *gitaʾan* 'these', *haʾaŋ* 'those', *hiʾiŋ ka ham* 'that over there'.

Word order is Subject-Verb-Object:

hur	*niiš-i-aa*	*moho*	
man	kill-sg.-perf.	lion	'A man killed a lion'
moho	*niiš-i-aa*	*hur*	
lion	kill-sg.-perf.	man	'A lion killed a man'

The ten-word list is: *kium* 'one', *daa* 'two', *ğien* 'three', *gu* 'fire', *mwa* 'water', *šuuši* 'sun', *tigeši* 'moon', *ñiabo* 'blood', *kaat* 'tongue', *ñigi* 'tooth'.

There are no written documents in K.-M.

Lit.: EIKE HABERLAND, "Zur Sprache der Bodi, Mursi und Yidenič in Südwest-Äthiopien", in: JOHANNES LUKAS (ed.), *Neue afrikanistische Studien*, Hamburg 1966 (Hamburger Beiträge zur Afrika-Kunde 5), 87–108; OSAMU HIEDA, "A Sketch of Koegu Grammar: Towards Reconstructing Proto-Southeastern Surmic", in: GERRIT JAN DIMMENDAAL – MARCO LAST (eds.), *Surmic Languages and Cultures*, Köln 1998, 345–73; ID., *Koegu Vocabulary, with a Reference to Kara*, Kyoto 1991; DAVID TURTON – M. LIONEL BENDER, "Mursi", in: *BendNonSLang* 533–61.

Osamu Hieda

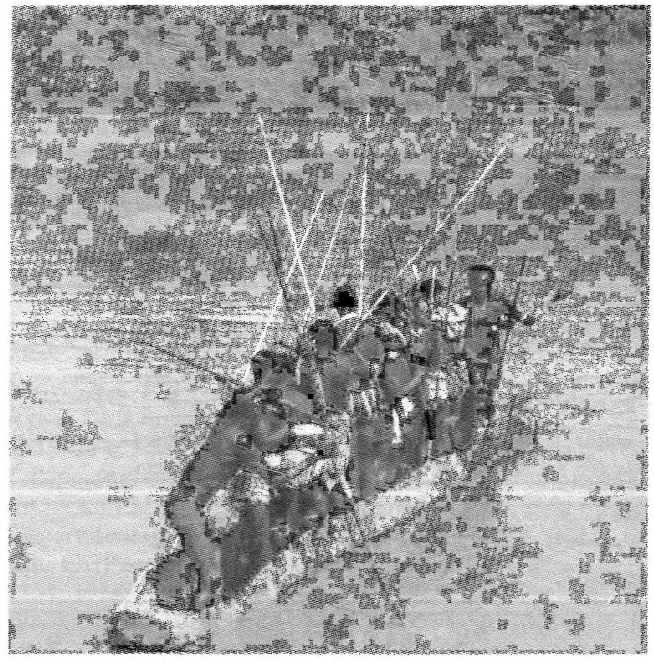
K^{w}egu-Muguği ethnography

At least three ethnically closely interconnected groups, belonging to the K.-M. cluster, are found along the lower ↗Omo in south-western Ethiopia. Their self-designations are K^{w}egu and Koegu (a further relationship to the K^{w}oygi, a clan of the Dizi, cannot be excluded; that name is also used by the Dizi to denominate the K.-M.). Considered as one group by outsiders, they are called Baača in the mountainous agricultural region, Nyidi by the ↗Mursi, Idinit by the ↗Bodi and ↗Meʾen, and Muguği by the ↗Kara.

The total population of these groups is not more than 1,200. Their subsistence economy depends mainly on sorghum cultivation along the river bank; fishing, hunting, and honey-collecting are subsidiary. The common social feature is that all three of them form a stratum which has suffered discrimination by the dominant groups such as the Mursi, the Bodi, and the Kara, mainly because of their non-pastoral and forager-like economy. Clan names originating from the K.-M. are found among the ↗Dizi, the ↗Mağaŋgir, and the ↗Čara.

The group with the self-designation Koegu (ca. 500; known as Muguği by others) has a symbiotic relationship with the neighbouring peoples, the Kara and the ↗Ñaŋatom. This is part of a political strategy that enables them to survive even though they are a minority group in the area. However, the social environment now endangers the Koegu's identity, because it forces them to adopt the languages of their neighbours. This group dwells in the southernmost region. Their oral history reports that they came to the present place from five directions: Bodi, Mursi (two groups), ↗Aari, and ↗Arbore (Marle). A chronological specification shows that this migration might have taken place about 100 to 200 years ago, and it was presumably caused by a cattle epidemic along the Kenyan–Ethiopian border in the 19th cent., and its resulting distress.

Until recently the existence of this cluster of groups was politically and academically ignored. The history of their migration as well as the specific nature of their relationship with their 'host



K^{w}egu crossing the Omo; photo 1988, courtesy of Matsuda Hiroshi

societies' is still largely undocumented (apart from Matsuda's, Turton's and Hieda's work). More knowledge on this, however, would help to understand the ethno-genesis of these communities in south-western Ethiopia as well as their local history and social dynamics.

Lit.: HIROSHI MATSUDA, "Political Visibility and Automatic Rifles; the Muguji in the 1990s", in: WENDY JAMES et al. (eds.), *Remapping Ethiopia: Socialism and After*, Oxford 2002, 173–84; OSAMU HIEDA, "Koegu Vocabulary, with a Reference to Kara", *African Study Monographs* 14, Kyoto 1991; DAVID TURTON, "A Problem of Domination at the Periphery; the Kwegu and the Mursi", in: DONALD DONHAM – WENDY JAMES (eds.), *The Southern Marches of Imperial Ethiopia: Essays in History and Social Anthropology*, Oxford 1986, 148–71.

Matsuda Hiroshi

Kʷəlgora

K. (ኩልጎራ; كلجورة, Kalğūra in Arab. sources) was a historical district situated between the Muslim sultanates of ↗Ifat and ↗Šäwa, according to Huntingford, south of ↗Ankobär and near ↗Aləyyu Amba (HuntGeogr 89f.).

In the account on the campaign of *aṣe* ↗ᶜAmda Ṣəyon I against ↗Ifat, K. is listed as one of the Muslim "lands", along with Gədayä (↗Gidāya), Kubät, Fädse, Qälse, Hargaya and Bəqul Zar. According to a contemporary report of Ibn Faḍlallāh al-↗ᶜUmarī (d. 1349), K. was one of the "founding cities" of Ifat (Arab. *mudun ummahāt*, "cites mères", s. UmMasGaud 8).

Src.: KrAmdS 5 (text) = 9 and n. 49 (tr.); MarAmdS 56f., 208f. (Lit.); UmMasSezg IV, 19; UmMasGaud 8.

Lit.: CerIslam 226f., 230, 265; HuntGeogr 89f.; TadTChurch 134, 139; RAĞAB MUḤAMMAD ᶜABDALḤALĪM, *al-ᶜAlāqāt as-siyāsīya baina muslimī az-Zailaᶜ wa-naṣārā l-Ḥabaša fī l-ᶜuṣūr al-wusṭā*, Cairo 1405 H. [1985 A.D.], 18; PankBord 41, 46.

Franz-Christoph Muth

Kʷəlləkkəmu

K. (ኩልኩሙ) is a kind of ↗*qəne*. It is formed by adding an additional *bet* to the ↗*mäwäddəs qəne* (hence its occasional designation as "long *mäwäddəs*"). The name comes from the initial words of Ps 46/47 (*Kʷəlləkkəmu aḥzab* ..., 'You all people ...'), sung in combination with the K. *qəne*. Usually a K. has nine *bet* and is offered to elderly people or to the head of the Church in which the Sunday office is being performed.

K. are composed by the church scholars (↗*Däbtära, liqawənt*) and teachers well experienced in composing *qəne*. They are seldom improvized because the ↗*Dəggʷa* antiphonary contains a number of short pre-composed hymns, *arbaᶜət*, that serve the same function.

Src.: ADMASU ĞÄMBÄRE, መጽሐፈ: ቅኔ: (ዝክረ: ሊቃውንት) (*Mäṣḥafä qəne [zəkrä liqawənt]*, 'The Book of the *Qəne* [The Memory of the Scholars]'), Addis Abäba 1963 A.M. [1971/72 A.D.], 21f.

Lit.: ENRICO CERULLI, "Di alcune varietà di inni della chiesa Etiopica", *Orientalia* nuova ser. 3, 1934, 294–305; ᶜƎNBAQOM QALÄ WÄLD, ስለ: ቅኔ: ትምህርትና: ስለ: ጥቅሙ (*Səlä qəne təmhərtənna səlä ṭəqmu*, 'About the Teaching of Qəne and its Importance'), in: *PICES* 3, vol. 2, 117–32; ERIC GODET, "La métrique du qenē guèze", *Abbay* 12, 1983–84 [1985], 117–203; HabUff 215; *mämhər* ƳƎḪEƳƎS WÄRQE, ንባብ: ወትርጓሜ: ዘቅኔያት: አዕማደ: ምሥጢራት (*Nəbab wätərgʷame zäqəneyat: aᶜəmadä məṣṭirat*, 'Reading and Interpretation of *Qəne*: the Pillars of Mysteries'), Addis Abäba 1960 A.M. [1968/69 A.D.]; HabTent 178ff.

Habtemichael Kidane

Kʷərᶜatä rəʾəsu

K.r. (ኩርዓተ: ርእሱ, lit. 'the striking of His [Jesus's] head', *percussio capitis*) was the name originally given to a European painting of Christ which served in Ethiopia as royal palladium. Later on, it was also applied to designate all its Ethiopian copies, and even other thematically related works.

Fig. 1: The original *Kʷərᶜatä rəʾəsu* or *Ecce Homo*, attributed to Adriaen Ysenbrant or his circle; private collection in Portugal; photo 1917, Courtauld Institute of Art

Fig. 2: Christ crowned with thorns; miniature in ms. *Gəbrä ḥəmamat*, fol. 123v, end of the 15th cent., Däbrä Abunä Märᶜawe Krəstos, Šire; photo 2005, courtesy of Michael Gervers

The original painting (tempera on an oak panel, 31.5 x 26 cm, fig. 1) is ascribed on stylistic grounds to a representative of the Flemish Northern Renaissance school, namely to Adriaen Ysenbrant/Isenbran(d)t (Brügge, ca. 1490–1551; s. Friedländer 1974:90) or his workshop (but cp. ↗Andrade, Lázaro de). It features Jesus in half-figure with raised hands in a gesture of acceptance, a mantel over his naked body, the crown of thorns and an elaborated, rayed halo. Christ's face is calm and his sufferings are only indicated by blood dripping from his forehead. This type of representation, called *Ecce Homo*, alludes to the Gospel account of the mocking of Jesus (Jn 19:4–6; Mat 27:27–31; Mk 15:17–19). The painting was most probably brought to Ethiopia either during the 1520s by the Portuguese Mission (↗Alvares) or later by the ↗Jesuits. A caption in Gəᶜəz was then locally added: **ዘከመ፡ ኰርዕዎ፡ ርእሶ፡ ለእግዚእነ** (*zäkämä kʷärᶜəwwo rəʾəso läʾəgziʾənä*, 'how they strike the head of Our Lord').

According to the chronicles of ↗Yoḥannəs I, ↗Bäkaffa, ↗Iyasu II and ↗Täklä Giyorgis, the painting accompanied the Ethiopian emperors on military expeditions; in its presence the people swore fidelity to the royal house. The icon was kept either in ↗Aksum or in the royal residences until it was captured by the Sudanese Muslims battling with Iyasu II in 1744, during his unsuccessful expedition to ↗Sinnār. Returned on payment of a ransom, the K.r. was transferred to one of the monasteries on Lake Ṭana for reasons of safety. *Aṣe* Tewodros II took it to ↗Mäqdäla as part of the royal insignia. From there it disappeared when General ↗Napier seized the fortress in 1868. In fact, the painting was taken by the ↗British Museum's envoy to Ethiopia, Richard Holmes, who kept it secretly in his private collection – which was the reason why the painting was not returned to Ethiopia when repeatedly requested by *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV, who even charged a diplomatic envoy with the task of returning it to Ethiopia.

In 1890 the K.r. was the subject of a lecture by the Belgian art historian A. Wauters, who ascribed it to Quentin Massys (1466–1530). Other specialists who examined the work when it was auctioned at Christie's in London (1917 and 1950) expressed different opinions concerning its origin. Detailed descriptions, with notes on the range of colours of the K.r., produced on those occasions are particularly valuable, since until recently the painting was known to scholars only from a black-white photograph. The K.r. is presently kept in a private collection in Portugal.

Ethiopian traditional ↗historiography lends a much more ancient and honourable origin to the K.r.: painted by St. Luke (GueCopMen 25f.) or by St. John the Evangelist or St. Mary (different versions in the "short chronicle", s. CerPal vol. 1, 267; Conti Rossini 1926:363), the picture is said have been brought to Ethiopia from ↗Jerusalem under "king Dawit" as booty from Egypt along with the fragments of the True Cross (↗*Mäsqäl*) and other precious relics. Kept in a "tower" of the royal palace, the painting was deposed on the throne covered by precious textiles, and venerated in daily and nightly services.

Another version of this story is reported in the *Mäṣḥafä ↗ṭefut*, oral tradition (Pollera 1926:308f.), and mentioned by James ↗Bruce: the origins of the K.r. are said to be connected with the Ethiopian acquisition of important holy places in Jerusalem, namely the Chapel of the Mock-

ing in the Holy Sepulchre, during the reigns of either ↗Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob or ↗Baᵓədä Maryam. The main relic of this chapel was a fragment of the broken column on which Jesus was sitting when mocked and crowned with thorns (CerPal vol. 1, 265ff.). Not unimportant for the development of K.r. iconography might be those legends about "king Dawit" – actually ↗Dawit II (yet identified with *aṣe* ↗Ləbnä Dəngəl), or ↗Dawit III – according to which, among the relics obtained by him from Jerusalem were the nails of the cross, the reed used by the tormentors to smite Christ's head and the sticks to fix the crown of thorns on his head. A source concerning *aṣe* ↗Täklä Giyorgis ascribes to the K.r. supernatural powers, telling about the fire that devastated the military camp but did not touch the tent with the icon (BlunChr 248).

Given its prestige, the K.r. became a most frequent subject of painting on wood, usually along with other scenes of the Passion (IES 3894). It can either occupy a whole single panel or be the central subject of a triptych (IES 3329). In manuscript illuminations, the K.r. is not included in the Passion sequence, but ranges with the devotional images grouped at the beginning or at the end of the book (*Dərsanä Mikaᵓel* from Aṣbi Śəllase, fol. 5v). As a devotional picture it also appears on folded parchment strips or ↗*sənsul* (Sam Fogg no. 78). Significantly, it is one of the models dating from around 1700, in what remains of a painter's album from ↗Däbrä Damo, now Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, ms. Parm. 3853 (formerly in the collection of Antonio ↗Mordini, no. 20, fol. 2v). In the middle of the 18th cent. the K.r. turns up on the obverses of large, shafted ↗crosses, usually in addition to the Crucifixion, Flagellation and Entombment (IES 3570 from Waldəbba, Säqʷar Kidanä Məḥrät), as well as on the lower square of some hand crosses. It is seldom included in church decoration programmes. When present, it is placed on the west wall of the ↗*mäqdäs* as part of the Passion cycle, but seems to have been introduced as late as at the end of the 18th cent. (↗Narga Śəllase).

From the iconographical point of view, two main types of K.r. can be distinguished, both following the styles noted in Ethiopian art between the early 17th cent. and the present time. The first type closely follows the European *Vorlage* (panel IES 4195): if changes are made, they primarily concern the form and embellishment of the halo. This detail, depicted in the royal icon by a series of very thin rays with triple endings in

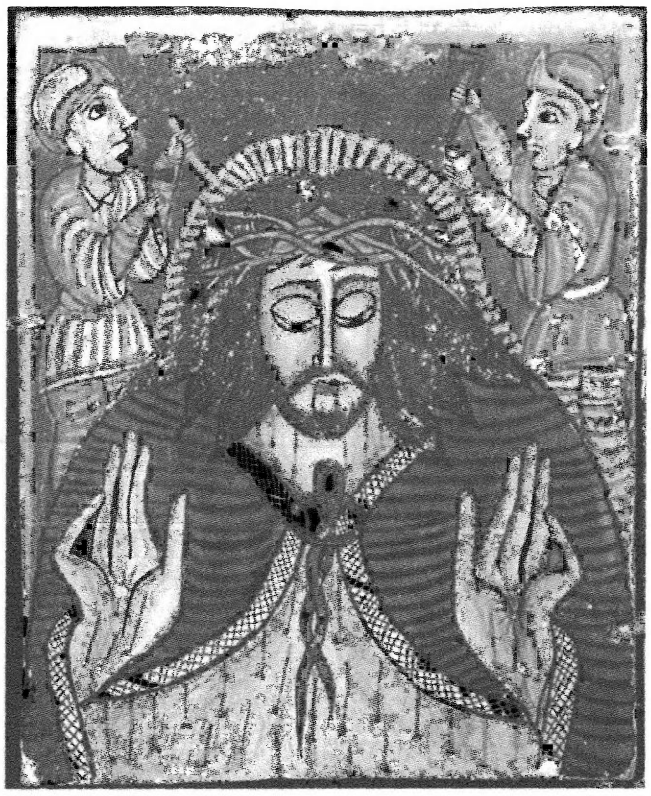


Fig. 3: Diptych, left wing; 18th cent., IES 3790; photo courtesy of Paul Henze

the form of *fleur-de-lis*, is often transformed into differently outlined circles (double diptych IES 6965) and sometimes into rhombi (triptych IES 4115). The second type includes elements borrowed from the Passion scenes, in particular the Arrest of Christ, the Mocking and the Crowning with thorns, which in their western form entered the Ethiopian pictorial repertory already at the end of the 15th cent. (fig. 2). The Crown, which assumed a peculiar form in Ethiopia, was conflated with the radiant halo of the royal icon and turned into the nails protruding from Christ's head (diptych IES 4116). In the narrative variant of the scene, two tormentors, often represented with beastly faces and Muslim attire, hammer them into his head (fig. 3). This iconographical type may be influenced by the elusive tradition of the magical square and the fifth nail, driven through Christ's forehead (instead of his chest) at the Crucifixion (Staude 1971:6f.). It was also suggested that the Ethiopian fixed poem form called ↗*sämənna wärq*, based on a multifaceted understanding of meanings, contributed to the pictorial combination of golden rays and nails/thorns (Stoffregen Pedersen 2002).

A fusion with the image of the *Vir doloris* ("Man of sorrow") and the west-European type of the Ascension resulted instead in the anachro-

nistic formula of Christ displaying the bleeding wounds on his palms. This addition is in agreement with the widespread interpretation of the scene by Ethiopian artists, in whose sight the subtle expression of Christ's sufferings as found in the European painting must have been ineffective: in order to dramatize the scene, they portrayed him with blood streaming from his wounded head, and even with bloodshot eyes (triptych IES 3492). Sometimes the K.r.'s devotional role is emphasized by the addition of a prostrated suppliant (IES 8052).

Src.: BassÉt [I, II] 57, 18 = 87, 15; BlunChr 236, 248, 257, 270, 279; BegCron 9f.; BruNile II, 620, 640; III, 21, 131; ANDRÉ CAQUOT, "Aperçu préliminaire sur le Maṣḥafa Ṭefut de Gechen Amba", *AE* 1, 1955, 89–108, here 91, 100; CRNuov 410; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Due nuovi manoscritti della «Cronaca Abbreviata» di Abissinia", *RRALm* ser. 6ª, 2, 1926, 351–421, here 360–66; FotiCr 91; GueCopMen 25f., 32, 478; GuiIohan 19, 145, 235, 318, 326 (tr.); GuiIyas 58, 124, 126, 138, 177, 243, 262 (tr.); HarAeth II, 168, 258; JULES PERRUCHON, "Légendes relatives à Dawit II (Lebna-Dengel), roi d'Éthiopie", *RevSem* 6, 1898, 157–71, here 159, 166; ALBERTO POLLERA, *Lo stato etiopico e la sua chiesa*, Milano – Roma 1926, 308f.; EDWARD ULLENDORFF – ABRAHAM DEMOZ, "Two Letters from the Emperor Yohannes of Ethiopia to Queen Victoria and Lord Granville", *BSOAS* 32, 1969, 135–42.

Lit.: "A Flemish Picture from Abyssinia", *The Burlington Magazine* 7, 1905, 394; MARTIN BAYLEY, "The Kwerᶜata Reʾesu Brought to Light", *The Art Newspaper* 9, 80, April 1998; STEPHEN BELL, "A Military Helmet and Mail Shirt at Däbrä Wärq Goğğam: Two Historic Objects of Probable Earlier Portuguese", in: *PICEA* 5, 152–60, here 157f.; CerPal vol. 1, 265–74, figs. 16–23; ENRICO CERULLI, "Il Gesù percosso nell'arte Etiopica e le sue origini dell'Europa del XV secolo", *RSE* 6, 1947, 109–29; ChojPaint 405ff.; STANISŁAW CHOJNACKI, "The 'Kwerᶜata Reʾesu': Its Iconography and Significance: an Essay in Cultural History of Ethiopia", Napoli 1985 (*Annali IUO* 45, 1. Supplemento 42), 1–64; RENÉ CORNET, "La curieuse histoire d'un tableau flamand découvert en Afrique Centrale", *La Revue coloniale belgue* 85, 1949, 234-36; GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, "Album di pittore. Ms. Parm. 3853 [= Mordini 20]", in: *Cum picturis ystoriatum. Codici devozionali e liturgici della Biblioteca Palatina*, Modena 2001, 282–87, no. 60 (Lit.); MAX JACOB FRIEDLÄNDER, *Early Netherlandish Painting* 11: *Manierists - Adriaen Ysenbrandt*, Leiden 1974, 89, no. 199; RICHARD PANKHURST, "The History of an Ethiopian Icon", *Abba Salama* 10, 1979, 169–87; ID., "The History of Kwerata Reʾesu", *African Affairs. The Journal of the Royal African Society* 81, 1982, 117–25; WILHELM STAUDE, "Le cinq clous du Christ et l'icône impériale éthiopienne", *Ethnologische Zeitschrift* 1, 1971, 5–25; NIGEL REYNOLDS, "Art Historian Solves the Mystery of Stolen Icon", *The Daily Telegraph*, March 27, 1988, 3; KIRSTEN STOFFREGEN PEDERSEN, "The Nail Version of the Kwerʾätä Reʾesu Icon", paper presented at the *Sixth International Conference of the History of Ethiopian Art*, Addis Ababa 2002.

Ill.: AfrZion no. 121, 234; DAVID APPLEYARD, *Ethiopian Manuscripts*, London 1993, 116, no. 78; CLAIRE BOSCTIESSÉ – ANAÏS WION, *Peintures sacrées d'Ethiopie*, Paris 2005, 38–51; STANISŁAW CHOJNACKI, *Ethiopian Icons*, Milano 2000, nos. 12, 27, 92, 130f., 152, 217, 266; EINE MOORE, *Ethiopian Processional Crosses*, Addis Ababa 1971, 55f., fig. 43; WOLFGANG FRITZ VOLBACH (ed.), *Koptische Kunst: Christentum am Nil* [Katalog der Ausstellung in der Villa Hügel], Essen 1963, nos. 499, 392–99; MARIO DI SALVO, *Churches of Ethiopia: the Monastery of Narga Sellase*, Milan 1999, fig. 143.

Ewa Balicka-Witakowska

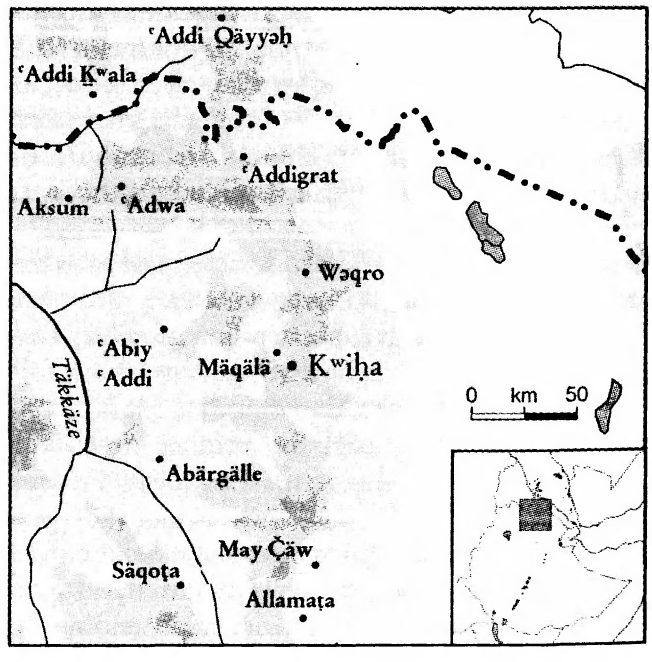
Kʷiḥa

K. (ኩሓ, Ital. Quihà) is an ancient settlement in ↗Ǝndärta about ten km away from Mäqälä, on the Ǝndärta route from the Red Sea coast via ↗Akkälä Guzay into inner Ethiopia. Today it is an important garrison for ↗Təgray.

Archaeological surveys showed that K. is a site of ancient settlement. Findings of obsidian and stone tools are reported. Godet (1977:54) compares them with the stone tool craftsmenship of the Mäqdäla area in Wällo, northern Somalia (Hargeisa) and Kenya.

K.'s site of ancient ruins, first described by Conti Rossini (1938), lies in the north-western part of the town. The compound of the modern Qəddus Čärqos church, built in 1985/86, separates the main part of the site, with 30 broken columns and carved stones, from a smaller site ca. 150 m away, with two more lying columns or stelae. The ancient ruins of the main site are the remnants of a rectangular building. They seem to date already from late Aksumite or post-Aksumite times (Godet 1977:54).

Local tradition attributes them to an ancient church "founded by *aṣe* ↗ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon",



The Č̣ärqos church of Kʷiḥa and Aksumite remains; photo 2005, courtesy of the author

called Ǝnda Č̣ärqos or Ǝnda Qirqos (Smidt 2007:110; Sengal in CRStud 43); later it was destroyed by ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī (Godet 1977:54; Smidt in StudAeth 260). There is also an oral tradition which claims that this church ruin is among "the oldest" in Ethiopia; it is said to date, along with the church ruin of ↗Agulaᶜ in ↗Ṣəraᵓ (north of K.), "from the time of the foundation of Aksum Ṣəyon". Archaeological research on the site has not been carried out yet. Anfray (1973:17; cp. Godet 1977:36; Smidt 2007:110) compares the columns with those from the also yet unexplored site of Däbrä Gärgiš, Ḥaramat (near an Ǝnda Č̣ärqos church), also possibly late Aksumite or early post-Aksumite.

After the 16th-cent. destruction of the church, the parish of Ǝnda Č̣ärqos became part of the parish of Ǝgär Ḥariba (እገር፡ ሐሪባ, also Wəgär Ḥariba, Wägər Ḥariba), up on a nearby hill overlooking the trade route passing by and then becoming the main centre of the area, as the seat of the local ↗*č̣əqa šum*. In colonial times, when K. became more important than Ǝgär Ḥariba thanks to its location at the new asphalted road and the incorporation of the nearby Ǝmba Fäqadu settlement, another church (dedicated to St. Mary) was founded in K.'s new centre, near the road.

Through private initiative, the Č̣ärqos church was "rebuilt" during the *Därg* time (in rectangular shape). The surrounding land with the late Aksumite ruins, traditional *rəsti* of local families (↗*Rəst*), became church land, and peasants plough it around the ruins as a part of their service to the church (Tgn. *mäbaᵓ*). Occasional findings are ↗pottery and remains of human skeletons, which point to the former use of the site as a ↗burial place.

50 m from the main site, within the today's church compound, a stone with an ancient Arabic ↗inscription has been found. Identified by the local population as "Hebrew", witnessing their "descent from ancient Israel", it is kept in the church (s. Smidt in StudAeth). The inscription is part of a broken 10th/12th-cent. Muslim gravestone and belongs to a series of Arabic inscriptions of the same age described already in the 19th cent.; they are mentioned as having been found in Ǝgär Ḥariba, because the area belonged to that parish before attached to K. (Conti Rossini 1938).

All known inscriptions are from Muslim gravestones and have allowed a partial reconstruction of the genealogy of two important Muslim families of the 11th cent. and their connection to those known from the ↗Dahlak funeral stelae. They are thus important witnesses to the existence of Muslim trade posts connecting inner Təgray with the Red Sea commerce in the ↗Zagʷe period and before. It is reported that up to the 16th cent., Muslims had been responsible for the tax collection at K. Ǝgär Ḥariba was an important tax station for the salt trade until the reign of *aṣe* ↗Iyasu I (cp. GuiIohan 207; Conti Rossini 1938:404). At times, Ǝgär Ḥariba was the seat of important local governors, such as Däbbäb, the brother of *ras* ↗Wäldä Śəllase (ibid. 399). It appears as a tributary district within Ǝndärta with a *nägarit* for its own, apart from Mäqälä, in the tax register of *aṣe* Tewodros II (Girma-Selassie Asfaw – Pankhurst 1978:81).

Src.: interview with local elders, Kʷiḥa, November 2000, June 2004; interview with *ato* Käbbädä Bärhe, Agulaᶜ, June 2004; GuiIohan 25, 196 (text) = 26, 207 (tr.); COSTANTINO PANSERA, "Quattro stele musulmane presso Uogher Haribà nell'Enderta (fine sec. IV egira)", in: *CRStud* 3–7; MADELEINE SCHNEIDER, "Stèles funéraires arabes de Quiha", *AE* 7, 1967, 107–18.

Lit.: FRANCIS ANFRAY, "Nouveaux sites antiques", JES 11, 2, 1973, 13–27, here 17; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Necropoli musulmana ed antica chiesa cristiana presso Uogrì Haribà nell'Enderta", *RSO* 17, 1938, 399–408; JEAN DORESSE, *Au pays de la reine de Saba: l'Ethiopie antique et moderne*, Paris 1956, 97; GIRMA-SELASSIE ASFAW – RICHARD PANKHURST, *Tax Records of and Inventories of Emperor Tewodros of Ethiopia, 1855-1868*, London 1978, 81; ERIC GODET, "Repertoire de sites pré-axoumites et axoumites du Tigré (Ethiopie)", *Abbay* 8, 1977, 19–58, here 36, 54 (Lit.); *Guida* 301; GIANFRANCESCO LUSINI, "Christians and Moslems in Eastern Tigrāy up to the XIVᵗʰ c.", *Studi Magrebini* 25, 1993–97 [2001], 245–52; ELENA SENGAL, "Poemetto amarico in onore di San Quirico", in: *CRStud* 41–58, here 43; WOLBERT G.C. SMIDT, "Eine arabische Inschrift aus Kʷiḥa, Tigray", in: *StudAeth* 259–68 (Lit.); ID., "Ein wenig erforschter aksumitischer Platz in Däbrä Gärgiš, ᶜAddi Daᶜəro, Təgray", *Aethiopica* 10, 2007, 106–14, here 110.

Wolbert Smidt

L

Lä^{ə}asonhi

L. (**ለአሶንሂ**, also La^{ə}ašonhi) was king of Hinnaryo (↗ Ǝnnarya). He was installed after his predecessor ↗ Säpänhi had been killed, and ruled for an unknown number of years in 1570s (Lange 1982:33). His name is known from one of the versions of the Chronicle of *aṣe* ↗ Śärṣä Dəngəl only (CRHist 167), which refers to his favouring Christianity and his strong desire to embrace it (cp. ibid. 120). Later on in the text, the Emperor's *azzaž* in charge of finances is denounced for having prevented L. and his people from formal conversion, in order to retain extra revenue from Hinnaryo. L. was followed on the throne by his son ↗ Bädančo.

Src.: CRHist 120, 167 (text) = 136, 180 (tr.).
Lit.: WERNER JÜRGEN LANGE, *History of the Southern Gonga (Southwestern Ethiopia)*, Wiesbaden 1982 (SKK 61), 26, 29, 33; PankBord 252f., 273.

Denis Nosnitsin

Labhalet ^{c}Are ↗ Minifire

Lada^{c} ^{c}Uṯmān

L.^{c}U. (لدع عثمان or لاد عثمان, Lād ^{c}Uṯmān; in Gə^{c}əz sources: **ለደዕ፡ እስማን**, Lädä^{c} Ǝsman; fl. 15th cent.) was, according to the Chronicle of *aṣe* ↗ Bä^{ə}ədä Maryam I, a governor (*mäk^{w}ännən*) of ↗ ^{c}Adal who shortly after the death of the ↗ Walašma^{c} *sulṭān* Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Badlāy (r. 1445–71) marched against Bä^{ə}ədä Maryam, so that the latter had to stop the preparations for his coronation in ↗ Aksum and to order all the *mäk^{w}anənt*, who should have participated in the ceremonies at Aksum, to join him (PerrZarY 150). The Chronicle does not say anything about the result of L.^{c}U.'s advance. Later, the troops of Bä^{ə}ədä Maryam were successful against ^{c}Adal twice (ibid. 159; 167), but finally they were defeated in 1474 (ibid. 180f.). It is not said whether L.^{c}U. participated in these later battles.

From ^{c}Arabfaqīh's ↗ *Futūḥ al-Ḥabaša* we know that L.^{c}U.'s son, *gärad* Aḥmad, played a role during the time of ↗ Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī (Grañ), first in the entourage of the Walašma^{c} *sulṭān* ↗ ^{c}Umardīn Muḥammad b. Aẓharaddīn and later as an officer of Aḥmad Grañ.

According to Trimingham (TrIslam 82), L.^{c}U. was the governor of ↗ Zayla^{c}; however, this is not supported by any source. Perruchon (PerrZarY 150) considers L.^{c}U. to be the successor to the above-mentioned *sulṭān* Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Badlāy. This statement is, as Cerulli (1931:48, n. 37) pointed out, based on an over-interpretation of the passage in the Chronicle of Bä^{ə}ədä Maryam. Most probably, L.^{c}U. was only a nobleman in the Walašma^{c} sultanate, because according to the Walašma^{c} chronicle Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Badlāy was succeeded by his son Ibrāhīm (ibid.).

Basset (BassHist 8, n. 2 [tr.]) does not exclude the possibility of identifying L.^{c}U. with Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Badlāy's grandson, the renegade ^{c}Uṯmān b. Sulaymān b. Muḥammad b. Badlāy, mentioned by ^{c}Arabfaqīh for the year 1528 (BassHist 103 [tr.]). This, however, seems to be improbable for chronological reasons.

Morin (MorDicAfar 211) suggests that the name Lada^{c} may be derived from ^{c}Afar *la^{c}dé*, 'having a wrinkled face'. According to Morin, this would fit well with the hypothesis of an increasing influence of the ↗ ^{c}Afar in ^{c}Adal in the 14th cent.

Src.: BassHist 5, 45, 78, 108f., 241 (text) = 8, n. 2; 103, 149, n. 1; 183f., 340 (tr.); ENRICO CERULLI, "Documenti arabi per la storia dell'Etiopia", *MRALm* ser. 6^{a}, 4, 1931, 39–101, here 48, n. 37 [repr. in: *CerIslam* 135–206, here 146, n. 37]; PerrZarY 150, 159, 167, 180f.
Lit.: AbRSea 35; MorDicAfar 211; TrIslam 82.

Ewald Wagner

Lādū(h)

Gärad L. (لادو, لادو, probably the same name as لاد, لدع, also called لادوه زخل, Zuḫal Lādūh, d. 18 September 1588, Wäraba, Awsa) was governor of ↗ Zayla^{c}. He was put into power by *imām* ↗ Muḥammad Gāsā I b. Ibrāhīm of ↗ Awsa (r. 1576–83). The tenure of L. was interrupted when the eunuch *gärad* Nūr and the *Sem gärad* ^{c}Umardīn, together with the Somali, sacked the town. Muḥammad Gāsā I, however, removed Nūr from Zayla^{c} and reinstalled L. (Cerulli 1931:70; Wagner 1979:661).

It was L. who ordered the architect ᶜAṭīya b. Muḥammad al-Qurašī to build a wall around Zaylaᶜ. An Arabic document says that this happened when ↗Muḥammad b. Naṣīr b. ᶜUṯmān was in the Christian empire to fight *aṣe* ↗Śärṣä Dəngəl (Cerulli 1931:89), which, according to Christian sources (CRHist 48 [text]), was in 1576. Since it seems probable that the wall was built to prevent a second sacking of the town, we may suppose that the first happened at the very start of Muḥammad Gāsā I b. Ibrāhīm's rule and that L. had the wall built just after Nūr and his associates had been driven out of the town. After his restoration as governor, L. ruled the town till his death.

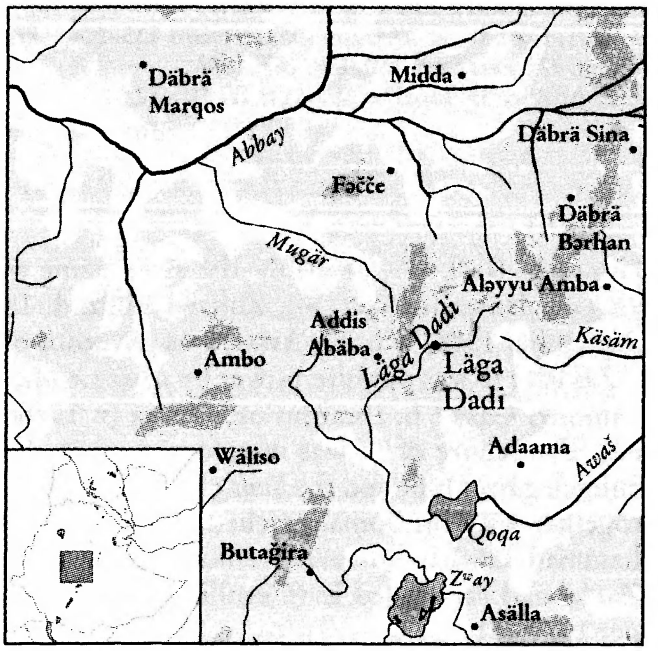
↗Gärad

Src.: ENRICO CERULLI, "Documenti arabi per la storia dell'Etiopia", *MRALm* ser. 6ª, 4, 1931, 39–101, here 70 (text) = 72 (tr.), 89 [repr. in: *CerIslam* 135–206, here 174 = 178f., 197 = 198]; CRHist 48 (text) = 56 (tr.); EWALD WAGNER, "Neues Material zur ᶜAusa-Chronik'", in: ULRICH HAARMANN – PETER BACHMANN (eds.), *Die islamische Welt zwischen Mittelalter und Neuzeit: Festschrift für Hans Robert Roemer zum 65. Geburtstag*, Beirut – Wiesbaden 1979 (Beiruter Texte und Studien 22), 657–73.
Lit.: PankHist I, 63.

Ewald Wagner

Läga Dadi

The L.D. (ለጋ፡ ዳዲ, Orom. sp. Laga Daadhii) is a tributary of the ↗Aqaqi river. It has its source on the edge of the North Šäwa plateaux in Oromiyaa. Its importance lies in the reservoir about 25 km north-east of ↗Addis Abäba (38° 92' E, 9° N) that supplies the Ethiopian capital with water. The reservoir is created by two dykes, made of reinforced rocks, damming the valley: upstream, 450 m long and 46 m high (110,000 m³), and downstream, 600 m long and 20 m high (21,000 m³). The artificial L.D. lake was inaugurated in 1970 by ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I. Threatened by silting, it had to be cleaned ten years later. The reservoir contains 30,000,000 m³ of water and supplies the Läga Dadi Water Treatment Plant with 150 000 m³ water a day. Built in 1986 by the Addis Ababa Water Sewerage Authority this plant also treats 70,000 m³ a day provided by the Gäfarsa (built during the Italian occupation and later enlarged) and Dire reservoirs.



↗Water

Lit.: STÉPHANIE GUITTON, *Eau et santé en ville. Approche méthodologique des risques sanitaires à Addis Abeba (Éthiopie)*, DEA thesis, Université Paris 1, 2001; WELDAY BERHE DESALEGN, *Water Supply Coverage and Water Loss in Distribution: the Case of Addis Ababa*, Enschede 2005; J.P. VAN DEN BOSSCHE – GARRY MICHAEL BERNACSEK, *Sourcebook for Inland Fishery Resources of Africa*, Rome 1990, vol. 3.

Alain Gascon

Läga Gora

L.G. (ለጋ፡ ጎራ, from Orom. *laga* 'river, stream', *goora* 'loop, curve, hill') is a highland region in southern ↗Wällo, roughly corresponding to the area of today's ↗Wärrä Illu. The natural frontier between L.G. and ↗Šäwa is formed by the ↗Wänčət river (for location s. Läga Hidda).

L.G. lies within the historical ↗Amhara province; it is here that the vestiges of the 15th-16th-cent. ↗Mäkanä Śəllase church were found. Due to the migration of the ↗Oromo in the 17th–18th cent., the population of L.G. had an Oromo cultural background. This faded away because of Amhara influences from inside and outside Wällo, although a difference was maintained through conversion to ↗Islam at the end of 18th cent.

In the early 19th-cent. European accounts L.G. acts as one of the powerful *säbat bet Wällo* ('the seven houses of Wällo'). As the form of the toponym L.G. shows, clan relationship or common descent with such other members of the *säbat bet* confederation as ↗Läga Hidda and ↗Lägambo seems possible.

L.G. was on good terms with Šäwan rulers and gained a favourable position in the balance of power among Wällo chiefdoms. The residence of the chief of L.G. (↗Adära Bille in the 1840s) was at Gattira, a day's walk from the stronghold of Dayär, from where the northern border of Šäwa was controlled. The "Gattiročč dynasty" was influential in this part of Wällo, until *nəguś*

Mənilək brought the region under Šäwan control in the 1870s.

An early and detailed account of L.G. is provided by Krapf who spent one week there, when he was detained and robbed. The missionary passed L.G. on his way to Egypt in 1842 and was warmly received by Adära Bille. Krapf travelled the next day to Lägambo and ↗Wärrä Himäno but on reaching Dälanta he had to turn back because of problems with the armies of Bägemdər. This time he was arrested in Gattira and escorted out of Wällo through ↗Täkʷəladäre and Yäğğu without his luggage. It is likely that Adära Bille had been ordered by ↗Śahlä Śəllase of Šäwa (through the governor of Dayär) not to let the European missionary return. This episode indicates that the ruler of L.G. cooperated with Šäwa in protecting its northern border. According to Krapf, his guards spoke Amharic but used Oromiffa when they wanted not to be understood by their captive (who, however, could understand them). According to the same source, Adära Bille took major decisions after a ↗*wädağğa* ceremony, i.e. an Islamic ritual gathering with Oromo religious influences.

The exact location of the historical L.G. cannot be reconstructed as it varied throughout history. It gradually disappeared as a political unit after the foundation of Wärrä Illu town in the 1870s. In the 20th cent. L.G. was absorbed into the Wärrä Illu province dominated by Šäwa. In the provincial administration of post-war Imperial Ethiopia (1941–74) the northern part of historical L.G. became a *wäräda* in the south-east of Wärrä Himäno *awraǧğa*.

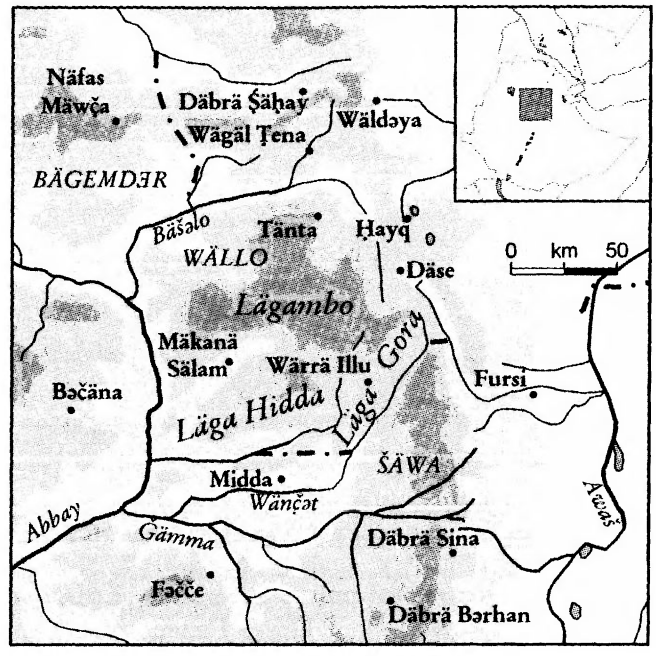
Src.: DOMENICO BRIELLI, "Ricordi storici dei Uollo (con note di C. Conti Rossini)", in: *CRStud* 78–110, here 81f. and n. 9; EDMOND COMBES – MAURICE TAMISIER, *Voyage en Abyssinie, dans le pays des Galla, de Choa et d'Ifat*, Paris 1838, vol. 2, 237–40; GueCopMen 136, 169, 563; IsKrapf.
Lit.: ÉLOI FICQUET, "La Traversée du Wällo par Johann Ludwig Krapf (Mars 1842)", in: ALAIN ROUAUD (ed.), *Les orientalistes sont des aventuriers. Guirlande offerte à Joseph Tubiana par ses élèves et amis*, Saint-Maur 1999 (Bibliothèque Peiresc 12), 117–29; HusIslam 225.

Éloi Ficquet

Läga Hidda

L.H. (ለጋ ሂዳ, from Orom. *laga*, 'river, stream', *hidda*, 'vine') is a highland territory in the South ↗Wällo zone of the Amhara region, in the northwest of the ↗Wärrä Illu area.

The ruins of the 15th-cent. monastery of ↗Däbrä Nägʷädgʷad are believed to be in L.H. (Brielli in CRStud 82). Reliable historical data on



L.H. appears in the first descriptions of Wällo in the middle of the 19th cent. They mention L.H. as one of the *säbat bet Wällo*, 'the seven houses of Wällo', i.e. the seven most powerful Wällo Oromo clans of the ↗*Zämänä mäsafənt* period. The toponymic similarity between L.H. and the designations of such adjoining territories as ↗Läga Gora and ↗Lägambo, also mentioned among the *säbat bet Wällo*, may suggest clan links.

In 1836, French travellers Combes and Tamisier stopped in L.H. and were first welcomed by its chief Ḥasan Dullo (name indicating that he was an Oromo confessing Islam) but then robbed when it was discovered that they were European and Christian.

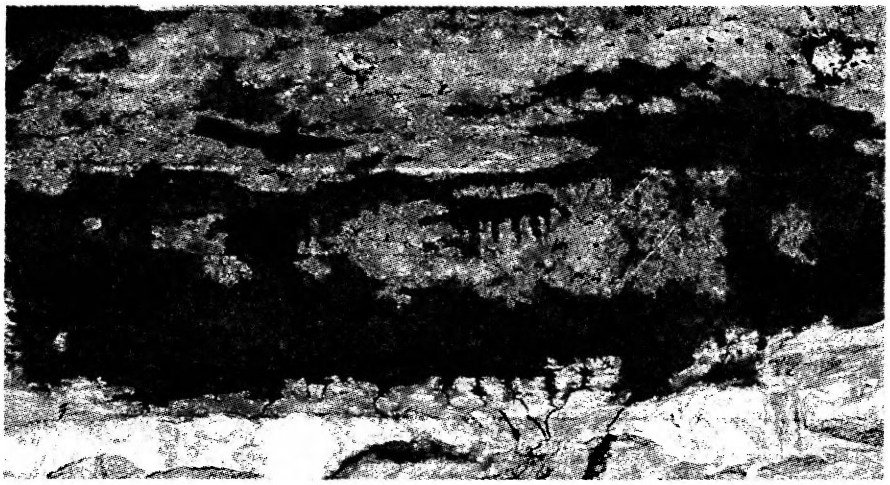
The territorial extent of L.H. before the 20th cent. is vague and cannot be reconstructed exactly, as it varied with the political and military conditions prevailing in this region. In the provincial administration of post-war modern Ethiopia (1941–74) it was a *wäräda* of ↗Wärrä Illu *awraǧğa*, with its capital at Wäyn Amba. After the administrative reform of 1987, it became part of an *awraǧğa* that included the neighbouring Kälala. Today, the name does not hold any administrative status.

Src.: DOMENICO BRIELLI, "Ricordi storici dei Uollo (con note di C. Conti Rossini)", in: *CRStud* 78–110; EDMOND COMBES – MAURICE TAMISIER, *Voyage en Abyssinie, dans le pays des Galla, de Choa et d'Ifat*, Paris 1838, vol. 2, 237–40; IsKrapf.

Éloi Ficquet

Läga Oda

The L.O. (ለጋ ኦዳ) archaeological sites comprise two rockshelters located in the foothills



Rock paintings from Läga Oda; photo 1950/52 by Elisabeth Pauli, courtesy of the Frobenius-Institut (no. 23–Pa091–24)

of the ↗Č̣ärč̣är Mountains in eastern Ethiopia, ca. 25 km south-west of Dərre Dawa and 10 km north of Qulləbi.

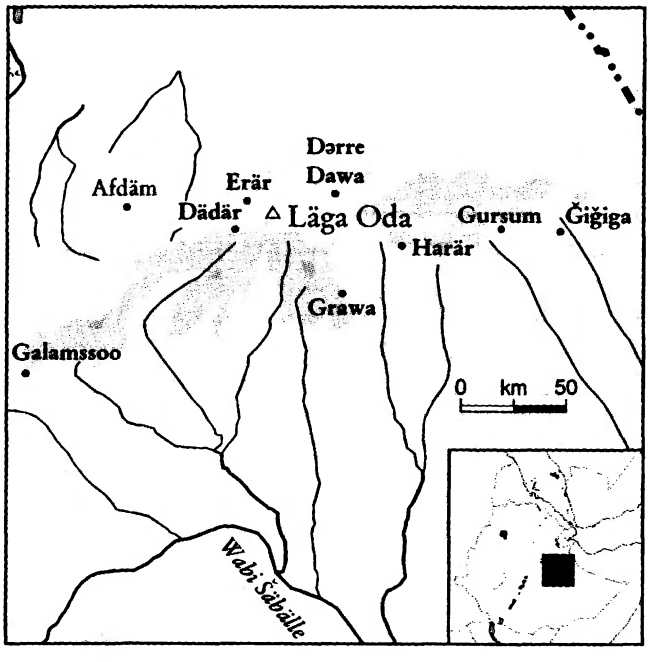
The L.O. sites contain hundreds of paintings on their limestone walls including scenes of long-horned and humpless cattle, fat-tailed sheep, possible ↗elephant figures, and human figures (↗Rock art). The paintings were studied by Patricia Vinnicombe in mid-1970s; the tracings she made are kept in the Rock Art Research Institute in Johannesburg, with copies at Berkeley.

Test excavations led by Clark in 1975 produced a long occupation sequence stretching from the late Pleistocene to the modern era. Fragmentary cattle remains were associated with flaked stone tool artifacts made mostly from chert material and with pottery sherds that were radiocarbon-dated via an associated charcoal sample to about 1500 B.C. Camel faunal remains recovered from an upper level date to between 1300 and 1600 A.D. In addition, Clark and Prince reported evidence of intensive grass collection in the form of sickle sheen gloss and polish observed on stone tools (sickle sheen is a silica deposit or polishing that may occur along the working edge of chert stone tools during their use to harvest plants).

While the L.O. human occupation was long, the sample of artefacts from early levels is small and, apart from the possible sickle sheen, no other archaeobotanical evidence of wild or cultivated plants was recovered from the excavations.

Lit.: HENRI BREUIL, "Peintures rupestres préhistoriques du Harrar (Abyssinie)", *L'Anthropologie* 44, 1934, 473–83; PAVEL ČERVIČEK, "Rock Painting of Laga Oda (Ethiopia)", *Paideuma* 17, 1971, 126–36; J. DESMOND CLARK, *The Prehistoric Cultures of the Horn of Africa*, Cambridge 1954, 297–98; ID., *An Archaeologist at Work in African Prehistory and Early Human Studies: Teamwork and Insight*, Berkeley, CA 2002, 229ff.; ID. – G.R. PRINCE, "Use-wear on Later Stone Age Microliths from Laga Oda, Harraghi, Ethiopia, and Possible Functional Interpretations", *Azania* 13, 1978, 101–10; J. DESMOND CLARK – MARTIN A.J. WILLIAMS, "Recent Archaeological Research in South-eastern Ethiopia (1974–75): Some Preliminary Results", *AE* 11, 1978, 19–44; JANETTE DEACON, "Remembrance – Dr Patricia Joan Vinnicombe 1932–2003", *African Archaeological Review* 20, 4, 2003, 223–25.

Matthew C. Curtis



Lagamara

The ↗Oromo district of L. (or Läga Amhara, 'River of the Amhara') is located about 250 km west of Addis Abäba, along the main east-west road, near Tibbe, in western Šäwa (for location s. Limmu Ǝnnarya). It is divided into the sub-districts of Wärrä Gibbu, Wärrä Badesso and Wärrä Gode. This area is positioned on what was, in the middle of the 1800s, the main north-south trade route between Goǧǧam and the Gibe states. At that time it was a cause for numerous rivalries for economic and political control. In 1855 Guglielmo ↗Massaja made Tibbe-Lagamara the centre of his missionary activity, and his writings are our major source of information about this period. In addition to providing a detailed geographic and anthropological description of the area, he presents a rare first-hand account of warfare, conquest, and political change, recounting bat-

tles between the ↗*abbaa dulaa* of L. and the Čala that resulted in the subjugation of the people of Čala. From the 1870s this region was fought over by forces from Goǧǧam and Šäwa, and by 1882 L. was under the control of ↗Mənilək (II) and his allies.

Src.: MasMis vol. 4; MasMis² vol. 2, esp. 215–71.
Lit.: RICHARD A. CAULK, "Territorial Competition and the Battle of Embabo, 1882", *JES* 13, 1975, 65–88; *Guida*; HERBERT S. LEWIS, "A Reconsideration of the Socio-Political System of the Western Galla", *JSS* 9, 1964, 139–43.

Herbert S. Lewis

Lägambo

L. (ᎱᏋᎰᎮ, also Läga Ambo, from Orom. *laga* 'river, stream' and Orom./Amh. *ambo* 'mineral water') is a territory in southern ↗Wällo. Being the highest and most mountainous area of the province, altitudes ranging from 1,700 to 4,000 m A.S.L., L. is an inhospitable land frequently affected by ↗famines, but its central topographic position led it to become a crossroads and/or buffer zone between the other territories of Wällo (for location s. Läga Hidda).

A place called Gʷäl is found in L. It can be probably identified with the historical monastery of Däbrä Gʷäl possibly founded by *abunä* ↗Bäṣälotä Mikaʾel and destroyed by the troops of *imām* ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī in the 16th cent. (AmhChurchDic vol. 2, 33).

L. is counted among the *säbat bet Wällo*, 'the seven houses of Wällo', i.e. clans constituting the frame of power relations in Wällo during the ↗*Zämänä mäsafənt* period. Throughout its history it was particularly influenced by the hegemonic influence of ↗Wärrä Himäno.

In the second half of the 20th cent. L. constituted a *wäräda* within the *awraǧǧa* of Wärrä Himäno. After 1991, it became a *wäräda* of Dəbub Wällo zone of the Amhara region, with Aqästa as its main town. L. *wäräda* covers an area of over 1,000 km² and borders on Kälala in the south, on Wägde in the south-west, on Däbrä Sina in the west, on Sayənt in the north-west, on Tänta in the north, on Kutabär in the north-east, on Däse Zuriya in the east and on Wärrä Illu in the south-east. In 2005, L. had an estimated population of ca. 215,500 (corresponding to the density of 184.5 inh./km²), ca. 5,000 inhabitants living in the main town.

Src.: AmhChurchDic vol. 2, 33; DOMENICO BRIELLI, "Ricordi storici dei Uollo (con note di C. Conti Rossini)", in: *CRStud* 78–110; EDMOND COMBES – MAURICE TAMISIER, *Voyage en Abyssinie, dans le pays des Galla, de Choa et d'Ifat*, Paris 1838, vol. 2, 237–40; CSA 2005; IsKrapf 325; WALTER CHICHELE PLOWDEN, *Travels in Abyssinia and the Galla Country, with an Account of a Mission to Ras Ali in 1848*, London 1868 [repr. 1972], 172–76.

Éloi Ficquet

Lagarde, Léonce

Léonce Antoine Marie L., comte romain de Rouffeyroux (b. 10 October 1860, Lempdes sur Allagnon, Haute Loire, d. 15 February 1936, Paris) was a governor of the French colony of ↗Obock, French minister in Ethiopia and then advisor to Ethiopia at the ↗League of Nations.

L. was the descendant of a family of notaries and military and civil functionaries, and grandson of the famous writer Alfred Assolant. He started his career in prefectorial and diplomatic administration; during service at the Vatican he purchased his title of Count. After working with the governor of Cochinchina in 1883, he returned to ↗France for health reasons and was nominated for a post in Senegal. However, because of his good relationship with the secretary of state responsible for the colonies, the future President Félix Faure, instead he went to Obock in December 1883 and was appointed commander of the colonie d'Obock in June 1884. He immediately signed protectorate treaties in order to enlarge the territory ceded to France by the treaty of 1862. One was concluded with the *dardar* ↗ᶜAfar of Tağūra on 21 September 1884, others with the *dardar* of Gobᶜad on 9 August 1884 and 2 January 1885 respectively. As Obock was not the "natural" port of the commercial route from Harär to the Red Sea, L. decided, in agreement with Mənilək of Šäwa and ↗ᶜIssa chiefs (treaty of 26 March 1885), to transfer the capital of the colony to ↗Djibouti in 1888. The administration was transferred in 1892. In 1887 L. was appointed governor of Obock and French consul at ↗Zaylaᶜ. As such he was the key-person in the Anglo–French Treaty of 1888 regarding Harär.

L. helped to strengthen *aṣe* Mənilək's independence by promoting projects of collaboration with France, such as the establishment of the Chemin de fer franco–éthiopien (↗Railways), discussions about Italian debts, the establishment of a monetary and a ↗postal system (cp. ↗Stamps) among others. Therefore *aṣe* Mənilək awarded the specally created Europeanizing title of *yäʾənṭoṭṭo duk* ('Duke of Ǝnṭoṭṭo') to him in 1897. His long term friendship with *ras* Mäkʷännən led him to become a tutor of his son Täfäri (later *aṣe*

Léonce Lagarde on a postcard; photo around 1900, fonds des Colonies d'Aix-en-Provence : CAOM, 43 fi/3 (portrait I 70, boite 7)

↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I). L. was nominated director of political and commercial affairs at the Ministry of Colonies in February 1895, but did not assume this post, as he was immediately thereafter made minister plenipotentiary of France in Ethiopia, in addition to his post of governor. Having been the key-person for French politics in eastern Africa since 1884, he naturally became involved in the affair of ↗Fashoda. In this context he was asked to renew the Franco–Šäwan Treaty of 1843 which led to the Franco–Ethiopian convention of 20 March 1897. L. also organized the expeditions of ↗Clochette and Bonchamps to the Nile to meet capitaine Marchand in Fashoda, which brought him into conflict with Ethiopian interests. As a sanction, L. lost his post of governor of the renamed Côte Française des Somalis (Djibouti) in 1899, but he remained as the French minister in Addis Abäba until 1907.

After he had returned to France, where he had lost political support, he did not assume important political posts any more. During World War I he was the director of the war prisoners office of the Navy under General Gallieni. However, L. continued to serve Ethiopia, where Täfäri had assumed government from 1916. L. was nominated advisor to Ethiopia at the ↗League of Nations in 1924, and was crucial in organizing *ras* Täfäri's journey to France this same year. Considered almost as a member of the imperial family, he sat behind *aṣe* Ḫaylä Śəllase I during his coronation in 1930.

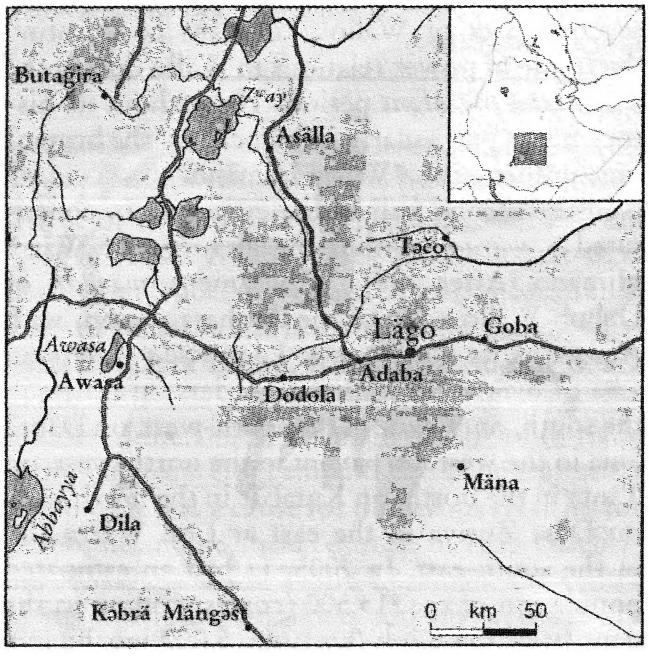
After his death, L. was quickly forgotten. In 1952, during a visit to France, Ḫaylä Śəllase fixed a commemorative plaque at L.'s birthplace on account of his services to Ethiopia. A square in Djibouti is named after him.

Lit.: A. GINGOLD-DUPREY, *De l'invasion à la libération de l'Ethiopie*, Paris 1955, 406–09, 685; LUKIAN PRIJAC, *Léonce Lagarde (d'Obock à la SDN) 1860-1936*, thèse INALCO, Paris 2001; ID., *Lagarde l'Ethiopien*, Paris 2008; BERNARD UZEL, *La colonie d'Obock et le gouverneur Lagarde, artisan de l'amitié franco-éthiopienne*, mémoire de l'ENFOM, Paris, May 1951; ULYSSE ROUCHON, "Un ouvrier de l'empire français: Léonce Lagarde", *Almanach de Brioude* 1947, 31-35.

Lukian Prijac

Läğo

L. is the name of a mountain range separating two right-bank tributaries of the ↗Wabi Šabälle river and a pass which crosses the range (at 3,420 m A.S.L.) which also gives its name to a town on the Šašämane Goba–Bale road, between the towns of Adaba and Dinčo. The town, which emerged less than 30 years ago near the boundary of the Arsi zone, belongs to Adaba and Agarfa *wäräda*, Bale zone, Oromiyaa *kəlləl*. Since L. has less than 1,000 inhabitants it is not listed by the CSA.



Src.: CSA 2004a; CONSOCIAZIONE TURISTICA ITALIANA, *Carta dell'Africa Orientale Italiana* (scala 1: 1000000, Milano 1938, 4.

Lit.: *Guida* 472; PankHist II, 193, 358.

Alain Gascon

Laḥa Maryam

The L.M. (ላሐ፡ ማርያም, 'The Lament of Mary') is a homily well-known in Ethiopia. Its topic is the grief and lament of St. ↗Mary over the ↗crucifixion of Jesus and other events of Good Friday and the days following. It starts with a reminiscence of Jacob's lament over Joseph, proceeds with Mary's lament during the Passion and Crucifixion, interwoven with reports of the events. The second part of the text does not deal with Mary at all, but with the role of ↗Pontius Pilate in the crucifixion. In keeping with the apocryphal literature about him, Pilate is depicted as a basically benevolent governor who agreed to the crucifixion out of weakness, and recognized his fault as soon as he saw the supernatural phenomena during Jesus's death; after a dream-vision, he understood the divine nature of Jesus Christ.

The L.M. is attributed to the enigmatic bishop of Behnesa (Arab.: al-Bahnasā; Lat.: Oxyrhynchos), Cyriacus (cf. Coquin 1991). In fact, the text is based on the apocryphal Gospel of Gamaliel, originally written in Coptic probably in the 5th or 6th cent. by a Christian hostile to Judaism. Of the Coptic text only fragments survived (cf. Elliott 1993: 159f.). The narrative of the Gospel of Gamaliel was integrated into an Arabic homily on the Lament of the Virgin, ascribed to Cyriacus, which survives in several manuscripts (GrafLit vol. 1, 247f.; Mingana 1928). The text was translated from Arabic into Gəʿəz: according to the manuscript tradition, by *abunä* ↗Sälama "the Translator", in the second half of the 14th cent. So far, there is no reason to doubt this (van Lantschoot 1960: 400).

The L.M. forms part of the ↗*Gəbrä Ḥəmamat* liturgical service and, therefore, the cycle of texts regularly recited in Ethiopian churches during Holy Week (*Mäṣḥafä gəbrä ḥəmamat*). It fits in well with the tendency of the Coptic and Ethiopian churches to exculpate Pilate, and even to regard him as a saint (Cerulli 1973).

The L.M. manuscripts are numerous. To the eleven mentioned by van den Oudenrijn (1959: l–liv), many more *Gəbrä ḥəmamat* manuscripts can be added, e.g., the 15th-cent. ms. EMML 1765 from ↗Däbrä Ḥayq Ǝsṭifanos (for more cf., e.g., indices in EMML I–X and other mss. catalogues; cf. ProvRec 56ff.). The text was published as part of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church edition of the *Mäṣḥafä gəbrä ḥəmamat* (Wäldä Mikaʾel Bərhanä Mäsqäl 1942 A.M.: 298–451, but with omissions, s. Hammerschmidt 1966: 383). A scholarly edition was prepared by van den Oudenrijn (1959: 2–83). On problems of textual criticism cf. Hammerschmidt 1966: 384 and HamTana II, 132f.

Src.: EMML I–X; MARIO ERBETTA (tr.), *Gli apocrifi del Nuovo Testamento* I.2: *Vangeli: Infanzia e passione di Cristo, assunzione di Maria*, Torino 1981, 344–66; ALPHONSE MINGANA (ed., tr.), "The Lament of the Virgin", in: ID. (ed.), *Woodbrooke Studies: Christian Documents in Syriac, Arabic and Garshuni*, vol. 2, Cambridge 1928, 163–240; MARCUS-ANTONIUS VAN DEN OUDENRIJN (ed., tr.), *Gamaliel: Äthiopische Texte zur Pilatusliteratur*, Freiburg/Schweiz 1959 (Specilegium Friburgense 4); WÄLDÄ MIKAʾEL BƎRHANÄ MÄSQÄL (ed.), ግብረ፡ ሕማማት (*Gəbrä ḥəmamat*), Addis Abäba ²1942 A.M. [1949/50 A.D.], repr. 1972 A.M. [1979/80 A.D.].

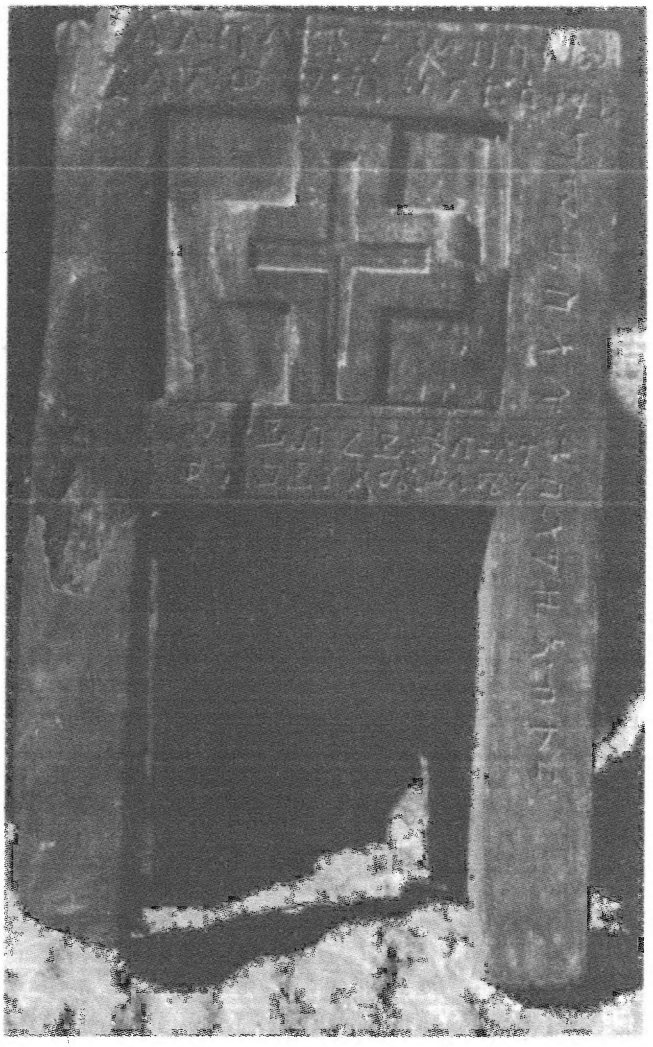
Lit.: ENRICO CERULLI, "Tiberius and Pontius Pilate in Ethiopian Tradition and Poetry", *Proceedings of the British Academy* 59, 1973 [1975], 141–58; RENÉ-GEORGES COQUIN, "Cyriacus", in: *CE* vol. 3, 1991, 669–71 (Lit.); JAMES KEITH ELLIOTT, *The Apocryphal New Testament: a Collection of Apocryphal Christian Literature in an English Translation*, Oxford 1993, 159–60; GrafLit I, 247f.; ERNST HAMMERSCHMIDT [review of van den Oudenrijn 1959], *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 61, 1966, 378–85; HamTana II, 132f.; ARNOLD VAN LANTSCHOOT, "Abbā Salāma, métropolite d'Éthiopie (1348–1388) et son rôle de traducteur", in: *PICES* 1, 397–401, here 400 and n. 27; ProvRec 56ff.

Stefan Weninger

Lalibäla

L. (ላሊበላ; regnal name Gäbrä Mäsqäl) was a late 12th/early 13th-cent. king of the ↗Zagʷe dynasty. Venerated as a saint by the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox Church, L. is one of the best-known Zagʷe kings, even if the available information is dispersed, and one of the most famous Ethiopian rulers, reputed as the builder of the churches of ↗Lalibäla town. However, one has to distinguish clearly between the historical figure of L., known from historical sources dating from his period of activity, and the traditional figure of L. that emerged long after his death out of the hagiographical tradition created around him as a saint.

L. was the son of ↗Žan Śəyyum and the brother of his predecessor ↗Ḥarbay. L.'s mother was reportedly a certain Kerwärna (Žan Śəyyum's maid in later legends). Tradition gives the following folk etymology of his name: one day his mother saw her child surrounded by a swarm of ↗bees who did not harm the baby (Perruchon 1892: 12, 77). Taking it as a good omen (cp. Hab-Kön 123f.), she gave the child the name L., which in ↗Agäw is said to mean 'the bees obey him' (s. Conti Rossini 1895: 356 and 1905: 220 for the possible Agäw etymology).



Wooden *mänbär* with engraved invocation by king Lalibäla, 13th cent.; Lalibäla, Betä Mädḫane ᶜAläm; from Strelcyn 1979:pl. B (no. LMA2)

According to L.'s Acts, Ḥarbay first persecuted L. and then abdicated in his brother's favour (Perruchon 1892:44); it is more probable, however, that L. overthrew his predecessor (CRStor 307; Conti Rossini 1943:106). L. was succeeded on the throne by his nephew ↗Näʾakkʷəto Läʾab, whose Acts further style him as L.'s godson (Conti Rossini 1943:178) – possibly in order to support his legitimacy as the heir to the throne in spite of his being a nephew, and not the son, of L. (Marrassini 1994:211f.).

The "king lists" are sometimes used to define the period of L.'s reign – 40 years – and to relate his tenure to that of his predecessors and successors. According to one such list, L. succeeded his cousin ↗Yəmrəḥanna Krəstos (SerHist 240). These lists give from five to eleven names of Zagʷe kings, depending on the period of reign attributed to the dynasty (from 133 to 370 years, s. CRStor 305). It is now impossible to decide which list is the most accurate one. Yet, from historical sources, one can ascertain the chronology of L.'s reign.

The *History of the Patriarchs of Alexandria* testifies to him exerting his power in 1200, during the office of patriarch John VI (1189–1216), to whom he sent an embassy aimed at obtaining the appointment of a metropolitan. The patriarch appointed ↗Mikaʾel II of Fūwa, who had to return to ↗Egypt after four years in Ethiopia. In 1210, L. sent a new embassy, and another metropolitan, ↗Yəsḥaq, was appointed with an assistant, Yosef (SawHist² vol. 3, part 2, 109-15). According to the land grants preserved in the Golden Gospel of ↗Däbrä Libanos of Šəmäzana, L. was reigning in 1209, and was still king in 1225, when the metropolitan was ↗Giyorgis (who is also mentioned, together with L., in the colophon of the ↗*Kəbrä nägäśt*).

In his land donations, L. styled himself as "the son of Morara [abbreviated form for Mära Täklä Haymanot, the founder of the Zagʷe dynasty (CRStor 306)], son of Zansəyyum, son of Assəda" (CRDLib nos. 6–7, s. ill. in EAE vol. 2, 28) and adopted the title *ḥaśani* (↗*Aṣe*), reviving the form of "titulature" of the Aksumite kings (cp. ↗Danəʾel, *ḥaśani*). L. had his centre of power in Bəgʷəna, in northern ↗Lasta, but he also also ruled far to the north, since the monastery of Däbrä Libanos of Šəmäzana and its abbot, the *ᶜaqqabe säᶜat*, were closely associated with his reign.

L.'s wife, ↗Mäsqäl Kəbra, is known both from Arabic and Ethiopic sources, and her Acts were compiled in Gəᶜəz (Kur 1972). From her L. had a son, ↗Yətbaräk. The *History of the Patriarchs* mentions a second son, Atyab or Anab (SawHist² vol. 3, part 2, 115), identified with Läʾab, i.e. Näʾakkʷəto Läʾab, by Tedeschi (1990 [1996]:338, 1999:301).

Written testimonies reveal L.'s role in establishing the group of churches now called by the same name. In Gospels (EMML ms. 6907, fol. 208v) preserved in one of the churches he would have founded (Betä Mädḫane ᶜAläm in the town of Lalibäla), a note informs that L. made gifts to the church (EMML no. 6907, fol. 208v). He also had his name and that of his wife, Mäsqäl Kəbra, engraved on *mänabərtä* ↗*tabot*, which demonstrates the link between him and the churches he founded at Roḥa (e.g., Pirenne in PICES 8).

The construction of the churches of L. is one of the traditional arguments for justifying the sainthood of this king (but s. Tedeschi 1990

[1996]:341 and 343 n. 43). The meaning of the complex, often understood as a New ↗Jerusalem for Ethiopian pilgrims, is still debated (van Donzel 1998). There is little doubt that L. himself had at least some churches constructed. And it seems that the site, especially Betä Maryam, was first dedicated to Christ (Lepage 1999:963f.). The toponymy having greatly moved, the identification of L.'s churches with a New Jerusalem could be the result of a later process.

L.'s Acts were written at the end of the 14th or at the beginning of the 15th cent. Obviously hagiographic in style, the text begins with a long rhyming exordium, quite different from those of the other Acts known for the Zagʷe kings (CerLett 84; Tubiana in EtRicci 297). It provides little factual information on the king, who is constantly compared to Jesus Christ. An angel takes L. up to heaven, calling him "Second Isaiah", there, the mysteries are revealed to the future king, and he learns that he has to build ten churches from one stone. On his return to earth, L. succeeds his brother, carries out his task (founding the churches of L.), and dies on 12 *Səne*, the day of his commemoration in the ↗*Sənkəssar* (GuiSyn I, 600ff.).

The 1892 edition of the Acts of L. by Perruchon is based on a single manuscript, BritLib Orient. 718. The editor selected parts of the text that he considered most significant. Nevertheless, the manuscript tradition is quite rich: more than ten copies are known today (BritLib Orient. 719; BN d'Abbadie 139; Ṭānāsee 31; India Office 4; EMML 2836; IES 898; VatLib Cerulli 223 etc.). Kur (1972) additionally translated excerpts from a later compilation known as the Acts of Mäsqäl Kəbra.

An abbreviated version of the Acts of L. has become known as the ዜና ላሊበላ (*Zena Lalibäla*) after Sergew Hable Sellassie (SerHist 266 n. 5). According to this version, the mother of L. was of noble origin (which is quite common for saints). She gave birth to him in 1120, and he was baptised in the church of Arbaᶜətu Ǝnsəsa. His father died when he was 9 years old and was buried at Sarzenä Mikaᵓel. The older son, Ḥarbay, became king whilst L. later was educated at Märṭulä Maryam in Goğğam. L. married Mäsqäl Kəbra and went to Jerusalem, leaving his wife behind in Təgray (↗Mädäbay). Then he came back to Roḥa and succeeded his brother (SerHist 266f.).

Basing his judgement on EMML 1614 (which seems to be a 20th-cent. Amharic translation of the *Zena Lalibäla*), Getatchew Haile has recently suggested that the hagiographer of the *Gädlä Lalibäla* was a certain Krəstos Ḫaräyo of Sarzenä Mikaᵓel, a foundation of *aṣe* Yəsḥaq (EMML V, 121). The version of the Acts in EMML 1614, however, seems to be later than the one published by Perruchon, and than the reign itself of Yəsḥaq (1414–30): the reference to Märṭulä Maryam, which was not founded before the end of the 15th cent., might be the result of an oral tradition known at Sarzenä Mikaᵓel and written down later.

Another version of the life of L., focusing on his childhood, exists in the form of a homily within the collection dedicated to Uriel (↗*Dərsanä Uraᵓel*; EMML 54, 79, 327), and could be more recent than the Acts of the saint (Derat in PICES 15).

The Acts provided support for the cult of saint L., attested since ca. mid-15th cent., as esp. attested in the Acts of ↗Śämrä Krəstos. Then, *aṣe* ↗Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob gave a manuscript of the Acts of L. to Betä Golgota (BritLib Orient. 719, fol. 163r), and a painter (maybe ↗Fəre Ṣəyon) inserted the first known image of L. as a holy rider, in a diptych with other ↗equestrian saints (diptych IES, 4053). The tomb of L., in the complex of Däbrä Sina–Golgota, was since then a centre of cult that attracted thousands of people, as witnessed by Alvares at the beginning of the 16th cent. (BeckHuntAlvar 220f.; cp. Gervers 2003).

As with other Zagʷe kings, L.'s holiness alongside his belonging to a dynasty of kings that were considered as usurpers has long puzzled historians. It was suggested by Marrassini (1994:214–25) that this seeming contradiction might be explained by the status of sacred kings (cp. ↗Kingship, divine), acquired by the Zagʷe, being changed into that of saints as a late recognition of their fame (cp. Tedeschi 1990 [1996]:340f.).

L. is sometimes erroneously identified with a "Nubian king" who was in Constantinople in 1203 (s. Fiaccadori 2005).

Src.: BeckHuntAlvar 205ff., 220f.; BudSaint 995f.; ENRICO CERULLI, *Atti di Krestos Samra*, Louvain 1956 (CSCO 163, 164 [SAe 33, 34]), 21 (text) = 15 (tr.); CARLO CONTI ROSSINI (ed., tr.), "Gli Atti di Re Naᵓakueto La-ᵓAb", in: *Scritti dedicati alla memoria di Francesco Gallina*, Roma 1943 (= *Annali IUO* nuova ser. 2), 105–232; CRAbb no. 181 [Paris, BN, d'Abb 139]; CRDLib 186–91, nos. 6–7; CrawItin 152; EMML mss. 54, 79, 327, 1614, 2836, 6907; GIGAR TESFAYE – JACQUELINE PIRENNE, "Inscriptions sur bois de trois églises de Lalibala", *JES* 17, 1984, 107–26; GuiSyn I, 600ff.; STANISLAW KUR, "Édition d'un manuscrit de la Bibliothèque vaticane: Cerulli 178 (Actes de la reine Masqal Kebra)", *ANLinM* sér. 8, 16 [7], 1972, 383–426, here 400f. (text) = 419 (tr.); JULES PERRUCHON, *Vie de Lalibala, roi d'Éthiopie*, Paris 1892; ID., "Notes pour l'his-

toire d'Éthiopie. Extrait de la vie d'abba Jean, 74e patriarche d'Alexandrie, relatif à l'Abyssinie", *RevSem* 6, 1898, 267–71, 366–72 and *ibid.* 8, 1899, 76–88; SawHist² vol. 3, part 2, 109–15 (text) = 184-93 (tr.); STEFAN STRELCYN, "Quelques inscriptions éthiopiennes sur des 'mänabert' des églises de Lalibäla et de sa région", *BiOr* 36, 1979, 137–56, pl. B (no. LMA2) (ill.); Ṭānāsee 31; WrBriMus 193 nos. 294f. [Orient. 718, 719].

Lit.: CerLett 82–89; SEVIR CHERNETSOV, "On the Question of Royal Succession during Zague Period", *St. Petersburg Journal of African Studies* 4, 1995, 103–17; CRStor 281–93, 303–21; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Appunti ed osservazioni sui re Zāguē e Takla Hāymānot" [I], *RRALm* ser. 5ª, 4, 1895, 341–59; ID., "Sulla dinastia Zâguê", *L'Oriente* 2, 3–4, 1895–96 [1897], 144–59, here 148–51; ID., "Note sugli Agau, 1: Appunti sulla lingua khamta dell'Averghellé", *Giornale della Società Asiatica Italiana* 17, 1905, 183–242, here 220; MARIE-LAURE DERAT, "The Acts of King Lalibäla: Structure, Literary Models and Dating Elements", in: *PICES* 15, 561–68; GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, "Un re di Nubia a Costantinopoli nel 1203", in: DENIS NOSNITSIN (ed.), *Varia Aethiopica: in Memory of Sevir B. Chernetsov (1943–2005)*, St. Petersburg 2005 (= Scrinium 1), 42–49; EMERI VAN DONZEL, "Ethiopia's Lalibäla and the Fall of Jerusalem 1187", *Aethiopica* 1, 1998, 27–49; ID., "Were there Ethiopians in Jerusalem at the time of Saladin's Conquest in 1187?", in: KRIJNIE CIGGAAR - HERMAN TEULE (eds.), *East and West in the Crusader States ...*, Leuven 1999 (Orientalia Lovanensia Analecta 92), 125-30; EMML V, 121; MICHAEL GERVERS, "The Rehabilitation of the Zaguē Kings and the Building of the Däbrä Sina – Golgotha – Sellassie Complex in Lalibäla", *Africana Bulletin* 51, 2003, 23-49; GIGAR TESFAYE, "Découverte d'inscriptions guèzes à Lalibela", *AE* 14, 1987, 75–79; HabKön 123f.; MARILYN E. HELDMAN, *The Marian Icons of the Painter Frē Seyon: Study in Fifteenth-Century Ethiopian Art, Patronage and Spirituality*, Wiesbaden 1994 (Orientalia Biblica et Christiana 6), 59f.; EAD., "Legends of Lalibala: the Development of an Ethiopian Pilgrimage", *Res. Anthropology and Aesthetics* 27, Spring 1995, 25–38; CLAUDE LEPAGE, "Les peintures murales de l'église Betä Maryam à Lalibäla, Éthiopie (rapport préliminaire)", *Académie des Inscriptions & Belles-Lettres, Comptes Rendus* 1999, 901–66; ID., "Un métropolite égyptien bâtisseur à Lalibäla (Éthiopie) entre 1205 et 1210", *Académie des Inscriptions & Belles-Lettres, Comptes Rendus* 2002 [2003], 141–74; PAOLO MARRASSINI, "Un caso africano: la dinastia Zague in Etiopia", in: SERGIO BERTELLI – PIETRO CLEMENTE (eds.), *Tracce dei vinti*, Firenze 1994 (Laboratorio di storia. Quaderni del castello di Gargonza 8), 200–29; JACQUELINE PIRENNE, "La signification symbolique des églises de Lalibéla, à partir des inscriptions découvertes en 1980–1983", in: *PICES* 8, 137–45; SerHist 239–87; TadTChurch 25, 53–64, 98, 115; SALVATORE TEDESCHI, "Lālibala", in: *EncSan* vol. 2, 300–03; ID., "Note sul re etiopico Naʾakweto Laʾab", *Quaderni utinensi* 8 [15/16], 1990 [1996], 335–43; JOSEPH TUBIANA, "Poésie et histoire: *'asara negus*", in: *EtRicci* 279–98.

Marie-Laure Derat

King Lalibäla in art

There is no evidence that Ethiopian artists developed iconography clearly distinguishing L. (ላሊበላ) from other similar holy figures, which makes it difficult to recognize him when an identifying legend is absent. Depicted as a middle-aged, bearded and haloed man, he is bereft of any specific attribute. His garments, particularly rich in the representations dating to the 15th–16th cent. (*šämma* with decorated patterned borders, wide trousers, and ornamented diadem with ribbons) and supposedly corresponding to the style of dress of Ethiopian noblemen of that time, are also worn by other saints, especially equestrian ones. It has been suggested that L.'s royal rank is marked by the short pick-like ornament inserted through the lobe of his ear (Chojnacki 2000:315).

The oldest available representations of L. are 15th-cent. ↗paintings on wood. From the 17th cent., he is also portrayed in illuminated ↗manuscripts and frescoes. Usually he appears within a group of saints assembled for devotional purposes. Separate portraits of L. are rare, the earliest dating to the 18th cent. Equally rare are narrative scenes illustrating episodes from his life. The picture of L. as a warrior on horseback, also combined with other ↗equestrian saints, suggests the apotropaic character of these types of images. Not surprisingly, L. is most often represented in ↗Lasta and ↗Wag, the regions closely connected with the ↗Zagʷe dynasty with a deeply rooted cult of these holy priest-kings (cp. ↗Kingship, divine).

The earliest known image of L. is found on a triptych of which only the side panels are preserved (IES 4056). Dated to the second half of the 15th cent., it is sometimes ascribed to ↗Fəre Ṣəyon. Here L. is included in a group of 13 martyrs, most of them depicted as saintly horsemen, haloed and armed with a lance. L. is riding a white horse on the right wing, vis-à-vis St. ↗Gälawdewos. As an equestrian saint L. is also represented on the obverse side of a contemporary bilateral triptych (IES 3450): placed at the bottom of the left wing and facing the mounted St. ↗George, he wears a decorative diadem with floating bands and an ear ornament. A very similar L. figure, this time accompanied by a soldier and three attendants, one holding an umbrella and two blowing horns, is depicted on the 15th–16th cent. wall-painting in the church of ↗Yädəbba Maryam, Dawənt. One may assume that the small figure on the central panel of the 15th/16th-cent. triptych IES 3990 is also L. He is shown holding a hand cross and wearing a diadem but without a halo, and is followed by ↗Mäsqäl Kəbra. This assumption is confirmed by the diptych IES 4328, where two similar fig-

King Lalibäla and his court; wall-painting, 16th cent., Yädəbba Maryam, Dawənt, Wällo; photo 2005, courtesy of Michael Gervers

ures are identified by inscriptions as L. and his wife. Yet, the name L. written above the central figure represented on the right panel of the diptych IES 7070 (15/16th cent.) must be a mistake. Its iconography as well as the accompanying saints Peter and Paul point to Jesus. This confusion might be caused by L.'s Acts, in which the king is on many occasions compared to Christ.

L. is portrayed in three 17th-cent. painted booklets (↗*Sənsul*), one is kept in a private collection at Oxford, another one in Ašätən Maryam church near ↗Lalibäla and the third one in ↗Gännätä Maryam (presently missing). All represent a distinctive, geometrical style, which seems to have been created in Lasta or even in the Lalibäla region itself. L. stands among frontally rendered and identically looking Zagʷe holy kings, ↗Yəmrəḥannä Krəstos, ↗Nä'akkʷəto Lä'ab, ↗Ḥarbay, each identified by his written name. The same group appears on the fresco painted in the "first Gondär style" on the west façade of the ↗Wəqro Mäsqäl church near Säqota, but here all kings are represented as equestrian saints, armed with lances and riding galloping horses.

Two depictions of L. are kept in Betä Qəddus Mika'el in Lalibäla, which, according to a tradition, houses his grave. The first is a painting on canvas, executed in the "second Gondär style" and presently displayed in the middle of the sanctuary. It shows L. sitting on a throne, wearing a ↗crown of *zäwd* type and holding a handkerchief. He is surrounded by two guards armed with swords and two courtiers bearing an umbrella and a flywhisk. An ecclesiastic and probably the ↗donor of the painting, prostrate at the king's feet, grasp the tail of his coat – an iconographic formula typical for 18th-cent. representations of donors alongside highly venerated ↗holy men. The second depiction is a triptych, probably from the 19th cent., the central panel of which is composed as the "vita–icon", with the large figure of enthroned king in the middle surrounded by small scenes staging episodes from his legend, such as L. as a child surrounded by a swarm of bees, and young L. hunting. Also from the 19th cent. is the manuscript BritLib Orient. 718 containing L.'s vita, and illustrated with eight full-page miniatures. Two of them (fols. 126r, 127v) show the construction of the Lalibäla churches.

The manuscript from the H. Krenz collection (Berlin), dated to the turn of the 19th/20th cent. and decorated with 102 pictures, contains a version of the ↗*Kəbrä nägäśt* that claims a Solomonic origin for the Zagʷe dynasty (through the son of king ↗Solomon by the Queen of Sheba's servant). That part of the text is illustrated by the scene of L.'s celestial vision and by the presence of the messengers sent to the king by his brothers.

As an example of recently executed images devoted to L. and his life, one may mention the wall-painting in the Təgrayan church of Ṣəge Iyäsus Gʷaḥgot, which represents the king holding a building tool at the front of the church of St. George in L., rendered very accurately and in correct bird-eye perspective.

Src.: JULES PERRUCHON, *Vie de Lalibala, roi d'Éthiopie*, Paris 1892; WrBriMus 193, no. 295 [Orient. 718].

Lit.: ChojPaint 491ff., fig 235c; STANISŁAW CHOJNACKI, "A Note on the Costumes in the 15th and Early 16th Century Paintings: Portraits of the Nobles and their Relation to the Images of Saints on Horseback", in: *SegBodLes* 522–53, here 542, 548, figs. 10, 15; ID., *Ethiopian Icons: Catalogue of the Collection of the Institute of Ethiopian Studies Addis Ababa University*, Milano 2000, nos. 17, 113, 121, 161, 247; GETATCHEW HAILE, "Lalibela", in: *CE* vol. 4, 1047f.; ERNST HAMMERSCHIDT – OTTO JÄGER, *Illuminierte äthiopische Handschriften*, Wiesbaden 1986, 10 fig. 7, no. 35, 174; GEORGE WYNN BRERETON HUNTINGFORD, "Saints of Mediaeval Ethiopia", *Abba Salama* 10, 1979, 257–341, here 333; OTTO JÄGER – LISELOTTE DEININGER-ENGLHART, "Some Notes on Illuminations of Manuscripts in Ethiopia", *RSE* 17, 1961, 45–60, here 48, 60, no. 62; BENT JUEL-JENSEN, "The Ground Hornbill Artist", *The Book Collector* 26, 1977, 61–74, here 64, pl. C; JULES LEROY, *Ethiopian Painting in the Late Middle Ages and under the Gonder Dynasty*, London 1967, 57, pl. 37; RICHARD MARSCH, *Black Angels: the Art and*

Spirituality of Ethiopia, Oxford 1988, 10f.; BEATRICE PLAYNE, *Saint George for Ethiopia*, London 1954, 139, 142; EAD., "In Search of Early Christian Paintings in Ethiopia", *The Geographical Magazine*, February 1950, 400–11, here 403; SALVATORE TEDESCHI, "Lālibala", in: *EncSan* vol. 2, 300–03.

Ewa Balicka-Witakowska

Lalibäla

The town L. (ላሊበላ) is situated on the slopes of Mount Abunä Yosef in the Wärwär district of the north-central ↗Lasta highlands at an altitude of 2,600 m A.S.L., ca. 340 km north of Addis Abäba (12° N, 39° E). It lies in the Amhara *kəllələ* (former Wällo province).

According to popular belief, the town was founded by the Zagʷe king ↗Lalibäla in the late 12th cent. and became the capital at the beginning of the 13th cent. The archaeological history of the town may not accord with the historical founding tradition (that the town was developed solely by King Lalibäla during the 12th cent.). The complex clearly developed over a longer period, and the site may have been inhabited earlier. Originally known as Wärwär or Roḥa (Heldman 1995:29), it is thought that the town was named after the Syrian city of ↗Edessa, which had been recently sacked by Muslim armies; in Syriac the town was known as Orhāy – ar-Ruhā in Arabic. It is unclear when this site became officially known as L.

Because of the permanence of the stone from which they were created, the rock-carved churches of L. have survived fire, destructive impulses of invaders, and natural decay. In contrast, all physical traces of ᶜAdäfa, the nearby Zagʷe political capital mentioned, e.g., in the Acts of ↗Yəmrəḥannä Krəstos (Marrassini 1995:44 [text], 75 [tr.]) and in the Arabic sources (e.g., Perruchon 1899:85), seem to have disappeared, although local oral traditions identify the site (TadTChurch 59).

According to the founding legend transmitted in Lalibäla's Acts, God revealed his plan to the king in a dream, and commanded him to build a replica of ↗Jerusalem in the place where he was born. Toponymically this is reflected in the presence of a watercourse called the Jordan (Yordanos) – complete with a monolithic cross and pillar commemorating the baptismal place of Christ himself – and a Mount of Olives (Däbrä Zäyt) and Golgotha (Golgota). L. is thus one of the many "Small Jerusalems" in the tradition of Christianity. The Ethiopian tradition connects the erection of the New Jerusalem with the fall of Jerusalem in 1187. Whether this was indeed the reason is still debated (van Donzel 1998).

If L. reflected the mystical topography of the real Jerusalem, which was now off limits to Christian pilgrims, it may also carry echoes of the main churches of ↗Aksum with the presence of Mädḫane ᶜAläm – possibly a copy of the cathedral of ↗Aksum Ṣəyon – and the Church of Betä Dänagəl (Heldman 1995). L. may have been designed as an alternative ↗pilgrimage site to Aksum. Particular interest attaches to the monolithic churches hewn from volcanic tuff. Although not unique to L. – numerous examples of similar styles of church have been recorded in Təgray and in Eritrea – it is the sheer concentration of such ornate and well-finished churches that merits mention.

The churches at L. are found in two main concentrations: a group to the north of the Yordanos River, a group to the south-east, and a single outlying church – Betä Qəddus Giyorgis – to the west. The northern group of churches comprises: Betä Mädḫane ᶜAläm, Betä Maryam, Betä Mäsqäl, Betä Dänagəl, Betä Qəddus Mikaʾel (Däbrä Sina) and Betä Golgota. The south-eastern group comprises: Betä Amanuʾel, Betä Märqorewos, Betä Abba Libanos, Betä Qəddus Gäbrəʾel Rufaʾel. In all cases the body of the church has been carved from a single block of stone, isolated or semi-isolated from a surrounding pit. The work would have required a large dedicated cadre of artisans working over a number of years; legend suggests that angelic help was often required, and other sources attribute the works to unidentified foreigners. The church pits are interconnected by a complex of passages and tunnels associated with rock-cut tombs.

The excavation of these churches, apart from being a time-consuming exercise, would also have yielded vast amounts of spoil, and it is unclear where this was dumped. It is also possible that a number of these buildings were not designed initially as churches; Betä Dänagəl may have been a subsidiary building to Betä Maryam, and the orientation of Betä Märqorewos (not along a strict east-west alignment), and the monumental façade of Betä Qəddus Gäbrəʾel Rufaʾel all suggest that these were probably secular buildings of some form.

In the years after the end of the Zagʷe dynasty, the churches and monastic establishments of L. continued to attract considerable imperial patronage; Gännätä Maryam, for instance, was richly endowed by ↗Yəkunno Amlak in the 13th cent.

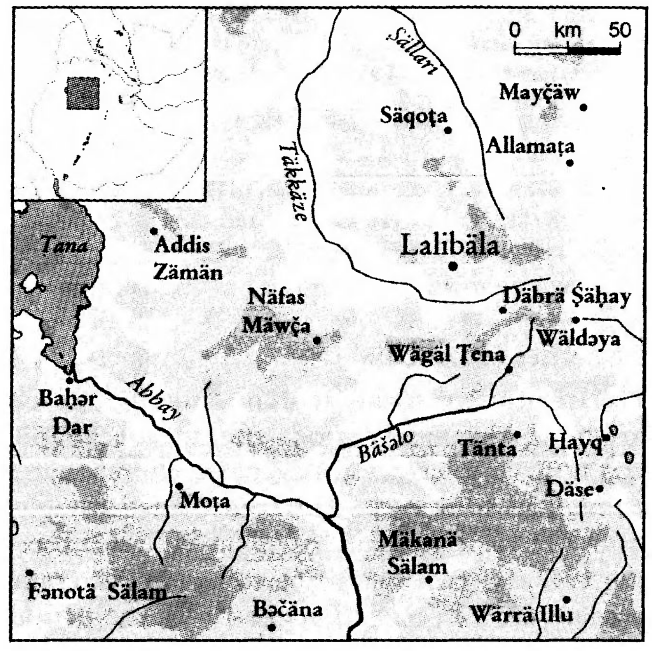
Primary descriptions of the town at this period are, however, few in number. ↗Abū Ṣāliḥ "the Armenian" and the *History of the Patriarchs of Alexandria* mention that a certain Yəsḥaq was consecrated as Patriarch of the Ethiopian Church to the court at "Arafah, Royal City of the Ḥabašat". Arafah clearly implies a link to ᶜAdäfa.

Possibly the first European account of the town is found by Alessandro Zorzi (CrawItin), who mentions "Lalivela", but the best description is that of ↗Alvares writing prior to the attack on L. by ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī ("Grañ") who reassembled his army here in early 1529 and later pillaged the town in 1533 (BassHist 409f.), but spared the churches (cp. Castanhoso 1902:96). Alvares attributes the construction of the churches to the Copts of Egypt, although his description is defensive in tone, implying that his European audience would be unable to comprehend the quality of the work he had seen. Other European sources provide cursory information about the town, which is reflected in the paucity of Ethiopian sources as a whole. In the 18th cent. James Bruce only provided a second-hand portrait of L., and it is only in the late 19th cent. with the accounts of Gerhardt Rohlfs, who accompanied the Napier Expedition, and in the 1880s of the French Consul Raffray (who estimated the size of the town to be ca. 3,000 people) that the reality of the place became known to the wider world. As yet little archaeological work has taken place within the town itself, and from more of an art-historical perspective the mid-20th cent. works of Georg Gerster, Irmgard Bidder and of course Bianchi Barriviera are the best witnesses to the importance and grandeur of the town.

This rich heritage has been recognized by the United Nations Education, Science and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) with the award of World Heritage Site status (on 8 September 1978). As with any other historical site in the country, the Ethiopian government's Centre for Research and Conservation of the Cultural Heritage is in charge of L.

Till recently, L. was only accessible by mule-back, and was reported to be three days away from the nearest road. Since 1960, a regular service of ↗Ethiopian Airlines has connected the town to other Ethiopian centres. A road network leads to the town and to some of the nearby churches.

Today L. is a thriving tourist centre, and measures have been put in place to protect the churches from the vagaries of the elements and large visitor numbers; as a World Heritage Site and an important place in the history of Ethiopian kingship, it is vital that future archaeological and conservation work takes account of the economic needs of the town and the visual impact of these unique buildings. The tourist infrastructure is so far limited and the town itself is relatively small, with two schools and one hospital. In 1994, L. had 8,484 inhabitants, and the current population estimation is ca. 11,000.



Src.: ABŪ ṢĀLIḤ, *Taʾrīḫ aš-šaiḫ Abī Ṣāliḥ al-Armanī, tuḏkaru fihi aḫbār min nawāḥī Miṣr wa-aqṭāᶜihā* (*The Churches and Monasteries of Egypt and Some Neighbouring Countries*), ed. and tr. by BASIL THOMAS ALFRED EVETTS, Oxford 1894–95, 284ff.; BassHist; BeckHuntAlvar 100, 205ff., 226, 526–42; BruNile; CrawItin; CSA 1994; MIGUEL DE CASTANHOSO, *The Portuguese Expedition to Abyssinia in 1541–1543 ...*, ed., tr. by RICHARD STEPHEN WHITEWAY, London 1902 (Hakluyt Society Papers 2, 10), 94–98; HuntGeogr, s. index; PAOLO MARRASSINI, *Il* Gadla Yemreḥanna Krestos: *Introduzione, testo critico, traduzione*, Napoli, 1995 (Supplemento n. 85 agli *Annali IUO* 55/4 [1995]); JULES PERRUCHON, *Vie de Lalibala, roi d'Éthiopie*, Paris 1892; ID., "Notes pour l'histoire d'Éthiopie: Extrait de la vie d'abba Jean, 74ᵉ patriarche d'Alexandrie, relatif à l'Abyssinie", *RevSem* 6, 1898, 267–71, 366–72; *ibid.* 8, 1899, 76–88; GERHARD ROHLFS, *Land und Volk in Afrika: Berichte aus den Jahren 1865–1870*, Bremen 1870; SawHist².

Lit.: FRANCIS ANFRAY, "Sandro Angelini", *RSE* nuova ser. 1, 1, 2002, 143–45, here 145; LINO BIANCHI BARRIVIERA, "Le chiese in roccia di Lalibelà e di altri luoghi del Lasta", *RSE* 18, 1962, 5–76, pls.; *ibid.* 19, 1963, 5–118, pls.; IRMGARD BIDDER, *Lalibela: the Monolithic Churches of Ethiopia*, Cologne 1958; GerKir [Eng]; MARILYN EISEMANN HELDMAN, "Architectural Symbolism, Sacred Geography and the Ethiopian Church", *Journal of Religion in Africa* 22, 1992, 222–40; EAD., "Legends of Lalibäla: the Development of an Ethiopian Pilgrimage Site", *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 27, Spring 1993, 25–38;

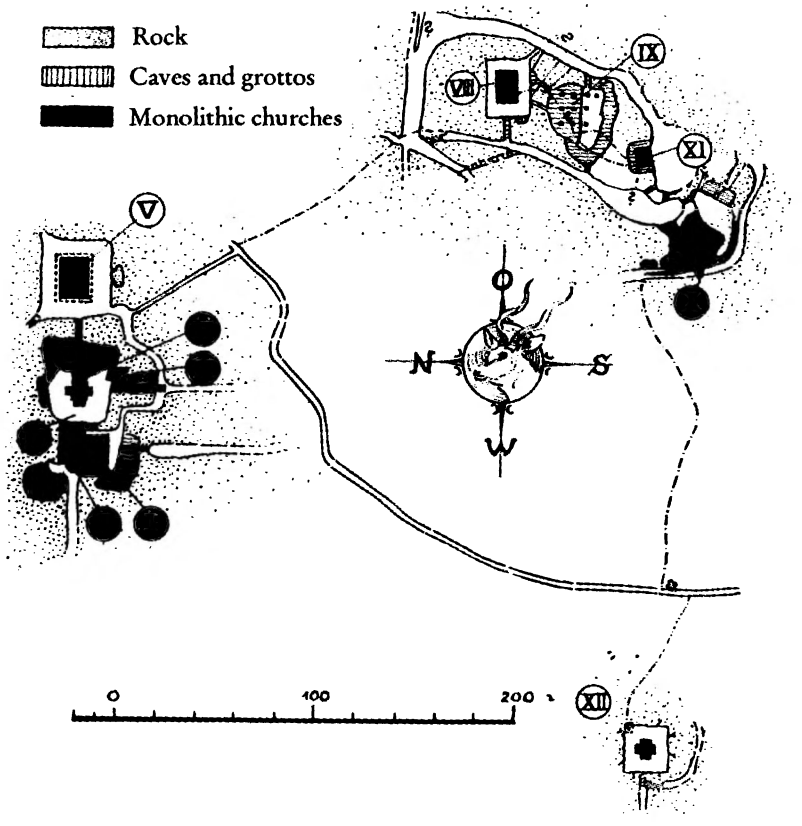
VASILIJ LOURIÉ, "Tri Ierusalima Lalibely. Interpretatsija kompleksa tserkvej Lalibely v svete dannyh ego Žitija" ('Three Jerusalems of Lalibäla: an Interpretation of Lalibäla's Church Complex in the Light of Information of his Vita'), in: *MiscAethKur* 117–40; SYLVIA PANKHURST, *Ethiopia: a Cultural History*, London 1955, 151–66, pls.; SerHist 15, 265–79, map after 274; TadTChurch 59; EMERI VAN DONZEL, "Ethiopia's Lalibäla and the Fall of Jerusalem", *Aethiopica* 1, 1998, 27–49.

Niall Finneran

Churches of Lalibäla

The tradition of rock-cut architecture goes back to the ↗Aksumite period, and this technique was utilized to create ↗rock-hewn churches at a number of sites in the northern Christian highlands (Tewelde-Medhin Joseph in PICES 3; Buxton 1947, 1971; Sauter 1976), some of which may predate the 12th cent. (Lepage 1972), the period during which the ↗Zagʷe dynasty was established (TadTChurch 53–58). Nevertheless, no other Ethiopian site presents such an impressive concentration of rock-cut churches as L. Because of the lack of historical documentation of the Zagʷe dynasty, the rock-hewn churches of L. cannot be dated with any accuracy. According to reliable external documentation (Heldman 1995:28), king ↗Lalibäla's reign encompassed the years 1210–25. His Vita, which may not have been composed until the early 15th cent. (Derat 2006:561–68), credits him with undertaking the entire creation of this site (Perruchon 1892:88f.), a questionable attribution that has often been repeated (BeckHuntAlvar 205ff., 226). Nevertheless, it is quite unlikely that he was the first of the Zagʷe kings to initiate the excavation of this architectural complex, consisting of two clusters of structures and the church of Betä Giyorgis (St. George), which stands alone to the west of the two groups.

The architectural forms of L.'s rock-hewn churches reflect the forms of then contemporary construction techniques (↗Church buildings). Squared pieces of wood used to construct rectangular window frames of constructed churches, as at the church of ↗Däbrä Damo (GerKir [Eng], pl. 24), are simulated in the windows of the churches at L., such as Betä Amanuʾel (St. Emmanuel). A comparison of both churches with the simulated architectural face of an Aksumite ↗stela of ca. 300 A.D. demonstrates the continuity of construction techniques as well as the tradition of simulating construction techniques in stone. As in earlier Aksumite times, builders at Däbrä Damo utilized alternating courses of wood and stone to construct walls, courses strengthened by circular wooden ties set transversely, the projecting heads of which created decorative patterns on the exterior walls. Betä Amanuʾel most faithfully simulates the visual effect of alternating courses of stone and slightly inset wood, although circular wooden ties are not indicated. However, the exterior walls of the constructed church dedicated to ↗Yəmrəḥannä Krəstos (TadTChurch 58) is built of alternating courses of wood and stone with no visible wooden ties (GerKir [Eng], pl. 114), and, like Betä Amanuʾel, the walls are subdivided vertically with indentations and projections. These vertical indentations and projections displayed on the west



Plan of the rock-hewn churches of Lalibäla based on the drawing by Achille Raffray, amended by Hermann Dabbert; from Dabbert 1938:9
(I) Mikaʾel (Däbrä Sina); (II) Golgota (Grave chapel of Lalibäla); (III) Śəllase Chapel; (IV) Betä Maryam; (V) Mädḫane ʿAläm; (VI) Mäsqäl Chapel; (VII) Dəngəl Chapel; (VIII) Betä Amanuʾel; (IX) Märqorewos; (X) Gäbrəʾel and Rufaʾel; (XI) Abba Libanos; (XII) Betä Giyorgis

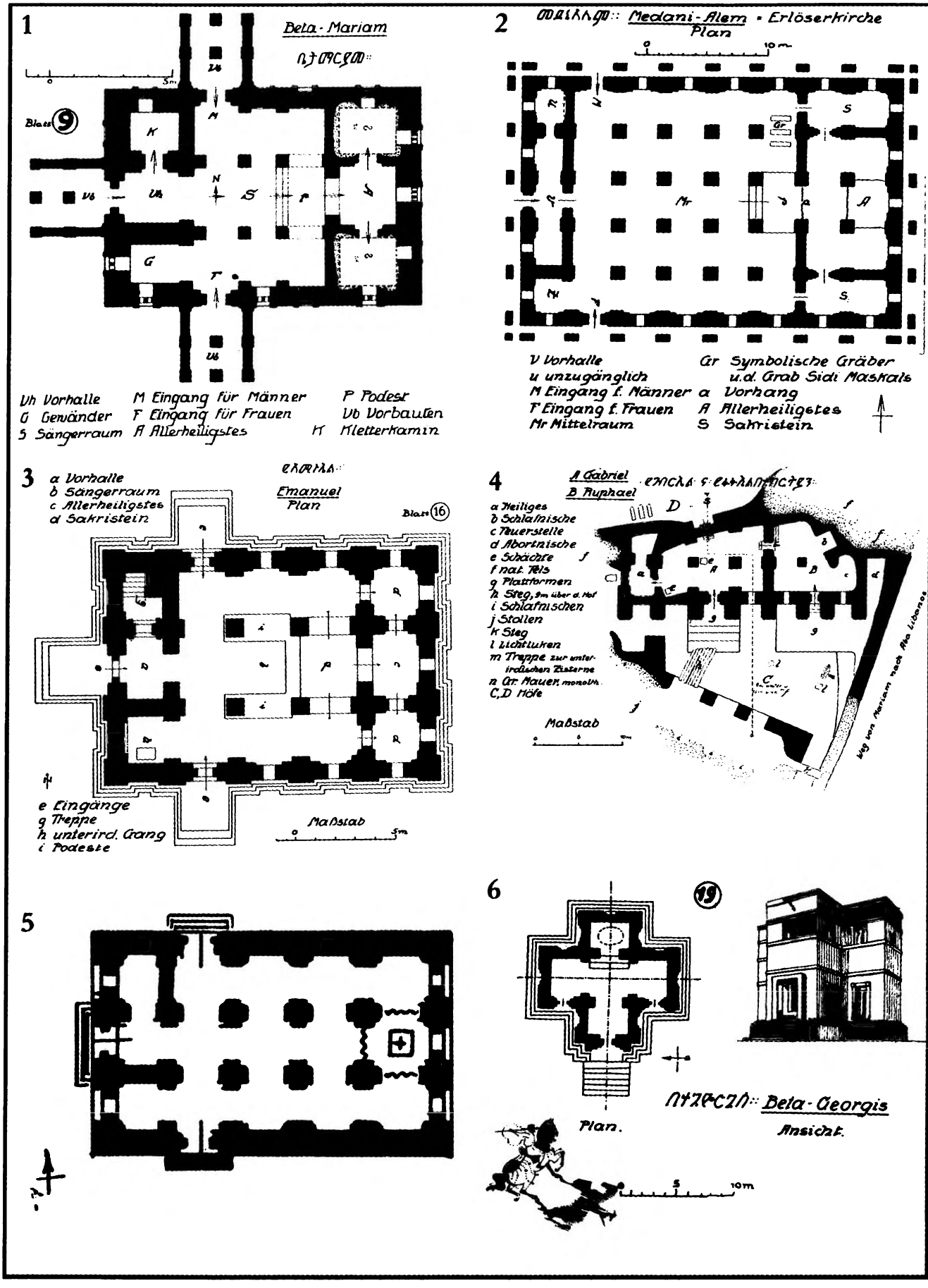


Table: Ground-plans of the rock-hewn churches of Lalibäla; from Dabbert 1938:55, 67, 76, 85, 88, 91
1: Betä Maryam; 2: Mädḫane ᶜAläm; 3: Amanuᵓel; 4: Gäbrəᵓel and Rufaᵓel; 5: Abba Libanos; 6: Betä Giyorgis

façade of Betä Amanu'el correspond to the division of the interior space into central nave and flanking side aisles. No other churches at L. have exterior walls that so accurately simulate constructed building forms.

Windows and other arched forms of some rock-hewn structures at L. exhibit ogival arches, a form not associated with Aksumite architectural traditions. Indeed, because the pointed arch was first developed in Islamic architecture, the appearance of these forms at L. gives some credence to the broad statement reported by Alvares, who was told that the churches at L. were made by Egyptians (*gəbṣawi*; BeckHuntAlvar 227).

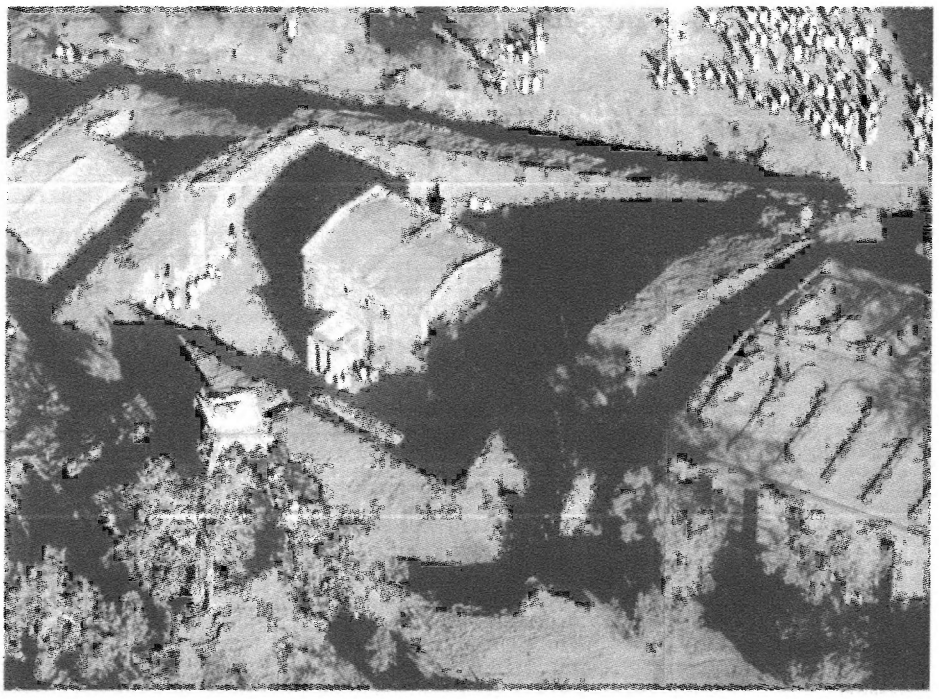
Only four churches of L. are cut completely free of the rock matrix – Betä Maryam (St. Mary), Betä Mädḫane ʿAläm, Betä Amanu'el, and Betä Giyorgis. However, even these structures, free-standing within an excavated courtyard, must be approached by means of a subterranean passage. Upon arriving at L., the visitor does not immediately see the churches, and there are no vantage points from which to view the entire complex. Such architectural vistas appear to have been deliberately withheld. The pilgrim must walk into and around, going through narrow crevices, entering dark tunnels that will lead to courtyards, open to the sky, in which stands a church, such as that of Betä Giyorgis or Betä Amanu'el. Neither are churches carved into a rock face entered by a direct path. A visit to the churches at L. is a physical and spiritual process, an experience of discovery, a symbolic model of a more extensive pilgrimage journey.

The churches of Betä Maryam (GerKir [Eng] 95), Betä Amanu'el, and Betä Abba Libanos (↗Libanos; ibid. 103f.) follow the oriented basilica plan of central nave with flanking single aisles, a standard plan followed throughout the Christian world (s. EAE I, 737 for basilica plan). Vestigial galleries above the narthex and side aisles in the churches of Betä Amanu'el and Betä Maryam follow a tradition established in Ethiopia by the 6th cent., as suggested by the excavated remains of a 6th-cent. basilica church at ↗Mäṭära (Anfray in PICES 4, fig. 4). Such galleries were characteristic of the basilica churches at Constantinople and vicinity, from whence the feature was introduced to the great urban centres on the eastern coast of the Mediterranean and to Palestine (Krautheimer 1986:108ff.).

Betä Giyorgis (GerKir [Eng] 107f.), to the west of the other two church groups, sits upon a typically Aksumite stepped podium with monumental staircase leading to the western portal. Cruciform in plan, four short arms extend from a central square bay; the primary entrance is located at the western arm and the dome-covered sanctuary is within the eastern arm. The flat roof of the exterior is decorated with a large, equal-arm cross in low relief. The ogival arches of the exterior windows in the upper story are surmounted by an arabesque-decorated cross in low relief (GerKir [Eng] 107f.). The cruciform plan is rare, if not unique in Ethiopia. The archetype is the frequently copied 4th-cent. cruciform Church of the Apostles in Constantinople (Krautheimer 1986: 69f., 75), but the more immediate prototype of Betä Giyorgis remains unknown (s., however, Lepage 1974).

Betä Mädḫane ʿAläm, the largest and most imposing of the churches at L., belongs to group of structures that includes Betä Maryam and the complex of Betä Däbrä Sina, Betä Golgota and Śəllase. An architectural quotation of the metropolitan cathedral of ↗Aksum Ṣəyon (Buxton – Matthews 1971–72, figs. 22f.; Heldman 1995a:32f.), it is a great five-aisled basilica surrounded by a rare external colonnade of piers. The placement of the exterior piers corresponds to the position of the square piers that divide the interior space into bays. Relief decoration of the exterior includes two rows of eight arcades each in low relief that run along the length of the shallow gable roof; these eight arcades are located in direct correspondence to the eight bays that run the length of the interior space (GerKir [Eng] 92f.). A blind-arcade frieze runs along the cornice.

A complex of two conjoined oriented churches (Betä Golgota – Däbrä Sina) and a smaller room (Śəllase; s. GerKir [Eng] 99ff., fig. 55) is a symbolic quotation of the church of the Holy Sepulchre in ↗Jerusalem, a great basilica church to which a chapel of Golgotha (the Place of the Skull) was attached. Golgotha was the purported site of Adam's burial and of the crucifixion of Christ. The single portal that gives entrance to the Däbrä Sina–Betä Golgota complex is located at the south-west side of the church of Däbrä Sina (Mount Sinai). Since the *tabot* dedicated to St. Michael was introduced to it, the latter church has also been known as Betä (Qəddus) Mika'el. Cruciform piers divide the interior space of the church into central nave and two side aisles, with the sanctuary at the eastern end of the nave. A



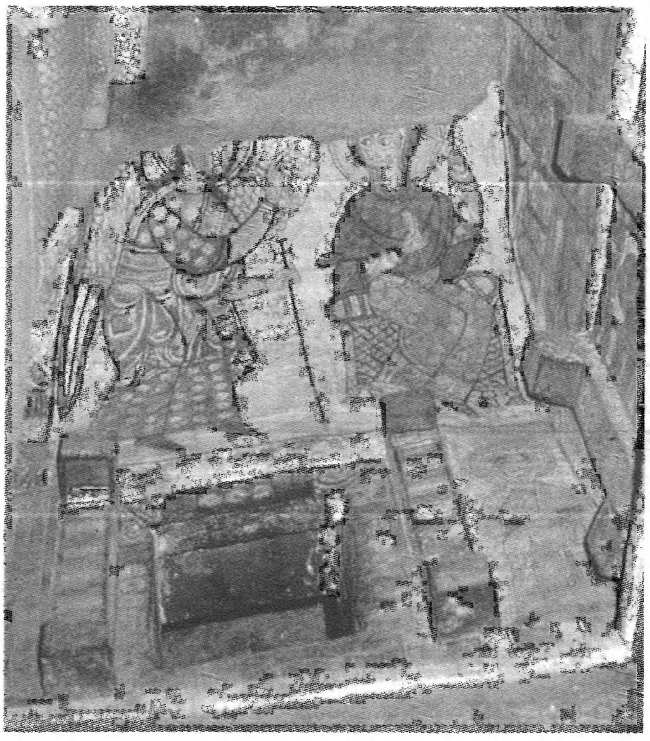
Bird eye's view of the central group of rock-hewn churches of Lalibäla, Mikaʾel (left), Betä Maryam (centre) and Mädḫane ʿAläm (right); photo 1960s, from Ethiopian Airlines 1976:10f.

door at the north-west area of the north side aisle gives entrance to Betä Golgota, a rectangular room divided in half along an east-west axis by a row of three piers. This arrangement, which does not follow any standard church plan, suggests that Betä Golgota should more properly be termed a chapel, rather than a consecrated space in which the liturgy is to be celebrated.

Along the south wall of Betä Golgota are low-relief figures standing with an arch frame, each carrying a scroll (?) in the right hand and a cross-topped staff in the left (Bianchi Barriviera 1962, pl. 9; GerKir [Eng] 101f., pls. 79f.). These are the "statues carved in the wall" as reported in the early 16th cent. (BeckHuntAlvar 221). The turbaned figure identified as St. ↗Qirqos by a later painted inscription upon the arch frame may be compared with the painted portraits of apostles and monastic saints in the rock-hewn church at ↗Gʷəḥ (GerKir [Eng], pls. 188–91) datable to the late 15th or early 16th cent. No other monumental sculpted figures decorating an Ethiopian church have been reported, although portraits of saints standing within an arcade frame are common in illuminated manuscripts (UNESCO 1961, pl. 1) and portraits of saints painted within arcades carved in low relief decorate the interior walls of the 15th-cent. monastery church at ↗Däbrä Ṣəyon in Təgray (GerKir [Eng], pls. 49f.).

Within the north-east corner of Betä Golgota is another group of relief sculpture – a raised ledge on which is carved a recumbent figure with an attendant angel that represents the tomb of Christ. The purported tomb of king Lalibäla, set within the floor and covered by a stone slab (Heldman 1995a:33ff.), is a later addition to this north-east corner of the chapel. Presently, at times of pilgrimage to L., such as Däbrä Zäyt (the fourth Sunday of ↗Lent), the slab is pushed aside and sacred earth that scooped from his tomb by a priest of the church is distributed to the faithful. Immediately before the west façade of Betä Golgota is a free-standing rock-hewn cube identified as the Tomb of Adam. A door in the east wall of the chapel of Betä Golgota gives entrance to L.'s most sacred sanctuary: only the most spiritually pure are believed to be able to enter the Śəllase (Trinity) chapel safely. Three rock-hewn altar coffers or chests sit upon a raised platform in the east portion of this trapezoidal, barrel-vaulted space (Bianchi Barriviera 1962, pls. 10–11bis; GerKir [Eng] 100ff., pl. 81f.). The three rock-hewn altar chests simulate the form of the *mänbärä ↗tabot* that is customarily carved from a single piece of wood (AfrZion 137ff.; Heldman 1992:222f.). Each of the three square altar chests is decorated with a cross in low-relief on each face. The left chest is inscribed Krəstos and the right one Päraqlitos, indicating that they contained altar tablets dedicated to Christ and to the Holy Spirit, respectively. The central chest is decorated on its four sides with relief sculptures of winged figures, standing with raised arms between the legs of the chest as if to support the throne-compartment above. These are the Four Living Creatures (*Arbaʿətu ənsəsa*) who uphold the throne of God (Ezek 1:1–10, Rev 4:1–8), the chest thus symbolizing God the Father. Therefore, the three altar chests, each with a consecrated *tabot*, are to be perceived as the actual representation of the presence of the entire ↗Trinity (Getatchew Haile 1988:13f.).

Carved in the north wall of the courtyard of the church of Betä Maryam is a single-story



Inside the rock-hewn church of Betä Maryam, Lalibäla, east end of nave and vaulted ceiling with painting of Annunciation; photo courtesy of the author

façade decorated with a blind arcade in low relief. Two doorways lead to what is essentially a single row of rooms (GerKir [Eng] 94, fig. 43, pl. 59). Although this simple excavated structure is known as [the church of] Betä Mäsqäl ('House of the Cross'), the layout does not lend itself to the celebration of the liturgy. It is safe to assume that these modest rooms were not originally intended to have a religious function. However, the low-relief frieze that decorates the façade suggests a visual harmony with the adjoining grand church of Betä Mädḫane ʿAläm.

The second group of rock-hewn structures includes Betä Amanuʾel (GerKir [Eng], figs. 61–64), Betä Abba Libanos (ibid. 103f., figs. 65f., pls. 89f.), Betä Gäbrəʾel-Rufaʾel (ibid. figs. 68f., pls. 91f.; Bianchi Barriviera 1963, pls. 29, 31f.) and Betä Märqorewos (GerKir [Eng], fig. 67; Bianchi Barriviera 1963, pl. 27). The latter two, as well as Betä Mäsqäl, are included among the list of ten churches recorded in hagiographies and historical documents as "ten churches carved from one rock" (Getatchew Haile in PICES 9, 15, 19 n. 21). Nevertheless, the unusual varied plans of each of these three structures, none of which are properly oriented, demonstrate that they were not conceived as churches. Materials recovered during the excavation of the deep silt-filled pit adjacent to the courtyard of Betä Märqorewos supports the theory that it was originally a civil palace. The function of the complex structure known as Betä Gäbrəʾel-Rufaʾel (also known as Church of the Archangels) is unknown, but it too may have been a palace (Lepage 2002).

The church of Betä Maryam is presently the only church at L. decorated with murals painted well before the fall of the Zagʷe dynasty in the late 13th cent. (↗ Painting). The interior of the church simulates built construction with a nave arcade and an Aksumite-style frieze at the gallery level (GerKir [Eng], pls. 66–75). Carved and painted designs on the soffits of the arches and the ceiling of the side aisles parallel the rich decorative treatment of these areas in constructed churches, such as the roughly contemporary Betä Yəmrəḥannä Krəstos near L. (ibid. 110f., pl. 117). Bust portraits of saints are painted on the blind panels of the gallery frieze of the nave. A fragmentary painting of the Transfiguration appears on the east nave wall above the sanctuary arch, and above, on the tunnel vaulted ceiling, are a fragmentary painting of the Annunciation (fig. 2) and a portrait of a hermit, probably St. Onophrius. In the bays of the south aisles, Gospel scenes painted along the top of the wall, including the Visitation and abbreviated scenes of Christ's miracles – Christ's meeting with the Samaritan woman at the well, the miracle of the loaves and fishes, and the curing of the paralytic. The north aisle was probably originally painted with Gospel scenes, but little paint survives in this area, with the exception of the east end of the north aisle where an episode of the flight of the Holy Family in Egypt is depicted (Lepage 1999:940–45).

The fauna of God's creation, various birds and animals including cocks, fighting zebus and a leaping leopard, decorate the nave spandrels. Although these painted creatures have been dismissed as reflections of "a naive pleasure in living things" (GerKir [Eng] 98), they collectively represent the natural history of the terrestrial world, a popular decorative scheme in Early Byzantine church decoration (Heldman 1995b:74). The murals of Betä Maryam and the stylistically related paintings of Betä Yəmrəḥannä Krəstos (Girmah Élias et al. 2001:333) are perhaps the oldest extant examples of monumental painting in Ethiopia.

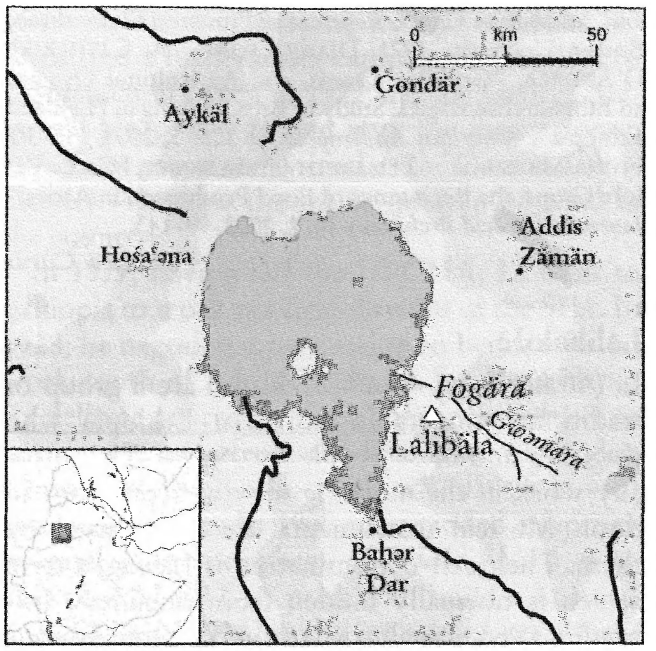
Lit.: AfrZion; FRANCIS ANFRAY, "Deux villes axoumites: Adoulis et Matara", in: *PICES* 4, vol. 1, 745–66, pls. I–VI; LINO BIANCHI BARRIVIERA, "Le chiese in roccia di Lalibelà e di altri luoghi del Lasta", *RSE* 18, 1962, 5–76, pls.; *ibid.* 19, 1963, 5–118, pls.; IRMGARD BIDDER, *Lalibela: the Monolithic Churches of Ethiopia*, Cologne 1958; DAVID R.

BUXTON, "The Christian Antiquities of Northern Ethiopia", *Archaeologia* 92, 1947, 1–42; ID., "The Rock-Hewn and Other Medieval Churches of Tigré Province, Ethiopia", *ibid.* 103, 1971, 33–100, pls.; ID. – D. MATTHEWS, "The Reconstruction of Vanished Aksumite Buildings", *RSE* 25, 1971–72, 53–77, pls.; GerKir [Eng]; HERMANN DABBERT, *Die monolithenen Kirchen Lalibelas in Aethiopien*, Berlin 1938 (ill.); ETHIOPIAN AIRLINES (ed.), *Äthiopien*, Mailand n.d. [1976], 10f. (ill.); GETATCHEW HAILE, "A History of the *tabot* of Atronəsa Maryam in Amhara (Ethiopia)", *Paideuma* 34, 1988, 13–22; ID., "On the House of Lasta from the History of Zena Gäbrəʾel", in: *PICES* 9, vol. 6, 7–21; GIRMAH ÉLIAS – CLAUDE LEPAGE – JACQUES MERCIER, "Peintures murales du XIIe siècle découvertes dans l'église Yemrehana Krəstos en Éthiopie", *Académie des Inscriptions & Belles Lettres, Comptes Rendus* Jan.–Mars 2001, 311–34; MARILYN E. HELDMAN, "Legends of Lalibäla: the Development of an Ethiopian Pilgrimage Site", *Res. Anthropology and Aesthetics* 27, Spring 1995a, 25–38; EAD., "Fauna of the Terrestrial World: an Early Byzantine Scheme Preserved in Ethiopian Church Decoration", *Abstracts of Papers, Twentieth First Annual Byzantine Studies Conference, New York* 21, 1995b, 74; EAD., "Architectural Symbolism, Sacred Geography, and the Ethiopian Church", *Journal of Religion in Africa* 22, 1, 1992, 222–41; CLAUDE LEPAGE, "Les monuments chrétiennes rupestres de Degum, in Éthiopie (rapport préliminaire)", *Cahiers archéologiques* 27, 1972, 167–200; ID., "L'église de Zaréma (Éthiopie) découverte en Mai 1973 et son apport a l'histoire de l'architecture éthiopienne", *Académie des Inscriptions & Belles-Lettres, Comptes Rendus* Juillet–Octobre 1973, 416–54; ID., "Les peintures murales de l'église Betä Maryam à Lalibäla, Éthiopie (rapport préliminaire)", *ibid.* Juillet–Octobre 1999, 901–67; ID., "Un métropolite égyptien bâtisseur à Lalibäla (Éthiopie) entre 1205 et 1210", *ibid.* Jan.–March 2002, 141–74; JACQUELINE PIRENNE, "La signification symbolique des églises de Lalibéla, à partir des inscriptions découvertes en 1980–1983", in: *PICES* 8, 137–45; ROGER SAUTER, "Où en est notre connaissance des églises rupestres d'Éthiopie", *AE* 5, 1963, 235–92; ID., "Eglises rupestres du Tigré", *ibid.* 10, 1976, 157–75; SerHist 274–78; TadTChurch 58f.; TEWELDE-MEDHIN JOSEPH, "Introduction générale aux églises monolithes du Tigrai", in: *PICES* 3, vol. 1, 83–98; UNESCO, *Ethiopia. Illuminated Manuscripts*, Greenwich, CN 1961.

Marilyn Heldman

Lalibäla

L. (ላሊበላ) cave is an archaeological site east of Lake ↗Ṭana. It is one of the caves (along with Näčč̣abet) discovered in an escarpment overlooking ↗Fogära at ca. 2,200 m A.S.L., some 4 km north-east of the village of Hamuset, 35 km north of Baḥər Dar. The L. cave is located in a stream bed, near a seasonal waterfall. It was partially excavated in 1967 by Joanne Dombrowski. L. cave is particularly significant because it was one of the very first sites in the Horn of Africa to produce evidence for ancient domesticated plants and animals from excavated archaeological contexts.



Dombrowski reports that the upper levels of L. cave contained deposits dating back to 1320 A.D. ± 80 years. Finds from these levels included iron, pottery, grinding stones, polishing stones, circular stone weights, smoking pipes, hearths, and storage pits. The lower levels included fire pits, ash, charcoal, red ochre, stone tools, pottery, botanical remains (barley, chickpea, and legumes), animal bones (cattle and goat/sheep), and a human skeleton. The bottom area of the lower levels produced a radiocarbon date of 520 B.C. ± 80 years.

Näčč̣abet cave, 100 m to the east of L., yielded evidence for a campsite dating to about the first cent. B.C. (lower levels) and a more permanent settlement dating from about 1100–1400 A.D. (upper levels).

Stone tool artifacts, including thumbnail scrapers, microliths, and a point tool were documented on surface sites near the caves. More recently the caves were probably utilized as a place of retreat during times of invasions and local troubles (e.g., during the Italian occupation of 1936–41).

Lit.: TERTIA BARNETT, *The Emergence of Food Production in Ethiopia*, Oxford 1999; STEVEN A. BRANDT, "New Perspectives on the Origins of Food Production in Ethiopia", in: J. DESMOND CLARK – STEVEN A. BRANDT (eds.), *From Hunters to Farmers: the Causes and Consequences of Food Production in Africa*, Berkeley, CA 1984, 173–90; CATHERINE D'ANDREA et al., "Ethnoarchaeological Approaches to the Study of Prehistoric Agriculture in the Highlands of Ethiopia", in: MARIJKE VAN DER VEEN (ed.), *The Exploitation of Plant Resources in Ancient Africa*, New York 1999, 101–22; JOANNE C. DOMBROWSKI, "Preliminary Report on Excavations in Lalibela and Natchabiet Caves, Begemeder", *AE* 8, 1970, 21–29; EAD., *Excavations in Ethiopia: Lalibela*

and Natchabiet Caves, Begemeder Province, Ph.D. thesis, Boston University 1971; DIANE LYONS – A. CATHERINE D'ANDREA, "Griddles, Ovens, and Agricultural Origins: an Ethnoarchaeological Study of Bread Baking in Highland Ethiopia", *American Anthropologist* 105, 3, 2003, 515–30; FIONA MARSHALL – ELISABETH HILDEBRAND, "Cattle Before Crops: the Beginnings of Food Production in Africa", *Journal of World Prehistory* 16, 2, 2002, 99–143.

Matthew Curtis

Lalibäločč

L. (ላሊበሎች, sg. ላሊበላ, Lalibäla) are a group of traditional singers in northern Ethiopia who sing, beg and bless people for ↗alms. They usually work in the morning moving from door to door. Musical instruments are never used by them. Their self-denomination is Lawağ, a term which is normally hidden from outsiders, following a secret inclusive group concept. Anyone who does not belong to this group is called Balti and excluded from the Lawağ group. As a hereditary group, L. maintain close ↗kinship relations, the group members defining themselves as related by blood.

Dästa Täklä Wäld (DTWDic 725) notes that the term L. originates from the Amharic words ሌሊት (*lelit*, 'night') and በላ (*bälla*, 'eat'); thus, they are so named because they sing and beg at night. On the other hand, the L. community in Addis Abäba claims that the group was named after the 12th-cent. king ↗Lalibäla. One of the oral traditions commonly shared by the L. traces their origin back to the story of Adam and Eve. It states that when God found out that Adam and Eve did not present him with half of their children, he became angry and cursed those they hid to a life of singing and begging for alms.

Lalibäločč in Gondär: While the man is singing at the door, his wife (right) accompanies him by vocalizing; photo 2004, courtesy of the author

L. are called by different names in different regions: the most wide-spread term used by non-L. is ሐሚና (*Ḥamina*, also *Amina*), mainly in Gondär and Goğğam, which is, however, not liked by L. themselves; they are called አባውዴ (*Abbawde*) or *Abba Wəddaqi* in Wällo (Mesfin Messele 2000); and L., አባ፡ ጉንዳ (*Abba Gunda*), and አባ፡ ወጋት (*Abba Wäggat*) in Šäwa. A similar group of singers is known as *Ḥamen* (s. Yoḥannəs Gäbrä-Ǝgzi'abəḥer 1948:18) in the Eritrean highlands and in some regions of Təgray.

The majority of L. come from Šäwa, Wällo and Goğğam, and they are particularly concentrated in Däğen (Goğğam) and Fəčče (Šäwa). They travel from town to town alone or, more commonly, as individual families, a man with his wife and children. The setting of L. performances is strictly defined and always the same, different from that of ↗*azmari* (↗Ǝnzata), who are active in very different social settings. However, in some areas of northern Šäwa, L. occasionally attend ↗*täzkar* (*rota* in their own terminology), where they typically sing a requiem and receive a whole leg of a cow in return.

Their modes of singing can be roughly classified into two types. The first is a duet sung by a man and a woman. The couple moves from house to house with the woman singing vocals with a strained voice (Shelemay 1982), followed by the man singing verses of praise. The second mode of singing is performed by a single man or woman who sings both a chorus and verse. Before they start singing, they usually look for promising clients and collect information (religion, occupation, etc.) about these people, editing several verses to suit them. Once L. receive their alms – in the form of money, clothes or food – they sing special blessings, wishing prosperity on the listener. Thus, their songs are a mixture of fixed and improvised verses. They learn the skill as children whilst following their parents.

When speaking to each other, L. use an argot (↗Ethiopian argots), of which ten basic words fol-

low here: *antti* ('one'), *git* ('two'), *sälatina* ('three'), *əfna* ('fire'), *wačo* ('water'), *ğurru* ('sun'), *čərqəna* ('moon'), *dämalis* ('blood'), *ləmas* ('tongue'), *mučo* ('tooth'). Communication using the argot is advantageous when the L. are begging in front of outsiders: information related to their "business transactions" can be freely exchanged through the argot without anybody else understanding.

Many Ethiopians believe that L. are condemned to suffer from ↗leprosy if they do not sing, beg and bless for alms. However, this belief is not widely accepted by L. today. Most of them say that they do not know any L. who have contracted leprosy for discontinuing their activities. Many publicly claim that they sing just to earn a living. Nevertheless, the L. are often still stigmatized through the association with leprosy.

Src.: DTWDic 725; YOḤANNƎS GÄBRÄ ƎGZI'ABƎḤER, መዝገበ-ቃላት ትግርኛ-አምሐርኛ. *Ethiopian Dictionary Tigrigna-Amharic*, Aśmära 1948 A.M. [1955/56 A.D.], 18.
Lit.: BERHANOU ABBEBE, "Hamina, distiques amhariques d'après une transcription d'Antoine d'Abbadie", *AÉ* 8, 1970, 89–101; MESFIN MESSELE, *Abbaude Oral Poetry in South Wollo: a Descriptive Analysis*, M.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 2000; MonVidMus [repr. in: *AE* 19, 2003, 149–88, here 153]; MICHAEL POWNE, *Ethiopian Music: an Introduction: a Survey of Ecclesiastical and Secular Ethiopian Music*, London – New York – Toronto 1968; KAY KAUFMAN SHELEMAY, "The Music of Lalibeloc: Musical Mendicants in Ethiopia", *Journal of African Studies* 9, 1982, 128–38.

Kawase Itsushi

Lambie, Thomas Alexander

L. (b. 1885, Pittsburgh, d. 1954, Bethlehem, Palestine) was a missionary of the ↗Sudan Interior Mission (SIM) and pioneer in medical work. He earned a medical degree from the University of Pittsburgh in 1907. The same year, he and his family moved to the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, to work among the ↗Nuer and ↗Añwaa people for the United Presbyterian Church of North America (UPCNA).

In 1919, in the wave of a Spanish flu epidemic and at the request of the governor of Wälläga *ras* ↗Nadäw Abba Wällo, L. moved to Ethiopia, at the time almost without Western missionaries and Western-trained doctors. His skills in the latter area became crucial in building his reputation among the authorities (Donham 1999:87ff.). His work was focused in the provinces of Illubabor (↗Gore) and western Wälläga (↗Dambi Dolloo and Sayyoo, where he established a hospital and a school). In 1921, at the request of the regent *ras* Täfäri Mäkʷännən (↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I) for the construction of a hospital in Addis Abäba, L. organized a fund raising campaign in the U.S.A. Construction began in 1922 and the George Memorial Hospital – named after the major donor, W.S. George and today used as the Central Laboratories – became the major modern hospital in the country.

In 1927, having left the UPCNA, L. went to Ethiopia to work as a field director of the SIM. In 1928, he negotiated permission to begin mission work south of Addis Abäba, as far as ↗Sidamo – a delicate procedure since Täfäri was subject to strong pressures from the Ethiopian Orthodox Church. He built a hospital in Wäläytta as well as several clinics. In 1932, he founded a leprosy hospital in the periphery of Addis Abäba, now part of ↗ALERT. A project to build a hospital in Lalibäla in 1934, at the request of *ras* ↗Kaśa Ḫaylu, was prevented by the outbreak of war.

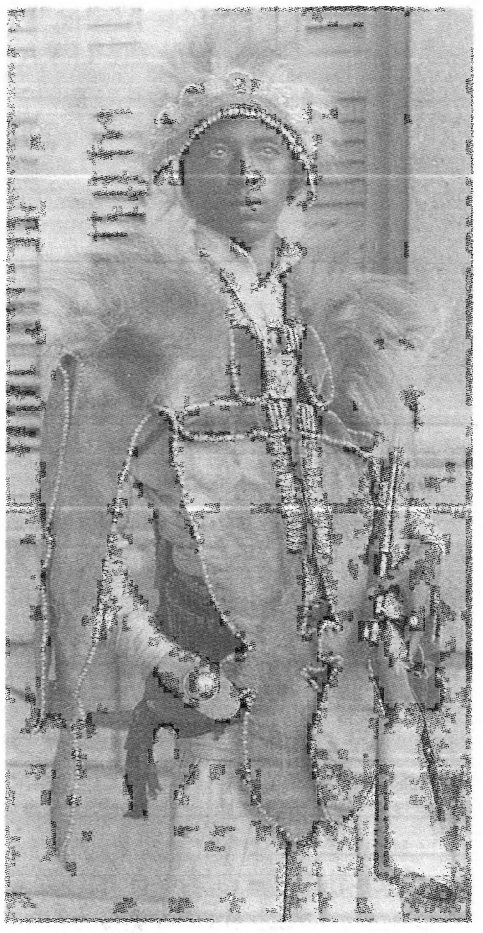
At L.'s request, Ḫaylä Śəllase I granted him Ethiopian citizenship. He also appointed him secretary-general of the new Ethiopian ↗Red Cross to oversee the efforts of Ethiopian and foreign medical teams during the ↗Italian war of 1935–36 during which time he met von ↗Rosen. Later, however, in accord with the occupiers' demand, L. retracted in writing his previous criticisms of the Italian use of poison gas. As a result, with the Ethiopian victory in 1941, L. fell out of favour with the Emperor and could never return to Ethiopia (Donham 1999:97f.). He later worked in Nigeria, Sudan, and built a tuberculosis hospital in Palestine. L.'s evangelizing activities in Wäläytta ultimately contributed to the birth in 1956 of an independent denomination, the ↗Qalä Ḫəywät Church.

Scr.: THOMAS LAMBIE, *Doctor Without a Country*, New York 1939 [repr. as *A Doctor's Great Commission*, Wheaton, IL 1954]; ID., *A Doctor Carries on*, New York 1942; ID., *Boot and Saddle in Africa*, Philadelphia, PA et al. 1943.
Lit.: DONALD L. DONHAM, *Marxist Modern: an Ethnographic History of the Ethiopian Revolution*, Berkeley, CA [et al.] 1999, 88ff., 97f.

Peter Unseth – Red.

Lämd

L. (ለምድ), the Amharic term for a men's cloak, made either of simple sheep-skin, or, for persons of rank or heroes thus honoured, of velvet or ↗lion or ↗leopard skins (KaneDic 50; THMDic 9). The Təgrəñña equivalent of L. as a parade war attire is ዲኖ (*dino*), likewise made of velvet or animal skin (Parkyns 1853:10; KaneTDic 2121).



A young noble, with an *anfaro* headdress, wearing a *lämd*, which shows the features of the original model of the *lämd*, an animal skin with the paws hanging over the shoulders; photo early 20th cent., from the Carl Haertel collection, courtesy of Johannes Bohnenberger

Wearing L. is an old custom (KWKDic 727). According to a traditional legend, the cloaks were distinctive of clans and dynasties, and the ↗Solomonic dynasty nobles wore lion-skin L. whilst the ↗Zagʷe wore leopard-skin L. (Bälay 1993:73). According to the same tradition, as early as in Aksumite time, special craftsmen produced animal skin cloaks, decorated with gold and precious stones (ibid. 99).

The first recorded eye-witness account of L. is apparently by ↗Alvares who in the early 16th cent. saw lion-skins on noblemen's shoulders (BeckHuntAlvar 116, 269). The term was later cited in the early 19th cent. by Parkyns (1853:10) and later by Cecchi (CecZeila I, 149). *Aṣe* ↗Tewodros II is known to have given L. as a gift to people of status: e.g., he presented Consul ↗Cameron with a gold-decorated L. (FusTeo 98 [tr.]). L.-cloaks are also frequently referred to in the Chronicle of *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II. The source tells of "golden L." being worn by the ↗*ligaba*, or high court official, as well as other important officers of state. *Ras* ↗Arᵓaya Śəllase, son of *aṣe* Yoḥannəs IV, received 30 L. on the occasion of his marriage to Mənilək's daughter ↗Zäwditu in 1882 (GueCopMen 188, 271f., 413, 505). A L. presented by *ras* ↗Mäkʷännən Wäldä Mikaᵓel to his Guadeloupian physician Dr Vitalien is reproduced in Duchesne-Fournet (1908, vol. 2, pl. XIV).

Src.: MARIRAS A.M. BÄLAY, የጥንቷ፡ ኢትዮጵያ፡ ትንሳኤ፡ ታሪክ (*Yäṭənṭʷa Ityopya tənsaᵓe tarik*, 'The History of Resurrection of Ancient Ethiopia'), Addis Abäba 1985 A. M. [1993 A.D.]; BeckHuntAlvar 116, 269; CecZeila I, 149; JEAN DUCHESNE-FOURNET, *Mission en Éthiopie (1901-1903)*, Paris 1908, vol. 2, pl. XIV; FusTeo 31 = 98; GOBÄZE ṬAFFÄṬA, አባ ጤና ኢያሱ. *Abba Tena Iyasu*, Addis Abäba 1996 (Bulletin de la Maison des études éthiopiennes 6), 73; GueCopMen 188, 271f., 413, 505; GuiVoc 18; KaneDic 50; KaneTDic 2121; KWKDic 727; MahZekr 20, 249f., 658f., 694, 864 (ills.); MANSFIELD PARKYNS, *Life in Abyssinia, being Notes Collected during Three Years' Residence and Travels in that Country*, vol. 2, London 1853, 10; THMDic 9; VSAe II, 457.

Fentahun Tiruneh

Lämläm

Aläqa L. (ለምለም, b. Bägemdər, d. between 1902–04, Addis Abäba), an Ethiopian clergyman and historiographer, received a traditional church ↗education and studied the ↗*andəmta*-commentary of the O.T. in Goğğam (at ↗Moṭa and/or ↗Däbrä Marqos). His teacher was the famous *mämhər arat ᶜayna* Goššu (d. 29 *Ṭərr* 1861 A.M. [5 February 1869 A.D.]), who produced a number of prominent pupils, amongst whom was *mämhər* ↗Kəflä Giyorgis (s. Cowley in PICES 6, 56; 1974:169). L. served in churches in Goğğam (but also at ↗Maḫdärä Maryam, Bägemdər) until the ↗*Kəfu qän*-famine (1888–92), when he left for Šäwa and made his way to ↗Addis Abäba. There he met ↗Mondon-Vidailhet, who took care of him and for whom L. became, in turn, an informant (after Koriander in *Izvestija* ..., 1904, V) and most likely a teacher of Amharic. Strangely enough, there is no mention of L. in Mondon-Vidailhet's works, though their close relationship is attested by an anecdote narrated by *aläqa* ↗Lämma Ḫaylu (Mängəśtu Lämma 1966/67:175ff.; for a different version of the story, presenting L. in negative light, yet without mentioning him, s. Le Roux 1902:207f.; cp. Rouaud 1997:34, 101).

The literary legacy of L. is poorly studied. His name does not appear in the catalogue of Mondon-Vidailhet's manuscript collection (ChMonV), although one can assume that at

least a few of the books were obtained and/or copied for Mondon-Vidailhet by L. Ms. éth. 259 (ChMonV no. 72) contains important works of ↗historiography partly, if not wholly, authored by L. Among these, his authorship is attested for the lengthy Amharic chronicle of the times of *aṣe* ↗Täklä Giyorgis and *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs (**ያጼ፡ ተክለ፡ ጊዮርጊስ፡ ያጼ፡ ዮሐንስ፡ ታሪክ**, *Yaṣe Täklä Giyorgis yaṣe Yoḥannəs tarik*, fols. 15–41, poorly catalogued by Chaîne), written for Mondon-Vidailhet "in 1894–95 at Enṭoṭṭo" (cp. BTafY 16). Occasionally used by scholars, this chronicle provides unique details regarding the reigns of the two 19th-cent. emperors (s. ZewYohan; Orlowska in PICES 15). As the author, *aläqa* L. remarks that this is his second work, the first being a chronicle of the reign of *aṣe* Tewodros II (BTafY 16), which may refer to the narrative about the latter on fols. 5–12 of the same ms. éth. 259.

A further text related to L. is the "short chronicle" in ms. St. Petersburg, Ef. 30 (= Koriander 8, s. Turaiev 1906: 89, with a poor description), a lengthy historiographic compilation in Gəᶜəz encompassing the history of Ethiopia from its beginnings to 1889. The first part, up to the end of Bäkaffa's/beginning of Iyasu II's reigns, belongs to the textual tradition of the "short chronicles" and is similar, e.g., to the text in ms. Paris, BN éth. 142 (ed. in BassÉt; s. Platonov 1966:39). L. may well have been the copyist of this part as well as of the narrative for the events of 1730–55 (s. Platonov 1966:41–45; missing in ms. éth. 142), and the author of the part on the 18th and 19th-cent. history: from Iyoᵓas I to the death of Yoḥannəs IV. Interestingly, the latter portion of the text (published in Turaiev 1910) served as the Vorlage for one of the Amharic chronicles of Yoḥannəs IV, known, again, from a manuscript in Mondon-Vidailhet's collection (éth. 260; s. Ricci 1947:47). Here the Amharic translation, plausibly prepared by the same L., closely follows the Gəᶜəz text, though with a few significant omissions, e.g., in the detailed chronological account of the several ravages of Gondär by the ↗Mahdists in 1888–89 – possibly reduced in order to extenuate the passive role of ↗Mənilək of Šäwa.

↗Amharic literature

Src.: AmhChurchD vol. 1, 23; BassÉt; ChMonV 43ff., nos. 72, 73 [mss. éth. 259, 260]; M.A. KORIANDER, in: *Izvestija Imperatorskoj Akademii Nauk* ser. 5, 20, 1904, III–V; VJACHESLAV M. PLATONOV, "'Kratkaja hronica' alaḳi Lemlema po rukopisi LO INA Ef. 30" ('The 'Short Chronicle' of *Äläqa* Lämläm after the ms. LO INA Ef. 30'), in: *Africana. Kultura i jazyki narodov Afriki* ('Culture and Languages of the Peoples of Africa), Moscow 1966 (Trudy Instituta etnografii imeni N.N. Mikluho-Maklaja, new ser. 90), 36–51; BORIS TURAIEV, *Efiopskie rukopisi v Sankt Peterburge* ('Ethiopian Manuscripts in St. Petersburg'), St. Petersburg 1906 (Pamjatniki efiopskoj pismennosti 3), 89, no. 48 (Ef. 30 = Koriander 8); ID., "Zametki k kratkoj efiopskoj hronike" ('Notes on an Ethiopian Short Chronicle'), *Vizantijskij vremennik* 17, 1910, 270–82.

Lit.: BTafY 16, 199 [index]; BAIRU TAFLA, "A Supplement to 'A Chronicle of Emperor Yoḥannes IV (1872–89)'", in: SIEGBERT UHLIG – BAIRU TAFLA (eds.), *Collectanea Aethiopica*, Stuttgart 1988 (AeF 26), 23–49, here 41; ROGER COWLEY, "Mämhər Esdros and his Interpretations", in: *PICES* 6, 41–69; ID., "Old Testament Introduction in the Andemta Commentary Tradition", *JES* 12, 1974, 133–75; HUGUES LE ROUX, *Ménélik et nous*, Paris 1902, 207f.; MÄNGƎŚTU LÄMMA, **መጽሐፈ፡ ትዝታ፡ ዘአለቃ፡ ለማ** (*Mäṣḥafä təzzəta zäᵓaläqa Lämma*, 'The Book of *aläqa* Lämma's Reminiscences'), Addis Abäba 1959 A.M. [1966/67 A.D.], 89, 158, 175ff.; IZABELA ORLOWSKA, "Mining the Wisdom of Solomon: the Coronation of Yoḥannəs IV and the Re-Invention of Tradition in Late 19th-Cent. Ethiopia", in: *PICES* 15, 313–20; LANFRANCO RICCI, "Una cronaca breve in amarico sul regno di Yoḥannĕs IV, re d'Etiopia", *RSO* 22, 1947, 47–59; ALAIN ROUAUD, *Casimir Mondon-Vidailhet, pionnier de l'amitié franco-éthiopienne/Casimir Mondon-Vidailhet, Pioneer of the French-Ethiopian Friendship*, Addis Abeba – Paris 1997 (Maison des Études Éthiopiennes, Bulletin 10), 34, 101; ZewYohan 23, 45 n. 1, 237 n. 5, 305.

Denis Nosnitsin

Lämma Abboyye

Däğğazmač L.A. (**ለማ፡ አቦዬ**, "horse name" **አባ፡ መልካ**, Abba Mälka; d. 1908) was an official of ↗Mənilək II. His father was *afä nəguś* Abboyye, appointed in 1858 by *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II interim governor of Šäwa and his mother was *wäyzäro* Ayahlušəmm, daughter of *nəguś* ↗Šahlä Šəllase of Šäwa. He was the younger brother of *däğğazmač* ↗Bäšah Abboyye and *ras* ↗Wäldä Giyorgis Abboyye and a cousin of Mənilək II.

Like his elder brothers, L.A. participated in Mənilək's military activities (against Kullo [↗Dawro] and ↗Konta, s. BTafA 847, n. 1074) and served for a long time in Mənilək's administration, *inter alia* as governor of ↗Gofa and Šangama (GueCopMen 504). The highest rank he received was *däğğazmač*. L.A. was chief of the servants (*lole*) of Mənilək's palace (↗*Gəbbi*), to whom he repeatedly proved his loyalty. After L.A.'s death, his title and office were bestowed upon his son Ḫaylä Maryam Lämma, who, as a close ally of *ras* Täfäri Mäkʷännən (later Emperor ↗Ḫaylä Šəllase I), was one of the leaders of the Šäwan plot against *ləğ* ↗Iyasu in 1916.

Src.: BTafA 847, n. 1074, 872; GSMen facing page 225; GueCopMen 504; MahHorse 213; MÄRSƎᶜE ḪAZÄN

WÄLDÄ QIRQOS, **የዘመን፡ ታሪክ፡ ትዝታዬ - በአቤቶ፡ ኢያሱ፡ ዘመነ፡ መንግሥት** (*Yäzämän tarik təzzətaye – bä'abeto Iyasu zämänä mängəśt*, 'My Memories of the History of the Time – During the Reign of *abeto* Iyasu'), IES ms. 2062C, Addis Ababa n.d., 25f.

Lit.: PrRosDic 179; TADDÄSÄ ZÄWÄLDE, **የአቤቶሁን፡ ያዕቆብ፡ ትውልድና፡ አጭር፡ ታሪክ** (*Yä'abetohun Ya'əqob təwlədənna aṭṭər tarik*, 'The Descent and Short Story of *abetohun* Ya'əqob'), Addis Abäba 1948 A.M. [1955/56 A.D.], 29.

Ahmed Hassen Omer

Lämma Gäbrä Ḫəywät

L. (**ለማ፡ ገብረ፡ ሕይወት**, b. 1918 A.M. [1925/26 A.D.], K^{w}ärämaš Sänbäleṭ Maryam, Tägulät-Bulga, Šäwa, d. 22 April 1994, Addis Abäba) was an Ethiopian musician. He started traditional church education at Mäsno Maryam, near his birth place. Soon, the boy was found to have a good voice, and he started to exercise his singing and dancing talent, reciting, e.g., ↗*fukkära*, *qärärto* and ↗*šəlläla* at the popular feasts. He quickly became well-known in his neighbourhood; during the Resistance in 1935–41, he used to sing for groups of patriots inspiring them for the fight.

After the Liberation, L. came to Addis Abäba in 1952 and joined the artistic department of the capital's municipality where he was taught to read musical notation and play both traditional and modern musical instruments. In 1953 he joined Täsfa Kokäb School, with a band of musicians composed of his comrades. In 1955 L. was one of the artists who performed at the opening of the Ḫaylä Śəllase I Theatre (now the National Theatre), an event linked to the anniversary of Ḫaylä Śəllase's 25th coronation. He remained at the theatre for a number of years, working as the head of the theatre's orchestra and as an actor. L. toured a number of countries (including the USA and the USSR), introducing Ethiopian music world-wide. In 1964/65 he moved to the Municipality, became a prominent member of a traditional musicians' team ("Lämma and Companions"), was a frequent guest on television and radio broadcasts, and toured several countries. Apart from stage work, L. was also active as singer. He was particularly popular for his performance of wedding songs, which he gathered and standardized, keeping them, as is commonly accepted in Ethiopia, purely traditional and free from foreign influence.

↗Music; ↗Theatre

Src.: author's own data; [GETAČČÄW DÄBALQE], **የአርባ፡ ቀን፡ መታሰቢያ** (*Yä'arba qän mättasäbiya*, '[Lämma Gäbrä Ḫəywät's] 40th Day Commemoration'), [Addis Abäba 1994].

Discography: *Music from Ethiopia by Various Artists*, Caprice Records, 1 January 1992 (no. 1); *Lemma Gebrehiwot – Wedding Songs*, **ለማ፡ ገብረ፡ ሕይወት፤ የሠርግ፡ ዘፈኖች**, Nahom Records 2003.

Asfaw Damte

Lämma Ḫaylu Wäldä Tarik

Aläqa L. (**ለማ፡ ኀይሉ፡ ወልደ፡ ታሪክ**, b. *Ḫamle* 1860 A.M. [July 1868 A.D.], Mäqet, Wällo, d. 22 January 1967, Harär) was an Ethiopian traditional church scholar. His mother was Tarik Aṭqu (hence his matronymic Wäldä Tarik, lit. 'son of Tarik'); his father, Ḫaylu Läwṭe, was a teacher of ↗*zema* and ↗*qəne*.

L. began his ↗education at the unusually late age of twelve when on his own initiative he learned to read and write at the monastery of Däbrä Abunä Aron, in Mäqet. In 1874 A.M. [1882 A.D.] L. was consecrated deacon at ↗Däbrä Tabor. Thereafter, he spent more than 20 years wandering between the centres of traditional education in ↗Bägemdər, ↗Goğğam and ↗Šäwa. He completed the extensive course of studies including, especially, the subjects studied in the ↗*mäṣḥaf bet*, learning from the most renowned teachers of the time, such as *aläqa* Täṭämqo, *grageta* Gäbrä Mädḫən, *mäl'akä bərhan* Wäldä Yoḥannəs, *mämhər* ↗Akalä Wäld, and *aläqa* Wäldä Maryam (Mängəśtu Lämma 1966/67: 160f.; Cowley in PICES 6, 56).

In 1883 A.M. [1890/91 A.D.] L. settled in Addis Abäba, where ten years later he married (also unusually late) Abbäbäčč Yəlma, a daughter of *grazmač* Yəlma. They had nine children, one of whom was ↗Mängəśtu Lämma. In 1907 A.M. [1915 A.D.], L. left Addis Abäba for ↗Harär, where he became ↗*aläqa* at Mäkanä Śəllase church. Before the Italian war of 1935–36 *aläqa* L. participated in the translation of the N.T. into

Lämma Ḫaylu Wäldä Tarik; portrait 1963/64 by Afäwärq Täkle, from *EthObs* 9, 3, 1965, frontispiece

Amharic commissioned by *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I (Cowley 1974:175), which was printed privately outside Ethiopia in 1939 (s. ↗Bible). During the Italian occupation, nearly the entire manuscript library of L. was lost, though he himself remained unharmed. After the Liberation, L. devoted most of his time to teaching, and generations of his students have become distinguished scholars in their own right. After his death, L. was buried in ↗Qəddəst Śəllase Cathedral in Addis Abäba.

Mängəśtu Lämma spent months recording *aläqa* L.'s memoirs about his life and times, covering a period of about a century (from *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II to Ḫaylä Śəllase I), which he edited and published (Mängəśtu Lämma 1966/67). Being a unique example of recorded oral tradition, this book contains valuable information on various historical personalities and events, and on the traditional way of life and thought. It is set apart by its delightful colloquial Amharic; it also includes 27 *qəne*-poems of *aläqa* L. He was also the narrator of the stories that constitute Mängəśtu Lämma's volume of verse entitled *Yabbatočč č̣äwata* (1960/61).

Src.: MÄNGƎŚTU LÄMMA, መጽሐፈ፡ ትዝታ፡ ዘአለቃ፡ ለማ (*Mäṣḥafä təzzəta zä'aläqa Lämma*, 'The Book of *aläqa* Lämma's Reminiscences'), Addis Abäba 1959 A.M. [1966/67 A.D.]; ID., ደማሙ፡ ብዕረኛ (ግለ፡ ታሪክ) (*Dämamu bə'əräññä* [*gəllä tarik*], 'The Handsome Writer [Autobiography]'), Addis Abäba 1988 A.M. [1995/96 A.D.]; ID., ያባቶች፡ ጨዋታ (*Yabbatočč č̣äwata*, 'The Conversation of the Fathers'), Addis Abäba 1953 A.M. [1960/61 A.D.].

Lit.: AmhChurchD vol. 1, 22f.; ROGER COWLEY, "Old Testament Introduction in the Andemta Commentary Tradition", *JES* 12, 1, 1974, 133–75; ID., "Mämhər Esdros and his Interpretations", in: *PICES* 6, 41–69; *EthObs* 9, 3, 1965 (ill.); GIDEON GOLDENBERG, "Les Mémoires d'aläqa Lämma et l'étude de l'amharique parlé", *RSE* 28, 1981, 41–56; MolLit 276f., 286f.; LANFRANCO RICCI, [review of Mängəśtu Lämma 1966/67], *RSE* 24, 1971, 248ff.

Asfaw Damte

Lances ↗Spears

Land drainage

L.d. and terracing are two basic and sometimes combined methods of water management. Because of usually heavy rainfall during the rainy season in many parts of the country soil erosion is a serious problem. In areas with uneven terrains Ethiopian farmers often use L.d. and terraces to control runoff.

The purpose of L.d. is the removing and disposing of surplus water from the fields. "The most widely applied is the ridge-and-furrow system whereby crops are grown on narrow ridges between furrows made with the traditional ox-drawn plough [...] Another widely used, although less effective, system is the construction of drainage furrows across the contour at varying distances (3–6 m). Very rarely hand-made raised beds are found [...]" (Jutzi 1988: 154). Furrows with a certain gradient causing the water to flow neither too slowly nor too fast reduce the risk of erosion even more effectively.

Furrows for L.d. are widespread in the highlands, especially in those regions where ↗*ṭef* is a major crop. The sowing of *ṭef* is best done when the soil has become muddy, so the rains are allowed to fall on completely uncovered soil until it is muddy enough for sowing. This is one serious cause of soil erosion. Similar effects can be found in all areas where soils become very hard until the end of the dry season (e.g., vertisols); so the first rains of the rainy season are needed to soften these soils before sowing is possible.

In addition to an ox-drawn ↗plough sometimes a considerable labour input is needed for these practices, as ridges and furrows have to be kept in shape and checked regularly during the rains.

The purpose of building artificial terraces (including bunds) is to slow down water runoff. In the areas with heavy rains terraces are a basic feature for reducing soil erosion by slowing down runoff. This has another positive effect: thanks to a slower runoff there is more time for water to infiltrate the soils, and the crops profit from an increased soil moisture. This effect generally is of value at the beginning and the end of the rainy season, especially in those areas with short and irregular rains, for stabilizing and/or raising the yields, as well as in areas with perennial crops (e.g. Coffee). For the same purposes terraces also are irrigated in some places.

Building and maintaining terraces may need a relatively high labour input, depending on the type of terrace, the topography and the force of water runoff. Terraces and bunds can be made both of stones and soil. Since the 1980s several large areas of the highlands have been terraced by local people, initiated and supported by the government and development agencies. Beyond this kind of large scale campaign terracing, small-level and individually prepared terraces and bunds are widespread, also in historical times. A common type of bund with quite a low labour input is made of stones: in areas with steep slopes and shallow soils the farmers anyway have to pick up stones from the fields again and again, and they

place the stones along contour lines forming simply designed bunds. Some of these bunds remain permanent, others disappear after a certain time.

These water management methods entail a certain loss of potentially productive areas, because of which many farmers reject them. However, this has to be set alongside potential loss of yield provoked by soil erosion and lower productivity of dry soils.

The history of L.d. is mostly unknown. Terraces already existed in the Aksumite period, although it is not clear how the designs of the various types developed. Throughout the centuries, terraces and bunds have been in use in several, but not every suitable area.

↗Agriculture; ↗Irrigation

Lit.: UELI BRUNNER, "Water Management and Settlement in Ancient Eritrea", in: *AfrHorn* 30–43; ROLAND POURTIER – ALAIN GASCON, L'Ethiopie telle que Rimbaud ne l'a pas vue, in: SOCIÉTÉ DE GÉOGRAPHIE (ed.), *Arthur Rimbaud géographe?, Colloque organisé le 9 octobre 2004 à Paris ...*, Paris 2006 (= La Géographie 1519bis, janvier 2006), 65–75; HANS HURNI, *Soil Conservation in Ethiopia: Guidelines for Development Agents*, repr. Addis Abeba 1995 (Lit.); SAMUEL JUTZI, "Deep Black Clay Soils (Vertisols): Management Options for the Ethiopian Highlands", *Mountain Research and Development* 8, 2–3, 1988, 153–56 (Lit.); JAMES C. MCCANN, *People of the Plow: an Agricultural History of Ethiopia, 1800–1990*, Madison, WI – London 1995 (Lit.); ALFONS RITLER, *Forest, Land Use and Landscape of Central and Northern Ethiopia, 1865–1930*, Bern 2003 (Geographica Bernensia, African Studies Series 19) (Lit.); StStud (Lit.); YOHANNES GEBRE MICHAEL – KARL HERWEG, *From Indigenous Knowledge to Participatory Technology Development*, Bern 2000 (Lit.).

Alfons Ritler

Land tenure

L.t. is a complex concept in modern discourse frequently connected to land reform. Here we are concerned with the rules and norms by which people gained access to agricultural land, and to the product of that land, in rural Ethiopia (↗Agriculture). This took place within the context of the Ethiopian state, although the role of the state varied greatly from one part of the country to another, and from one period of history to another. Specifically excluded are the rules under which pastoral peoples regulated access to pasture, or peoples with little contact to the state, and formerly rarely part of the monarchy, regulated access to land such as the southern and south-western populations (in this article we focus on the Ethiopian highlands). These rules and norms trace their origins to classical times and are expressed in contemporary documents dating at least to the beginning of the 13th cent. (CrumLand). Beginning with the first decade of the 20th cent., they became the subject of much debate, which culminated in the sweeping land reforms of 1975, which subsequently swept them aside in the Ethiopian highlands (Bahru Zewde 2002:120–27; *Nägarit Gazeṭa*). In Eritrea, however, a number of traditional forms of L.t. are still practised.

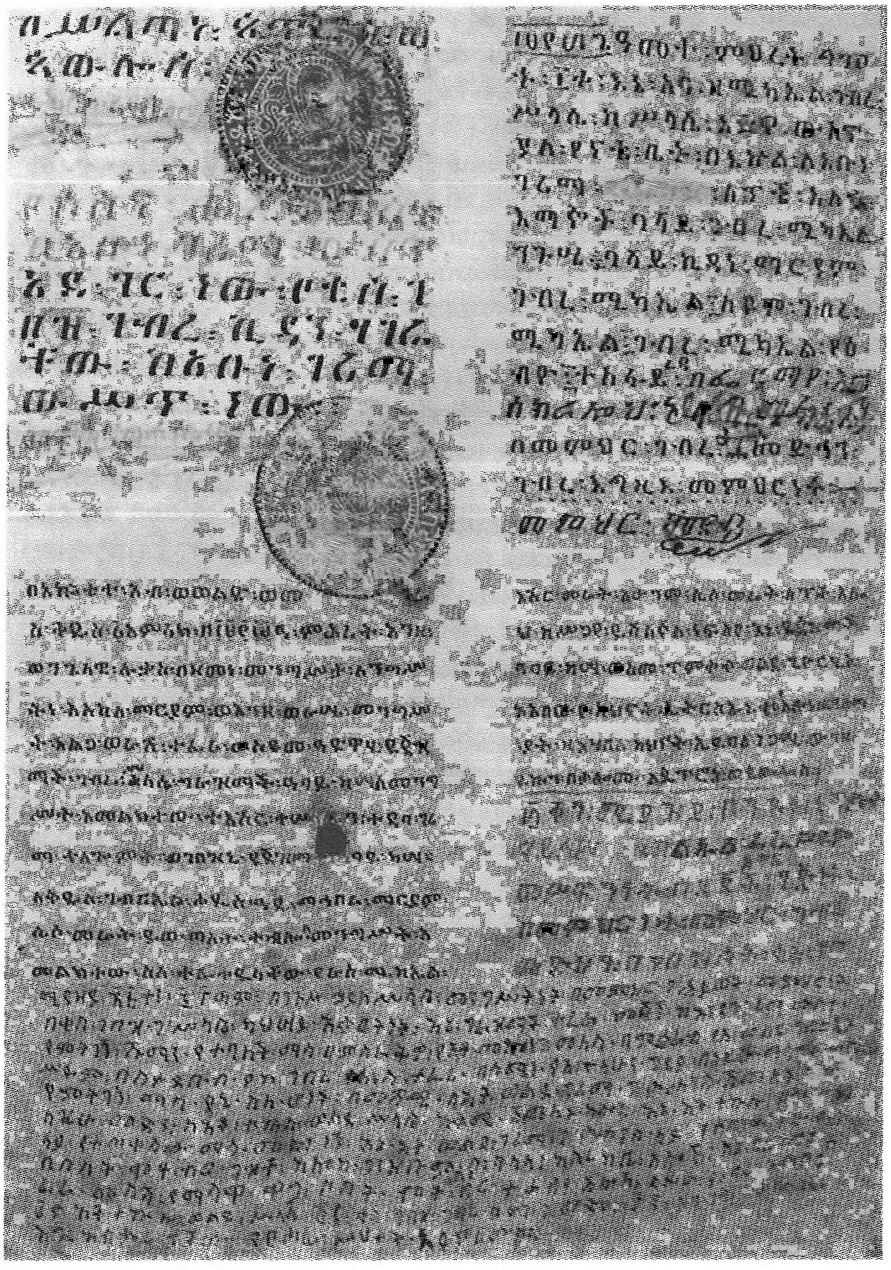
Historical forms of land tenure in Ethiopia

In theory, all rights to land originated from the monarch, although this theory was contested at the local level by *rəst* holders (Conti Rossini 1916:111f.). Conti Rossini records an adage among Eritrean farmers to the effect that "'The land belongs to the government' we say in order to affirm that just as heaven belongs to God, the land belongs to the King. We have recourse to this statement when we intend to exalt the government's power but we do not at all intend to allude to the possession of fields ... no one can take away our lands." It is frequently claimed that the state's rights in land originated in military conquest (TadTChurch 98–103). While we can observe Mənilək's state appropriating land through conquest and subsequently re-distributing it (Bahru Zewde 1991:85–92), it is equally likely that, over the long sweep of Ethiopian history, rights to land have preceded and/or accompanied the formation of the state. Local traditions of land ownership in the highlands, for example, show that such an ownership was practised over generations without any or only slight interference by outside authorities. Nevertheless, one of the characteristic acts of Ethiopian royalty was the granting of ↗*gʷəlt* land. We have comparatively rich documentation of such grants where they pertain to the church (CRAxum; HuntLand; CrumLand; cp. ↗*Wängelä wärq*). Kings also acted as arbiters of final resort in conflicts over *gʷəlt* rights. However, especially in the highlands, the power of monarchs and other local rulers was always limited vis à vis noble *gʷəlt*-holders and local farming communities; local rights and traditions were always taken into account.

All forms of L.t. in historic Ethiopia were conditional. Rights frequently overlapped, several people holding different kinds of rights to the same piece of land. In practice these rights might be held by any or all of three different actors – farmers, holders of over-rights, such as the nobility and holders of appointed offices, and the court – and L.t. practices in imperial Ethiopia

may be approached from the standpoint of each of these actors. The substance of any tenure arrangement was always subject to the ever-changing balance of power between the three actors. The relations between farmers and overlords had a significant dimension of class struggle.

The crucial question for the farmers was whether they were recognized to have transmittable use rights to farm land. Most commonly, such rights were conceived as ↗*rəst*, essentially 'inheritance'. Under *rəst* practice farmers inherited, and bequeathed to their children, and very occasionally sold or mortgaged the lands which they farmed. The *rəst* tenure of farm land was conditional on the payment of taxes or tribute, from the 1940s onwards sometimes directly to agents of the state, more commonly to the holders of over-rights to the same lands. One variant of the *rəst* system, ↗*desa*, was a system of collective, village ownership of land, which prevailed in some of the highland parts of Eritrea. *Rəst* tenure was not universal. In many instances, farmers had no such rights, their access to farm land taking place under terms of tenancy, fundamental rights in the land being held by landlords. Such farmers were *č̣isäññа*, not *rəstäññа*. This was the case in northern Šäwa (Weissleder 1965) under the ↗*mälkäññа* system. It was frequently the case with farmers subjected to the holders of church lands (Villari 1938; Habtamu Mengistie 2004; CrumLand 12), and it was commonly the case for lands brought under the sway of Mənilək's state from the 1880s onwards (CrumLand 222–25), especially after the introduction of *qälad*, or land ↗measurement (McClellan 1988:81–102). One term, applicable to the cultivators in all these varying situations was ↗*gäbbar* ('tribute payer', 'tax payer'). However, it covered a wide variety of social situations.



Land grants in the "Golden Gospel" of Ənda Abba Gärima, Təgray; photo 2005, courtesy of Wolbert Smidt

Over-rights to land were generically known as *gʷəlt*, their holders collectively known as *gʷəltäññа*. Under this system, recipients had the right, metaphorically, to "eat the land", i.e. to collect taxes or tribute from the tributary peasants living on *gʷəlt* property, and also to regularly exercise administrative and judicial authority in the area. *Gʷəlt* is a nominative form of the verb *gʷälläta*, which is frequently rendered by the dictionaries as 'to grant a fief', suggesting some parallels with medieval European practice (GuiVoc col. 707). The substance of *gʷəlt* varied reciprocally as did the substance of *rəst*. Some *gʷəlt*-holders held the rights to farm the land, rights which they distributed to tenant farmers

on condition of the payment of rent, such as the ↗*mälkäññña* of northern Šäwa, or the holders of church ↗*rim* lands in parts of Təgray, Goğğam, Wällo and, probably, Gondär (Weissleder 1965; Habtamu Mengistie 2004). Some *gʷəltäññña* held their lands by hereditary right, in which case the land was known as *rəstä-gʷəlt*, although this hereditary right was also conditional on the payment of tribute or the provision of service to yet another over-lord, to the church, or to the state.

Some of the complexity of (and confusion over) the nature of historic L.t. lies in the variety of types of tribute and service to which *gʷəlt* was subject and to the period of tenure envisaged in the original grant. Land might be expected to pay rent or tribute in agricultural produce, frequently set as a percentage of total yield, but sometimes as a fixed amount. ↗Honey was valued as a tributary good. And much land was given in support of military service, *gʷəlt*-holders being expected to campaign at the command of their overlords, farmers being expected to perform such duties as porterage. Some *gʷəlt* was granted indefinitely, some was given in support of a fixed office, in which case it was known as ↗*madäriya*, the holder's rights lapsing on leaving the office.

The church occupied a special place in the L.t. system, functioning as an overlord with perpetual rights. Overlordship, as in many other instances of *gʷəlt*, generally involved jurisdictional rights to administer justice and to collect revenues from markets and springs and the like. Individual churches and monasteries held lands, which paid tribute in support of different material needs of the church. They also held lands known as *rim* for the support of the clergy, and at least under the Gondär system these lands were held, individually by the clergy, in return for liturgical services. *Rim* lands were transmitted by inheritance, by sale and by gift, subject only, but always, to the provision of service (Bausi – Dore – Taddia 2001; CrumLand).

Historic Ethiopian L.t. came under increasing pressure from the modernizing state, which Ḫaylä Śəllase attempted to construct in the 1940s–60s. His goal was to replace *gʷəlt* with the direct payment of taxes to representatives of the central state. In this he had considerable success, although he left largely untouched the social relations, which surrounded the holding of *gʷəlt* (CrumLand 234–44). Moreover, while he effectively undermined *gʷəlt*, he had little impact on *rəst*, which, as a form of L.t., probably increased during his reign (Tekalign Wolde Mariam 1995). Social tension, arising from the inequitable distribution of land, especially in southern Ethiopia, contributed to the outbreak and subsequent course of the Revolution in 1974. The revolutionary regime, which overthrew the Emperor in 1974, went much farther the following year, abolishing the historic patterns of L.t.

Scholarship on Ethiopian land tenure

The scholarship on L.t. began with Italian observations on the conditions prevailing in Eritrea and northern Ethiopia (Perini 1893; Pollera 1913; Conti Rossini 1916; Villari 1938; Gesiotto 1939), a tradition which continued under British occupation of Eritrea in the 1940s. Meanwhile, a somewhat distinct tradition traces its roots to the writings of two of Ḫaylä Śəllase I's civil servants (Gebre-Wold Ingida Worq 1962; Mahteme Sellassie Wolde Maskal 1957). Both ↗Gäbrä Wäld Ǝngəda Wärq and ↗Maḫtämä Śəllase Wäldä Mäsqäl explored the complex vocabulary of early 20th cent. Ethiopian L.t. with reference to such terms as ↗*balabbat*, ↗*aśrat*, *rim*, ↗*sämon* and the like. Their work underpinned two later works framed within the conventions of modern scholarship (Bernahou Abbebe 1971; Mantel-Niećko 1980). Finally, Hoben (1973) pioneered, on the basis of anthropological fieldwork in Goğğam conducted in the 1960s, the study of then contemporary practices of L.t. and transmission, practices also studied by Weissleder (1965) and Bruce (1976). Hoben studied the *rəst* rules by which Goğğame farmers gained access to land. The study of the historic over-rights to similar lands was the concern of much of the aforementioned Italian scholarship.

Another strand of that scholarship published historical documents illustrating the exercise of such rights (Guidi 1903; CRAxum; HuntLand; Kropp 2004). Ethiopia possessed a remarkable number of documents, dating from about 1200, if not earlier, which record many different aspects of granting and holding of land, primarily, but not always, associated with the church. The number of these documents greatly exceeds those available for other sub-Saharan African countries (CrumLand 255–59; Crummey 2005:1–18). These documents formed the basis for a distinct strand of scholarship, which published, annotated and commented on them. This material was synthesized by Crummey (CrumLand).

Src.: CRAxum; IGNAZIO GUIDI, "Gli archivi in Abissinia", in: *Atti del Congresso internazionale di scienze storiche*, Roma 1903, vol. 3, 651–98; GuiVoc col. 707; HuntLand.

Lit.: BAHRU ZEWDE, *Pioneers of Change in Ethiopia*, Oxford 2002; ID., *A Modern History of Ethiopia (1855–1994)*, London – Athens – Addis Abäba 1991 (International Library of African Studies 9); ALESSANDRO BAUSI – GIANNI DORE – IRMA TADDIA (eds.), *Materiale antropologico e storico sul «Rim» in Etiopia ed Eritrea*, Torino 2001; BERNAHOU ABBEBE, *Évolution de la Propriété foncière au Choa (Éthiopie) du règne de Ménélik à la constitution de 1931*, Paris 1971; JOHN BRUCE, *Land Reform Planning and Indigenous Communal Tenures a Case Study of the Tenure 'Chiguraf-Gwoses' in Tegray, Ethiopia*, Ph.D. thesis, University of Wisconsin 1976; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, *Principî di diritto consuetudinario dell'Eritrea*, Roma 1916 (Manuali coloniali pubblicati a cura del Ministero delle Colonie); CrumLand; DONALD CRUMMEY (ed.), *Land, Literacy and the State in Sudanic Africa*, Trenton, NJ 2005; GEBRE-WOLD INGIDA WORQ, "Ethiopia's Traditional System of Land Tenure and Taxation", *EthObs* 5, 4, 1962, 302–39; A. GESIOTTO, "La proprietà terriera ecclesiastica nel Tigrai", *Rivista di diritto agrario* 18, 1939, 417–21; HABTAMU MENGISTIE, *Lord, Zèga and Peasant: a Study of Property and Agrarian Relations in Rural Eastern Gojjam*, Addis Ababa 2004; MARILYN E. HELDMAN – MONICA S. DEVENS, "The Four Gospels of Däbrä Mä'ar: Colophon and Note of Donation", in: DENIS NOSNITSIN et al. (ed.), *Varia Aethiopica: In Memory of Sevir B. Chernetsov (1943–2005)*, Saint Petersburg 2005 (= Scrinium, 1, 2005), 77–99; ALLAN HOBEN, *Land Tenure among the Amhara of Ethiopia: the Dynamics of Cognatic Descent*, Chicago, IL 1973; ID., "Land Tenure", in: *International Encyclopedia of the Social & Behavioral Sciences*, vol. 12, Amsterdam 2001, 8256–61; HuntLand; MANFRED KROPP, "Four Gwelt Documents of ʿAmdä Seyon from the Archive of the Church of Däbrä Egziabeher-Ab on Amba Geshe (with an Additional Note on the Name Bätärgelä Maryam)", *Afrique et Histoire* 2, 2004, 213–34 (Lit.); MAHTEME SELLASSIE WOLDE MASKAL, "The Land System of Ethiopia", *EthObs* 1, 2, 1957, 283–301; JOANNA MANTEL-NIEĆKO, *The Role of Land in the System of Ethiopian Imperial Government in Modern Times*, Warsaw 1980; CHARLES W. MCCLELLAN, *State Transformation and National Integration: Gedeo and the Ethiopian Empire, 1895–1935*, East Lansing, MI 1988; RUFFILLO PERINI, "Sulla proprietà fondiaria nel Seraè", *Nuova Antologia* 12, 1893, 663–93; SIEGFRIED PAUSEWANG, *Peasants, Land and Society: a Social History of Land Reform in Ethiopia*, München 1983; ID., "Meret le arrashu", *Ethiopia: Rural Development Options*, London 1990, 38–48; ALBERTO POLLERA, *Il regime della proprietà terriera in Etiopia e nella colonia Eritrea*, Roma 1913; TadTChurch; TEKALIGN WOLDE MARIAM, *A City and its Hinterlands: the Political Economy of Land Tenure, Agriculture and Food Supply for Addis Ababa, Ethiopia (1887–1974)*, Ph.D. thesis, Boston University 1995; GERARDO VILLARI, "I 'gultì' della regione di Axum", *Rassegna economica dell'Africa Italiana* 26, 9, 1938, 1430–44; WOLFGANG WEISSLEDER, *The Political Ecology of Amhara Domination*, Ph.D. thesis, University of Chicago 1965.

Donald Crummey

Land tenure in modern Ethiopia

Under the imperial government until 1974, the agrarian system mainly comprised crown lands, church lands and communal and private peasant lands. The traditional L.t. was already then subject to great changes through reforms starting from the 1940s and through the allocation of large properties to individual land-holders, who had proven to be loyal to the crown. In some regions this led to a considerable increase of the economic power of feudal landlords. Even if it is often claimed that the "archaic" form of L.t. decisively fuelled the revolution, it was rather its specific, very contemporary form which facilitated social dominance and economic exploitation.

Crown lands – often large and of good quality – belonged to the government and the imperial house. Large estates of crown lands were granted to members of the "new" and old aristocracy under the ↗*gʷəlt* system. The church-monastic land ownership system, widespread in the traditionally Christian regions such as Təgray, Goğğam and Bägemdər, remained largely untouched. Church-monastic land, belonging to individual churches and monasteries, was a ↗*rəst*-type of possession (↗*Sämon*), although unrestricted in time and with tax authority, which assured that the Church continued to play a decisive role in the modern imperial state. Churches and monasteries themselves were not required to pay taxes.

In the 1940s, the concept of private land ownership was introduced in the communal land ownership areas, i.e. mainly in the north, and gave rise to a system of tenancy. Sale and purchase of land began to be practised. Such developments led to a process of transformation of communal property into private peasant land ownership (e.g., in new agricultural areas such as at ↗Ḥumera). The onset of market-oriented ↗agriculture accelerated the transformation of communal property into private property.

After the fall of the imperial regime, nationalization opened a new era in the relations between farmer, society, state and land in Ethiopia. The most drastic agrarian reform in the history of the country took place in 1975 by a Land Reform Proclamation, under the new *Därg* regime (↗Provisional Military Administrative Council). Major features of the land reform were: all rural lands were declared public property, and every Ethiopian citizen was given the right to cultivate land sufficient to maintain himself and his family. The form of L.t. consisted of an usufruct right of individuals or groups. The land right was not allowed to be transferred by sale, exchange or

lease, but could be inherited. Previous forms of tenancy were abolished, and the employment of hired agricultural labourers forbidden. While the Land Reform Proclamation bequeathed all ownership of land upon "the people of Ethiopia", the *Därg* later reserved for itself all notions of "ownership" of land. In many cases, land distribution was not done on the basis of equality; several officials or others loyal to the regime profited more than others.

Large private farms were expropriated and turned into state farms. The state farms were expected to play a leading role in agricultural development and to provide the bulk of commercialized food and agricultural produce. Their operational efficiency and performance was, however, rather weak. Peasants who had cultivated land under the former *rəst* system obtained usufruct right, and nomads were given usufruct rights over the grazing land they used.

The individual peasant farms remained the most widely practised type of farming also under the *Därg* regime. Farmers had access to agricultural land through Peasant Associations, institutions created by the state, and on terms determined by the state (s. *Nägarit Gazeṭa* of 1975). They had largely co-ordinating and organizational functions, as well as Agricultural Service Co-operatives for sharing of equipment, common procurement of farm inputs and marketing. One result of these associations was that small-size land plots were integrated into co-operatives, forming huge land parcels managed by one association.

With the take over of the EPRDF-led government, the peasant associations were abolished but state ownership of land continued, as laid down in the constitution of 1995. State ownership of land is reconfirmed by Proclamation No. 456/2005 on Rural Land Administration and Use, as to the use of rural lands, Proclamation No. 456/2005 makes provisions for indefinite usufruct rights, rights to land registration and certification, rights to the property built or produced on the land, intergenerational transfers and the possibility of land lease arrangements. The mandate for implementing the L.t. system lays with the regional governments which are responsible for administering and redistributing land in accordance with their specific laws and regulations. Urban land is leased by regional governments at market rates. Rural farmers have a right to use land indefinitely, free of charge and to temporarily lease it to other farmers as well as to bequeath it to their children. However, they cannot sell or mortgage their land. Land has been relocated in many rural areas, but the land policy is still vague and lacks coherence, resulting in L.t. insecurity, which discourages investments in land and encourages inappropriate and unsustainable land management practices.

Src.: Proclamation 31 of 1975 (Public Ownership of Rural Lands Proclamation), in: *Nägarit Gazeṭa* 1975; Proclamation 47 of 1975 (Government Ownership of Urban Lands and Extra Houses Proclamation), *ibid.*; Proclamation of 5 March 1975 (A Proclamation to Provide for the Nationalisation of Rural Lands), *ibid.*; Proclamation No. 456/2005 ("A Proclamation on Rural Land Administration and Use").

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Manfred Metz

Land tenure in Eritrea

The three major traditional regimes of L.t. in Eritrea, ↗*desa*, ↗*ṣəlmi*, and ↗*terra demaniale* (in today's Təgrəññа also called *dominalä*), are features of a hybrid L.t., a mixture of local traditional concepts and colonial reforms. The *desa* system is predominant in the Eritrean highlands (called *šəḥenna* in Akkälä Guzay, as in ᶜAgamä in Təgray), *ṣəlmi* (a form of ↗*rəst*) is another similar system practised all over Eritrea, and *terra demaniale* is found in both the Eastern and Western Lowlands and some other areas.

Under the *desa* system, all land within the designated area of the village is conceived as being the common property of the village community. Thus, every male head of household of the village is entitled to a share of village land through periodical redistributions of it, called *wareda*. Redistribution is normally carried out every five to seven years. Villagers are allocated equal shares of land, with both area and fertility being taken into account, so every farmer receives a share of fertile land as well as poor and medium-qual-

ity land. The system provides equitable access to land for all male members of the village and it also provides access to land for young men. However, it does not encourage investments and leads to fragmented land holdings.

In the *ṣəlmi-rəsti* system, land is owned by the lineage community and in some cases owned privately (in local terminology the term *rəsti* is mostly used in the same sense as *ṣəlmi*). Also in this system, land is redistributed every five to seven years. Of the traditional L.t. systems, the *ṣəlmi-rəsti* arrangement can sometimes provide a higher security of tenure rights, as it stays within one family. In addition, it allows land to be mortgaged and also to be sold on some rare occasions (in that case called *märet wärqi*, 'land [purchased by] gold'). This L.t. system, however, does not assure social equity or provide for the land needs of new families.

The colonial government undertook several major changes in land distribution. The first regulation, the *Regio Decreto* of 19 January 1893, empowered the government to carry out a land reform, followed by expropriations all over the country. *Terra demaniale* tenure was created as a form of state land by the Italian Land Statutes of 1909 (*Ordinamento Fondiario*) and 1926 (*Nuovo Ordinamento Fondiario*). Both stated that land belonged to the state except those granted to third parties by the government or owned by the indigenous population. These laws showed a better understanding of the traditional L.t. and revised the former regulations pertaining to *terra demaniale*. The decree of 1926 asserted state ownership over lands below an altitude of 350 m in the Western Lowlands and below 850 m in the Eastern Lowlands, provided they were not occupied by sedentary people, and also over forests and woodlands not occupied by sedentary groups. Large concessions of *terra demaniale* were given to Italians. However, villages did not give up their former claims to their lands, now *terra demaniale*, and lowland pastoralists have never fully accepted it. Since the time of the *Därg*, most *terra demaniale* in effect have been open-access lands for farming and grazing. An important modification the Italians introduced was village ownership in some parts of the country where it had not been in use before. This facilitated the expropriation of land and allowed the colonial administration to have a better control over villages.

L.t. in independent Eritrea is regulated by Proclamation 58/1994, after comprehensive studies of the history and nature of the Eritrean L.t., engaging the concerned ministries, the local administration and researchers. The Proclamation repeals the traditional L.t. systems, declares all land as state owned and grants lifetime usufruct rights to all citizens, men and women alike. The basic idea behind the land law was that the prevailing L.t. systems could not accommodate the population growth, were an impediment to development and the introduction of modern techniques. It differentiates between *ṭesa* (land for housing) and farming land. *Ṭesa* is due to every citizen above 18, providing they have applied for it and have fulfilled their national duties as it is specified in Legal Notice 31/97. Farming land is due to any citizen whose livelihood depends on it. The Land Proclamation, furthermore, allows for leasehold. The Land Reform is criticized for ignoring the pastoral communities and the communities living in the western lowlands. Until the new land legislation is implemented by the Land Commission under the Office of the President, the traditional systems of L.t. remain still predominant.

Src.: Regio Decreto of 19 January 1893; Proclamation 58/1994 of 24 August 1994 ("A Proclamation to Reform the System of Land Tenure in Eritrea ..."), *Gazette of Eritrean Laws* 1994; Legal Notice No. 31/1997 ("ARegulation to Provide for the Procedure of Land Allocation and Administration"), *Gazette of Eritrean Laws* 19 May 1997.

Lit.: AMBAYE ZEKARIAS, *Land Tenure in Eritrea*, Addis Abeba 1966; LUCA G. CASTELLANI, *Recent Developments in Land Tenure Law in Eritrea, Horn of Africa*, University of Wisconsin-Madison, June 2000 (Working Paper 37, Land Tenure Center); DEPARTMENT OF LAND TENURE, MINISTRY OF LAND REFORM AND ADMINISTRATION, *Report on Land Tenure Survey of Eritrea Province*, Addis Abeba 1969; EKUBE T. GHIORGIS, "Community Based Natural Resource Management in Eritrea", in: JANET AWIMBO – EDMUND G.C. BARROW – MAINA KARABA (ed.), *Community Based Natural Resource Management in the IGAD Region*, Nairobi, May 2004, 72; LYDA FAVALI – ROY PATEMAN, *Blood, Land and Sex: Legal and Political Pluralism in Eritrea*, Bloomington, IN 2003; MINISTRY OF AGRICULTURE OF THE STATE OF ERITREA – UNIVERSITY OF ASMARA – INVESTMENT CENTER DIVISION OF THE FAO/WORLD BANK COOPERATIVE PROGRAM, ERITREA (eds.), *Policies*, Annex A: *Land Tenure*, Asmara, 23 January 2001 (Land Productivity Management Initiative, Thematic Paper 4, Report No. 01/006 CP-ERI), 112; SIEGFRIED FREDERICK NADEL, "Land Tenure on the Eritrean Plateau", *Africa* [London] 16, 1–2, 1946, 1–21, 99–109; KJETIL TRONVOLL, *Mai Weini, a Highland Village in Eritrea: a Study of the People, their Livelihood, and Land Tenure during Times of Turbulence*, Lawrenceville, NJ 1998; ID., "Meret shehena, 'Brothers' Land': S.F. Nadel's Land Tenure on the Eritrean Plateau Revisited", *Africa* [London] 70, 2000, 595–613.

Manfred Metz – Saba Tesfay

Landor, Arnold Henry Savage

L. (b. 1857, Florence, d. 26 December 1924, Florence) was a British geographer, painter, sculptor and amateur photographer of private means who travelled widely to Asia as well as to North and South America. L. was educated in Italy and devoted most of his life to travel. His contact with the Ethiopian region began on 6 January 1906 when, with pleasure as his "sole object", as he says, he landed at Djibouti, and took the then newly established railway to Dərre Dawa. He then rode up to Harär, where he photographed *ras* Mäkʷännən (together with the latter's son, apparently Täfäri, later *aṣe* Ḫaylä Śəllase I) shortly before the chief's death, and proceeded on to Addis Abäba, where he was given several audiences by *aṣe* Mənilək II, whom he also photographed. The traveller then rode down to the Baro river, before making his way to the Congo, northern Nigeria and Senegal. He thus accomplished a journey of no less than 13,500 km in a mere 364 days.

Landor subsequently published his reminiscences of his African journey in a beautifully bound two-volume work which appeared in 1907. Its narrative is fast-moving, and full of then little-known information of geographical, historic and ethnographic interest, and contains numerous unusual photographs of Härar and Addis Abäba as well as of the ᶜAfar, Oromo, Yämbo, Nuer and Añwaa.

Lit.: ARTHUR HENRY SAVAGE LANDOR, *Across Widest Africa*, London 1907.

Richard Pankhurst

Lang, Martin ↗Prutky

Langano

Lake L. (Laangannoo, also Hora Qoree, 1,585 m A.S.L., 214 km², maximum depth 46 m) belongs, together with ↗Zʷay, ↗Šala and ↗Abyata, to the lakes of the Arsi group in the central Ethiopian ↗Rift Valley. It lies south of Mount Alatu (2,369 m A.S.L.) in today's Arsi-Nagallee *wäräda*, East Šäwa zone of Oromiyaa. Until the establishment of the post-*Därg* administrative division it belonged to the ↗Ḥayqočč–Butağira *awraǧǧa*.

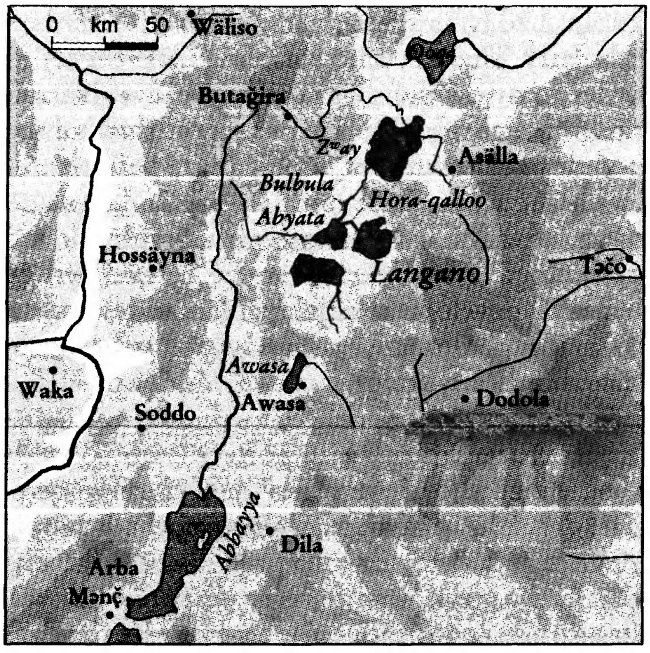
L. is separated from Lake Abyata in the east by a narrow isthmus (minimal width ca. 3.5 km). It is fed by several small tributaries flowing from the slopes of the Muunessa or Arsi mountains. The lake has two small islands and an outflow to Lake Abyata, called Daka or Hora-qalloo. At the northern shore of the lake there is the Aluto-Langano geothermal field with a number of hot springs which recently has been opened up for a geothermal electric power plant.

Geological research suggests that the lakes of the Arsi group formed one lake in the Holocene era. The landscape around the lake is characterized by volcanic deposits, such as obsidian pitchstone, tuff and pumice, as well as lacustrine deposits, such as sand and silt.

Due to the alkaline consistence of its reddish brown water L. is the only Rift Valley lake which is free from ↗bilharziasis. The possibility of swimming in the lake without this danger is probably the main reason why, starting from Ḫaylä Śəllase I's time, the lake attracted members of the foreign community in Addis Abäba for their weekend cottages along the shore. The first hotel to be built at L. was established by Bäqqälä Molla in the 1950s. Tourist attractions are the sandy beaches along the western shore, water sports, the volcanic landscape, hot springs and an interesting bird life (especially *Pelecanus onocrotalus*). The infrastructure for tourism around L. is still being expanded. Since 1991 a new hotel has been built with a new bathing resort.

However, the environment around L. is exposed to degradation and removal of the vegetation and consequently soil erosion. Especially between L. and Abyata the original acacia woodland has been largely destroyed by overgrazing

Lake Langano; photo 2002, courtesy of Susanne Hummel



and clearing for cultivation. The wood is used as fuel in the home and to generate cash income.

Src.: *Guida* 556; MINISTRY OF MINES AND ENERGY, *Geological Map of Ethiopia 1:2,000,000*, Addis Ababa ²1996; ETHIOPIAN MAPPING AGENCY, *Hosa'ina, Scale 1:250.000*, ser. EMA 3, sheet NB 37–2, Addis Ababa 1979; JOEL RASMUSSON, *Welcome to Ethiopia: a Tourist Guide*, Addis Ababa 1961, 52f.

Lit.: GEOFFREY C. LAST, *A Geography of Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 1966, 32; DAVID WILLIAMSON – JOËL GUIOT, "Lacustrine Basin Environment Observatories and Multiproxy Databases for Eastern Africa ...", in: *Past and Future Global Changes in Africa: Modelling and Databases*, Workshop Paper, University of Marseilles 2–4 May 2001, 36–37.

Dirk Bustorf

Lango ↗Opuuo

Language policy

The term L.p. refers to the measures undertaken by the government or other official institutions with regard to the social status of a language as a means of communication. In a multiethnic and multilingual society, L.p. is closely correlated with state policy towards the ethno-linguistic communities living within its borders. To a growing extent language development and spread is influenced by the L.p. of the state, by government decisions and activities regarding the status of languages in official life, as medium of school instruction or as the preferred language in the mass media. L.p. (the making of alphabets, the creation of a modern terminology, linguistic regulation and standardization) also has a large influence on the internal linguistic development of languages.

In Ethiopia, regulations regarding the use of languages can be traced back to the ↗*Fəṭḥa nägäśt*. This collection of religious and secular laws enforced since the 16th-cent. at least, states that a judge has to be able to speak clearly, and to know the different languages spoken by the people of his jurisdiction when they argue before him (Paulos Tzadua – Strauss 1968:250, 252).

Over the centuries, at least since Gondärine times, ↗Amharic was the *ləssanä nəguś* ('language of the king') and served as the court language of the Ethiopian Christian state, and was sometimes also used as a written language, alongside ↗Gəᶜəz, the language of literature and liturgy. Under the reign of *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II, the Amharic language further grew to become the only widely used written modern language in the Empire. The Amharic language gained high prestige and was supposed to act as a symbol of national identity and distinctiveness.

At the beginning of the 20th cent., when the first government schools opened in Addis Abäba and in the regions, foreign languages (↗French, ↗English, ↗Italian or ↗Arabic) were frequently used as languages of instruction. In the mission schools, local languages were used in teaching.

During the Italian occupation any kind of national language for Ethiopia was rejected. An edict of 1936 decided that teaching should be in the main local languages, namely Amharic, ↗Təgrəñña, ↗Oromiffa, ↗Harari, ↗Käfa and ↗Somali, and, in Muslim areas, in Arabic (which was the language of teaching in traditional Muslim schools; s. Bowen [Pankhurst] in BendLang 322).

After the Liberation, several laws specifying language use were promulgated. An important provision concerning language use was included in the regulations of the Imperial Ethiopian government concerning missionary activities. Missionaries were required to learn Amharic and to teach through Amharic. Teaching through local languages was allowed only "in the early stage of missionary work, until such time as pupils and missionaries ... shall have a working knowledge of the Amharic language" ("Regulations on the Establishment of Missions", 1944).

The most significant provision from the point of view of L.p. is found in the Revised Constitution of 1955. For the first time in Ethiopian history, a statement on L.p. was officially laid down in a constitutional act. Article 125 of the Revised Constitution reads as follows: "The official language of the Empire is Amharic". Even

if this decision was guided by the idea that in a linguistically diversified country like Ethiopia the Amharic language could serve as an agent of unification, such a L.p. was to be perceived by non-Amhara people as discrimination against their own languages and nationalities. The internal linguistic development of Amharic was strongly promoted by the establishment of the National Academy of the Amharic Language (↗Ethiopian Language Academy) in 1972. The preamble of the "National Academy of the Amharic Language Establishment Order" (1972:126) stressed that Amharic "should become a vehicle for the expression of the knowledge, learning and thought engendered by modern civilization".

Accordingly, all official documents and laws were published in Amharic and in English, the latter becoming the official medium for Ethiopia's international communication. In the educational sector Amharic was employed as the single medium of instruction in all government schools throughout the country up to the sixth grade. From grade seven onwards English was used for school instruction. In the governmentally operated press (↗Newspapers) and radio (↗Broadcasting), Amharic became the mainly used language, although ↗ᶜAfar, Arabic, English, French, Oromiffa, Somali, ↗Təgre, and Təgrəññña were used to a certain extent on the radio.

After the revolution of 1974, the strict "Amharic-only" L.p. of the Imperial Ethiopian government was changed. Equal rights of all Ethiopian nationalities were first delineated in the Programme of the National Democratic Revolution of Ethiopia, which stated that "each nationality will have regional autonomy to decide on matters concerning its internal affairs. Within its environments, it has the right to determine the contents of its political, economic and social life, use its own language and elect its own leaders and administrators to head its internal organs" (Provisional Office for Mass Organizational Affairs 1976). This L.p. was emphasized also in the Constitution of the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia in 1987, article 2.5: "The People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia shall ensure the equality, development and respectability of the languages of nationalities."

However, the implementation of these guidelines was confronted with many problems owing to the great diversity of languages spoken in the country and the uneven stages of their internal development. Only very few Ethiopian languages had been studied, analysed and described scholarly. There was no sociolinguistic survey in order to assess the nature and spread of bi- and multilingualism, language use, the attitude of the people or the degree of intelligibility between related languages. Since most Ethiopian languages were unwritten, extensive orthographical and phonological studies had to be carried out in order to develop the principal languages and fit them for their function as means of instruction in the educational sector.

The making of alphabets for hitherto unwritten languages was an important step towards their linguistic description and development. The decision in favour of adopting the Ethiopic ↗script (*fidäl*) for this purpose instead of using the Latin script was fiercely disputed. It was, first of all, a political decision guided by the concept that the centuries old Ethiopian syllabary is unique and could serve as a symbol of national identity. The adoption of this writing system was also expected to facilitate the reading and writing ability of the people, since many of them were already used to it through Amharic.

The linguistic preparatory work for these goals, i.e. the adequate phonological and grammatical description of languages, the creation of new alphabets, the compilation of dictionaries as a prerequisite for language standardization, became an urgent task that had to be assigned to professional experts. This responsibility was delegated to the Ethiopian Language Academy, formerly known as National Academy of the Amharic Language. The members of the Academy contributed greatly to linguistic research on Amharic, Oromiffa, Təgrəññña, ↗Wälaytta, ↗Sidaama and other languages in the areas of lexicography, linguistics, literature and terminology.

The status of Amharic was defined in the Constitution as follows: "Without prejudice to Article 2 subarticle 5 of this Constitution, in the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia the working language of the State shall be Amharic." Therefore, the Academy directed great efforts towards the terminological development of Amharic as a modern means of communication, suitable for the expression of new concepts and the dissemination of scientific and technological knowledge. In collaboration with Addis Ababa University and other institutions, an extensive Science and Technology Terms Translation Project for Amharic was carried out by the

Academy. The project mainly used the resourceful structural patterns of the Amharic language for the new scientific terminology.

In formal education, Amharic and English remained the sole media of school instruction; however, in the extensive adult literacy and post-literacy education programmes (called in Amh. መሠረተ፡ ትምህርት, *mäśärätä təmhərt*, 'basic education') about 15 Ethiopian languages were introduced as media of instruction.

The promotion of equal rights for all Ethiopian languages was granted also in the Constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia adopted in 1994. With regard to L.p., Article 5 of the Constitution declares: "1. All Ethiopian languages shall enjoy equal State recognition. 2. Amharic shall be the working language of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia. 3. Each member of the Federation shall determine its own working language." The Federal Ethiopian Government decided to introduce nationalities' languages also in the formal educational sector. Thus, about 25 Ethiopian languages were envisaged to be employed as media of instruction in primary education. This was a desirable shift in L.p.; however, without thorough studies in the language situation prevailing in each region, and without comprehensive preparation regarding the teaching material and the training of teachers, the hasty implementation of this L.p. was to cause serious problems. The employment of the Latin script for almost all non-Semitic languages created additional problems and conflicts. The administration at various regional levels, when introducing the new education and training policy, faced a chaotic tangle of regional, local and national languages and communications. This was mainly due to the lack of adequate information on the distribution of the various Ethiopian languages and their status as mother-tongues, second or third languages, and especially on the extent and degree of bilingualism in Amharic among speakers of other mother-tongues. In view of their educational and socio-economic perspectives, minor nationalities often demanded to be taught reading and writing in Amharic instead of their own mother-tongue. A sensible L.p., therefore, should take into consideration stages of bi- and multilingualism permiting an effective deployment of limited material and personnnel resources.

↗Education; ↗Literacy

Src.: CSA 1998; "National Academy of the Amharic Language Establishment Order (Order Nr. 79 of 1972)", *Nägarit Gazeta* 19, 27 June 1972; PAULOS TZADUA (tr.) – PETER L. STRAUSS (ed.), *The Fetha Nagast: the Law of the Kings*, Addis Ababa 1968, 250, 252; PROVISIONAL OFFICE FOR MASS ORGANIZATIONAL AFFAIRS [POMOA], *Programme of the National Democratic Revolution of Ethiopia (NDRP)*, *Basic Documents of the Ethiopian Revolution*, Addis Ababa 1976, 9–17; "Regulations on the Establishment of Missions", *Nägarit Gazeta*, Decree 3, 1944; "Revised Constitution of Ethiopia", *Nägarit Gazeta* 15, no. 2, 4 November 1955; THE ACADEMY OF ETHIOPIAN LANGUAGES, *Facts and Figures: the Academy of Ethiopian Languages*, Addis Ababa 1986; "The Constitution of the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia", *Nägarit Gazeta* 47, no. 1, 12 September 1987; "The Constitution of the Federal Republic of Ethiopia (Proclamation No. 1/1995)", *Federal nägarit Gazeta* 1, 21 August 1995.

Lit.: AMSALU AKLILU, "The Ethiopian Languages Academy: History and Current Development", in: *PICES* 7, 11–15; ASSEFA GABRE-MARIAM TESEMMA, "Technical Terms in Amharic: Problems and Solutions", in: *ibid.*, 91–101; M. LIONEL BENDER, "Ethiopian Language Policy 1974–1981", *Anthropological Linguistics* 27, 3, 1985, 273–79; ID. – NIGUSE ABBEBE, "The Ethiopian Language Academy 1943–74", *NEASt* 6, 3, 1984, 1–7; J. DONALD BOWEN [RICHARD PANKHURST], "Historical Background of Education in Ethiopia", in: *BendLang* 305–23; ROBERT L. COOPER, "Government Language Policy", in: *ibid.* 187–90; DANIEL ABERRA, "Language Situations of Ethiopia in the 1990s: a Sociolinguistic Profile", in: *PICES* 13, vol. 1, 431–40; GIRMA AMARE, "Government Education in Ethiopia", *EthObs* 6, 4, 1963, 335–42; CHRISTINE MCNAB, "From Traditional Practice to Current Policy: the Changing Pattern of Language Use in Ethiopian Education", in: *PICES* 8, vol. 1, 715–27; EAD., "Language Policy and Language Practice: Implementing Multilingual Literacy Education in Ethiopia", *African Studies Review* 33, 3, 1990, 654–82; RONNY MEYER – RENATE RICHTER, *Language Use in Ethiopia from a Network Perspective*, Frankfurt am Main 2003; MULUGETA ETEFFA, "Issues in Language Policy and Planning in Present-day Ethiopia (A Glance at Mutilingualism)", in: *PICES* 8, vol. 2, 531–38; TESHOME G. WAGAW, "Education and Language Policy in a Divided Ethiopia Reversing the Quest of the Centuries and Pressing toward the Uncharted Future", in: *PICES* 13, vol. 3, 391–400.

Renate Richter

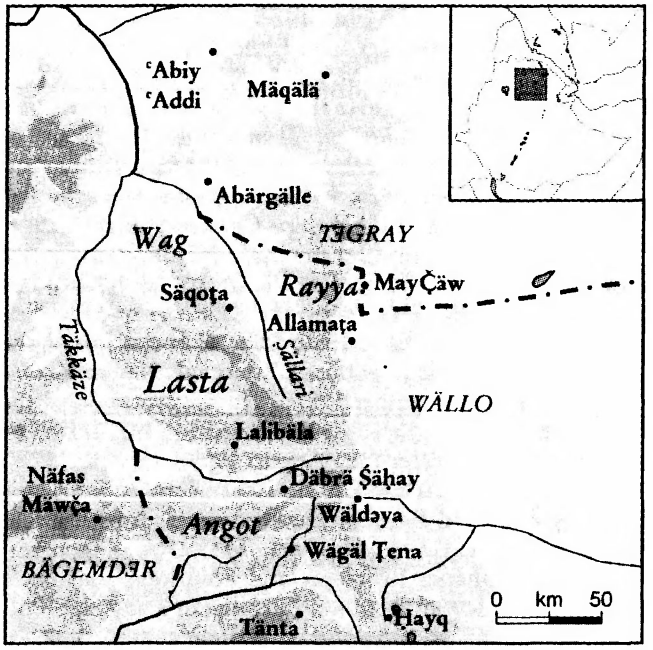
Language studies ↗Research, linguistic

Languages and peoples s. vol. V

Läqemt ↗Naqamtee

Lasta

The historical region of L. (ላስታ) is located in north-western ↗Wällo. It is a generally lowland region within the Täkkäze drainage system characterized by rugged mountain ranges. The highest mountain ranges include Abbuye Meda (3,900 m A.S.L.), Abunä Yosef and Sela Asfarre. The area has a mild lowland climate with cold weather in the mountain ranges. The land is



highly eroded and farmlands have become infertile and extremely vulnerable to drought and famine. Main towns include Muğğa, Kul-Mäsk, Ayna and Bälbala Giyorgis. L. lies along the ancient ↗salt trade route linking ↗Wag in the north, ↗Yäğğu in the east and ↗Šäwa. It is also bounded by Wadla in the south, ↗Bägemdər in the west, and ↗Angot in the south.

L. and Wag were the ancestral homeland of the Central-Cushitic-speaking ↗Agäw people. L. was the power base of the Agäw ↗Zagʷe dynasty. It was from L. that the dynasty administered the country between ca. 1150–1270. The political court of the dynasty was at ʿAdäfa (or Roḥa), present-day ↗Lalibäla, named after one of the Zagʷe kings.

Christianity is believed to have reached the area as early as during the reigns of ↗Kaleb and ↗Gäbrä Mäsqäl, in the 6th cent. To Kaleb the construction of the rock-hewn churches of Bälbala Qirqos and Bälbala Giyorgis is traditionally ascribed, and Gäbrä Mäsqäl is credited with the foundation of the two churches at ↗Ǝmäkina (Lədätä Maryam and Mädḫane ʿAläm). During the Zagʷe rule, a large number of rock-hewn churches were constructed; King ↗Lalibäla alone is believed to have built twelve in his capital.

Following the decline of the Zagʷe dynasty and the accession to power of the so-called ↗Solomonic dynasty in 1270, the traditional rulers of L. and Wag held the dignified title of ↗*wag šum*, and considered themselves descendants of the Zagʷe dynasty. These rulers developed a tradition that identified themselves as descendants of Adil, son of David and brother of King Solomon. Such a tradition competed with those of the "Solomonic dynasty" and enabled the successors of the Zagʷe dynasty to maintain a high level of respect after they had lost power.

L. gained more importance in the 17th cent. as it served as the main stronghold in the defence of Orthodox Christianity during the reign of *aṣe* ↗Susənyos, who embraced Catholicism. The leader of the rebellion in defence of Orthodoxy, ↗Mälkəʾa Krəstos, conducted his activities in the mountain region of Ǝmäkina, in the heartland of L. Susənyos was obliged to undertake several military expeditions, but was unable to suppress the rebellion, and was later forced to renounce Catholicism after the battle of ↗Wäynä Däga in 1632. The successors of Susənyos led a number of expeditions to bring L. under imperial authority. Most of the Gondärine kings mobilized armies to subdue L. and Wag, which had defied imperial control and religious policy during the ↗*Qəbat* and ↗*Täwaḥədo* doctrinal controversy in the 17th and 18th cent.

The military elite of the region again assumed importance during the ↗*Zämänä mäsafənt* as kingmakers. During this period, the Yäğğu Oromo warlords established marriage relations with the chiefs of L. Also, one of the Yäğğu rulers, ↗Aligaz, symbolically held the title of ↗*wag šum*. This helped them to secure a peaceful corridor for their movements between Yäğğu and Bägemdər. However, there was rivalry between the chiefs of L. and those of Yäğğu over office of the kingmaker. In 1791/92 the chiefs of L. succeeded in removing the Yäğğu from Gondär until the latter managed to return in 1799. Later in the second half of the 19th cent., one of the *wag šums* acceded to the imperial throne as *aṣe* ↗Täklä Giyorgis II.

During the period of *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II, *ras* ↗Kaśa Ḫaylu, a descendant of the rulers of Šäwa and L., was appointed governor of L. This led to rivalry over the control of ↗Bugna, the central and western part of L. The issue was resolved in favour of *ras* Kaśa in the court of *ras* Täfäri (later *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase) in 1919, which formally brought about the separation of L. and Wag.

After the liberation from Italian occupation in 1941, L. became an *awraǧǧa* within Bägemdər province governed first by *ras* Kaśa and later by his son *ras* ↗Aśratä Kaśa. Later it was placed under the control of Wällo, ruled by Crown Prince ↗Asfa Wäsän Ḫaylä Śəllase. Since 1991 it has maintained its *awraǧǧa* status within the North Wällo zone with its capital at Wäldəya.

Src.: CHARLES TILSTONE BEKE, "Abyssinia: Being a Continuation of Routes in that Country", *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society* 14, 1844, 1–76, here 56; BTafA 936 and s. index; GSMen 216; GueCopMen 194, 305, 533f.; PerChron vol. 1, 168–355.

Lit.: RICHARD GREENFIELD, *Ethiopia: a New Political History*, London 1965, 33; MahZekr 78, 81, 425, 492; HAROLD GOLDEN MARCUS, *A History of Ethiopia*, Berkeley, CA 1994, 12; MesfGeogr 37–40; TADDESSE TAMRAT, "Process of Ethnic Interaction and Integration in Ethiopian History: the Case of the Agaw", *JAH* 29, 1, 1988, 5–18; WUDU TAFETE KASSU, *A Political History of Wag and Lasta, C. 1543–1919*, M.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1995.

Wudu Tafete Kassu

Lauro, Raffaele Di s. EAE vol. 5

Law and judiciary

A. Legal history
B. Judicial system
C. Modern law and judiciary
D. Traditional legal institutions
E. Traditional law books
F. Canon law

A. Legal history

Ethiopian L. developed out of a complex interaction between local elements and foreign influences. Legal concepts of local ethnic groups, canon L. and the L. of the monarchs form the different layers of L. and continue to exist and interact. There were also legal concepts regulating the interaction with other states or kings, which have not yet been studied. Public L. in a modern sense, strongly based on Western influences, is a quite recent development and adds a further element.

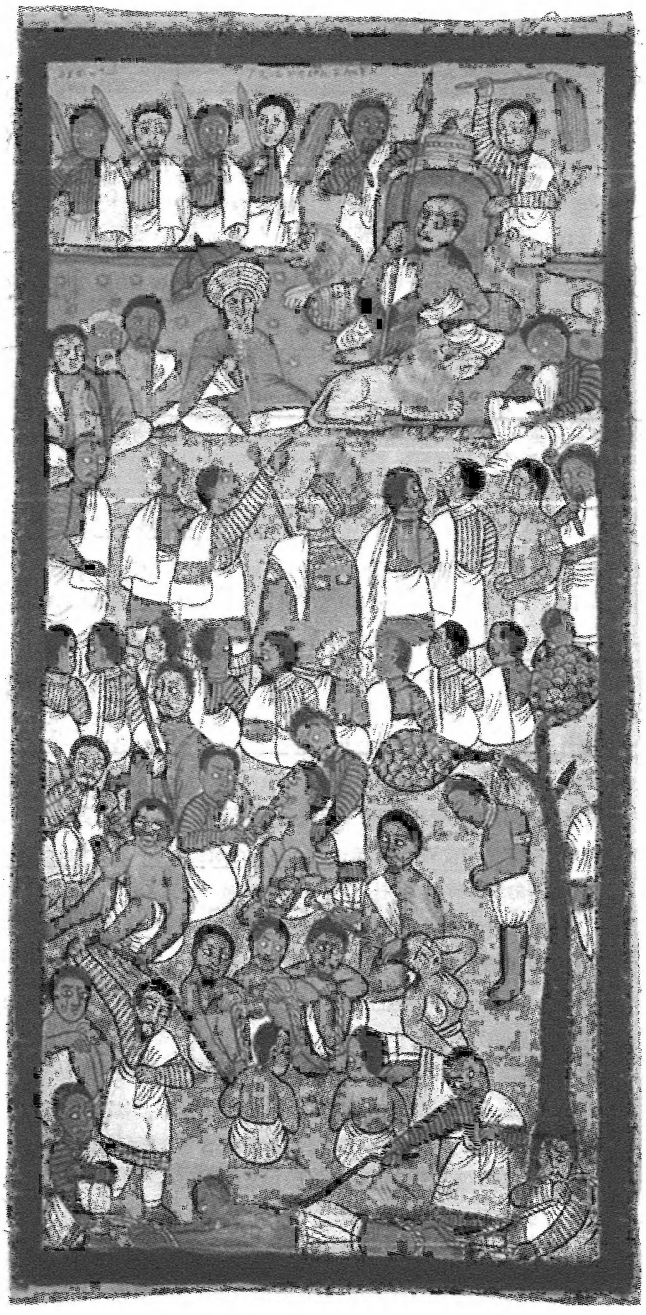
The legal history of the Christian state for the period before the 16th cent. is quite obscure, and needs thorough study and documentation. Legal concepts regulating daily life and the state of that period were mostly based on religious norms, mainly referring to the O.T. and Christian traditions. Of basic importance were the regulations of Canon L. (s. below [F]), references to which are known from the 13th/early-14th cent. The legal concepts that evolved out of the edicts of the O.T. were applied in Ethiopia together with those developed from Christian traditions. In the case of litigations (cp. ↗*Muggət*) the church played a key role, but also the local governor or prince (↗Aristocracy) and the monarch. In Ethiopian tradition, rulership was linked with a judicial function, the king being the highest judge, and also his governors exercising a juridicial function (cp. ↗*Čəlot*; ↗*Daññа*). However, the main part of historical legislation was formed by ↗customary laws of the different ethnic groups of Ethiopia. Their sources are sometimes doubtlessly ancient, even if in most cases not known. In the case of several Təgrəññа L. codes (s. below [E]), traditions point to origins in the 15th cent. Due to the ancient presence of ↗Islam in Ethiopia, the Islamic L. (↗*Šarīʿa*) played a role already at an early stage, later expressed by different Islamic L. schools (↗Ḥanafism; ↗Mālikism; ↗Šāfiʿism).

Preliminary studies conducted so far on the legal history of Ethiopia in the middle period, i.e. from the 16th cent. to the second half of the 20th cent., reveal that the principal L. applied in Ethiopia during that period included religious edicts, natural L., customary L. of all ethnic groups, *aṣe sərʿat* (presidential jurisprudence or judge made L.), enactments (statutes) of different emperors, and the newly codified L., the most important text being, since the 16th cent., the ↗*Fətḥa nägäśt*, which owed its sources largely to Oriental-Byzantine tradition. Another important L. book produced before the 17th cent. was the ↗*Fäws mänfäsäwi*. First attempts to compile Ethiopian L. were undertaken by church scholars. Codification, understood as the systematization and compilation of L. according to their legal regime, marks an important stage in the development of L. of Ethiopia.

In the modern period of Ethiopian legal development, which commenced in 1855, public laws enacted by the L.-making organs and the Heads of State, along with modern codified L. based on Western concepts, constitutional and international laws were added to the laws of the middle period. The modern period is signified by further codification and constitutional development (↗Constitutions).

The first written Constitution of Ethiopia was promulgated by *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I in 1931 as a transitional L. to accommodate tradition and yet implement new political ideas. Structures and processes as well as the distribution and limitation of power were laid down with the idea of modernization of the administration and the acceptance of Western legal science. This legal instrument marked the first step towards the use of formal L. and legal science to develop the Ethiopian governmental structure and institutions.

The development of a constitutional monarchy was interrupted by the Italian occupation 1936–41 (↗Africa Orientale Italiana [A.O.I.]). From the beginning of the foundation of the A.O.I., L.



Court session of *aṣe* Tewodros II showing different kinds of penalties; traditional painting, canvas, 20th cent., London, British Museum, no. 1947 af 28.3; photo 1995, courtesy of Michael Gervers

signed by ↗Vittorio Emanuele III "Re d'Italia, Imperatore d'Etiopia" were promulgated, the first being the *Ordinamento e amministrazione dell'A.O.I.* of 1 June 1936. The *Ordinamento politico, amministrativo e militare per l'A.O.I.* of 15 November 1937 regulated the administration of the new colony in more detail; for the administration of the Ethiopian, Eritrean and Somalian population, local chiefs were employed, and in this context the existence of customary L. recognized (Cap. V: "popolazioni indigene").

Ten years after the Liberation, in 1955, the Revised Constitution of Ethiopia was promulgated. Like other modern constitutions, it was basically concerned with defining and distributing powers, rights and duties within the Ethiopian state, notably among five major elements: the emperor, the legislative, the executive, the judiciary, and the people. Of these, the emperor was to be a self-sufficient source of political power. The other institutions of the state were made ultimately dependent upon one another. L. were passed by the legislature, enforced by the executive, and applied by the judiciary. The Revised Constitution also guaranteed more human rights, and provided for the doctrine of checks and balances, judicial review, and rule of L. Together with other important laws, it is contained in the *Mäṣḥafä ḥəggəgat ʿabäyt*. Extensive codification work followed in the 1950s and 1960s.

The second-level codification started with the penal L., as the one mostly concerned with the sanctity of the human being and the principle of the rule of L. the ↗Penal Code of 1930 marked a historic step from traditional and customary L. to a modern, written and systematised judicial system. The next stage in the codification process was meant to effect a change from heterogeneous customary L. to codified L. on the basis of a civil L. system, in order to safeguard and advance the existing social system. The major L. that were codified were the Penal Code of 1957, the ↗Civil Code of 1960, the ↗Commercial Code of 1960, the ↗Maritime Code of 1960, the ↗Criminal Procedure Code of 1961 and the ↗Civil Procedure Code of 1965. Through the incorporation of many principles of L. and the creation of various institutions, mainly from the civil L. system, and integrating them with some Ethiopian values and sense of justice, the codes managed to soften the tensions between the old and new L. of the country.

The codes are a complete system of formal, written L. to supplant unwritten custom. The penal code of 1957 emphasised the principle of *nulla poena sine lege*. The Criminal Procedure Code imposed important limitations on police power and other procedural guarantees. The Civil Code provided remedies against government tort feasors and judicial relief against abuse of power. The Civil Procedure Code confirmed due process of L. The commercial code regulated the establishment of business organization and commercial transaction. The maritime code provided a completely new concept of maritime L. As for their sources, apart from incorporating traditional values, the 1957 Penal Code drew from the 1930 code was

inspired by the *Fəṭḥa nägäśt* and European penal codes, and the provisions of Anglo-Saxon L. The other codes also showed pronounced foreign influence, though in the case of civil L., the reception and adoption of western jurisprudence was not outright and complete but rather selective. For example, in the areas of persons, family and succession etc., the contribution of the western legal systems were minimal. In the case of obligation generally, special contracts and registers of immovable property and literary and artistic property, however, the western contribution was greater and in some instances even exclusive.

A relatively autonomous corpus of L. in Sub-Saharan Africa, Ethiopian L. has a unique blend of indigenous traditions and foreign sources. Assimilated as far back as the 16th cent. via the *Fəṭḥa nägäśt* (and earlier, via Canon L. books) and reflected in the six modern codes, these tie it in many respects to the larger legal family of Romano-Germanic L.

The more liberal Draft Constitution of 1974 – which would have made Ethiopia a more democratic state (under a constitutional monarchy with sharply reduced powers) – did not make it to the parliament before it was dissolved on 12 September 1974 (↗Revolution). On that very day the Revised Constitution of 1955 was abrogated by the ↗Provisional Military Administrative Council (*Därg*).

Src.: መጽሐፈ፡ ሕግጋት፡ ዓበይት (*Mäṣḥafä ḥəggəgat ʿabäyt*, 'The Book of Basic Laws'), Addis Abäba 1962 A.M [1969/70 A.D.]; "Ordinamento e amministrazione dell'Africa Orientale Italiana", *Gazzetta ufficiale del regno d'Italia* 136, 13 VI 1936 (XIV); "Ordinamento politico, amministrativo e militare per l'Africa Orientale Italiana" [of 15 November 1937], *ibid.* 91, 20 April 1938 (XVI).

Lit.: ABERRA JEMBERE, *An Introduction to the Legal History of Ethiopia*, Hamburg 2000; RENÉ DAVID, "A Civil Code for Ethiopia: Consideration on the Codification of the Civil Law in African Countries", *Tulane Law Review* 37, 2, 1963, 187–204; ID., "Sources of the Ethiopian Civil Code", *Journal of Ethiopian Law* 4, 2, 1967, 341–49; JEAN GRAVEN, "The Penal Code of the Empire of Ethiopia", *ibid.* 1, 2, 1964, 267–98; MahZekr; NATAN MAREIN, *The Ethiopian Empire, Federation and Laws*, Rotterdam 1955; JAMES CAVERLY NEWLIN PAUL, "Problems of Public Law and Political Development", in: *USCES* 1, 323–36; ID. – CHRISTOPHER CLAPHAM, *Ethiopian Constitutional Development: a Source-book*, 2 vols., Addis Ababa 1967, 1971; PerGov; JOHN HATHAWAY SPENCER, *Ethiopia at Bay: a Personal Account of the Haile Sellassie Years*, Algonac, MI 1984; JAQUES VANDERLINDEN, "An Introduction to the Sources of Ethiopian Law from the 13th to the 20th Century", *Journal of Ethiopian Law* 3, 1, 1966, 227–83; ID., "A Further Note on an Introduction to the Sources of Ethiopian Law", *ibid.* 635–39.

Aberra Jembere

B. Judicial system

Taken together, the federal, regional state and municipal courts now form a complex judicial system, which has undergone various changes in structure, jurisdiction, procedure and court practices in the course of the last century.

In the earlier period, there was a fusion of the judicial with the administrative functions of the state. The court structure, prior to 1936, constituted a five-tier system of regular courts. Besides the "road-side court" (that was not categorised as part of the regular courts), the Crown Court (ዙፋን፡ ችሎት, *zufan čəlot*), the Chief-Justice (↗*Afä nəgus*) Court, the ↗*šaläqa* (Provincial) Court, the የአካል፡ ዳኛ (*yäʾakal↗dañña*; District) Court and the የአፈር (*yäʾafär*) or የስር፡ ዳኛ (*yäsər dañña*; First Instance) Court were operating in Ethiopia. In 1942 the Administration of Justice Proclamation No. 2 of 1942, established a four-tier court system (Supreme Imperial Court, High Court, Provincial [*awrağğa*] Court and District Court) to which later the ጠቅላይ፡ ግዛት (*ṭäqlay gəzat*; Governorate-general) Court, the ምክትል፡ ወረዳ (*məkəttəl wäräda*; sub-district) Court and the አጥቢያ፡ ዳኛ (*aṭbiya dañña*; local judge) Court were added (cp. Scholler 2006:48). Thus, the structure of the courts corresponded with the administrative sub-divisions of the country. Within the same territorial limit, a court exercised both civil and criminal jurisdictions. The High Court and the Supreme Imperial Court, however, were given national jurisdiction. The Governorate-General Court, the Sub-District Court and the Local Judge Court were abolished later.

Although the supreme judicial authority was vested in the Supreme Imperial Court by the 1955 Constitution, the Crown Court continued to operate at the pinnacle of the regular court structure, even after the promulgation of the cited Constitution.

The strong sense of justice among Ethiopians greatly contributed to the creation and development of manifold legal institutions, among which one that was unparalleled by any institution of the time in western legal systems: the "road-side court". Whether a man set out to fetch firewood or a woman to fetch water or any other activity along the road, each had the social obligation to intervene in the settlement of disputes at the request of any interested party. Correspondingly, whoever was alleged to have committed an offence or failed to meet his/her obligations was

required, under pain of penalty, to submit to the authority of such a spontaneously called-upon person. Irrespective of sex and social status, the person who assumed such responsibility could exact coercive obedience. Such a person would, more often that not, try to bring about the settlement of the issue between the parties in an amicable manner. He could also require the assistance of others, usually elders or members of the clergy, to mediate between the disputants so as to settle the case out of court.

If all modes of settlement of disputes available in the community in question did not work, the road-side judge would bring the disputants before the local chief or send them to the court of first instance by tying up the tips of their garments.

The body of L. that was indigenous to Ethiopia and that marked a significant development in the last decades of the 19th cent. and the first three decades of the 20th cent. was the regime of L. known in modern legal science as civil and criminal procedural L. It had been transmitted from generation to generation by ↗oral tradition.

Before the Italian occupation in 1936, procedural L. was comparatively well developed and had attained a high degree of excellence. This L. was more popular among the people than the substantive L., a fact that tends to show how much the people of Ethiopia give due respect and importance to the proper administration of justice. Judges and all other persons engaged in the administration of justice were respected and honoured. They were expected to live up to the then standards of the justice and aspire to the attainment of this lofty goal.

This procedural L. included the L. of evidence, which incorporated techniques of investigation and highly sophisticated interrogation and cross-examination procedures, methods of interpretation of L. and framing of issues, including principal and side issues (*obiter dicta*). All these fell under the administration of justice process of Ethiopia.

The strength of a government in any system largely depends on recognition of and adherence to the principles of L. It is only where there is no mal-administration of justice and where justice is dispensed without delay that one may claim that there is a smooth relationship between the people and their government. It would not, therefore, be surprising to hear people saying: "Let the Almighty God give us a judge who takes the trouble to ascertain whether or not justice is done."

It was immediately after the liberation from Italian occupation that many changes were introduced in the structure of the courts that later served as levers for meaningful innovations to be made. The competing interests of creating an independent judicial system on one hand and establishing centralised administration on the other were compromised in the following two ways: the merging of the executive and judicial functions into the role of governors and centralising the appointment of judges; and detaching the two national courts, i.e. the High Court and the Supreme Court, from provincial influence.

It was this compromise solution that led to the total transformation of the Ethiopian judicial system. Pursuant to the treaty concluded between Ethiopia and Britain in January 1942, a new court system was established by the Administration of Justice Proclamation No. 2 of 1942. The proclamation provided for an integrated hierarchy of courts, the initial jurisdiction of which was to be determined principally by the value of the claims in civil cases and the seriousness of the crime in criminal cases.

The decisive step taken in the development of the structure of the courts in the legal history of Ethiopia was the issuing of Proclamation No. 2 of 1942. This and subsequent legislation together formed a seven-tier system of courts. These courts had jurisdiction over civil cases with limits of the value of the claim and criminal jurisdiction on the basis of the punishment attached to the crime charged. Each court had the power to entertain appeals made to it from the decisions of the court immediately below it.

Apart from the High Court and the Supreme Court that were distinctly above the influence of provincial administrators, the general scheme of the court structure reflected the traditional practice of combining judicial and executive functions in the role of the local chiefs and governors. At the pinnacle of the court structure, one found, until 1974, the emperor dispensing justice in the Crown Court.

Parallel to this structure of regular courts, five distinct quasi-judicial bodies existed prior to 1936, and eleven such bodies were set up between 1941 and 1974.

These moves were a reflection of the general tendency prevalent in Ethiopia to establish special courts for special cases, showing a preference for flexibility over rigidity, and compromise for

a structural solution. The distinctive features of the non-regular courts were, first that their jurisdiction limited their service to a particular sensitive question or to a defined sector of society. Second, they were not part of the regular court structure. Unlike the regular courts, the procedure they followed was simple.

The attempt to introduce the reform of judicial administration in 1942 was meant to progress in the direction of the unification of courts, simplification of structure and balancing decentralisation with centralisation. The independence of courts from the administration was guaranteed by proclamation No. 232 of 1973.

Prior to 1936, procedures in the regular courts were conducted according to the rule of the traditional mode of litigation (**ተጠየቅ፡ ስርዓት**, *täṭṭäyyäq sərᶜat*; ↗*Muggət*). This mode of litigation was unique and indigenous to Ethiopia. After 1942, however, these rules were replaced by Court Rules issued, under the Administration of Justice Proclamation No. 2 of 1942, by the Presidents of the Supreme Imperial Court and the High Court of Ethiopia, with the approval of the Minister of Justice.

The Court Rules were later replaced by the ↗Criminal Procedure Code of 1961 and the Civil Procedure Code of 1965. In the earlier period, cases were adjudicated not only according to the prescribed rules and regulations, but also according to a sense of natural justice, fairness and equity.

The idea of the "Collegiate Bench" was introduced in 1908. At that time, senior judges of the *Afä nəguś* court sat in a panel of two in each division or bench. In lower courts a single judge sat with assessors (*täčč̣iwočč̣* or *əmmañño*č). It was by the Administration of Justice Proclamation of 1942 that the idea of a collegiate of three judges sitting in the Supreme Imperial Court, High Court, and Provincial Courts was introduced. In the court below a single judge heard the cases.

By the Revised Constitution of 1955 judicial independence was guaranteed and judges, in the administration of justice, were to submit to no other authority than that of the L. The nomination, appointment, promotion, removal, transfer and retirement of judges was to be determined by a special L. governing the judiciary. That L. appeared only in 1973. Even though the independence of courts was guaranteed by the Constitution, the interference of the executive branch of the government was evident to a certain extent.

Lit.: ABERRA JEMBERE, "*Tatayyaq Muget*: The Traditional Ethiopian Mode of Litigation", *Journal of Ethiopian Law* 15, 1992; ID., *An Introduction to the Legal History of Ethiopia 1434–1974*, Hamburg 2000; ID., "The Administration of Justice in Ethiopia: Effects of Structural, Jurisdictional and Procedural Changes", Addis Ababa 2000; BAIRU TAFLA, "The Dispensation of Justice, in Traditional Ethiopia: an Appraisal of Legal Historiography", Heidelberg 1991; HEINRICH SCHOLLER, *The Special Court of Ethiopia: 1920–1935*, Stuttgart 1965; ID., *Ethiopian Constitutional and Legal Development*, vol. 1, Köln 2006, 48; ERIC VIRGIN, *The Abyssinia I Knew*, London 1956.

Aberra Jembere

C. Modern law and judiciary

The development of modern L. in Ethiopia, in general, is considered to be framed by the so-called modernist project devised by *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I after 1930 (Aberra Jembere 2000:27). However, the modernization of the Ethiopian codification, specifically, was pursued mainly at the end of the 1950s and in the 1960s; a period in which six L. books were created (↗Civil Code, ↗Commercial Code, ↗Civil Procedure Code, Penal Code, Penal Procedure Code [↗Criminal Codes] and ↗Maritime Code). Two larger projects in relation to this development were the creation of a Labour Law Code and in more recent times the adoption of the Family Law Code. As to the latter, Title XXI addressed the issue of reciprocation between modern L. and traditional ↗Customary L.: Even though the clause of Art. 3347 (1) intended to limit the operation of diverse customary L., Art. 3348 (2) respected the principle of the *status quo ante* for all legal situations existing before the Code's coming into force. Hence, effects of customary L.-based legal relations prior to 1960 were considered valid (s. Vanderlinden 1966:227, 245). Notwithstanding, it has to be pointed out that this modernisation, influenced by foreign expertise, took the customary L. systems into account, since some parts of customary L. were incorporated into the Civil Code by its creator René David (France) and thus preserved. Beyond the scope of the modern codifications, customary L. as well as religious regulations are still disseminated nowadays, especially in matters of personal status (*Personalstatut*) such as marriage. Disputes in those matters are subjects of so-called Social Courts as well as Customary- and/or Religious Courts, which are allowed to exist and perform traditional tribal/religious administration of justice in accordance with Art. 78 (5) of the ↗Constitution (1995). The former has been established in some States (*kəlləloč̣č̣*), e.g., of Təgray, Amara, Oromiyaa and Harär on the *qäbäle*-level,

the lowest unit within the current federal state structure (↗Administrative division).

The judicial body has been stipulated based on, and pursuant to, the new concept of a decentralized system of ↗Government. The judicial powers at the State level as well as at the Federal level are vested in the courts, Art. 79 (1). Unlike the five-tier system of regular courts prior to 1936, and the four-tier court system from 1942 on (cp. Redden 1968; Aberra Jembere 2000: 219ff.; ↗Judicial system), the new concept stipulates a three-tier Federal and State court system. At the federal level, the judiciary is comprised of Federal First-Instance Courts (*yäfederal mäğämmäriya däräğa fərd betočč*), Federal High Courts (*yäfederal käffətäññaa fərd betočč*) and the Federal Supreme Court (*yäfederal ṭäqlay fərd bet*). At a state level, the system consists of State First-Instance Courts (*yäkəllal mäğämmäriya däräğa fərd betočč*), State High Courts (*yäkəllal käffətäññaa fərd betočč*) and the State Supreme Courts (*yäkəllal ṭäqlay fərd betočč*).

A crucial aspect in federal systems in terms of the judiciary is the courts' competency; more precisely, the concurrent jurisdiction of Federal and State Courts defined by L. The Federal Supreme Court has, e.g., the highest and final judicial power over federal matters; whereas the State Supreme Courts have the same power in their relevant state matters. Moreover, the State Supreme Courts also exercise the jurisdiction of the Federal High Court. State High Courts exercise, in addition to state jurisdiction, the jurisdiction of the Federal First-Instance Court. For example, decisions rendered by a State High Court, exercising the jurisdiction of a Federal First-Instance Court, are appealable to the State Supreme Court (cp. Fasil Nahum 1997:99–103).

Although the judiciary arguably has the power to interpret the constitution, it is important to note that it has no power to review the constitutionality of L. (Assefa Fiseha 2006:414). This power has been expressly granted to the House of Federation (*yäfederešən məkər bet*) as per Art. 62 (1). In contrast to that of the Federal Supreme Court in the United States of America and the *Bundesverfassungsgericht* in the Federal Republic of Germany, the power to interpret the constitutionality of L. lies not in the judiciary, but rather in a state organ that benefits from legal expertise via the Council of Constitutional Inquiry (*yäḥəggä mängəśt guddayočč aṭṭari guba'e*; more precisely s. Hatem Elliesie 2009, n. 177).

Furthermore, this concept begs the question of the doctrine "Independence of the judiciary" at large; specifically, that the decisions of the judiciary should be impartial and not subject to influence from the other branches of government or from private or political interests. This is proclaimed *de jure* in Art. 78 (1) and 79 (2) and should be ensured solely by the [modern] L. as per Art. 79 (3). There are two proclamations that are highly important for the court structure and the administration of justice on the one hand, and the constitutionally guaranteed independence of the judiciary on the other: The *Federal Courts Proclamation No. 25/1996*, as amended by the *Federal Courts (Amendment) Proclamation No. 138/1998* and the *Federal Courts (Amendment) Proclamation No. 254/2001*, as well as the *Federal Judicial Administration Commission Establishment Proclamation No. 24/1996*. The *de facto* state of current affairs has to be critically assessed in some parts of the Ethiopian context: first and foremost, the judiciary never had a separate existence of its own as an institution. It was subject to all kinds of pressure from the other branches. Thus, external pressure on the judiciary has deep roots and is not without some lasting influence on the new federal judiciary (Assefa Fiseha 2006:390).

Finally, in dealing with modern L. and judiciary, it is vital to provide a statement to the ↗*Nägarit Gazeṭa*, the official bilingual L. gazette. In addition to the publication of L., regulation and public notices, senior government appointments were published in it. The role in the Federal Democratic Republic, however, has been limited to publishing only modern L. of the federal government (Fasil Nahum 1997:85). So far, there are no official gazettes, in which the decisions of the judiciary are published. Hence it is, in a lot of cases, difficult for the public as well as for practising jurists and scholars to gain, read and get to know judgements of the judiciary.

Src.: "የፍትሐ፡ ብሔር፡ ሕግ – Civil Code. አዋጅ፡ ቍጥር፡ ፩፻፷፭/፲፱፻፶፱ – Proclamation No. 165 of 1960", *Nägarit Gazeṭa* 2, 1952 A.M. [1960 A.D.]; "የኢትዮጵያ፡ ፌዴራላዊ፡ ዲሞክራሲያዊ፡ ሪፐብሊክ፡ ሕገ፡ መንግሥት – The Constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia. አዋጅ፡ ቁጥር፡ ፩/፲፱፻፹፯ ዓም – Proclamation No. 1 of 1995", *Nägarit Gazeṭa* 1, 1987 A.M. [1995 A.D.].

Lit.: ABERRA JEMBERE, *An Introduction to the Legal History of Ethiopia*, Hamburg 2000; ASSEFA FISEHA, *Federalism and the Accomodation of Diversity in Ethiopia: a Comparative Study*, Nijmegen 2006; BRUN-OTTO BRYDE, "Rechtstechnik und Gerechtigkeit, Zur Rezeption formaler Rechtsnormen in Äthiopien", *Verfassung und Recht in Übersee* 5, 1972, 292–302, here 295; HATEM ELLIESIE, "Äthiopische Verfassungsentwicklung im rechtsverglei-

chenden und historischen Kontext (mit einigen zusätzlichen terminologischen Anmerkungen)", *Aethiopica* 12, 2009 (in preparation); ID., "Der zweite Band der Encyclopaedia Aethiopica im Vergleich", *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 102, 2007, 398–407, here 402ff.; FASIL NAHUM, *Constitution for a Nation of Nations: The Ethiopian Prospect,* Lawrenceville – Asmara 1997, 99–105; KENNETH R. REDDEN, *The Legal System of Ethiopia,* Charlottesville 1968, 131ff.; HEINRICH SCHOLLER, "Civil Code", in: ID., *Ethiopian Constitutional and Legal Development*, vol. 2: *Essays on Ethiopian Legal Development,* Köln 2006, 143–49, here 143, 147; ID., "Human Rights and the Independence of the Judiciary in the New Ethiopian Constitution", in: *ibid.* 99–121, here 100, 117; JACQUES VANDERLINDEN, "An Introduction to the Sources of Ethiopian Law from the 13th to the 20th Century", *Journal of Ethiopian Law* 3, 1966, 227–83, here 227, 239–45.

Red.

D. Traditional legal institutions

Institutions are sets of social norms which are considered to be permanent and which provide the framework for the self-organization of society. Legal institutions are those sets of norms which are considered as L., i.e. linked with legal obligations or rights. This article focuses on non-state L., created in local context by ethnic or social communities, and its institutions (cf. the article on ↗Customary law, which discusses its legal quality within the legal organization of the state, while this article focuses on legal institutions as part of local communities, from a legal anthropology perspective). These institutions often include ritual, religious and cultural aspects and thus are inseparable from the socio-cultural organization of a society.

In Ethiopia and Eritrea, traditional legal institutions are still quite predominant especially in a rural context, but are even valid in specific cases in cities. There is a multitude of different customary L. traditions, which are as yet widely unstudied and undocumented. Customary L. has a strong socio-cultural component, not only in its coming into existence, but also in the formation of social rules and customs. Ancient legal institutions have often survived, at least as social practices (having formerly been L.); e.g., the "counting" of genealogy, widely practised all over the Horn of Africa, was (and sometimes still is) also a legal institution, as it founded land claims or (legal) claims for mutual support (cp. ↗Genealogy; ↗Kinship; ↗Ǝnda), but in any case it stayed an important custom for the strengthening, consolidation or even invention of social and/or ethnic identity. This confirms the very institutional character of this custom.

There is a general tendency that local customary L. are either given up and replaced by "modern" L. practices of local courts, established by the state, or to be subsequently adapted to the demands of the state and a dominant culture of "modernity". Customary L. tend to be underestimated in their importance for the stability and effective self-organization of local societies and to be identified as backward, or even antagonistic to ideas of modern society hailed by central administration, modern school education and modern legal institutions. However, a number of state institutions in Ethiopia pragmatically make use of customary L., e.g., in order to end smaller conflicts, solve family matters, especially ↗marriage or divorce, and decide about questions of inheritance, of ↗land tenure, and in some regions also penal matters. Customary L. is sometimes further "institutionalised" by its codification as "L. books", thus entering into the institutionalized state apparatus (s. below).

Legal institutions belong to different categories. A large complex is linked to the political self-organization of a society, e.g., through the assembly of elders and/or notables (assemblies: Tgn. ↗*Bayto*, Orom. ↗*Čaffee*, elders e.g., ↗*Šəmagəlle*). They also concern local rulership, often exclusively regulated within a community (Orom. ↗*Abbaa Gadaa*, ↗*Abbaa Bokkuu*, ↗*Abba Seeraa*, 'father of law'). These assemblies were regularly the exclusive instances which had the right to create or change L. The complex ↗*gadaa* system, and other ↗age group systems, are also legal institutions. In a number of different regions, local rulers, administrators or chiefs were appointed according to local custom, not by a central government (cp. Amh. ↗*Čəqa šum*, 'village headman', Tgn. ↗*Käntiba*, ↗*Šum*; Tgr. *käntebay*; Beğa *nabtab*; Beni ᶜAmər *diglal* etc.).

Another large complex of legal institutions is related to conflict resolution mechanisms (cp. Amh. ↗*Muggət* 'litigation'; Oromo ↗*Gumaa*, also known among Amhara and others, a method, which ends a feud through marriage). A conflict might be ended by a ritual submission, the "culprit" carrying a stone on his shoulders (or head), declaring himself culpable (s. ill.; this custom is repeatedly mentioned in chronicles, as it was practised also as a submission ritual during feuds among noblemen; e.g., when the *wag šum* submitted to the victorious Kaśa Mərṣa before the latter's coronation as *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV; BTafY 118f.; cp. GuiIyas I, 211 [text] = II, 220f. [tr.]). Still today, conflicts are often ended by

The traditional legal institution of submission of a "culprit"; from Annaratone 1911:40/41 (fig. 13)

this ritual. This constitutes a sort of "contractual bond" obliging both not to begin the conflict again. A similar ritual (and also legal) role can be the sending of ↗gifts. The exchange of gifts between rulers was a legal act of establishing a "diplomatic" alliance or an armistice at least.

An important set of institutions regulates the distribution of economic goods, mainly of land, through often complex systems of land tenure: cp. ↗*desa* ('communal land' in Eritrea); ↗*gʷəlt* (i.e. right to land tax); ↗*rəst* (in Tgn. areas *rəsti*, i.e. land right possessed by a kinship group or *ənda*), a special form of it being the ↗*ṣəlmi*, a land right inherited within one family only; ↗*rim* (church land); *šäḥänna* (in Eastern Təgray, 'communal land'). Such institutions also concern taxation, e.g., payment to churches, monasteries and local rulers: cp. ↗*ʿaśrat* ('tenth'); Tgn. *gəbri* ('land tax'); *siso* ('third [of a harvest, to be given to a monastery or governor]'). Even if not formally legal any more in Ethiopia, remnants of these practices can still be observed. In Eritrea, *rəsti* rights are still recognized. Land obligations formed a crucial part of the socio-political structure of the highlands, creating obligations and rights for landholders (↗Aristocracy). This could include the jurisdiction over areas, especially for a *gʷəltäññа*, i.e. the holder of a *gʷəlt* right; in this way also monasteries could exert jurisdiction over wide areas, such as Däbrä Dammo did until the mid-1970s.

Family matters are strongly regulated by legal institutions; a family forms a legal institution by itself, the father being its legal head and speaker. The clan or kinship group, i.e. the extended family, is not only a social, but also a legal reality, as it creates quasi-legal obligations (s. below for more). "Illegitimacy" is a function of the integration or non-integration of an individual into a community. Təgrayan customary L., for example, stipulates that an illegitimate child who did not grow up in his father's village, but is recognized by the family, could only inherit 50 % of the land inherited by his siblings, as he is not part of the community. Customs related to marriage are strong legal institutions (cp. Amh. *ṭəloš*, 'gift' given to the bride, Tgn. *gəzmi*, 'dowry', given by the parents of the female to the couple), and so are rules related to divorce, rape, and inheritance of land and other goods. The range of different marriage customs can only be mentioned here (for details s. the article on Marriage). Except the rather rare church marriage, there is the widespread "civil" marriage, which is the general form practised in the rural Christian highlands. The *dämoz* is an institutionalized form of contractual marriage limited in time. This was especially widespread among soldiers and merchants, and is still occasionally practised in Ethiopia and Eritrea (Hatem Elliesie 2007:403).

There are also legal institutions of customary penal L., some of which have survived until today as customs and in remoter regions still practised as full L., replacing state L. For example, a *bayto* may condemn a thief to walk three times around the settlement, from where he has stolen, calling himself a "thief"; a murderer might be condemned to pay a fine to the family of the victim, as, e.g., observed in Wäğğärat still today. In southern regions, as for example, documented from Səlṭe, a criminal formerly could be convicted to be thrown from a cliff by his own relatives, in order to avoid a blood feud (field notes Bustorf 2003). Penal rules often focus rather on either compensation or exclusion from society (the maximum exclusion being death) than on punishment.

Economic rules are often also related with the stability or peace within the society, less with the idea of justice. A debtor could be bound to the debtee (↗*Qʷəräññа*), until the debtor could pay.

Another category of legal institutions are permanent or temporary functions taken over by individuals. In criminal investigation there was the institution of ↗*leba šay* ('thief seeker'), which does not seem to exist any more (cp. ↗Oracles and divination). A form of communal inquest was the ↗*afärsata*. Functions within the local executive like the *šum* ('headman', lit. 'appointed') and judi-

ciary like the ↗*daññа* ('judge') were often inherited within one family, but not in the feudal sense; the local society could normally choose other persons, if the first "natural" candidate was unfit.

Local legal systems are often very complex. One can sometimes observe elements of separation of power and checks and balances, like in the case of the ↗*Ḥəggi Hab Səllus Gärä Kəstos* of Ḥamasen in Eritrea. A remarkable legal institution are the *ʿaddi ḥəggi* ('law village') in that region; villages, which are not seats of governors, where families not related to the local dynasty keep the L. book, which ensures that the L. remains untouched. A similar institution in most societies in the Horn of Africa are elders who are knowledgeable in L. questions and genealogy, who can check each other during assemblies (in some regions, such a person may now be called *yäqäbäle šəmagəlle*, Amh. 'communal district's elder', and even receive a salary).

There are socio-cultural institutions which may sometimes also acquire a legal quality. One of such institutions is the bond friendship, called in Gurage *gurda* ('ritual covenant', variant: *guda*; s. Shack 1966:166–68). In Təgrəññа speaking areas there is the institution of the *ʿarki räʾəsi* (lit. 'head friend', i.e. main friend). These men-to-men friendships establish very strong relations outside kinship relations, and are the basis for moral (and sometimes even legal) obligations for mutual help. It is also an element of social control, ensuring that a person abides by the L. and customs of the local society. Its obligations are similar to those created by kinship (e.g., in Təgray the *ḥawənnät*, lit. 'brotherhood', i.e. 'kinship group', creates very strong, quasi-legal mutual obligations). A similar inclusion of a person or even a group of persons into such networks of obligations can be the adoption, especially practised by the Oromo (*gudifaččaa*, 'adoption').

Other socio-cultural institutions are local associations, which take over specific tasks within the community. Moral obligations taken over within these associations are often strong, therefore quasi-legal (cp. the ↗*Maḫbär*, ↗*Ǝddər*, ↗*ʿƎqqub*; monthly gatherings are called *mabär* or *məkyər* in Gurage, s. Shack 1966:174). Often these associations are linked with the religious sphere, which assures the strength of the obligations created by them. For example, Təgrayan beer associations (*səwwa sänbät*, lit. 'Sunday beer'), of which one is a life-time member, often call themselves after a saint, and the products consumed by them are considered as ↗*ṣäbäl* (i.e. holy water, holy food, holy item). The Orthodox Church plays a crucial role in the formation and organization of local associations; many are directly linked with the church parish (↗*Aṭbiya*). The priests (↗*Qäsis*) are the leaders of such associations. It is common to all kinds of associations, from the bond friendship to the religious association, in Christian and non-Christian areas, that a break of the obligations is considered as highly dangerous, for both the society and the "culpable". It is generally believed that this may evoke a curse, by dangerous persons, elder family members, God or invite bad ↗spirits. This belief stabilises the system.

Customary L. are by themselves legal institutions and thus subject to change and reinterpretation in cases of fundamental re-organization of a society. Religious and political developments may lead to their transformation or replacement. Somali, ʿAfar, Adäre (Harari) and other Muslim groups generally follow their own customary L., and not the ↗*Šarīʿa* (Mondaini 1941; van Notten 2005). The *Šarīʿa* was first practised only by Muslim communities in a city context, with links to foreign countries, especially Arabia, such as in the port of Massawa, the Somali ports and in Harär. Priestly or "holy" groups, who claimed Arabic origins, sometimes introduced rules from the *šarīʿa* into rural and nomadic groups, such as the ↗ʿAd Šayḫ among the Təgre, *šarīf* (*šayḫ*) families among the ʿAfar etc. The religiously founded legal institutions thus replace local ones (cp. ↗Ḥanafism). This process is not finished yet, the *šarīʿa* is, for example, now started to be practised by *qāḍīs* in Addis Abäba.

Src.: BTafY 118f.; GuiIyas I, 211 [text] = II, 220f. [tr.]); field notes of the author 2000, 2001 (Eritrea), 2004–05 (Təgray); field notes of Dirk Bustorf, 2003 (Səlṭe).

Lit.: ABERRA JEMBERE, *Legal History of Ethiopia, 1434–1974: Some Aspects of Substantive and Procedural Laws*, Rotterdam – Leiden 1998; ID., *An Introduction to the Legal History of Ethiopia, 1434–1974*, Münster – Berlin 2000; CARLO ANGELO ANNARATONE, *In Abissinia*, Roma 1911, 40/41 (ill.); BERHANOU ABEBE, *Évolution de la propriété foncière au Choa (Éthiopie) du règne de Ménélik à la constitution de 1931*, Paris 1971; HATEM ELLIESIE, "Der zweite Band der Encyclopaedia Aethiopica im Vergleich", *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 102, 4–5, 2007, 398–407, here 403 (Lit.); JAMALUDDIN A. REDO, *Afar Customary Law*, Assab 12 September 1973, ms. (IES); KilHDic 163f., 233, 278f., 291–93, 361; GENNARO MONDAINI, *La legislazione coloniale italiana nel suo sviluppo storico e nel suo stato attuale (1881–1940)*, vol. 1, Milano 1941; MICHAEL VAN NOTTEN, *The Law of the Somalis: a Stable Foundation for Economic Development in the Horn of Africa*, Lawrenceville, NJ 2005; WILLIAM A. SHACK, *The Gurage:*

a People of the Ensete Culture, London – New York – Nairobi 1966; WOLBERT SMIDT, "Tigrinnya, Soziale Kohäsion, Landrecht und lokale Geschichte der Tigrayer in Äthiopien und der Hochland-Eritreer", in: *WenDAE* I, 63–72; KJETIL TRONVOLL, *Mai Weini, a Highland Village in Eritrea: a Study of the People, their Livelihood, and Land Tenure During Times of Turbulence*, Lawrenceville, NJ – Asmara 1998; YOHANNES GEBREMEDHIN, *The Challenges of a Society in Transition, Legal Development in Eritrea*, Trenton, NJ 2004.

Wolbert Smidt

E. Traditional law books

A L. book is a codified collection of customary L., originally transmitted orally (and sometimes linked with the legend that they originate from a lost manuscript), and finally written down for legal use. It is only by exception that some of the customary L. is extant in the form of L. books or codes (Tgn. *ḥəggi*, 'Law'). Especially ethnic groups farther from the political centre often have an elaborated customary L., and as a consequence sometimes possess several customary L. regulations, belonging to different ethnic subgroups or social groups.

One may assume, however, that generally most socio-cultural groups also within the ancient Ethiopian kingdom had their own customary L. (*śərᶜat*, 'customs', Tgn. also *ḥəggindabba* [*ḥəggi ənda abba*], 'L. of the fathers', cp. Oromo ↗*seera*, Səlṭe *sera*), especially regulating land tenure, inheritance, marriage, and minor penal matters (even the ruler's court itself had "its own L. book", regulating the court's titles, ranks etc., the ↗*Śərᶜatä mängəśt*). The ↗*Fətḥa Nägäśt*, being used in affairs concerning the monarch's jurisdiction, had but little influence on local legal developments.

A number of Ethiopian customary L. have been "codified" recently. An overview of all the existing customary L. codes of Ethiopia and Eritrea is impossible, given the scarcity of research and documentation (but cp. Aberra Jembere 2000). The ↗Gurage possess a L. book written in Amharic called *qičä* (in Ǝndägäñ, *qəčа* in Čaha, 'traditional law', LesGurDic 1, 97, 227), printed in the late 20th cent. and thus codified only recently. Similar developments took place in other Ethiopian regions mainly during the last two decades. For example, *derder* ↗Yasin Maḥmoda of the Yaᶜiddi Dahimela, an ↗ᶜAfar politician at ᶜAsäb during the ↗Ethiopian-Eritrean Federation, has documented and published ᶜAfar traditional L. (*madᶜa*), used for jurisdiction today (Yasin Mahamoda 1964). Groups of the south and the west such as the Gumuz, Gofa, Galila and Bodi also know L. books, written down only recently, called *woga* (s. Klausberger 1981; the ↗Oyda's called *zaga woga*). The L. of the former kingdom of ↗Kambaata is not written, as for ↗Hadiyya and other old political entities (resumes s. Aberra Jembere 2000).

Most known older L. books belong to the Təgrəññа speakers (s. ↗Təgrəññа literature), but also to Təgre (in Təgre), Saho (in Arabic) and ↗Bilin. The specific historic developments the northern borderlands have gone through made the appearance of a specific type of written texts possible, i.e. the codification of customary L. by local governors and assemblies of elders (*bayto*). The oldest L. books have their origins in such assemblies from about the 15th cent., according to tradition (e.g., the ↗Loggo Č̣əwa, s. Favali – Pateman 2003:24; ↗Adkämä Məlgaʾ, s. Kemink 1991:40f.). L. assemblies, composed of representatives of different villages, regularly met to amend the L. and to avoid arbitrary changes (ibid.). Important codifiers were *däggiyat* ↗Hab Śəllus of Ḥamasen and his son Gäbrä Ḵrəstos in the 17th cent. Further codifications are reported from the period after the submission of ↗Akkälä Guzay by ↗Säbagadis, who ratified the L. book of Məᶜem Mäḥaza adopted by a local assembly of elders in the 1820s and an earlier version of the ↗Adgəna Tägäläba L.

This process was furthered by Italian colonisation, when colonial L. stipulated that customary L. had to be taken into account in all local affairs. During the Italian period, most L. books were written down. The five main codes were published in 1918 and distributed to the local chiefs (Kemink 1991:37). Several new L. books were created only in the early 20th cent., when sub-groups or districts split from a dominating group (for examples s. Favali – Pateman 2003:22f.). Later, several L. books, applied by smaller sub-groups, were merged to form a new L. book valid for a greater territorial unit (as the ↗*Adgəna Tägäläba*). Eritrea thus possesses a rich corpus of L. books. In Eritrea, the relationship between official state L. and customary L. is regulated by state L. today, it being a relationship of subsidiarity (Proclamation 25/1992, s. Favali – Pateman 2003:53, 55, 65; Kemink 1991a:168). A rural *dañña* is supposed to apply first the local L. in all questions of inheritance, family or conflict. Only where issues can not be settled by him they are transferred to the state court; but also here traditional L. books are still applied.

A one-page version of the *Ḥəggi Läggo Särda*, kept in a church and written in an ancient Təgrəñña (after the 15th cent.), was edited by Conti Rossini (1903; 1904) for scholarly purposes; this edition was not used in local litigation, as the ↗Loggo Särda followed the L. of Məᶜem Mäḥaza. The main L. of Ḥamasen, ↗*Ḥəggi Hab Səllus Gärä Ḵəstos* was published in 1918. The L. book of ↗Loggo Č̣əwa was published in the same year against the protests of the local community, as it went against the exclusive right of the law-holding villages (ᶜ*addi ḥəggi*) to keep all the existing copies of the L. book. Another version was published in the 1940s, for juridical use. The historical district of ↗Karnäššəm also possesses a L. book, published in 1918, the same as that of the Šäwᶜattä ᶜAnsäba, a Təgrəñña-dominated confederation on the borders of Ḥamasen (↗*Waᶜəla Šobᶜattä* [ᶜ]*Ansäba Zämat Taḥtay*). The ancient *Sərᶜat* ↗*Adkämä Məlgaᵓ* of Säraye was published in 1944 for judiciary use, like as the then newly created *Śərᶜat Adgəna Tägäläba* for all of Akkälä Guzay in 1945. A number of L. books remain unpublished and continue to be used locally (e.g., three L. books among the ↗Ǝggäla, s. Favali – Pateman 2003:25f.). The locally-used manuscripts of L. books are often amended up to the contemporary period (Kemink 1991:33, 173 mentions that the Code of Šäwᶜattä ᶜAnsäba was still amended in 1977). The list of the published Təgrəñña L. books is as follows (for a full list of Tgn. L. books s. Favali – Pateman 2003:20–27, 243f.):

Adkämä Məlgaᵓ (Säraye)

ሥርዓት፡ አድከመ፡ ምልጋእ (*Śərᶜat Adkämä Məlgaᵓ*, 'The Customs of the Adkämä Məlgaᵓ'), Aśmära 1936 A.M. [1944 A.D.]; repr. in ZÄRᵓA-YAᶜƎQOB ƎSṬIFANOS – WÄLDÄ MARYAM ABRAHAM – GÄRIMA GÄBRÄMÄSQÄL (eds.), **ሕግ፡ ሥርዓትን፡ ናይ፡ መሬት፡ ዓደቦ** – *Codes and Bylaws of Eritrean Regions & Counties*, n.p. [West Germany] 1990, 107–78. – CARLO CONTI ROSSINI (ed.), "Consuetudini giuridiche del Seraé. Raccolte dall'assemblea dei suoi notabili ad iniziativa del commissariato regionale di Addi Ugri", part 1, *RSE* 7 (Supplement), 1948; LANFRANCO RICCI (ed.), *ibid.* part 2, *RSE* 11 (Supplement), 1953; *ibid.* part 2 [edition of 1953], "Elenco e firme dei notabili", *RSE* 24 (Allegato), 1971. – Cp. ILARIO CAPOMAZZA, *Istituzioni di diritto consuetudinario del Seraè: la legge degli Atchemè=Melgà*, Macerata 1912 (tr.); DENNIS J. DUNCANSON, "Sirᵓat 'Adkeme Milga' – A Native Law Code of Eritrea", *Africa* [London] 19, 1949, 141–49.

Adgəna Tägäläba (Akkälä Guzay)

ሥርዓት፡ አድግና፡ ተገለባ (*Śərᶜat Adgəna-Tägäläba*, 'The customs of Adgəna Tägäläba'), Asmära 1938 A.M. (1945 A.D.); repr. in ZÄRᵓA-YAᶜƎQOB ƎSṬIFANOS et al. 1990:5–104. – Cp. FELICE OSTINI, "Nuove redazioni di vecchi statuti – lo statuto di Adghenà-Ghelebà nell'Acchelè Guzai", *Il Bollettino*, Asmara, Istituto di Studi Etiopici, 1, 1953, 79–84.

Däqqi Täššəm (Ḥamasen)

ሥርዓት፡ ናይ፡ ሀብሥሉስ፡ ናይ፡ ገብረ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ ናይ፡ ደቀተሽም (*Śərᶜat nay Habśəllus nay Gäbrä Krəstos nay Däqqätäššəm*), Asmära 1910 A.M. (1918 A.D.) [in local usage also known as **ሕጊ፡ ሀብ፡ ስሉስ፡ ገረ፡ ኽስቶስ**, *Ḥəggi Hab Səllus Gärä Ḵəstos*]; repr. in ZÄRᵓA-YAᶜƎQOB ƎSṬIFANOS et al. 1990:383–400. – Ed. by YAQOB BEYENE, [Diritto consuetudinario di Habsellus], *RSE* 43, 1999, 153–210.

Karnäššəm

ስርዓት፡ ካርንሽም (*Sərᶜat Karnəššəm*), Asmära 1910 A.M. (1918 A.D.); repr. in ZÄRᵓA-YAᶜƎQOB ƎSṬIFANOS et al. 1990:405–28.

Loggo Č̣əwa

ሕግ፡ ናይ፡ ለጎን፡ ጭዋን (*Ḥəgg nay Läggon Č̣əwan*), Asmära 1910 A.M. (1918 A.D.); repr. in: ZÄRᵓA-YAᶜƎQOB ƎSṬIFANOS et al. 1990:183–201; ed. by YAQOB BEYENE, "Diritto consuetudinario del Laggo Č̣ūwā", *RSE* 39, 1995 [1997], 173–210. – **ሥርዓት፡ ሎጎ፡ ጭዋ** (*Śərᶜat Loggo Č̣əwa*), Asmära 1938 A.M. [1946 A.D.]; repr. in: ZÄRᵓA-YAᶜƎQOB ƎSṬIFANOS et al. 1990:205–347.

Loggo Särda

ሥርዓት፡ ለጎ፡ ሰርዳ (*Śərᶜat Läggo Särda*), ed. by CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, *Ricordo di un soggiorno in Eritrea*, Asmara 1903; ID., "I Loggo e la legge dei Loggo Sarda. Note lessicali", *Giornale della Società Asiatica Italiana* [Firenze] 17, 1904, 1–63.

Məᶜem Mäḥaza (Akkälä Guzay)

ሥርዓት፡ ምዔም፡ መሓዛ (*Śərᶜat Məᶜem Mäḥaza*), publ. in: *Bullettino Ufficiale della Colonia Eritrea* 47, Asmara, 21 November 1903, 2. – Cp. ILARIO CAPOMAZZA, *Il diritto consuetudinario dell'Acchelè-Guzai*, Asmara 1909, 47–82 (tr. of the code of Məᶜem Mäḥaza and other codes of Akkälä Guzay, the code of May Adgi, Zəban Säraw and Ǝnnadäqqo and the code of Ǝnda Fəqray).

Säḥarti, Lamza, Wäqärti and Damba

ሕጊ፡ ሰሐርትን፡ ላምዛን፡ ወቐርትን፡ ዳምባን (*Ḥəggi Säḥartən Lamzan Wäqärtən Damban*), Asmära 1910 A.M. (1918 A.D.); repr. in ZÄRᵓA-YAᶜƎQOB ƎSṬIFANOS et al. 1990:353–79. – Ed. by YAQOB BEYENE, "Diritto consuetudinario del Sahart, del Lamza, del Waqart, del Damba", *RSE* 42, 1998, 89.

Šäwᶜattä ᶜAnsäba and Zämat Taḥtay

ዋዕላ፡ ሾብዓት፡ አንሰባ፡ ዘማት፡ ታሕታይ (*Waᶜəla Šobᶜattä Ansäba Zämat Taḥtay*), Asmära 1910 A.M. (1918 A.D.); repr. in ZÄRᵓA-YAᶜƎQOB ƎSṬIFANOS et al. 1990:433–56; ed. by YAQOB BEYENE, "Diritto consuetudinario dello Šawᵓatta 'Ansabā", *RSE* nuova ser. 1, 1, 2002, 85–141 and 2, 2003, 107–64. – Cp. CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Lo statuto degli Scioattè Ansebà (Eritrea)", in: *Scritti giuridici in onore di Santi Romano*, vol. 3, Padova 1940, 345–66.

Most L. books which are still in use in local courts have been collected in ZÄRᵓA-YAᶜƎQOB ƎSṬIFANOS et al. 1990.

Commentary works are also used in jurisdiction; cp. ZÄWDÄ KAḪSAY, *Ḥaddiš ḥəggi täzkar, zenaᵓun tərgʷəmun məs ab zəḥaläfä arbəᶜa ᶜamätat zänäbärä ḥəggätatən śərᶜat əndabban* ('New *Täzkar* Law, its History and Significa-

tion, Concerning the Laws and Customary Norms of the Past Forty Years'), Asmära 1962 A.M. [1969 A.D.].

A number of L. books of smaller sub-groups existed which have not been published. The major L. of the Bilin, the ↗*Fəṯḥa Mägarəḥ* (also *Fəṯḥəš Mägarəš*), has not been published yet (for an initial scholarly discussion s. Munzinger 1859; s. also Ghebil Temnewo 1999). In the 1960s the Bilin sub-group Bet Tärqe codified their own L. in Təgrəññña, now it is also followed by the Bet Ṭaqʷe, who gave up their own L. (Favali – Pateman 2003:29f.). The L. of the Təgre-speaking ↗Mänsaᶜ (the *Fətəḥ Mäḥari*) was first published in a Təgre text edited by the missionary Rodén (1913; repr. in Zärʾa-Yaᶜəqob Ǝsṭifanos et al. 1990:461–570). In 1953 the Arabic L. book of the Saho was published for judiciary use. During the ↗Ethiopian–Eritrean Federation, codification continued; the ↗Eritrean Assembly published a new customary L. code of the Beni ᶜAmər on 1 June 1960 (Favali – Pateman 2003:28, 245).

Research in oral traditions in neighbouring Təgray (e.g., in ᶜAgamä, Ǝndärta or Aksum) shows that customary L. has not led to the establishment of L. books there, as the provinces of today's Təgray were, with few exceptions always under rather strong control by the institutions of the Ethiopian state. Among the exceptions were Wäğğärat and Rayya, which possess an elaborate oral customary L. (cp. ↗*Gaz*, a ritual "razzia"); in most regions customary L. regulates at least marriage and heritage, but did not develop into legal codes. Legal affairs here seem rather to have been predominantly regulated by the L. book of the kings, the *Fəṯḥa Nägäśt*.

The development of separate L. books might be a characteristic of a periphery, which for its self-organization has to rely on its own legal traditions. In the case of Eritrea, the development of L. books was furthered by the arrival of the Italian colonial administration, which relied on the principle of indirect rule in local affairs.

The already very specific local legal traditions were then subsequently codified as books, which starting from then were used for any legal procedure concerning the "indigenous" population (cp. Cerulli 1918; D'Amelio 1911). This codification was a long process, involving numerous assemblies of elders, representing local leading families and ethnic sub-groups, and continued until the 1970s. There are still a number of customary L. in Eritrea, which remains uncodified, but most of the important "oral L. codes" of the Təgrəññña-speakers and other neighbouring ethnic groups exist as manuscripts or even as printed books and brochures, used both by local *dañña* and by state courts still today. The project of declaring them a national cultural heritage (or world heritage by UNESCO) has not been realised yet.

Src.: አጉራጌ፡ ቺጫ [*Ägurage qiča*] – *Kitcha* (*The Guraghe Customary Law*), Addis Abäba 1991 A.M. (1998 A.D.); CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, *Lingua tigrina*, part 1: *Elementi grammaticali ed esercizi*, Roma 1940 (Grammatiche e Lessici delle lingue dell'Africa Italiana), 251–54; KolTrad; IGNAZIO GUIDI (ed.), *Il "Fetha Nagast" o "Legislazione dei Re", Codice ecclesiastico e civile di Abissinia*, Napoli 1936 [Gəᶜəz text; reproduction of the 1897 edition]; ID. (tr., annot.), *ibid.*, Napoli 1982 [reproduction of the 1899 edition]; KARL GUSTAF RODÉN, *Le tribù dei Mensa: storia, legge e costumi*, A: *Testo originale in tigrè*, Asmara 1913; YASIN MOḤAMODA, *Madqa* ('Customary law'), Tiᶜo 1964; field notes of the author 2000, 2001 (Eritrea), 2004–05 (Təgray).

Lit.: ABERRA JEMBERE, *Legal History of Ethiopia, 1434–1974: Some Aspects of Substantive and Procedural Laws*, Rotterdam – Leiden 1998; ID., *An Introduction to the Legal History of Ethiopia, 1434–1974*, Münster – Berlin 2000; ENRICO CERULLI, "Diritti indigeni ed etnologia giuridica delle nostre Colonie. Note sui diritti consuetudinari dell'Eritrea", *Rivista coloniale* 12, 1–2, 1918, 94–104, 243–46; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, *Principî di diritto consuetudinario dell'Eritrea*, Roma 1916; MARIO D'AMELIO, *L'ordinamento giuridico della Colonia Eritrea*, Milano 1911; LYDA FAVALI – ROY PATEMAN, *Blood, Land, and Sex: Legal and Political Pluralism in Eritrea*, Bloomington 2003; GHEBIL TEMNEWO, *Murder and Blood Money under the Fit'ha Megarh*, LL.B. senior thesis, University of Asmara 1999; JAMALUDDIN A. REDO, *Afar Customary Law*, Assab, 12 September 1973, ms. (IES); FRIEDERIKE KEMINK, *Die Tegreñña-Frauen in Eritrea: Eine Untersuchung der Kodizes des Gewohnheitsrechts 1890–1941*, Stuttgart 1991 (SKK 101) (Lit.); ID., "The Tegreñña Customary Law Codes", *Paideuma* 37, 1991b, 55–72; FRIEDRICH KLAUSBERGER, *WOGA – Recht und Gesellschaft in Süd-Äthiopien*, Frankfurt am Main – Bern 1981; LesGurDic 1, 97, 227; GENNARO MONDAINI, *La legislazione coloniale italiana nel suo sviluppo storico e nel suo stato attuale (1881–1940)*, vol. 1, Milano 1941; WERNER MUNZINGER, *Das Recht der Bogos*, Bern 1859; FELICE OSTINI, *Diritto consuetudinario comparato. Corso universitario di giurisprudenza*, ms., Asmara 1951; LANFRANCO RICCI, "Nuova legge sulla commemorazione funebre ..." [review of *Ḥaddiš ḥəggi täzkar* (...)], *RSE* 24, 1971, 283–84; FRANKLIN F. RUSSELL, "Eritrean Customary Law", *Journal of African Law* 3, 2, Summer 1959, 99–104; GIUSIPPINA TROYA TORTI, [a review of *Sərᶜat Adkämä Məlgaʾ* (1944), *Sərᶜat Loggo Čəwa* (1946)], *RSE* 9, 1950, 85–89 (Lit.); YOHANNES GEBREMEDHIN, *The Challenges of a Society in Transition, Legal Development in Eritrea*, Trenton, NJ 2004.

Wolbert Smidt

F. Canon law

The life of the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church (EOTC) is regulated by ecclesiastic or

Canon L. (ሕገ፡ ቀኖና, *ḥəggä qännona*, lit. 'the L. of canon'), i.e. a jurisprudence received and interpreted as part of the EOTC's tradition. This body of L., which has developed from ancient times as the framework wherein and by which the Church leaders exercise their pastoral government, claimed to be based on authority received from Jesus Christ through apostolic tradition (Jn 20:22–23 as well as Mt 16:19 and 18:18 [cf. Acts 2:38]; Heb 6:4–6; Rev 21:8, 22:15).

Sources of the Ethiopian Canon law

The corpus of canonical texts of the EOTC is large and heterogeneous, and emerged over a substantial period of time. The knowledge of both church L. books and their interpretation has been considered crucial to helping EOTC members retain their identity and mission. The sources of the Ethiopian Canon L. have been mostly studied by scholars as a branch of the ancient Christian literary tradition, and attracted considerable attention as phenomena of Gəᶜəz literature; their proper juridical role within the EOTC and Ethiopian society have not been dealt with systematically.

The Ethiopian Christians must have started receiving canonical texts some time after the elevation of Christianity to the status of state religion in the 4th cent. However, the bulk of the legal books seem to have been introduced beginning in the 13th/14th cent.; the main source being the ↗Coptic Church tradition. As commonly accepted, the relations between Ethiopia and the Alexandrine patriarchate intensified during the period, after the "re-establishment" of the ↗Solomonic dynasty in ca. 1270. The main sources of Ethiopian Canon L. are usually defined as follows (cp. Grébaut 1932:73):

The ↗*Senodos*, a large collection of pseudo-apostolic writings, most of which translated from an Arabic (Melkite) Vorlage by the 14th cent., and encompassing, all in all: I. 1) four different recensions of the "apostolic canons": 71 "ecclesiastic canons", or *Təʾəzazat* (Horner 1904; for canons 22–48, "The Constitutions of ↗Hippolytus", s. also Duensing 1946; cp. ↗*Traditio Apostolica*); 56 "apostolic canons" (BauSen 116–47 [text]); 81 "apostolic canons" (BauSen 148–79); 81 and 82 (according to the recension) "apostolic canons" called ↗*Abṭəlis(at)* (BauSen 180–233, 234–83, resp.); 2) 30 pseudo-apostolic canons received "after the ascension of Our Lord" (BauSen 9–40); 3) two recensions of the canons of Simon the Chananite (BauSen 41–71, 72–115, resp.); 4) the so-called Epistle of Peter (BauSen 284–306). II. Canons of some universal Church councils: 1) 24 canons of Ancyra; 2) 14 of Neocesarea; 3) 20 of Gangra (s. Grébaut 1922–23); 4) 21 of Sardis; 5) 25 of Antioch; 6) 59 of Laodicea; 7) 20 and 84 "canons of the 318 Nicene Fathers" (cp. ↗Nicaea; for 84 canons, s. da Leonessa 1942). III. Some other texts: "indices", penitential canons (Guerrier 1918–19), the so-called *Didascalia of 318 Nicene Fathers*, containing prescriptions and norms regarding the monastic life (s. Bausi 2005), treatises etc. (cp. Grébaut 1932:75f.; BauSen XV n. 2);

The ↗*Fəṭḥa nägäśt*, probably the most important law book of Ethiopians, and the most authoritative as a source of Canon L. (mostly in the part *Fəṭḥ mänfäsawi*, 'Spiritual law', chs. 1–22), which was translated from Arabic in the middle/second half of the 16th cent.;

The (*Təmhərtä*) ↗*Didəsqəlya* (in the Ethiopic version divided into 43/44 chs.), a pseudo-apostolic text ("Apostolic Constitutions") translated from an Arabic Vorlage by the 14th cent. (Harden 1920);

The ↗*Qälemənṭos*, a late-14th–early-15th cent. translation of pseudo-Clementine texts from Arabic, books 3–7 of which contain canonical regulations (Bausi 1992);

The *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*ḥawi*, a 16th-cent. translation from Arabic, a large compendium or Christian ethical norms and prescriptions (for the content s., e.g., Goldschmidt 1897:22–48; ZotBNat 99–106).

Sometimes a few other texts are referred to as sources of the Canon L. of the EOTC:

Deriving from the *Traditio Apostolica* and translated probably from Greek, the ↗*Testamentum Domini* (*Mäṣḥafä kidan zäʾəgziʾənä Iyäsus Krəstos*), contains, besides the so-called Apocalypse (Beylot 1984, chs. 1–9), also a desciption of the Church and Christian life (ibid. chs. 10–60).

The *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*fäws mänfäsawi*, represented in at least two widely different versions, both containing mostly penitential canons.

Further texts can be mentioned as sources providing if not strict legal regulations, then at least broad frameworks and moral principles. Within the context of Ethiopian ↗monasticism, such sources are represented, e.g., by ↗monastic literature (↗*Arägawi mänfäsawi*, ↗*Śərᶜatä mənkʷəsənna*, *The Rules of* ↗*Pachomius*, etc.) and even hagiography. In addition, tradition maintains that the authority of the Octateuch (*Orit*, lit. 'Law'), by ↗Moses, is the most ancient source of law and that has never been superseded in Ethiopia, although today preference is accorded to "the new law", i.e. the N.T.

In the light of the recent discovery of the so-called Aksumite collection of canonical texts (Bausi 2006:48f.), the situation of the sources for the Ethiopian Canon L. appears to be quite complex, since some of the texts included in the *Senodos* are attested to in different, more ancient versions, translated from Greek in the Aksumite and post-Aksumite period (e.g., some 20 "ecclesiastic canons"; 81 "apostolic canons" etc.,

s. Bausi 2006, esp. 54–70). Whatever influence these texts might have exerted, by the 13th/14th cent. they were largely replaced by translations from Arabic.

Different as they are in regard to the date of the composition and reception, arrangement, provenance and origin (Gəᶜəz versions based upon either a Greek and/or an Arabic Vorlage), all these works share common characters, containing precepts on both internal church organization and the believers' behaviour within their community.

Position and application in history

The earliest known identifiable reference to the authority of a canon in an Ethiopian source seems to appear in the 13th/early 14th-cent. *Homily on the Sabbaths* by ↗Rətuᶜa Haymanot (↗*Dərsanä sänbät*) who, in fact, interprets the 29th canon of Laodicea (as it appears in the "Aksumite collection", s. Bausi in PICES 15, 535; further instances in LusStud 164f.), arguing for "reasonable" rest on Saturday (a position dismissed by the Coptic ecclesiastics in Ethiopia).

By the 14th/15th cent. at least, some of the texts mentioned must have been officially recognized as the sources of the Canon L., building a corpus encompassing most of the realms of Christian life. Knowledge of these texts can certainly be assumed within the monastic milieu (s. the list of such texts in the *Mäṣḥafä ↗məśṭir* by ↗Giyorgis of Sägla; YaqMist II, 305f.; cp. Bausi in PICES 15, 536). However, it is not easy to discern what role the Canon L. assumed in Church and society from references appearing in written sources (esp. ↗Hagiography). It is possible that in most of the cases they were part of the literary and cultural background, stimulating theological thinking and writing, but that references to them were primarily a rhetorical device of the hagiographers (cp., e.g., Bausi 1992:23, n. 1; 24–32) than attempts to extract both ethic norms and effctive legal regulations to govern the EOTC and amend its religious practice (cp. Bausi 1990:52–57; s. BauSen, nn. in the translation). However, violations of and, at times, disagreements concerning the interpretation of Canon L. are recurrent topics in the Acts of Ethiopian ↗saints. A few monastic leaders appear to have attempted to impose Canon L. on the Church and the faithful, and to have defiantly fought transgressors of its regulations. *Abunä* Mäṭaᶜ (↗Libanos) was expelled from Aksum because he accused the local bishop Elyas of simony (Bausi 2003, no. 33), the same offence of which ↗Bäṣälotä Mikaʾel accused Bishop ↗Yoḥannəs (referring to the *Senodos*, s. BauSen 109 [tr.], nos. 3–6; cp. da Leonessa 1942, no. 53). There are hints at other violations by the clergy, especially disregarding purity regulations. Among the breaches of Canon L. by monks was, e.g., the widespread practice of moving from one monastery to another without permission of the abbot, contrary to the teachings of the monastic literature and Canon L. (s., e.g., da Leonessa 1942, no. 14). In some communities, nuns and monks lived together without proper separation; Bäṣälotä Mikaʾel told *aṣe* ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon I about this violation using the metaphor of "straw and fire" taken from a Canon L. source (s. Conti Rossini 1905:35 [text]; cp. da Leonessa 1931:250f.). *Abunä* ↗Anorewos is credited with the separation of monks and nuns in ↗Däbrä Libanos of Šäwa, yet this non-canonical practice was retained in other places. Despite the people's deep religiosity and devotion to the Orthodox faith, religious leaders were dissatisfied with the general lack of Christian consciousness and discipline in lay society (e.g., *abunä* ↗Täklä Ḥawaryat severely chastised *aṣe* Zärʾa Yaᶜəqob for the "unlawful" celebration of ↗*Mäsqäl*, s. Getatchew Haile in *EtRicci* 107f.), omnipresent ↗magical practices (severely outlawed, e.g., in the *Qälemənṭos* and other books) and, particularly, transgressions in marital life (cp. Bausi 1992:62, no. 56 [cp. BauSen 244, no. 18 (text)]; 159f., no. 23. On the basis of these canons, Bäṣälotä Mikaʾel blamed ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon that he "took as wife [*awsäbä*] ... a wife of his father", Conti Rossini 1905:29 [text]; the King tried to justify himself replying that the woman "is not his mother", but this sort of union was prohibited by Canon L. as well, cp. TadTChurch 116).

The role of Canon L. was enhanced in the 15th cent., during the reign of *aṣe* ↗Zärʾa Yaᶜəqob. The proper enforcement of only the more or less codified and standardized L. of the Empire, and the extension of its authority over the faithful was one of the substantial elements of this Emperor's internal policy. A number of writings of Zärʾa Yaᶜəqob are meant to provide guidelines for the life of laics and churchmen according to the Holy Scriptures and, especially, the *Senodos* which was used to establish the canon of 81 biblical books (BauSen 279ff. [text]). Elsewhere, Zärʾa Yaᶜəqob ascribes the special recognition of the *Senodos* to the latter's being part of the Apostolic tradition,

and ranks as second and third in importance the *Didəsqəlya* and the *Mäṣḥafä kidan zä'əgzi'ənä Iyäsus Krəstos* respectively (refuting the opinion of some unnamed opponents, s. Wendt in PICES II, 107–13). The *Senodos* itself was checked, and a "royal recension" of the book was prepared. In this, *aṣe* Zär'a Ya'əqob might have been assisted by traditional scholars from well-established monasteries. An important witness to his policy is a copy of the *Senodos* prepared at ↗Däbrä Halleluya before 1442 and sent, by order of the Emperor, to the Ethiopian community in Jerusalem (VatLib Borg. Aeth. 2, GréTisVat 767–79; LusStud 130–74; BauSen XVIII).

Zär'a Ya'əqob also tried to revive ecclesiastic features (so for the Holy ↗Eucharist, cp. ↗*Tä'aqəbo məśtir*; or ↗*liqä kahənat* and, particularly, ↗*näfs abbat*) embedded in Canon L., and to use them in his program of Christian state-building. Many of his policies and decisions were based not only on political or practical considerations, but also justified by provisions of Canon L. as presented in the books mentioned. For example, the basic question of the Sabbath was finally decided in favour of two Sabbath days, i.e. in favour of the ↗Ewosṭateans, but following the "ecclesiastic canons" (Horner 1904:68f., no. 66; cp. Wendt 1962, I, 87f.; cp. TadTChurch 218, 230). Yet, the same monastic movement was severely reprimanded for appointing as the head of Ewosṭatean communities non-ordained monks (in the *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*bərhan*, CRRicBerhan II, 152, quoting a "canon of Simon", BauSen 36, no. 4 [tr.]), a practice which resulted in further grave transgressions. At the council of ↗Däbrä Məṭmaq, the Ewosṭateans gave up this practice, which, however, seems to have been based on a different interpretation of the same canon (Bausi 1990:44ff.).

Although he was undoubtedly a devoted Christian, and perceived himself, like other emperors, the patron and defender of the Church, Zär'a Ya'əqob was ready to breach Canon L., which maintained the equality of all before God, whenever this would limit his power. However, when in 1477 *aṣe* ↗Bä'ədä Maryam came out against the independence of the EOTC from the Alexandrian patriarchate, his position also implied, among others, his respect for the authority of the 42nd "Nicene canon" (da Leonessa 1942:50, 78; on the difficulties of this canon s. ibid 34). Still, the main problems related to Canon L. remained also after Zär'a Ya'əqob's reign: the complexity of the sources, the weakness of the Church hierarchy and the strength of ↗customary laws, the ethnic and cultural heterogeneity of the Ethiopian empire, as well as its isolation from the Christian Oriental world. Indeed, the religious practices enforced by the faithful and the EOTC were often in formal contradiction with Canon L., but could not be rooted out without conflict.

An important landmark in the history of Ethiopian Canon L. seems to have come after the 16th-cent. Muslim wars, with the translation of the *Mäṣḥafä ḥawi* and, in particular, the *Fəṭḥa nägäśt*. Contrary to the *Senodos* and the *Didəsqəlya*, the *Fəṭḥa nägäśt* was a relatively concise compendium, arranged according to subjects, and dealing with both religious and secular matters in a systematic way with references to other sources of the Canon L. (cp. da Leonessa 1931:5–9; GrafLit II, 402f.). It is not clear how, when and why exactly it was translated and promulgated (the earliest mention of it might be in the Chronicle of *aṣe* ↗Śärṣä Dəngəl; CRHist 76, for the year 1578; cp. Guidi 1899:X; further examples are listed in PTz XXI–XVII, yet none relevant to ecclesiastic matters). Eventually it gained by far the greatest authority of any work of Canon L., which it preserved over the centuries.

There seems to be no evidence that after the death of Zär'a Ya'əqob his rigid policies regarding the enforcement of the Canon L. were actively continued, despite the reception of some new sources. ↗Alvares was amazed to see the ↗ordination of a huge number of priests by *abunä* ↗Marqos, in blatant violation of Canon L. (like ordaining handicapped people; BeckHuntAlvar 352–56). Describing the religious life of Ethiopia, ↗Barradas (1996:74) mostly stresses the "errors" of its Church (in the sacramental life, rite and theology) that are considered "deviations" from the universally accepted Canon L. These were the result, in his view, of "Judaic" and "heathen" influences, blind following of customs and traditions, as well as the complete dominance of the power and judgement of the emperors (ibid. 166). Therefore, he believed that a return to the Catholic Church would have entailed an improvement of Canon L. and its application, but the return to the Alexandrian faith was inevitably a "falling back" to old errors (ibid. 174f.).

The role of Canon L. during the Gondärine period is largely unexplored. However, we can assume that during this period the tradition of the study and exegesis of the sources of the Canon L. emerged, with the purpose of bridg-

ing the gap between the reality of the Ethiopian society and the sources. The legacy of that period must have been the ↗*andəmta* commentaries on the main books of Canon L., which are part of the upper level traditional ↗education, the ↗*mäṣḥaf bet*: the *Didəsqəlya*, the *Senodos*, the *Qännona Abulidəs* (i.e., "The Constitutions of Hippolytus"), the *Mäṣḥafä fäws mänfäsawi*, the *Fətḥa nägäśt* (HabTent 223–35).

Major changes regarding Canon L. came with the re-unification of the Ethiopian Empire, strengthening of the EOTC and gradual build-up of a centralised church hierarchy starting from the late-19th cent. The *Fətḥa nägäśt* preserved its leading position as the main (though not the only) source of Canon L. also in the modern EOTC (cp. da Leonessa 1931:5; Dombrowski 1986), additional legal documents being issued by the ecclesiastic authorities to provide some modifications and adjustments. The central position of the *Fətḥa nägäśt* is underlined by the fact that this is the only source of Canon L. that has been published so far by the EOTC (cp. also the translation in PTz). The church edition of the traditional (*andəmta*-based) interpretations of the *Fətḥa nägäśt* (1965/66) seems to have been an important step, as well as the inclusion of the book into Ḫaylä Śəllase I's *Mäṣḥäfä ḥəggəgat ʿabäyt* (1969/70). Below are several basic regulations of the EOTC according to the *Fətḥa nägäśt* are presented.

Norms regarding the Episcopal Hierarchy

Until recent times, the EOTC was not ruled by an Episcopal hierarchy of Ethiopian nationality. This was in observance of the 42nd "Nicene canon" (also included in the *Fətḥa nägäśt*, Guidi 1899:23b–24a; PTz 18), prescribing the appointment of a metropolitan from among the Copts, by the holder of the See of Alexandria. The situation changed completely in 1959, as the rank of the head of the EOTC was raised to patriarch (s. *abunä* ↗Bäsəlyos). The statement of the *Fətḥa nägäśt* became void, yet the other regulations regarding the election of the Episcopal hierarchy, the requirements to candidates, the prerogatives of the patriarch etc., remain valid (PTz 17–42, ch. 4). The candidate for the episcopacy must be a monk who has received the Holy Orders (PTz 25).

The Episcopal (Holy) Synod

The *Fətḥa nägäśt* deals with activities of the Episcopal synod (the ↗Holy Synod of the EOTC was established in 1926; a Permanent Synod, only during the tenure of *abunä* Ṗawlos). In ch. 4, it is established that bishops of "every place" shall gather with their metropolitan twice a year to examine what is to be done (PTz 19). The second provision (ch. 5) suggests a suitable date for the first meeting, such as the fourth week of the 50 days between Easter and Pentecost (before ↗Lent and after the feast of the Holy Cross, i.e. *Mäsqäl*) and 12 *Ṭəqəmt* for the second meeting (s. PTz 37; for the *Senodos*, da Leonessa 1942:50f., 78f., no. 46; BauSen 55, no. 27; 65, no. 36; 80, no. 36; 98, no. 36 [tr.]).

Norms regarding the clergy

The *Fətḥa nägäśt* deals extensively with monks and secular clergy (PTz 37 chs. 6–10; cp. ↗*Kəhnät*). Members of the secular clergy are normally married. Ch. 10 of the *Fətḥa nägäśt* deals specifically with monks and rules of monastic life and administration of the monasteries (PTz 65–75). A resolution issued by the Holy Synod in 1949 declared that the faithful desiring to become monks must acquaint themselves with the rules, complete the noviciate, and be examined in accordance with the provisions laid down in the *Fətḥa nägäśt* (PTz ch. 10.II).

The Resolution of 1949 established the position of the spiritual father (*näfs abbat*) of the faithful dwelling around a church, which is reserved for the priests who serve and celebrate mass at that church. In 1951, the Permanent Holy Synod published a revised edition of the 1949 Resolution ("The First Synodal Issue"). It contains 12 articles which are said to be formulated on the basis of the *Fətḥa nägäśt* and *Senodos*, most of them concerning the clergy. Article 8, e.g., reads: "Any priest who wants to transfer from the church where he serves to another church of different diocese must present to the bishop of the diocese credentials made out by the authorities of his place of origin, testifying that he is allowed to celebrate mass observing his marital or monastic status …". Art. 9 declares that priests are strictly commanded to keep their sacerdotal dignity, reminding that they "will not meet with any difficulty if they observe the provisions of the *Fətḥa nägäśt* and abide by its teaching as contained in the chapter on priests".

Sacraments

The EOTC recognizes the seven Sacraments (ምሥጢራት, *məśṭirat*). Many canonical prescriptions for the administration of the Sacraments are found in the *Fətḥa nägäśt*. Generally, the

canonicoritual discipline of the Sacraments has its roots in the ancient church's practice and in such books as the *Senodos* and *Didəsqəlya*, with one exception being the ↗Matrimony, the canonical discipline depending almost entirely on the *Fəṭḥa nägäśt* (but included in the part "Carnal law", *Fəṭḥ śəgawi*, PTz 130).

A work on the Sacrament of ↗Baptism by a group of Doctors of the EOTC states that in accordance with the provisions of the *Fəṭḥa nägäśt* (PTz 14, ch. III), Baptism must be administered at a running stream, or in water that runs in the baptistery. In case of necessity, water drown elsewhere shall be poured in the baptistery. With reference to the *Fəṭḥa nägäśt*, it is also said that after baptism, the christened shall receive the Holy Communion; men shall not stand godfathers to women, nor shall women stand godmothers to men, but the males shall stand to the males and the females to the females. The Chrismation is prescribed to be conferred immediately after the Baptism.

With regard to the Sacrament of the Holy Orders, of great canonical relevance is the reference to the *Fəṭḥa nägäśt* affirming that physical integrity and mental sanity are required for the appointment of bishops and for the ordination of priests (but cp. PTz 26, ch. 4.ic).

Concerning the sacrament of the Unction of the sick, reference to the *Fəṭḥa nägäśt* is made as commanding the priests to anoint sick persons with consecrated ↗oil. The Sacrament of ↗Penance is defined as spiritual medicine.

Norms regarding fasting, feasts and holy days

The *Fəṭḥa nägäśt* defines fasting in ch. 15 (PTz 93); the mysticism of fasting is often affirmed and taught to the faithful by the EOTC with explicit reference to the *Fəṭḥa nägäśt*. Dealing with holy or festive days, *Fəṭḥa nägäśt* gives precedence to Sunday, the holiday on which Christians must not work, and no suit or judgement shall take place. Besides, the *Fəṭḥa nägäśt* lists the major nine feasts "of Our Lord" (PTz 114–17).

Application of Canon law today

Formerly, the church jurists solving legal problems related to the faith were referred to as *b[ä^{c}]alä Fəṭḥa nägäśt* (lit. 'master of the *Fəṭḥa nägäśt*'). Today, traditional scholars, or Church doctors (*liqawənt*), who have been trained in the *mäṣḥaf bet*, are charged with answering the questions of bishops or colleagues concerning Canon L. They gather together in order to settle doctrinal disputes or matters of discipline relating to the faith, e.g., matrimonial affairs. (The issues of couples married according to customary or civil laws are never considered in this context). A famous jurist of the mid-20th cent. was *mämhəre* Yəheyyəs Wärqe, famous for his wisdom and judgements, under *abunä* ↗Tewoflos.

In order to centralize the resolution of legal issues related with matters of faith (*yähaymanot gudday*), *abunä* Tewoflos established the Council of Scholars ([*yä*]*liqawənt guba^{ɔ}e*, cp. ↗*Liq*) which has since been the highest authoritative body of traditional scholars, advisors to the Patriarch and, through him, to the Holy Synod. When a problem arises, the local ecclesiastic administration at *wäräda* level takes the case to the diocesan bishop. If the bishop finds that the case is beyond his ability or if the plaintiff does not accept his decision and appeals to the authority above (*yəgbañ*), the bishop forwards the case to the patriarch. The latter approaches the Council, which consults the *Fəṭḥa nägäśt* and suggests to the patriarch how to act. The patriarch transmits the advice to the Holy Synod. The latter's decision is the decision of the Church, beyond which there is no appeal. The plaintiff's failure to accept this decision would result in his/her excommunication.

The Council examines all books published by the Church, even those written by the Patriarch. At the same time as he established the Council, *abunä* Tewoflos dealt with the *yä^{ɔ}astädadär gudday* ('the administration matters') by signing the regulations contained in the *Qalä ^{c}awadi* ('the Voice of the Herald'). It was first published in 1972 in order to support the creation of parish councils (↗*Säbäka guba^{ɔ}e*) as part of the Church's almost complete restructuring, and later revised several times (Ancel 2006). For their part, the bishops, either as a body in the Holy Synod or individually in their dioceses, also issue rulings, either of general significance (e.g., allowing Orthodox pastoralists to include dairy products in their Lenten diet) or related to a particular instance.

The discipline and the rite of penance are the object of particular dispositions; it is usually the *näfs abbat* who deals with concrete persons, interpreting Canon L. for them or orientating them.

Catholic canon law in Ethiopia

In the Catholic Metropolitan Church of Addis Abäba, a *sui iuris* particular Church comprising (in 2007) six eparchies in Eritrea and Ethiopia with a degree of autonomy within the Roman

communion, the Canon L. in use is twofold: 1) The "common L.", in the form of the *Codex canonum Ecclesiarum Orientalium*, Rome 1990, promulgated by the Roman pope John Paul II for all Eastern Catholic Churches, with the *Fəṯḥa nägäśt* numbered as one of its sources. 2) A "particular L.", to be prepared in keeping with traditional Ethiopian jurisprudence and a series of practical regulations concerning actual elements of today's context.

Src.: ALESSANDRO BAUSI (ed., tr.), *Il Qalēmenṭos etiopico. La rivelazione di Pietro a Clemente. I libri 3–7*, Napoli 1992 (StAfEt 2), 94ff.; ID., *La «Vita» e i «Miracoli» di Libānos*, Lovanii 2003 (CSCO 595, 596 [SAe 105, 106]; ID., "La versione etiopica della *Didascalia dei 318 niceni* sulla retta della fede e la vita monastica", in: UGO ZANETTI – ENZO LUCCHESI (eds.), *Aegyptus Christiana. Mélanges d'hagiographie égyptienne et orientale dédiés à la mémoire du Père Paul Devos, Bollandiste*, Genève 2005 (Cahiers d'orientalisme 25), 225–48; BauSen; MANOEL BARRADAS, *Tractatus Tres Historico Geographici (1634). A Seventeenth-Century Historical Account of Tigray, Ethiopia*, tr. by ELIZABETH FILLEUL, ed. by RICHARD PANKHURST, Wiesbaden 1996 (AeF 43), 148f.; CRHist 76 [text]); CRRicBerhan II, 152 (text) = 85 (tr.); HUGO DUENSING (ed., tr.), *Der äthiopische Text der Kirchenordnung des Hippolyt*, Göttingen 1946; ROBERT BEYLOT, *Testamentum Domini éthiopien*, Louvain 1984; ፍትሐ፡ ነገሥት፡ ንባቡና፡ ትርጓሜው (*Fəṯḥa nägäśt nəbabənna tərgʷamew*, 'The Law of the Kings, Text and Interpretation'), Addis Abäba 1958 A.M. [1965/66 A.D.]; GETATCHEW HAILE, "Martyrdom of Abunä Täklä Hawarəyat of Shoa and the Translation of his Relics", in: *EtRicci* 93–113; SYLVAIN GRÉBAUT, "Les canones du concile de Gangres", *ROC* 23, 1922–23, 303–13; ID., "Disciplina Alessandrina. II. Etiopi", in: *Codificazione canonica orientale. Fonti*, fasc. 8, Roma 1932, 73–85; LAZARUS GOLDSCHMIDT, *Die abessinischen Handschriften der Stadtbibliothek zu Frankfurt am Main ...*, Berlin 1897, 22–48 [ms. orient. Rüpp. III, 1]; L. GUERRIER, "Canons pénitentiels", *ROC* 21, 1918–19, 2–24, 345–55; IGNAZIO GUIDI (ed., tr.), *Il "Fetha Nagast" o "Legislazione dei Re", codice ecclesiastico e civile d'Abissinia*, Napoli 1897 (text), Roma 1899 (tr.); JOHN M. HARDEN, *The Ethiopic Didascalia*, London 1920; መጽሐፈ፡ ሕግጋት፡ ዓበይት (*Mäṣḥafä ḥəggəgat ʿabbäyt*, 'Book of Most Important Laws'), Addis Abäba 1962 A.M. [1969/70 A.D.], 5–451; GEORGE W. HORNER, *Statutes of the Apostles, or Canones ecclesiastici*, London 1904; MAURO DA LEONESSA, *Testi di diritto antichi riguardanti gli Etiopi*, [Roma] 1931–32 (Sacra Congregazione Orientale. Codificazione canonica orientale V, VI); ID., "La versione etiopica dei canoni apocrifi del Concilio di Nicea secondo i codici vaticani ed il fiorentino", *RSE* 2, 1, 1942, 29–89; PAULOS TZADUA (tr.), *The Fetha Nagast. ፍትሐ፡ ነገሥት. The Law of the Kings*, Addis Ababa 1968 [= PTz]; *abunä* THEOPHILOS, "The Church of Ethiopia, *Kale Awadi*: Regulation of the Parish Administration Council of the Church of Ethiopia", *Nägarit Gazeṭa* 23, 15 *Ṭəqəmt* 1965 A.M. [25 October 1972 A.D.], 1–9; ZotBNat 99–106, no. 110 [ms. Éth. 100]; YaqMist II, 305f. (text) = 169f. (tr.).

Lit.: STÉPHANE ANCEL, *Épiscopat et encadrement des pratiques religieuses en Éthiopie chrétienne contemporaine: caractéristiques et évolutions*, Ph.D. thesis, INALCO, Paris 2006, 206, 400–08; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, *Principî di diritto consuetudinario dell'Eritrea*, Roma 1916, 47f., 373–432; ALESSANDRO BAUSI, "Alcune considerazioni sul «Sēnodos» etiopico", *RSE* 34, 1990 [1992], 5–73 (Lit.); ID., "The Aksumite Background of the Ethiopic 'Corpus canonum'", in: *PICES* 15, 532–41 (Lit.); ID., "La *Collezione aksumita* canonico-liturgica", *Adamantius* 16, 2006, 43–70 (Lit.); FRANZ AMADEUS DOMBROWSKI, "Das Fetha Nagast – eine Richtschnur der Äthiopischen Kirche?", *Internationale kirchliche Zeitschrift* 76, 1986, 218–29; EOTC (ed.), *The Church of Ethiopia: a Panorama of History and Spiritual Life*, Addis Abeba 1970; GrafLit II, 402f.; HabTent 223–35; EOTC (ed.), *The Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Church Faith, Order of Worship and Ecumenical Relations*, Addis Ababa ²1996, 14; *abunä* MÄLKÄ ṢEDEQ, ትምህርተ፡ ክርስትና (*Təmhərtä krəstənna*, 'Catechism'), vol. 2, Addis Ababa 1984 A.M. [1992 A.D.], 75f.; PAULOS TZADUA, "The Ancient Law of the Kings – the Fetha Nagast – in the Actual Practice of the Established Ethiopian Orthodox Church", *Kanon. Jahrbuch der Gesellschaft für das Recht der Ost-Kirchen* 1, 1973, 112–46, here 259f.; JACQUES VANDERLINDEN, "An Introduction to the Sources of Ethiopian Law from the 13th to the 20th Century", *Journal of Ethiopian Law* 3, 1, 1966, 227–83 (Lit.).

Paulos Tzadua – Emmanuel Fritsch – Denis Nosnitsin

Lawḥ

L. (Arab. لوح, 'plank, board, tablet'; possibly from Syr. *lūḥā*; s. Ambros 2004:249, also Jeffery 1938:253f.) is the term used in most Islamic countries for the reusable wooden flat board or tablet of varying size on which pupils of traditional schools write Qurʾānic verses in order to learn, under the guidance of the teacher, to write, read and recite by heart the sacred text (↗ Education, traditional). For Muslims, the use of L. is particularly significant as it is the Qurʾānic term for the Mosaic Tables of the Law (Qurʾān 7:145, 150, 154; s. Ambros 2004:248). The school L. can also be considered a partial earthly replica of the

Students of the Muslim school of Ǝntičč̣o, Təgray, holding *lawḥ* panels; photo 2004, courtesy of Wolbert Smidt

archetypal copy of the Qurʾān kept on the divine *al-lawḥ al-maḥfūẓ* (Qurʾān 85:22).

As a loanword from ↗Arabic, the word is present in most languages spoken by Muslims in the Horn of Africa: Tgr. and Tgn. *luḥ* (Leslau 1990:151, 204); Amh. *läwḥ* (KaneDic 99), also *luḥ* (ibid. 38; Leslau 1990:17) with a more general meanings (e.g., 'blackboard', 'octavo page', 'folio'; s. also THMDic 36, 54 for the derivative *loḥa ṣafä*); Har. *lūḥ* (Leslau 1963:99, 184; 1990:133f.); Səlṭi *luuh* (Gutt – Hussein Mohammed 1997:32); Orom. *lohii* (Hinsene Mekuria 2005:324); Som. *loox* (Yaasiin Keenadiid 1976:282) and *looxa* (Stepančenko – Mohamed Haǧǧi Osman 1969:65). It is also attested in Gəʿəz (*läwḥ*, s. KWKDic 560; Leslau 1990:75), along with the verb *loḥa* ('write', only used by ↗*qəne* writers, KWKDic 560).

In Harär pupils carry L. to school every morning (Leslau 1965:174). To pass the two intermediate exams of the traditional Qurʾānic curriculum (*kaḥfāya* and *abaqāra*) the students are supposed to write the relevant verses of the Qurʾān on the L. which thus receives the specific designation *kaḥfāya lūḥ* or *abaqāra lūḥ* (Hecht 1993:132f.). Those who have worked through the entire text of the Qurʾān carry a distinctive L. (Gibb 1996:235).

To make it suitable for writing, the wood is whitewashed with a kind of white earth (Har. *berāsa*, Leslau 1963:46) and then left to dry in the sun. The text is written with a reed pen, in black ink made out of myrrh (Hecht 1993:132). Once the student has finished to study the holy verses, he licks them off his L. (*lūḥ milḥās*; Gibb 1996:236). The passages can be also washed off by pouring water on the L.; the water sanctified in this way is widely used as a magical remedy for many physical and spiritual illnesses (ibid.; ↗Healing).

Src.: ARNE AMADEUS AMBROS (with STEPHAN PROCHÁZKA), *A Concise Dictionary of Koranic Arabic*, Wiesbaden 2004, 248f.; EEVA H.M. GUTT – HUSSEIN MOHAMMED, *Silt'e–Amharic–English Dictionary*, Addis Ababa 1997, 32; HINSENE MEKURIA, *Galmee Jechoota Afaan Oromoo – Amaaraa – Ingilizii*, Addis Ababa 2005, 324; ARTHUR JEFFERY, *The Foreign Vocabulary of the Koran*, Baroda 1938, 253f.; KWKDic 560; KaneDic 38, 99; WOLF LESLAU, *Etymological Dictionary of Harari*, Los Angeles 1963, 46, 99, 184; ID., *Ethiopians speak. I. Harari*, Los Angeles 1965, 174; ID., *Arabic Loanwords in Ethiopian Semitic*, Wiesbaden 1990, 17, 75, 133f., 151, 204; DMITRIJ IVANOVIČ STEPANČENKO – MOHAMED HAǦǦI OSMAN, *Kratkij Somali-Russkij i Russko-Somali slovar' – Abwan ururan af soomaali iyo rusha rush iyo af soomaaliya*, Moscow 1969, 65; THMDic 36, 54; YAASIIN CISMAAN KEENADIID, *Qaamuuska af-soomaaliga*, Mogadishu 1976, 282.

Lit.: CAMILLA GIBB, *In the City of Saints: Religion, Politics and Gender in Harar, Ethiopia*, Ph.D. thesis, Oxford 1996, 235f.; ELISABETH-DOROTHEA HECHT, *Die traditionelle Frauenvereine (Afōča) der Harari in Harar und Addis Ababa, Äthiopien*, Berlin, 1993; ARENT JAN WENSINCK [CLIFFORD EDMUND BOSWORTH], "Lawḥ", in: *EI²* vol. 5, 698.

Alessandro Gori

Läwṭe Zäwde

Fitawrari L.Z. (ለውጤ፡ ዘወዴ, also Läwṭä, baptismal name Wäldä Mikaʾel; b. Ḥarena near today's ↗Hagärä Sälam, Dägʷᶜa Tämben, d. after 1889) was a courtier and envoy of *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV. A descendant, through the female line, of the *šum tämben*, and a cousin of the Emperor, L.Z. became a member of his entourage at a quite early stage. During much of his active years he was the ↗*bäǧərond*, responsible for the Emperor's treasury and thus the acting "finance minister".

In 1877, as a special envoy of *aṣe* Yoḥannəs IV, the then ↗*bäläᵐʷal* L.Z. had to arrange the submission of the still independent *nəguś* ↗Mənilək of ↗Šäwa. The important mission was a success, and the kingdom of Šäwa passed under the suzerainty of the Ethiopian state in 1878. In 1880 L.Z. was sent to Jerusalem, carrying funds to ↗Dayr as-Sulṭān (BTafY 171).

In 1881 *bäǧərond* L.Z. was appointed ↗*bäᶜal däräba* of the German envoy Gerhard ↗Rohlfs, who camped in L.Z.'s compound at the foot of Däbrä Tabor. Rohlfs describes him as the most influential court official of the period. The same year L.Z. escorted four new Egyptian bishops (e.g., *abunä* ↗Peṭros), and the Egyptian envoy *nāʾib* ↗Muḥammad ᶜAbdarraḥīm, from ᶜAdwa, where L.Z. was residing, to Mäqälä (ZewYohan 109; Hartmann 1883:111). Following the 1884 ↗Hewett Treaty the troops under command of L.Z. and *wag šum* Gäbru rescued the Egyptian garrison of al-Ǧira in the battle of 4 July 1885, after the garrison had been encircled by the ↗Mahdists. The same year, he received the governorship of ↗Akkälä Guzay. From here he raided Zula in the Egyptian ↗Massawa Governorate (Zula being traditionally considered by the Christian highlanders as a part of Akkälä Guzay). L.Z. was thus competing with *ras* ↗Alula Ǝngəda who was likewise raiding Egyptian territories (Erlich 1996:50, 53).

In 1888 *bäǧərond* L.Z. was appointed ↗*fitawrari* (Tgn. *aftärar*); in this military capacity he led the advance guard against ↗Goǧǧam (BTafA 793). Suspected of conspiracy with *nəguś*

↗Täklä Haymanot, he was put in chains and condemned to death, but rescued through the intervention of *ras* Alula.

L.Z.'s son *däğğazmač* Wähade also rose to high rank. He was appointed governor of Däg^{w}ᶜa Tämben by *aṣe* Yoḥannəs; his numerous descendants held *g^{w}əlti* (↗*G^{w}əlt*) in the area including in the newly-founded ↗Hagärä Sälam. Several churches still keep objects donated by L.Z., e.g., European bells at *aṣe* Yoḥannəs's baptismal church of ↗Mälfa.

Src.: interviews (by Wolbert Smidt) with *fitawrari* Iyasu Aṣbäha, 86 years, Mäqälä, June 2004; *qäñat* Dästa Gäbrä Iyäsus Wähade's family, Hagärä Sälam, July 2005; priests of Ǝnda Maryam Mälfa, July 2005; Muluwärq Kidanä Maryam, Mäqäla, June 2005; *mämhər* Mäsfin Dästa, Mäqälä, July 2005; BTafA 793 (Lit.); BTafY 171; GERHARD ROHLFS, *Meine Mission nach Abessinien*, Leipzig 1883, 207f.; ROBERT HARTMANN, *Abyssinien und die übrigen Gebiete der Ostküste Afrikas*, Leipzig – Prag 1883, 111ff.

Lit.: HAGGAI ERLICH, *Ethiopia and Eritrea during the Scramble for Africa: a Political Bibliography of Ras Alula, 1875–1897*, Lawrenceville, NJ – Asmara 1996, 50, 53, 100, 131; ZewYohan 92, 109, 174.

Wolfgang Hahn – Wolbert Smidt

Lazarists

The L. (Congregatio Missionis [= CM], also Vincentians) are a congregation of priests and brothers founded in Paris in 1625 by St. Vincent de Paul.

The first L. to go to Ethiopia was Giuseppe ↗Sapeto who, in 1837, began working, without the permission of his superiors, in ↗ᶜAdwa. Shortly after, the ↗Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide formally asked the L. to carry out missionary work in Ethiopia. In 1839 Giustino De ↗Jacobis, as Prefect apostolic of Abyssinia, and his assistant, Luigi Montuori, reached ᶜAdwa. The three L. then split: De Jacobis remained in Təgray, Sapeto went to ↗Šäwa, Montuori to ↗Gondär. In 1841, Lorenzo ↗Biancheri and Brother Giuseppe Abbatini arrived. In 1842, Montuori travelled to Sinnār and founded a small college at ↗Khartoum.

In April 1845, Montuori and Brother Filippini, a new arrival, left Father Serao in Khartoum and reached Gondär. Montuori then headed south, intending to go to the Oromo country, while Filippini stayed in Gondär, where he built a house (OMahPh² 21). A year later, the Holy See divided the huge missionary region of southern Ethiopia into the then established Apostolic vicariate of Sudan and the Apostolic vicariate of the Galla, entrusted to the Lazarists and the ↗Capuchins, respectively. The L.'s jurisdiction in the north was acknowledged with the creation of the Apostolic vicariate of Abyssinia, while De Jacobis was secretely consecrated Bishop by Guglielmo ↗Massaja in 1849.

In 1848, Montuori – who had expected to work under the protection of ↗Śahlä Śəllase – and Abbatini abandoned the mission. The latter died on his way to Cairo. In 1851, the northern mission was inspected by the canonical visitor Father Pussou, who reported on its progress: by that time it administered to 4,000–5,000 Catholics and had 15 Ethiopian priests (OMahPh² 52f.). After 1854, the mission suffered persecution by *abunä* ↗Sälama, and among the victims was ↗Gäbrä Mikaʾel CM. In 1860, Carlo ↗Delmonte arrived, working alone for a few years at Ras Mədər, until the arrival of the new Vicar apostolic, Mgr. Pierre-Louis ↗Bel in 1866. By 1869, the northern mission counted six men and had its main centres in ↗Kärän, ↗Alitena and ↗Hebo. In 1870, Mgr. Jean-Marcel Touvier was consecrated fourth bishop of the Vicariate. At that time, the mission underwent new persecution by *abunä* ↗Atnatewos, supported by Kaśa Mərčа (↗Yoḥannəs IV). In 1878, the first Daughters of Charity joined the wider L. family. Upon the arrival of the new metropolitan *abunä* ↗Ṗeṭros in 1881, persecutions were again renewed. Two years later, however, missionaries were able to return and resume activities; in 1889 the new Vicar apostolic, Mgr. Jean-Jacques Crouzet, arrived.

In 1894, following the establishment of Italian rule over ↗Eritrea, the L. were accused of representing the interests of France (whence most of the missionaries came), and they were expelled from that country. The Apostolic prefecture of Eritrea was thus separated from the Apostolic vicariate of Abyssinia, and entrusted to the Capuchins. In 1900, a struggle occurred between the L. and the Capuchins, both claiming jurisdiction over the area of Šäwa. Eventually, after the intervention of Father Jean-Baptiste ↗Coulbeaux, the L. were granted permission to settle in Addis Abäba. At the turn of the 20th cent., their activities were mostly concentrated in ↗ᶜAgamä, with the aim of attempting to reach the ↗Kəmant. However, after *ləğ* ↗Iyasu's decree of religious freedom, local L. priests also opened houses at Mändida, ↗Däse and ↗Gondär (OMahPh² 344).

L. missionary methods were largely defined by the work of De Jacobis. These were based on respect for the Ethiopian rite (as approved in

1850 by Pope Pius IX and sanctioned by Propaganda Fide in 1912), the use of local languages and the formation of a local hierarchy (cf. *abba* ↗Täklä Haymanot; OMahPh² 24). The activities of the L. often suffered the effects of colonial policies and political instability. In the north, the missionaries were protected by *däğğazmač* ↗Wəbe Ḫaylä Maryam, but also endured the hostility of *abunä* Sälama, ↗Tewodros II and, later, ↗Ḥagos Täfäri, and were later exposed to the consequences of ↗Egyptian colonialism. At the same time, whilst the congregation generally kept apart from colonial policies, a few missionaries such as Sapeto and Giovanni ↗Stella openly worked on behalf of the colonial powers (CrumMiss 106). De Jacobis's cause of beatification was also used for propaganda purposes during the period of the Italian expansion into Ethiopia (Ceci 2003).

Catholic church at Aḵrur, a historical centre of the Lazarist mission, Eritrea; photo 2003, courtesy of Silvio Niccolai

More recently, the L. have been working in other areas. In 1956, Dutch L. went to southern Ethiopia. They conducted pastoral activity in ↗Ğimma, built and ran elementary schools, health centres, as well an agricultural resettlement programme. In 1978, at the time of the *Därg*, like all other foreign missionaries, they were expelled and the government confiscated their property. Since 1991, these have been partially returned. On 10 June 1994, the Prefecture of Ğimma Bonga (part in Oromiyaa and part in Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples' Region) was established and entrusted to the L. The first Prefect apostolic, from 1994 until 1998, was *abunä* Bərhanä Iyäsus D. Souraphiel CM, now archbishop of Ethiopia. The L. are also in charge of the Apostolic vicariate of ↗Naqamtee (↗Asosa and Kamaši Zones in Beni Šangul/Gumuz Region; East and West Wälläga Zones and a large part of West Šäwa Zone of the Oromiyaa Regional State). The vicariate was once under the charge of ↗Fəqrä Maryam Gämmäčču and today is headed by Msgr. Leonardus Dobbelaar CM.

According to their own tradition, the L. are still engaged in pastoral activities, the training of priests, general education and development. Besides those in the areas above mentioned, they have houses and seminars in ↗Bonga, ↗Dambi Dollo, Amman, ↗Mäqälä and ↗Baḥər Dar, and count about 40 active members.

Src.: *L'Abyssinie et son apôtre, ou vie de Mgr Justin De Jacobis* ..., Paris 1866.

Lit.: LUCIA CECI, "Chiesa e questione coloniale. Guerra e missione nell'impresa d'Etiopia", *Italia contemporanea* 233, 2003, 618–36; L. CHIEROTTI, "Congregazione della Missione", in: GIANCARLO ROCCA (ed.), *Dizionario degli Istituti di Perfezione*, vol. 2, Roma 1975, 1543–51; CrumMis 59ff., 106; OMahPh² 21, 24, 52f., 344.

Andreu Martínez

League of Nations

The victorious Allied Powers of ↗World War I established the L.N. "to promote international co-operation and to achieve international peace and security". The L.N.'s charter, known as the Covenant, was approved as part of the Treaty of Versailles at the Paris Peace Conference in 1919.

Ethiopia's regent *ras* Täfäri Mäkʷännən (↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I) was of the belief that membership would protect Ethiopia from the territorial ambitions of colonial powers. Täfäri overcame opposition from conservative forces in Ethiopia who mistrusted foreign alliances, and formally applied to join the L.N. in 1919. The admission initially was rejected because of concerns about ↗slavery and the arms trade. ↗Italy and the ↗United Kingdom led the opposition. Britain demanded a L.N. campaign against pockets of slavery that continued to exist in Africa, one of which was in Ethiopia. In reply, Täfäri pointed out that his government was making progress in ending slavery and the slave trade. The arms trade in Ethiopia was limited by the St. Germain-en-Laye convention of 1919 that had established Africa as a prohibited zone for the importation of weapons. Italy, in fact, opposed any

action that would lead to membership and protection of Ethiopia's independence and the integrity of its territory. Italy's continuing colonial ambitions in Ethiopia, however, hastened L.N. action on the question of admission.

On 28 September 1923, Ethiopia was admitted to the L.N. by unanimous vote but on the condition that it strictly apply existing conventions prohibiting slavery. On 6 October 1923, in the wake of Ethiopia's entry, the L.N. announced plans for a campaign to eliminate slavery from countries where it still existed. Nevertheless, slavery lingered on for several decades in a few nations.

In March 1925, Täfäri sought to end the arms embargo by appealing to the L.N. for equal treatment of Ethiopia as a member state. The L.N. ultimately found that Ethiopia, as a sovereign state, enjoyed absolute freedom to import arms necessary for its legitimate requirements and approved the "Convention for the Control of the International Traffic in Arms, Munitions, and Implements of War".

In 1926, Täfäri threatened Italy and Great Britain with the possibility of referring the Anglo–Italian accords (a highhanded division of Ethiopian economic spoils) to the L.N. as an infringement of the sovereignty of a member state. In the face of international pressure, Rome and London backed down demonstrating how the L.N. could protect weak states against the machinations of great powers.

This L.N.'s ability to preserve world peace would not endure for long. When Benito ↗Mussolini's dreams of an Italian empire focused on the Horn of Africa, he drummed up a *casus belli* in a disputed boundary area between Ethiopia and ↗Italian Somaliland. The ↗Wälwäl incident in December 1934 produced humiliating Fascist demands for apologies and reparations from Ethiopia. Ḫaylä Śəllase hoped that the dispute could be negotiated, and the Ethiopians took the matter to the L.N. in January 1935 relying upon Article 10 of the Covenant whereby member states were to respect and preserve the territorial integrity and political independence of all members against external aggression. Addis Abäba warned the L.N. that inflammatory speeches by the Fascists signalled imminent aggression against Ethiopia. Meanwhile, on 7 January 1935, France and Italy signed the Rome Agreements that included secret military clauses. France ceded its economic interests in Ethiopia while Italy promised to help finance the Addis Abäba-Djibouti ↗Railway. The actions of the two nations in the crisis that followed were affected by these agreements.

On 17 March 1935, Addis Abäba informed the L.N. secretary general that a dispute existed between Ethiopia and Italy likely to lead to rupture and asked the Council of the L.N. to undertake a full investigation of its charges against Italy. Rome responded that under provisions of a 1928 treaty, all that was required was the mutual submission of documents to establish facts and expedite negotiations, and therefore, implementation of Article 10 was unnecessary. The Council, fearful of alienating Rome, immediately agreed to Italy's proposal. Mussolini maintained that collective security should be confined to Europe, and the controlling powers of the L.N. tried to force concession on Ethiopia so that an appeased Italy might then serve the needs of European politics.

On 3 October 1935, Italian troops under the command of Marshal De ↗Bono invaded Ethiopia. The Council of the L.N. concluded that the Italian Government had resorted to war in disregard of Article 12 of the Covenant, thereby automatically raising the issue of sanctions. The L.N. officially condemned Italy's aggression on 18 November 1935 and imposed economic sanctions including the banning of the sale of arms, rubber, some metals, and other materials to Italy. The sanctions, largely ineffective because the United States, a non-League member, continued to sell oil to Italy, were lifted in the summer of 1936.

Despite strong public opinion against the Fascist invasion, Ethiopia, for the most part, received little help and was isolated by the major European powers and its erstwhile allies Germany and Japan. Only smaller European states and the USSR sided with Ethiopia in the L.N. debates. On 7-8 December 1935, Britain's Foreign Secretary Sir Samuel Hoare and Pierre Laval, France's Foreign Minister, devised a strategy known as the ↗Hoare-Laval Plan, to end the Italian War, avoid allied conflict with Italy in East Africa, and defuse a possible confrontation with Italy in the L.N. The Hoare-Laval pact undermined the effect of the L.N. sanctions. The Plan was rejected by both Mussolini and Ḫaylä Śəllase, and many L.N. members also protested against the Plan because it violated the L.N.'s Covenant by discussing Ethiopia's dismemberment after Italy had attacked that country. In the deliberations that followed, Great Britain and France, fearing that L.N. sanctions might drive the Italians into an alliance with Nazi Germany, gave Mussolini a free

hand in Ethiopia. Many scholars maintain that the Hoare-Laval Plan contributed to the League of Nation's collapse. By May 1936, Italy had conquered Ethiopia, and Emperor Ḫaylä Śəllase I fled the country to exile in Great Britain.

Ḫaylä Śəllase I attended the 16th General Assembly of the L.N. in Geneva on 30 June 1936 to make a final plea for sanctions against Italy. His appeal on behalf of collective security (the speech was written by ↗Loränso Taᵓəzaz) produced no meaningful action by the L.N. This betrayal of Ethiopia was to be well remembered throughout the world. The L.N.'s failure to live up to its idealistic Covenant led to the organization's demise as a meaningful international body, and it passed into oblivion during ↗World War II.

Src.: HSLife 76–81, 206–312; HSLife II 1–23, 33ff., 43–73; SECRETARIAT OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS, *The Aims, Methods and Activity of the League of Nations*, Geneva 1935, 18–68, 167ff., 196–209.

Lit.: HAROLD GOLDEN MARCUS, *Haile Sellassie I: the Formative Years, 1892–1936*, Berkeley, CA 1987, 48–55, 73–77, 142–80 (Lit.); GARY B. OSTROWER, *The League of Nations from 1919 to 1929*, Garden City Park, NY 1996, 1–33, 55f., 105f., 113–18, 124f., 138 (Lit.).

Theodore M. Vestal

Leather

L. is an important ↗clothing material and serves for a wide array of products in daily use. By mechanical treatment and chemical processes (tanning) animal hides, skins and pelts are converted into L. The preparation of skins into parchment for ↗manuscripts plays an important role, and should be mentioned here too, even though these skins are not transformed into L. However, the first steps of treatment (s. below) are similar for both products.

In Ethiopia, mostly skins of domestic animals (cattle, goats and sheep) are used as raw materials, though hides of wild animals are also processed for specific purposes. For example, buffalo, rhinoceros and ↗hippopotamus hides provide solid L. for ↗shields and hoe connections. ↗Monkey skins are suitable for caps. ↗Lion and ↗leopard skins were worn, for instance, by northern Ethiopian military leaders (s. also ↗*Lämd*).

Hide-working belongs to the most ancient known technologies in general and probably to the oldest ↗handicrafts in Ethiopia in particular. This finds expression, for example, in ↗Dullay myths where the tanners are the original artisans who once lived together with God and later taught man the different handicrafts. Ethiopian

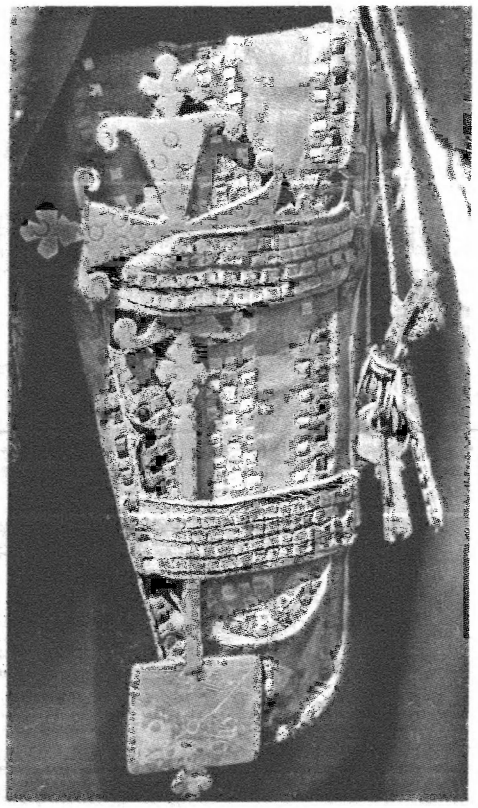
Banna woman in traditional leather costume; photo 1950/52 by Elisabeth Pauli, courtesy of Frobenius-Institut (23–Pa028–28.a)

L. products are first mentioned in literature at the beginning of the 16th cent. by Francisco Alvares (BeckHuntAlvar 320). However, it is only through 19th-cent. travellers like Rüppell, Parkyns, Johnston that we learn about actual tanning techniques (Rüppell 1838–40, vol. 1, 367; vol. 2, 180f.; Johnston 1844:369–73; Parkyns 1853:13f.).

L. was once used for clothing (capes, skirts, belts, sandals, hats) in all parts of the country. Other objects were sleeping mats, cushions, sacks, cases, packing straps, trappings, saddles, whips, scabbards, drums and bellows. In the centres of the northern highlands such as ↗Gondär, tent-making and saddlery were specific crafts; shield-makers specialized in decorating shields with silver. Another speciality was parchment-making (PankEcon 267ff.).

While L. clothes were common in Ethiopia until the second third of the 19th cent., later the wearing of L. was scorned by the state authorities as being "primitive" and "backward". It was prohibited in southern Ethiopia for all those serving

the imperial authorities. This was strengthened further the end of World War II. The tanners in southern ↗Diraašša were forced to give up this line of production in the early or mid-1950s. The ↗Burği gave up at the same time. In the 1960s police in ↗Konso removed the L. clothes of women at the market place, leaving them naked. Some regions were less affected: in ↗Sidamo L. clothing was still worn publicly and sold in the markets in the late 1960s. The pastoralists in the south ignored the prohibition and different types of L. clothes for women are still in use (s., e.g., VSAe I, ill. 23–26, table 21).



Priest's cross leathercase, with an iron hand cross (ca. 30 cm), Hamusil, Wällo; photo 1993, courtesy of Michael Gervers

Within the agricultural societies these upheavals had a decisive effect on the economic situation of the tanners and precipitated the decline of L. production. Many left their occupation. Those in the south-west who still work with L. spend most of their time making cowhide sleeping and sitting mats. Some of them are now engaged in the export of hides.

In Diraašša, as in the north, L. sandals have been replaced by sandals made of old tyres – the end of another lucrative L. market. The production of sandals has a long tradition in Ethiopia, even if many have preferred to go barefoot until recently. This attitude, especially with regard to shoes, has radically changed. In Asmära and Addis Abäba there are important shoe industries that serve the home market, but at least in the case of Asmära also the export market. In local shoe factories L. is now produced industrially. Hides, skins and leather are among the four most important export articles of Ethiopia.

In south-western Ethiopia several ethnic groups still produce a variety of L. products in the traditional way. The techniques used in the northern highlands did not differ principally from those described here (Messing 1957 [1985]:92ff.).

Several steps of these well documented techniques are necessary to transform raw hides into L. First, the skin is stretched out to dry. To that end, soon after slaughter, flayed skin is spread out with the flesh layer upward; then, small holes are made along the edge of the hide through which wooden pegs are driven for stretching out the hide slightly above the ground. Drying usually takes several days. Some groups moisten hides with the juice of the ↗*ənsät* plant.

Next, the skin must be freed from the remnants of muscle and fat as well as the subcutaneous cell tissue liable to putrefaction. The Konso and the Dullay pass strings through the peg holes on one of the short sides of the hide to tie the hide, with the flesh layer upward, to a wooden pole fixed horizontally between two trees. About half of the hide remains lying on the ground. The hide worker squats down on it in such a way that the upper hanging part forms an angle of about 50° to the ground. With the weight of the body the hide is stretched and with the horizontal pole it can be adjusted during the work. Other ethnic groups also use wooden vertical frames.

With long downward strokes the hide workers scrape off long shavings from the inner side of the hide. The stone scrapers are fixed in a wooden handle and are usually made from obsidian, agate, chert or quartz by direct percussion techniques. In Konso it is unique that women do the whole task, including the production of the stone tools (Brandt – Weedman in PICES 13). Sometimes iron blades and broken glass can also be used, but stone scrapers are preferred. Constant spraying with water keeps the hide soft and helps to prevent the scraper from cutting into it.

If the hairy layer of a skin is to be treated as well, the hides are wrapped in the leaves of the *Croton macrostachys* tree. This damp leaf-pack is then hung up in the house for a few days for decomposition. With the decay of the epidermis the hairs loosen and can be easily removed.

Without further treatment, the hide would suffer from putrefaction, or in dry areas from cracking. Scraping is therefore followed by two techniques, used sometimes alternatively, sometimes

together: the producing of chamois L. by means of fats and tanning by use of tannin containing plants. At least six different plants are used. Castor oil (*Rizinus communis*) is used commonly today to prepare the tanning liquor (others are *Ximenia americana*, *Ximenia caffea*, *Croton Macrostachys*, *Rumex abyssinicus* and some other as yet unspecified plants). During further processing animal fats including milk and butter are also used (for the chemical process of tanning s. Amborn 1990, appendix 7).

Finally, L. prepared for clothing, shields or saddles can be dyed with plants or ochre in different colours.

Fulltime L. workers usually form a distinct group within the society. Their role and status vary widely in different societies and have always to be assessed in connection with those of other craftspeople, like blacksmiths, weavers, potters etc. (↗Handicrafts).

Among northern Ethopian Christians rough hidework was carried out by the ordinary peasantry, but specialist leatherworkers were from other ethnic groups, mainly ↗Agäw speakers, living endogamously in separate villages. The Amhara called them *faqi*, but they themselves used the term *arabanna*. Also Muslims were engaged in this trade (Messing 1957 [1985]:91f.; PankEcon 227ff.). Shifting crafts to socio-political non-Amhara groups was a common practice in the empire whenever possible. Consequently craftspeople were found at the bottom of the hierarchical order and were looked down upon.

In southern Ethiopia L. workers form district role collectives, in some places together with potters. They obey endogamy rules and avoidance regulations. Usually they are connected with concepts of life and death and thus supernatural powers which give them an ambivalent role: feared, but also capable of and asked for blessings. Consequently, they play key roles at essential socio-religious occasions like childbirth, marriage and other rites of passage, as well as during burials and ritual commemorations for the deceased. In the once sacred kingdoms (↗Kingship, divine) of Omotic-speaking groups they were ritually connected with the ruler ("king"). This relationship was lost after the colonization of the south by the northern empire. As a consequence, frequently only the negative aspects of their ambivalent position survive to the present day, at least on the surface. This is not the case within the polycephalous societies of the south, where even in groups converted to Christianity or Islam tanners perform important rituals more or less openly (Amborn 1990, ch. 4.2; 2000–05).

Src.: HERMANN AMBORN, Unpublished Fieldnotes and Correspondence, 2000–2005; BeckHuntAlvar 320; Description of the film: ELISABETH PAULI, *Darassa und Sidamo (Nordost-Afrika, Süd-Äthiopien) – Verarbeitung von Fellen und Häuten*, Institut für den Wissenschaftlichen Film (IWF), E 256, Göttingen 1960; KATHRYN J. WEEDMAN – STEVEN A. BRANDT, *Towards Understanding of Stone Variability*, National Science Foundation Proposal 2001–02, ms.

Lit.: HERMANN AMBORN, *Differenzierung und Integration. Vergleichende Untersuchungen zu Spezialisten und Handwerkern in südäthiopischen Agrargesellschaften*, München 1990, ch. 3.3, 4.2, appendix 7; STEVEN A. BRANDT – KATHRYN WEEDMAN, "The Ethnoarchaeology of Hide Working and Flaked Stone Tool Use in Southern Ethiopia", in: *PICES* 13, vol. 1, 351–61; JAMES PATRICK GALLAGHER, "The Preparation of Hides with Stone Tools in South Central Ethiopia", *JES* 12, 1974, 177–82; CHARLES JOHNSTON, *Travels in Southern Abyssinia*, London 1844, 369–73; SIMON DAVID MESSING, *Highland-Plateau Amhara of Ethiopia*, Ph.D. thesis, University of Pennsylvania 1957 [repr. and ed. by MARVIN LIONEL BENDER, New Haven 1985], 91–94; PankEcon 227ff., 267ff.; MANSFIELD PARKYNS, *Life in Abyssinia: being Notes Collected During Three Year's Residence and Travels in that Country*, vol. 2, London 1853, 13f.; EDUARD RÜPPELL, *Reise in Abyssinien*, 2 vols., Frankfurt am Main 1838–1840, vol. 1, 367, vol. 2, 180f.; VSAe I, 23–26, table 21 (ill.).

Hermann Amborn

Leba šay

L. (ሌባ፡ ሻይ, lit. 'thief searcher') was an early institution of ↗law (s. Customary law) enforcement in certain Ethiopian urban centres as well as some rural areas. The institution of L. predominantly prevailed in Šäwa and is most widely described in 19th- and 20th-cent. Šäwa and Addis Abäba. *Aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV abolished the practice in Təgray. As an institution, it was hierarchically structured throughout Šäwa and some neighbouring provinces, and was run as a monopoly by certain privileged families. On certain occasions the elite apparently used it to dominate various minorities, whether ethnic like Gurage and Oromo, or religious like Catholics and Muslims.

The institution functioned in the following way. Once a theft was reported to the L. officials and their assistance was requested in writing, the administrator of the L. would arrive at the scene of the crime on an appointed day with a young boy, the 'thief searcher' (L.) to search for the thief. The prepubescent boy would be given a strong ↗drug, and subsequently fall into a trance in the vicinity of the crime. Imitating the criminal's actions, the boy would lead the offi-

A *leba šay* in action; from Annaratone 1911:460

cials, who followed him by holding a length of cloth tied to his waist, to the property of the culprit. If the boy pointed out the individual thief, it was tantamount to a conviction for theft. The thief was bound to return the stolen goods and pay for the cost of the search. The thief was not subject to the amputation of a hand or foot, as prescribed by the ↗*Fəṯḥa nägäśt*.

Läğ ↗Iyasu attempted to interdict the practice, and it was later (again) abolished by *ras* Täfäri Mäkʷännən (later ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I) and Empress ↗Zäwditu in 1925. However, according to oral tradition, instances of L. apparently survived until the Italian occupation of Ethiopia in 1935 in different regions and among several ethnic groups (cp., for example, Alexander Naty 1994).

↗Oracles and divination

Src.: JOHN INGLIS EADIE, *An Amharic Reader*, Cambridge 1924, 79–83; NAVAL INTELLIGENCE DIVISION OF GREAT BRITAIN, *C.B. 447: a Handbook of Abyssinia*, vol. 1: *General*, London 1917, 285.

Lit.: ALEXANDER NATY, "The Thief-Searching (*Leba shay*) Institution in Aariland, Southwest Ethiopia, 1890s–1930s", *Ethnology* 33, 3, 1994, 261–72; BZHist 121f.; CARLO ANGELO ANNARATONE, *In Abissinia*, Roma 1911, 460 (ill.); PETER GARRETSON, *A History of Addis Ababa from its Foundation in 1886 to 1910*, Wiesbaden 2000 (AeF 49), 34f.; ID., Lebašay: Some Aspects and Ramifications of an Ethiopian Institution, in: *PICES* 15, 242–50; CRAVEN HOWELL WALKER, *The Abyssinian at Home*, London 1933.

Peter Garretson

Ləbb wälläd

L.w. (**ልብ፡ ወለድ**, also **ልቦለድ**, *ləbbolläd*; lit. 'heart-born') is the term referring to the genre of novel in ↗Amharic literature. It originates from the title of the novel ↗*Ləbb wälläd tarik* that is commonly considered the first fictional work in Amharic. Authored by ↗Afäwärq Gäbrä Iyäsus and published in 1908 in Rome, the novel was for a while little-known in Ethiopia, and the fictional writing had practically no immediate continuation in early Amharic literature. Until the ↗Italian war 1935–36, most Ethiopian intellectuals were preoccupied with practical issues related to the modernization and future of Ethiopia. A few fictional works were translated into Amharic, yet the idea of fictional writing was largely alien to Ethiopians of that time.

In the pre-war period, a few fictional works, though not designated as L.w., were authored by ↗Ḫəruy Wäldä Śəllase, a prolific writer who is frequently described as the founder of the modern Amharic literature. These works, however, were only a small part of his literary heritage. Addressed to the new readership (primarily young people educated in the European-style schools), they were meant to edify, imparting "modern knowledge" and an "enlightened" way of life, not to entertain, and were marked by the perception of the moralistic-didactic function of writing in a society that is undergoing modernization. E.g., Ḫəruy's allegoric **ወዳጇ፡ ልቤ**, *Wädağğe ləbbe* (1922/23) criticizes anachronistic customary social and religious practices as suggesting a way forward; **የልብ፡ ሐሳብ**, *Yäləbb ḥassab* (1930/31) targets child marriages; **አዲስ፡ ዓለም**, *Addis ʿaläm* (1932/33) advocates reform in some of the cumbersome practices of the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥədo) Church related to funerals and commemoration feasts. Strong didactic overtones persisted in other writings of Ḫəruy, as well as in later fictional works of other authors; they are still present in Amharic literature to date. Sometimes negatively evaluated by literary critics, these features should be rather perceived in the context of a nascent literature, as a genuine literary product of a society that is in the complex process of transition from tradition to modernity.

After 1941, ↗Amharic literature began to develop more extensively. Fictional narration took root in Ethiopian literary taste and acquired a degree of popularity, L.w. – the novel – taking the position of the leading genre. During the same period, in the context of the country's ↗urbanization, spread of ↗education and intensification of contacts with the rest of the world, the number of potential readers increased, and new writers appeared. Authors of the new generation were mostly from the upper, privileged stratum of society, in many cases holding important positions in the government administration, and being, strictly speaking, non-professional writ-

ers. Mostly well-educated, many of them visited foreign countries. The Italian war provided a catalyst to the literary creative process. In the post-war period, Ethiopian writers moved on from the moralism and didacticism of the earlier period and turned to depicting the individual characters of their countrymen, their lives and personal dramas, and also speaking out about the social problems of the country.

The two major L.w. works of the early post-war period were ↗*Arᵊaya* by ↗Gərmaččäw Täklä Ḥawaryat (1948/49), and ↗Asäffa Gäbrä Maryam's እንደወጣች፡ ቀረች, *Ǝndäwäṭṭaččʼ qärräčč* (1956/57). Both show a remarkable change in their focus away from the old generalized themes to more specific issues and contemporary problems, although cultural clashes with the western world and the values of "western civilization" remain recurrent themes. The term *tarikawi ləbb wälläd*, 'historical L.w.' (e.g., 'historical novel') in the subtitle of *Arᵊaya* is intended to signify that it is a work of historical fiction. An Amharic classic, it shows in a convincingly realistic manner an aspect of urban social life that has emerged as a direct consequence of the occupation period.

Asäffa Gäbrä Maryam's only novel *Ǝndäwäṭṭaččʼ qärräčč* openly addresses, through the depiction of an individual's tragic life, the problem of ↗prostitution (echoed later in the novel by Asäffa's brother Nägaš Gäbrä Maryam, *Setäñña adari*, 1963/64). The novel by Bäᵊəmnät Gäbrä Amlak, *Ləğənnät tämälləso aymäṭamm* (1956/57), also the only fictional work of the writer, depicts through the example of the destinies of several characters the profits and dangers of the "modern" life, where each person is fully responsible for his choice and the results.

In the 1950s, literature contemplating the recent historical past – in particular, the Italian war of 1935–36 – was expanded by a number of works of biographical character but also by historical fictional writings, penned by authors who witnessed the war, one of the most famous being ↗Mäkʷännən Ǝndalkaččäw's *Almothumm bəyye alwašəmm* (1954/55).

↗Beka Nämo's ገልጠን፡ ብናየው, *Gälṭän bənnayäw* (1956/57) is said to be the beginning of the detective novel in Amharic literature. Another interesting development of fictional literature in Amharic was the appearance of Muslim writers (Mähammäd Usman's short novel *Gʷade, əngədih amäčəh näññ*, 1960/61, followed by Säyəd Abägaz, Abdulbari Mähammäd etc.).

Among the most significant Amharic works in the novel genre, ፍቅር፡ እስከ፡ መቃብር, *Fəqər əskä mäqabər*, written in 1966 by ↗Ḥaddis ᶜAlämayyähu, deserves a special mention. This historical love story, set during the Ethiopian feudal era, is probably the only classical novel to have reached a remarkably high technical and stylistic literary standard.

In the 1960s–70s and after the ↗Revolution of 1974 in 1980s, more authors and works written in the genre of L.w. appeared on the literary scene, to name only some: ↗Abbe Gubäñña (*Ələwwälläddəmm* 1962), ↗Bäᶜalu Gərma (*Kadmas baššaggər* 1969/70, and others), ↗Daññaččäw Wärqu (*Adäfrəs* 1970); Mammo Wəddənäh (*ᶜƎqqubtäññoččʼu* 1983/84, and others); ↗Bərhanu Zäryəhun (*Yätangut məṣṭir* 1987); Ḫaylämäläkot Mäwaᵊəl (*Gungun* 1990). Fəqrämarqos Dästa penned successful stories set among the peoples living in South Ethiopia (*Ivangadi* 1997/98).

The term L.w. has also recently been applied to their works by a few authors writing in Təgrəññña (cp. *Wäddi Waᶜəro* by Bərhanä Ačame, 1991/92).

By the end of the 1950s the appellation of L.w. evolved into the *aṭṭər ləbb wälläd*, 'short L.w.', i.e. short story and *räğğəm ləbb wälläd*, 'long L.w.', i.e. novel. This difference was probably established after the publication of Taddäsä Libän's collection of short stories *Mäskäräm* (1956/57). The genre of short story became increasingly popular among the Ethiopian writers in the late 1970s-90s (e.g., ↗Ṗawlos Ñoññо, *Məsqəlqəl* 1966; *Ǝnquṭaṭaš* 1987).

Early studies frequently approached Amharic fictional literature by commenting on the lack of coherence in the plot, the superficial description of human characters or unnecessary profusion of details etc. (This method was not completely abandoned later on.) Since the late 1970s a number of essays devoted to different aspects of L.w. have appeared, yet deeper studies of the genre of the Amharic novel and its place in Amharic fictional literature and Ethiopian society remain a desideratum.

Src.: for published novels s. under respective authors; also BÄᵊƎMNÄT GÄBRÄ AMLAK, ልጅነት፡ ተመልሶ፡ አይመጣም (*Ləğənnät tämälləso aymäṭamm*, 'Childhood Never Comes Back'), Addis Abäba 1949 A.M. (1956/57 A.D.); BƎRHANÄ AČAME, (*Wäddi Waᶜəro*, 'The Son of Waᶜəro'), [Aśmära] 1984 A.M. [1991/92 A.D.]; FƎQRÄMARQOS DÄSTA, ኢቫንጋዲ (*Ivangadi*), Addis Abäba 1990 A.M. [1997/98 A.D.]; ḪAYLÄMÄLÄKOT MÄWAᶜƎL, ጉንጉን (*Gungun*, fig. 'A Knotty Affair'), Addis Abäba 1990 A.M. [1997/98 A.D.]; MÄHAMMÄD USMAN, ጓደ፡ እንግዲህ፡

አመችህ፡ ነኝ (*Gʷade, əngədih amäčəh näññ*, 'My Pal, Now I am your Brother-in-Law'), Addis Abäba 1953 A.M. [1960/61 A.D.]; MÄKʷÄNNƏN ƎNDALKAČČÄW, አልሞትሁም፡ ብዬ፡ አልዋሽም (*Almothumm bəyye alwašəmm*, 'I do not Lie Saying that I am not Dead'), in: ID., አርሙኝ (*Arrəmuññ*, 'Correct me!'), Addis Abäba 1947 A.M. [1954/55 A.D.]; MAMMO WƏDDƏNÄH, ዕቁብተኞቹ (*ʿƎqqubtäññočču*, 'The Members of *ʿƎqqub*'), Addis Abäba 1976 [1983/84 A.D.]; NÄGAŠ GÄBRÄ MARYAM, ሴተኛ፡ አዳሪ (*Setäñña adari*, 'A Prostitute'), Addis Abäba 1956 A.M. [1963/64 A.D.]; TADDÄSÄ LIBÄN, መስከረም (*Mäskäräm*), Addis Abäba 1949 A.M. [1956/57 A.D.].

Lit.: AMSALU AKLILU, አጭር፡ የኢትዮጵያ፡ ሥነ፡ ጽሑፍ፡ ታሪክ (*Aṭčər yäʾityopya śənä ṣəḥuf tarik*, 'A Short History of Ethiopian Literature'), Addis Abäba University 1976 A.M. [1983 A.D.] [mimeographed]; ASFAW DAMTE, አንዳንድ፡ ነጥቦች፡ ስለ፡ አማርኛ፡ ጥበበ፡ ቃላት (*Andand nätəbočč səlä amarəñña ṭəbäbä qalat*, 'Some Points on Amharic Literature'), *Yäkkatit* 4, nos. 3–5, 7–8, 1973 A.M. [1980 A.D.]; PIERRE COMBA, "Le roman dans la littérature éthiopienne de langue amharique", in: *PICES* 2, 173–86; FIKRE TOLOSSA, *Realism and Amharic Literature (1908–1981)*, Ph.D. thesis, Universität Bremen 1983 (Lit.); DEBEBE SEIFU, "Profile of the Peasantry in Ethiopian Novels", in: *PICES* 7, 103-12; ALBERT GÉRARD, *Four African Literatures*, Berkeley, CA – Los Angeles, CA 1971, 271–376, 409–17, 430–52 (Lit.); THOMAS LEIPER KANE, "Muslim Writers in Amharic", in: *PICES* 4, vol. 1, 717-26; ID., "Arabic Translations into Amharic", *BSOAS* 37, 1974, 608-27; KaneLit 7, 16, s. index; JOANNA MANTEL-NIEĆKO, "Ethiopian Literature in Amharic", in: BOGUMIL WITALIS ANDRZEJEWSKI – STANISLAW PILASZEWICZ – WITOLD TYLOCH (eds.), *Literatures in African Languages: Theoretical Issues and Sample Surveys*, Cambridge – New York 1985, 301-36, esp. 312f.; MolLit; REIDULF KNUT MOLVAER, *Tradition and Change in Ethiopia: Social and Cultural Life as reflected in Amharic Fictional Literature*, Leiden 1980 (Lit.); LANFRANCO RICCI, "Romanzo e novella: due esperimenti nella letteratura amarica attuale", in: *PICES* 2, 144–72; TadTChurch 116, 218, 230; TADDESSE ADERA – ALI JIMALE AHMED (eds.), *Silence is not Golden: a Critical Anthology of Ethiopian Literature*, Lawrenceville, NJ 1995; TAYYE ASSEFA, "The Post-Revolution Amharic Novel (1966-1975)", in: *PICES* 8, vol. 2, 591-606; ID. – SHIFERAW BEKELE, "The Study of Amharic Literature: an Overview", *JES* 33, 2, 2000, 27–73 (Lit.); YONAS ADMASSU, "On the State of Amharic Literary Scholarship", *ibid.* 34, 1, 2001, 25–41 (Lit.); ZÄRIHUN ASFAW, "ቀደምት፡ የአማርኛ፡ አጭር፡ ትረካዎች፡ ምንነትና፡ አበይት፡ ባህርያት (*Qäddämt yäʾamarəñña aṭčər tərräkawočč mənənnätənna abbäyt bahrəyat*, 'The Nature and Main Features of the Early Amharic Short Stories')", *ibid.* 32, 1, 1999, 35–70 (Lit.).

Asfaw Damte – Denis Nosnitsin

Ləbb wälläd tarik

L. (ልብ፡ ወለድ፡ ታሪክ, lit. 'A Story Born of the Heart') is the title of a novel by ↗Afäwärq Gäbrä Iyäsus. Published in Rome in 1908 (a short preface was compiled by Francesco ↗Gallina), it is considered the first work of Amharic fiction and was, in fact, one of the first novels in an African language (Gérard 1971:282). Consequently, Afäwärq was seen as an innovator.

The title of the work speaks for itself, but *ləbb* 'heart' should be understood as 'intellect', *ləbb wälläd* thus meaning 'made up by the intellect', i.e., 'imagined'. The idea was not unknown to traditional theological thinking; however, picking a title not related directly to the contents of the narrative, Afäwärq probably wanted to stress the difference: his fictitious, "untrue" story with "untrue" heroes who never existed, versus the bulk of traditional (mostly ↗Gəʿəz) writings, whose authors always perceived their narratives as true (s. Fusella 1951:56 n. 1; cp. Chernetsov in PICES 15, 221ff.). Eventually, ↗*ləbb wälläd* became the generic name for all Amharic works of prose fiction and thus came to be commonly rendered as 'novel' (KaneLit 7, 16).

L. is a prose work of proto-epic conception. It starts with a story of a Christian king's general (bearing the title of ↗*däğğazmač*) captured by a pagan king during a war and the efforts of the general's children (his son Waḥəd and his daughter Ṭobya) to liberate him. It further develops into a narrative of the marital union between Ṭobya and the pagan king who had to accept her Christian faith to secure it. The conjugal union of the two brings about the unity of the two warring (on account of the their faith) communities that come to constitute a single Christian nation.

There are still arguments about the place L. occupies in Amharic literature and its literary value, with quite a number of varying opinions expressed on different issues regarding the work, ranging from the influences of foreign and traditional (esp. hagiographic) literature in Gəʿəz to realism. Though written in Europe, the stylistic level of the first Amharic fiction appears remote from "western standards". Remarkably, the appearance of L. was quickly noticed by scholars of Ethiopian studies, but the book remained relatively little-known to Ethiopians for a long time (also after the second edition of 1926/27, Dəre Dawa). Fictional writing had practically no immediate continuation in early Amharic literature. Love and marriage, lying at the centre of the plot of L., were to become recurrent topics in the Amharic literature of later years, particularly after the 1940s.

L. acquired general recognition in 1950s, when several revised and simplified "school editions" were printed under the title *Ṭobya*.

Src.: AFÄWÄRQ GÄBRÄ IYÄSUS, ልብ፡ ወለድ፡ ታሪክ (*Ləbb wälläd tarik*, 'A Story Born of the Heart'), Roma 1908, Dəre Dawa ²1919 A.M. [1927A.D.] [= ጦብያ (Ṭobya), Addis Abäba 1950 A.M. (1958 A.D.)]; LUIGI FUSELLA, "Il Lebb wålled tarik", *RSE* 10, 1951, 56-70; ALAIN ROUAUD, "Pour une bibliographie des oeuvres d'Afä Wärq Gäbrä Iyäsus", *Bulletin des Études africaines de l'INALCO* 2, 3, 1982, 123–36, here 127ff. (Lit.); ID., "Compléments à la bibliographie d'Afä-Wärq", *ibid.* 3, 6, 1983, 125-32, here 126f. (Lit.); TADESSE TAMRAT, "Tobbya by Afawerk Gabre Yesus", *EthObs* 7, 4, 1964, 242–67.

Lit.: ASFAW DAMTE, አንዳንድ፡ ነጥቦች፡ ስለ፡ አማርኛ፡ ጥበበ፡ ቃላት (*Andand nätəbočč səlä amarəñña ṭəbäbä qalat*, 'Some Points on Amharic Literature'), *Yäkkatit* 4, nos. 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 1973 A.M. [1980 A.D.]; SEVIR CHERNETSOV, "On the Reasons of Empress Ṭaytu's Anger which Came down upon Afäwärq Gäbrä Iyäsus in 1894", in: *PICES* 15, 218–23; ENRICO CERULLI, "Recenti pubblicazioni abissine in amarico", *Oriente Moderno* 6, 1926, 555–57; PIERRE COMBA, "Le roman dans la littérature éthiopienne de langue amharique", in: *PICES* 2, 173-86; ALBERT GÉRARD, *Four African Literatures* ..., Berkeley, CA – Los Angeles, CA 1971, 271–376, 409–17, 430–52 (Lit.); KaneLit 7, 16, s. index; ALAIN ROUAUD, *Afä-Wärq, un intellectuel éthiopien témoin de son temps, 1868–1947*, Paris 1991, 267–92 (Lit.); TAMRAT AMANUEL, "ስለኢትዮጵያ፡ ደራስያን" (*Səlä'ityopya därasəyan*, 'About Ethiopian Writers'), *Bulletin de la Maison des études éthiopienne* 11 (July 1997), 34-47; TADDESSE ADERA – ALI JIMALE AHMED (eds.), *Silence is not Golden: a Critical Anthology of Ethiopian Literature*, Lawrenceville, NJ 1995; TAYYE ASSEFA – SHIFERAW BEKELE, "The Study of Amharic Literature: an Overview", *JES* 33, 2, 2000, 27–73 (Lit.); YONAS ADMASSU, "On the State of Amharic Literary Scholarship", *ibid.* 34, 1, 2001, 25–41 (Lit.).

Asfaw Damte - Denis Nosnitsin

Ləbdəyos

L. (ልብድዮስ) was a saintly monk from May Gʷəndi, Šire (Təgray), credited with the foundation of the monastery of Ǝnda Abunä Ləbdəyos during the time of *aṣe* Fasilädäs (1632–67). He is thus believed to have been involved in the re-establishment of Ethiopian Orthodox ↗Christianity after Susənyos's conversion to ↗Catholicism. Traditional local accounts of the conversion of Susənyos mention a monk L., a follower of the rule of the monastic congregation of *abunä* ↗Täklä Haymanot, who by a supernatural intervention "went away to find, with God's help, a bastion of the traditional religion", and choosing for this May Gʷəndi. L. is also considered to be the founder of Ǝnda Abba Ṭaᶜəmä Krəstos of ↗Waldəbba, where a cross that is believed to have belonged to L. is venerated.

The *Gädlä Ləbdəyos*, preserved in May Gʷəndi, has not yet been published.

Src.: GIOVANNI ELLERO, "I conventi dello Scirè e le loro leggende", *Bollettino della Regia Società Geografica Italiana* 76, 1939, 835–52 [repr. in: *EllLusAnt* 5–26, here 16]; EncSan vol. 2, 312; KinBibl 80, no. 90.

Osvaldo Raineri

Ləbnä Dəngəl

Aṣe L.D. (ልብነ፡ ድንግል [occasionally methatesized to ንብለ፡ ድንግል, *Nəblä Dəngəl*, s., e.g. BTafA 96ff.], 'Incense for [or: of?] the Virgin'; this in Latin sources sometimes re-translated as Atana Dingil [for ᶜƎṭanä Dəngəl, synonymous with L.D.], regnal names: Dawit and Wänag Sägäd, cf. below; b. 1496 or 1497, d. 2 September 1540, Däbrä Damo) sat on the Solomonid throne from 1 August 1508, when he succeeded his late father ↗Naᶜod, until his own demise. During L.D.'s minority, however, the kingdom was effectively governed by a group of leading court figures and nobles among whom his step-grandmother *ətege* ↗Ǝleni was paramount. Next in importance came *ras* ↗Wäsän Sägäd and L.D.'s mother ↗Naᶜod Mogäsa (KrLebD 3 [text]). Even after L.D. had come of age in 1515/16 and begun to govern independently, these former regents retained considerable influence, much to the young monarch's resentment. Apparently it was only after the deaths of the two matriarchs in the early 1520s and his ensuing temporary demotion of Wäsän Sägäd that L.D. felt he could exercise his sovereign powers unconstrained (Beck-HuntAlvar 425, 430–33). He was not, however, to enjoy this situation for long, as from 1529 onwards his reign was overshadowed by ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī's ("Grañ"'s) rapidly unfolding ↗*ǧihād* against his realm.

By contrast, the preceding years of L.D.'s rule were mostly peaceful for the Christian Kingdom, and a time of economic as well as cultural prosperity. Agriculture and trade flourished, the itinerant imperial court (↗*Kätäma*) was immense and magnificent, and many monasteries served as centres of literary as well as artistic production. The first decades of the 16th cent. may thus justifiably be regarded as the time when "medieval" Ethiopia reached its climax. Only two major campaigns, both led by L.D. himself, punctuated the first half of his independent reign. In 1516 or 1517, shortly after his coming of age, the Emperor successfully confronted an invading ᶜAdalite army (↗ᶜAdal) under the command of the famed ↗Maḥfūẓ b. Muḥammad (KrLebD 4 [text]; Beck-HuntAlvar 410–15). It may have been his victory over this dreaded adversary that prompted L.D. to adopt his second regnal name of Wänag Sägäd

16th-cent. Portuguese portrait of *aṣe* Ləbnä Dəngəl ("David Atanadi[ngil] Aet[thiopum]: Imp[erator]", i.e. 'Dawit ʿƎṭanä Dəngəl Emperor of Ethiopia'); Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence, copy painted by Cristoforo dell'Altissimo after the original of 1532, from the Paolo Giovio collection; photo from Tedeschi in PICEA 1, fig. 81

('The lion has submitted to him') which tellingly uses Harari *wänäg* for 'lion'. Almost a decade later, in early 1525, L.D. led a campaign against a rebellion in ↗Hadiyya (BeckHuntAlvar 427f., 434ff.). The strategically most significant event of the pre-*ǧihād* phase of L.D.'s rule, though, was the arrival in 1520 of the Portuguese mission lead by Rodrigo de ↗Lima and chronicled by Francisco ↗Alvares. The mission stayed in Ethiopia until 1526 and ushered in a century-long period of intensive and multifaceted Ethio-Portuguese relations.

Grañ's *ǧihād* on the other hand almost immediately made L.D. a fugitive within his own realm. Being chased from Šäwa to Damot to Wäǧ to Amhara to Dämbəya, he within four years lost control of all southern and central parts of his kingdom. In 1539, after eventually having found refuge in the north, L.D. in quick succession suffered a number of severe personal blows. First the Muslims captured his mother-in-law Yodit, then killed his oldest son ↗Fiqṭor, and only a few weeks later apprehended his third son ↗Minas. These personal losses may have contributed to the Emperor's premature death a year later at ↗Däbrä Damo (BassÉt 16; DombrChr 41f., 164f.; KrLebD 16f., 20 [text]).

L.D. was probably Naʿod's only son by *ətege* Naʿod Mogäsa. His numerous brothers anonymously indicated by Alvares (BeckHuntAlvar 241, 243, 245f.) all appear to have been half-brothers by his father only. This is all the more likely as Naʿod had married, or at least had lasting relationships with, quite a few women before his union with Naʿod Mogäsa (BeckHuntAlvar 193, 410), and perhaps also afterwards. Only one older half-brother of L.D., a certain Yoḥannəs, is known by name (BassHist I, 243; II, 342). However, the Emperor also had a younger half-brother by his mother, from a relationship she had entertained with Wäsän Sägäd. Although she presumably only entered into it after Naʿod's death, the fact was strongly resented by L.D. (BeckHuntAlvar 432). In contrast to his brothers, quite a few ofthe Emperor's sisters are known by name: Amätä Dəngəl (BassHist I, 330; II, 439 ConzGal 34f., 142), Amätä Mikaʾel (Kropp 1989:170, 173), ↗Romanä Wärq and Wälättä Qälämsis, of which at least the last two were L.D.'s full sisters (BeckHuntAlvar 404–10). The same may also hold true for another sister whose name the ↗*Futūḥ al-Ḥabaša* transmits as *ʾ-m-t w-ṭ-y-n* (BassHist I, 103, 105; II, 177ff.). While Arabic *ʾ-m-t* obviously represents Ethiopic *amätä*, it remains unclear what underlies *w-ṭ-y-n*. Wälättä Qälämsis and Amätä W-ṭ-y-n were successively married to ↗Dägälhan.

Unlike his father, L.D. married only once, shortly after his coming of age at the latest. After having rejected a Muslim-born Hadiyya princess on account of her looks (BeckHuntAlvar 193, 427), the Emperor chose ↗Säblä Wängel, a beautiful and energetic woman of Christian ancestry, to become his spouse. L.D. appears to have been truly and continuously devoted to her (ConzGal 3f., 122f.), and the couple had many children. For the sons we know the sequence of their birth: Fiqṭor, ↗Gälawdewos, Minas, ↗Yaʿəqob, while for the daughters we only have some certain and some less certain names: Amätä Giyorgis, Wälättä Qəddusan, Säbänä Giyorgis (?), Tewodada (?), Wälättä Ḥanna (?; cf. BassÉt 21; DombrChr 48, 177; Esteves Pereira 1888:58; Kropp 1989:176f., 179f.).

Alvares (BeckHuntAlvar 304), who spent considerable time at the imperial court and had

a number of personal encounters with L.D., describes the Emperor as "not very dark in colour ... of middling stature, ... his face ... round, the eyes large, the nose high in the middle", and adds: "In presence and state he fully looks like the great lord that he is." A contemporary European portrait of L.D., likely created on the basis of Portuguese returnees' sketches or/and descriptions, soon found its way into the collection of the Italian humanist Paolo ↗Giovio (ill.), who had it engraved for his *Elogia* ('Encomiums') a work which includes a chapter on the Emperor. As to the latter's personality, what emerges strongest from Alvares's first hand account is the monarch's Christian piety and devotion (BeckHuntAlvar 290–314, 325–41, 352–66; cf. also KrLebD 6 [text]; BassHist I, 67f., 137, 200; II, 136f., 214, 294f.). At the same time L.D. had a clear understanding of strategic political issues, such as Ethiopia's precarious geopolitical situation half-encircled by expansionist Muslim powers; his country's comparative technological backwardness and the resulting need for "technology transfer" from the Portuguese; and the potential of an Ethio–Portuguese alliance generally (BeckHuntAlvar 287f., 298f., 305, 367f., 478f., 501, 505). These insights, however, did not, despite some steps in that direction (↗Ṣägga Zäᵓab), sufficiently translate into concrete and sustained measures to remedy the recognized ills. Yet given the means of the era, this likely would have been difficult to achieve even for a more focused and persevering Ethiopian ruler. With regard to character, L.D. comes across as basically kind-hearted, but also as endowed with a keen sense of his elevated status, easily irritated, and somewhat unsteady and immature. This disposition occasionally made him take rash, emotional and unnecessarily cruel decisions (BeckHuntAlvar 383f., 423ff., 430-34). Some episodes from the *Futūḥ al-Ḥabaša* suggest that the imperial temperament did not change substantially until at least the early 1530s (BassHist I, 45, 128, 298f.; II, 102, 205f., 392ff.). It seems possible though that under the immense pressure of the *ǧihād* L.D. matured in his later years. In any case an episode from 1538/39 shows his sense of imperial dignity intact (BassÉt 15, 106; KrLebD 16 [text]; DombrChr 40f., 164).

Ethiopian tradition has remembered L.D. vividly, but not uniformly. His piety already soon after his death gave rise to traditions casting him as saintly figure endowed with gifts of prophecy and vision. Evidence for this is found in both the minor and major chronicles of his son Gälawdewos (cf. KrLebD 27 [text]; ConzGal 8f., 125; ↗Historiography), while the 17th cent. **ታሪክ፡ ዘጋላ፡ ወራእየ፡ ልብነ፡ ድንግል** (*Tarik zägalla wäraᵓəyä Ləbnä Dəngəl*, 'History of the Galla and Vision of Ləbnä Dəngəl'; s., e.g., mss. EMML 1126, 1313, 1521) expands on this theme. The so-called ↗*Dərsanä Raguᵓel*, on the other hand, blames L.D. for the ravages wrought first by Grañ and thereafter the ↗Oromo, interpreting both Christian disasters as heavenly chastisements for L.D.'s allegedly overbearing ways (cp. also BTafA 96–101).

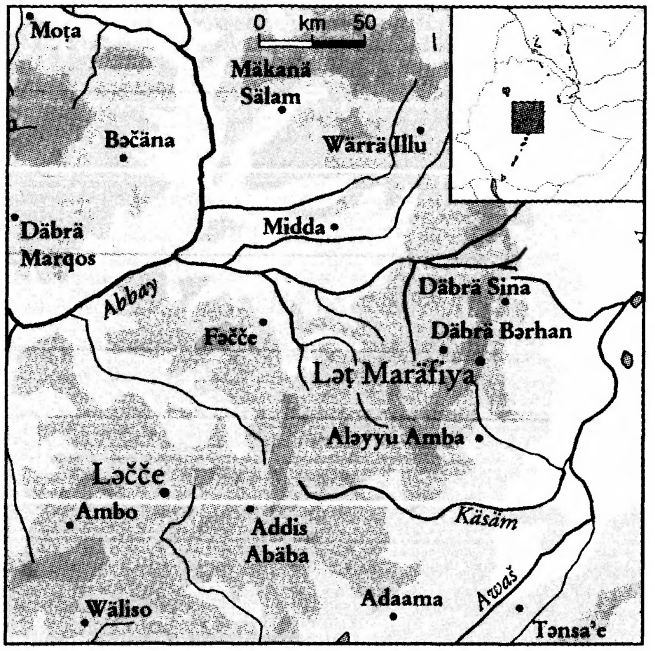
Src.: BassÉt 13–21; BassHist I, 45, 67f., 103, 105, 128, 137, 200, 243, 298f., 330 (text); II, 102, 136f., 177ff., 205f., 214, 294f., 342, 392ff., 439 (tr.); BeckHuntAlvar, s. index; BTafA 96–101 and index; ENRICO CERULLI, "Gli Atti di Takla Alfā", *Annali IUO* 2, 1943, 1–87, 14 (text) = 56 (tr.); CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Storia di Lebna Dengel re d'Etiopia sino alle prime lotte contro Ahmad Ben Ibrahim", *RRALm* ser. 5ª, 3, 1894, 617–40; ConzGal 3–9, 34f. (text) = 122–26, 142 (tr.); CrawItin 132f., 148f., 166–69; CRAxum I, 26–42 (text) = II, 30–50 (doc. 20–47); DombrChr 37–44, 48 (text) = 157–69, 177 (tr.); EMML 1126, 1313, 1521; PAOLO IOVII, *Opera*, cura et studio Societatis historicae Novocomensis denuo edita, III: *Historiarum tomus primus*, ed. by DANTE VISCONTI, Roma 1957; VIII: *Elogia Virorum Illustrium*, ed. by RENZO MEREGAZZI, Roma 1972; FRANCISCO MARIA ESTEVES PEREIRA, **ዜና፡ ሚናስ**: *Historia de Minás, 'Además Sagad, Rei de Ethiopia*, Lisboa 1888, 58; HuntLand 40–54 (nos. 24–46), 83f.; KrLebD 1, 3f., 6, 16f., 27 (text) = 3f., 6, 15f., 30f. (tr.); MANFRED KROPP, *Die äthiopischen Königschroniken in der Sammlung des Däğğazmač Ḫaylu. Entstehung und handschriftliche Überlieferung des Werks*, Frankfurt a.M. – Bern – Paris 1989 (Heidelberger Orientalistische Studien 13), 165–83.

Lit.: BudHist 323–36; ANDRÉ CAQUOT, "Histoire Amharique de Grāñ et des Gallas", *AE* 2, 1957, 133–43; SEVIR B. CHERNETSOV, *Efiopskaja feodal'naja monarhija v XIII–XVI vv.* ('The Ethiopian Feudal Monarchy in the 13th–16th cent.'), Moscow 1982, 178–224; JOSEPH CUOQ, *L'islam en Éthiopie des origines au XVIe siècle*, Paris 1981, 219–59; DerDom, s. index; GuiSLett 70–73; HuntGeogr 111–34; RicLett 836–39; TÄKLÄ ṢADƎQ MÄKᵂƎRIYA, **የአሕመድ፡ ግራኝ፡ ወረራ** (*Yäᵓaḥmäd Grañ wärära*, 'The Invasion of Ahmad Grañ'), Addis Abäba 1966 A.M. [1973/74 A.D.]; SALVATORE TEDESCHI, "Paolo Giovio e la conoscenza dell'Etiopia nel Rinascimento", in: *Paolo Giovio: Il rinascimento e la memoria. Atti del Convegno, Como 3–5 Giugno 1983*, Como 1985, 93–116; ID., "Le portrait inédit du negus Lebnä-Dengel ayant appartenu à l'historien Paulo Giovio (1483–1552)", in: *PICEA* 1, 44–52, 150–52, fig. 80–84 (ill.); TrIslam 83–87.

Michael Kleiner

Ləčče

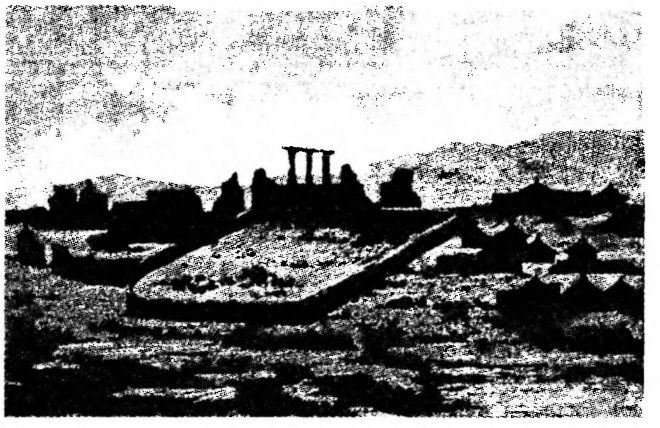
L. (**ልቼ**; 9° 42' N, 39° 33' E) was a town located about 5 km north of ↗Däbrä Bərhan. L. was founded by *nəguś* ↗Mənilək in 1865 (GueCopMen 105; BTafA 589), replacing Däbrä Bərhan, which had probably been ruined, as the capital of ↗Šäwa.



For more than a decade it was Mənilək's principal camp, to which he regularly returned from his various campaigns. L. was a semi-permanent camp rather than a town. It basically consisted of the palace surrounded by a large number of very small huts, "each barely capable of housing two or three persons" (CecZeila vol. 1, 171). It was also the site of the major market in the area.

In 1878 rivalry between *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV and Mənilək reached a climax. The Emperor invaded Šäwa via ↗Mänz and skirmishes between the armies took place. Mənilək retreated southwards from L. in order to avoid a major confrontation. Negotiations led to the Wadära agreement, which was formally entered into on 20 March 1878. Mənilək accepted the supremacy of Yoḥannəs and in return was formally recognized as *nəguś* of Šäwa (Darkwah 1975:77f.; Marcus 1975:54).

Yoḥannəs also demanded that Mənilək transfer his capital to the ancient site of Däbrä Bərhan.



19th cent. picture of the ruins of Ləčče; from Bianchi 1884:30

This was done, and L. was in ruins within a year (GueCopMen 159). Although Däbrä Bərhan was rebuilt, the next major capital was in fact not Däbrä Bərhan, but ↗Ǝnṭoṭṭo and ↗Addis Abäba, due to the rapid expansion towards southern Ethiopia.

There is scarcely any trace left of the town, and even the place name has disappeared from current maps. The ruins were identified and described by Buxton (1949:164 and map).

Src.: CecZeila vol. 1, 171; GueCopMen 105, 159; BTafA 589, 937

Lit.: GUSTAVO BIANCHI, *Alla terra dei Galla*, Milano 1884, 30; DAVID R. BUXTON, "The Shoan Plateau and Its People: an Essay in Local Geography", *Geographical Journal* 114, 1949, 152–72; KOFI DARKWAH, *Shewa, Menilek and the Ethiopian Empire 1813–1889*, London 1975, 77f.; HAROLD GOLDEN MARCUS, *The Life and Times of Menelik II: Ethiopia, 1844–1913*, Oxford 1975, 54; PankHist II, 156–60, 162–65.

Svein Ege

Lədät

L. (**ልደት** [፡ **በዓል**], *Lədät* [*bäᶜal*], 'Christmas', lit. 'Nativity, Birth', in full **ልደተ፡ እግዚእነ፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ክርስቶስ**, *Lədätä Ǝgziᵓənä Iyäsus Krəstos*, 'The Nativity of our Lord Jesus Christ'; also **በዓለ፡ ወልድ**, *Bäᶜalä wäld*, 'Feast of the Son') is the celebration of the birth of Jesus Christ. It is one of the nine major ↗feasts of Our Lord in the liturgical ↗calendar of the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥədo) Church (EOTC; cp. Guidi 1897:134f.).

Unlike Easter (↗*Fasika*), L. belongs to the cycle of feasts with a fixed date. It is celebrated on 29 *Taḫśaś*, or on 28 *Taḫśaś* in the year of John (which follows the leap-year of Luke), a correction made in order to maintain the exact number of 9 months and 5 days of gestation in ↗Mary's womb from the Annunciation (**ትስብእት**, *Təsbəᵓət*) on 29 *Mäggabit* despite the additional day in the leap-year (cp. BudSaint 421). As a result, L. always corresponds to 25 December Julian calendar (7 January Gregorian calendar). Only the "Unctionists" (↗*Qəbat*) still keep to 29 *Taḫśaś*.

Like Easter, L. is preceded by an extended fast (↗*Ṣomä lədät*, s. also ↗Fasting) which ends on Christmas Eve, on 28 (or 27 in the year of John) *Taḫśaś*. Christmas Eve (Amh./Tgn. **ገና**, *Gänna*, Gəᶜəz **ጌና**, *Genna*, from Greek γέννα, *génna*, 'birth, nativity'; also *Amanuᵓel*, 'Emmanuel', *Märᶜawi*, 'Bridegroom'; cp. Fritsch 2001:145) is both a minor feast commemorating the actual fact that the Lord was born a man and an obligatory fasting day (mild if it occurs on a Saturday or a Sunday). Like Epiphany (↗*Ṭəmqät*), L. is

characterized by the transfer of the fast from the day itself onto its eve so that L. is never a fasting day even when they fall on a Wednesday or a Friday; hence the adjective ገሃድ (*gähad*, 'manifest') given to the eve.

The earliest mention of the feast and its date in Ethiopia is found in the post-Aksumite funeral ↗inscription of Ham, commemorating "Giḥo, daughter of Mängäśa", who "died on the 27th of the month of *Taḫśaś*, at dawn, on the day before Christmas Eve [*genna*]" (Fiaccadori 1993:325).

Historical traces have remained of struggles around fasting on Christmas Eve. The Acts of *abunä* ↗Filəṗṗos report a discussion between the Saint and *aṣe* ↗ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon I and his clergy: the Emperor's party was against fasting, but in favour of a two-day feast, on 28 and 29 *Taḫśaś*, corresponding to 28 and 29 *Kīhak* for the celebration of Christmas in the Coptic Church (Turaiev 1908:237f.; cp. Conti Rossini 1940:93f. and n. 4). The reasons behind that, only alluded to in the discussion held by Filəṗṗos and his adversaries, are more explicit in the ↗*Sənkəssar*: on account of both the exact time of Christ's birth ("... for the Nativity took place in the last part of the night of the 28th day, and in the first part of the 29th day") and of the difference between regular and leap years (two feast days were in fact argued for by "our fathers and doctors of the Church"; s. GréSyn IV, 89).

Preceded by the ↗*Wazema* and the night service of the Divine praises (↗*Maḫlet*), a midnight mass (cp. ↗*Qəddase*) is celebrated at L. as at Easter and the Epiphany. The story of L. may be read from the *Sənkəssar*. The appropriate Gospel readings are combined with the ↗hymns provided by antiphonaries of the ↗*Dəggʷa* and ↗*Ziq*, ↗*Mäwaśəᶜət*, ↗*Zəmmare*, completed by the *Nägś* and other collections.

People attend church services and then share a family meal. The giving of gifts is not an important part of this holiday, although children may take bread to their parents and receive in return a blessing and sometimes a gift. The hockey-like game called ↗*gänna*, owing its name to the holiday itself, is traditionally played in the afternoon. L. is also a traditional pilgrimage time, notably to such spiritual centres as ↗Aksum or ↗Lalibäla.

The days and Sunday after L. prolong the feast which is followed on the Monday after and until Epiphany Eve by the lesser liturgical season of *Nazret - Ḥəśnät* ('Nazareth', the 'Up-bringing') and, finally, Epiphany.

L. (Nativity) is a frequent subject of ↗painting. It is always included in the developed Christological cycle, which decorates a group of ↗Gospel books written in the 13th/14th and 15th cent. The scene appears there in two iconographical versions: early Christian and Byzantine and the oldest examples seems to be the miniatures in the so-called Gospels of ↗Iyäsus Moᵓa and ↗Krəstos Täsfanä, both from the ↗Ḥayq monastery scriptorium and executed at the end of 13th and beginning of the 14th cent. respectively. Since the 17th cent. the Gospels applied the iconography of the scene introduced by the First and Second Gondär school of paintings. The representation of L. belongs also to the pictorial repertory of other texts, e.g., the *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*baḥrəy* ms. of ↗Bərbər Maryam (EMML 9084; 15th cent.), the ↗*Nägärä Maryam* and the ↗*Säqoqawä dəngəl*. The earliest examples of painting on wood with L. date back to the 16th cent. (Chojnacki 1974:25) and follow European iconographical models. In the churches, from the beginning of the 17th cent. onward, L. is one of the scenes depicting the life of Christ preferably displayed on the south wall of the ↗*mäqdäs*. The oldest known attestations, representing the First Gondär school of painting are in the churches of ↗Däbrä Sina, ↗Kəbran Gäbrəᵓel, ↗Qoma Fasilädäs, ↗Ǝnṭonəs). In these scenes of L., the Child is sometimes represented lying on a mattress of leaves. The ↗*liqawənt* teach that these are leaves of the *ᶜəḍä sabek* tree, to which the sheep that replaced Isaac in Abraham's sacrifice was attached.

Src.: GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, "Epigraphica Aethiopica", *Quaderni utinensi* 8 [15–16], 1993 [1996], 325–33, here 325ff., 328–31 [I. "Sull'iscrizione di Ham"]; BORYSSUS TURAIEV, *Vitae sanctorum indigenarum*, II. *Acta s. Aronis et s. Philippi*, Louvain 1908 (CSCO 30, 31 [SAe 13, 14]), 237f. (text) = 212f. (tr.); GréSyn IV, 84f., 89–98; BudSaint 418–29; መጽሐፈ፡ ስንክሳር፡ በግዕዝና፡ በአማርኛ፡ ከመስከረም፡ እስከ፡ የካቲት (*Mäṣḥafä sənkəssar bägᶜəzənna bäᵓamarəñña kämäskäräm əskä yäkkatit*, 'The Book of the Synaxary in Gəᶜəz and Amharic, from *Mäskäräm* until *Yäkkatit*'), Addis Abäba 1994 A.M. [2001/02 A.D.], 527f., 530–34; IGNAZIO GUIDI (ed., tr.), *Il "Fetha Nagast" o "Legislazione dei re", codice ecclesiastico e civile di Abissinia*, vol. [1], Roma 1897, 111, 135 (text) = vol. [2], Rome 1899, 159, 194 (tr.); PAULOS TZADUA (ed., tr.), *The Fetha Nagast.* ፍትሐ፡ ነገሥት. *The Law of the Kings*, Addis Ababa 1968, 115; VelME I, 23–24, 31; መጽሐፈ፡ ድጓ (*Mäṣḥafä dəggʷa*, 'The Book of Dəggʷa'), Addis Abäba 1959 A.M. [1966/67 A.D.], 203ff.

Lit.: AYMRO WONDMAGEGNEHU – JOACHIM MOTOVU (eds.), *The Ethiopian Orthodox Church*, Addis Ababa 1970, 63, 65f. 143; CHRISTINE CHAILLOT, *The Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Church Tradition: a Brief Introduction to its Life and Spirituality*, Paris 2002, 129; STANISŁAW

CHOJNACKI, "The Nativity in Ethiopian Art", *JES* 12, 2, 1974, 11–56; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Sulle missioni domenicane in Etiopia nel secolo XIV", *Atti della R. Accademia d'Italia. Rendiconti* ser. 7ª, 1, 1940, 71–98, here 93f. and n. 4; EOTC HOLY SYNOD (ed.), *The Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Church, Faith, Order of Worship and Ecumenical Relations*, Addis Abäba 1988 A.M. [1996 A.D.], 83, 90; EMMANUEL FRITSCH, *The Liturgical Year of the Ethiopian Church*, Addis Abäba 2001 (Ethiopian Review of Cultures IX–X), 60, 72, 83, 139–49; ALBERTO POLLERA, *Lo stato etiopico e la sua Chiesa*, Roma - Milano 1926, 295, 298.

Steven Kaplan – Emmanuel Fritsch – Gianfranco Fiaccadori

Lədäta lämaryam: Mäṣḥafä lədäta lämaryam

The L.M. (መጽሐፈ ልደታ ለማርያም, 'The Book of the Nativity of Mary') is the Gəᶜəz title of an apocryphal text relating the birth and early history of the Virgin ↗Mary. Together with other apocrypha like, e.g., the *Gospel of Thomas*, the *Birth of Mary* is to be classified as an infancy gospel. The *Birth of Mary* (or *Liber Nativitatis Mariae*) was written in Greek before the 4th cent. in Egypt or Syria, since its content was known to Clement of Alexandria and ↗Origen. It became known under the title *Protoevangelium Jacobi*, given to the text in the 16th cent. by the French humanist Guilliaume Postel.

The authorship of the book is ascribed to James, the brother of Jesus; the actual author was possibly a Christian convert of Jewish descent strongly influenced by the O.T., particularly the stories of the births of Samuel and Samson. The work has three parts. The first tells how Anna, the wife of Joachim, a pious Israelite, after having been barren for a long time, gives birth to Mary, and how Mary is assigned to the Temple, where she spends most of her childhood. In the second part Mary is about to become a woman and because of her imminent pollution has to leave the Temple. She is given into the custody of Joseph, an old widower, who is chosen by a miracle for this task. The third part recounts the Nativity of Jesus (↗*Lədät*), together with the birth of ↗John the Baptist and how the children were hidden from King Herod. The first two parts are probably to be dated earlier than the last part (Gärtner 1972:62, 79ff.). The purpose of the story is to glorify Mary and to underline her perpetual virginity. This becomes especially clear in the passage in which a midwife tests Mary's virginity after she had given birth to Jesus.

The Greek text is preserved in over 30 manuscripts, the oldest extant copy containing the complete text being Pap. Bodmer V (B). The *Protoevangelium* was translated also into Latin, Syriac, Arabic, Georgian, Armenian, Coptic and Slavonic. Of the Latin and Coptic versions only fragments survived. Without further research, e.g., the edition of the Arabic versions of the *Protevangelium* (of which only one manuscript was edited by Garitte 1973), it is not easy to determine whether the immediate source of the Gəᶜəz version is Greek or Arabic. Haase (1913:59) advocates a Greek Vorlage for the Ethiopic translation and states that it is a rather literal translation. In fact, the Gəᶜəz text differs greatly from the extant Greek text (cf. the variants listed in ZotBNat 57f.). According to Strycker (1961:38) it is "de loin la moins fidèle des versions orientales et se rapproche parfois plutôt d'une paraphrase". A later date for the Ethiopic translation, perhaps in the 15th cent. seems *a priori* likely, but actually there has not been any research on the question of the Vorlage or the date of the Ethiopic version (cf. Strycker 1960:361ff.).

The L.M. became an integral part of the Ethiopian Marian literature. It is usually part of the homiliaries for the ↗feasts of St. Mary to be read on 1 *Gənbot*, but sometimes it is also inserted into the manuscripts of the ↗*Täᵓammärä Maryam* (CerMaria 73f.). There are other works on the Nativity of Mary with the same outline and contents but different text (like, e.g., mss. EMML 3580, fols. 72r-78v, or Ṭānāsee 127, fols. 8ra-19rb). It is open to further research how these texts are related to each other.

Src.: STEFAN BOMBECK (ed.), *Die Geschichte der heiligen Maria in einer alten äthiopischen Handschrift*, Bottrop 2005, vol. 1, 2–23 (text) = vol. 2, 3–14 (tr.); ERNEST ALFRED THOMPSON WALLIS BUDGE, *Legends of Our Lady Mary, the Perpetual Virgin, and Her Mother Ḥannâ*, London 1933, 122–42 (tr.); KATHARINA CEMING – JÜRGEN WERLITZ, *Die verbotenen Evangelien: Apokryphe Schriften*, Wiesbaden 2004, 67–92 [tr. of the Greek text]; MARIUS CHAÎNE (ed., tr.), *Apocrypha de Beata Maria Virgine*, Romae 1909 (CSCO 39, 40 [SAe 22, 23]), 3–19 (text) = 3–16 (tr.); OSCAR CULLMANN, "Protevangelium des Jakobus", in: WILHELM SCHNEEMELCHER (ed.), *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen in deutscher Übersetzung*, vol. 1: *Evangelien*, Tübingen ⁵1987, 334–49 [tr. of the Greek text]; GÉRARD GARITTE, "'Protevangelii Iacobi' versio Arabica antiquor", *Le Muséon* 86, 1973, 377–96; BERTIL E. GÄRTNER (ed., tr.), *Apokryferna till Nya Testamentet*, Stockholm 1972, 1995; RONALD F. HOCK (ed., tr.), *The Infancy Gospels of James and Thomas*, Santa Rosa 1995; HARM REINDER SMID, *Protevangelium Jacobi: a Commentary*, Assen 1965 [ed. of the Greek text]; ZotBNat 57f., no. 53 [Éth. 39], fols. 1–24; 196ff., no. 131 [Éth. 59], fols. 129–43; CRAbb II, 450, no. 56 [ms. d'Abbadie 158], fols. 49–57; WrBriMus 144, no. 216 [ms. Orient. 604], fols. 78–84; 164, no. 256 [ms. Orient. 692], fols. 28–37; HamTana

I, 189, ms. Ṭānāsee 45 = Kebrān 45, fols. 37vb–46ra (Lit.); HamTana II, 80, ms. Dabra Māryām 14, fols. 112ra–25rb (Lit.); StrANL 19, no. 5, 56rb–69ra; EMML nos. 2461, fols. 27v–34r, 3580, fols. 72r–78v; SixTana III, 118f., ms. Ṭānāsee 127 = Dāgā Eṣṭifānos 16, fols. 8ra–19rb.

Lit.: RITA BEYERS, "Livre de la nativité de Marie", in: FRANÇOIS BOVON – PIERRE GEOLTRAIN (eds.), *Écrits apoc-ryphes chrétiens*, I, Paris 1997 (Bibliothèque de la Pléiade 442), 141–61; BHO 138, § 616; CANT 25–29, § 50; CerMaria 73f.; GrafLit I 224f.; FELIX HAASE, *Literarkritische Untersuchungen zur orientalisch-apokryphen Evangelienliteratur*, Leipzig 1913; GEORG KRETSCHMAR, "'Natus ex Maria virgine': Zur Konzeption und Theologie der Protoevangeliums Jacobi", in: CILLIERS BREYTENBACH – HENNING PAULSEN (eds.), *Anfänge der Christologie (Festschrift für Ferdinand Hahn)*, Göttingen 1991, 417–28; ÉMILE DE STRYCKER, *La forme la plus ancienne du Protévangile de Jacques*, Bruxelles 1961 (Subsidia Hagiographica 33).

Ezra Gebremedhin – Stefan Weninger

Leemo ↗Hadiyya

Leeqaa

The L. (Orom.: Warra Leeqaa) are a big group of the ↗Mäčča branch of the ↗Boorana Oromo who live in many parts of Wälläga. There are two main L. groups: the L. ↗Qälləm who live north of Tulluu Walal in the ↗Gidaamii region and the L. ↗Naqamtee who inhabit the area bordered by the Angär river in the north, the Waamaa river in the south, the Gibe river in the east, and the Didessa river in the west. There are also minor L. groups such as L. Biloo and L. Hordaa. Formerly the name Wälläga was applied only to the territory lying west of the Didessa river largely inhabited by the Sibuu groups of the Mäčča Oromo. The area situated to the east of the Didessa was called L. (Triulzi 1986:51f.).

According to tradition the L. settled in the Naqamtee region in the mid-17th cent. Following settlement they started mixed farming which eventually led to increased production. This state of affairs also led to the development of a hierarchy of land rights and stratification of society into more or less favoured classes. The net result of these phenomena generated socio-economic and political transformations with far reaching consequences. The L. eventually developed an agriculturally resourceful polity called L. Naqamtee at the small town of Naqamtee in the mid–19th cent., which successfully established a very strong hereditary dynasty which managed to survive Mənilək's conquest. It should be noted, however, that the site of Naqamtee had served the L. for a long time as an important ↗*gadaa* centre long before the emergence of the polity.

The L., like other Oromo groups, actively participated in the *gadaa* system. Power and authority were in the hands of the elected officials. However, by the mid–19th cent., parallel to similar processes taking place among the Oromo in the Gibe region, the authority of the *gadaa* officials among the L. of the Naqamtee and Qälləm regions was increasingly challenged by the ↗*abbaa duulaa*. One of these *abbaa duulaa* was ↗Bakaree Godaana, a contemporary of *aṣe* Tewodros II (r. 1855-68), who unified the many L. families around Naqamtee in ca. 1851 and challenged the L. *gadaa* leader Fido Bookkisaa. Before the emergence of the L. Nakamtee polity the L. had their ritual centre at Naqamtee under their leader Fido Bookkisaa who belonged to the Waayyuu clan of the L.

After Bakaree Godaana was elected as the *abbaa duulaa* of the Ma'a lineage group of the L., he started to disregard the basic principles of the *gadaa* and undermined the authority of Fido. He eventually forced Fido out of Naqamtee to Diggaa in the west and established his residence at Wača which became the first nucleus of Naqamtee town. He then consolidated his power over the L. between the Waamaa and Didessa rivers. His son and successor, ↗Moroda Bakaree (r. 1868–89) extended his family's influence and power over the L. groups and even beyond to the Sibuu groups and through a blend of diplomacy and conquest, gained supremacy over Gimbi, Haaruu, Arǧoo, Naǧǧoo, Ǧaarsoo, Baabboo, Mandii and other areas. Moroda peacefully accepted the overlordship of *nəguś* Mənilək which helped him to secure special autonomy for L. Naqamtee (Tesema Ta'a 1993:63-66).

The L. of the Gidaamii region, called L. Qälləm, also unified under *abbaa duulaa* Tulluu, established a strong polity. Tulluu founded a dynasty which was further consolidated by his son *däǧǧazmač* ↗Ǧootee Tulluu based on the rich agricultural resources of the region and the transfrontier trade with the Sudan. L. Qälləm was located to the south west of L. Naqamtee beyond the Birbir river and was a relatively large kingdom incorporating Begi, Kono, Daalle, Sayyoo, A'ira, Ganǧii, Noolee Kaabbaa and ↗Anfillo areas (Terrefe Woldetsadik 1968:74). Because of its riches and control over the main trade routes going to Fadasi including Qumbaabii, the biggest trade centre of the L. Oromo west of the Birbir River, the Mahdists invaded Ǧootee's territory at the end of 1886. Although there were Sudanese

Arab Muslims who settled in the L. territory of Ǧootee, the L. were not forced to convert and continued to practice the traditional Oromo religion. Ǧootee himself, though he participated in Muslim folklore and had Muslim advisors, did not convert. The Mahdist invasion of L. territory was unsuccessful as Ǧootee approached *ras* ↗Gobäna, Mənilək's famous general, for help, who forced the former to withdraw. The Mahdist second invasion was finally repulsed by the combined forces of *ras* Gobäna and Moroda Bakare of L. Qälləm in 1888 (Triulzi 1975:66ff.).

The L. Biloo who live near the Gibe state of ↗Guummaa had a powerful leader called Garbi Ǧilo who waged war against Guummaa during the reign of ↗Ǧaawee Ončo (fl. 1841, d. 1879). The L. Biloo crossed Limmu unopposed, defeated the people of ↗Gomma, whose king escaped to ↗Geeraa, and entered the land of Guummaa. ↗Abbaa Ǧobir, the son and successor of Ǧaawee Ončo, persuaded the kings of ↗Ǧimma, ↗Ǝnnarya, and Gomma to join him in a confederacy which came to be known as the *Arfan Nagadota* or 'league of the four traders' to counterbalance the *Arfan Oromota*, or 'league of the four Oromo' which comprised L. Biloo, L. Hordaa, Noolee Kaabbaa, and Hana Gafare (BeckHuntAlm LXXXVI–LXXXVIII). However, there were strong commercial as well as cultural relations among all the L. groups.

Lit.: BeckHuntAlm LXXXVI–LXXXVIII; PHILIPP PAULITSCHKE, *Ethnographie Nordost-Afrikas: Die Materielle Cultur der Danakil, Galla and Somal*, Berlin 1893, 62; TERREFE WOLDETSADIK, "The Unification of Ethiopia (1880–1935) Wälläga", *JES* 6, 1, 1968, 73–86; TESEMA TA'A, "The Process of Urbanization in Wollega, Western Ethiopia: the Case of Neqemte", *ibid.* 26, 1, 1993, 59–72; ALESSANDRO TRIULZI, "Trade, Islam and the Mahdia in Northwestern Wallagga, Ethiopia", *JAH* 16, 1975,55–71; ID., "Nekemte and Addis Abeba: Dilemmas of Provincial Rule", in: DONALD DONHAM – WENDY JAMES (eds.), *The Southern Marches of Imperial Ethiopia*, Cambridge 1986, 51–68; ID. – TÄSÄMMA TA'A, የወለጋ፡ የታሪክ፡ ሰነዶች፡ ከ1880ዎቹ፡ እስከ፡ 1920 ዎቹ (*Yäwälläga yätarik sänädočč kä1880woččʷu əskä 1920woččʷu*, 'Documents of Wälläga History between the 1880s and the 1920s [A.M.]'), Addis Abäba 1996 A.M. [2003 A.D.], 291.

Tsega Endalew

Ləfafä ṣədəq

The Gəᶜəz literary work known as L.ṣ. (**ልፋፈ፡ ጽድቅ**, 'Bandlet of Righteousness' or 'Bandlet of Justification') is a collection of ↗magic prayers in book or scroll form (↗Magic scrolls). *Ləfaf* is a loanword from Arab. *lifāfa* 'bandlet, bandage, wrapper, fillet', which is derived from the verb *laffa*, 'to wrap up, to envelop, to bandage' (Dillm-Lex 66; Euringer 1940:81f.). The text, which shows a large number of variants and is included, in many manuscripts, in the Ethiopian ↗funeral ritual or *Mäṣḥafä ↗gənzät* (cp., e.g., GrébGriaule vol. 1, 176–97, 278–81), is also known as **መጽሐፈ፡ ሕይወት** (*Mäṣḥafä ḥəywät*, 'Book of Life') or **ጸሎተ፡ መድኃኒት** (*Ṣälotä mädḫanit*, 'Prayer of Salvation/Redemption'). These titles are connected with both the ideological and theological background of the text and its function.

The main character of the L.ṣ. is the Virgin Mary, who takes on the role of intercessor for those who are damned in hell, and obtains from God, with Jesus Christ's help, the secret Book of Life. Being a copy of the celestial Book of God, the L.ṣ. has the power to protect the soul after death on its journey to the afterworld, the heavenly realm. This power is augmented by the hidden and most effective magical names of Jesus which this text abundantly contains.

Despite the very different variants of the L.ṣ. and the carelessness of the tradition one can distinguish two parts in the work. The first is dedicated to the revelation of the powerful names of Jesus, which are grouped into a large number of prayers. The second contains prayers entitled **ጸሎት፡ ዘመንገደ፡ ሰማይ** (*Ṣälot zämängädä sämay*, 'Prayers of the heavenly journey; ↗*Mängädä sämay*). These invocations are addressed to Jesus who is to hinder the Angels of Darkness from stopping the ascension of the soul to Heaven.

Due to its thematic affinity with apocryphal Mariological literature, which proliferated during the theological controversies that occurred in the reign of *aṣe* ↗Zärᵊa Yaᶜəqob, the L.ṣ. can be dated to the same period. However, the format and some of the motifs of the work can be found in pre-Christian Egyptian books of the dead and, later, in gnostic literature.

The L.ṣ. is usually buried with the deceased. However, it can also be carried as an amulet on the person during an individual's lifetime. In either case, the name of the dead person should be mentioned in the L.ṣ. text.

Src.: ERNEST ALFRED WALLIS BUDGE (ed., tr.), *The Bandlet of Righteousness. An Ethiopian Book of the Dead*, London 1929 (Luzac's Semitic Text and Translation Series 19); GrébGriaule I, 176–97, 278–81 [ms. éth. 337 (33)] (Lit.); SEBASTIAN EURINGER (ed., tr.), "Die Binde der Rechtfertigung (Lefâfa ṣedeḳ)", *Orientalia* nova ser. 9, 1940, 76–99, 244–59; TÄSFA GÄBRÄ ŚƎLLASE (ed.), **መጽሐፈ፡ ሕይወት፡ ወመድኃኒት፡ ልፋፈ፡ ጽድቅ** (*Mäṣḥafä ḥəywät wämädḫanit ləfafä ṣədəq*, 'The Book of Life and Redemption: the Bandlet of Righteousness'), [Addis

Abäba] 1986 A.M. [1993/94 A.D.]; BORIS A. TURAIEV (tr.), *Ləfafä ṣədq: Svitok opravdanija* ('*Ləfafä ṣədq*: the Bandlet of Justification'), St. Petersburg 1908 (Pamjatniki efiopskoj pis'mennosti 7).
Lit.: BORIS A. TURAIEV, "Svitok opravdanija" ('The Bandlet of Justification'), in: *Sbornik v čest' 70-letija G.N.Potanina* ('Anthology on the Occasion of G.N.Potanin's 70th Birthday'), St. Petersburg 1909, 359–78.

Bogdan Burtea

Lefebvre, Charlemagne Théophile

Lieutenant de vaisseau L. (b. 5 March 1811, Nantes, d. 1859 or 6 July 1860/61, Marseille) was a French navy officer and explorer. The son of Charlemagne Lefebvre, an artillery officer in the Navy, he joined the same corps after studying at Lorient and Angoulême Naval College. In March 1836, he received permission to participate in voyages of exploration and went to Brazil. On board of the *Andromède* he met Antoine d'↗Abbadie. Later, with the intention of going to Ethiopia, he lived in Cairo, where he studied Arabic and, probably, Amharic as well. In 1837, he joined the d'Abbadie brothers and Giuseppe ↗Sapeto, but on reaching Quṣayr, due to disagreement with the first two, returned to France.

In France, L. obtained authorization and funding for a new expedition. Together with the zoologist Antoine Petit and the botanist Richard Quintin-Dillon from the Museum of Natural History of Paris, he reached Massawa on 6 June 1839 and, later, at ↗ᶜAdwa, met Sapeto and the naturalist Wilhelm ↗Schimper. L. was also received by *däğğazmač* ↗Wəbe Ḫaylä Maryam, who was seeking alliances with European powers. Having been promised by Wəbe that ↗Amfilla bay would be ceded to the French, L. agreed to take a letter to King Louis-Philippe I (1830–48) on Wəbe's behalf.

Together with a Təgrayan delegation, he went back to France and stayed there between April and September 1840. The authorities, however, showed little interest in the project. He again headed for Ethiopia with two new companions: lieutenant Schaeffner and the designer and geologist Vignaud. In the meantime, Quintin-Dillon had died and Petit had fallen ill. L. resumed explorations and Schaeffner died in 1842. After visiting Šäwa with Petit and participating with ↗Rochet d'Héricourt in the treaty signed with ↗Śahlä Śəllase in June 1843, he went back to Təgray. During the journey Petit was killed by a crocodile and Vignaud, ill, left shortly after. L. himself left for France in July.

In France, where, during his abscence, L. had been the target of accusations, he was transferred to the cartographical office of the Navy. Whilst in this post he began to write an account of his explorations. In 1847, he went to Massawa to recruit workers for the Île de Réunion. There he was accused by the French consul at Massawa, Degoutin. The consul's successor Delage, however, defended L., who was able to settle as a merchant in ᶜAdwa until 1853, when he was forced to go back to France. The next year, already retired from the Navy, he was again in ᶜAdwa. However, as he was in poor health, Walter ↗Plowden sent him to Massawa, from where the French Consul Chauvin-Belliard forwarded him to France. He was hospitalized in Marseille.

The summary of L.'s explorations appeared between 1845 and 1851 in six volumes (LefAbyss). L. wrote three of them, those focusing on the itineraries, political and commercial aspects, linguistics and archaeology. The other three volumes were the work of Achille Richard (botany), Florent Prévot, Œillet Des Murs, A. Guichenot and Edouard Guérin-Menneville (zoology), de Rouhaut and Deshayes (geology), who used the notes compiled by Quintin-Dillion, Petit and Vignaud; the latter was also the author of the remarkable drawings for the volume "Album historique, ethnologique et archéologique".

↗Travellers

Src.: Archives du Ministère de la Marine, Vincennes; Archives du Ministère des Affaires étrangères, Paris, Nantes, Mémoires et Documents, Afrique 13, Abyssinie 1; Archives nationales, Paris, Sous-série F/17, Instruction Publique F/17/2983/A; LefAbyss; THÉOPHILE LEFEBVRE, *Carte générale d'Abyssinie*, Paris 1847.
Lit.: NUMA BROC, *Dictionnaire illustré des explorateurs français du XIXème siècle – Afrique*, Paris 1988, 195–96; FIRMIN DIDOT, *Nouvelle biographie de la France*, vol. 30, Paris 1862, 324f.; ErDizBio 179f.; BERNARD LE NAIL, *Explorateurs et grands voyageurs bretons*, n.p. 1998, 78ff.; GEORGES MALÉCOT, *Les Voyageurs français et les relations entre la France et l'Abyssinie de 1835 à 1870*, Paris 1972.

Alain Rouaud

Ləğ

L. (ልጅ), an Amharic word meaning 'child, junior', in the late-19th came to designate the male children of both the nobility and the ↗Solomonic dynasty, whilst the old title *abeto* (↗*Abetohun*) was to be applied only to the male members of the emperor's close family, i.e. the princes. The heir apparent to the throne received the appellation ↗*alga wäraš*. All others had their origin indicated by the title L. which was, thus,

more or less equivalent to Spanish *infante* (cp. ↗*wäyzäro*).

The origin and the early usage of the title are unclear. It is attested in the 16th-cent. Chronicle of *aṣe* ↗Minas by *qaṣ ləğ* Abrəham (s. KrLebD 41); and in other Gəᶜəz historiographic works as early as of the first half of 19th cent., where it is attached, for instance, to the names of *däğğazmač* ↗Kənfu's sons (and also Kənfu's half-brother Kaśa – the future ↗Tewodros II, until he became *däğğazmač*). Though less probably, L. could also be a contracted form of the Amharic የነገሥታት፡ ልጆች (*yänägäśtat ləğočč*, 'royal children'; GueCopMen 74). Some 19th-cent. documents demonstrate cases of the usage of the title which are difficult to explain (cp., e.g., ↗Mərčа Wärqe).

In the late 19th–20th cent., the title was received at birth and could be replaced by another military or civil title as soon as the person became of age. Thus, before starting their careers, many of Ethiopian high military and state officials had only this title (including *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I – in his childhood L. Täfäri). After *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II raised L. ↗Iyasu to be the heir to the throne in 1909, the latter received the titles *abeto* and *alga wäraš*, L. becoming, in fact, his non-official designation. This curious situation is referred to by ↗Märsəᶜe Ḫazän Wäldä Qirqos (2004:52f.); in his memoirs of L. Iyasu's time, *aläqa* ↗Gäbrä Ǝgziʾabəḥer Elyas mentions that Iyasu was called *abeto* in 1910/11 (GebMolIyas 28f.), from that point on applying to him both titles L. and *abeto* interchangeably. Later, the title L. was widely applied to the representatives of the nobility of different ranks (from members of the minor gentry up to, e.g., L. ↗Ǝndalkačč̣äw Mäkʷännən; or L. Mänbära Yayyähyərad; or L. Mikaʾel Ǝmməru, the son of *ras* ↗Ǝmməru Ḫaylä Śəllase, L. ↗Kaśa Ḫaylu etc.). On the contrary, after 1936 the title *abeto* was bestowed only once (on Śahlä Śəllase, the youngest son of Ḫaylä Śəllase).

↗Titles

Src.: CRNuov 388–95; CRReal 859ff., 914f.; DTWDic 437f.; GebMolIyas 28f. (text) = 322f. (tr.), s. index; GueCopMen 74 n. 4, 541 n. 6; KrLebD 41 (text) = 44f. (tr.); MahHorse 647; *blatten geta* MAḪTÄMÄ ŚƎLLASE WÄLDÄ MÄSQÄL, ጉልቈ፡ ትውልድ፡ ዘንጉሥ፡ ሣህለ፡ ሥላሴ (*Ḫʷəlqʷä təwləddd. Zänəguś Śahlä Śəllase*, 'The Number of Generations of *nəguś* Śahlä Śəllase'), Addis Abäba, 1965 A.M. [1973 A.D.]; MERSʾÉ HAZEN WOLDE QIRQOS, *Of What I Saw and Heard: the Last Years of Emperor Menelik II & the Brief Rule of Iyassu*, pref. by GÉRARD PRUNIER, tr., annot. by HAILU HABTU, Addis Ababa 2004 (Ethiopian Studies 1), 52f., s. index.

Denis Nosnitsin

Leiris, Michel

L. (b. 20 April 1901, Paris, d. 30 September 1990, Saint-Hilaire, Essonne) was a French ethnologist, writer and poet, who combined anthropology with wider cultural movements such as surrealism and primitivism which referred to ethnology. Introduced to surrealist circles in the 1920's, he co-founded with George Bataille and others the Collège de Sociologie, a group of intellectuals who claimed that sociological analysis cannot be separated from subjective experience.

Surrealism brought L. to anthropology. Secretary of the review *Document*, he met Marcel ↗Griaule, a French anthropologist who had just returned from Ethiopia, in 1929. In 1931–33, L. took part as the secretary-archivist in the famous Dakar–Djibouti expedition led by Griaule, which had the principal purpose of collecting ethnographic materials. During the stay of the expedition in ↗Gondär in 1932, L. studied *zar* and spirit ↗possession cults with the help of his translator, *abba* ↗Jérôme, and his informant ↗Mälkam Ayyähu. The central account of the Dakar–Djibouti expedition is *L'Afrique Fantôme*, the diary of the expedition written by L. and published in 1934. Half of the diary concerned his research in Gondär. In this masterpiece of ethnography, diary and intimate reflection, L. combined literary and autobiographical writing with an ethnological research report and other scientific genres. In the book he expresses the subjectivity of the ethnographer and his personal psychological condition. It was due to the publication of this book that Marcel Griaule and L. later fell out.

From 1933, L. studied anthropology under Marcel Mauss in Paris and published two scientific contributions in *Minotaure* (1933) and *Aethiopica* (1934) which deal with spirit possession at Gondär. In 1934 he became head of the Department of Black Africa at the Musée de l'Homme in Paris. In 1958, L. published his monograph about spirit possession in Gondär. During his career, L. wrote essays, *Race et civilization* (1951), and professional monographs, dealing with the Dogon of Sudan (1948) and art in Africa (1967).

Src.: MICHEL LEIRIS, "L'oeil de l'ethnographe", *Document* 7, 1930, 404–14; ID., "Le taureau de Seyfou Tchenger", *Minotaure* 2, 1933, 74–82; ID., "Le culte du zâr à Gondar", *Aethiopica* 3–4, 1934, 125–36; ID., *L'Afrique Fantôme*, Paris 1934; ID., *La langue secrète des Dogons de Sanga* (*Soudan Français*), Paris 1948; ID., *Race et civilisation*, Unesco 1951; ID., *La possession et ses aspects théatraux chez les Ethiopiens de Gondar*, Paris 1958; ID., *Afrique Noire: la création plastique*, Paris 1967; ID., *Miroir de l'Afrique*, Paris 1996.

Lit.: DENISE PAULME, "Michel Leiris, 1901–1990", *Cahiers d'Études Africaines* 30, 117, 1990, 5–6; JACQUES MERCIER, *Les traverses éthiopiennes de Michel Leiris: amour, possession, ethnologie*, Paris 2003; LOUIS YVERT, *Bibliographie des écrits de Michel Leiris*, Paris 1996 (Lit.).

Stephane Ancel

Lejean, Guillaume

L. (b. 1828, Plouegat-Guerrand, d. 1871) was a French explorer. Born into a modest Breton family, who quickly made a name for himself with his work on the history of Brittany. He was, for a period in 1848, secretary to the French poet and politician, Alphonse de Lamartine, and then became a journalist during which time he became increasingly interested in geography and cartography. Responsible for official missions to the Balkans (1857–58), then to Nubia (1860–61), he was required to investigate the production of cotton and the mapping of various commercial routes to Ethiopia. At the beginning of 1862 he was sent on a diplomatic mission to *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II. For this new mission (1862–63), he was appointed Consul at Massawa which allowed him to prepare the ground for a commercial treaty between France and Abyssinia. He rejoined the court of Tewodros with whom he quarrelled (ending imprisoned for 24 hours). He was forced to remain in Ethiopia whilst awaiting the return of the French ↗Bardey, who was carrying a message from the *nəguś* to Napoleon III. Being of a curious disposition, he accumulated many biological, ethnological, historical and archaeological observations. Freed on 28 September 1862, after Bardey's arrival, L. returned to the Red Sea coast without having managed to work out the smallest treaty. In July 1863, he handed over the Consulate to the Swiss Werner ↗Munzinger before leaving the region. His numerous publications on Ethiopia had shown the immense economic potential of the country. L. continued his travels in Anatolia and Mesopotamia (1867–68) where, with the help of archaeological evidence, he retraced the steps of Alexander.

Src.: GUILLAUME LEJEAN, "Notes d'un voyage en Abyssinie", *Le Tour du Monde* 1864, 213, *ibid.* 1865, 300–03, *ibid.* 1867, 388–90, engravings; ID., "Théodore II et le nouvel empire d'Abyssinie", *La Revue des Deux Mondes*, 11/12, 1864; ID., *Théodore II, le nouvel empire d'Abyssinie et les intérêts français dans le sud de la mer Rouge*, Paris 1865; ID., "Voyages en Abyssinie (1862–1863)", *Le Tour du Monde* 1865-67; ID., "Voyage au Kordofan", *ibid.* 1863, 158; ID., "Voyage au Taka (Haute Nubie)", *ibid.* 1865, 268–71; ID., *Voyage aux deux Nil: Nubie, Kordofan, Soudan oriental, exécuté de 1860 à 1864*, Paris 1865; ID., *Voyage en Abyssinie exécuté de 1862 à 1864*, Paris 1872, 112; ID. – C. ALEXANDRE, *Correspondance: 1846–1869, deux républicains bretons dans l'entourage de Lamartine et de Michelet*, ed. by GUIOMAR JEAN-YVES, Paris 1993, 708.
Lit.: GEORGES MALÉCOT, *Les voyageurs français et les relations entre la France et l'Abyssinie de 1835 à 1870*, Paris 1972, 94–103; NUMA BROC, *Dictionnaire illustré des explorateurs et grands voyageurs français du XIXème siècle en Afrique*, Paris 1988, 196f.; BERNARD LE NAIL, *Explorateurs et grands voyageurs bretons*, Paris 1998, 83f.; RICHARD CORTAMBERT, *Guillaume Lejean et ses voyages*, Paris 1872; MARIE-THÉRÈSE LORAIN, "Guillaume Lejean, voyageur-cartographe", *Bulletin de la Société archéologique du Finistère*, 1994, 405–38; EAD., *Guillaume Lejean, voyageur et géographe (1824-1871)*, Rennes 2006.

Lukian Prijac

Lent

The fast of L. (ዓቢይ፡ ጾም, *ʿAbiyy ṣom*, 'the Great Fast'; ጾመ፡ ክርስቶስ, *Ṣomä Krəstos*, 'the Fast of Christ'; ጾመ፡ አርብዓ, *Ṣomä arbəʿa*, 'the Forty [Day] Fast') is one of the most important periods in the ↗calendar of the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥədo) Church (cp. ↗Fasting). Perhaps the most interesting designation for the period is ኩዳዴ፡ ጾም, *Kudade* [*Kudade*, *Ḥudade*] *ṣom* or simply *Kudad* or *Kudad*. *Kudad* refers to the labour a person is required to perform on the farm of a superior such as the king or his representative. L., therefore, can be seen as spiritual labour which the believer is obligated to perform for the King, Jesus Christ (Ezra Gebre-Medhin 1957:7).

In the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, L. lasts approximately eight weeks, i.e. 55 days. The precise date on which it begins is based on a complicated calculation derived from the ↗*Baḥrä ḥassab*. Essentially these works begin by setting the date for the fast of *Nänäwe* (Nineveh) which falls on the Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday of the second week preceding L. This ensures that the feast known as Däbrä Zäyt falls on a Sunday in the middle of L. (እኩለ፡ ጾም, *əkkulä ṣom*), and that the final days, which include the Friday of the Crucifixion and the Resurrection, are properly situated.

L. begins on Monday of the fast of ↗Heraclius, which commemorates the recovery of the Cross from the Persians by the Byzantine Emperor. Each of the Sundays of Lent has a special name based upon the passage from the Gospels which is read at Mass:

1. *Zäwärädä*, 'For (the week of) the one who came down' (Incarnation). The first Sunday of L. takes its name from the first word of a hymn sung on this day (at *wazema* in ↗*Ṣomä dəggʷa*, VelSoDe I, 1). This week of L. is said to have been added following a plea by Emperor Heraclius and is called *Ṣomä Hərqal*; also *qäbbäla ṣom*, 'the

encounter of the fast', or Museni, 'Moses [has said ...]', cp. VelSoDe I, 21). This week is also known as *Aśərqot* (from *aśäräqa*, 'to make shine') and special prayers are recited throughout the week to announce the beginning of L. and the coming of Easter.

2. *Zäqəddəst*, 'For (the week of) the holy (day)' (cp. VelSoDe I, 84). During this week people sanctify themselves at the formal beginning of the 40 days of L. (Mt 6:16–24).
3. *Zämək^{w}ərab*, 'For (the week of) the Temple' or 'synagogue'. This week is devoted to Jesus's teachings in the synagogue (Jn 2:12–25).
4. *Zämäśag^{w}ə*ʾ, 'For (the week of) the cripple'. The hymns of this week refer to Jesus's healing of a man who had suffered for 38 years (Jn 5:1–35).
5. *Zädäbrä Zäyt*, 'For (the week of) the Mount of Olives'. During this week, the hymns focus on the second coming (Mt 24:1–35). *Däbrä Zäyt* (mid-Lent) is one of the occasions when the faithful visit their ↗*näfs abbat* and bring him money or grain.
6. *Zägäbər ḫer*, 'For (the week of) the good servant'. This week is devoted to remembrance of the Parable of the Talents (Mt 25:14–30).
7. *Zäniqodimos*, 'For (the week of) Nicodemus', rebirth through water and the Holy Spirit. The week recounts the story of a Pharisee who came to Jesus at night (Jn 3:1–21). This week is concluded by Palm Sunday (*Hośaᶜəna*) in which the hymns recall Jesus's arrival in Jerusalem.

The precise details of the L.-fasting vary according to individual's rank, region and personal piety. As a general rule, people abstain from animal foods during the week days. Many do not eat at all until they have celebrated Mass, usually around three o'clock. Women who have recently given ↗birth, children and the sick are generally exempted from the austerities. Special foods are often consumed during the week as substitutes for forbidden items. Most of these such as *šəro*, *həlbät* (or *əlbät*), *səlǧo* etc. are lentil, bean or chick pea based sauces. Some monks, however, eat only minimally living on a handful of grain. Abstinence is not solely limited to food; and many deny themselves entertainment such as music etc. Those who break the fast are assigned penances.

L. is characterized by increased attendance at daily masses as well as private prayers. The observance of L. in terms of both abstinence and ritual reaches its climax in the final Passion Week (cp. ↗*Fasika*; ↗*Gəbrä Ḥəmamat*). Beginning on Monday after Palm Sunday no heavy work such as ploughing, cutting wood, grinding grain and washing clothes is performed. Prayer, often accompanied by prostration becomes increasingly important as each day comprises ten services called "hours", which include readings from the Psalms, readings from the Octateuch, ascetic texts and a variety of other sources. The *Mäṣḥafä gəbrä ḫəmamat* and other church books are read. ↗Baptisms and absolutions of the dead (↗*Fəṭḥat*) are not performed, nor are saints' days celebrated.

On Maundy Thursday (*Sälotä ḫamus*, 'Prayer of Thursday') afternoon a dish consisting of cooked grains and beans known as *g^{w}əlban* is eaten in commemoration of the Last Supper. Some say it is eaten as a sign of mourning.

On Good Friday (*Səqlät*, 'Crucifixion') a period of total abstinence known as *akfəlot* begins. For some it begins on Friday evening, while others, particularly among the clergy, do not eat from Thursday after the end of Mass onward. (The person who is fasting is called an *akfay*, a term also commonly used for visits paid to close relatives during the week after Easter.) Children too young to fast may go from house to house "trick or treating" and requesting food (the practice called *məšamušo*).

On Saturday (*Qədame śəᶜur*, "the abolished Sabbath") work can be resumed, which permits people to begin the preparations for the Easter feast. Animals are slaughtered (formally, this is prohibited), ingredients purchased, butter prepared. People wash their clothes and themselves in order to greet Easter in their finest garb and best appearance. Green grass is spread over the floors of houses as a symbol of joy, freshness, and fertility. Small quantities of food such as pieces of bread, sugar cane and water known as *täsfa* ('hope') are distributed in the churches.

According to some reports worshippers are given bundles of dry grass which they light and carry as torches as they proceed to the church in the evening. Others report that the priests distribute rushes to the worshippers which symbolize the news of Christ's resurrection. The worshippers also receive candles which they carry around the *mäqdäs* three times. At day break, they rush home to the Easter Feast. Those who have fasted are often given special foods such as *čəlqa* (linseed, honey in water) or *fətfət*, and milk to break their fast as these are thought to ease the digestion. For many this feast is the first time they have had meat in almost two months.

In the ensuing days many marriages are performed. Husbands bring gifts to their in-laws. Normal rules of weekly fasting are cancelled until Pentecost is over.

Src.: PAULOS TZADUA (tr.), *The Fetha Nagast.* ፍትሐ፡ ነገሥት. *The Law of the Kings*, Addis Ababa 1968, 96; VelSoDe I, 1, 21, 84.

Lit.: HARALD ASPEN, *Amhara Traditions of Knowledge: Spirit Mediums and their Clients*, Wiesbaden 2001 (AeF

58), 74–77; CHRISTINE CHAILLOT, *The Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Church Tradition: a Brief Introduction to its Life and Spirituality*, Paris 2002, 118; EMMANUEL FRITSCH, *The Liturgical Year of the Ethiopian Church*, Addis Ababa 2001 (Ethiopian Review of Cultures Special Issue IX–X), 83, 173–247; HabUff 353ff.; HARRY MIDDLETON HYATT, *The Church of Abyssinia*, London 1928, 159ff.; KIRSTEN STOFFREGEN PEDERSEN, *Les Éthiopiens*, Tournhout 1990, 126f.; EZRA GEBRE-MEDHIN, "Lent in Ethiopia", *Addis Ababa University College Ethnological Society Bulletin* 7, 1957, 7–16; YOHANNES WOLDE GUERIMA, "Helbat (ህልፅ፡)", *ibid.* 3, 1954, 68f.

Steven Kaplan

Léon des Avanchers ↗Avanchers, Léon des

Leonessa, Mauro da ↗Mauro da Leonessa

Leontiev, Nikolaj Stepanovich

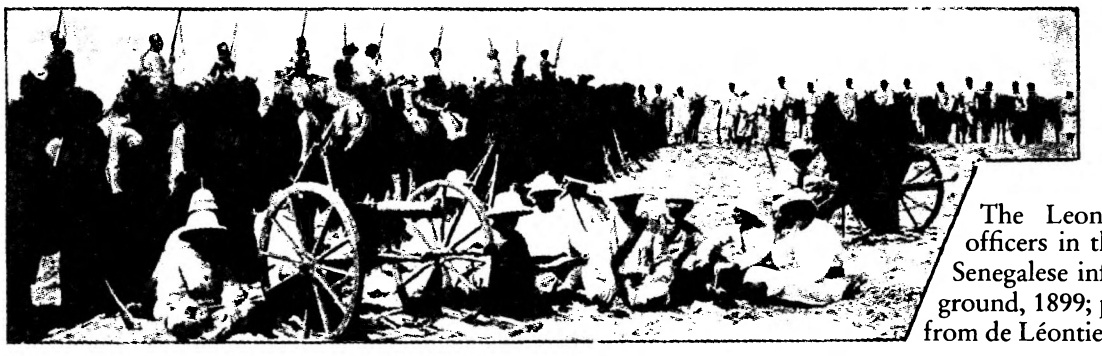
Count L. (b. 26 October 1862, Vasjurinskaja, Kuban, Russia, d. 25 June 1910, Paris) was a Russian explorer, diplomat and adventurer.

A member of the petty nobility, L. was a lieutenant in a reserve regiment. Prior to his Ethiopian experience, he had been involved in a number of confidence schemes and had travelled to India and Persia. His travel experience as well as detailed exploration plans for Ethiopia gave him credibility with the Russian Geographical Society when it organized an exploratory expedition in early 1895. The mission, headed by Professor Aleksandr Eliseev and consisting of L., the astronomer and geographer Captain Konstantin Zvjagin and the priest Father Efrem, had as its eventual target the Mahdist ↗Sudan. While exploring Ethiopia geographically, it was also expected to sound out *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II about closer contacts between the two Orthodox churches.

In Harär, the delegation was met by *ras* ↗Mäkʷännən who cared for Eliseev in his palace after the latter suffered heat stroke. Eliseev eventually returned to the coast. L. assumed leadership of the expedition which was accompanied to ↗Ǝnṭoṭṭo by Mäkʷännən himself. There L. was received by Mənilək who eventually agreed to send a diplomatic delegation to St. Petersburg, not to strengthen ties between the two churches, but rather to secure ↗Russia's support in his struggle with ↗Italy.

On 12 June (30 June Julian calendar) 1895, the delegation, guided by L. and consisting, among others, of Mənilək's generals *fitäwrari* Damṭäw (the father of ↗Dästa Damṭäw), *ləǧ* ↗Balča Safo, *qäññazmač* Gädäme, *däǧǧazmač* Bälaččäw, secretary ↗Yosef Nəguśe, and *abunä* Gäbrä Ǝgziʾabəḥer of Harär, was received by Czar Nicholas II and Czarina Alexandra in Peterhoff. Even though the delegation was not duly announced via the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and was a surprise, the diplomats received a warm welcome. L. was awarded with the order of St. Vladimir; all Ethiopian high officials were awarded with Russian imperial orders and decorations of various degrees. Whilst reporting on valuable geographical results of the expedition, Russian newspapers also commented on L.'s questionable past. These reports and L.'s unauthorized promises of Russian military aid to Mənilək soon eroded his credibility with the Czar's government. The aid was declined (the Czar, however, did send as a gift 30 thousand rifles and 5 million projectiles, but the Dutch ship with the cargo was stopped by the Italians). L. was allowed to accompany the Ethiopian diplomats back as far as Djibouti, and ordered to return to Russia to face a variety of charges made against him. However, L. soon recovered from his temporary disgrace and returned to Ethiopia where he was awarded the *Kokäb* ("Star") order and titled "Count Abbay".

On 2 June 1896, L. met the caravan of Alexander ↗Bulatovich and provided him with advice. L. subsequently tried to interject himself in negotiations between Italy and Mənilək following the battle of ↗ʿAdwa. He travelled to Turkey and to Italy (usually accompanied by Yosef Nəguśe) and was asked by Mənilək to assure the Czar's mediation in these negotiations. However, the



The Leontiev mission: the officers in the foreground, the Senegalese infantry in the background, 1899; photo by Leontiev, from de Léontieff 1900:109

Czar's intervention proved unnecessary as Italy and Ethiopia soon came to an agreement without any Russian involvement.

When L. returned to Ethiopia in late 1896, Mənəlik offered him the governorship of the south-western (so-called Equatorial) provinces (Wəba, Bako [↗Aari, ↗Hamär Bakko]) adjacent to Lake Rudolf (now ↗Turkana) and the title of *däğğazmač*. L. spent several months in Europe buying up arms and obtaining investors for what he told them was one of the richest corners of Africa. After a number of misadventures, L. arrived in Djibouti in March 1898, accompanied by Prince Henri d'Orléans representing a Franco-Ethiopian alliance, and a large military force: Russian and French officers, Cossacks, 130 French Senegalese riflemen, 2,000 Ethiopian cavalry and infantry under *däğğazmač* ↗Täsämma. L. reached the northern end of the lake on 21 August 1899. There, his mixed European and Ethiopian force engaged in wanton pillaging and killing. L. also removed the British flags that had been placed at the northern end of the lake by Captain Herbert Henry Austin in 1898. Mənilək recalled him, fearful of provoking the British and concerned about his international standing in light of L.'s men's behaviour toward local population near Lake Rudolf. Mənilək was especially outraged over L.'s attempts to obtain Belgian investors for mining gold in his "Equatorial provinces". L. had not bothered to inform the Emperor about this proposed mining for gold which was an exclusive monopoly of the crown.

L. left the country without waiting to be expelled and spent the winter of 1902–03 in Djibouti, from where he liquidated all of his interests in Ethiopia. He tried to transfer his material rights to the Russian government by a letter – obviously ignoring the fact that Ethiopian imperial land donations are non-transferrable and subject to certain use conditions. L. returned to Djibouti in 1906 where he set up an unsuccessful arms-importing firm. His attempts to return to Ethiopia were likewise unsuccessful.

L. died, wounded in a duel, in Paris, where he had spent his last years in very reduced circumstances. In the will he made in 1908, L., by that time a member of the Paris Geographical Society, left a part of his assets to the Russian Geographical Society to be used for organizing regular expeditions to Ethiopia in his name.

L.'s younger brother was also an adventurer. He arrived in Addis Abäba in 1902 in the company of the self-styled colonel Evetskij who claimed to have permission to establish a ↗bank in Ethiopia.

Src.: APOLLON DAVIDSON – S. MAZOV (eds.), *Rossija i Afrika. Dokumenty i materialy. XVIII v. – 1960 g.* ('Russia and Africa. Documents and Materials: 18th cent.–1960'), vol. 1, Moscow 1999, 54f., 131f., 141, 225–36, esp. docs. 24ff., 125–29, 132; ANDREJ HRENKOV, *Rossijsko–efiopskie otnošenija v XIX–načale XX v.* ('Russian–Ethiopian Relations in the 19th–Beginning of the 20th Cent.'), Moscow 1998, 18-22, passim, esp. 175 [no. 48], 206f. [no. 57], 239f. [72], 256–70 [nos. 83–85], 389ff. [no. 140], 400f. [no. 148]; GueCopMen, s. index; COMPTE DE LÉONTIEFF [NIKOLAJ LEONTIEV], "Exploration des provinces équatoriales d'Abyssinie", *La Géographie: Bulletin de la Société de Géographie* 2, 1900, 105–18, here 109 (ill.); ID., *Provinces équatoriales d'Abyssinie. Expedition du Dedjaz Comte N. de Léontieff*, [Paris 1900?].

Lit.: RICHARD CAULK, *"Between the Jaws of Hyenas": a Diplomatic History of Ethiopia (1876–1896)*, ed. by BAHRU ZEWDE, Wiesbaden 2002 (AeF 60), s. index; CZESLAW JESMAN, *The Russians in Ethiopia. An Essay in Futility*, London 1958; PASCAL JAMES IMPERATO, *Quest for the Jade Sea: Colonial Competition around an East African Lake*, Boulder, CO 1998; VERA LUKNITSKAJA, *"Pust' budet zemlja". Povest' o putešestvennike A.V. Eliseeve* ('Let it be Earth. A Narration of the Traveller A.V.Eliseev'), Moscow 1985, 117–50; CARLO ZAGHI, *I russi in Etiopia*, Napoli 1972–73.

Pascal James Imperato

Leopard(s)

L. (*Panthera pardus*; Amh. *näbər*, *nämr*; Tgr. *näbri*, *nämri*; Orom. *qeeransa*), as one of the "big cats" to be found in the Horn of Africa, are endowed with great cultural significance in many societies. The main symbolic value of the L. is fortitude and, in some cases, magical power. In both it resembles the ↗lion and, therefore, the L. often has the same symbolic function as an emblematic animal of ↗kingship or chieftainship.

Accordingly, the killing of a L. was seen as a glorious deed, proving the bravery and manhood of the killer (↗Meritorious complex). However, the killing of a L. sometimes counted less than that of a lion. In northern Ethiopia, for example, the killer of a lion obtained a special earring, which could not be gained by killing a L. Among the Dorze killing a L. was equivalent to the killing of one man, while a dead lion was equivalent to four men (Pearce cited in PankSoc 168; VSAe I, 327; VSAe III, 202f.). After the killing of a L. certain rituals had to be carried out and in some cases sexual abstinence was required (for example in Yäm). In Amarro it was completely prohibited to kill L. who were in general symbolically connected to the king (VSAe III, 107, 328).

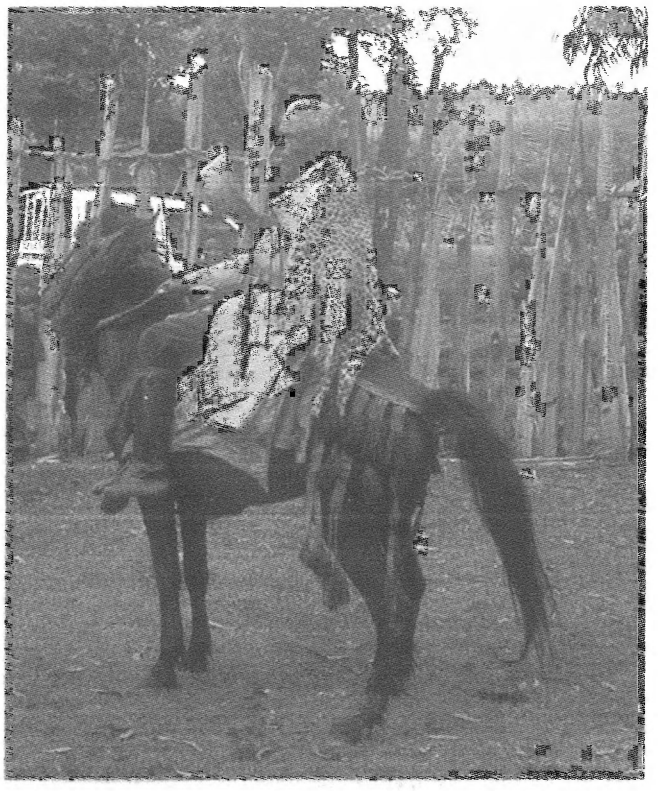
The high symbolic value of the L. is also indicated by the use of its skin as a prestigious garment or part of garment (s. ↗*Lämd*). In many cultures the L.'s coat was an element of the vestments of chiefs, local "kings" (e.g., in Aari, Basketto, Dime and Ṣamay) and religious functionaries. In some cultures it was the garment of warriors in general. In the same context, the teeth of the L. could be used for necklaces (e.g., s. VSAe I, 171, 199, 202, 205f., 242, 245, 376). In some cultures L.'s skin was also worn by women, for example slung around the loins (PankSoc 253).

L. skins formed part of the tribute paid to superior rulers. In the 16th cent., Bermudez reported that the people of Gurage paid tribute not only in gold and silver but in the skins of lions and L. ("ônça" in Bermudez 1875:102).

There are several examples of supposed mythical relations between humans beings and L. For instance, the Melšaf clan of the Dime and the Gulätt clan of the Bäšada were said to be linked with L. In Arbore it was believed that a L. would not enter the compound of a member of the Ris clan. It was not allowed for a Ris to kill a L. or to dance if the killer of a L. was among the dancers (VSAe I, 248, 345, 386).

Among the Azärnät-Bärbäre of Səlṭe (↗Səlṭi), a myth relates that the clan of Abosare, which also exists among the ↗Arsi, descended from a woman who gave birth to a human boy and a L. called *nawro gošto* ('Lord/Master Leopard'). From that day on, Abosare mothers are prohibited from breastfeeding with their right breast, which is exclusively reserved "for the L.". In case this principle is violated it is believed that a L. would come and take the child and attack the livestock. The linkage between L. and the Abosare clan seems to be connected with their original role as one of the ↗Arsi "priest clans". Specialists from these clans functioned as rainmakers (↗Rainmaking; oral informants; cp. BrHad 112)), as did the *iru baab* of Čako (↗Šeko), who was likewise believed to have control over L. (VSAe III, 53).

A mythical relationship between religious personnel and L. can also be found in other cultural contexts. The Gurage female spirit ↗Däm^{w}am^{w}it, for instance, was imagined to be accompanied by a L. and a ↗serpent. In the Bušafo cult in Käfa and Šeka it was believed that the bodies of Bušafo spirit mediums turned into lions after death, whereas those of the Čabero, who have a lower status, turned into L. (Lange 1982:179).



Horseman with leopard skin improvising praises for the deceased; funeral (*wüloo*) of *daann'* Googoo, chief of the Giindo clan of Leemo, Kidigisa in Hadiyya; photo 1999, courtesy of the author

In Orthodox Christianity 60 L. together with 60 lions appear as attributes of St. ↗Gäbrä Mänfäs Qəddus. According to legend, the Saint was able to control these predators and they even worshipped him. In iconography the L. and lions sit to the right and to the left of the Saint's feet.

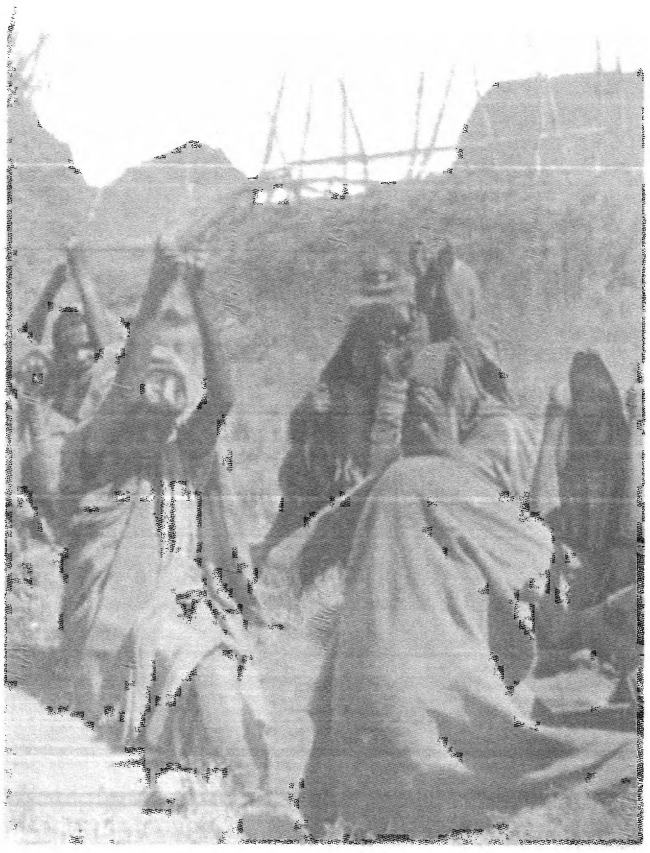
Src.: interviews with Asanna Mansaro of Abosare, Ǝnnäqor, Səlṭe, 29 October 2005; JOÃO BERMUDEZ, *Breve relação da embaixada que o patriacha D. João Bermudez trouxe do imperador da Ethiopia vulgamente chamado Preste João*, Lisboa 1565, ²1875, 102.

Lit.: HARALD ASPEN, *Amhara Traditions of Knowledge. Spirit Mediums and their Clients*, Wiesbaden 2001 (AeF 58), 110f.; BrHad 112; RUDOLF KRISS – HUBERT KRISS-HEINRICH, *Volkskundliche Anteile in Kult und Legende äthiopischer Heiliger*, Wiesbaden 1975, 10, 18–22, 71 and ill. 37–41; WERNER J. LANGE, *History of the Southern Gonga (Southwestern Ethiopia)*, Wiesbaden 1982, 179; PankSoc 253; VSAe I, s. index, VSAe III, 52, 68, 107, 202f., 328.

Dirk Bustorf

Leprosy, lepers

L. (also Hansen's disease; Gəᶜəz ለምጽ, *läməṣ*, Amh. ለምጥ, *lämṭ*) is a chronic disease caused by the bacillus *Mycobacterium leprae*. It mainly affects skin and nerves, limbs and eyes. Other, more general, terms for L. are ቍሰለ፡ ስጋ (*qʷəslä səga*, 'ulcerated flesh or body'), ደዌ፡ ስጋ (*däwe səga*, 'diseased flesh or body'), ታላቅ፡ ደዌ (*tallaq däwe*, 'major



Women affected by leprosy; photo early 20th cent., from Annaratone 1911:502/03, fig. 188

disease') and ቍምጥና (*qʷəmṭənna*, derived from the verb *qʷämmäṭä*, 'to amputate').

The Ethiopian highlands have been reputed as one of the world's most seriously affected areas by L. Francisco Alvares, the first to mention it, observed, in the early 16th cent. a high number of lepers in Aksum (BeckHuntAlvar 514). A large number of lepers was later also noted by Nathaniel Pearce (1831, vol. 1, 297), an English resident in Təgray who observed in 1831 that L. was widespread especially among people of the lower social strata. The early 20th-cent. Georgian physician Paul Mérab estimated that there were around 30,000 people suffering from L. (Mérab 1921:164). Victims of the disease, as noted by many observers, were traditionally a common sight at court, in the army and around churches, and leper mendicants travelled widely throughout the land (Pankhurst 1984:63–67). It was therefore not surprising that L., and miraculous cures thereof, figured extensively in Ethiopian Christian literature (s., e.g., Budge 1933:301). Ethiopians traditionally treated L. with a wide range of internal and external herbal cures, as well as by prolonged immersion in hot thermal baths (Pankhurst 1984:68ff.).

Traditional explanations for L. are manifold. While among some other ethnic groups it was believed that L. was a punishment for sins, like incest, the Amhara not always considered sin as the cause of L. (Molvaer 1995). On the one hand the Book of Sirach (Sir) threatens the breakers of the moral law with L., on the other hand it is referred to the biblical legend of Job (Job 2:4–10), who was infected with L. by Satan (↗Devil) in order to test the strength of his faith. Job could resist the temptation and therefore the cause for his sickness was not sin. In the case of children affected with L. the disease was understood as not being caused by sin either, and, if so, it was seen as a trial of the parents. Lepers were normally not marginalized in Amhara culture but could profit from the custom of ↗alms-giving (Molvaer 1995:35, 89; s. also ↗Lalibäla).

The first modern leprosarium, named after St. Anthony and where extensive use of copper was made, was founded by *ras* ↗Mäkʷännən at Harär in 1901. It was run at first by untrained French Capuchin missionaries, and later by the French physician Jean Feron (Mérab 1912:132; 1921, vol. 1, 166). A second leprosarium was established in 1934 at ↗Aqaqi, outside Addis Abäba, by *aṣe* Ḫaylä Śəllase I, who entrusted it to the Canadian physician Ralph Hooper, of the ↗Sudan Interior Mission (ZerÉth 257). Another leprosarium was founded in 1958 in Bisidimo south of Harär by the Deutsches Aussätzigen-Hilfswerk (later: Deutsche Lepra- und Tuberkulosehilfe). Though valuable work was carried out at these institutions, as well as in modern hospitals and clinics, post-World War II hopes for total eradication of the disease have not been realised yet. An important institution for the struggle against L. is also ↗ALERT (s. also ↗Hospitals).

↗Diseases

Src.: BeckHuntAlvar 514; ERNEST ALFRED THOMPSON WALLIS BUDGE, *One Hundred and Ten Miracles of Our Lady Mary*, London 1933, 301; DillmLex 36ff.; PAUL MÉRAB, *Médecins et médecine en Ethiopie*, Paris 1912, 132; ID., *Impressions d'Ethiopie (L'Abyssinie sous Ménélik)*, 3 vol., Paris 1921–29, vol. 1, 164, 166; NATHANIEL PEARCE, *The Life and Adventures of Nathaniel Pearce*, London 1831, vol. 1, 297.

Lit.: CARLO ANGELO ANNARATONE, *In Abissinia*, Roma 1911, 460 (ill.); BERHANOU ABBEBE, "Hamina, distiques amhariques d'après une transcription d'Antoine d'Abbadie", *AE* 8, 1970, 89–101; ROBERT GIEL – JOHANNES N. VAN LUIJK, "Leprosy in Ethiopian Society", *International Journal of Leprosy* 38, 1, 1970, 187–98; REIDULF K. MOLVAER, *Socialization and Social Control in Ethiopia*, Wiesbaden 1995 (AeF 44), s. index; RICHARD PANKHURST, "The History of Leprosy in Ethiopia to 1935", *Medical His-*

tory 28, 1984, 57–72 (Lit.); KARL FRIEDRICH SCHALLER – WOLFGANG KULS, *Äthiopien: Eine geographisch-medizinische Landeskunde*, Berlin – New York 1972 (Medizinische Länderkunde 3), 47ff., 114ff.; KAY KAUFMAN SHELEMAY, "The Lalibeloč: Musical Mendicants in Ethiopia", *Journal of African Studies* 9, 1982, 128-38; ZerÉth 257.

Richard Pankhurst

Le Roux, Robert Henri

L. (Hugues L., b. 1860, Le Havre, d. 1925) was a French journalist, novelist and a supporter of colonization. He began his career as secretary to the poet Alphonse Daudet, who helped him become a journalist. He travelled widely in Europe, Africa, and the United States, met and interviewed Ibsen, Bismarck and the Sultan of Morocco (Anonymous 1902:164) and wrote novels following the "realist school".

In summer 1900, whilst he was working for the daily *Le Figaro*, L. was invited by Alfred ↗Ilg on *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II's behalf to visit Ethiopia and "to write a book to enhance the image of Ethiopia in Europe" (Le Roux 1902:7; Prouty 1986:103). He left France in November 1900 and reached Addis Abäba in February 1901. He established a close relationship with Mənilək, who sent him on an expedition to Wälläga and the Sudan border (Le Roux 1901).

With regard to the Franco–Ethiopian railway (↗Railways), L. was sympathetic with Mənilək's wish to keep the French state at bay. He thus favoured an international administration, like the Suez Canal Administration (Pankhurst 1963), but as an apostle of colonialism he also lobbied for private funds in France to be invested in the advancement of the railway, which was to involve various municipal chambers of commerce (Laffey 1975:15f.). A visit to ↗Addis ʿAläm allowed L. to see and obtain a manuscript copy of the ↗*Kəbrä nägäśt*. In France he popularized the foundation myth of the Ethiopian state, the tale of King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba (↗Makəda), and its human, political and cultural results (Le Roux 1913, 1914). L. also presented Mənilək's politics towards Europe as a renewal of Queen Makəda's journey to the wisdom of King Solomon (Le Roux 1913:42). His travel account *Menelik et Nous* (1902) became a landmark in French–Ethiopian relations (↗France).

Src.: HUGUES LE ROUX, "Voyage au Ouallaga. Itinéraire d'Addis-Ababâ au Nil Bleu", *La Géographie: Bulletin de la Société de Géographie* 4, 10, 1901, 217–34; ID., *Menelik et Nous* ..., Paris 1902; ID., "New Trails in Abyssinia", *Century Magazine* 63, 6, 1902; ID., "Une visite à l'empereur Menelik" [abstract of an address by L.], *Bulletin of the American Geographical Society* 34, 2, 1902, 139–40; ID., *Chasses et gens d'Abyssinie*, Paris 1903; ID., *Chez la reine de Saba, Chronique éthiopienne*, Paris 1913; ID., *Makeda, Reine de Saba*, Paris 1914 [tr. by ḤAYLÄ MARYAM – ROBERT HENRI LEROUX, ed. by JOSEPH TUBIANA, Paris 2001].

Lit.: [ANONYMOUS], "M. Hugues Le Roux: Eminent Frenchman to Lecture Before the University", *Cornell Alumni News* 4, 22, 1902, 165; LÉON DAUDET, *Fantômes et vivants*, Paris 1931, 140f.; JOHN LAFFEY, "Municipal Imperialism in France: the Lyon Chamber of Commerce, 1900–1914", *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 119, 1, 1975, 8–23; RICHARD PANKHURST, "The Franco–Ethiopian Railway and its History", *EthObs* 6, 1963, 343–79; CHRIS PROUTY, *Empress Taytu and Menilek II: Ethiopia 1883–1910*, London – New Haven, CT 1986.

Thomas Zitelmann

Leroy, Jules

L. (b. 10 April 1903, Ablis, d. 8 April 1979, Chaptelat) was an art historian specialized in the artistic tradition of Christian Oriental Churches. At the age of 17, he entered the Benedictine abbey of Solesmes. He studied in Rome from 1930 to 1933 where he gained a diploma in biblical theology from the Pontifico Istituto Biblico (↗Vatican). From 1934 till 1954 he taught at several Catholic colleges in Paris.

In 1939 L. started studying Syriac illuminated manuscripts under the guidance of André Grabar. After receiving a diploma from the 5th section of the École Pratique des Hautes-Études he studied Syriac illuminated manuscripts in the Near East and led research missions to Lebanon, Syria, Iraq and Turkey. At the same time L. became interested in Ethiopian art; his first article on Ethiopian ↗painting appeared in 1955. In 1956 he joined the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (CNRS); he was then promoted to senior researcher (1961) and eventually to head researcher (1968). In 1959, from March to November, he directed the archaeological section of the Institut d'Études et de Recherches d'Éthiopie in Addis Abäba. In 1964 and 1968 he made field trips to Egypt, to explore Coptic murals and manuscripts. Thereafter, he dedicated much of his time to the project of their study and preservation.

L. was one of the first scholars to pay serious attention to Ethiopian art and its traditions. He contributed greatly to making the scholarly and lay public aware of this particular field, with special emphasis on manuscript illumination. In 1964 he published the first general book on Ethiopian painting, followed in 1973 by a sur-

vey on Ethiopian art and culture. His publications mainly focused on stylistic features and the question of external influences, e.g., his research on ↗canon tables, on the iconographic sources of 17th-cent. illuminated ↗Gospels or on the ↗Syrian influences in Ethiopian painting. Placing Ethiopian art within the framework of early Christian and Byzantine artistic tradition, along the lines of André Grabar's research, L. drew parallels also to Coptic and Armenian art. He can also be credited with establishing one of the first chronologies of Ethiopian painting.

Src.: JULES LEROY, "Objectif des recherches sur la peinture religieuse éthiopienne", *AE* 1, 1955, 127–35, pl. XXII–XXIII; ID., *Moines et monastères du Proche Orient*, Paris 1958 (Engl. tr. *Monks and Monasteries of the Near East*, Piscataway 2004); ID., "L'évangéliaire éthiopien du couvent d'Abba Garima et ses attaches avec l'ancien art chrétien de Syrie", *Cahiers archéologiques* 2, 1960, 131–43; ID., "L'évangéliaire illustré du British Museum (Or. 510) et ses sources iconographiques", *AE* 4, 1961, 155–80; ID., "Art of Ethiopia's Painter-Scribes", *UNESCO Courier* 14, 1961, 30–32; ID., "Recherches sur la tradition iconographique des Canons d'Eusèbe en Ethiopie", *Cahiers archéologiques* 12, 1962, 173–204; ID., "Une 'madonne italienne' conservée dans un manuscrit éthiopien du British Museum", *RSE* 18, 1962, 77–82; ID. (ed.), *Miniatures anciennes d'Éthiopie. Exposition réalisée par la Commission de la République Française pour l'Éducation, la Science et la Culture*, Paris 1963; ID., *La pittura etiopica durante il Medioevo e sotto la dinastia di Gondar*, Milano 1964 (Engl. tr.: *Ethiopian Painting in the Late Middle Ages and under the Gondar Dynasty*, London 1967); ID., "Les étapes de la peinture éthiopienne révélées par les manuscrits illustrés et les églises peintes", *JSS* 9, 1964, 245-46; ID., "Geschichte Äthiopiens in christlicher Zeit", "Äthiopische Malerei", in: *Koptische Kunst. Christentum am Nil (Katalog der Ausstellung)*, Essen 1963, 183-87, 188-92; ID., "La peinture chrétienne en Éthiopie antérieure à l'influence occidentale", in: *Christentum am Nil – Bericht über den Koptologen-Kongress in Essen*, Recklinghausen 1964, 61–76; ID., *Le Manuscripts syriaques à peintures, conservés dans les bibliothèques d'Europe et d'Orient*, Paris 1964; ID., "Notes d'archéologie et iconographie éthiopiennes", *AE* 6, 1965, 229-44; ID., "L'évangéliaire éthiopien du couvent d'Abba Garima", *Cahiers Archéologiques* 11, 1968, 131–43; ID., "Un nouvel évangéliaire éthiopien illustré du monastère d'Abba Garima", in: *Synthronon. Art et Archéologie de la Fin d'Antiquité et du Moyen Age: Recueil d'Études par André Grabar et un groupe de ses disciples*, Paris 1968, 75-87; ID., "L'icône ex-voto du Négus Lebna Dengel au monastère de Saint Antoine du Désert (Égypte)", *JES* 9, 1, 1971, 35-45; ID., *L'Éthiopie: Archéologie et culture*, Paris 1973; ID., *Les manuscrits coptes et coptes-arabes illustres*, Paris 1974; GEORG GERSTER, *L'Art éthiopien, églises rupestres* [with L.'s co-authorship], Paris 1968; STEPHEN WRIGHT – OTTO JÄGER, *Ethiopia: Illuminated Manuscripts*, with an introduction by JULES LEROY, New York 1961 (UNESCO World Art Series).

Lit.: RENÉ-GEORGES COQUIN, "L'Abbé Jules Leroy (1903–1979)", *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale* 80, 1980, 5–15 (Lit.).

Anaïs Wion

Leslau, Wolf

L. (b. 14 November 1906, Częstochowa, Poland, d. 18 November 2006, Fullerton, CA, USA) was one of the most prominent *éthiopisants* of the 20th cent. Beginning with his first article on Mehri (1931–34) and ending with his last volume on ↗Mäsqän (2004), L. published over 300 books, articles, and reviews. His interests lay mostly in the field of descriptive and comparative linguistics, but also philology and ethnography.

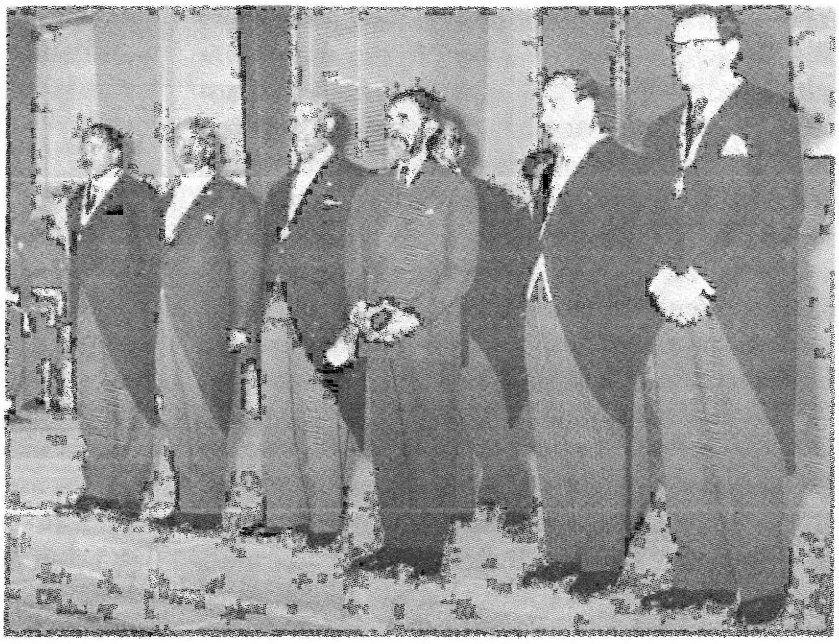
L. began his higher education in Semitic languages at the University of Vienna and at Vienna's Hebräisches Pädagogium in 1926. In 1931, he moved to Paris to continue his studies at the ↗Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales under the direction of Marcel ↗Cohen, where he received his diploma upon publishing his thesis, a comparative lexicon of Soqoṭri (Leslau 1938). Based on the materials of the South Arabian Expedition led by David Heinrich ↗Müller, it remains until today the only comprehensive lexicographic work on this language.

With the outbreak of World War II, L. was arrested and spent several years in camps for foreigners, until, with the assistance of an international rescue organization, he and his wife Charlotte emigrated to the United States in 1942. L. taught in New York at the École Libre des Hautes Études, the Asia Institute, and the New School for Social Research, in 1951 moved to Brandeis University, Waltham, Massachusetts, and finally in 1955 became Professor of Hebrew and Semitic Linguistics at the University of California at Los Angeles, where he remained until his retirement in 1976.

L. was an accomplished lexicographer and philologist in the traditional mold, but his work with native speakers and his insistence on a living cultural context went beyond the scholarly approach of his era. His first experience in this kind of research, carried out in Paris with the Təgrəñña speaker Täklä Gurmu, resulted in a grammatical description and a collection of texts published in 1941 as *Documents tigrigna*, which still serves as a major reference work on ↗Təgrəñña grammar. From 1946 to 1974, L. went to Ethiopia every two or three years, with stays from three to eleven months. He mastered classic linguistic field methodology, collecting texts, vocabularies and material for grammatical descriptions, often for unwritten languages. He carried out field research mostly on Ethio-Semitic, producing grammatical descriptions and/or lexicons of almost all the languages of this group, from major ones, such as ↗Amharic

(1995 etc.) and Təgrəñña (1941), to minor and least-studied ones, including the now extinct ↗Gafat (1956 etc.). Apart from his lexicon of Moča (↗Šakačo; Leslau 1959), Cushitic and Omotic languages of Ethiopia were treated by L. mostly from the position of their interaction with Ethio-Semitic.

The texts gathered by L. during his field research often contained important ethnographic and philological material. L. published numerous text collections and field notes on the folklore and ethnography of Ethiopian peoples (↗Gurage, ↗Harari, ↗Təgre; cf., e.g., Leslau 1982). When commissioned by Yale University to translate the religious writings of the Fälaša (↗Betä Ǝsraʾel), L. also carried out research on the Fälaša's life and rites (s. Leslau 1951 etc.).



Wolf Leslau (right) receiving the Ḫaylä Śəllase I Award in 1965 with other winners; from left to right: painter Gäbrä Krəstos Dästa, the E.C.W.S. president *däğğazmač* Ḫadgu Gilagabər, *balambaras* Maḫtämä Śəllase Wäldä Mäsqäl, *aṣe* Ḫaylä Śəllase I, Tullio Camerino from the Manifattura Sacchi Asmara and Dum Company Limited; from Macreni 1965:20

An important aspect of L.'s activities was comparative Semitic studies: etymology (cf. Leslau 1938, 1963, 1979; LesCDic), morphological reconstruction and classification (cf., e.g., Leslau in PICES 1; in PICES 3).

In recognition of his scholarship, L. received a Guggenheim Fellowship in 1946, the Ḫaylä Śəllase I Award for Ethiopian Studies in 1965, the Medal of the Order of the Blue Nile-First Class in 1983, an honorary doctorate from the Hebrew University in 1994, and the Mark Lidzbarski Medal in 1995, among many other honours. L. has been called the "father of Gurage studies".

L. died four days after his 100th birthday.

↗Ethiopian studies; ↗Language studies

Src.: LesCDic; WOLF LESLAU, "Explications et rapprochments à propos de quelques éléments du vocabulaire mehri", *Comptes rendus du groupe linguistique d'études chamito-sémitiques* 1, 1931–34, 35; ID., *Lexique Soqoṭri (sudarabique moderne) avec comparaisons et explications étymologiques*, Paris 1938 (Collection de la Société de linguistique de Paris 41); ID., *Documents tigrigna (éthiopien septentrional)*, Paris 1941 (Collection de la Société de linguistique de Paris 48); ID., *Falasha Anthology*, New Haven, CT 1951 (Yale Judaica Series 6); ID., *Étude descriptive et comparative du Gafat*, Paris 1956; ID., *A Dictionary of Moča (Southwestern Ethiopia)*, Berkeley – Los Angeles 1959 (University of California Publications in Linguistics 18); ID., "Sketches in Ethiopic Classification", in: *PICES* 1, 89–107; ID., "Classification of the Semitic Languages of Ethiopia", in: *PICES* 3, vol. 2, 5–22; ID., *Etymological Dictionary of Harari*, Berkeley, CA – Los Angeles, CA 1963 (University of California Publications, Near Eastern Studies 1); ID., *An Annotated Bibliography of the Semitic Languages of Ethiopia*, London 1965 (Bibliographies on the Near East 1); ID., *Ethiopians Speak: Studies in Cultural Background*, 1: *Harari*, Berkeley, CA – Los Angeles, CA 1965 (University of California Publications. Near Eastern Studies 7); 2: *Chaha*, Berkeley – Los Angeles, CA 1966 (University of California Publications. Near Eastern Studies 9); 3: *Soddo*, Berkeley, CA – Los Angeles, CA 1968 (University of California Publications. Near Eastern Studies 11); 4: *Muher*, Wiesbaden 1981 (AeF 11); 5: *Chaha and Ennemor*, Wiesbaden 1983 (AeF 16); ID., *Etymological Dictionary of Gurage (Ethiopic)*, 3 vols., Wiesbaden 1979; ID., *Gurage Folklore: Ethiopian Folktales, Proverbs, Beliefs, and Riddles*, Wiesbaden 1982 (SKK 63); ID., *Fifty Years of Research: Selection of Articles on Semitic, Ethiopian Semitic and Cushitic*, Wiesbaden 1988; ID., *Reference Grammar of Amharic*, Wiesbaden 1995; ID., *Ethiopian Documents: Argobba, Grammar and Dictionary*, Wiesbaden 1997 (AeF 47); ID., *The Verb in Mäsqan as Compared with Other Gurage Dialects*, Wiesbaden 2004 (AeF 63).

Lit.: MONICA S. DEVENS, "Annotated Bibliography", in: *KayeLes* vol. 1, XXXV–LXVIII; EAD., "Professor Wolf Leslau: a Scholar of all Times", *Ethiopian Register* April 1995, 52–57; ALAN S. KAYE, "The Making of a Semitist", in: *KayeLes* vol. 1, XXI–XXXIV; JANO MACRENI, "Il Premio Haile Sellassie I", *Sestante, Documentario semestrale illustrato della vita politica economica sociale dell'Etiopia* 1, no. 2, July–December 1965, 17–20 (ill.); WALTER W. MÜLLER, "Zum Gedenken an Wolf Leslau (1906–2006)", *Aethiopica* 10, 2007, 210–18; SAHLE SELLASIE BERHANE MARIAM, "Intellectual Labourer", in: *SegBodLes* 67–69.

Monica S. Devens

Ləssanä säbᵊ

The L.s. (ልሳነ፡ ሰብእ, lit. 'Men's Tongue'), also known as ጸሎት፡ በእንተ፡ ኵሎሙ፡ ልሳናት (*Ṣälot*

bäᵓäntä kʷəllomu ləssanat, 'Prayer Concerning all [Men's] Tongues') is a long hymn and prayer addressed to Jesus Christ. It is meant to protect against "evil words" and cursing of different kinds: slander, calumny or false accusation, envy, malice etc. coming from the human tongue, "which kills and cures".

The whole text is composed of 41 strophes (only eleven of them edited in Grébaut 1935), each comprising five rhymed lines or verses. Each strophe opens with an invocation to Jesus Christ, seen as the shield of the faithful, with the formula: ተማሕፀንኩ፡ በ...ከ (*tämaḥṣänku bä...kä*, 'I place myself under [the protection of] Your ...'). In the body of the hymn the highlights of Jesus's earthly life are recalled: Incarnation, Presentation, Baptism, Resurrection, etc., but also some other persons and episodes from the O.T. and N.T.

The L.s. is frequently referred to as *Mälkəᵓa ləssan* (lit. 'Image[s] of the Tongue'; cp., e.g., ms. EMML 4715) because of its dealing with the character of man's tongue (KWKDic 574), although it is considered a magical text or talisman rather than a ↗*mälkəᵓ*-hymn (THMDic 49; KaneDic 58), since it is ascribed protective power. Thus, many Christian faithful acquire a text of the L.s. in the collection of the prayers ↗*Mälkəᵓa gubaᵓe* (s. Täsfa Gäbrä Śəllase 1966/67) to protect themselves against defamation and to obtain good luck, as well as to succeed in litigation (↗*Muggət*), even if the law is not on the faithful's side.

In the manuscript tradition, the L.s. shows an obvious textual variety, prompted by its magic character. The presence of several Amharic words, such as ምቀኛ (*məqqäññä*), ተንኰለኛ (*tänkʷäläññä*) along with their Gəᶜəz equivalents ሙዴት (*wədet*, 'accusation, calumny'), ረዋዲ (*räwadi*, 'enemy'), suggests the later period of the ↗Gondärine kingdom as the time of its composition. Most of the rather numerous manuscripts with the L.s. are recent and transmit the work within collections of hymns and/or magical texts (but s. ms. Frankfurt N.S. 22876). The work was partially edited by Grébaut after the 19th-cent. ms. Griaule 5 (s. GrébGriaule I, 26f.); but the continuation of the article (Grébaut 1935) never appeared.

From the hymnological composition L.s., a different work should be distinguished, which is also sometimes called L.s. and can be found predominantly on ↗magic scrolls: the so-called *Ləssanä Yaᶜəqob* ('The Tongue of Jacob'), a brief magic text based on Gen 30–31 (e.g., in ms. Berlin Hs. or. 9830; Lifchitz 1940:240–43).

↗Gəᶜəz literature; ↗Hymns; ↗Magic literature

Src.: ChRep; SYLVAIN GRÉBAUT, "L'hymne-invocation Lesâna Sabᵓe", *Aethiopica* 3, 1935, 6–12; GrébGriaule I, 23–27, ms. Éth. 309 [Griaule 5], fol. 79r–84v; GrébGriaule II, 73ff., ms. Éth. 359 [Griaule 55], fol. 33r–45r; GrébGriaule III, 30, ms. Éth. 368 [Griaule 64]; KaneDic 58; StrGriaule 21, ms. Éth. 387 [Griaule 83], fol. 2r–6r; SixDeu 272f., no. 118 [N.S. 22876] (Lit.); 275ff., no. 121 [N.S. 36322]; 346f., no. 157 [Aeth. 6]; s. index; TÄSFA GÄBRÄ ŚƎLLASE (ed.), መልክአ፡ ጉባኤ (*Mälkəᵓa gubaᵓe*, 'The Collection of *Mälkəᵓ*'), Addis Abäba 1959 A.M. [1966/67A.D.], 271–90; THMDic 49.

Lit.: DÉBORAH LIFCHITZ, *Textes éthiopiens magico-religieux*, Paris 1940 (Travaux et Mémoires de l'Institut d'Éthnologie 38), 12f., 240–43; RicLett 833.

Habtemichael Kidane – Denis Nosnitsin

Lessona, Alessandro

L. (b. 9 September 1891, Rome, d. 1991, Florence) was Italian Minister of Colonies during the Fascist regime and author of several publications on Italian colonialism. After obtaining a degree in Law, L. served as an officer in the army and was a Member of Parliament between 1924–39. In the National Fascist Party L. occupied several posts (federal secretary in Savona, commander of the 34 Legion, general officer of the fascist militia, etc.).

Between 1928–29, L. also became also sub-secretary of the Ministry of Colonies, an office he held until 1936. Between 1934–37 he taught Colonial Law at Florence University and in these last two years was Minister of Colonies. In this capacity he was much behind the shaping of Italian policy in conquered Ethiopia at the formation of the colonial, fascist ↗Africa Orientale Italiana based on ethnic and religious separate entitites. In 1937 he also became a member of the board of directors of the Centre for Colonial Studies, agent of the Agrarian Italian Colonial Institute in Florence and, later, director of the Scuola di perfezionamento in Studi Coloniali at Rome. He was named Senator of the Italian Republic.

Src.: ALESSANDRO LESSONA, *Il Fascismo per le Colonie. Le Colonie italiane nel quadro europeo*, Roma 1932; ID., *Realizzazioni e propositi del colonialismo italiano*, Roma, 1935; ID., *Scritti e discorsi coloniali*, Milano 1935; ID., *La missione dell'Italia in Africa*, Roma 1936; ID., *Verso l'Impero. Memorie per la storia politica del conflitto italo-etiopico*, Firenze 1939; ID., *Memorie*, Firenze 1958.

Gian Carlo Stella

Ləṭ Maräfiya

L.M. (ልጥ፡ ማረፊያ, also name of the plant *Crassocephalum macropappum*; 9° 38' N, 39° 45' E; 2,408 m A.S.L.) is a locality in Šäwa, 16 km north

of ↗Ankobär (for location s. Ləčče). The site, in an old volcano crater, was used by the mission of the ↗Società Geografica Italiana as its main station in Ethiopia from 1876 to 1895.

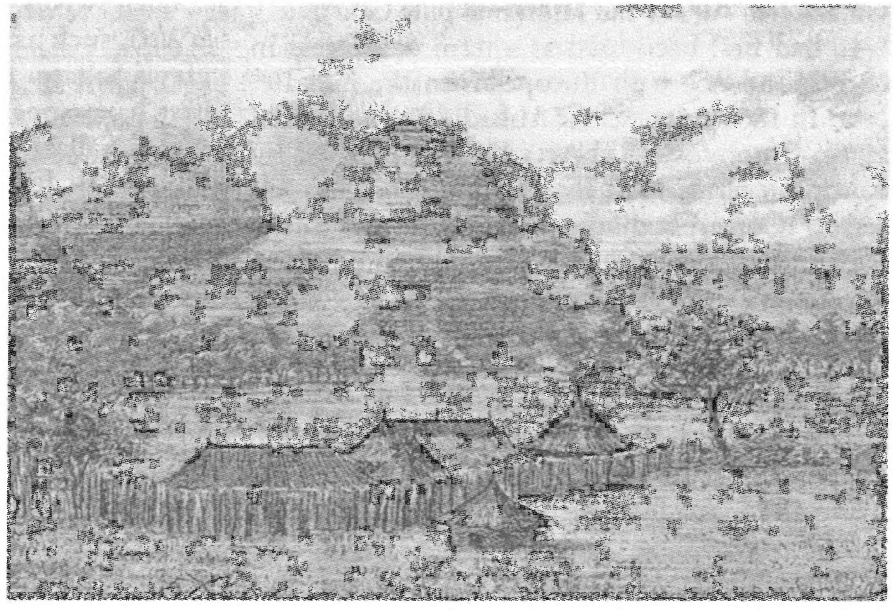
Launched in 1876 and headed by Orazio ↗Antinori, the first mission included Giovanni ↗Chiarini, an engineer and natural scientist from Chieti, Lorenzo Landini from Rome, and Captain Sebastiano Martini Bernardi, a journalist and traveller from Florence (who had to return to Italy and was in 1877 replaced by the geographer Antonio ↗Cecchi), and had as its original aim the exploration of the major lakes of equatorial Africa. It was meant to proceed from ↗Zaylaᶜ or ↗Berbera, via ↗Harär or the ↗Awaš valley, and reach Ankobär, the then capital of Šäwa and the seat of *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II. The party, however, stopped in Šäwa, never reaching its final goal. Instead, it became the first Italian mission in Ethiopia, and Chiarini's tragic fate had a profound effect on the Italians.

Thanks to the mediation of the later Cardinal Guglielmo ↗Massaja, who guaranteed the scholarly nature of the expedition, Antinori and his companions were welcomed by Mənilək, who in December 1876 placed at their disposal 95 ha of land in the crater of L.M. The place had previously been offered as a seat to Massaja himself but he declined it, taking residence at the nearby ↗Fəqre Gəmb. Surrounded by mountains (↗Ǝmmä Məḥrät to the north, Fəqre Gəmb to the north-east and Däns to the east) and rich in water and thus in fertile pastures, the site had a mild climate and was only two hours walk away from the Šäwan capital. Massaja also reported the existence of a "monastery", Məntək Gädam, in the vicinity of L.M. Similar to other *balä əgg* (craftsmen) monasteries of ↗Šäwa (cp. ↗Mugär Gädam; ↗Mänz), its inhabitants confessed a mixture of Christianity and Judaism close to that of the ↗Betä Ǝsraᵓel, though using nearby churches for sacraments and services on feast days; as their means of livlihood they produced agricultural and handicrafts products.

Wounded in a hunting accident, Antinori settled at L.M. and constructed the first buildings of the mission, thus giving a start to the first European scientific post and health station in Ethiopia. He intended it to serve as the base camp for the expeditions to the equatorial lakes; with the arrival of Count Pietro ↗Antonelli in 1879 and his becoming the head of the station upon Antinori's death in 1882, the station, however, became the centre of Italian colonial politics in Ethiopia. The L.M. mission pursued the "Šäwan policy", supporting Mənilək in his aspirations to the imperial throne against *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV. Antonelli became the official representative of the Italian government in Šäwa; the medical officer Vincenzo Ragazzi replaced him in the post of director of the station. It was Ragazzi who informed the Italian foreign ministry of the ↗coronation of Mənilək and Ṭaytu in November 1889. Earlier that year, in a meeting with the representatives of the Società Geografica Italiana, Mənilək's ambassador *ras* ↗Mäkʷännən Wäldä Mikaᵓel emphasized that the current friendly relations between Mənilək and Italy were mostly due to the mediation of the L.M. station.

In February 1890 Leopoldo ↗Traversi took over the station. His first months were particularly difficult: in 1899 a typhoid epidemic hit L.M., killing one third of the settlement's inhabitants. It was followed by a rinderpest epidemic, resulting in the worst ↗famine of the century (↗*Kəfu qän*). By October 1890, when Augusto ↗Salimbeni visited L.M., order at L.M. had been restored and the granaries were full again.

In 1894 Traversi handed over the leadership to Luigi ↗Capucci. With the deterioration in the relationship with Mənilək, the station was finally



The residence of the "Società Geografica allo Scioa" at Ləṭ Maräfiya; from Bianchi 1884:34

abandoned, Capucci being arrested and imprisoned in 1895, on the eve of the battle of ↗ᶜAdwa. Today, a sycamore tree still marks the site of Antinori's tomb.

Src.: ORAZIO ANTINORI, *Viaggio nei Bogos*, ed. by MANLIO BONATI, San Sisto 2000, XXVI, XXXVIf., XLIf., LI; CecZeila; KaneDic 122; MasMis² vol. 5, 256ff.; BTafA index; LEOPOLDO TRAVERSI, *Let-Marefia: prima stazione geografica italiana nello Scioa e le nostre relazioni con l'Etiopia (1876–1896)*, Milano 1931; ID., *L'Italia da Assab a Ual-Ual*, Bologna 1935; ID., *Let Marefià*, Roma 1941.

Lit.: GIACOMO ANTINORI, *Il marchese Orazio Antinori e la spedizione geografica italiana nell'Africa equatoriale*, Perugia 1883; BZHist 72, 74; GUSTAVO BIANCHI, *Alla terra dei Galla*, Milano 1884, 34 (ill.); MARIA CARAZZI, *La Società Geografica Italiana e l'esplorazione coloniale in Africa (1876-1900)*, Firenze 1972; CLAUDIO CERRETI, *Della Società Geografica Italiana e della sua vicenda storica (1867-1997)*, Roma 2000, 47ff.; ANNA ERCOLE, *La stazione geografica di Let Marefia in terra d'Africa*, Roma 1938; *Guida* 407f.; G. GRABLOVITZ, "Il clima della stazione di Let-Marefià nello Scioa", *Bollettino della Società Geografica Italiana* 1888; LORENZO LANDINI, *Due anni in Africa col Marchese Orazio Antinori*, Città di Castello 1884; ELIO MIGLIORINI, *Orazio Antinori e la stazione di Let Marefia*, Napoli 1985; RICHARD PANKHURST, *The History of Famines and Epidemics prior to the Twentieth Century*, Addis Ababa 1985.

Luca Lupi

Ləᶜul

The noble title L. (ልዑል, 'Prince [of the Imperial House]', corresponding to 'Highness', f. ልዕልት, *ləᶜəlt*) is an early 20th cent. invention, following a need for new titles at the court of the modernist ruler *ras* Täfäri (the later *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I), after its first use by *ləᶜul ləğ* ↗Iyasu for himself. This title was a reinterpretation of the older Gəᶜəz term ልዑል ('the High one', i.e. God).

L. had first been used as a term of address in correspondence with Europeans in the mid-19th cent. In 1865 Antoine d'↗Abbadie was addressed as "L. Ǝnṭonyos" (RubActa II, 247), inspired by European terms like 'His Highness' or 'Son Altesse'. Correspondingly Ethiopian diplomatic letters, in particular starting from the time of *aṣe* Yoḥannəs IV, regularly used this term to address European ministers or other high-ranking figures, who could not simply be addressed as *muse* (↗Titles for Europeans). High personalities were regularly addressed as ክቡር፡ ወልዑል፡ ... (*kəbur wälәᶜul* ...) starting from the 19th cent.: e.g., Enno Littmann addressed the governor of Aksum ↗Gäbrä Śəllase Barya Gabər as *kəbur wälәᶜul däğğazmač* ('Honorable and High General') in 1906.

One of the first Ethiopian documents attesting the use of "L." in combination with an Ethiopian title are those of "*ləᶜul ləğ* Iyasu" of 1914 (a perfect translation of 'His Highness, Prince Iyasu', s. Smidt 2007). After that date this title was regularly used by him. This invention of the young ruler was later taken over by *ras* Täfäri for the needs of his court. During his reign L. became, together with ↗*ləğ* (corresponding to the term ↗*abeto*), the only title which was acquired by birth and meant a personality of Solomonic descent (i.e. the agnates of the Emperor). *Ras* Täfäri, who steadfastly monopolized power in his hands, might originally have been looking for means to distinguish himself from the other *ras*; and so starting from the early 1920s he called himself *ləᶜul ras* following *ləğ* Iyasu's example, possibly due to a suggestion by his advisor ↗Ḫəruy Wäldä Śəllase.

After Täfäri's coronation as *aṣe* Ḫaylä Śəllase I he widened the use of this new term by adding it to the already existing titles of those princes governing the traditionally highly autonomous provinces of Gondär, Goğğam and Təgray who, according to tradition, would have had a legitimate claim to the title of *nəguś* – so, Kaśa Ḫaylu of Gondär, Ḫaylu Täklä Haymanot of Goğğam and Śəyyum Mängäša and Gugsa Arᵓaya of Təgray, were all four of them now called *ləᶜul ras* ('Princely Duke'), which allowed the Emperor to avoid the coronation of any new *nəguś*. In succession, Aśrate Kaśa (s. Mahtämä Salale Wäldä Mäsqäl 1965:19), Ḫaylu Bäläw of Goğğam, Mängäša Śəyyum of Təgray were accorded the title *ləᶜul ras*. The title L. was then also used alone, without any second component.

Their wives received the title of *ləᶜəlt* (Tgn. *ləᶜəlti*), such as also most female descendants of Ḫaylä Śəllase. This female term of address might first have appeared in a text written by Ḫəruy Wäldä Śəllase in 1922/23, on *ras* Täfäri's wife's journey to Jerusalem: *Yälәᶜəlt wäyzäro Mänän mängäd. Bäᵓiyärusalemənna bäməsr* ('Her Highness *wäyzaro* Mänän's Journey, to Jerusalem and Egypt').

The use of the title L. remained very exclusive. Except for the above-mentioned highest-ranking nobles (and in succession to *ləᶜul ras* Kaśa his son *ləᶜul ras* Aśrate, s. Maḫtämä Śəllase Wäldä Mäsqäl 1973:19) it was only accorded to descendants of Ḫaylä Śəllase himself (*ləᶜəlt* ↗Tänañña Wärq, *ləᶜul alga wärraš märəd azmač* ↗Asfa Wäsän, *ləᶜul* Mäkʷännən, *ləᶜəlt* Zännäbä Wärq, *ləᶜəlt* ↗Ṣäḥay, *ləᶜul* Śahlä Śəllase and practically all their children, but not their elder

sister *wäyzäro* Romanä Wärq and her children, s. Maḫtämä Śəllase Wäldä Mäsqäl 1973:28). A son of a L. regularly bears the princely title *ləǧ* (Copley 1998:115).

The religious connotation of the title, linked with the original Gəᶜəz term, enhances its importance and impressiveness (s. LesCDic 304: 'high, upper, lofty, elevated, superior, Most High, exalted'). This term appears in ancient Christian Gəᶜəz names, like Wäldä Ləᶜul ('the son of the High One', i.e. of God). Folk etymology sometimes links the term *lul* ('pearl') with L. (appearing, e.g., in names like Lulit, fem. 'pearl'), but it is rather connected with Arab. *luᵓluᵓ* ('pearl'; s. LesCDic 314).

Lit.: GREGORY R. COPLEY, *Ethiopia Reaches her Hand Unto God: Imperial Ethiopia's Unique Symbols, Structures, and Role in the Modern World*, Alexandria 1998, 109, 114f., 121, 123, 131; LesCDic 303f., 314; MahZekr; *blatten geta* MAḪTÄMÄ ŚƎLLASE WÄLDÄ MÄSQÄL, **ጉልቄ፡ ትውልድ። ዘንጉሥ፡ ሳህለ፡ ሥላሴ** (*Ḫʷəlqʷä təwlədd. Zänəguś Sahlä Śəllase*, 'The Number of Generations of *nəguś* Śahlä Śəllase'), Addis Abäba 1965 A.M. [1972/73 A.D.], 18f., 28; MahZekr 641f.; RubActa II, 247; DAVID H. SHINN – THOMAS P. OFCANSKY, *Historical Dictionary of Ethiopia, New Edition*, Lanham – Toronto – Oxford 2004, 220; WOLBERT SMIDT, "Ein erster Beleg für den Titel '*ləᶜul*' unter *ləǧ* Iyasu", *Aethiopica* 10, 2007, 194–98; ZerÉth.

Asfa-Wossen Asserate – Wolbert Smidt

Ləᶜul Sägäd

Ras L.S. (**ልዑል፡ ሰገድ**, "horse name" Abba Bälay; d. 17 October 1916) was an important early 20th-cent. politician.

A son of *däğğazmač* Atnaf Sägäd, L.S. belonged to the powerful Addisge family of Šäwa. L.S.'s brother *däğğazmač* Wəbe Atnaf Sägäd was the second husband of *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II's daughter ↗Zäwditu. Their brother Abbäbä Atnaf Sägäd was a ↗*liqä mäkʷas*, and his son Abiy was later to marry *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I's daughter ↗Ṣähay.

After the battle of ᶜAdwa in recognition of his bravery *aṣe* Mənilək bestowed the title of ↗*ligaba* on L.S. Mənilək subsequently made him *ras* and governor of ↗Bale (in 1907) for his important role in the conquest of ↗Sidamo. Later L.S. also governed the province of ↗Käfa. On 31 May 1911, after the death of his cousin *ras* ↗Täsämma Nadäw, L.S. was made ↗*ras bitwäddäd* by *ləǧ* ↗Iyasu. However, he never played an important role in the political scene of Iyasu's court, their relationship being quite cold, and he was better known for his bravery as a soldier.

L.S. was the second husband of *wäyzäro* ↗Mänän. Her separation from L.S. and union with Täfäri Mäkʷannən (later *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I) led to L.S.'s hostility towards the latter. He also blamed *ləǧ* Iyasu for helping Täfäri in taking his wife from him. Probably this encouraged L.S. to oppose the Prince, and in 1915 the Käfa governorship was taken from him. Nevertheless, L.S.'s negative feelings towards Täfäri were stronger, and he supported *ləǧ* Iyasu when the latter tried to take ↗Harär from Täfäri in 1916.

After the ↗coup d'état 1916 (s. EAE II, 1081) L.S. joined the Šäwan party and died in the Battle of Tora Mäsk which took place on 17 October, just before the battle of ↗Sägäle. At Tora Mäsk L.S.'s troops tried to stop *fitawrari* Sirah Bəzu's soldiers supporting *ras* ↗Mikaᵓel's party from taking ↗Ankobär. L.S. was buried in Däbrä Bərhan Śəllase.

Src.: GebMolIyas; MÄRSƎᵓE HAZÄN WÄLDÄ QIRQOS, **የዘመን፡ ታሪክ፡ ትዝታዬ፡ – በዳግማዊ፡ ምኒልክ፡ ዘመነ፡ መንግሥት** (*Yäzämän tarik təzzətaye – bädagmawi Mənilək zämänä mängəśt*, 'My Memories of the History – During the Reign of Mənilək II'), Addis Abäba 1994 A.M. [2002/2003 A.D.], 44, 86, 89, 97, 99, 101, 103, 105, 107, 120, 127, 135; ID., *Of What I Saw and Heard: the Last Years of Emperor Menelik II & the Brief Rule of Iyassu*, Addis Abeba 2004 [Ethiopian Studies 1], 102; MahHorse 214; TSTarik IV [publ. 1945], 94, 101f., 110.

Lit.: HAROLD GOLDEN MARCUS, *The Life and Times of Menelik II: Ethiopia 1844–1913*, Oxford 1975, 248, 255, 268, 280; ID., *Haile Sellassie I: the Formative Years, 1892–1936*, Berkeley, CA 1987; LEONARD MOSLEY, *Haile Selassie: the Conquering Lion*, London 1964, 68, 89, 91, 98, 101, 108.

Hanna Rubinkowska

Libän Amäde

Imām L. (**ሊበን፡ አመዴ**, Orom. Liiban Amade, "horse name" Abba Ğirru; b. ca. 1785, Bägemdər, d. 1825, Wärrä Himäno) ruled ↗Wärrä Himäno between 1803 and 1825. He was a son of *imām* Amäde (*alias* Kolase, r. 1788–1803) and belonged to the Muslim ↗Mammädočč dynasty of rulers. He was born a Christian, a fact which is not uncommon as it fits the pattern of inter-religious mix that is characteristic of this dynasty. His mother, Səhin, was a Christian, who descended from the nobility of Bägemdər and was the niece of *ras* ↗Goššu. The latter had taken the 20-year old Amäde "Kolase" into his service, had him baptized with the name of ↗Wäldä Gäbrəᵓel and gave him his niece in marriage. After the death of Goššu, Amäde returned to ↗Islam and took the leadership of ↗Wärrä Himäno. His son, L., stayed in Bägemdər and received Christian education until the death of his mother, when he was

about 15. Afterwards he returned to his father who converted him to Islam and appointed him to the governorship of the buffer zones north of the Bäšəlo river: Wadla, Dawənt, Dälanta.

L. succeeded Amäde after the latter's death during a campaign in ↗Läga Hidda in 1803. After having confined potential rivals from within his family at ↗Mäqdäla and Ləgot, he clashed with other Wällo groups (Täkʷəladäre, Lägambo) and devastated Lägä Hidda to avenge the death of his father and to recover his remains. The reign of L. is characterized by a state of latent warfare against the neighbouring Christian rulers. The fiercest competition was with the Wärrašek faction governing Bägemdər (*ras* ↗Gugsa) and the ↗Yäğğu lords (*däğğazmač* Goği). It was balanced by contextual agreements with other powerful opponents: *ras* ↗Wäldä Śəllase of Təgray and, to a lesser extent, ↗Śahlä Śəllase of Šäwa. L. vigorously championed Islam within Wällo and struggled to overcome the state of fragmentation and infighting between the territorial clans in this part of Wällo.

He married at least three women including Christians. Four of his descendants are known: 1. Amäde "Abba Muğa", his eldest son and eventual successor, who was the child of *wäyzäro* Ṭuma Gaddissa, a name which indicates an Oromo background. 2. By Ṭuma he fathered ↗Mänän, who became famous for her dominant political role in Gondär, as she was married to *däğğazmač* Alula Gugsa the father of *ras* ↗Ali II, and afterwards to *aṣe* Yoḥannəs III (and hence her title of *ətege*). 3. Ali "Abba Bulla", whose mother, *wäyzäro* Sənəddu, belonged to the Christian aristocracy of Wadla, and was the father of Amäde Ali (by ↗Wärqitu) and Muḥammad (*nəguś* ↗Mikaʾel) Ali. 4. Bäšir, his son by *wäyzäro* Wəddət, remembered for having been the father of ↗Amäde Bäšir, who rebelled against Tewodros II.

After 12 years of rule L. died of an intestinal hernia complicated by intensive horse riding. Amäde succeeded him but he had to swear allegiance to *ras* Gugsa. This was the reason for the opposition of his half-brother Ali "Abba Bulla", which led to further infighting among the succeeding generations of the Mammädočč.

Src.: BlunChr; SalTrav.

Lit.: DOMENICO BRIELLI, "Ricordi storici dei Uollo (con note di C. Conti Rossini)", in: *CRStud* 78–110; ZERGAW ASFERA, *Some Aspects of Historical Development in "Amhara/Wällo" (ca. 1700–1815)*, B.A. thesis, Haile Selassie I University 1973.

Éloi Ficquet

Libanos

Abba L. (ሊባኖስ) or Mäṭaᶜ (መጣዕ), also known as Yəsrin (ይስሪን, cp. Bausi 2003a:XIX, n. 2 [tr.]), was one of the most important saints of the Aksumite period and renowned as one of the early founders of the monasticism and asceticism in Ethiopia.

Not included (apart from later traditions) in the group of the ↗Nine Saints and definitely different from ↗Yəmʾata (with whom he was sometimes confused, cp. ibid. XXIII, n. 16 [tr.]), L. is said to have come from Qʷəsṭənṭənya ('Constantinople') during the reign of ↗Ǝllä Gäbäz or Zägäbäz(ä Aksum) and (according to one recension of his Acts, cp. below) to have been active till the reign of his successor, ↗Gäbrä Mäsqäl (for an attempt at explaining these contradictory references and dating L.'s activity in the 6th cent., cp. EAE II, 262).

Literary evidence, mainly from his Acts (↗*Gädl*) and his Miracles (↗*Täʾammər*), preserves his memory and links L. to numerous ancient historical places (cp. Bausi 2003a:XXVIII, n. 22 [tr.], with references, e.g., to ↗Aksum, Arämo, Fäqada [↗Amba Foqäda], ↗Gʷənagʷəna, ↗Yəḥa). The ancient monastery of ↗Däbrä Libanos of Šəmäzana in Akkälä Guzay, Eritrea, claims L. as its founder, but other places, too, recall his name: in Säraye, Eritrea, among the most important ones, the devotional place of ↗Ǝnda Abba Mäṭaᶜ (cp. Bausi – Lusini 1994:26, n. 51); in Təgray, the small rock-hewn church of Abba Mäṭaᶜ, ca. 8 km south of Aksum, which preserves a fragmentary Aksumite inscription (cp. Anfray 1970:39, n. 6; RIÉ I, 308 [no. 215]); in Lasta, Wällo, L. is the only Ethiopian saint to whom a rock-hewn church (Abba Mäṭaᶜ) is dedicated in the ↗Lalibäla complex; and a wall-inscription in the church of ↗Gännätä Maryam attests that it was originally built in Mäṭaᶜ's name by *aṣe* Yəkunno Amlak (cp. Bausi 2003a:XXIf. [tr.]).

L. is commemorated in the ↗*Sənkəssar* on 3 *Ṭərr* and mentioned in the reading for 2 *Ḫədar* (BudSaint 445 and 205).

There are at least three different recensions of the ገድለ፡ ሊባኖስ *Gädlä Libanos* (G.L.), which are certainly the product of intentional reworking, although all seem to derive from a common literary text, probably a lost homily attributed to (otherwise unknown) Elyas, the Bishop of Aksum, mentioned in the *Gädl* (cp. Bausi 2003a, indices).

(1) The first recension (ed. Getatchew Haile 1990:36–46) is probably the most ancient hagi-

ographic text (pre-mid-14th cent.) devoted to an Ethiopian saint, and is likely to have been composed, or rearranged, at the monastery of ↗Däbrä Ḥayq Ǝsṭifanos. It is attested in three 14th-cent. mss.: EMML 1763, fols. 110rb–113va; EMML 7602, fols. 126ra–128ra; and EMML 8509 (not used by Getatchew Haile), fols. 43r–45v. It relates in the simplest way the events of L.'s life; the narrative is totally devoid of any historical element and follows hagiographic common places (cf. esp. the *Gädl* of ↗Gäbrä Krəstos, i.e., St. Alexis): born of a rich family, following the call of the Archangel Gabriel, L. refuses to marry, leaves one night the house of his parents, Abrəham and Nəgəśt, and spends some time in the (Egyptian) monastery of Däbrä Zäyt, where he receives the monastic habit from ↗Pachomius and is invited by him to go to Ethiopia. After passing some time there, he is called to Aksum by Bishop Elyas, but for his criticism of the Bishop's corruption L. is exiled by Ǝllä Gäbäz. After three years he is reconciled by the monk Adḫanänni (or Adḫani), who receives the name of Bəʾəse Sälam (cf. Ǝdda Bəʾəse Sälam in CRAxum 15 [tr.], no. 10) and becomes his disciple. The two monks build Betä Mäsqäl and live together till the death of Bəʾəse Sälam. Finally, in his ↗*kidan* L. asks for the grace of miraculous healing-springs for all those who will invoke his name. After giving the monastic habit to the mother of Adḫanänni one year after her son's death, L. retires with two of his disciples, performs his last miracle and passes away. Three villages contended for his relics, but he was buried in the place where he had dwelt as a hermit. Bishop Elyas is miraculously invited to write a homily in honour of L.

(2) The second recension (ed. Bausi 2003a; for details on sub-recensions cp. ibid. XV–XIX [text]) is much longer and certainly later than the first one, expanding the narrative in various places, also inserting a long episode on a certain Bartəkoz (present in the third recension too), but following faithfully the same plot; it is attested in five mss. at least: StrANL nos. 26 and 88 (20th cent.), VatLib Cerulli Etiop. 198 (early 19th cent.), and two mss. in Asmära, Library of the Pavoni Social Center (dating respectively to 1674 A.D. and to the 20th cent.).

(3) The third recension is only known (apart from few fragments, cp. BerTarik 14f., 40ff.) from excerpts from one single ms. from Däbrä Libanos of Šəmäzana (ed. Conti Rossini 1903:25–34; Bausi 2003a; for other mss. of the *Gädl*, cp. ibid. XII, nn. 4f. [text]). Abundant in details, place names and local traditions, it is radically different from the preceding ones, but numerous shared passages still demonstrate its strict dependence upon one and the same common pre-archetypal text. In the narrative, L. is credited with staying in numerous places in Säraye and with preaching in ↗Bur, after the foundation of the monastery of Däbrä Libanos where his *Gädl* was written; allusions to traditions collected in the ↗*Kəbrä nägäśt*, to the Holy Fire ceremony in Jerusalem (cp. Fiaccadori in StudAeth), and to L.'s writing of the Gospel (cp. below) are also attested. The third recension is the only one which attributes an important role to King ↗Gäbrä Mäsqäl in patronizing activities (cp. Lusini 2003, 2004:68–73), but the reliability of this as well as of the other (pseudo-)historical traditions is highly questionable. The recension has neither significant connections with what is attested in ancient documentary sources (cp. Bausi 2003a:XXXIf. [tr.]) nor any references to the reliable ancient dedication of churches to L. in Lasta, not to mention the fact that the evocation of the name of Gäbrä Mäsqäl could be a simple reflex of the patronage of King ↗Lalibäla (also named Gäbrä Mäsqäl), who, together with his wife ↗Mäsqäl Kəbra, was very favourably disposed towards the monastery of Däbrä Libanos, as evidenced by its "Golden Gospel" (cp. CRDLib 187–91, nos. 6–7). It is more than likely that this recension of the *Gädl* was composed not later than the 15th cent. on the basis of an earlier recension (more or less faithfully represented by the first and second one), with the addition of elements in order to (re)assert feudal prerogatives upon a new basis, as

Abba Mäṭaᶜ, miniature in the 14th-cent. ms. of *Gädlä sämaᶜətat*, church of St. Mary, Tulluu Guddoo, Zway; photo 1971, courtesy of Paul Henze

the mention of dwelling-places and as the numerous foundations of the Saint would suggest (cp. Bausi 2003a:XXXIf. [tr.]; 2005a:3f.; 2005b:160f.).

The second and third recensions are also accompanied by a collection of Miracles, which amount to a total number of 68 (ed. Bausi 2003a; few of them already in Conti Rossini 1903:34–41). They are only partially repeated in the different recensions and include expansions and resumptions of episodes of the *Gädl*. They provide valuable information on such pre-mid-15th cent. historical characters as *aṣe* ↗Säyfä Arʿad, Wəddəm Säfär, Dawit and his daughter Dəlmä Nəgśa, Yəsḥaq, Zärʾa Yaʿəqob; *səyyumä ʿagame* ↗Akḥadom; *bäʿalä naʿle* Gäbrä Krəstos; *nəburä əd* Gäbrä Iyäsus, Ḥara Zäkrəstos, Zäʾamanuʾel.

At least two ↗*mälkəʾ* of L. are known (cp. ChRép nos. 359 and 377, the latter ed. in Bausi 2003a, with a ↗*sälam*).

Contrary to the widespread interpretation of a passage of the *Gädl* (cp. Conti Rossini 1903:26; Bausi 2003*a*:14 [text] = 13 [tr.], §30), which attributes to L. the translation of the Gospel of Matthew (hence the name Mäṭaʿ, from "Matthew", cf. ibid. XXXIIIff. [tr.]; but the name, MṬʿ, MṬʿN, is attested in Ṣafaitic, cp. Harding 1971:551) in Bäqla, it is likely that the passage records a different tradition, according to which the Saint wrote there some particular sections of the Gospel (Mt 5:1ff. and 25:31ff.), as he did other sections in other places. The sections of the Gospel seem to be indicated in the passage by their *incipits* (probably corresponding to their *tituli*), exactly as in a passage from the Miracles of L. (Bausi 2003a:191 [text] = 110 [tr.], § 497; cp. Bausi 2003b). The alleged tradition of L. as translator of the Gospel has been connected with that of the Vorlage of the Ethiopian ↗Bible and with the traditional attribution of a role to supposedly Syrian monks, recently reaffirmed by some authors (cp. Ricci 2003:76), and strongly contested by others (cf. Marrassini 1999; Knibb 1999:23f.; Munro-Hay in AfrHorn).

One of the most ancient manuscript witnesses to L.'s Acts, ms. EMML 7602, the so-called Homiliary of ↗Tulluu Guddoo, also contains the most ancient representation of L. (Mäṭaʿ) in art, on fol. 125v, immediately before the *incipit* of L.'s Acts (fig.).

Src.: ALESSANDRO BAUSI, *La «Vita» e i «Miracoli» di Libānos*, Lovanii 2003a (CSCO 595, 596 [SAe 105, 106]), (Lit.); BerTarik 14ff., 26–42; BudSaint 445, 205; ChRép nos. 359 and 377; ColSyn IX, 26f., and VIII, 242f.; CRAxum; CRDLib; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Il Gadla Libânos", in: *Ricordi di un soggiorno in Eritrea. Fascicolo Primo*, Asmara 1903, 23–41; GETATCHEW HAILE, "The Homily of Abba Eläyas, Bishop of Aksum, on Mäṭṭaʿ", *ABoll* 108, 1990, 29–47; EMML nos. 1763, 7602, 8509; RaiCer no. 198; RIÉ I, 308, no. 215; StrANL nos. 26, 88.

Lit.: FRANCIS ANFRAY, "Notes archéologiques", *AE* 10, 1970, 31–58, here 39, n. 6; ALESSANDRO BAUSI – GIANFRANCESCO LUSINI, "Appunti in margine a una nuova ricerca sui conventi eritrei", *RSE* 36, 1992 [1994], 5–36, here 26–32 (Lit.); ALESSANDRO BAUSI, "Su alcuni manoscritti presso comunità monastiche dell'Eritrea. Parte terza", *RSE* 41, 1997 [1998], 13–56 (Lit.); ID., "«Quando verrà ...» (Mt 25,31): su un passo del *Gadla Libānos*", *Aethiopica* 6, 2003b, 168–76; ID., "Etiopico *ʾellē*: a proposito di un'ipotesi recente", in: DENIS NOSNITSIN (ed.), *Varia Aethiopica: In Memory of Sevir B. Chernetsov (1943–2005)*, St. Petersburg 2005 (= Scrinium 1), 3–11; ID., "Ancient features of Ancient Ethiopic", *Aethiopica* 8, 2005b, 149–69, here 160f.; CRStor 157f.; DicEthBio 178; GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, "Πρόσωψις, non πρόοψις: Efeso, Gerusalemme, Aquileia (Nota a *IEph* 495, 1 S.)", *La Parola del Passato* 58, 3 [330], 2003 [2004], 182–249, here 246f.; ID., "Sulla formula etiopica per la cerimonia del Fuoco sacro a Gerusalemme", in: *StudAeth* 37–40; GERALD LANKESTER HARDING, *An Index and Concordance of pre-Islamic Arabian Names and Inscriptions*, Toronto – Buffalo 1971 (Near and Middle Eastern series 8); GIANFRANCESCO LUSINI, [review of Bausi 2003], *Aethiopica* 7, 2004, 245–50; ID., "Note linguistiche per la storia dell'Etiopia antica", in: *StudAeth* 67–78, here 68–73; KinBibl 80, no. 91; MICHAEL A. KNIBB, *Translating the Bible. The Ethiopic Version of the Old Testament*, Oxford 1999 (The Schweich Lectures of the British Academy 1995), 1–54; PAOLO MARRASSINI, "Ancora sul problema degli influssi siriaci in età aksumita", in: LUIGI CAGNI (ed.), *Biblica et Semitica. Studi in memoria di Francesco Vattioni*, Napoli 1999 (Series Minor 59), 325–37; STUART MUNRO-HAY, "Saintly Shadows", in: *AfrHorn* 137–68; OSVALDO RAINERI, "Libānos", in: *EncSan* vol. 1, Roma 1998, 329; LANFRANCO RICCI, "Iscrizioni rupestri dell'Eritrea – [Koḥaytò]: Bukhwabùkh; Sariddoledă(h); Ṣihillò; 'Tomba dell'egiziano'; Cristianesimo ante litteram nel Koḥayto", *RSE* nuova ser. 2, 2003, 51–76, here 76.

Alessandro Bausi

Liber Aksumae ↗Aksum: Mäṣḥafä Aksum

Liberal Progressive Party

The L.P.P. was an Eritrean pro-independence party established in the late 1940s after the British had lifted a ban – in force between 1941 and 1946 – on political parties in the territory. The L.P.P., also known as **ማኅበር፡ ነጻነት፡ ዕብየት፡ ኤርትራ፤ ኤርትራ፡ ንኤርትራዊያን** (*Maḫbär näṣannät ʿəbyät Ərətra: Ərətra nəʾərətrawiyan*, 'Eritrean Independence and Progress Party: Eritrea for the Eritreans'), was founded in February 1947 in ʿAddi Qäyyəḥ, with *ras* ↗Täsämma Asbärom as its president. To some extent the movement was descended from the pro-independence faction of the earlier ↗*Maḫbär fəqri hagär* of the early 1940s. The prominent advocate of independence,

↗Wäldä Ab Wäldä Maryam, had in 1945 broken from that association to establish the clandestine "Eritrea for Eritreans" group.

The L.P.P., which soon established branches in other parts of the highlands, demanded unconditional independence for Eritrea. While it had a predominantly Christian following, it objected to the role of the church in political affairs and developed a largely secular, pan-Eritrean platform in opposition to what it saw as an Ethiopian Church–Unionist Party pro-Ethiopian alliance. Common political aims led to close relations with the ↗Muslim League, with which the L.P.P. differed only in its unwillingness to support the idea of a period of European trusteeship prior to independence. In 1949, the L.P.P. became part of the ↗Independence Block, instigated by ↗Ibrāhīm Sulṭān of the Muslim League, which grouped together several pro-independence parties. Following the ↗United Nations resolution federating Eritrea with Ethiopia in 1950 (↗Ethiopian–Eritrean Federation), the Independence Block, including the L.P.P., became the Eritrean Democratic Front. The nationalist ethos of the L.P.P. continued into the 1950s and indeed grew stronger in response to Ethiopian violations of the federal constitution. Elements of the party later joined the Eritrean liberation movement (↗Eritrean Liberation Front).

Lit.: LLOYD ELLINGSON, "The Emergence of Political Parties in Eritrea, 1941–1950", *JAH* 18, 2, 1977, 267–69; RUTH IYOB, *The Eritrean Struggle for Independence: Domination, Resistance, Nationalism 1941–1993*, Cambridge 1995; TEKESTE NEGASH, *Eritrea and Ethiopia: the Federal Experience*, Uppsala 1997.

Richard Reid

Liberation 1941 ↗War of liberation; ↗World War II

Liberation movements

In traditional Ethiopian politics resistance to established authority was mostly led by individual ↗*šəfta* (bandits or rebels). This continued to characterize politics in post-World War II Ethiopia and Eritrea. However, a new element was added. Groups of *šəfta* were traditionally rather small, but starting from the 1940s there was a rise of mass movements and armed uprisings in several regions, especially in ↗Eritrea, ↗Təgray and later in ↗Goğğam and ↗Ogaden, organized around a common idea or goal.

Several rebel groups, often comprising disbanded soldiers, the Mossazghi brothers being the most renowned, were active in Eritrea from 1941, attempting to drive out the remaining Italians (Trevaskis 1960:55). Resistant groups in Eritrea were often given arms, money and refuge in Təgray (Fernyhough 1986:165). In Təgray the "first" ↗Wäyyane rebellion began in 22 May 1943 and quickly became a mass movement, supported by the local nobiliy and great parts of the peasantr and city population. Quickly the rebels were in charge of the provincial capital Mäqälä and most of Eastern Təgray. With the help of British officers the Emperor regained control by October (Young 1997:52). Another mass movement, comprising great numbers of the peasant population, starte in Goğğam in 1967, the rebels controlling the highlands until 1968.

The late 1950s saw the first signs of political modernization and the transformation from *šəftənnät* to institutionalized movements, adopting an ideology of "liberation from oppression". While the imperial, central regime remained oriented on traditional political culture the gradual change developed mostly in the periphery. Eritrea led the process.

The ↗Eritrean Liberation Movement (ELM) was founded in Port Sudan in April 1958 and disbanded in Asmära in 1970. At its peak it claimed to have 40,000 members and a secret structure comprising cells of seven. After the ↗Ethiopian–Eritrean Federation was dissolved in November 1962, other resistance movements got an increased followership. The ↗Eritrean Liberation Front (ELF) was founded on 10 July 1960 by a group of ↗Beni ᶜAmər notables and young students and commenced the armed liberation struggle on 1 September 1961. The first ELF fighter ↗Ḥamid Idrīs ᶜAwate was an ELM member and a *šəfta* leader in the western Eritrean lowlands, but the two movements fought each other in 1965 (KilHDic 196).

The ELF's most significant and consistent backer was Syria (Erlich 1983:59). Some fighters were trained by al-Fataḥ instructors, but financial and military support dwindled after the June 1967 Arab–Israeli War. Five military zones were established in 1965. The Ethiopians drafted in more men and in 1969 all of Eritrea was under martial law as one of four divisions of the Ethiopian Army was on active service in Eritrea. Internal splits led to the formation of the People's Liberation Forces (PLF) by ↗ᶜUṯmān Ṣāliḥ Sabī within the ELF who was also supported by Saudi Arabia.

Many Christian fighters left the ELF and in 1967 formed *Sälfi Näṣənnät*, which dissolved in 1970 to become the ↗Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF). By 1970 the ELF and EPLF already controlled much of rural Eritrea and had 10,000 men under arms. They fought a bitter civil war between 1972 and 1974. A curfew was imposed on all Eritrean towns in November 1973; by December the EPLF had become effective enough to inflict major defeats on the Ethiopian army, and began its way towards becoming the dominating front in Eritrea during Mängəśtu Ḫaylä Maryam's time (↗Provisional Military Administrative Council).

The emergence of ↗Somalia as a nation state in 1960 had a decisive impact on movements in the ↗Ogaden. The Ogaden Somalis began to organize an active campaign to join with Somalia. Somalia supported the rebellion in ↗Bale from 1963–70 when rebels controlled most of the province. The Western Somali Liberation Front (WSLF) was founded in the 1960s. Its forces were active well before regular Somali troops advanced against Ethiopia in 1978.

The last years of Ḫaylä Śəllase I's regime saw the emergence of institutionalized movements in Ethiopia proper. The formation of the ↗Mäčča and Tulama Association in 1964 ushered in political mobilization in the ↗Oromo regions. On 15 May 1966 it was reorganized as a pan-Oromo movement, but was dissolved in November 1967 after a bomb attack in Addis Abäba was attributed to them (cp. ↗Mammo Mäzämmər). However, in 1974 students from ↗Addis Ababa University and military officers founded the Oromo Liberation Front (OLF), which, however, never controlled wide areas (Mohammed Hassen 1996:74f.; cp. ↗Baro Tumsa). Siad Barre created the Somali Abo Liberation Front in 1976 as a counter to the OLF, which was active also in Somali border regions.

The roots of the ↗Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF) lie in student movements at the General Wingate Secondary School and the Təgrayan University Students' Association established in 1971. The latter forms a connection to the Tigray National Organization (TNO) founded after the *Därg* had seized power. Another movement was the Tigray Liberation Front (TLF) under the leadership of *ləʿul ras* Mängäša Səyyum, which began a short lived military campaign in 1975.

The ʿAfar Liberation Front (ALF) was founded in May 1975 by *bitwäddäd* ʿAli Miráḥ Ḫanfade, the 13th *sulṭān* of ↗Awsa (Kassim Shehim – Searing 1980:217). It splintered into a number of factions (Kassim Shehim 1985:334f.). During Mängəśtu Ḫaylä Maryam's regime this process of political modernization introduced and developed by regional and ethnic resistance was enhanced as Ethiopian political culture underwent a radical process of transformation.

Lit.: HAGGAI ERLICH, *The Struggle over Eritrea 1962–1978*, Stanford 1983, 59; TIMOTHY FERNYHOUGH, "Social Mobility and Dissident Elites in Northern Ethiopia: the Role of Banditry, 1900–1969", in: DONALD CRUMMEY (ed.), *Banditry, Rebellion and Social Protest in Africa*, London 1986, 151–72; KASSIM SHEHIM, "Ethiopia, Revolution, and the Question of Nationalities: the Case of the Afar", *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 23, 2, June 1985, 331–48, here 334f.; ID. – JAMES SEARING, "Djibouti and the Question of Afar Nationalism", *African Affairs* 79, 315, April 1980, 209–26; KilHDic 196; MOHAMMED HASSEN, "The Development of Oromo Nationalism", in: *BHTOrom* 67–80, here 74f.; GERALD KENNEDY NICHOLAS TREVASKIS, *Eritrea: a Colony in Transition: 1941–52*, London 1960, 55; JOHN YOUNG, *Peasant Revolution in Ethiopia: the Tigray People's Liberation Front, 1975–1991*, Cambridge 1997, 52, 82f.

Roy Pateman

Libido

L. (Amh. *Maräqo*), together with ↗Hadiyya, belongs to the Hadiyya language group which forms one subgroup of the ↗Highland East Cushitic languages. In spite of 82 % lexical similarities with Hadiyya (Gordon 2005), L. can be considered a separate language because of morphological differences (s. Korhonen – Saksa – Sim 1986a:37). L. is spoken in an area between Butağira and Zʷay, separated from Hadiyya-speaking territory by an area of ↗Səlṭi-speakers. A census published in 1998 numbers native speakers at 36,612 of which 14,623 are monolingual (Gordon 2005:116).

The consonant and vowel systems of L. are identical to those of Hadiyya and have 23 consonants, including ejectives, and five vowels; vowel length is phonemic and stress-accent is grammatically distinctive.

In noun morphology the main difference between Hadiyya and L. is that in L. feminine gender is often marked by the suffix *-ta* (as in ↗Allaaba, ↗Kambaata, and ↗Qabeena), unlike Hadiyya where gender is not as a rule distinguished (Sim 1989:108). The L. number system includes three forms: the unmarked form, singular, and plural. The case system consists of the marked nominative (for subjects of verbal and

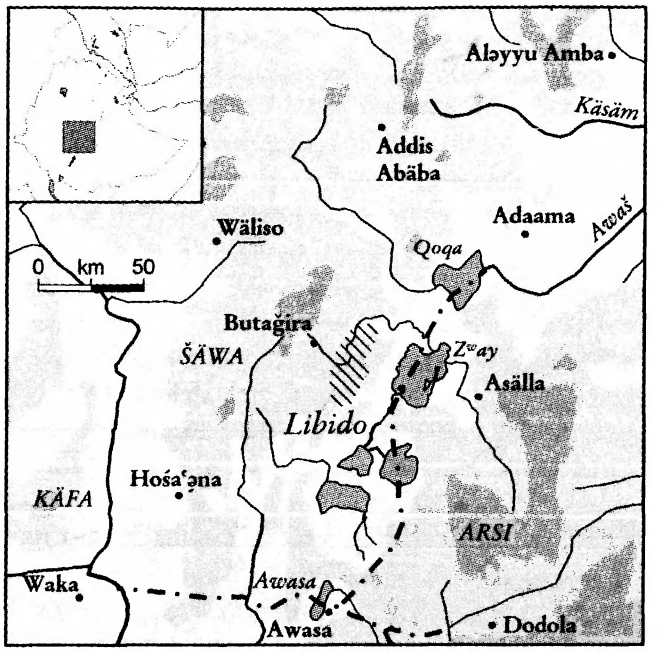
nominal clauses), accusative (for citation and the marking of direct objects and nominal predicates), genitive, dative, instrumental/locative, and ablative. With nouns, instrumental/locative and genitive are always formally identical, being marked with the suffix *-an*. With proper names both the accusative and the nominative are different from the citation form (= proper name). In some inflectional classes of proper names, nominative and genitive are identical.

The citation form of personal pronouns is the nominative, not the accusative. Genitive and instrumental/locative are formally distinguished. Personal and possessive pronouns distinguish gender in the 3rd pers. sg. only:

	Pronouns	
sg.	independent nominative	possessive
1	*ʾáni*	*yaa*
2	*ʾáti*	*kaa*
3 masc.	*ʾíṭṭu*	*ʾiṭṭá*
3 fem.	*ʾísa, ʾíse, ʾísi, ʾíseti*	*ʾísá*
pl.		
1	*nésa*	*naa*
2	*kiʾna*	*kiʾná*
3	*ʾíssa, ʾíssi, ʾísseti*	*ʾissá*

Demonstratives have three degrees of deixis. The masc. demonstrative pronouns in the accusative (= citation form) are *kaa* 'this', *haa* 'that' and *haʾya* 'that (far away)'.

Verbs are inflected by suffixes only. An independent verb in the indicative is composed of four morphemes: verb base – subject agreement marker (plus the pl. marker *-ak* in the 2nd and 3rd pers. pl.) – aspect marker – final suffix. The subject agreement markers are: 1st pers. sg. *ø*, 2nd pers. sg. *t*, 3rd pers. sg. masc. *ø*, 3rd pers. sg. fem. *t*, 1st pers. pl. *n*, 2nd pers. pl. *t-ak*, 3rd pers. pl. *ø-ak*. There are three aspects marked by different vowels: the perfective is marked by *u* (replaced in the 2nd pers. sg. by the epenthetic vowel), the imperfective by *aa* and the perfect by *oo*: *waar-* 'come', 3rd pers. sg. masc. *waar-u-ko* (perfective)/*waar-aa-ko* (imperfective)/*waar-oo-koo* (perfect). (Conversly, in Hadiyya *aa* marks the perfect and *oo* the imperfective). The function of the final suffixes (identical in the perfective and imperfective, and with a long final vowel in the perfect) is unclear. Provisionally, one can consider them to mark independent verbs in the indicative. The distribution of perfective and perfect still needs to be studied.



Further verb paradigms are e.g. the hortative/jussive and several converbs used to describe sequential or adverbial circumstances, all marked by different suffixes following the subject agreement marker: *los-* 'study', 3rd pers. sg. masc. *los-óna* (hortative/jussive)/*los-óone* (negative hortative/jussive)/*los-i* (converb)/*los-óʾni* (negative converb)/*los-éna* (purpose converb). Several verb forms have a vowel *ee* following the subject agreement marker, marking either composed indicative or subordinate verbs: *los-ee-ʾuko* (perfect/perfective past)/*los-ee-ʾáaru* (until-converb)/*los-ee-beqq-éna* (negative purpose converb)/*los-ee-kíra* (apodosis of a conditional clause).

The unmarked word order is Subject–Object–Verb; all modifiers precede the head.

The ten word list for L. is: *mato* 'one', *lamo* 'two', *saso* 'three', *giira* 'fire', *waʾa* 'water', *ʾeelliinčo* 'sun', *ʾagana* 'moon', *ṭiiga* 'blood', *ʾallabo* 'tongue', *ʾinqo* 'tooth' (field notes of the author).

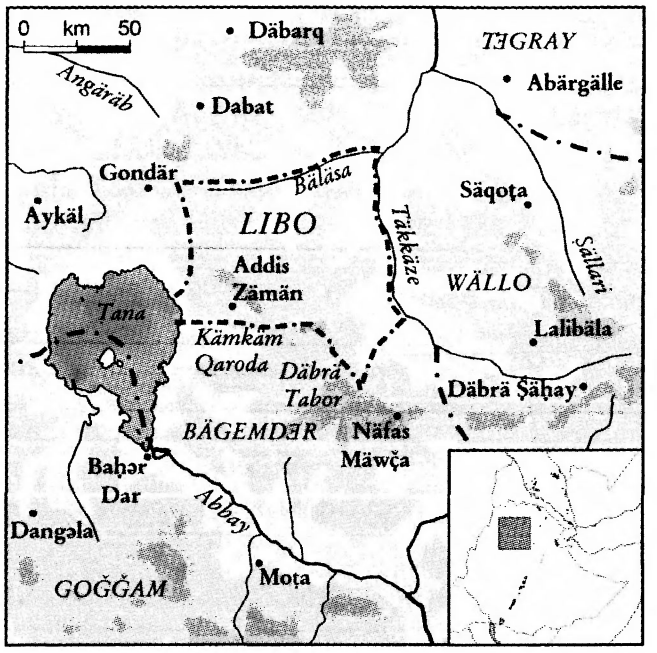
Src.: author's field notes; RAYMOND G. GORDON (ed.), *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*, Dallas, TX [15]2005, 116.

Lit.: ELSA KORHONEN – MIRJA SAKSA – RONALD JAMES SIM, "A Dialect Study of Kambaata-Hadiyya (Ethiopia)", part 1, *AAP* 5, 1986a, 5–41; part 2 (Appendices), *ibid.* 6, 1986b, 71–121; RONALD JAMES SIM, *Predicate Conjoining in Hadiyya: a Head-Driven PS Grammar*, Edinburgh 1989.

Joachim Crass

Libo

L. (ሊቦ) is a district east of Lake ↗Ṭana and north of ↗Däbrä Tabor. The terrain varies from rolling



plains in the south to mountainous uplands in the north. Its original inhabitants were ↗Agäw, who probably by the 16th cent. had been Christianized and assimilated into the Amhara.

Originally, L. referred to a small area where *aṣe* ↗Susənyos and later *aṣe* ↗Fasilädäs had their camps in the 17th cent. and *ras* ↗Gugsa Märsa at the turn of the 19th cent. At different times, however, parts of ↗Ǝnfraz (particularly the ↗Wäyna Däga area), ↗Fogära, the districts of Käm(ə)käm and ↗Qaroda were considered parts of L. Three historic battles occurred in L.: on 21 February 1543, ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī was killed at Zäntära (Grañ Bär), leading to the collapse of the Muslim invasion of the highlands; on 7 June 1632, a bloody battle occurred between Catholic and Orthodox armies at Wäyna Däga, which convinced Susənyos to restore Orthodoxy; on 18 July 1635, Fasilädäs killed a royal pretender, ↗Mälkəʾa Krəstos of Lasta, ensuring Fasilädas's succession. In the 17th and 18th cents., ↗Wähni Amba (in Kämkäm) was a royal prison. In 1938, Ethiopian patriots were active in L. and neighbouring ↗Ǝbbənat against Italian forces.

The Angäräb river supplying ↗Gondär with water and the ↗Bäläsa find their sources in L. The Amus Wänz forms the district's southern border. Until 1974, L. was an *awraǧǧa* of ↗Bägemdər province containing three *wärädas* – Bäläsa, Kämkäm, and Ǝbbənat. Its capital was Addis Zämän; it bordered ↗Gondär in the west, ↗Wägära and ↗Səmen in the north, ↗Däbrä Tabor and ↗Gayənt in the south. Today, L.-Kämkäm is a *wäräda* of South Gondär Zone, Amhara region. It is densely populated (296,038 inhabitants as of 2004, 189.8 inhabitants/km²), the major towns being Wäräta (25,141) and Addis Zämän (23,740).

Src.: BassHist 111f., 132f. (tr.); BecRaso VII, 159–76; BegCron 29f., 47f. (tr.); BTafA, s. index; PerChron vol. 1, 329–35 (text), vol. 2, 255–59 (tr.); MIGUEL DE CASTANHOSO, *The Portuguese Expedition to Abyssinia in 1541–1543*, ed., tr. by RICHARD STEVEN WHITEWAY, London 1902, Millwood ²1967, 75–83; CRNuov 359; CSA 2004.
Lit.: GƏRIMA TAFƏRRƏ, ጎንደሬ፡ በጋሻው (*Gondäre bägaššaw*, 'The Gondärian with His Shield'), Addis Abäba 1949 A.M. [1956 A.D.], 204; THOMAS PAKENHAM, *The Mountains of Rasselas. An Ethiopian Adventure*, New York 1959, 46–69, 91–103, 186–90; RICHARD PANKHURST, "Wag and Lasta: an Essay in the Regional History of Ethiopia from the 14th Century to 1800", in: *PICES 7*, 214–18; MAURIZIO RAVA, *Al Lago Tsana (Il Mar Profondo d'Etiopia)*, Roma 1913, 92ff.; BARBARA TOY, *In Search of Sheba: across the Sahara to Ethiopia*, London 1961, 220–36.

LaVerle B. Berry

Libraries and archives s. vol. 5

Libro del Conoscimiento

The L.C. ('Book of Knowledge [of all Kingdoms, etc.]') is a work compiled towards the end of the 14th cent. (after 1386, according to studies subsequent to the discovery of a new ms. in 1978) by an anonymous author styling himself as a ↗Franciscan of Castile. Written in the form of a series of itineraries, from Western Africa to South-East Asia and Catai (↗China), from ↗Sudan to Scandinavia, it marks a real progress in European knowledge of African regions bordering upon the ↗Red Sea and the ↗Indian Ocean.

The author's claim to have visited all these countries is hard to believe, and fantastic matters play a great role, but most of his information is in fact of the utmost interest, especially for the Horn of Africa, where he is the first to locate the seat of the fabulous ↗Prester John, "patriarch of ↗Nubia and ↗Abyssinia" (ed. Markham 1912:31–40). Within the Horn, he concentrates on three local realms: the kingdom of "↗Dongola" (in Nubia); the empire of ↗Ethiopia with its capital "Graçiona", i.e. ↗Aksum (from Gəᶜəz *hagärä Ṣəyon*, 'city of Zion'), ruled by "Abdeselib", i.e. *nəguś* ↗ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon I (from Arab. *ᶜAbdaṣṣalīb*, 'Servant of the Cross', tr. of his throne name Gäbrä Mäsqäl), protector of the Prester John, whose metropolitan see is "Malsa" (= Malza in ↗Amhara, to the south[-west] of Ambassäl?); and "Magdasor", i.e. Maqdišu (↗Mogadishu [s. EAE vol. 5]), bounded by the sea and the Paradise rivers "Gion" and "Pison" (↗Giyon).

The actual sources of the L.C., partly the same as those of Genoese ↗cartography of the time (cp. the names on ↗Dalorto's map), yet with more reliable details (e.g., the position of Dongola), and a rather indirect impact of Arabic elements, are still to be investigated.

Src.: CLEMENTS MARKHAM (ed., tr.), *Book of the Knowledge of All the Kingdoms, Lands, and Lordships that are in the World, and the Arms and Devices of each Land and Lordship* ..., London 1912 (The Hakluyt Society 2nd Series 29); MARÍA JESÚS LACARRA – MARÍA DEL CARMEN LACARRA DUCAY – ALBERTO MONTANER (eds.), *Libro del Conosçimiento de todos los regnos et tierras et señorios que son por el mundo, et de las señales et armas que han*, Edición facsimilar del manuscrito Z (München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. hisp. 150), Zaragoza 1999 (Lit.); NANCY F. MARINO (ed., tr.), *El libro del conoscimiento de todos los reinos* ('The Book of Knowledge of All Kingdoms'), Tempe, AZ 1999 (Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies 198).

Lit.: CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Il «Libro del conoscimiento» e le sue notizie sull'Etiopia", *Bollettino della Società Geografica Italiana* ser. 5ª, 6, 1917, 656–79, here 667–75; CrawItin 3f.; GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, "Arba' Rukun. Note sull'ordinamento repubblicano di Mogadiscio nel Medioevo", in: *Studi in memoria di Giuseppe Bovini*, Ravenna 1989 (Biblioteca di "Felix Ravenna" 6), vol. 1, 257–74, here 273 and n. 48; BARRY TAYLOR, [review of Marino 1999], *The Modern Language Review* 96, 2001, 855f.

Gianfranco Fiaccadori

Libya, relations with

The name L. was given by the Italians in 1934 to the three ex-Ottoman districts of Tripolitania, Cirenaica and Fezzan, which they had penetrated in late 19th cent., and acquired in 1911–12 as a result of the Italo–Turkish war. A Mediterranean-Saharan entity, L. had infrequent direct contacts with Ethiopia, but its involvement in wider circles rendered these occasionally relevant. The modern connection of L. to Ethiopia and Eritrea was mainly due to their common involvement with Italian ↗colonialism.

The Ottoman *sulṭān* ʿAbdalḥamīd II (1876–1908), in his efforts to check the Italians, initiated contacts in 1904 with *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II that eventually enabled the Ethiopians to purchase more houses in ↗Jerusalem. The Italian Ethiopian–Libyan connection became more significant when ↗Mussolini began his imperial enterprise. His policy vis-à-vis Ethiopia was directly influenced by his war in L. against the local, Islamic-national resistance movement of the *Sanūsīya*. In 1928 Mussolini was ready to stop subversion in Ethiopia and sign a treaty of friendship because he needed to concentrate on quelling the *Sanūsīs*. The oppressive measures the Italians, headed in L. by Marshal ↗Graziani, used against the local population culminated with the public hanging of the *Sanūsī* leader ↗ʿUmar al-Muḫtār in September 1931. However, when Mussolini in mid-1934 decided to conquer Ethiopia (↗Italian war 1935–36), he began a well-publicized appeasement campaign in L., aimed at winning Islamic and Arab public opinion in the Middle East, as well as at recruiting Libyans and other Muslims for his war against the Christian empire. In July 1935 ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I sent a mission to Egypt tasked with contacting the *Sanūsī*s and encouraging them to re-ignite their struggle. No such contact was however established. Mussolini's anti-Ethiopian propaganda campaign in the Arab world in 1935–36 included distribution of Arabic newspapers from L. praising him as the saviour of Islam. The Italian army invading Ethiopia included ca. 70,000 Muslim recruits from Eritrea, Somalia and L., and a Libyan unit, symbolically, was in the force that occupied ↗Harär. It remained stationed near the town during the coming years to support the Italians' pro-Islamic propaganda. In occupied Ethiopia Marshal Graziani, the veteran of L., implemented much of what he had introduced in L.

After World War II the *Sanūsī* house came to power in L. and king Idrīs's relations with Ḫaylä Śəllase were cordial, especially as of the mid-1950s, when both royal regimes were threatened by Egyptian Nāṣirism. In September 1969 Muʿammar al-Qaḏḏāfī removed king Idrīs and has remained in power ever since.

Al-Qaḏḏāfī perceived himself as an heir to Ǧamāl ʿAbdannāṣir's leadership of pan-Arabism, but was rejected as such by the core Arab countries. He diverted much of his energies to Africa where he invested a large part of L.'s oil money in spreading his blend of revolutionary Arabism, political Islam, and pro-Soviet strategy. Al-Qaḏḏāfī targeted Ḫaylä Śəllase's Christian monarchy and western connections and challenged his leadership of the ↗Organization of African Unity (OAU). Already in late 1969 the Palestinian leader Yāsir ʿArafāt introduced the Eritrean activist ↗ʿUṯmān Ṣāliḥ Sabī to al-Qaḏḏāfī, and the latter became a firm supporter of the Eritrean cause and ʿUṯmān Ṣāliḥ Sabī's wing in the ↗Eritrean Peoples' Liberation Front (E.P.L.F.). As of 1971 al-Qaḏḏāfī financed the E.P.L.F. training camps in Aden and rejected Ethiopia's Prime Minister ↗Aklilu Habtäwäld's pleas to stop this aid. In April 1972 al-Qaḏḏāfī paid Idī Amin of Uganda to cut relations with Israel and intensified his attacks on

Ḫaylä Śəllase. In May 1973 at an OAU summit in ↗Addis Abäba, al-Qaḏḏāfī fiercely denounced the Emperor, threatening to move the OAU's headquarters elsewhere if Ethiopia remained pro-western. His speech, broadcast directly on Ethiopian TV, was said to have a devastating impact on the weary Emperor and his elite.

Al-Qaḏḏāfī was quick to recognize the *Därg*'s regime and develop close ties with Mängəśtu Ḫaylä Maryam. They shared an enmity of the Egyptians, Sudanese, and Saudis who in the mid-1970s united to claim the Red Sea in the name of Arabism and against the pro-Soviets. They drew closer in 1977 when Mängəśtu himself managed to become a Soviet ally. In 1981 al-Qaḏḏāfī, Mängəśtu and ʿAlī Nāṣir of South ↗Yemen signed a tripartite treaty under Soviet auspices. Al-Qaḏḏāfī's relations with Mängəśtu, nevertheless, did not deter the Libyan from continuing to support Eritrean secessionists and some other anti-Mängəśtu liberation fronts. Al-Qaḏḏāfī's involvement in the affairs of the Horn – as elsewhere, never fully consistent – seemed to be motivated also by his belief, expressed on several occasions, that the Ethiopians were originally Arabs: its detailed articulation was presented in Amīn Tawfīq aṭ-Ṭayyibī's book, issued in 1993 by "The centre of the Libyans' *Ǧihād* for Historical Studies" in Tripoli.

Lit.: ErlEth; HAGGAI ERLICH, *The Struggle over Eritrea, 1962–1978*, Stanford, CA 1983; ID., *The Cross and the River: Ethiopia, Egypt, and the Nile*, Boulder, CO 2002; YEHUDIT RONEN, "Libya", in: AVRAHAM SELA (ed.), *The Continuum Political Encyclopedia of the Middle East*, New York 2002, 569–79; AMĪN TAWFĪQ AṬ-ṬAYYIBĪ, *Al-Ḥabaša: ʿArabīyat al-uṣūl waṭ-ṭaqāfa* ('The Ethiopians: the Arabism of [their] Origin and Culture'), Tripoli 1993; DIRK VANDEWALLE, *Libya since Independence: Oil and State Building*, Ithaca, NY 1998.

Haggai Erlich

Licata, Giovanni Battista

L. (b. 23 June 1856, Naples, d. 9 April 1886, Ǧildessa) was an Italian naturalist. A professor of science and a journalist, he was among the founders of the Società Africana d'Italia at Naples in 1880. He became a council member, in 1882 the director of its *Bollettino* and, finally the vice president of the society. In January 1883, with Ferdinando Borsari, he founded the paper *L'Esplorazione*, which however stopped publication that April. He was convinced of a potential of Italian involvement in Africa, particularly in its commercial perspectives. Encouraged by Neapolitan businessmen, the Società Africana appointed L. to conduct a scientific-commercial examination of the Italian possessions in Asäb.

L. left Italy in March 1883 reaching Asäb in May. He returned to Italy in October and on 16 January 1884 he presented the results of his research in the colony to the ↗Società Geografica Italiana; they were later published in two issues of the *Bollettino*. That same year he tried to join the expedition of Gustavo ↗Bianchi but was unsuccessful. In 1886 L. joined the expedition to ↗Harär led by Count Pietro ↗Porro, on which he died together with the whole expedition.

His two books (*Assab e i Danàchili* and *In Africa*) contributed greatly to informing Italians about their African possessions as they really were, avoiding sensationalism and fantastic descriptions. His reports were supplied with his own illustrations.

Src.: GIOVANNI BATTISTA LICATA, "Sei mesi ad Assab", *Bollettino della Società Geografica Italiana* 4, 1884, 284–301; *ibid.* 5, 1884, 347–58; ID., *Assab e i Danàchili. Viaggi e studi*, Milano 1885, Milano ²1890; ID., *In Africa* (*Scritto postumo*), con prefazione di Paolo Mantegazza, Firenze 1886; ID. – GIUSEPPE CARERI, *Relazioni del progetto di spedizione ad Assab presentata dai signori Careri e Licata all'Assemblea generale dei Soci il 15 luglio 1880*, Napoli 1880; *Bollettino della Società africana d'Italia* 1880ff.; *L'Esplorazione* 1883ff.

Lit.: ErDizBio 182; FRANCESCO SURDICH, "Il quindicinale 'L'Esplorazione' di Licata e Borsari edito a Napoli nel 1883", in: *Africa ai tempi di Daniele Comboni. Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi Africani*, Roma 1983, 216–22; ANGELO UMILTÀ, *Gli Italiani in Africa. Con appendici monografiche su esploratori e personaggi che calcarono il suolo africano dal 1800 al 1943*, ed. by GIORGIO BARANI – MANLIO BONATI, Reggio Emilia 2004, 37, 374, 377; SILVIO ZAVATTI, *Uomini verso l'ignoto. Gli esploratori del mondo*, Ancona 1979, 243.

Gian Carlo Stella

Lidia Garbaa

L.G. (born Dimboo Garbaa, b. 1872, Sayyoo, Wälläga, d. 1941, Naqamtee) was one of the first three Oromo female pioneer evangelists, with ↗Aster Gannoo and Febe Hirpe (Abbaa Magaal). Kidnapped by slave raiders at the age of 14, she was taken to ↗Massawa, to be shipped with other slaves to Arabia. Italians patrolling the Red Sea, however, liberated her along with a number of slaves.

In 1886, L.G. and 23 other girls were taken to the ↗Swedish Evangelical Mission at ↗Əmkullu to receive a Christian education. In 1888, she was baptized and chose to be called Lidia (after Lydia, the first European woman who received the Christian faith, Acts 16:11–15). The new

name was understood as a new identity and protection against the Ethiopian law, which forbade the enslavement of Christians. In 1891, L.G. married ↗Onesimos Näsib, by whom she had four daughters and one son.

In 1989 Onesimos went to St. Chrischona, Switzerland, leaving Lidia with the children in Gäläb. On Onesimos's return from Switzerland, the family moved to Asmära. On 17 December 1903, L.G. and Onesimos, accompanied by their three children and co-workers left Asmära for Oromoland. The family settled in Naqamtee, where L.G. was involved in the activities led by her husband, teaching, together with Aster Gannoo, young women reading, writing and handicrafts and later becoming an example to many young women in the church. L.G. outlived her husband by ten years and was buried, like Onesimos, in Naqamtee.

Src.: issues of the *Missions Tidning* (Swedish Mission News).

Lit.: ArEvang; GUSTAV ARÉN, *Envoys of the Gospel in Ethiopia: in the Steps of the Evangelical Pioneers, 1898–1936*, Stockholm 1999; MEKURIA BULCHA, *The Making of the Oromo Diaspora: a Historical Sociology of Forced Migration*, Minneapolis, MN 2002; BELLETECH DERESSA, *Oromtitti: the Forgotten Women in Ethiopian History*, Raleigh, NC 2003; TASGARA HIRPO, *Abbaa Gammachiis, Onesimos Nasib, Biography*, n.p. 1999.

Tasgara Hirpo

Lifchitz, Déborah

L. (or Lifszyc; b. 5 June 1907 Kharkov, d. 1942 Auschwitz) was a linguist and social anthropologist who specialized in the folk beliefs in the Christian literature of Ethiopia and in the oral traditions of the Dogon people of Mali.

In 1927, L. left Poland for Paris to complete her training with Marcel ↗Cohen in Gəᶜəz, Amharic, and comparative ↗Hamito-Semitic studies at the École Nationale des langues orientales vivantes (↗Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales). She also studied ethnology with Lucien Lévy-Brühl and Marcel Mauss. In 1931 she graduated in Persian, Arabic and Amharic.

In June 1932, L. went to Ethiopia to join the ethnologist Marcel ↗Griaule (her classmate in Cohen's lessons), and spent five months from July to December 1932 with the ↗Mission Dakar–Djibouti in ↗Gondär, where she took part in collecting Ethiopian ↗manuscripts that would later constitute the Griaule's collection of the ↗Bibliothèque Nationale of France.

L. studied and published (s. Lifchitz 1940) in particular such texts as the ↗*Təmhərtä ḫəbuᵓat*, the ↗*Ḥaṣurä mäsqäl*, the ዜና፡ ሥላሴ (*Zena śəllase*), the ሳይፈ፡ ሥላሴ (*Sayfä śəllase*) and the ልሳነ፡ ያዕቆብ (*Ləssanä Yaᶜəqob*). Her classification of these works of the Ethiopian magic literature (Lifchitz 1940:11–17) is still useful. The manuscripts she worked on formed part of the collections of Marcel Cohen (built up at the time of his mission of 1910–11 in Ethiopia), the Bibliothèque Nationale (Antoine d'Abbadie's and Casimir Mondon-Vidailhet's collections) and of Marcel Griaule (established at the time of his mission of 1928–29 in Ethiopia). Some came from the collection she herself made at the time of the Dakar–Djibouti Mission in 1932.

She published one book and three articles on Ethiopia, including one published post-mortem, by Marcel Cohen, in 1948. After her return to Paris, L. joined the Africa Department of the Musée de l'Homme, where she met the ethnologist Denise Paulme. In 1935 they conducted an eight-month period of fieldwork in French Western Sudan (now Mali) on Dogon society, again under the direction of Marcel Griaule. L. focused on the language and oral literature and Paulme on social organization. They collected a large number of artefacts for the Musée de l'Homme.

L. became a French citizen in 1937 and worked as the Amharic teacher at the École des Langues Orientales (1937–40). After she had to quit due to the anti-Jewish Laws of October 1940, Michel ↗Leiris, whom she knew from the Dakar–Djibouti

The members of the "Mission Dakar–Djibouti", from left to right (standing): Marcel Griaule, Déborah Lifchitz, Gaston-Louis Roux, *abba* Jérôme, the former slave Dästa, Michel Leiris; photo 1932, from Mercier 2003:40

Mission, hid her in his Parisian apartment in rue Eugène-Poubelle from 1940 to 1942. L. was involved in the clandestine resistance movement of the Musée de l'Homme (according to her records at Yad Vashem, International Memorial of Shoah, Tel Aviv, Israel). Denounced, she was arrested on 21 February 1942 by the French Police in Paris. On 18 September 1942 she was handed over to the Germans and sent to Auschwitz where she was gassed (according to Marcel Cohen). Her name is engraved on the wall of the Memorial of Shoah, 17 street Geoffroy-L'Asnier in Paris, 4°. Leiris dedicated to her memory *La Langue secrète des Dogons de Sanga* published in 1948, acknowledging the value of her contribution. Cohen and Paulme also edited some of her works.

Src.: ANNIE DUPUIS, "Correspondance de Deborah Lifchitz et Denise Paulme avec Michel Leiris, Sanga, 1935", *Gradhiva* 3, 1987, 44–58; DÉBORAH LIFCHITZ, "Un sacrifice chez les Falachas, Juifs abyssins", *La Terre et la Vie* 9, 4, 07/1939, 116–23; EAD., "Amulettes éthiopiennes", *Minotaure* 2, 1933, 71–73; EAD., *Textes éthiopiens magico-religieux*, Paris 1940; EAD., "La littérature orale chez les Dogons du Soudan français", *Africa* 13, 1940, 235–49; EAD., "Le Livre d'Emmanuel (poème éthiopien)", *JA* 236, 1948, 65–86; DENISE PAULME, *Lettres de Sanga à André Schaeffner. Suivi des Lettres de Sanga de Deborah Lifchitz et Denise Paulme à Michel Leiris*, Paris 1992.

Lit.: [DENISE PAULME], "Déborah Lifschitz", in: ACADÉMIE DES SCIENCES D'OUTRE-MER (ed.), *Hommes et Destins, Dictionnaire biographique d'Outre-Mer*, vol. 2, part 2, Paris 1977, 482; ARIETTE ARMEL, *Michel Leiris*, Paris 1997, 746; BENEDETTO CALTAGIRONE, "Le séjour en Éthiopie de la mission Dakar–Djibouti", *Gradhiva* 5, 1, 1989, 3–12; MICHEL LEIRIS, *Miroir de l'Afrique*, Paris 1996; ID., *Journal 1922–1989*, ed. by JEAN JAMIN, Paris 1992; ID., *L'Afrique fantôme*, Paris 1981, 656; ID., *Biffures*, Paris 1975, 302; JACQUES MERCIER, *Les traverses éthiopiennes de Michel Leiris: amour, possession, ethnologie*, Montpellier 2003, 40 (ill.); LUKIAN PRIJAC, "Déborah Lifchitz (1907–1942)", *Aethiopica* 11 , 2008 (in preparation); ALAIN ROUAUD, "Amharique", in: PIERRE LABROUSSE (ed.), *Deux siècles d'histoire de langues'O (1795–1995)*, Paris 1995, 363–69.

Éloi Ficquet – Lukian Prijac

Ligaba

L. (ሊጋባ, also ሊገባ, *ligäba*) is a traditional term designating a courtier who regulated the access of subjects to the monarch on various occasions, who was thus in charge of some of the ceremonies at the royal court. A L. was assisted by ↗*aggafari*-courtiers. In scholarly literature, L. is sometimes loosely referred to as a royal majordomo. He was entrusted with granting entrance to those seeking a royal audience, to complainants during court cases with the emperor as judge, and to the guests of royal banquets (↗*Gəbər*). He had to introduce people according to their rank and dignity, and in keeping with traditional ceremonial regulations. Hence his frequent description as the "master of ceremonies". The term L. apparently originates from the Amharic word *ligäba*, lit. 'let him enter' (with regressive assimilation of the vowels).

The title and the function of L. might go back as early as to the reign of *aṣe* ↗Dawit II (s. Colin 1990: 61). However, the title of L. is mentioned in neither *Śərᶜatä gəbər* nor ↗ *Śərᶜatä mängəśt*, two sources providing an insight into early Ethiopian court life and rituals. It seems that the L. and his office became important in the 17th cent., in particular in the ↗Gondärine kingdom, with the establishment of the permanent royal court within the "closed palace" complex. From the time of *aṣe* ↗Susənyos we know of L. Zädəngəl (the father of *bašša* Ləssanä Krəstos, a relative of ↗Wälättä Ṗeṭros); from the time of *aṣe* ↗Bäkaffa, of L. Məᶜənam (DombrChr 272; later ↗*bäğərond*), of L. Wäldä Giyorgis, L. Səmᶜon and L. Dawit (appointed after the arrest of Wäldä Giyorgis; but later also arrested, s. DombrChr 274, 278; GuiIohan 289); from the reign of Iyasu II, of L. Yosef. A L. was appointed by the emperor personally, and was expected to be close and therefore very loyal to him, which made the L.'s position at the court as important and lucrative as dangerous and unstable.

In the 19th cent., the L. was one of the most important court offices. In ↗Mənilək II's reign, a certain Särawitu is known as his first L. in the Kingdom of Šäwa. Later, the L. was given a "gilded" *zäng*-scepter, equivalent of the stick called *arčumme* (አርጩሜ) of former times (GueCopMen 271f.); in the 1920s the L. was given an elaborate and rich uniform, which included "lion's mane" (MahZekr 665, 669; cp. ↗*lämd*). The title and office of L. was given to the main *däğğ aggafari* of the monarch. Formally, the title of L. was below ↗*däğğazmač*, but sometimes a *däğğazmač* could be appointed L. Although the authority of a L. did not extend beyond the court, he was also supposed to have a military function. In the military hierarchy, the L. was placed directly under the Minister of War and acted, e.g., as liaison officer between him, the Minister of Pen (↗*Ṣäḥafe təʾəzaz*) or the Emperor, and other commanders, passing orders to the latter, including those of higher ranks (MahZekr 643).

As a courtier, the L. had the same function as in the preceding centuries. In the situation of the

concentration of the notables and nobles around the ↗*gəbbi* in Addis Abäba, their rapid growth and fluctuation in numbers, the L.'s task meant careful supervision, and constant checking of the social hierarchy at social court events. Of particular importance were royal banquets, where the L. was in charge of "updating" the disposition of the participants ("the protocol") according to their rank and relationship to the monarch (the work required a good memory and a deep knowledge of the complex court situation). The L. also guided the formal procedure of changing ranks, which resulted in a public announcement (↗*ʿAwağ*). The bearers of the title of L. were then usually promoted to the rank of *däğğazmač* (like ↗Ləʿul Sägäd, Mäkʷännən Täwänd Bälay or ↗Wäldä Gäbrəʾel, or ↗Wädağğe Wəbe), and thereafter belonged to the highest level of the empire's political élite.

↗Titles

Src.: BecRASO III, 337, 354; DombrChr 272, 274, 278, 302; LUIGI FUSELLA, "Le Biografie del Blātengētā Ḫeruy Wâlda Sellāsē [I parte]", *RSE* 30, 1984–86 [1987], 15–52, here 25 [no. 20]; *ibid.* [IIª parte], 31, 1987 [1988], 23–67, here 29 [no. 35], 41 [no. 169], 45 [no. 183]; GueCopMen 271 and n. 10, s. index; GuiIohan 277, 289, 313 (text) = 296, 309, 336 (tr.); GuiIyas 123, 125 (text) = 134, 136 (tr.); KÄBBÄDÄ TÄSÄMMA, የታሪክ፡ ማስታወሻ (*Yätarik mastawäša*, 'Historical Memoirs'), Addis Abäba 1962 A.M. [1969/70 A.D.], 100–09; KaneDic 117; MahZekr 643, 665, 669; PerChron vol. 1, 125, 164, vol. 2, 97, 126; GÉRARD COLIN, *Vie de Sāmuʾēl de Dabra Hāllēluyā*, Lovanii 1990 (CSCO 519, 520 [SAe 93, 94]), 61 [text] = 49 [tr.]; GEORG KURT REIN, *Abessinien: eine Landeskunde nach Reisen und Studien in den Jahren 1907–1913*, vol. 2, Berlin 1919, 219; THMDic 87, 720.

Lit.: BAIRU TAFLA, "Civil Titles and Offices in the Reign of Emperor Menilek II, 1889–1913", in: *PICES* 4, vol. 1, 596–612, esp. 608f.; MARCEL COHEN, "Couplets amharique du Choa", *JA* 205, 1924, 1–100, here 66, 70; MahHorse 216.

Denis Nosnitsin

Liiban ↗Boorana

Lima, Rodrigo da

Dom L. (b. ca. 1500) was ambassador of ↗Portugal to ↗Ləbnä Dəngəl. He was the son of Dom Duarte da Cunha de Lima, of noble origin (Cortesão – Thomas 1938:91). When the embassy of Dom ↗Manuel I to Ləbnä Dəngəl failed due to the death of its leader Duarte Galvão on 7 June 1517, the project to contact the Ethiopian ruler remained dormant for a few years. The rich presents and objects that the embassy was carrying – including Oriental fabrics, precious church paraphernalia, a large collection of printed books and musical instruments – were looted back in Portuguese Cochin by the elusive Governor Lopo Soares de Albergaria (BeckHuntAlvar 63f.; Correia 1992:116f.; for the gifts, cf. Dias 1995; Hook 1973; Aubin 1976, 39, n. 190).

In 1520, however, Diogo Lopes de Sequeira, Governor of India, organized a minor but still ambitious new embassy, providing it with gold, silver and pepper. The embassy, escorted by an "armada" captained by Lopes de Sequeira himself, landed at ↗Massawa on 9 April 1520. The young *fidalgo* L. was chosen as the head of 13 other officials, including the *fidalgo* Jorge de Abreu, second in charge in the embassy, the chaplain Francisco ↗Alvares, the secretary ("escrivão") João Escolar, the painter Lázaro de ↗Andrade, he surgeon *mestre* João ↗Bermudez, the interpreters João Gonçalves (also *feitor*, i.e. 'administrator') and Alexandre d'Ataide, and the organist Manuel de Mares. They were followed by an even longer train (for a complete list, cf. Correia 1976:587; Cortesão – Thomas 1938:43). The presents offered to the Emperor were meager but still important, including a planisphere, pepper, chests, organs and a harpsichord.

The expedition received provisions and protection from the ↗*baḥər nägaš* "Adiby" (Adäbabay?, Abib?) and, after a halt at ↗Däbrä Bizän to leave ↗Mateus there, it travelled through the Ethiopian highlands until it reached the royal *kätäma*, at the time located in ↗Tägulät, in October 1520. There they met a number of foreigners (BeckHuntAlvar 276), including the painter Nicolò ↗Brancaleone, Pêro da ↗Covilhã, several Genoeses as well as a number of Muslims. In the weeks that followed L. had a series of interviews with Ləbnä Dəngəl. Described by Alvares as a mild and prudent man, L. was, nonetheless, involved in a quarrel between two members of his embassy, Jorge de Abreu and Lopo de Gama (BeckHuntAlvar 315–18, 378f.).

The expedition followed the movements of the court for a few weeks: they attended the consecration of ↗Mäkanä Śəllase and visited *abunä* ↗Marqos. In February 1521 they were allowed to leave the court and headed northwards. However, on arriving at ↗Dəbarwa, they found that they had missed the fleet that had come to take them to India. Around April 1523 they went back to the court, then in ↗Gurage. Later, they stayed in ↗Fäṭägar, ↗Därra (1524), Šäwa and Təgray, until they left the country for good on 28 April 1526 with the armada of Heitor de Silveira. On departing, the embassy left behind the painter de Andrade as well as Bermudez and took along the Ethiopian ambassador ↗Ṣägga Zäʾab, who carried letters addressed to King ↗João III,

the Pope (then ↗Clement VII) and the governor of India, letters in which Ləbnä Dəngəl offered friendship and asked for assistance.

L.'s traces are lost after the embassy arrived in Lisbon in 1527. The chronicle of the journey to Ethiopia was written by Francisco Alvares. The military expedition of Christovão da ↗Gama, from 1541 to 1543, counted among its members some veterans of this early embassy such as Abreu, Bermudez, Gonçalves and Ayres ↗Dias.

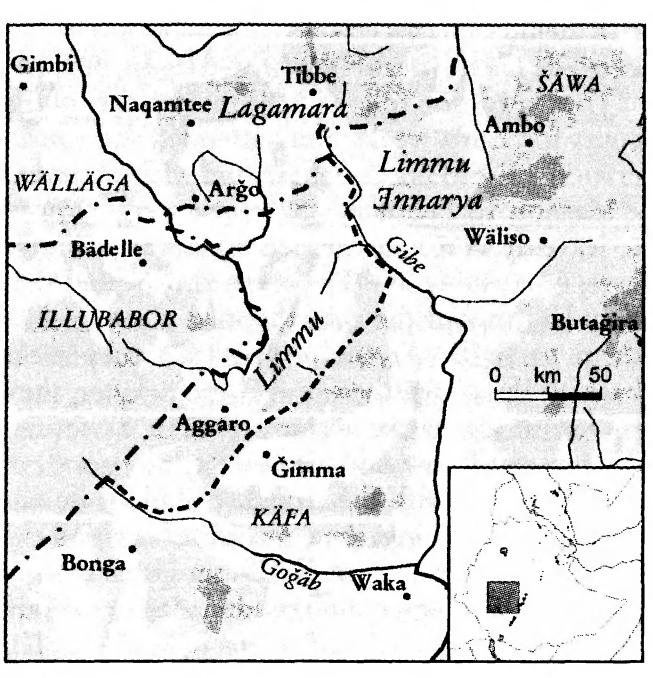
Src.: BeckHuntAlvar 63f., 315–18, 378f. (maps 26); *Gaspar Correia, Crónicas de D. Manuel e de D. João III (até 1533)*, ed. by JOSÉ PEREIRA DA COSTA, Lisboa 1992, 116f.; ID., *Lendas da India*, vol. 2, Lisboa 1860, Nendeln ²1976, 587; ARMANDO CORTESÃO – HENRY THOMAS (eds.), *Carta das novas, que vieram a el Rei nosso Senhor do descobrimento do Preste João (Lisboa, 1521)*, Lisboa 1938, 43, 91.

Lit.: JEAN AUBIN, "L'ambassade du Prêtre Jean à D. Manuel", *Mare Luso-Indicum* 3, 1976, 1–56; ID., "Duarte Galvão", in: ID., *Le latin et l'astrolabe: Recherches sur les Portugal de la Renaissance, son expansion en Asie et les relations internationales*, Lisbonne – Paris 1996, 11–48; AIDA FERNANDA DIAS, "Um presente régio", *Humanitas* 47, 1995, 685–719; DAVID HOOK, "A Note on the Books Sent to Prester John in 1515 by King Manuel I", *Studia* 37, 1973, 303–15.

Andreu Martínez

Limmu Ǝnnarya

L.Ǝ. (Amh. ሊሙ፡ እናርያ), also known by its shortened form of Ǝnnarya, was an ↗Oromo political formation founded in the late 17th cent. in western Ethiopia, north of the upper ↗Gibe river. L.Ǝ. derived its name from the earlier ↗Ǝnnarya or Hinnaryo kingdom, which was conquered by the Limmu Oromo, who were part of the Sadača section of the ↗Mäčča Oromo. The old Ǝnnarya political élite then took refuge in ↗Käfa, but the local, originally ↗Gonga-speaking peasant population stayed and mingled with the Oromo newcomers.



The history of L.Ǝ. is replete with legends (well summarized in MHasOr), the exact historical value of which is often difficult to determine. Though first led by local Oromo chiefs, L.Ǝ. became a kingdom under Bofo or ↗Abbaa Gomol I (his "horse name"), who was a son of Abbaa Bokkuu and reigned probably from the 1780s to 1825 from his capital Sappa. Partly for strategic reasons and influenced by growing numbers of Muslim traders (including slave dealers), he converted to Islam and also established a harsh and authoritarian reign (AbPrince 79; MHasOr 163). While the political élite converted to Islam, seeing its political advantages as a unifying rulers' ideology, the ordinary people only followed suit slowly, retaining much of their traditional worldview (MHasOr 153f.). Nevertheless, the kings also practised traditional Oromo ceremonies to retain the support of the people and perhaps to express their own beliefs (cf. MHasOr 171).

L.Ǝ. assumed the form of a kingdom in the early 19th cent., when processes of centralization and state and class formation took place among many western Oromo peoples, giving rise to the five "Gibe states". L.Ǝ. was probably the most important one. In its heyday its population probably numbered about 100,000 to 130,000 people. The king of L.Ǝ., unlike the king of Käfa, was not a "divine" monarch, but certainly an almost absolute ruler (cp. MHasOr 91). He was less bound by advisors or councillors, was politically active as a war leader and the highest judge, and also less shrouded by taboos limiting interaction with his subjects. The king ruled from his court (*massera*), where councillors, officials and army leaders also lived. The extensive powers of the king obviously diminished the role of traditional institutions like the ↗*čaffe* (the local assemblies) and the clan elders. Local representatives of the king were the ↗*abbaa qorro*'s or district rulers, and under them the ↗*abbaa gandaa*s.

Although relatively small, L.Ǝ. came to flourish economically thanks to the rapid development of an intensive peasant economy in fertile lands, a substantial slave population (perhaps one fourth of the total population), and its favourable location on the South-North trade routes. Especially in the reign of ↗*mooti* Ibsaa or ↗Abbaa Bagiboo I, son of Bofo, who reigned from 1825 to 1861,

things went well. While keeping firm control and suppressing dissent (MHasOr 165, 173), he less frequently resorted to violence as a means of rule and improved conditions for traders. Nevertheless, during the formative phase under Bofo and Abbaa Bagiboo I, L.∃. often fought with emerging neighbouring states, e.g., ↗Guummaa, and with the ↗Gudru and the ↗Nonno Oromo, who threatened the kingdom's route to ↗Goğğam. The Limmu state had a standing army and the equivalent of a police force. For political and economic reasons, it kept good relations with Goğğam and Käfa. Abba Bagiboo I had married a daughter of the Käfa king as his first wife. Under Abba Bagiboo I, various neighbouring territories were made tributary to Limmu, e.g., Badi Folla, Botor, Nonno, and ↗Yäm.

L.∃. based its economy on the cultivation of a wide variety of food crops from cereals to root crops and vegetables, as well as cotton, and on the trade in slaves, civet musk (↗Zibeth), ↗coffee, ↗ivory and skins, most of this passing through its territory from the west and south, and therefore taxed. In Saqqa, the kingdom's capital from 1825, the most important market was found. L.∃. maintained its favourable regional market function well into the late 19th cent., when decline set in due to a plague and to the gradual loss of trade routes to ↗Šäwa, Käfa and ↗Ğimma, a rival Oromo state that emerged in the 1840s to the south of L.∃. This ended the kingdom's prosperity, and it dissolved in 1891 after it was conquered by Šäwa. The dominant place in the region was now taken by Ğimma. The last *mooti* ('king') of L.∃. was Abba Dulaa, son of Bagiboo.

Lit.: AbPrince; MHasOr; WERNER JÜRGEN LANGE, *History of the Southern Gonga (Southwestern Ethiopia)*, Wiesbaden 1982 (SKK 61), 17–49.

Jon Abbink

Lion(s)

The L. (*Panthera leo* or *Felis leo*; Gəᶜəz: **ዓንበሳ**, *ᶜanbäsa*, also *anbäsa*; Amh., Tgn.: **አንበሳ**, *anbäsa*, Oromo: *leenca*) is the largest carnivore in Africa (cat family *Felidae*), and represents one of the flagship species of Africa for research, conservation and tourism.

L. are in some respects peculiar among big cats, because in contrast to other cat species they normally live and hunt in social groups, called prides, and show a pronounced sexual dimorphism, with males developing thick woolly manes.

Historically, L. occurred in most parts of Africa, in all habitats except very dry deserts and very moist forests. It was also present in most areas of Ethiopia, Eritrea, Somalia and Djibouti (Yalden et al. 1980; Kingdon 1997). Wolff (1961) mentioned, for Ethiopia, the occurrence of three L. subspecies: the Abyssinian L. or *P.l. roosevelti* (characterized by a comparatively small size and a black mane), the East African L. *P.l. nubica* and the Massai L. *or P.l. massaicus*. Furthermore, the L. of Djibouti and parts of Somalia have been regarded as a separate subspecies, *P.l. somaliensis*. On the basis of morphological characteristics, it was even speculated that the L. kept in the zoo in Addis Abäba may descend from the extinct Barbary L. (*P.l. leo* [*P.l. berberisca*]) from northern Africa (Melaku Tefera 2003). However, most of the subspecies listed above are debatable (Dubach 2005), and genetic evidence, based on mitochondrial DNA, suggests that modern L. may currently consist of only three geographic populations: north African–Asian, southern African and middle African. Ethiopian L. belong to the middle African group, and are closely related to L. from central Africa and Sudan; nor, most likely, do they represent a particular subspecies (Barnett et al. 2006a, b).

L. have become increasingly endangered in the wild, and they now face rapid population decrease and local extinction caused by human activity (Nowell – Jackson 1996). They have been extirpated from Djibouti and Eritrea within the second half of the last century, their numbers have dropped to less than 1,500 in Ethiopia and less than 250 in Somalia (Bauer – Van der Merwe 2002; Chardonnet 2002). Within the region, L. are mainly confined to protected areas.

Lit.: ROSS BARNETT et al., "The Origin, Current Diversity and Future Conservation of the Modern Lion (*Panthera leo*)", *Proceedings of the Royal Society* ser. b 273, 2006a, 2119–25; ID. et al., "Lost Populations and Preserving Genetic Diversity in the Lion *Panthera leo*: Implications for its *ex situ* Conservation", *Conservation Genetics* 7, 2006b, 507–14; HANS BAUER – SAREL VAN DER MERWE, "The African Lion Database", *Cat News* 36, 2002, 41–53; PHILIPPE CHARDONNET (ed.), *Conservation of the African Lion: Contribution to a Status Survey*, International Foundation for the Conservation of Wildlife, France 2002; JEAN DUBACH et al., "Molecular Genetic Variation across the Southern and Eastern Geographic Ranges of the African Lion, Panthera Leo", *Conservation Genetics* 6, 2005, 15–24; JONATHAN KINGDON, *The Kingdon Fieldguide to African Mammals*, London 1997; KRISTIN NOWELL – PETER JACKSON, *Wild Cats: Status Survey and Conservation Action Plan*, International Union for Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources (IUCN), Gland 1996; MELAKU TEFERA, "Phenotypic and Reproductive Characteristics of Lions (*Panthera leo*) at Addis Ababa Zoo", *Biodiversity and Con-*

servation 12, 8, 2003, 1629–39; JOHN V. WOLFF, "Wildlife in Ethiopia", *Ethiopian Forestry Review* 2, 1961, 3–13; DEREK WILLIAM YALDEN et al., "Catalogue of the Mammals of Ethiopia, 4: Carnivora", *Monitore zoologico italiano* (*Italian Journal of Zoology*) NS Suppl. 13, 8, 1980, 169–272.

Dietmar Zinner

Lions in Ethiopian culture

L. have been of high cultural importance for Ethiopia, and used to be widely spread. Their massive presence was noted by 16th- and 17th-cent. travellers (CrawItin 143; BeckHuntAlvar 513; Lockhart 1984:59, 119). However, extensive ↗hunting and ecological changes have limited their distribution area to the south-west of the country (Pankhurst 1964:244–47). The New York-based Wildlife Conservation Society concluded, in 2005, that L. had vanished from 82 % of their former areas. Owing to diminishing of uncultivated land and continuous poaching, the population of wild L. in Ethiopia is highly at danger. Their number is estimated at about a 1,000 individuals living in ↗National Parks (s. EAE vol. 5).

Lion hunting

L.-hunting was a widespread, and highly regarded, occupation. The cultural motivation was usually to demonstrate bravery and attain trophies; sometimes, however, it was caused by necessity, when communities confronted with particularly ferocious L., demanded their elimination.

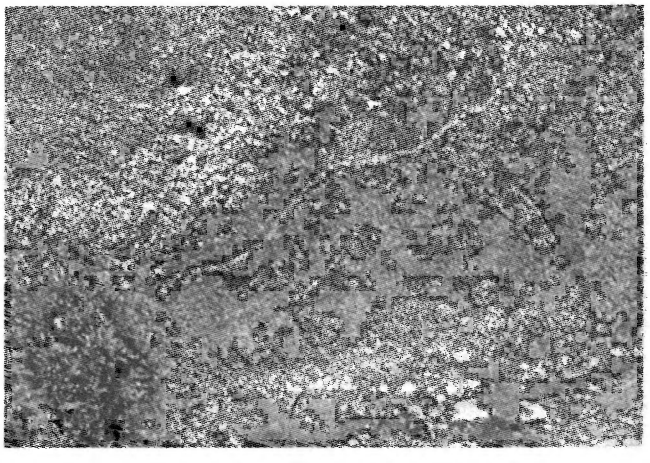
The most craved for hunting trophy was L. skin. It long formed part of military dressing, serving as headdress (*anfarro*) as well as ↗*lämd*, and is reported to have been worn by the noblest (BeckHuntAlvar 116, 128, 269; Whiteway 1902:18). Traditionally, L. and their skins are both items of imperial tribute (e.g., from Gurage and Təgray in the 16th and 17th cent.; s. Whiteway 1902:232; BeckHuntAlm 94).

Hunters would dig a hole or ditch, into which the L. would be driven, and fall, prior to being speared to death (BeckHuntAlm 51; Lockhart 1984:163, 165; Wylde 1901:451ff.). Monarchs honoured the successful hunters, e.g., the 18th-cent. *aṣe* Yosṭos presented two ivory bracelets to the killer of a L., ↗elephant or rhinoceros (BruNile vol. 2, 542). They also undertook organized hunts, *aṣe* Iyoʾas on one occasion in 1754 killing a large L. (GuiIyas 159). In early 19th-cent. Təgray, L.-killers decorated themselves with earrings, or a small stud in the right ear (Pearce 1831:1, 225; Vivian 1901:143; ↗Meritorious complex). The killing of a L. was reported to be as honourable as that of four men (Plowden 1868:62).

The increasing diffusion of improved ↗firearms in the 19th cent. resulted in the rapid depredation of L., beginning in the north and spreading inexorably southwards. While L. were still abundant in ↗Wäğğärat in the early 19th cent. (SalTrav 489), and extensively hunted in ↗Wälqayt during the 1840s by the French scientific mission (LefAbyss vol. 2, part 2, 35), *aṣe* Yoḥannəs IV's envoy to Britain, ↗Mərčа Wärqe, in 1884 mentioned the strenuous efforts to maintain the population of "L. and other beasts" (*The Globe*, 27 August 1884). Wellby (1901:117), Vivian (1901:146) and Wylde (1901:484) all testify that L. had become very rare in central Ethiopia, formerly abundant. Extensive hunting, largely by European sportsmen, was by then taking place in the Somali area.

Lions as symbol of bravery

The L. was long associated with bravery, the term *anbäsa* being used to refer to a courageous and successful person (also in modern usage). Already in the land charters of the emperors Zärʾa Yaʿəqob and Ləbnä Dəngəl, "(noble)men at arms" are referred to by this word (CRAxum nos. 16, 30, 31, 33, 38; BeckHuntAlvar 142 n. 5), conveying indeed the same meaning as Epigraphic South Arabian *ʾsʿd* (Conti Rossini 1910). L. also featured in trials of strength and courage. In the 16th-cent. traditional ↗coronation ceremony at Aksum, the ascending emperor would strike at a L. (BeckHuntAlm 95). In the 18th cent., a large open space existed in Gondär in which L. were freed to attack and kill sundry bulls for the entertainment of the dignitaries and populace alike. On one occasion an Armenian gladiator called Stefan volunteered, and killed a L. with a knife (Thovmadjian, quoted in Pankhurst 1982:88f.).



Relief showing a lioness, Gobədra, near Aksum; photo 1960s, courtesy of Mike Metras

Lions in arts

The carving of a lioness on the rock at ↗Gobədra, as well as the possibly contemporary sculpted L. at ↗Kombolča bear witness to the importance of this animal already in the ↗Aksumite period (DAE II, 73f.; Pankhurst 1955:94; GerKir^2 25, pl. 8ff.). Noted in the 16th cent. by Alvares, the remains of stone gargoyles, or water-spouts, representing L., also at ↗Aksum, date back to the early Christian era (BeckHuntAlvar 152f., 177; MHAksum 20).

Miraculously tamed lions; from a ms. of the *Tä'ammərä Maryam*, fol. 51r, 18th cent., monastery of Tägug^{w}a Yoḥannəs Wäldä Näg^{w}ädg^{w}ad, Tämben; photo 2004, courtesy of Michael Gervers

L. were much depicted in traditional art (ChojPaint 551). They decorated the palace of *ətege* Məntəwwab (↗Bərhan Mogäsa) at ↗Q^{w}əsq^{w}am (Rohlfs 1883, pls.). A frequent motif was the illustration of an episode from the life of ↗Samu'el of Waldəbba, one of the most famous Ethiopian ↗saints, known for taming wild animals – an indication of the role that L. had made its way in Ethiopic ↗hagiography.

Lions as royal symbol

L. were long regarded as symbols of kingship (↗Kingship, divine; Monarchy [s. EAE vol. 5]). In the 15th cent., *aṣe* Zär'a Ya^{c}əqob had a **ቤት፡ አንበሳ** (*bet anbäsa*, 'L. house') at his capital, ↗Däbrä Bərhan (PerrZarY 24). In the 16th cent. there was also one at Aksum; and *aṣe* Ləbnä Dəngəl, who kept L. at his royal camp in Šäwa, was invariably preceded by four L. when travelling (BeckHuntAlvar 153, 324, 337, 442). The palace at ↗Gondär likewise, later, had an *anbäsa bet* or *bet anbäsa* (or *ǧan täkkäl*) where L. were kept (GuiIohan 63, 320). One of the Gondärine royal regiments also bore that name (ibid. and 346; BruNile vol. 3, 310). *Anbäsa bet*, and so *anbäsa mädäb*, also styled "kings' fixtures" within the Gondärine palace compound (GuiDic 465; KaneDic 1220; DTWDic 113).

The Biblical L. of Judah (**አንበሳ፡ ዘእምነገደ፡ ይሁዳ**, *anbäsa zä'əmnägädä Yəhuda*, 'Lion from the tribe of Judah') held a uniquely important place in Ethiopian symbolism. Widely adopted as the symbol of the Ethiopian state and ↗monarchy, it had its basis in Rev 5:5: "… one of the elders said to me; 'Do not weep; for the Lion from the tribe of Judah, the Root of David, has won the right to open the scroll and break its seven seals'". This passage – which had acquired magical value since late antique times (Conti Rossini 1939:6ff.) – was considered relevant to Ethiopia for two reasons: 1) the L. was regarded as a symbol of power in general, and of the Ethiopian monarchy in particular; 2) the Ethiopian ruling dynasty, since at least the time of the ↗*Kəbrä nägäśt*, claimed descent from King ↗Solomon and the Queen of Sheba (↗Makədda), i.e. the "root of David". The concept of Judah being the royal tribe was also affirmed in other Biblical passages: most notably Gen 49:10, "The sceptre shall not depart from Judah …".

The earliest reference to the L. of Judah can be found in the Chronicle of *aṣe* ↗Minas, "terrible Lion of the tribe of Judah, the root of David" (Esteves Pereira 1888:41); in the ↗*Sənkəssar*, *aṣe* ↗Tewodros I (d. 1412) is also called "son of the L." (s. GuiSyn I, 696; cp. Conti Rossini 1939:2ff. and n. 16). The L. of Judah as the symbol of the Ethiopian monarchy appears also in European sources, the first apparently being Ortelius's map (Antwerp 1570), which depicts a L. rampant, facing right, holding a Latin ↗cross. The design bears the insignia "Titulus & Insignia Presbiteri Io(hann)is." i.e. "Title and Insignia of ↗Prester John", and the name of the Ethiopian emperor David, i.e. Ləbnä Dəngəl, who had died 30 years earlier.

The Lion of Judah on the Great Seal of *aṣe* Mənilək II, late 19th cent.; de Salviac 1900:65

Later foreign representations of the L. of Judah found their way into the works of ↗Almeida, ↗Ludolf, ↗Telles and others. Some showed a L. rampant, facing left; others, passant, facing right, with a type of Lorraine cross. The one in Ludolf's *New History of Ethiopia* bore the words "Vicit Leo de Tribu Juda" ('The L. of Judah conquered'), the Gəᶜəz phrase (Rubenson 1965:79), and the words "Insignia Regis Regum Aethiopiae" ('Insignia of the King of Kings of Ethiopia'). Ludolf summed up the prevailing European view: "The king's seal, which they use on sealing their Letters, is a Lion holding a Cross with the motto: 'The Lion of the Tribe of Judah has won'" (Rubenson 1965:75–85).

The first extant L. of Judah ↗seal actually known to have been employed in Ethiopia is on a letter from *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs I reproduced by ↗Prutky, who visited Gondär in 1752. This seal bore an indistinctly crowned L. rampant facing right, with a large cross. Written in Arabic, without any specific reference to the L. of Judah, it bore the motto: "Sulṭān Sagad [i.e. Iyasu I], son of Alāf Sagad [i.e. Yoḥannəs I], descendant of Solomon, son of David" (Pankhurst 1986:97–417).

In the 19th cent., L. of Judah seals, once more without written mention of Judah, were used by the emperors ↗Śahlä Dəngəl and ↗Yoḥannəs III and by *däğğazmač* ↗Arʾaya Śəllase Dəmṣu and ↗Wəbe Ḫaylä Maryam. A much larger seal, with a crowned L. passant facing right, and bearing a motto about the Conquering L. of Judah in Arabic and Gəᶜəz, was used by *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II, and served as the prototype for the seals of ↗Täklä Giyorgis and ↗Yoḥannəs IV. The seals of *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II, *ətege* Zäwditu and *aṣe* Ḫaylä Śəllase, all of which omitted the use of Arabic, differed from the above in that the L. of. Judah carried a tall cross in its right paw (RubActa I, XIX–XX, II, XIV–V, III, XIV–XV). This design was also used on coins and postage ↗stamps of the period, and two representations of the L. of Judah, likewise, adorned *ras* Mäkʷännən's early 20th-cent. gates of ↗Harär (Vivian 1901:113f.; Rey 1923:298).

The concept of the L. of Judah evolved further during the reign of Mənilək II (Conti Rossini 1939:1f., 4ff.), who began many of his letters with the unprecedented phrase: "The Lion of the Tribe of Judah has conquered. Mənilək II, Elect of God, King of Kings of Ethiopia". Ḫaylä Śəllase's Penal Code of 1930 similarly opened with the words: "The Lion of the Tribe of Judah hath Prevailed", while the subsequent ↗*Nägarit Gazeṭa*, which began publication in 1942, bore the phrase "Conquering Lion of the Tribe of Judah" (Rubenson 1965:84f.; RubActa I, XIX–XX; II, XIV–V; III, XIV–XV).

Also with their depredation, live L., seen as an embodiment of the L. of Judah, were valued by Ethiopian monarchs. Tewodros kept several at his palace at Däbrä Tabor (thus inspiring at least four European engravings), but was obliged to poison these animals when food became scarce (RasTheo vol. 1, 148; Flad 1868:125f.; Pankhurst 1987:91ff.). Mənilək had a L.-cage at his Addis Abäba palace (Mérab 1922:22), and presented L. to persons he wished to honour, including the United States President Theodore Roosevelt (*The Washington Post*, 23 November 1905; Waldmeier 1886:42, 74), while *ləğ* Iyasu subsequently despatched two L. to the Austrian emperor. Zäwditu later kept L. in cages near the royal reception hall, and Ḫaylä Śəllase I, prior to the ↗Italian war 1935–36, had two rows of cages, as well as two L. that slept in front of the throne room (Rey 1923:147; Powell 1925:309; Farago 1935:23, 73, 86). After the Liberation, L. were housed at the Emperor's ↗Gännäta Ləᶜul Palace and then at the ↗Jubilee Palace – for the public, in a small L. cage.

A strong symbolic relation between kingship and L. (and ↗Leopards) also existed in ↗Meroë (Monneret de Villard 1942:138-42 and pl. i) as well as in several southern Ethiopian cultures. The king of ↗Yäm, for example, is said to have had three

tame L. living in a house at his residential hamlet in Angir (VSAe III, 338). In Čako (↗Šeko) only the king was permitted to own the skins of *felidae*. After a L. was killed, it was forbidden to touch its cadaver, as with the body of the king. Only the despised hunters and potters of the Bandu group could skin the dead animal, which had to be buried in a cave used as "cemetery" for *felidae*. The killer had to shave his head and bring the trophies to the king, who awarded him with hydromel. After that, the king had to stay in seclusion for four days. It was believed, that a deceased king would become a L. (VSAe III, 46f., 52).

Src.: BeckHuntAlvar 116, 128, 152f., 177, 269, 324, 337, 442, 513; BeckHuntAlm 51, 94; BruNile vol. 2, 542, vol. 3, 310; ChojPaint 551; CrawItin 143; DAE I, II, 71f.; DTWDic 113; FRANCISCO MARIA ESTEVES PEREIRA (ed., tr.), ዜና፡ ግናስ፡ *Historia de Minás, 'Además Sagad, rei de Ethiopia*, Lisboa 1888, 31 (text) = 48 (tr.) and n. 114; LADISLAS FARAGO, *Abyssinia on the Eve*, London 1935, 23, 73, 86; JOHANN MARTIN FLAD, *Zwölf Jahre in Abessinien*, Basel 1869; *The Globe*, 27 August 1884; GuiIohan 63, 320 (text) = 61, 343, 346 (tr.); GuiDic 465; GuiIyas 159 (text) = 170 (tr.); GuiSyn I, 695f.; CRAxum 4f., 25, 32, 32, 34, 36, 74, = 6, 28, 37, 38, 39, 42, 90 [nos. 16, 30, 31, 33, 39] (= HuntLand nos. 16, 30, 31, 33, 38); LefAbyss vol. 2, part 2, 35; KaneDic 1220; KaneTDic 1479; LesCDic 64; DONALD LOCKHART (tr.), *The Itinerário of Jerónimo Lobo*, London 1984, 59, 119, 163, 165; PIERRE MÉRAB, *Impressions d'Éthiopie. L'Abyssinie sous Ménélik II*, vol. 2, 1922, 22; NATHANIEL PEARCE, *The Life and Adventures of Nathaniel Pearce*, London 1831, vol. 2, 1, 225; PerrZarY 24; WALTER CHICHELE PLOWDEN, *Travels in Abyssinia*, London 1868; RasTheo; CHARLES FERNAND REY, *Unconquered Abyssinia*, London 1923, 147; GERHARD ROHLFS, *Meine Mission nach Abessinien*, Leipzig 1883; SaltTrav 489; HERBERT VIVIAN, *Abyssinia. Through the Lion Land to the Court of the Lion of Judah*, London 1901, 113f., 143; MONTAGUE SINCLAIR WELLBY, *'Twixt Sirdar and Menelik*, London 1901, 117; RICHARD STEPHEN WHITEWAY (tr.), *The Portuguese Expedition to Abyssinia in 1541–1545*, London 1902 (Hakluyt Society Papers 2, 10), 18, 232; *The Washington Post*, 23 November 1905; THEOPHILUS WALDMEIER, *The Autobiography of Theophilus Waldmeier*, London 1886, 42, 74; *Washington Post*, 23 November 1905; WILDLIFE CONSERVATION SOCIETY, *Seven Days Abstract*, Addis Ababa, 6 February 2006; AUGUSTUS BLANDY WYLDE, *Modern Abyssinia*, London 1901, 451ff.

Lit.: CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Sud-ar. *asad* = et. *anbasā* »uomo d'arme«", *ZA* 24, 1910, 337-44; ID., "Vicit leo de tribu Iuda", *Bollettino della Società Africana d'Italia* 57, 1939, 1–8; GerKir² 25, pl. 8ff.; R.P. MARTIAL DE SALVIAC, *Les Galla, Grande nation africaine, un peuple antique ou une colonie gauloise au pays de Ménélik*, Cahors 1900, 65 (ill.); MHAksum 20; UGO MONNERET DE VILLARD, "Il culto del Sole a Meroe", *RSE* 2, 2, 1942, 107-42; VRANT NERSESSIAN – RICHARD PANKHURST, "The Visit to Ethiopia of Yohannes T'ovmačean, an Armenian Jeweller, in 1764–1766", *JES* 15, 1982, 79–104; ESTELLE SYLVIA PANKHURST, *Ethiopia: a Cultural History*, Woodford Green, Essex 1955, 94; RICHARD PANKHURST, "Wild Life and Forests in Ethiopia", *EthObs* 7, 1964, 240–55; ID., "Letter Writing and the Use of Royal and Imperial Seals in Ethiopia Prior to the Twentieth Century", *JES* 10, 1, 1973, 179–207; ID., "Ethiopian Royal Seals of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries", in: *PICES* 6, 397–417; ID., "Téwodros as Depicted in European Engravings", *JES* 20, 1987, 75–96; STEPHANOS PIERRE PÉTRIDÈS, *Le livre d'or de la dynastie salomonienne d'Éthiopie*, Paris 1964, 239ff., pls. 232f.; RubActa I, XIX–XX; II, XIV–V; III, XIV–XV; SVEN RUBENSON, "The Lion of the Tribe of Judah: Christian Symbol and/or Imperial Title", *JES* 3, 2, 1965, 75–85; EDWARD ULLENDORFF, "The Lion of Judah hath Prevailed", in: PHILIP R. DAVIES – RICHARD T. WHITE, *A Tribute to Géza Vermes: Essays on Jewish Christian Literature and History*, Sheffield 1990, 15–18; VSAe III, 46f., 52, 338.

Richard Pankhurst

Lion Cub

The L.C. was the organ of the Ethiopian Students' Society (E.S.S.) which was founded on 7 January 1947 in the United Kingdom. The maiden issue of L.C. came out on 27 July 1949, and announced that its task was to advance the aims of the Society by keeping "a lively interest among students in national literature, culture and general affairs" and by "fostering cultural relations with foreign students". Among the contributors to the maiden issue were ↗Ǝndalkačč̣äw Mäkʷännən, Śəyyum Səbḥat, and Richard Pankhurst.

During the period from July 1949 to January 1959, the journal had six editors: ↗Mängəśtu Lämma (for the July 1949 issue), Habtä Ab Bayru (for January 1951), Səbḥat Hablä Śəllase (for Spring and Winter issues of 1952), Asäffa Ṭəlahun (for Summer 1953 and Winter 1954), Bäräkätä Ab Habtä Śəllase (for Summer 1954), Bäyyänä Wäldä Gäbrəʾel (for November 1955) and S. Mässälä (for January 1959). These editors and the student officers of E.S.S. were later to hold important positions in government and among the Ethiopian community.

L.C. was not published regularly for various reasons. The most prominent problems were those of distribution and collecting revenue: the magazine was sent from London to different schools in Addis Abäba and to Ethiopian diasporas all over the world. The financial condition of the Society improved later due to donations received from its patron, Emperor Ḫaylä Śəllase I, from *ras* ↗Ǝmməru Ḫaylä Śəllase (then Ambassador in Washington) and Mr. Wright of the British Consulate in Harär, and the cooperation of representatives in Addis Abäba, Greece, Lebanon and the USA.

The "News in Brief" (later "News and Comments") section of L.C. provides ample informa-

tion about the activities of the E.S.S. in the United Kingdom: reports of its debates, the speeches and lectures delivered on various occasions, and information on the persons participating in these events.

L.C. is a useful source for the political, historical, developmental and scientific interests of Ethiopian students of the time in the United Kingdom. Modernization and Ethiopia's path to economic independence were the central topics. The problems of language standardization, the alphabet, terminology and translation also received a lively discussion.

A separate section (though short-lived), entitled "What they Say", aimed at reproducing "news and opinions on Ethiopia appearing in western publications".

L.C. contains contributions on literature and the arts in general, e.g., Mängəśtu Lämma's essays on Gəᶜəz ↗*qəne*; Afäwärq Täkle's short pieces about painting and dancing; book reviews etc. The journal also published Amharic poems by Mängəśtu Lämma, ↗Gäbrä Krəstos Dästa, Miliyon Nəqənnəq and several other authors. Short stories in English constitute an even greater share of literary works in L.C.

↗Student movement

Src.: *The Lion Cub,* July 1949–January 1959 [available at the Institute of Ethiopian Studies, Addis Abäba].

Fekade Azeze

Liq

The term L. (ሊቅ, 'chief, senior; [church] scholar', pl. *liqawənt* or *liqanat*; contraction of Gəᶜəz adj. ልኂቅ *ləhiq* derived from the verb ልህቀ *ləhqä* 'grow [old]') generally signifies a person of authority, a senior in both the spiritual and secular spheres (though it may also be used to designate the senior among several persons of equal rank). It was used in Gəᶜəz to transpose the Greek prefixes ἀρχι- or πρωτο- ('head of', 'first', used also in Gr. ἀρχιπροφήτης, Coptic, cp. ⲁⲣⲭⲓⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏⲧⲏⲥ [Moses], Gəᶜəz *liqä näbiyat*). This pattern often appears in the Ethiopic Bible, e.g., *liqä kahənat*, 'archpriest' (cp. ἀρχιερεύς), *liqä mälaᵓəkt*, 'archangel' (cp. ἀρχάγγελος), and related contexts – *liqä ḥawaryat*, 'chief of the Apostles', *liqä sämaᶜətat*, 'chief of the martyrs' (in the sense of 'protomartyr', e.g., St. Stephen), etc.

The word L. was likewise combined with other nouns to produce titles or descriptions of a function, both ecclesiastic and secular. A number of titles formed with L. are known from different sources. In some cases, neither the precise function of these officials nor the durability of their offices are known; yet these titles help to form an idea concerning the structure of religious and secular institutions which existed in the Christian empire.

Some of the more ancient terms were known and may have been already in use during the Aksumite period. The 14th-cent. ↗*Kəbrä nägäśt* lists the "high officials", sent by Solomon as companions of ↗Mənilək I and representing the court and state structure thus inherited from the biblical ↗Israel: ↗*liqä kahənat* Azariah, *liqä diyaqonat* (cp. ↗*Diyaqon*) Elijah, *liqä ḫara* ('chief of the troops'), *liqä mäśbəᵓət* ('head of the army'), *liqä ḫara läᵓafras* ('chief of cavalry'), *liqä ḫara läᵓaggar* ('head of infantry'), etc. (BezKebr 44f. [text]). The ↗*Śərᶜatä mängəśt* includes a *liqä saf* (could be a shortening for *liqä asaf*, 'head of the singers' or for *liqä mäsafənt*, 'head of the nobles'; Varenbergh 1915/16:11 [text]) in the same list.

The land charters from the "Golden Gospel" of ↗Däbrä Libanos of Šəmäzana, ascribed to King ↗Lalibäla (s. CRDLib 187–91, nos. 6, 7) and possibly dating back as early as the 13th cent. (known through a 16th-cent. copy), attest the prominence of such titles as *liqä kahənat* and *liqä diyaqonat* (also in the forms *liqä kenot* and *liqä zəyaqonat*, cp. Kropp 2005:133f.) which retained their importance throughout the entire history of Ethiopia (cp. also CRAxum nos. 20, 24b, 28–37, 44; BeckHuntAlm 93). Another title to survive throughout the centuries is the Ethiopic term for the archbishop *liqä ṗaṗṗasat* (CRDLib no. 11, document ascribed to the 13th cent. and copied no later than 14th/15th cent.; ↗*Ṗaṗṗas*).

Most other functions listed in these ancient land charters, such as *liqä ᶜaqqabe dede* ('chief of the entrance guards'; CRDLib no. 6), *liqä bariya* ('chief of/over slaves'; ibid.), *liqä betä qäṭṭin* ('head of household, servants', cp. *liqä mänabərt*; ibid.), *liqä ḫadar* (or *ḫədar*, of unclear meaning, could be a type of military unit; nos. 6, 7), *liqä mäsänaqut* (or *mäsänqo*, 'head of ↗*mäsinqo*-players'; nos. 6, 7) have to a large part disappeared.

In the course of time, the term L. grew to be associated predominantly with a wide array of functions within the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥədo) Church (EOTC). The Chronicle of *aṣe* ↗Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob reports that the King bestowed the title L. of ↗Aksum (*liqä Aksum*) on the head (*mämhər*) of a new monastic community

he founded there after his coronation (PerrZarY 52; DillmZarY 20), and endowed him with the land of Naʾəder. The *liqä Aksum* was supposed to be equal in rank with the ↗*nəburä əd* and be in charge of the night Canonical hours of ↗Aksum Ṣəyon (CRAxum 73 [text]; BeckHuntAlvar 557f.). The *liqä Aksum* was probably the official referred to by Alvares as "nebret [*nəburä əd*] of the monks" (cp. BeckHuntAlvar 557). The title is also mentioned in the land grants attached to the *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*Aksum*, by *aṣe* ↗Ləbnä Dəngəl (*liqä aksum abba* Səmᶜon, s. CRAxum no. 41, *liqä aksum* Ḥabtay, no. 43), ↗Susənyos (no. 60), up to *ras* ↗Wäldä Śəllase (no. 70).

As men of learning, the *liqawənt* played an important role in traditional ↗law and the judiciary (cp. GuiVoc 22f.). *Liqä däbtära* ('head of the ↗*däbtära*' [originally, those in Aksum Ṣəyon], attested at least for Zärʾa Yaᶜəqob's time; PerrZarY 29; DillmZarY 59ff.; CRAxum no. 27) was also one of the "four supreme judges" (cp. ↗*Daññа*; ↗*wämbär*), the others being *liqä aqäytat* (already listed in the 13th-cent. CRDLib nos. 6, 7; cp. CRAxum no. 70); *liqä maʾəməran* ('chief of the learned', CRAxum nos. 41f., 44; the same function is sometimes called *liqä ṭäbbäbt*, 'chief of the wise') and *liqä mäṣani* (*mäṣane* or *mäṭani*, 'master of measure', cp. also ↗*mäčäne*). We know names of at least two consecutive *liqä mäṣani* from Ləbnä Dəngəl's reign, Särgis (CRAxum no. 30) and Gərma Zan (ibid. docs. 35, 41f., 44; s. further doc. 57; cp. PerrZarY 33, 38 [text]). Also the *liqä aʾərug* ('head of the elders', CRAxum doc. III.14, cp. p. 103) could be called to be a judge in a civil case. *Liqä däbtära* and *liqä maʾəməran* are listed in the *Śərᶜatä mängəśt* among the very first official functions in the Solomonic administration (Varenbergh 1915/16:12 [text]); the two, together with the ↗*ṣərag masäre* (master of the ceremonies), were in charge of crowning the queen (ibid. 16). The *liqä däbtära* was also involved in the ceremonies of royal mourning and the church celebrations. The *liqä mäṭani* had important functions at the coronation in Aksum and also in the appointment of such high officials as, e.g., ↗*däğğazmač* (ibid. 16, 18f.). In later practice, he was also the one to assist the ↗*gäbäz* during banquets, assuming the responsibility of welcoming guests.

Among the functions described with the help of L.-compounds was also ↗*liqä mäkʷas* (cp. CRAxum no. 70; Kropp 2005:135; ZanLitTheo 18, 30, 43). For 32 years *liqä mäkʷänənt* was a position of high juridical power (RicEnbYoh v, 129).

In addition, there are such ecclesiastic titles as *liqä maḫbär* ('head of [monastic] community', CRAxum no. 24b); *liqä märaḫt* (possibly the same as ↗*märigeta*; ibid. nos. 30, 41); *liqä däbr* ('head of a *däbr*', no. 84, possibly equivalent to *rəʾəsä däbr*), *liqä ardəʾət* (also *mäggabe ardəʾət*, s. ↗*Mäggabi*; e.g., RicEnbYoh III, 76 and n. 98), or *liqä mäzämmərаn* ('head of cantors [of the church choir]').

In the context of traditional church ↗education, the honorary title of L. is given to those who have reached its highest degrees and become recognized experts, among others, in the following works (apart from the ↗*Qəddase*, the ↗Old and the ↗New Testaments): ↗*Qerəllos*, *Afäwärq* (writings of ↗John Chrysostom), ↗*Haymanotä Abäw*, ↗*Fəṭḥa nägäśt*, ↗*Abušäkər* and ↗*Märḥa ᶜəwwur*. The term *liqawənt* can also be used as collective title referring to the writings of the Church Fathers (cp. the term *mäggabe liqawənt*, 'expert in the interpretation of the [books of] Church Fathers', i.e. in patristics).

Yäliqawənt gubaʾe ('the scholars' council') is the supreme censorship body of the EOTC. Today under the Holy Synod, it is responsible for the revision of translations into Gəᶜəz and controlling the original publications, ensuring the exact adherence to Church doctrine; any book appearing under the auspices of the Church must be approved by the council. It is also responsible for settling religious disputes interpreting Canon law. The recently created body traces its roots back to the times of *aṣe* ↗Śärṣä Dəngəl, when an assembly of the "doctors of the Church" already existed (s. Conti Rossini 1893:805).

Finally, the term L. is part of some other honorary titles bestowed on the heads of important churches or monasteries. The title *liqä liqawənt* ('head of the scholars', used already in the Life of ↗ᶜƎnbaqom as an equivalent to *qāḍī al-quḍāt*) was given to the head of the Bäʾata Maryam church, built by order of Zäwditu as a mausoleum for ↗Mənilək II, and to *aläqa* Mänkər Mäkʷännən of Mädḫane ᶜAläm in Gondär by *abunä* ↗Täklä Haymanot for excelling in his profession. The abbot of ↗Däbrä Bərhan Śəllase of Gondär bears the traditional title *liqä bərhanat* ('head of lights'). *Liqä səlṭanat* ('chief of the authorities') is the title coined for the head of ↗Qəddəst Śəllase cathedral in Addis Abäba – formerly a member of the imperial cabinet (↗Government), he has assumed most of the power wielded by the ↗*əččäge*.

↗Churches and church administration

Src.: BassÉt 89; BeckHuntAlvar 22, 199, 203, 552, 557f., 561; BeckHuntAlm 93; BezKebr 44f. (text) = 36 (tr.); CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Due squarci inediti di cronaca etiopica", *RRALm* ser. 5ª, 2, 1893, 804–18; CRAxum nos. II. 14, 20, 24b, 27, 30, 35ff., 39, 41ff., 44, 54, 57–61, 69f., 76, 84 (cp. HuntLand), III. 6, 13; CRDLib nos. 6, 7, 11; DillmLex 27; DillmZarY 59ff.; GuiVoc 22f.; MANFRED KROPP, "«Antiquae restitutio legis»: Zur Alimentation des Hofklerus und einer Zeugenliste als *imago imperii* und *notitia dignitatum* in einer Urkunde des Kaisers Zärʾa Yaʿqob im Condaghe der Hs. BM Or. 481, fol. 154", in: DENIS NOSNITSIN (ed.), *Varia Aethiopica: In Memory of Sevir B. Chernetsov (1943–2005)*, St. Petersburg 2005 (= Scrinium 1), 115–47, here 133ff.; KWKDic 559; IGNAZIO GUIDI (ed., tr.), *Il "Fetha Nagast" o "Legislazione dei Re": codice ecclesiastico e civile di Abissinia*, Roma 1897, ch. 51; LesCDic 322; PerrZarY 29, 33, 38f., 52, 91f.; RicEnbYoh I, 108 and n. 22; III, 76 and n. 98; IV, 77, 90 n. 128, 92f. n. 173; V, 127ff. n. 219; JOSEPH VARENBERGH, "Studien zur abessinischen Reichsordnung (*Šerata Mangešt*)", *ZA* 30, 1915–16, 1–45, here 11f.=29f., 16=31f., 18f.=34f., 23=40; ZanLitTheo 18, 30, 43.

Lit.: AYMRO WONDMAGEGNEHU – JOACHIM MOTOVU, *The Ethiopian Orthodox Church*, Addis Ababa 1970, 146; BAIRU TAFLA, "Titles, Ranks and Offices of the Ethiopian Orthodox Tawahdo Church: a Preliminary Survey", *Internationale Kirchliche Zeitschrift* 76, 1986, 293–304; HabTent; EPHRAIM ISAAC, "Social Structure of the Ethiopian Church", *EthObs* 14, 4, 1971, 240–88.

Evgenia Sokolinskaia

Liqä kahənat

L.k. (**ሊቀ፡ ካህናት**, 'arch-priest', pl. **ሊቃነ፡ ካህናት**, *liqanä kahənat*) is a term which has been known in Ethiopia at least since the time of the translation of the Bible, in connection with the personality of Aaron and other chief priests of Israel; further on, also in the O.T. sense, in connection with Azariah, son of Zadok, in ↗Mənilək I's entourage in the 14th-cent. ↗*Kəbrä nägäśt* (BezKebr 44 [text]). Two land charters of the "Golden Gospels" of ↗Däbrä Libanos of Šəmäzana, ascribed to the 12th/13th-cent. king Lalibäla, contain the term *liqä kenot*, which may be a colloquial or corrupted form of L.k. (*liqä kenot* Zäʾamlay; s. CRDLib nos. 6, 7).

Certainly, the ecclesiastical office of L.k. existed by the second half of the 14th cent., after the "restoration" of the ↗Solomonic dynasty. References to the L.k. appear in the texts that comprise the Ethiopic ↗*Senodos*, compiled around that time: e.g., the theological interpretation of the L.k.'s position within the ecclesiastic hierarchy (Jesus Christ, *qädami qäsis*, 'the chief priest', is the L.k. appointed by God, but he does not grant the priesthood to everyone believing in him, cp. Horner 1904:77 [text]; BauSen 62 [text]); and the detailed and practical instructions concerning the L.k.'s duties (BauSen 29 [text], no. 48) which endow him with a specific function and jurisdiction of controlling the clergy, i.e. different from a L.k. – "head of priests" – of a church with many ministers (e.g., BauSen 195f. [text], no. 29).

Hagiographic sources tell that L.k. were formally appointed by the metropolitan (possibly, after the candidates were proposed locally and approved by the monarch). They were high-ranking ecclesiastics, recruited apparently from both monks and secular clergy (cp. ↗*kəhnät*). The L.k. were mainly supervisors of the latter's discipline and behaviour and proper execution of their duties, and had to deal with, or report to the metropolitan (↗*Pappas*) about their transgressions and misdeeds (cp. also BTafA 938). The Vita of *abba* ↗Filəppos of ↗Däbrä Libanos of Šäwa preserves a rare description of a function executed by the L.k.: selecting the candidates seeking ↗ordination and introducing them to the metropolitan (Turaiev 1905:199 [text]; cp. CerDLib I, 244f.).

From the time of *aṣe* Zärʾa Yaʿəqob we know that there were quite a number of L.k. in Ethiopia (whose authority the Emperor once wanted to reduce, PerZarY 101; cp. also Conti Rossini 1943:155f., 163f.). L.k. were heads of important churches (cp. ↗*Aläqa*) as in the cases of Märṭulä Mikaʾel and of Aṣädä Mikaʾel (s. PerZarY 91f.). We also know of some other L.k., such as Täklä Mikaʾel of Ǝnda Abba Gärima (?) and Däbrä Mikaʾel (CerMaria 117f.); Minas and Gäbrä Iyäsus of ↗Däbrä Nägʷädgʷad (ibid.; Kropp 2005:199 [text]; possibly the same Gäbrä Iyäsus mentioned in PerZarY 29; s. also DerDom 240). Francisco ↗Alvares tells of L.k. in churches of Angot and elsewhere (BeckHuntAlvar 199, 203). It is not quite clear whether they were "heads of the priests" in the narrow sense of the term or performed other broader (judicial) functions; probably, the first type of prerogatives could develop into the second one, with the authority of a L.k. expanding over the clergy of other churches in their respective regions.

Apparently, there were L.k. linked to the ↗Lalibäla churches, in ↗Lasta: the 16th-cent. Ethiopian messenger to Europe, ↗Ṣägga Zäʾab, was a L.k. of ↗Bugna (Bəgʷəna) (for a document mentioning "L.k. Gərma ... and L.k. of Wärwär Qäläm" together with Bädəl Ǧan, the *ras* of Bəgʷəna, s. Conti Rossini 1944–45:28, cp. CRAxum no. 29). Under *aṣe* Gälawdewos, the head of the major church of ↗Tädbabä Maryam

in Amḥara Sayənt (placed under the administration of Däbrä Libanos of Šäwa) was a L.k. holding in addition the honorary title of *bäträ yark* (from Arab. *baṭriyark*, 'patriarch'; ConzGal 53f.). A tradition of Däbrä Libanos of Šäwa claimed that, due to the merits of *abunä* ↗Täklä Haymanot, this monastery had the right to reserve the office of L.k. for its monks (Conti Rossini 1922:306 [text], 310 [tr.]). Indeed, some of the later heads of the "house of Täklä Haymanot" (↗*Ǝṣṣäge*) are known to have been L.k., or L.k. to have been their deputies (cp. GuiVoc 22). However, the office was also held by the representatives of ↗Däbrä Ḥayq Ǝsṭifanos (at ↗Mäkanä Śəllase; s. BeckHuntAlvar 378; DerDom 240) and other important monasteries or churches as early as the 16th cent.

There is at least one example when the title of L.k. was taken by a laic ruler, in the late 17th cent. (cp. "*azzaž* of Bägemdər ... L.k. of Wärwär", GuiIohan 145 [text]). In the 18th–19th cent. L.k. was most probably more an honorary title than an acting office. However, a revival of the office came with the rise of Šäwa and the subsequent creation of a centralized Ethiopia. In the first half of the 19th cent., *aläqa* Wäldä Kiros was L.k. of Šäwa (AWTarik 94; GueCopMen 66); later, under *märəd azmač* ↗Ḫaylä Mikaʾel, the L.k. of Šäwa was *aläqa* Kidanä Wäld who resided in ↗Ǝnnäwari (GueCopMen 112); in 1893, the office was overtaken by ↗Ǝsṭifanos.

In the 20th cent., there was for a while "a L.k. of Ethiopia" (MahZekr 653f.), assisted by his own "chancellary" – *betä kəhnät*. Since the number of clergy and churches was growing, so did the number of L.k. and their assistants, until the *betä kəhnät*, headed by a L.k., became a parallel institution to the civil administration at the level of *wäräda*.

↗Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥədo) Church

Src.: AmhChurchD vol. 1, 43; AWTarik 94; BauSen 29, 62, 195f., 300 (text) = 14, 30, 78, 116 (tr.); BeckHuntAlm 199, 203, 378; BTafA 938; BezKebr 44 (text) = 36 (tr.); CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "La caduta della dinastia Zagué e la versione amarica del Beʿela Nagast", *RRALm* ser. 5ª, 31, 1922, 279–314; ID., "Il libro di re Zarʾa-Yāʿqob sulla custodia del Mistero", *RSE* 3, 1943, 148–66; CerMaria 117f.; ConzGal 53f.; CRAxum nos. 29, 54, 76 (= HuntLand nos. 29, 53, 76, p. 107); CRDLib nos. 6, 7; DTWDic 735; GueCopMen 66, 112, s. index; GuiIohan 145 (text) = 152 (tr.); GuiVoc 22; GEORGE WILLIAM HORNER, *The Statutes of the Apostles or Canones Ecclesiastici*, London 1904, 77 (text) = 221 (tr.); MANFRED KROPP, "«Antiquae restitutio legis». Zur Alimentation des Hofklerus und einer Zeugenliste als *imago imperii* und *notitia dignitatum* in einer Urkunde des Kaisers Zärʾa Yaʿqob im *Condaghe* der Hs. BM Or. 481, fol. 154", in: DENIS NOSNITSIN et al. (eds.), *Varia Aethiopica: in Memory of Sevir B. Chernetsov (1943–2005)*, St. Petersburg 2005 (= Scrinium 1), 115–47; MahZekr 653f.; BORISSUS TURAIEV, *Vitae sanctorum indigenarum*. II. *Acta s. Aronis et s. Philippi*, Louvain 1908 (CSCO 30, 31 [SAe 13, 14]), 199 (text) = 179f. (tr.); PerZarY 91f., 101.

Lit.: CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Pubblicazioni etiopistiche dal 1936 al 1945", *RSE* 1944–45 [1946], 1–132, here 28; RicEnbYoh III, 100ff.

Denis Nosnitsin

Liqä mäkʷas

L.m. (ሊቀ፡ መኳስ, 'chief of *mäkʷas*') is a historical court title. Its etymology is not altogether clear. It could be a contracted pl. of Gəʿəz መኵሳይ, መኵሲ (*mäkʷəsəy*, *mäkʷəsi* [Acc. *mäkʷəse*]), 'homonym' (cp. Amh. *mokše*), from ኰሰየ (*kʷäsäyä*, 'have the same name'); however, this could be a later etymological reinterpretation. In any case, the title's attributions underwent considerable changes over time, from the head of the muleteers to an official close to the monarch. The earliest mention of L.m. (*liqä mähʷašo*) can be found in the text entitled *Śərʿatä gəbər* ('Rule of the banquet/tribute'). As established by ↗ʿAmdä Ṣəyon I, ten L.m., helped by ten *ḫədug*-assistants, supervised breeding, selection, dressage, grazing and loading of mules. They controlled the activity of the itinerant royal camp, giving orders to, among others, the ↗*aqetzär*, the ↗*däggafi*, and the ↗*mäčäne* (Kropp 1988:84ff.).

Although vital throughout the 15th and 16th cent., the royal camp (↗*Kätäma*) being always on the move, the function of L.m. was probably too mundane to be mentioned in the royal chronicles. It is only in the history of *aṣe* ↗Iyasu I that the title reappears, with a new meaning: the official leading the way for the *aṣe* during public appearances; the only one allowed to be physically close to the *aṣe*. The rule (*śərʿat*) forbids the L.m. from girding up his clothes (GuiIohan 248 [tr.]). The L.m. also went ahead of the ruler on the battlefield (GuiIohan 296) and, at the end of the 18th cent., carried his ceremonial silver weapons after the battle (Bruce 1791:559f.). In court, the L.m. spoke after the ↗*šaläqa* and the *ṣağ* ↗*azzaž*, though before all the other dignitaries, governors of provinces and prelates (GuiIohan 151, confirmed in GuiIohan 313 and, with minor differences, by Bruce 1791:559f.). A L.m. with a mule attended to the ↗coronation ceremony (s. the ms. quoted in DillmZarY 18, n. 1).

During the Gondärine period, some L.m. were involved – or accused of being involved – in

The *liqä mäkʷas* Abbäbä (left) at Mənilək II's court; photo early 20th cent., courtesy of Peter the Great Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography of the Russian Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg

plots against the monarchs, a fact testifying to their potential involvement in political intrigue. This was, for example, the case with *liqä mäkʷas* Gäbrä Ləʿul. He succeeded *liqä mäkʷas* Mammo at the very beginning of *aṣe* Bäkaffa's reign in 1721 (BegCron 108) and accompanied the latter on the battlefield in 1723 (GuiIohan 296). Soon afterwards he was commissioned to bring a new *əčč̌äge* from ↗Azäzo to Gondär (GuiIohan 307). A version of the "short chronicles" states that, during the first two years of his reign (1730-32), *aṣe* ↗Iyasu II had *liqä mäkʷas* Gäbrä Ləʿul imprisoned for rebellion. The first versions of the "short chronicles" actually bear witness to this *damnatio memoriae* and replace Gäbrä Ləʿul in the account with *azzaž* Bənyam, another important personage of Bäkaffa's reign (BassÉt 346; DombrChr 272, 275f.). During *aṣe* ↗Iyasu II's reign, the L.m. Wälwağo betrayed the monarch by joining the rebellion of ↗Tänśe Mammo, ca. 1731 (GuiIyas 59).

From that time and until the end of Iyoʾas I's reign in 1769, the L.m. seem to rotate more quickly (this impression, however, may also result from the increasing number of details provided by the sources). The Chronicle of Iyoʾas records the careers of five L.m. within ten years and shows how becoming a L.m. could be a step on the way to higher positions. During the late 18th cent., when the monarchs themselves were little more than puppets, the L.m. became an empty requirement of court etiquette.

Some 19th-cent. local rulers are known to have had a L.m. This may have also been the case previously, but was not recorded in written sources. These L.m. might have retained some of the original functions since d'Abbadie (1881:102) defines L.m. as "an officer who tries mules and horses meant for the personal use of the king" (same definition in GuiVoc 96). *Ras* ↗Wäldä Śəllase of Təgray had a L.m. (*liqä mänkʷäs*, CRAxum doc. 70 = ms. BN d'Abbadie 152, fol. 67v).

Aṣe ↗Tewodros II, perhaps in order to outbid local rulers, had four L.m. Among them was John ↗Bell, who, according to the account of Krapf (1858 vol. 2, 352) who met him in April 1855, wore the same clothes as Tewodros on the battlefield to confuse the enemy. For this dangerous undertaking, Bell received large grants of land. This is the first mention of a L.m. as the "king's double". This understanding, repeated by foreign travellers (e.g., Le Roux 1901:246), was also supported by the (re?)interpretation of the etymology of the term (from *kʷäsäyä*).

Aṣe ↗Yoḥannəs IV also had four L.m. who were present at his coronation (BTafY 127). In 1876, *liqä mäkʷas* Wärqu acted as his messenger to the Egyptian authorities (ZewYohan 77ff.). From then on, whilst some L.m. were nothing more than representative officials, reinforcing the kingship by their mere presence, others seized the opportunity to participate more actively in politics, whether as an emissary or a military leader.

Aṣe ↗Mənilək II nominated his first L.m. for his coronation as *nəguś* of Šäwa, in 1878. During his coronation as *nəguśä nägäśt* in 1889 two L.m. led his way; they would later flank him during official ceremonies (GueCopMen 160, 270ff., 339). *Aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I also had L.m., among them Aṣnaf Sägäd (d. 1918) and ↗Kätäma Yəfru. During the 20th cent., the *nəguśä nägäśt* could have two L.m. while a *nəguś* could only appoint one. Richly dressed, L.m. flanked their sovereign during ceremonies, and took care of his agenda. A L.m. could be promoted to a ↗*däğğazmač* (MahZekr).

The ↗*azmari*, particularly around Gondär, use the term L.m.; the young ones as a term of derision, the old ones as a term of respect remembering that it was the way the most famous amongst them were called, those who could sing

in front of dignitaries. An oral tradition honours in particular *liqä mäkʷas* Märša, who sang for the greatest but then lost his patrons. Born in the region of Ṭägäde in Wälqayt he began to sing for *däğğazmač* Wəbe Ḫaylä Maryam, who gave him the title of L.m., and followed him until his defeat by Tewodros at the battle of Däräsge in 1855. The *azmari* tell that ten years later he was singing for ↗Ṭəso Gobäze, against his main opponent *wag šum* Gobäze (*aṣe* ↗Täklä Giyorgis II), until the final confrontation in 1865 when Ṭəso Gobäze died. The older *azmari* frequently use the term L.m. to define musicians who played for powerful people, which does not mean these were the actual bearers of the title.

Src.: interviews of Anne Bolay with Yämək̲ər Qäññe, Gondär, 12 May 1996 and 16 May 1999, with Nəgate Tarräqäññ, Burboks, 22 May 1998; ANTOINE D'ABBADIE, *Dictionnaire de la langue Amariñña*, Paris 1881, 102; BTafY 127; BassÉt 306, 331, 345, 346; BegCron 93, 105, 108; JAMES BRUCE, *Voyage aux sources du Nil, en Nubie et en Abyssinie, pendant les années 1768, 1769, 1770, 1771 et 1772*, tr. by JEAN-HENRI CASTÉRA, vol. 5, Paris 1791, 559f. (= BruNile vol. 3, 266f.); CRAxum 53 (text) = 64 (tr.); DillmLex 844f.; DillmZarY 18ff.; DombrChr 220, 271; FusTeo 10, 21f., 27 (text) = 76, 88f., 96 (tr); GueCopMen 160, 270ff., 339, 347; GuiIohan 151, 248, 296, 307, 312, 313, 336 (tr.), 233 (text); GuiIyas 28, 39, 59, 62, 145, 173, 185, 193, 197, 213 (tr.); GuiVoc 96; JOHANN LUDWIG KRAPF, *Reisen in Ostafrika. Ausgeführt in den Jahren 1837–1855*, Korntal 1858, vol. 2, 352; MANFRED KROPP, "The Sərᶜatä Gəbr: a Mirror View of Daily Life at the Ethiopian Royal Court in the Middle Ages", *NEASt* 10, 2–3, 1988, 51–87, here 56 and 84ff.; LesCDic 297, 341; MonVidTheo 22, 28; MorTeo 160, 168, 178; ZanLitTheo 18, 30, 43.

Lit.: ZewYohan 77ff.; MahZekr 54, 57, 647; HUGUES LE ROUX, *Ménélik et nous*, Paris 1901, 246 (ill.).

Anaïs Wion – Anne Bolay

Liqanos

Abba (or *abunä*) L. (ሊቃኖስ, nicknamed ኮኮበ፡ ገዳም, *Kokäbä gädam*, 'Star of the Desert', like St. ↗Antony) was one of the ↗Nine Saints, a half-legendary group of non-Ethiopian monks who came to the kingdom of ↗Aksum in the 5th/6th cent.

The story of L.'s life is known from his Vita, which is nearly devoid of historical information, and to a better extent from the ↗hagiographies of his fellow saints. According to these, L. was a native of Qʷəsṭəntəya, i.e. Constantinople (not mentioned in his Vita), and came to Ethiopia "from Rom and from Egypt" with the Nine Saints under King ↗Ǝllä ᶜAmida (II). After L. prayed for a night "in the sanctuary", before the Tablets of Moses (↗Aksum Ṣəyon's Ǝnda Ṣəllat?), the angel revealed to him his destination: Däbrä Qʷänaṣəl (lit. 'Mount of the Foxes'), on top of a hill near ↗Aksum, opposite to that of Ǝnda Abba ↗Ṗänṭälewon. There he had his cell made, and there he led an ascetic life. In particular, an excerpt from his Vita – passed into the Vita of Ṗänṭälewon (Conti Rossini 1904:45) – has it that L. passed away after 21 years, "during the reign of ↗Kaleb, before he waged war to the land of Saba, on the 28th of the month of *Ḫədar*, (and) was buried there". He is also commemorated on this day in the ↗*Sənkəssar* (ColSyn VIII, 390f.).

A tentative Syriac etymology of L.'s name was proposed by Guidi (1888:33 n. 1; cp. Conti Rossini 1897:140, and CRStor 161), who compared it with the name of the Syrian monastery of Liqinyâ. The issue has been further discussed in the context of the ↗Syrian influences on Aksumite Ethiopia by Marrassini (1990:38, 1999:328), with reference, however, to such names as *Likianós*, *Likínios* and *Loukanós* in Greek papyri from Egypt.

The only specific source on L. is the unpublished *Gädlä Liqanos*, attested in three copies: two from Däbrä Qʷänaṣəl, one from Aksum Ṣəyon. These manuscripts, dating to the reign of *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV, include a colophon according to which the *Gädl* was written under Gäbrä Mäsqäl "in the 114th year of mercy", was lost in the time of *aṣe* Ləbnä Dəngəl during Grañ's (↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī) ravages, and was then recovered under *aṣe* Yoḥannəs IV by monks of Däbrä Qʷänaṣəl, and copied again. Whatever the credibility of the colophon, aimed at confirming the antiquity of the text, the *Gädl* is in fact more recent, as shown, e.g., by a quotation from the 16th-cent. ↗*Haymanotä abäw*.

In the *Gädl* of L. a segment of text appears that is common to the Vita of *abba* Ṗänṭälewon (Brita in preparation), possibly on account of the proximity of their respective dwelling places.

The *Gädl* of L. differs in style, language and content from the Nine Saints' Vitae hitherto known. It seems to have an intellectual bias for theological digressions rather than the actual story of L. The narrative swarms with quotations from the *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*kidan*, *Haymanotä abäw*, ↗*Qərəllos*, *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*bərhan*, ↗*Senodos*, *Zena abäw*, *Mar Yəsḥaq* (↗Isaac of Nineveh), the Book of ↗Enoch. Some of the qotations are loosely identified as being from Abba Yoḥannəs Metropolitan of Alexandria, Gorgoryos Gäbare Mänkərat (Gregory the Thaumaturg), Abba Kirakos (cp. ↗Cyriacus of Antioch), Mänase the

Prophet. The author(s) speak(s) at length of O.T. and N.T. figures, but very little of L.'s origins, his parents, childhood etc., and also omits other common hagiographic themes.

The *Gädl* contains a remarkable miracle: once, while L. was praying, all his fingers shone with light. As recently indicated by Beylot (2005:134ff.), the same miracle, also found in a number of Ethiopic Vitae, has parallels in Arabic texts of Christian Egyptian and Islamic Persian origin, as well as in Latin hagiographies (Delahaye 1955:48). The greater part of the miracles (↗*Tä'ammər*) of L. attached to the *Gädl* are posthumous. One of them also involves an Ethiopian "Yoḥannəs King of Kings".

At least two ↗*mälkə'*, in mss. BritLib Orient. 577, fol. 53v (WrBriMus 128), and Paris, BN Éth. 350, fols. 40r-48v, both of the 18th cent. (GrébGriaule II, 60), a few ↗hymns, from the Littmann collection (Kamil 1936:22f., no. 18), and a fragment of the ↗*Wazema*, from Däbrä Qʷänaṣəl, all dedicated to L., are known.

Abba Liqanos with burning fingers; mural on cloth, 20th cent., Abba Liqanos church near Aksum; photo 2006, courtesy of Michael Gervers

The oldest witness to *abba* L.'s cult seems to be his own church (known as Abba Liqanos), to the north-east of Aksum, within walking distance (half an hour) of the town, which overlooks the so-called Abba Liqanos plateau (↗Ənda Kaleb standing a few hundred meters north-east). The church, which is the burial place of L., was mentioned by ↗Alvares as a remarkable place of pilgrimage in ca. 1520 (BeckHuntAlvar 161f.). The same building was then briefly described – as being rectangular and possibly standing on an Aksumite sanctuary – by the ↗Deutsche Aksum-Expedition in 1906 (DAE III, 67). A mention of Abba Liqanos church is found in the Vita of Yared (Conti Rossini 1904:23).

Src.: two mss. of the *Gädlä Liqanos*, Däbrä Qʷänaṣəl; ms. of the *Gädlä Liqanos*, Aksum Ṣəyon; BeckHuntAlvar 161f.; BudSaint 299f.; ColSyn VIII, 390f.; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "L'omilia di Yohannes, vescovo d'Aksum, in onore di Garimâ", in: *Actes du Onzième Congrès International des Orientalistes. Section Sémitique*, Paris 1897, 139–77, here 140, 153 and n. on p. 174; ID. (ed., tr.), *Vitae Sanctorum antiquiorum*, I. *Acta Yārēd et Panṭālēwon*, Roma – Paris – Leipzig 1904 (CSCO 26, 27 [SAe 9, 10]), 44f. (text) = 40f. (tr.); GrébGriaule II, 60, ms. Éthiopien 350 (Griaule 46); *Guida* 267; MURAD KAMIL, *Die abessinischen Handschriften der Sammlung Littmann in Tübingen*, Leipzig 1936 (Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes 21, 8), 22f., no. 18; KinBibl 80f., no. 92; WrBriMus 128f., no. 191 [ms. Orient. 577].

Lit.: ROBERT BEYLOT, "À propos du malk'a Maryam et de l'occident (suivi de deux notes d'hagiographie)", *Aethiopica* 8, 2005, 130-39; BrakAksum 127-31, esp. 128; ANTONELLA BRITA, "Considerazioni preliminari sul 'Gadla Liqānos'", in: *Atti del Seminario di Studi Africa e Mediterraneo tra ellenismo e tardo-antico, Napoli 28 febbraio–1 marzo 2003* (in preparation); CRStor 155f., 161f.; DAE I, 14, 30 (map), s. index; III, 50 (Ab. 150), 67ff.; HIPPOLYTE DELEHAYE, *Les légendes hagiographiques*, Bruxelles ⁴1955 (Subsidia Hagiographica 18), 48; GETATCHEW HAILE, "Ethiopian Saints", in: *CE* vol. 4, 1047; IGNAZIO GUIDI, "Le traduzioni degli evangelii in arabo e in etiopico", *MRALm* ser. 4ª, 4, 1888, 5-37; FRIEDRICH HEYER, "Der Asboberg des Heiligen Pantalewon und der Qanazel des Heiligen Liqanos in den 1970er Jahren", in: *AfrHorn* 199–202; PAOLO MARRASSINI, "Some Consideration on the Problem of the 'Syriac Influences' on Aksumite Ethiopia", *JES* 23, 1990, 35–46; ID., "Ancora sul problema degli influssi siriaci in età aksumita", in: LUIGI CAGNI (ed.), *Biblica et Semitica. Studi in memoria di Francesco Vattioni*, Napoli 1999 (IUO. Dipartimento di Studi Asiatici, Ser. minor 59), 325–37; OSVALDO RAINERI, "Liqānos", in: *EncSan* 330; SEIFU METAFERIA, "Liqanos", in: *DicEthBio* 104.

Antonella Brita

Lishin, Konstantin

L. (Konstantin Nikolaevič Lišin, b. 1851, d. 16 January 1906, Addis Abäba) was a Russian diplomat. He served in the Russian diplomatic missions in Turkey, was consul in Beirut and general consul in Adrianople, and became the first head of the Russian diplomatic mission in Ethiopia.

In 1902, the Russian government decided to establish a permanent diplomatic mission in Addis Abäba, and L. was appointed its minister plenipotentiary. However, he was instructed that Ethiopia should be primarily considered as a means of influencing European countries in favour of ↗Russia's interests. Besides, L. was to seek an

alliance with *ətege* ↗Ṭaytu, known for her anti-European stance, to deter *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II from taking unfavourable steps in his relations with foreign countries, as well as continue consultations with him concerning the proposal of a Russian–Ethiopian military treaty.

On 12 March 1903 the Russian diplomatic mission was received with honours in Addis Abäba. Soon L. was approached by *abunä* ↗Matewos, who sought a response to his the request for a loan submitted through ↗Vlasov, but L. was not able to say anything definite (Hrenkov 1998:432ff.). At the behest of the French foreign minister Delcassé, L. spoke in favour of the agreement according to which the Djibouti–Addis Abäba ↗Railway was to become a French concession (as a result, the French were allowed to continue the construction of the railway). In August 1903 Mənilək asked for Russian engineers to be sent to ↗Wälläga to examine veins of ↗gold (Hrenkov 1998:438) which were supposed to be exploited by the Ethiopian government, and in 1904 the area was investigated by the expedition led by N. Kurmakov. Mənilək suggested a Russian concession of some 40 km² in the most promising area. It was taken over by A. Orlov and later bought by General V. Davydov, yet all efforts to find anyone in Russia interested in exploiting it remained fruitless. L. did not reach a trade agreement with Ethiopia either; his projects concerning the establishment of a Russian–Ethiopian bank and supplies of Russian equipment and goods were not supported by the government. Engaged in a difficult war with ↗Japan (February 1904–September 1905), Russia was not ready to make any substantial investment in Ethiopian affairs.

In October 1904 Mənilək donated 100,000 Francs to the Russian Red Cross, for the wounded in the Russo–Japanese war, and assured L. that Ethiopians would pray for a Russian victory over "pagan" Japan (Hrenkow 1998:475). On 30 March 1904, Ṭaytu asked L. about the progress of the war, and thanked him for Russian help in the construction of a bridge over the Qäbänna River in Addis Abäba. However, relations cooled when Colonel Strelbitskij, who was supposed to join the British–Ethiopian boundary commission as an official representative of Ethiopia, was not accepted upon his arrival by Mənilək, due to the machinations of the British (ibid. 469–73; the Emperor's move was denounced by *ras* ↗Mäkʷännən, ibid 482f.). The image of Russia was damaged after its spectacular defeat in the Japanese war, which, together with internal instability (the Revolution of 1905), marked the end of ative Russian politics in Ethiopia. In addition, L.'s activities met opposition from ↗Harrington; the establishment of the Entente Cordial in 1904 chilled relations between L. and ↗Lagarde. In the end, L. found himself isolated among the European representatives who were preparing the ↗Tripartite Treaty. L.'s death was nevertheless mourned by the Ethiopians. In the mission he was succeeded by Sergej Lihachov.

Src.: ANDREJ HRENKOV, *Rossijsko–efiopskie otnošenija v XIX – načale XX v.* ('Russian–Ethiopian Relations in the 19th–Beginning of the 20th Cent.'), Moscow 1998, 394 [no. 142), 428f. [no. 155], 432–67 [nos. 158–77), 469–85, [nos. 181–97]; APOLLON DAVIDSON – S. MAZOV (eds.), *Rossija i Afrika. Documenty i materialy. XVIII v. – 1960 g.* ('Russia and Africa. Documents and Materials: 18th cent. – 1960'), Moscow 1999, vol. 1, 127–33 [nos. 65f.], 135ff. [nos. 68f.]; APPOLON DAVIDSON, *Istorija Afriki v dokumentah. 1870–2000* ('History of Africa in Documents. 1870–2000'), Moscow 2005, vol. 1, 72 [no. 30].

Lit.: ANDREJ HRENKOV, *Rossija – Efiopija. Stanovlenije dvustoronnih svjazej (ot pervyh kontaktov do 1917 g.)* ('Russia – Ethiopia. The Establishment of the Mutual Relations [from the First Contacts to 1917]'), Moscow 1992, 131–50 (Lit.); EDWARD THOMAS WILSON, *Russia and Black Africa before World War II*, New York 1947, 54–78 (Lit.).

Evgeniy Morozov

Lists of Kings, Patriarchs, Metropolitans

↗Chronography; ↗Historiography

Litanies

L. are intercessory prayers, or supplications in the form of set petitions and responses. In the tradition of the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥədo) Church, there is a large variety of L. employed for different needs, and, as in many other Oriental traditions, their usage in the Eucharistic liturgy (↗*Qəddase*) has undergone considerable development over time.

These supplications can be classified into four categories according to their use: 1) those used on different occasions, mainly in the office (**መስተብ ቍዕ**, *mästäbqʷəʿ* [lit. 'intercession, supplication'] and **ዘይነግሥ**, *zäyənäggəś*); 2) those said on a fixed day, the so called **ሊጦን** (*liṭon*, 'litany'); 3) those said at the *Enarxis*, i.e. the beginning of the liturgy (↗*Bäʾəntä qəddəsat*); 4) those said after lessons (*səʾəlätat*, 'ectene': **ወንበል** ..., *wänbäl* ..., 'let us all say ...'), the "three (Egyptian) prayers" of intercession (i.e. for the peace of the Church, for the authorities, and for the Congregation) said before the anaphora and **ጸልዩ፡ በእንተ፡ ጽንዓ፡ ዛቲ፡**

መካን, *ṣälläyu bäʾəntä ṣənᶜa zatti mäkan*, lit. 'pray for the strengthening of this place'); 5) ጸሎታተ፡ ምህላ, *Ṣälotatä ↗məhälla*, 'Intercessory Prayers'. Most L. follow the Alexandrian or Egyptian tradition, except for some of the short prayers in the last two groups.

Mästäbqʷəᶜ

Mästäbqʷəᶜ consists of a series of invitations to prayer addressed to the congregation selected according to requirement and the liturgical period. They are also called *ṣäwatəw* (lit. 'categories') because they each correspond to specific needs or groups of the faithful for whose benefit the prayers are performed. The celebrant must sing the *mästäbqʷəᶜat*, choosing those suitable for the time and occasion (BKṢ 32). The most frequently concerned "categories" are: the sick, travellers, the swelling rivers (በእንተ፡ አፍላጋት, *bäʾəntä aflagat*, lit. 'for the rivers'), rulers, the dead, offerers, crops, catechumens, peace, the unity of the Church, and rain. Although usually translations from Greek or Copto-Arabic texts, *mästäbqʷəᶜat* have been enlarged in the Ethiopian tradition.

A *mästäbqʷəᶜ* typically invites the community to pray to God for a precise need with the formula "And again beseech the Lord, the Almighty God, Father of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ". It opens with an *Oremus* recited by the priest (ወካዕበ ..., *wäkaᶜəbä* ..., 'and again ...'). The prayer uses the form of the 3rd pers. sg. The deacon then intervenes inviting the community to pray (ጸልዩ፡ በእንተ ..., *ṣälläyu bäʾəntä* ..., 'pray for the sake of ...'), and from this point the prayer continues using the form of the 1st pers. sg., i.e. the speaker directly addressing God the Father. The priest continues the prayer until another deacon's intervention (ንበል፡ ኵልነ ..., *nəbäl kʷälläna* ..., 'let us say all ...'). The assembly chants እግዚኦ፡ ተሣሀለነ, *Ǝgziʾo täśahaläännä*, 'O God have mercy on us' (the translation of the *Kyrie eleison*). The priest's prayer is concluded by the congregation's *Amen*.

Most *mästäbqʷəᶜat* are taken from the ↗*Senodos* (cp. Horner 1904:223-32), though their structure in this collection differs slightly from the one in current use: here they consist of the invitation or exhortation to pray (thanksgiving); the deacon's invitation ("pray!"); and the conclusion of the collect. (They are also found in the Coptic missal as "Prayers of the faithful"). The invitations *ṣälläyu bäʾəntä*, *nəbäl kʷälläna* or the chant *Ǝgziʾo täśahaläännä* are absent from the *Senodos* (cf. ms. Vat. Borg. aeth. 2, fols. 41r–44r). There are also some *mästäbqʷəᶜat* (of Mary and of the Cross) of local redaction (Getačč̈äw Ḫayle 2004:36–41), which are considered as "apocrypha" (አዋልድ, *awaləd*), because their author's name is unknown (ms. EMML 1206, fol. 140a).

Zäyənäggəś

Zäyənäggəś are supplications traditionally attributed to St. ↗Yared. They are called *zäyənäggəś* (lit. 'who governs, rules' or 'who is the king, the ruler') because such prayers start with this word. The *zäyənäggəś* are prayers for the sick, for travellers, for the swelling of rivers, for the ruler, for the fruits of the earth, for peace, and for rain. They are prescribed during the offices of Lent (*Zämänä kərämt* and *Zämänä astämaḥaro*; cp. ↗Calendar).

Zäyənäggəś are often recited or chanted in alternation with the *mästäbqʷəᶜat*. Like the latter, they are addressed in the first part to God the Father who is seen or considered far from the speaker/orator/assembly because the verbs are put in the 3rd pers. sg. Ethiopian Church scholars (*liqawənt*) interpret this with reference to the *status* of humankind in O.T. times. In the second part, the verbs are in the 2nd pers. sg. ('thou'), likewise seen to refer to N.T. times when God moved closer to people through his Son.

Liṭon

The term *liṭon* (or *liṭan*) is derived from Greek λιτανεία ('procession[al prayer]'; DillmLex 63; LesCDic 320; KWKDic 565a) and is a synonym for *mästäbqʷəᶜ*. Originally it may have been linked to *məhälla*, especially when performed outside a church building. Prayers that belong to this group are: 1) ሊጦን፡ ዘንግህ፡ ዘሰብዓቱ፡ ዕለታት (*liṭon zänägh zäsäbᶜatu ᶜälätat*, 'Morning litany of the seven days'), called also *liṭon zäzäwätr* ('everyday litany'); 2) ሊጦን፡ ዘተናገሮ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ባስልዮስ (*liṭon zätänagäro qəddus Basəlyos*, 'Litany said by St. Basil [the Great]'; BKṢ 757), included in the morning office (matins); 3) ሊጦን፡ ዘሠርክ (*liṭon zäśärk*, 'Evening litany' for feast and workdays), included in the vespers; 4) ሊጦን፡ ዘአርያም (*liṭon zäʾaryam*, 'Litany of Aryam'), also called ሊጦን፡ ዘሊቃውንት (*liṭon zäliqawənt*, 'Litany of the [church] doctors'), as it must be sung or recited by the priests.

All *Liṭon*-L. have the same form: the priest addresses God in the name of the congregation, and the people pray in silence. When the deacon intervenes, he addresses the congregation saying

ጸልዩ (*sälläyu*, 'pray!'). The congregation gives no response and continues to pray silently. L. is said in the pre-anaphora of the *Qəddase*.

Shorter forms of litany

In the Ethiopian liturgy, besides the "three prayers" of Coptic origin, short intercessory prayers are known, employed before or, more frequently, after the lessons. They are the በእንተ፡ ቅድሳት (*Bäʾəntä qəddəsat*), ጸልዩ፡ በእንተ፡ ጽንፀ፡ ዛቲ፡ መካን (*Ṣälläyu bäʾəntä ṣənʿa zatti mäkan*), and ወንበል፡ ሞልነ (*Wänəbäl kʷəllənä*).

The *Bäʾəntä qəddəsat* is a diaconical L. (originating probably from the ↗*Testamentum Domini*, s. Beylot 1984, ch. 33; Brightman 1896:206ff.) which follows the Absolution of the Son (↗*Fəṯḥat zäwäld*).

The *Ṣälläyu bäʾəntä sənʿa zatti mäkan* (Täsfa Gäbrä Səllase 1990/91:48f.) starts with the invitation to "pray for", to which the people answer "may [God] forgive our sins". It is said at each Hour of Holy Week.

Wänəbäl... (*Səʾəlätat*, 'ectene', or "litany of the deacon"; Täsfa Gäbrä Śəllase 191983/84:196f.; VelMe I, 386f., II, 582, 612ff.) is a short litanic form which, unlike the other two intercessory prayers, is directly addressed to God. This ectene (Gr. ἐκτένεια) begins with an exhortation proposed by the presbyter: "Let us all say, Lord have mercy, with our heart and with all our soul". To each petition the congregation makes some response: e.g., "We beseech you", "hear us" or "Lord have mercy" (*Kyrie eleison*). These short prayers comprise invocations for sinners, for the peace of the world and of the Church, for all the Churches, the bishop, priests, deacons, for the people, governors, the king, armies, the air (i.e. for a favourable climate), prisoners, those who are put to hard labour, the sorrowful, the harvest, for all Christians, travellers, the sick etc. This form of L. is seldom used, except in the 9th hour of the *məhəlla* office after the lessons (VelMe II, 582; HabUff 302). The ectene is sung only in the long and the short *məhəlla*. This L. type seems to be related to the Byzantine rather than the Coptic tradition. In the former, ectene, too, are employed for the stational liturgy, follow the lessons, use similar verbs and have or more less the same invocations. No clear equivalent to these *səʾəlätat* can be found in the Coptic liturgy. The Ethiopian tradition has another kind of short intercession, for the bride and bridegroom, said after the reading of the Gospel during the celebration of ↗matrimony. Each invocation which starts with "O God, the almighty ..." is followed by *Nəsʾaläkkä Ǝgziʾo səmʿannä wätäśahalännä*, 'We ask you, Lord, hear us and have mercy on us' (*Mäṣḥafä täklil* 1973/74:80ff.).

Src.: አምስቱ፡ ጸዋትው፡ ዜማዎች (*Ammənstu ṣäwatəwä zemawoccˇ*, 'The Five Categories of Chants'), Addis Abäba 1972 A.M. [1979/80 A.D.], 196f.; ROBERT BEYLOT (ed., tr.), *Testamentum Domini éthiopien*, Louvain 1984, ch. 33; DillmLex 63; GrébGriaule III, 92ff., 258; GreTisVat II, 767–82 [Vat. Borg. aeth. 2, fols. 41r–44r]; LesCDic 99f., 320; KWKDic 565a; MARCOS DAOUD – MARSIE HAZEN, *The Liturgy of the Ethiopian Church*, Addis Ababa 1954, 19–30 [III, chs. 66–98]; G. HORNER, *The Statutes of the Apostles or Canones Ecclesiastici*, London 1904, 222–32; TÄSFA GÄBRÄ SƎLLASE (ed.), ምዕራፍ፡ ዘያሬድ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ያሬድ፡ ኢትዮጵያዊ (*Məʿəraf zädäräsä qəddus Yared ityopyawi*, 'The *Məʿəraf* Composed by Saint Yared the Ethiopian'), Addis Abäba 1976 A.M. [1983/84 A.D.], 196f.; ID. (ed.), ግብረ፡ ሕማማት (*Gəbrä ḥəmamat*, 'The Acts of the Passions'), Addis Abäba 1982 A.M. [1990/91 A.D.], 48f.; የቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ ጸሎት (*Yäbetä krəstiyan ṣälot*, 'The Prayer of the Church'), Addis Abäba ²1936 A.M. [1943/44 A.D.] [= BKṢ], 74–86; ROMAN CONGREGATION FOR EASTERN CHURCHES (ed.), መጽሐፈ፡ ተክሊል፡ ዘሙአቱ፡ ሕገ፡ ሰብሳብ (*Mäṣḥafä täklil zäwəʾətu ḥəggä säbsab*, 'The Book of the Crowning, that is the Law of Matrimony'), Città del Vaticano 1966 A.M. [1973/74 A.D.], 34, 80–85.

Lit.: JOHN F. BALDOVIN, *The Urban Character of Christian Worship. The Origins, Development, and Meaning of Stational Liturgy*, Roma 1987 (OrChrA 228), 205–09; FRANK E. BRIGHTMAN, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, Oxford 1896, 206ff.; OSWALD HUGH KHS-BURMESTER, *The Egyptian or Coptic Church: a Detailed Description of Her Liturgical Services and the Rites and Ceremonies Observed in the Administration of Her Sacraments*, Cairo 1967 (Publications de la Société d'Archéologie Copte 10), 44, 334ff.; EMMANUEL FRITSCH, *The Liturgical Year of the Ethiopian Church*, Addis Ababa (Ethiopian Review of Cultures Special Issue 9–10), s. index; GETAČČÄW ḪAYLE, ደቂቀ፡ እስጢፋኖስ (*Däqiqä Ǝsṭifanos*, 'The Followers of Ǝsṭifanos'), Avon, MI 2004, 36–41; HabUff 150–69, 300f. (Lit.); VelMe I, 386f., II, 175–86, 186–97, 582, 612ff, s. index.

Habtemichael Kidane

Literacy

Traditionally, in Christian Ethiopia it was the responsibility of the Church to provide elementary ↗education. In nearly each village church the first-level school (↗*Nəbab bet*) is found, where children are taught to read and write in ↗Gəʿəz (the L. skills in ↗Amharic or ↗Təgrəñña are supposed to be acquired at the same time). The *nəbab bet* also serves as a form of adult education programme to transmit L. to those in the community who are unable to read and write.

In the Muslim regions of eastern and southern Ethiopia, Islam has developed its own system of education, based mainly on the teaching and

memorization of the ↗Qurʾān. At the primary stage the students learn reading and writing in ↗Arabic. The Qurʾānic schools are not attached to mosques. They are usually established in a Muslim community by a ↗*šayḫ*, well-versed in Islamic studies. In comparison with the church schools, the Muslim influence on education has been relatively limited.

Since the early 19th cent., European Catholic and Protestant missions were active in running missionary schools, where elementary reading and writing skills were taught, as a rule, in a European language and/or in Amharic, sometimes in other local languages.

In Eritrea at the end of the 19th cent. a considerable amount of missionary education work was done by the ↗Swedish Evangelical Mission and the Roman Catholic ↗Lazarists. A few hundred children were taught to read and write. Education was partly in Təgrəñña, in French, Italian, Arabic and Amharic. Later on the Italians established some small elementary schools in provincial towns, but school attendance was very poor and the rate of drop-out quite high (Bowen [Pankhurst] in BendLang 322).

Despite the efforts of church schools, the Qurʾān and the missionary schools, education in Ethiopia never achieved mass level.

The opening of the ↗Mənilək II Secondary School in Addis Abäba in 1908 marked a significant step towards modern education in Ethiopia. During the following decades, other governmental schools and about a hundred private schools, among them several boarding-schools, were opened in the capital and in other big cities of the country. The introduction of the printing press in 1911 and the founding of newspapers were further steps towards the dissemination of literacy and knowledge (Bowen [Pankhurst] in BendLang 316). After establishing the Ministry of Education and Fine Arts in 1930, Ḫaylä Śəllase I took measures for the expansion of childhood education and for the elimination of illiteracy among soldiers. By 1935, there were 21 governmental schools with a total enrolment of about 4,200 students. A general rise in L. among the urban population was observed for this period.

During the Italian occupation, government schools were closed and the level of education for Ethiopians was systematically reduced. Primary school attendance was poor, and even among Italian "native" troops, the level of L. was extremely low.

After Liberation, the Ethiopian education system had to be organized anew and the curriculum redesigned. By 1950, despite the great disparity in the educational facilities of urban and rural areas, approximately 56,000 students were enrolled in more than 500 primary and four secondary schools. A number of L. campaigns for adults were undertaken by churches and missions. In 1955, an imperial edict was issued demanding everybody's pursuit of L. and the National Literacy Campaign Committee was set up. Still, by 1965, the level of illiteracy among the male population over 15 years was ca. 92 % (Brooks in BendLang 521).

After the ↗Revolution of 1974, a Programme of the National Democratic Revolution of Ethiopia was put in place. With regard to education, it stated: "There will be an educational programme that will provide free education, step by step, to the broad masses [...]. All necessary measures to eliminate illiteracy will be undertaken." As a result of this policy, the 1970s and 1980s were marked by a significant expansion in educational opportunities and students' enrolment in the formal education sector. Between 1974 and 1984 the number of primary schools had more than doubled. By 1982/83, more than 3,000,000 children were enrolled in primary and secondary schools staffed by nearly 50,000 teachers.

Since formal education alone could hardly meet the requirements to reduce significantly the high rate of illiteracy amounting to 93 % in 1973, the *Därg* (↗Provisional Military Administrative Council) launched the "National Work Campaign for Development Through Cooperation", known as ዘመቻ (*zämäča*, lit. 'campaign'), in December 1974. The two-year campaign used several Ethiopian vernaculars, namely Amharic, ↗Oromiffa, Təgrəñña, ↗Somali and ↗Wälaytta, for L. instruction. Out of the 756,200 persons registered for the L. programme 158,065 completed the whole programme, 202,692 participants were still in the process of learning by summer 1976. The remaining did not complete their courses (*Development through Co-operation Campaign's Summary Report* ... 1976:74).

The experience of the 1974 campaign was pivotal in the design and implementation of a more extensive adult L. drive undertaken by the government of the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia between the years 1979 and 1991. The Ethiopian National Literacy Campaign (ENLC)

was primarily directed toward the elimination of illiteracy among the economically active part of the population between the ages of 15 and 65. To facilitate an effective spread of L., 15 Ethiopian languages were designated for use in the ENLC: Amharic, Oromiffa, Təgrəññña, Wälaytta, Somali, ↗Sidaama, ↗Hadiyya, ↗Səlṭi, ↗Kambaata, ↗ᶜAfar, ↗Təgre, ↗Gideᵓo, ↗Käfa, ↗Sāho and ↗Kunama. These languages encompassed the mother-tongues of more than 90 % of the Ethiopian people and were widely known as second or third languages by the remaining population. Text-books in these 15 languages were prepared, many of them for the first time, employing the Ethiopian syllabary (↗Script, Ethiopic).

A community reading room; from NLCCC 1981:46

During the campaign, participants were taught reading, writing, arithmetic and political education. The course texts covered basic educational topics. Those who had completed classes in basic L. could also take post-literacy courses. Follow-up material in the same 15 languages had been prepared for this purpose.

The organizational set-up of the ENLC was highly centralized and quite complex. The ENLC launched in July 1979 was organized into two six-monthly rounds a year. By August 1983, nine rounds had been completed and a total of 9.57 million adults had been made literate (MOE 1984:42).

By August 1986, 14 rounds had been completed. Up to that time, 18,209,779 people had registered of whom 13,770,894 were certified with 1,521,489 campaigners in 278,396 centres. During the same period out of the 10,427,011 who registered, 7,948,705 had followed the programme in the post-literacy stage. At that time, the national L. rate had grown to 62.4 %. The L. rate in the urban areas was then 84.5%, while that of the rural areas was 59.6 % (NLCCC 1986:17).

The large and varied investment in the L. campaign was mainly devoted to the teaching materials. In the rounds 1-14, the number of books distributed in 15 nationality languages reached a total of 43,327,615 (28,623,822 for L. and 14,703,793 for post-literacy). Over 2,964,399 exercise books, 3,027,829 pencils, 1,719,327 gross of chalk and 183,761 blackboards were distributed from the central level. A large quantity of teaching aids had also been produced at the local levels (NLCCC 1986:11).

Among the means used to sustain and promote L. skills were reading centres, adult and rural newsletters, community skill training centres and radio programme support (NLCCC 1986:14).

Despite the many problems and inefficiencies, this twelve-year campaign represented the first sustained and comprehensive effort in Ethiopia's two thousand years of literate history to prepare scripts and teaching materials for the major languages spoken in the country. These efforts gained high international recognition. Several awards, e.g. the Unesco's International Reading Association Literacy Prize, positively recognized Ethiopia for the effective mobilization of the resources of the society, the systematic planning of L. work conceived in a perspective of life-long education, the preparation of innovative L. materials in several Ethiopian languages, and the positive impact of the L. campaign upon the national life of Ethiopia.

The use of local languages as an important prerequisite for the successful L. campaign, however, was not translated into action in the formal educational system. Here Amharic and English remained the medium of instruction at the elementary and secondary grades. Other factors aside, this might have led to a decline in enrolment at both the primary and secondary levels in the late 1980s.

In the 1990s, the government of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia adopted a new policy, deciding to introduce the Ethiopian languages other than Amharic also in the formal educational sector. The Regional Education

Bureaus were responsible for the preparation of teaching material in the various mother tongues for grades 1 to 8. Non-Semitic languages were to be written in the Latin script, instead of using the Ethiopic syllabary.

However, the implementation of this strategy met with major problems: an enormous growth in the student population; a completely inadequate supply of primary and secondary schools across the different regions and, again, urban and rural areas; insufficient information on the distribution and use of the various Ethiopian languages; the lack of appropriate teaching materials and equipment; unsuitable curricula; poorly trained teachers; high costs and wastage through drop-outs and repetition. According to the 1994 census, only 23.4 % of the population aged 10 years and older were literate (Jelaludin Ahmed et al. 2001:27). In view of the rapid growth of the Ethiopian population, a lasting eradication of illiteracy requires the sustained efforts of the Ethiopian government and all related institutions to be focused on the formal system of education as well as on comprehensive adult L. programmes.

↗Education; ↗Language policy

Src.: CSA 1996; *Development through Co-operation Campaign's Summary Report 1967/68 E.C.*, vol. 1, Addis Ababa 1968 A.M. [1976 A.D.]; MINISTRY OF EDUCATION [MOE] – EDUCATION SECTOR DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME, *Center's Five Year Plan*, Addis Ababa 1998; ID., *Implementation Manual*, Addis Ababa 1998; MOE, *Basic Information on Education in Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 1977; ID., *Education in Socialist Ethiopia. Origins, Reorientation, Strategy for Development*, Addis Ababa 1984; THE NATIONAL LITERACY CAMPAIGN COORDINATING COMMITTEE [NLCCC], *Every Ethiopian will be Literate and will Remain Literate*, Addis Ababa, 1981, 46 (ill.); ID., *The Ethiopian National Literacy Campaign. Its Achievements and Prospects*, Addis Ababa 1986.

Lit.: J. DONALD BOWEN [RICHARD PANKHURST], "Historical Background of Education in Ethiopia", in: *BendLang* 305–23; KENNETH BROOKS, "Literacy Programmes in Ethiopia", *ibid.* 520–34; GIRMA AMARE, "Government Education in Ethiopia", *EthObs* 6, 4, 1963, 335–42; HAILE GABRIEL DAGNE, "Non-Government Schools in Ethiopia", in: *BendLang* 339–70; ID., "Society and Education: The Case of Ethiopia", in: *PICES* 11, vol. 2, 609–32; SUSAN J. HOBEN, "Literacy in Ethiopia – When does a Campaign End?", *ibid.* 633–42; EAD., "The Language Education in Ethiopia: Empowerment or Imposition?", in: *PICES* 12, vol. 1, 182–97; JELALUDIN AHMED et al., *Gender Issues, Population and Development in Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa – Roma 2001; CHRISTINE MCNAB, "From Traditional Practice to Current Policy: the Changing Pattern in Language Use in Ethiopian Education", in: *PICES* 8, vol. 1, 715–28; RONNY MEYER – RENATE RICHTER, *Language Use in Ethiopia from a Network Perspective*, Frankfurt am Main 2003; RENATE RICHTER, "Die erste Phase der Semetscha", *Asien, Afrika, Lateinamerika* 5, 4, 1977, 629–34; TESFAYE SHEWAYE, "በአገርኛ፡ ቋንቋ፡ የማስተማር፡ ፋይዳ" (*Bä'agärəñña q'anq'a yämastämar fayda*, 'The Benefit of Teaching in Venacular'), in: *PICES* 11, vol. 2, 665–80; TESHOME WAGAW, "Education and Language Policy in a Divided Ethiopia: Reversing the Quest of the Centuries and Pressing the Uncharted Future", in: *PICES* 13, vol. 3, 391–400; TILAHUN SINESHAW, "A Critical Examination of the 1979–1991 Ethiopian National Literacy Campaign", in: *PICES* 12, vol. 1, 217–38.

Renate Richter

Littmann, Enno

Richard Ludwig Enno L. (b. 16 September 1875, Oldenburg, Lower Saxony, d. 4 May 1958, Tübingen) was a German Semitist and Orientalist who during his lifetime ranked among the leading scholars in these fields.

While L. covered virtually all major branches of Semitics (excepting only Akkadian) in his research, the study of ↗Ethio-Semitic languages and literatures (mainly ↗Gəʿəz, ↗Təgrəñña and, especially, ↗Təgre) was, together with Arabic philology and Semitic epigraphy, one of his major areas of interest. In addition, he studied ↗Oromiffa thoroughly enough to be able to write on poetry in that language (Littmann 1925), and on several occasionsalso published on Ethiopian historical or cultural topics. L.'s contributions to ↗Ethiopian studies overall number more than 100 monographs and articles, as well as over 30 reviews (cf. Paret – Schall 1955:177–89; Schall 1959). L. is most widely known, though, for his leading role in the ↗Deutsche Aksum-Expedition [DAE] of 1906.

Already in secondary school, in addition to the classical and modern western European languages offered there, L. taught himself the basics of Arabic, Italian, Persian, and Syriac. In 1894 he went to Berlin to study Oriental languages academically. There L. attended a few classes taught by ↗Dillmann shortly before the latter's death. In 1895 he continued his studies in Greifswald, and in 1896 in Halle where ↗Praetorius developed his interest in Ethiopian studies. In 1898 L. submitted a Ph.D. thesis on the verb in Təgre. After an additional postgraduate semester in Strassburg under ↗Nöldeke (whose granddaughter he was to marry in 1921), L. was invited to participate, thanks to an American acquaintance he had made in Halle, in a University of ↗Princeton expedition to the Levant. In 1899/1900 he therefore spent about ten months in Syria and Palestine. While mainly doing epigraphic work, during this period L. also made contacts with the

Ethiopian monastic community in ↗Jerusalem and catalogued Ethiopian ↗manuscripts there.

In spring 1901 L. became Instructor in Semitic Languages at Princeton University. In 1904 he returned to Germany, but subsequently participated in another Princeton expedition to Syria. In October 1905, within the framework of still another Princeton expedition, he came to Eritrea for the first time, then an Italian colony. There L., in collaboration with ↗Sundström and with the assistance of his informant ↗Näffaᶜ Wäd ᶜƎtman, again worked on Təgre (the collected texts with English and German translations were published in four volumes, 1910–15, LitPEA).

Enno Littmann, photo 1950s, by Photo-Gröger, Tübingen, courtesy of the family

Whilst in Eritrea, L. was asked to lead the imperially-sponsored DAE to Ethiopia. His Princetonian sponsors did not object, and from mid-January to early April 1906 L. and his DAE colleagues (↗Kaschke, ↗Krencker and von ↗Lüpke) thus worked in ↗Aksum and other sites in the vicinity where L. comprehensively recorded the Epigraphic South Arabian, Greek and Gəᶜəz ↗inscriptions they found. The bulk of the enormous amount of invaluable data collected in the field was published in 1913 in DAE I–IV. L. was solely responsible for the epigraphic vol. IV, containing such crucial inscriptions as those by ↗ᶜEzana which document this monarch's conversion to Christianity. L. also was the lead author of vol. I and contributed to vol. III.

After his return to Germany in 1906, L. became Nöldeke's successor in Strassburg. In 1914 he then accepted a call to Göttingen. From 1916 to 1918 the German general staff made use of his Orientalist skills during ↗World War I, after which L. took up a professorship at Bonn. In 1921 he moved to Tübingen, where he taught until his retirement in 1949.

After World War I, Ethiopian topics receded in importance in L.'s work, with Arabic philology, particularly Arabic folk literature, becoming the main focus of his scholarly endeavours. L.'s translation of the entire *Arabian Nights* (six vols., 1921–28) is still widely considered the finest German rendition of this Oriental classic. L. had especially close ties to Egypt, where from ca. 1910 to 1950 he regularly gave lectures at the Universities of Cairo and Alexandria. In 1934 King Fuʾād of Egypt invited him to become one of the five European members of the newly founded Arabic Language Academy of Cairo.

However, L. never completely lost sight of Ethiopian studies until the end of his life. L.'s last major Ethiopianist work was, like his first, devoted to the Təgre language: In collaboration with Maria ↗Höfner he compiled a Təgre–German–English dictionary which, however, was only published posthumously in 1962.

Src.: DAE I, III, IV; LitPEA; *The Library of Enno Littmann, 1875–1958, Professor of Oriental Languages at the University of Tübingen. With an Autobiographical Sketch*, intr. by MARIA HÖFNER, Leiden 1959 (Brill Catalogue no. 307); ENNO LITTMANN, *Das Verbum der Tigresprache in Abessinien*, part I, Halle 1898; ID., "Das Verbum der Tigresprache", *ZA* 13, 1898, 133–78, and *ZA* 14, 1899, 1–102 [expanded version of the Ph.D. dissertation]; ID., *Zur Entzifferung des Ṣafâ-Inschriften*, Leipzig 1901; ID., "Aus den abessinischen Klöstern in Jerusalem", *ZA* 16, 1902, 102-24, 363-88; ID., *The Chronicle of King Theodore of Abyssinia, edited from the Berlin Ms. with Translation and Notes*, part I: *Amharic Text*, Princeton, NJ – Leipzig 1902; ID., "Arde'et: The Magic Book of the Disciples", *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 25, 1904, 1–48; ID. (ed., tr.), *Die Heldentaten des Dom Christoph da Gama in Abessinien: Nach dem portugiesischen Berichte des Miguel de Castanhoso*, Berlin 1907; ID., "Harari-Studien", *ZSem* 1, 1922, 38–84; ID., *Galla-Verskunst: Ein Beitrag zur allgemeinen Verskunst nebst metrischen Übersetzungen*, Tübingen 1925; ID. (tr.), *Die Erzählungen aus den Tausendundein Nächten. Vollständige deutsche Ausgabe*, 6 vols., Leipzig 1921–1928 (Wiesbaden ²1953 with addenda et corrigenda); ID., "Tigriñña-Rätsel", *ZDMG* 92, 1938, 611–32; G. LANCESTER HARDING (in coll. with ENNO LITTMANN), *Some Thamudic Inscriptions from the Hashimite Kingdom of the Jordan*, Leiden 1952; ENNO LITTMANN – MARIA HÖFNER, *Wörterbuch der Tigrē-Sprache. Tigrē – Deutsch – Englisch*, Wiesbaden 1962.

Lit.: HANS HINRICH BIESTERFELD (ed.), "Enno Littmann: Leben und Arbeit. Ein autobiographisches Fragment (1875–1904)", *Oriens* 29, 1986, 1–101; ENNO LITTMANN, "An meinem Grabe zu verlesen", in: *The Library of Enno Littmann* ... 1959, XIII–XX; OTTO EISSFELDT, *Enno Littmann*, Tübingen 1958 (Tübinger Universitätsreden 5); RUDI PARET, "Enno Littmann (1875–1958)", *ZDMG* 109,

1959, 9–14; ID., "Enno Littmann", *Neue Deutsche Biographie* vol. 14, 1985, 710f.; RUDI PARET – ANTON SCHALL (ed.), *Ein Jahrhundert Orientalistik. Lebensbilder aus der Feder von Enno Littmann und Verzeichnis seiner Schriften. Zum achtzigsten Geburtstage am 16. September 1955 zusammengestellt*, Wiesbaden 1955, 139–95 (Lit.), esp. 177–89; ANTON SCHALL, "Ergänzung zum Verzeichnis der Schriften von Enno Littmann", *ZDMG* 109, 1959, 14–15; RAINER VOIGT, "Enno Littmann: Leben und Werk", in: *AfrHorn* 246–64; WenDAE I.

Michael Kleiner

Liturgical Year ↗Calendar, Christian

Liturgy ↗Qəddase

Lobo, Jerónimo

L. (also Brandão, b. 1595, Lisbon, d. 29 January 1678, Lisbon) was a Portuguese ↗Jesuit missionary. Born to a noble family, he joined the Jesuit noviciate at Coimbra in 1609. Later, he taught Latin in Braga and studied theology at Coimbra. In 1621, he left for ↗Goa, where he pursued the study of theology.

After a failed attempt to reach Ethiopia following the river Juba (↗Ganaalee) upstream in 1624, L., together with Patriarch Afonso ↗Mendez and other companions, embarked for Ethiopia in 1625. They took a then unusual route in order to escape the ↗Ottoman control at ↗Massawa: on 3 April, they left ↗Diu and on 1 May landed at ↗Baylūl, from where they proceeded inland, through ↗Dankáli territory, reaching ↗Fəremona on 21 June. L. spent most of the time in this residence, engaged in pastoral duties, but also preaching in ↗Šire; he then went to ↗Wäfla with ↗Täklä Giyorgis to recover the remains of Christovão da ↗Gama's body and preached for some months in ↗Damot – where he also helped build a church (Lobo 1971, chs. 17, 19). On 5 January 1629, at ↗Ǝnfraz, he made solemn profession.

Following the downfall of the mission, in 1633, he met with the patriarch and 18 other companions at Fəremona (Lobo 478). After a difficult stay there for about a year, the worsening conditions made the group go into hiding. However, following ↗Fasilädäs's decree of expulsion and the hostility of the notables of Təgray, on 20 May 1634 the local lord Yoḥannəs Akay handed the Catholic group over to the Turks in Massawa, from where the missionaries were sent to ↗Sawākin. After imprisonment of one month, they were released with the help of the ↗*banyan* and on August were able to leave for Diu.

In February 1535, L. headed to Europe to reorganize the mission and to lobby for a project to send an army to Massawa. After a shipwreck in Natal and a halt in Cartagena de Indias, where he inspired Alonso de Sandoval's work *De instauranda Aethiopum salute* (Madrid 1647), he arrived in November, visiting Lisbon, Madrid and Rome. Back in Goa from 1640, L. occupied there prominent positions within the Jesuit Indian hierarchy: superior of St. Paulo velho, rector at Baçaim, preposito da casa professa, viceprovincial. After an argument with the political authorities in Goa who had him put in prison, in 1657 he left anew for ↗Portugal. He spent the last 18 years of his life at the college of S. Roque, Lisbon, where he advised Balthazar ↗Tellez.

L. became famous for his *Itinerario*, of which he produced two copies: the first during his visit to Lisbon around 1639–40, and the second in the 1660s. The text recounts his travels, offering lively geographic and ethnographic descriptions (Dankáli, ↗Nile, ↗Oromo, ↗ᶜAfar, ↗Damot, ↗Agäw, ↗*Ǝnsät*); information on the mission is, however, scarce. The text of the second manuscript – today lost – was first published in French by the abbé Joachim Le Grand (1728) and from it translated into English by Samuel ↗Johnson and German by Theophil Ehrmann. Johnson was also largely inspired by it in writing his novel *Rasselas*. The text of the first manuscript was published in 1971 by Manuel Gonçalves da Costa (Lobo 1971). Thanks to the interest of 19th- and 20th-cent. colonial scholars L. became one of the best known Jesuits in Ethiopia.

Src.: JERÓNIMO LOBO, *Itinerário e outros escritos inéditos*, ed. by MANUEL GONÇALVES DA COSTA, Barcelos 1971 [s. also "Introdução", Lit.]; ID., *Relation historique d'Abissinie ...* [also *Voyage historique d'Abissinie ...*], tr. by M. LE GRAND, Paris 1728, 2 vols; AUGUSTIN DE BACKER, *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus*, new. ed. by CARLOS SOMMERVOGEL, Bruxelles – Paris 1890–32 (repr. 1960), ad vocem.

Lit.: MANUEL GONÇALVES DA COSTA, "Jeronimo Lobo Reveals Ethiopia to Europe in the Middle of the XVIIth Century", in: *PICES* 3, vol. 1, Addis Ababa 1969, 123–30; DONALD M. LOCKHART, "The Fourth Son of the Mighty Emperor: The Ethiopian Background of Johnson's *Rasselas*", *PMLA* [Publication of the Modern Language Association of America] 78, 5, 1963, 516–28.

Andreu Martínez

Lockot, Hans Wilhelm

L. (b. 19 September 1910, Riga, Lithuania, d. 31 December 1995, Fürstenfeldbruck, Bavaria) was a German librarian who contributed significantly to Ethiopian bibliography.

After attending the Latina (Franckesche Stiftungen) school in Halle (Saale) he returned to Riga where he completed his secondary education and studied history and philosophy. From 1938 to 1945 he was employed by various museums and libraries. In 1951 he was invited to take over the post of the Chief of Research Division at the National Library of Ethiopia in Addis Abäba. He remained in this position until 1972 (from 1970 to 1972 with the additional title of "advisor"), concentrating his efforts on the completion of the library collections, mainly in the areas connected with research on Ethiopia. From 1972 to 1975 he worked for the libraries of Ḫaylä Śəllase I University (↗Addis Ababa University) and of the ↗Institute of Ethiopian Studies.

Back in Germany, L. started working on the ↗bibliography of publications on ↗Ethiopian studies. The first volume, *Bibliographia Aethiopica: Die äthiopienkundliche Literatur des deutschsprachigen Raums* (Lockot I), which listed ca. 8,000 German-language titles, appeared in 1982. Subsequently L. turned to compiling a bibliography of English-language literature, which contained ca. 24,000 titles and was published posthumously under the title *Bibliographia Aethiopica II: the Horn of Africa in English Literature* (Lockot II). L. died before he could start working on his other desiderata, such as French and Italian bibliographies.

Thanks to their detailed manner of representation, complete inventory and helpful structure (96 thematic sections in Lockot II), both bibliographies have proven important tools in ↗Ethiopian studies.

Src.: Lockot I; II (with the biographical information in the preface); HANS-WILHELM LOCKOT, *The Life, Reign and Character of Haile Sellassie I*, London 1989.

Siegbert Uhlig

Locusts

L. (Gəᶜəz **አንበጣ**, *anbäṭa*, Tgn. **አንበጣ**, **አምበጣ**, *anbäṭṭa*, *ambäṭṭa*, Amh., Argobba, Gafat **አንበጣ**, *anbäṭṭa*, Oromo: *hawwaaniisa*) are insects of the Acridadae family. Plagues of L. have been threatening agricultural prouction in Asia, Africa and the Middle East for centuries, the most harmful species being the Desert L. (*Schistocerca gregaria*). and the Migratory L. (in Africa *Locusta migratoria migratorioides*). L. scourges are referred to in the Bible and the Qurʾān, and have been held responsible for epidemics of human pathogens and contributing factors to ↗famines.

L. outbreaks typically form after periods of drought, when vegetation flushes occur in major desert L. breeding areas. L. swarms can vary from less than one km² to several hundred km² (40–80 million L. per km²) and can travel more than 100 km in a day. Nearly all crops, and non crop plants, are at risk, and L. droppings are toxic.

Large parts of Ethiopia and Eritrea are affected by periodical outbreaks of both Migratory and Desert L., breeding areas also existing in the north and east. Plagues were first described in the early 16th cent. by Francisco Alvares, who devoted many pages to their depredations in ↗Təgray (BeckHuntAlvar I 132–36). Later, Manoel de Almeida stated that in such areas as Təgray L. were "very constant" and did not leave a "grain of food", for they consumed stalks of grain even before they were ripe (BeckHuntAlm 46).

One cannot be sure for the Aksumite period, but L. scourges are noted, with cattle plague, among the natural disasters that in later times contributed to reducing the agricultural and animal yield in Ethiopia, prompting the kings to remove their capital to some better provided regions (MHAksum 258f.).

The historic prevalence of L. is likewise reported in Ethiopian sources. Among hagiographies, mention should be made of a miracle appended to the Vita of ↗Anorewos of Segaga. The chronicle of *aṣe* Iyasu II tells of these insects covering in 1746 the land "like a fog", and producing a "great famine" in the following year, when the inhabitants of the highland and lowlands both perished (GuiIyas 150, 154). Later, in 1813, the ruler of Təgray, *ras* Wäldä Śəllase, wrote to the British envoy Henry Salt: "for three whole years L. have consumed my country" (Appleyard – Irvine 1995:27). There is ample evidence as to the extent of such L.-induced famines (Pankhurst 1966:62–68; PankEcon 220f.).

The local responses to L. differed significantly. In Təgray, according to the missionary Samuel Gobat, Muslims collected them, eating them with relish, whereas Christians would consume them only in time of famine and having done that they would be subject to "terrible penance". The result was that the term "L.-eater" was widely applied to Muslims as an insult (Gobat 1847:242). While L. eating is not accepted in the Ethiopian highlands, peoples in other regions, in northwestern Eritrea as in southern and south-western Ethiopia include L. in their diet due to their high nutritious value (e.g., ↗Maale; VSAe I, 307).

Hardboiled locusts, in a Maale village; photo 1950/52 by W. Schulz-Weidner, courtesy of the Frobenius-Institut (no. 23–Wd025–10)

Rituals are also practiced against L. plagues. In southern Ethiopia ritual experts, such as the *godimi*-priest of the Bakko (↗Aari) and the goda-priest of the Maale, carried out ceremonies against L. Among the Bakko, ↗Banna, ↗Ṣamay and others a typical ritual instrument used for this purpose was an Y-shaped stick and a two-pointed spear among the Maale; its magic force should repell the insects or make them "eat only stones and soil". Among the Bakko, the *babi* ('king') would have meat offered to the L. on the place of the first outbreak of the plague. It is said that the L. eat the meat and then leave the country (VSAe I, 44f. 48, 270, 326).

L. control in Ethiopia and in neighbouring countries developed during World War II with the establishment of a Nairobi-based Middle East Anti-Locust Unit, which estimated that a L. ate its own weight of food every day for a month. The UN Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO) subsequently launched a multi-national campaign against the desert L. in 1952. The outbreak of a major L. plague in Ethiopia in 1955 resulted in the setting up of a FAO-supported national Anti-Locust Control organization. This carried out extensive aerial spraying and ground operations, based largely in ↗Asmära and ↗Dərre Dawa. This brought a halt to major L. plagues, though natural and human factors still make it a regular occurence in Ethiopia, especially in the north-east (ᶜAfar area). Major recent L. upsurges were in 1986–89, 1992–94 and 2004.

Src.: DAVID APPLEYARD – ARTHUR KINLOCK IRVINE (tr.), *Letters from Ethiopian Rulers (Early and Mid-Nineteenth Century)*, Oxford 1995, 27; BeckHuntAlvar 132–36; BeckHuntAlm 46; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI (ed., tr.), *Gadla Anorewos seu Acta Sancti Honorii*, Parisiis – Lipsiae 1905 (CSCO 28, 29 [SAe series altera 20]), 105f. (text) = 93f. (tr.); SAMUEL GOBAT, *Journal of a Three Years' Residence in Abyssinia*, London 1847, 242; GuiIyas 150, 154 (tr.).
Lit.: ADEFRIS BELLEHU, *Desert Locust Control Organisation for Eastern Africa*, Asmara 1970; EAST AFRICA COMMON SERVICES ORGANISATION, *Report of the Desert Locust Survay*, Nairobi 1962; MHAksum 258f.; PankEcon 220ff.; PankIntro 230–35; RICHARD PANKHURST, "Some Factors Depressing the Standard of Living of Peasants in Traditional Ethiopia", *JES* 4, 2, 1966, 45–98; VSAe I, 44f., 48, 270, 307, 326.

Richard Pankhurst

Löfgren, Oscar Anders Valfrid

L. (b. 13 May 1898, d. 23 April 1992, Uppsala) was a Swedish scholar. He studied Classical and Semitic languages at Uppsala, where he obtained his Ph.D. in 1927 (with a text edition of the Ethiopic Book of Daniel, s. Löfgren 1927). Various appointments at Swedish schools and universities (teacher in Johanneslunds missioninstitutet 1920–23, superintendent for gymnasium in Gothenburg for prospective priests 1953–56, gymnasium lector in Greek and Latin in different Swedish schools 1939–51) led to a professorship in Semitic languages in 1951 at Göteborg and in 1956 at Uppsala. In 1971 he was awarded Doctor honoris causa degree, and in 1977 a Jubileum Ph.D. degree at Uppsala University.

L.'s main field of research was Arabic, esp. Yemen studies. Among his most important contributions are the catalogue of Arabic manuscripts of Biblioteca Ambrosiana in Milan (Löfgren – Traini 1975–81), and critical editions of such sources for the historical geography as Abū Maḫrama's (d. 947 H. [1540 A.D.]) *Taʾrīḫ ṭaġr ᶜAdan* (1937–50) and al-Hamdānī's *Iklīl* (1953, 1954–65). He contributed 28 entries to the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (EI²).

Ethiopian studies occupied an important place in L.'s scholarly interests. His critical editions of Book of Daniel and a large portion of the Dodekapropheton (Löfgren 1927, 1930) set a high standard in Ethiopian philology, and were an important contribution to the Ethiopian ↗Bible edition; he also brought forward new arguments in the discussion of the Ethiopian Bible Vorlage (cf. Ullendorff 1968:48ff.). In colloboration with Sebastian ↗Euringer, L. edited liturgical texts (Anaphoras of Cyril, Dioscorus and Gregorius). L. also catalogued Swedish collections of Ethiopian manuscripts (Stockholm and Uppsala, s. LöfUpp). L. extended his studies in Biblical and

apocryphal textual criticism also to Christian Arabic studies, working in particular on the Arabic version of the Book of Daniel (Löfgren 1936b).

During his life, L. collected an immense library containing a few manuscripts and several ↗incunabula, and which was sold after his death (cf. *The Library of Oscar Löfgren*).

Src.: EI²; AL-HAMDĀNĪ, *Südarabisches Muštabih: Verzeichnis homonymer und homographer Eigennamen: aus dem Berliner Unikum des Iklīl herausgegeben*, ed. by OSCAR LÖFGREN, Uppsala 1953 (Bibliotheca Ekmaniana Universitatis Regiae Upsaliensis 57); ID., *al-Iklīl: erstes Buch: in der Rezension von Muḥammed bin Našwān bin Saʿīd al-Ḥimyarī ...*, ed. by OSCAR LÖFGREN, vols. 1, 2, Uppsala 1954–65 (Bibliotheca Ekmaniana Universitatis Regiae Upsaliensis 58:1, 2); ID. (ed.), *Die äthiopische Übersetzung des Propheten Daniel*, Paris 1927; ID. (ed.), *Das äthiopische Dodekapropheton* [II], *Jona, Nahum, Habakuk, Zephanja, Haggai, Sacharja und Maleachi Äthiopisch*, Paris – Cambridge – Leipzig – Haag – Uppsala 1930; ID. (ed.) – SEBASTIAN EURINGER (tr.), "Die beiden äthiopischen Anaphoren 'des heiligen Cyrillus, Patriarchen von Alexandrien'", *ZSem* 8, 1932, 210–34, ["Fortsetzung und Schluß"], *ibid.* 9, 1933–34, 44–86; ID. (ed.) – SEBASTIAN EURINGER (tr.), "Die äthiopische Dioscorus-Anaphora", *Le monde oriental* 26–27, 1932–33, 229–55; ID. (ed.) – SEBASTIAN EURINGER (tr.), *Die beiden gewöhnlichen äthiopischen Gregorius-Anaphoren*, Roma 1933 (Orientalia Christiana 30, 2); ID., "Zur Kritik der äthiopischen Pachomiusregeln I, II", *Le monde oriental* 30, 1936a, 171–86; ID., *Studien zu den arabischen Danielübersetzungen: mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der christlichen Texte ...*, Uppsala 1936b (Uppsala universitets årsskrift 1936:4); ID. (ed.), *Arabische Texte zur Kenntnis der Stadt Aden im Mittelalter: Abū Maḫrama's Adengeschichte nebst einschlägigen Abschnitten aus den Werken von Ibn al-Muǧāwir, al-Ǧanadī und al-Ahdal*, 2 vols., Uppsala 1936–50 (Arbeten utgivna med understöd av Vilhelm Ekmans universitetsfond, Uppsala, 42:1–2); ID., "Äthiopische Wandamulette", *Orientalia Suecana* 11, 1962, 95–120; ID., "San Stefano dei Mori och de första etiopiska bibeltrycken", in: *Corona amicorum. Studier tillägnade Tönnes Kleberg*, Uppsala 1968 (Acta Bibliothecae R. Universitatis Upsaliensis 15), 153–80; ID., "The Necessity of a Critical Edition of the Ethiopian Bible", in: *PICES* 3, vol. 2, 157–61; ID. – RENATO TRAINI, *Catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana*, 2 vols., Vicenza 1975–81 (Fontes Ambrosiani 51, 66); LöfUpp.

Lit.: HANS NORDESJÖ, "List of Publications by Oscar Löfgren", in: ULLA EHRENSVÄRD – CHRISTOPHER TOLL (eds.), *On Both Sides of al-Mandab. Ethiopian, South-Arabic and Islamic Studies Presented to Oscar Löfgren on his Ninetieth Birthday 13 May 1988*, Stockholm 1989 (Swedish Research Institute in Istanbul. Transactions 2), 155–68; *The Library of Oscar Löfgren. With Additions from Stock*, Leiden 1994 (Smitskamp Oriental Antiquarium. Catalogue 596); LANFRANCO RICCI, "Oscar Löfgren", *RSE* 34, 1990 [1992], 233–35; CHRISTOPHER TOLL, "Oscar Löfgren in memoriam", *Svenska Forskningsinstitutet i Istanbul Meddelanden* 17, 1992, 73–77; RENATO TRAINI, "Ricordo di Oscar Löfgren", *RSO* 67, 1993, 189–95; EDWARD ULLENDORFF, *Ethiopia and the Bible*, London 1968, 48ff.

Stefan Weninger

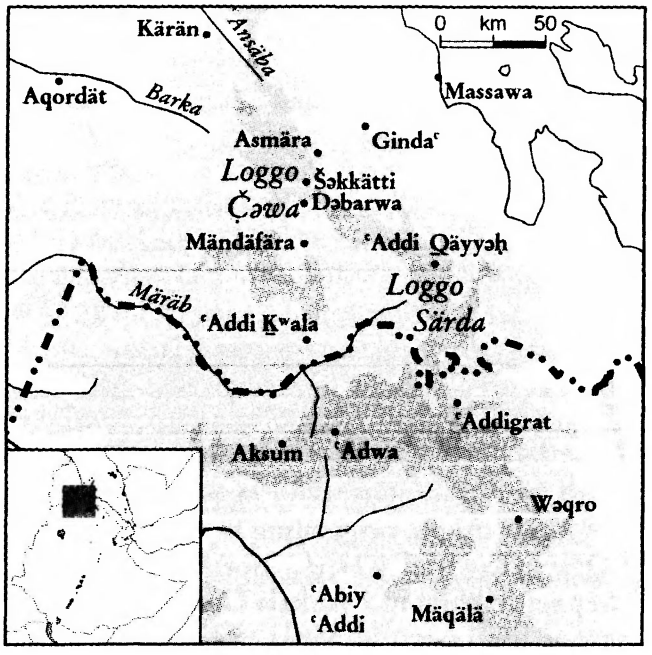
Loggo Č̣əwa

The Eritrean historical district of L.Č̣. (ሎጎ፡ ጭዋ) lies in the ↗Ḥamasen region, south-west of Asmära. The historical centres are Šəkkätti, along the national road from Asmära to ↗Mändäfära, and ↗Ḥəmbərti. During the Italian occupation, the name L.Č̣. designated another territory: it included the Ṣəlləma, the district of ↗Dəbarwa, while L.Č̣. proper was then called Zawəl Qälqälti.

Though the common pronunciation of the name is Loggo, the more correct spelling is Läggo (ለጎ), probably deriving from an original form *Lägg^{w}o, of unknown etymology. According to local traditions, the Loggo were a people of ↗Agäw origin, originating from the region of ↗Q^{w}ara (KolTrad § 24:1f.), north of Lake Ṭana. They settled first in ↗Akkälä Guzay, where they formed the Loggo of Särda (↗Loggo Särda). A part continued northwards, until they established themselves at their present location. This reconstruction can be confirmed by linguistic evidence, since such place-names as Bambəqo (in Säffəʿa) or ↗Wägariqo (in Liban) can be explained through Agäw etymologies, respectively, as "village of the sycamore tree" and "village of the olive tree".

The second part of the name L.Č̣. is connected to the Gəʿəz word ጹዋ (*ṣewa* [Amh. ↗*č̣äwa*], 'army', hence Tgn. *č̣əwa/č̣uwa*, 'freeborn, noble'). As in other cases, e.g., the neighbouring district of ↗Käbäsa Č̣əwa, it refers to the military origins of a part of the people. From the 15th cent. onwards, under the initiative of the rulers of Ethiopia, groups of different origins were settled in Eritrea with the aim of creating a "network" of outposts for the defence of the northern boundaries of the Christian Ethiopian state. The side-by-side presence of the two groups, the first of Agäw origin, the second transferred from elsewhere, gave rise to periodic conflicts. Consequently, the people of L.Č̣. – like those of Käbäsa Č̣əwa – never had their own political ruler. The administration was in the hands of a ↗*məsläne*, a district chief appointed from outside.

The *Law Book* (*ḫəgg*, Tgn. *ḫəggi*) of the L.Č̣., i.e. the rules of ↗customary ↗law regulating the different aspects of economic and social life, was published in 1910 in Asmära by the Catholic Printing House (*Maḫtäm Katolikawəyan*) on the basis of a text transcribed by Enrico Macchia, head of the *commissariato* of Ḥamasen. The *Law Book* claims to be "the one established in ancient times, renewed in the Council of May Laḥam,



written down after a valid agreement". Recently, a manuscript of this text from the Angelo Lauro Collection, collected in the 1940s and now kept in the University of Naples "L'Orientale" (↗Istituto Universitario Orientale), was photographically reproduced and translated (Yaqob Beyene 1995). Even if the text is almost identical, some minor differences allow one to state that the two "editions" are made from different copies of the document.

A longer text called *Statute* (*Śərᶜat*), apparently developed from the short and older *Law Book*, was published in 1938 A.M. [1944 A.D.] in Asmära by the Printing House of Pietro Silla.

Src.: **ሕግ፡ ናይ፡ ለጎን፡ ጭዋን። ጥንቲ፡ ዘነበረ፡ እተሐደሰ፡ አብ፡ ዋዕላ፡ ማይላሓም፡ ብግቡእ፡ ስምዖ፡ እተጸሕፈ፡ እዚ፡ እዩ** ... (*Ḥägg nay Läggon Č̣əwan. Ṭənti zənäbärä ättäḥaddäsä ab waᶜla Maylaḥam bəgəbbuᵓ səməmməᶜ ättäṣaḥfä əzi əyyu* ...), Asmära 1910 [repr. in: ZERA YACOB ESṬIFANOS – WOLDE MARIAM ABRAHAM – GERIMA GHEBRE MESKEL, **ሕግን፡ ስርዓትን፡ ናይ፡ መሬት፡ ዓደቦ**, *Codes and Bylaws of Eritrean Regions & Counties*, West Germany 1990, 183–201]; **ሥርዓት፡ ሎጎ፡ ጭዋ፡ ብ1935 ዓም፡ ካህናትን፡ መኳንትን፡ ነቲ፡ ጥንታዊ፡ ሕጊ፡ እናተኻተሉ፡ ዘ ምዎ** (*Śərᶜat Loggo Č̣əwa. Bə1935 ᶜa.m. kahənatən mäkʷanəntən näti ṭəntawi ḥəggi ənnatäḳatälu zäqoməwo*), Asmära 1938 A.M. [1944 A.D., repr. *ibid.* 205-347]; KolTrad 23–27 (text) = 18–21 (tr.); KolTrad III, A77f.; YAQOB BEYENE, "Diritto consuetudinario del Laggo Č̣ūwā", *RSE* 39, 1995 [1997], 173–210.

Lit.: CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Gli Atti di Abbā Yonās", *RRALm* ser. 5ª, 12, 1903, 177–201, here 181ff.; ID., "Saggio sulla toponomastica dell'Eritrea tigrina", *Bollettino della Reale Società Geografica italiana* ser. 7ª, 3, 1938, 785–816, here 786f.; ID., *Principî di diritto consuetudinario dell'Eritrea*, Roma 1916, 60–66; PollEr 116–20, 144; RUFFILLO PERINI, *La zona di Asmara. Circoscrizione storica del Marèb-Mellàsc'-Negghiàu*, Roma 1894, 40f., 49f.; ID., *Di qua dal Marèb (Marèb-Mellàsc')*, Firenze 1905; GIANFRANCESCO LUSINI, "Una pagina di storia Eritrea: *kabasā* tra linguistica e filologia", in: BOGDAN BURTEA – JOSEF TROPPER – HELEN YOUNANSARDAROUD (eds.), *Studia Semitica et Semitohamitica: Festschrift für Rainer Voigt anläßlich seines 60. Geburtstages*, Münster 2005, 243–51; ErDizBio 273 ("Silla, Pietro").

Gianfrancesco Lusini

Loggo Särda

The law of the Loggo of Särda (cp. also ↗Loggo Č̣əwa), called the law of L.S. (**ሎጎ ፡ ሰርዳ**), is probably the oldest written consolidation of traditions of ↗Akkälä Guzay (↗Təgrəññña literature). It was kept in a gospel book in a church of the village of Särda along with another document that records donations to the church from the nine clans of the L.S. Conti Rossini claims that the latter document dates back to the end of the 15th cent., while the law would be of a more recent date. This one page document is very difficult to translate; the Təgrəññña is written in an archaic form and often employs words in a sense very different from today. The Təgrəññña text of the law was published and translated by Conti Rossini (1903, 1904).

The code includes rules which are in general use throughout the ↗*käbäsa* highlands, such as those that prevent the permanent transfer of common land to descendants and women, and sale to non-qualified individuals, especially foreigners (↗*Maᵓkälay ᶜalet*). Several examples concerning ↗land tenure follow: "whoever wants to transform common land into hereditary land must be expelled from the village"; in the case where a woman had bought a parcel of land: "she must be given back the price she has paid because she cannot continue to possess it"; also "a foreigner who lives among the Loggo, cannot buy *rəsti* [↗*Rəst*]" and "whoever has received by allotment common land of Loggo to cultivate, cannot sell it" (Conti Rossini 1904:12f., 45). Conti Rossini also mentions that at the beginning of the 20th cent., the L.S. were forced to sell communal land (*rəsti* and *šəḥənna*) because of an unprecedented economic crisis (ibid. 9).

The law also expressly regulates the *məzərraf*, the practice of kidnapping a girl in order to marry her, which was routinely practiced among Təgrəññña speakers. It was typically carried out when the girl's parents had denied a man's request for marriage; when the parents could not afford a dowry; or when the girl was considered to be older than the proper marriageable age. Without a recognized ritual largely agreed by those con-

cerned, kidnapping could easily cause a feud between different groups (Conti Rossini 1904:12). With regard to *dämoz*, a union by contract, limited in time, in which the woman received a regular salary for fulfilling certain marital and domestic duties, the law of the L.S. indicates that the prerogative to end the contract before the expiration date was given only to the man, who could exercise it by expressly declaring to the woman, in the presence of the guarantor, that he did not want to live with her anymore. Afterwards, they were both free to contract new marriages (ibid. 28).

↗Customary law; ↗Law books

Src.: CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, *Ricordo di un soggiorno in Eritrea*, Asmara 1903; ID., "I Loggo e la legge dei Loggo Sarda. Note lessichali", *Giornale della Società Asiatica Italiana* [Firenze] 17, 1904, 1–63.

Lit.: LYDA FAVALI – ROY PATEMAN, *Blood, Land, and Sex: Legal and Political Pluralism in Eritrea*, Bloomington 2003; FRIEDERIKE KEMINK, *Das Gewohnheitsrecht der Tegreñña in Eritrea (1890-1941)*, Stuttgart 1991; NadEr 97; F.F. RUSSELL, "Eritrean Customary Law", *Journal of African Law* 3, 2, Summer 1959, 99–104.

Lyda Favali

Lohu ↗Dullay

London Conference of Allied Powers

The L.C. (also known as the London Council of Foreign Ministers, 11 September–2 October 1945) brought together the foreign ministers of the victorious powers in ↗World War II: Ernest Bevin (↗United Kingdom), James Byrnes (↗United States), Vjačeslav Molotov (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, s. ↗Russia) and George Bidault (↗France). The meeting, which was in the nature of a sequel to the Potsdam Conference, was held with a view to determining the fate of the former Italian colonies: ↗Eritrea, ↗Italian Somaliland and the Libyan territories of Cyrenaica and Tripolitania. ↗Italy, one of the two concerned parties, was allowed to send a delegate to present her case, while Ethiopia was denied that privilege and had to be content with sending memoranda justifying her claims.

The Four Powers came up with divergent recommendations on the matter. The US recommended a ten-year ↗United Nations trusteeship, after which the colonies, with the exception of Italian Somaliland, would attain independence. In the meantime, Ethiopia was to be granted access to the sea through ʿAsäb. France, which saw the trusteeship idea as a dangerous precedent for its own colonies, opted for the return of the colonies to Italy. The U.S.S.R., while agreeing in principle with the trusteeship idea, preferred trusteeship by individual powers rather than the collective trusteeship envisaged in the US recommendation. It further argued that, as a multi-ethnic state, it was eminently qualified to exercise such trusteeship over Tripolitania as compensation for the damages allegedly inflicted by an Italian Black Shirt division. The Soviet proposal was strenuously opposed by the United Kingdom on the grounds that the Soviet Union had played no role whatsoever in the liberation of Italy's African colonies. The United Kingdom accepted the American trusteeship idea for ↗Libya but remained non-committal when it came to Eritrea and Italian Somaliland.

The meeting finally broke up over a point of procedure. The matter was deferred until the Paris Conference, which was held in July 1946. In the end, the Powers failed to come up with a formula acceptable to all and the issue was referred to the United Nations.

Lit.: AMARE TEKLE, *The Creation of the Ethio–Eritrean Federation: a Case Study in Post-War International Relations (1949–1950)*, Ph.D. thesis, University of Denver, 1964, 87–97; SERGEI MAZOV, "The USSR and the Former Italian Colonies, 1945–50", *Cold War History* 3, 3, 2003, 49-78; JOHN H. SPENCER, *Ethiopia at Bay: a Personal Account of the Haile Sellassie Years*, Algonac, MI 1984, 174–77; ZRErtra 23–30.

Bahru Zewde

London Society for Promoting Christianity amongst the Jews

The L.S. (later Church Ministry to the Jews) was established in 1809 for the purpose of spreading Christianity to the Jewish people. Its activities encompassed parts of Europe including Russia and Poland, North Africa and the Middle East. Eastern Europe was probably the largest area of the ministry with at one time several hundred agents active. In 1841 the Christ Church was founded in Jerusalem.

In 1860 Henry ↗Stern and Stephen Bronkhorst were sent to Ethiopia by the L.S. where they joined Johannes Martin ↗Flad, who had been in the country as part of the Protestant mission headed by Samuel ↗Gobat of Jerusalem and spiritually guided by the ↗St. Chrischona-Pilgermission. Despite receiving the permission of *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II and *abunä* ↗Sälama to operate, the missionaries quickly encountered problems. In 1863, the Emperor imprisoned the missionaries and other Europeans, who were only freed in 1868. This effectively put an end to direct European involvement in L.S. activi-

ties in Ethiopia. Because of the limits placed on European missionaries, much of the actual work of the L.S. was done by native agents beginning with *däbtära* ↗Bərru Wəbe who was Scripture Reader and Superintendent of all the converts, a position he held until his death in 1890. He was succeeded by *aläqa* ↗Mikaʾel Arägawi. Due to *aṣe* Yoḥannəs's restrictions the presence of Flad in Ethiopia, European leader of the "Falasha Mission", was limited to occasional visits.

The missionaries of the L.S. sought not only to convert ↗Betä Ǝsraʾel, but also to reform the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥədo) Church. Converts were baptized into the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, but despite their formal affiliation were often viewed as a separate community (called *däqqä Flad* locally, named after Flad). The number of converts achieved by the L.S. was never large, but it operated as a major agent of change in Betä Ǝsraʾel society by challenging the authority of traditional religious leaders, and dividing the society. Others influenced by the L.S. appear to have entered directly into the Orthodox Church.

The L.S.'s activities were well publicised in Jewish communities around the world who responded by sending counter-missions. Joseph ↗Halévy's journey to Ethiopia in 1868 was in response to such reports. His successor and student, Jacques ↗Faitlovitch saw combating the L.S. and other Christian missions as one of his primary tasks. Indeed, throughout the 20th cent. much of the Jewish activity in Ethiopia focused on countering the works of the missionary.

Flad was succeeded by his son, Friedrich Flad, who had been a missionary of the then Church Ministry to the Jews in Tunis. After World War I he turned his attention to Ethiopia, but was able to arrive in Addis Abäba only in 1922. At the time, approximately 500 of the L.S.'s 2,000 converts survived.

Wilfred Heintze and Bauer arrived in Addis Abäba in 1926. Heintze married Friedrich Flad's daughter Lola and Bauer was to be engaged to yet another of Flad's daughters. The two missionaries differed in their approach with Bauer favouring a mission directed to the common people, while Heintze thought efforts should be focused on the priests, nobles and other educated Ethiopians. Bauer established a missionary station in Č̣əlga and directed his efforts toward the ↗Kəmant, who the L.S. viewed as a "Judaized" people. He died in 1932 of dysentery. Heintze left Ethiopia in 1934, prior to the Italian invasion.

Eric Payne of the Church of England ministry was recruited to join the L.S. in 1944. In order to reach Ethiopia he joined the British Army as a chaplain and arranged to have himself posted to Ethiopia, where he arrived in 1946. His mother and sister later joined him as matron and nurse of the hospital in Gondär. Payne chose to focus his activities in ↗Dabat.

In July 1951 Payne married yet another daughter of Flad, Christine. During the 1950s the mission faced many difficulties. Their activities were largely restricted to their compound. Moreover, they were forced to compete with Jehovah's Witnesses and Seventh Day Adventist missions which had more resources. Moreover, the organized Jewish counter-mission received for the first time tangible support in the form of emissaries sent by the Jewish Agency for ↗Israel as well as the first young Betä Ǝsraʾel sent to Israel to study. Finally, divisions took place among the missionaries, particularly over the issue of infant baptism.

Although the number of converts was not great, the conversion of a priest, *qes* Aśres created a sense of crisis among the Betä Ǝsraʾel.

Roger ↗Cowley and his wife Jean arrived in 1963 and continued to work in Ethiopia among the Betä Ǝsraʾel where he remained until 1978.

Many of the converts of the L.S. and their descendants have migrated to Israel as part of a rather indiscriminate policy of bringing "Ethiopian Jews" to Israel.

Src.: JOHANN MARTIN FLAD, *60 Jahre in der Mission unter den Falaschas in Abessinien*, Gießen – Basel 1922; LONDON SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING CHRISTIANITY AMONGST THE JEWS, *Reports*, London 1860–1906; ID., *The Jewish Records*, London, 1861–84; ID., *Jewish Intelligence and Monthly Account of the Proceedings* [also called *Jewish Missionary Intelligence*], London 1838–93; HENRY AARON STERN, *Wanderings Among the Falashas in Abyssinia, together with a Description of the Country and its Various Inhabitants*, London 1862.

Lit.: CrumMis 115–34; WILLIAM GIDNEY, *The History of the London Society for Promoting Christianity Amongst the Jews from 1809 to 1908*, London 1908; ERIC PAYNE, *Ethiopian Jews: the Story of a Mission*, London 1972; GEORGE STEVENS, *"Go, Tell My Brethren", A Short History of the Church Mission to the Jews (1809–1959)*, London 1959; STEVEN KAPLAN, "The Beta Israel (Falasha) Encounter with Protestant Missionaries 1860–1905", *Jewish Social Studies* 49, 1987, 27–42; JAMES QUIRIN, *The Evolution of Ethiopian Jewry: a History of the Beta Israel (Falasha) in Ethiopia from Earliest Times to 1920*, Philadelphia 1992, 179–200.

Steven Kaplan

Longrigg, Stephen Hemsley

Brigadier L. (b. 7 August 1893, Sevenoaks, Kent, d. 11 September 1979, Kingsley Green, Sussex) was military governor of ↗Eritrea between 1942 and 1944. The son of William George Hemsley Longrigg he attended Oriel College, Oxford. Between 1914 and 1931, he served in the British administration in Iraq, achieving positions of responsibility and, from 1931 to 1951, he was senior executive of the Iraq Petroleum Company. On May 1942, he was appointed Chief Administrator of the ↗British Military Administration (B.M.A.) in Eritrea.

L.'s primary goals were immediate relief of the population, as well as the adaptation of the Italian military and civil installations to the needs of the B.M.A. Throughout 1942 and 1943, the war projects set up in Eritrea by the Allied troops relieved widespread unemployment and the economic policies promoted by L. stimulated internal production for both domestic needs and the Middle Eastern Market. However, employment of Eritreans was limited by security considerations, as well as restrictions on movements and activities throughout the country. L. faced mounting social and political problems (communal and private conflicts, numerous casualities from banditry and dynastic disputes) and tried to restore law and order.

L.'s main concerns were also to curb expenses and restructure the administration. However, as the British were understaffed, he did not immediately dismiss the Italian colonial staff and maintained the discriminative Fascist legislation towards Eritreans, officially because of International Law obligations. He thus failed to curb racism and so the colour bar lasted until 1944, following the fall of Mussolini.

L. retained the earlier Italian colonial services and improved them, ranging from public health to administrative services – into which they slowly began to recruit native clerks – and the school system. On his personal initiative, an Eritrean Children's Welfare Society was established in 1943. He stimulated the freedom of the press, with the B.M.A.'s controlled ↗*Eritrean Weekly News*, printed in English, Italian and Təgreñña, which was soon followed by other newspapers.

Although his officially positive attitude increased the political awareness of Eritreans (↗*Maḥbär fəqri hagär*), L. believed the vast majority of Eritreans were "non-politically minded". In accordance with the colonial authorities of the Anglo–Egyptian ↗Sudan, he upheld the idea of the partition of Eritrea because of the inhabitants' ethno-cultural differences and the alleged non viability of Eritrea, considering it an artificial entity carved out from Italian colonialism. He believed the country could be easily divided along ethnic lines, assigning the western lowlands to the Anglo–Egyptian Sudan and leaving the rest to Ethiopia. This solution would have guaranteed both the retention under effective British control of strategic areas of communications (such as the port of ↗Massawa, part of the ↗Asmära plateau and free communications with the Sudan) as well as Ethiopian political claims over Eritrea.

From 1943, L. devoted special attention to the Moslem ethno-linguistic groups of the western lowlands. He thus began to dismantle internal territorial structures, creating the Red Sea Division by linking the Massawa and ↗^{c}Asäb districts, thus sowing the seeds of social and political discord. In parallel, although firmly recognizing the existence of strong ties between the Christian Təgrəññaspeakers living on both sides of the Ethio–Eritrean frontier, he covertly encouraged the birth of a separatist Movement in ↗Akkälä Guzay, in order to counteract pro-Ethiopian irredentism. In view of the post-war settlement of Eritrea, L. favoured the formation of a united ↗Təgray – composed of all the Təgrəññaspeakers of northern Ethiopia and central Eritrea – under Ethiopian sovereignty but administered by a British trusteeship.

L.'s plan to the partition of Eritrea became the official policy followed by the British government, even after November 1944, when he left the country. Acting as Chief Adviser on Eritrea for the British government, he continued to follow political events regarding the disposal of the former Italian colonies. He published articles in the British and foreign press, always advocating the partition of Eritrea. In 1945, L. issued his *Short History of Eritrea*, an important historical synthesis of the country. Historiography mainly agrees with the words of Gerald ↗Trevaskis, who honoured L. as "the author of the British Policy and the architect of the Administration itself" (Trevaskis 1960:36).

Src.: STEPHEN HEMSLEY LONGRIGG, *A Short History of Eritrea*, Oxford 1945, repr. 1974; ID., "Disposal of Italian Africa", *International Affairs* 21, 1945, 363–69; ID., "Italy's Colonies", *Spectator* 175, 27 July 1945.

Lit.: ALAZAR TESFA MICHAEL, *Eritrea To-day: Fascist Oppression under Nose of British Military Administration*, Woodford, Essex 1945; ANDARGACHEW TIRUNEH, "Eritrea, Ethiopia and Federation 1941–1952", *NEASt* 3,

1, 1980–81, 99-119; BRITISH MILITARY ADMINISTRATION, *The First to be Freed*, London 1944, 18–47; LLOYD ELLINGSON, "The Emergence of Political Parties in Eritrea, 1941–1950", *JAH* 18, 2, 1977, 261–82; HAGGAI ERLICH, *Ethiopia and the Challenge of Independence*, Boulder, CA 1986, ch. 8; EYASU GAYIM, *The Eritrean Question: the Conflict between the Right of Self-determination and the Interests of the States*, Uppsala 1993, 64–67; JORDAN GEBRE-MEDHIN, *Peasants and Nationalism in Eritrea*, Trenton, NJ 1988, 72–105; HAROLD GOLDEN MARCUS, *Ethiopia, Great Britain and the United States, 1941–1974, the Politics of Empire*, Los Angeles, CA 1983; NadEr; ESTELLE SYLVIA PANKHURST, *British Policy in Eritrea and Northern Ethiopia*, Essex 1944; EAD. – RICHARD PANKHURST, *Ethiopia and Eritrea: the Last Phase of the Reunion Struggle 1941–1952*, London 1953, 61–117; RICHARD PANKHURST, "The Legal Question of Racism in Eritrea during the British Military Administration: a Study of Colonial Attitudes and Responses, 1941–1945", *NEASt* 2, 2, 1995, 25–45; FRANCIS R. RODD, *British Military Administration of occupied Territories in Africa during the Years 1941–1947*, London 1948, 96–147; GIANLUIGI ROSSI, *L'Africa italiana verso l'indipendenza 1941–1949*, Milano 1980, 66–91, 133–47; RUTH IYOB, *The Eritrean Struggle for Independence: Domination, Resistance, Nationalism, 1941–1993*, Cambridge 1995, 65–69; TEKESTE NEGASH, *Eritrea and Ethiopia: the Federal Experience*, Uppsala 1997, 18–22; TESFATZION MEDHANIE, *Eritrea: the Dynamic of a National Question*, Amsterdam 1986; GERALD KENNEDY NICHOLAS TREVASKIS, *Eritrea: a Colony in Transition 1941–52*, London – New York – Toronto 1960.

Federica Guazzini

Loᶜoyta ↗Húmmad b. Loᶜoyta

Loränso Taᵓəzaz

Blatten geta L.T. (ሎረንሶ ታእዛዝ, in European sources written "Lorenzo"; b. 30 June 1900, ᶜAddi Qagi, Akkälä Guzay, d. 23 June 1946, Stockholm) was a prominent mid-20th-cent. Ethiopian politician.

He received his early education in Italian schools in Asmära and Kärän, and started his career with the Italian colonial administration. In 1924, in Yemen, where L.T. was working for the Aden Salt Works, he met *ras* Täfäri Mäkʷännən (the future *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I), who encouraged L.T. to go to Ethiopia. L.T. completed his secondary education at the Täfäri Mäkʷännən Secondary School in Addis Abäba and was subsequently sent, along with a few other Ethiopians, to France on a government scholarship. He completed his Law studies at the University of Montpellier in 1933.

Blatten geta Loränso Täᵓəzaz; from ZRErtra 585

L.T. returned to Ethiopia and started his career as an Assistant in the Ministry of Justice (1933). He served as a member of the Anglo–Ethiopian Boundary Commission which demarcated Ethiopia's borders with former ↗British Somaliland (1933–34), surveyed the grazing grounds of the ↗Ogaden, and investigated the causes of the ↗Wälwäl incident of 1934 which led to the ↗Italian war of 1935–41 (1935–36). Appointed Private Secretary to Ḫaylä Śəllase, in May 1936, L.T. accompanied him in exile. L.T. was the writer of the Emperor's historic speech to the ↗League of Nations. In his capacity as Permanent Delegate of Ethiopia to the League, L.T. stayed in Geneva while Ḫaylä Śəllase settled in Bath, England.

In 1938, Ḫaylä Śəllase dispatched L.T. on a secret visit to Ethiopia to explore the possibilities of his return to lead the ↗resistance. During the several months L.T. spent in Ethiopia, he mediated the disputes amongst the resistance leaders and helped to integrate them into a cohesive fighting force. Ḫaylä Śəllase was so impressed by what was reported to him, that he decided to move, but the British strongly objected to the plan, contending that it was premature for the Emperor to move to Africa.

L.T. again went to Ethiopia in 1939. He distributed arms to the resistance in Gondär and Goğğam. He established an Ethiopian Intelligence Bureau in ↗Khartoum and proceeded to give full account of the extent of guerrilla operations in the country, and the poor morale of the Italians, to the British Middle East Headquarters in Cairo. Again, Ḫaylä Śəllase wanted to make a military move, but the British were not convinced that he had support inside the country, because at a 1938 meeting of patriots in Gondär, the need to abolish the monarchy and declare Ethiopia a republic had been discussed, and a document had been prepared for the League of Nations touching on the form which a future government of the country might take.

L.T. was sent back to Ethiopia, this time to provide evidence that important members of the resistance affirmed their allegiance to the Emperor. He quickly collected 10,000 signatures which persuaded the British. On 10 June 1940, Italy declared war on France and

Britain, and Ḫaylä Śəllase was allowed to organize a liberation army. L.T. was sent to Kenya to win over the battalion of Eritrean soldiers which had deserted from the Italian army in 1937 and had since been interned. L.T. prepared the Emperor's decrees and military mobilization orders, which the British Royal Air Force effectively utilized in the propaganda war against the Italians.

After the liberation, L.T. was appointed Minister for Foreign Affairs (1941–42). He played an important role in preventing the British from making Ethiopia a Protectorate. Subsequently, he became Minister for Posts, Telephones and Telegrammes (1942–43); President of the Chamber of Deputies (1943–44); Ambassador to the U.S.S.R. (1944–46), and Delegate to the Paris Peace Conference (May 1946). A month later, he died in Stockholm, Sweden, of intestinal adhesion. He was buried in the grounds of the ↗Qəddəst Śəllase Cathedral, Addis Abäba.

L.T. was married to ↗Sənəddu Gäbru, and later to Yäməssərač Ǝmməru, daughters of *käntiba* ↗Gäbrä Ǝgziʾabəḥer Dästa and *ras* ↗Ǝmməru Ḫaylä Śəllase, respectively.

Src.: HSLife 299–312.

Lit.: DANIEL KENDIE, "Lorenzo Taezaz and the Italo-Ethiopian War of 1936–1941", *Ethiopian Review* (Los Angeles) 1, 5, May 1991 and 2, 6, June 1991 (Lit.); GEORGE LOWTHER STEER, *Sealed and Delivered*, London 1942, 8–41, 103; ZRErtra 585 (ill.).

Daniel Kendie

Loring, William Wing

General L. *bāšā* (b. 4 December 1818, Wilmington, North Carolina, d. 30 December 1886, New York) was an American soldier, legislator, and businessman.

L. spent his early years in the Florida Volunteers (1835–36). In 1842, he received a law degree from Georgetown College. L. then served as a legislator in Florida (1843–46) and as an officer in the US Army (1846–61). At the outbreak of the American Civil War (1861–65), he resigned from the US Army and joined the Confederate Army as a Brigadier General. After the war, L. worked as a banker in New York City.

In December 1869, he joined the army of the Egyptian *ḫidīw* ↗Ismāʿīl *bāšā* as Inspector General with the rank of *liwāʾ* (Brigadier General). Shortly thereafter, L. became commandant of Alexandria, with responsibility for defending the city and the coast to the mouth of the Nile River.

Portrait of Loring *bāšā*; from Loring 1884

On 10 December 1875, the *ḫidiw* appointed him army chief of staff and ordered him to accompany *sirdār* (commander-in-chief) ↗Muḥammad Rātib *bāšā* on a 16,000-man military expedition to Ethiopia (↗Egyptian–Ethiopian War). Their mission was to avenge the Ethiopian victory at the battle of ↗Gundät by defeating *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV's army and by restoring Egyptian prestige. The match proved to be unworkable as Muḥammad Rātib, who was a weak commander, ignored the counsel of the more experienced L. As a result, the Egyptian army suffered disastrous defeats at the battle of Qäyyəḥ Ḵor and the battle of ↗Guraᶜ. Nevertheless, the *ḫidiw* promoted L. to *farīq* (general of a division) and conferred upon him the imperial orders of the ᶜUṯmānīya and Mağīdīya.

In 1879, L. was mustered out of the army, returned to the United States, and settled in Florida before relocating to New York City. In 1884 he published his book, in which he blamed the Egyptians' inefficiency for their defeat by the Ethiopians. This publication was partially directed against previous publications on that War (cp. William McEntyre ↗Dye).

↗Egypt, relations with

Src.: WILLIAM MCE[NTYRE] DYE, *Moslem Egypt and Christian Abyssinia*, New York 1880; WILLIAM WING LORING, *A Confederate Soldier in Egypt*, New York 1884 (ill.); RubActa III, 204, 211.

Lit.: EDWIN C. BEARSS, "Loring, William Wing", in: JOHN ARTHUR GARRATY – MARK CHRISTOPHER CARNES (eds.), *American National Biography*, vol. 13, New York – Lon-

don 1999, 927–29; C.D.R., "Loring, William Wing", in: DUMAS MALONE (ed.), *Dictionary of American Biography*, vol. 11, New York 1933, 420–21; WILLIAM BEST HESSELTINE – HAZEL CATHERINE WOLF, *The Blue and the Grey on the Nile*, Chicago 1961, 194–208, 216–18.

Thomas P. Ofcansky

Lowland East Cushitic

L.E.C. is a group of East Cushitic, one main branch of the ↗Cushitic language family. According to the traditional view, L.E.C. is classified into three subgroups, namely 1) ᶜAfar-Sāho, 2) Oromoid and 3) Omo-Tana. The first group includes the closely related languages ↗ᶜAfar and ↗Sāho. The second group consists of ↗Oromiffa proper with its numerous varieties and the ↗Konso cluster. Omo-Tana is established as a genetic unit based on such arguments as common imperative singular ending of middle verbs in *o-*, with loss of final *-t* (Tosco 2000:95). It is divided into three subgroups: western (↗Arbore, ↗Đáasanač and Elmolo), eastern (Boni, Rendille and ↗Somali), and central (↗Bayso).

Black (1974) regroups the traditional classification, dividing L.E.C. into ᶜAfar-Sāho and Southern L.E.C. In Hetzron's (1980) tentative classification, L.E.C. is also divided into ᶜAfar-Sāho and Southern L.E.C.; the latter, however, includes, according to Hetzron, not only 1) Oromoid and 2) Omo-Tana, but also 3) the ↗Dullay cluster, 4) Yaaku and 5) South Cushitic (Dahalo, Maʾa, Qʷadza, Aasáx, Iraqʷ cluster, i.e., Iraqʷ–Gorowa, Burunge, Alanga). According to the traditional classification the Dullay cluster and Yaaku are considered independent East Cushitic branches, and South Cushitic forms an independent Cushitic branch. Hetzron's arguments for uniting L.E.C. and South Cushitic are common innovative features attested in L.E.C. and the Iraqʷ cluster: 1) redundant subject marking and 2) preverbal case marking. The most recent classification is provided by Tosco (2000). He characterizes L.E.C. as "what is left from East Cushitic after Highland East Cushitic underwent its specific developments in the verbal system" (ibid. 98). Tosco retains Hetzron's two branch-division of L.E.C. into ᶜAfar-Sāho and Southern L.E.C., mentioning for the former such innovative features as replacing of some common East Cushitic elements in the basic vocabulary, and for the latter the common innovative preverbal clitics (selectors): **Vn* for the 1st pers. (found in Oromoid, Dullay, Yaaku), **t* for the 2nd pers. Tosco subdivides southern L.E.C. into a Nuclear (consisting of Omo-Tana and Oromoid) and a Transversal group (the Dullay cluster and Yaaku). The Nuclear group is characterized by a shared innovation: an invariable negative past marker *-Vn* or *-nV*, which is opposed to the negative non-past, fully conjugated with the same affixes as the dependent non-past (Tosco 2000:96f.). The common genetic origin of the Transversal group is less secure (for the common features s. Hayward 1978; in Hayward 1989 the most striking argument, loss of voicing distinction, is rejected since the distinction is preserved in Ṣamakko). Concerning the Iraqʷ cluster, Tosco accepts Hetzron's argumentation of including it into L.E.C., but does not share "Hetzron's confidence that Iraqʷ could 'drag along' all the other Southern Cushitic languages" (Tosco 2000:99; cf. also Kießling 2001).

The status of L.E.C. as a separate entity is disputed by Sasse (1981), who does not mention L.E.C. at all and classifies East Cushitic into 1) ↗Highland East Cushitic, 2) Burği, 3) ᶜAfar-Sāho, 4) Yaaku, 5) Dullay, 6) Oromoid and 7) Omo-Tana.

Most L.E.C. languages are spoken in Ethiopia. ᶜAfar and Sāho are also spoken in Djibouti and Eritrea. Oromiffa varieties are also spoken in Kenya, and Somali is by far the most important language of Somalia. Boni is spoken in Kenya and Southern Somalia; Rendille, Elmolo and Yaaku exclusively in Kenya.

Regarding the number of speakers, Oromiffa is the most widely spread language: its speakers total probably more than 20 million. Somali has ca. 12,000,000 speakers followed by ᶜAfar (1,500,000), Sāho (200,000), Konso (150,000), the Dullay cluster (45,000), Đáasanač (35,000), Rendille (32,000), Arbore (5,000), Boni (3,500) and Bayso (1,000). Elmolo and Yaaku are nearly extinct (s. Gordon 2005:111-20, 185, 132).

Typical features of Cushitic which are found in L.E.C. are, e.g., a five vowel system (*i*, *e*, *a*, *o*, *u*), a phonemic distinction between short and long vowels and consonants, and a three-number system in nouns (unmarked, singular, and plural).

However, due to the huge geographical spread of a relatively large number of languages, L.E.C. is less homogenous grammatically than Highland East Cushitic or ↗Agäw. Some L.E.C. languages preserved the pharyngeal fricatives (ᶜAfar-Sāho, Somali, the Dullay cluster) while the others have lost these sounds after partially affecting the sur-

rounding vowels. Glottalic consonants are found in all L.E.C. languages. However, in some languages only implosives occur, the latter sometimes realized as retroflexes (ᶜAfar, Sāho, Đáasanač, Somali). In a second group of languages only ejectives are attested (Bayso), whereas other languages have both implosives and ejectives (Arbore, Oromo, the latter with the rare case of an implosive and an ejective at the same place of articulation, cf. Lloret 1994/95, 1995). Most of the L.E.C. languages have a stress-accent system, whereas Arbore, the Dullay cluster, and Rendille are languages with two register tones. In verb morphology some languages (ᶜAfar, Sāho, Omo-Tana group) preserved the so-called prefix conjugation in a small number of verbs, whereas the other L.E.C. languages use exclusively suffixes. Non-concatenative morphology, a typical ↗Semitic feature, is present in ᶜAfar-Sāho. Traces of this feature are found also in Arbore and most of the Omo-Tana languages. Some L.E.C. languages are marked nominative languages, whereas others are not. The latter seem to have lost this feature since the marked nominative system may be reconstructed for Cushitic (Sasse 1984).

As to word order, L.E.C. must be divided into rigid S[ubject]–O[bject]–V[erb] languages (ᶜAfar-Sāho) and all other languages "giving up a rigid SOV syntax – or, rather, failing to implement it, if Tosco's (1994) preliminary reconstruction of Proto-East Cushitic syntax is accepted" (Tosco 2000:95f.).

Src.: RAYMOND G. GORDON (ed.), *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*, Dallas, TX [15]2005.

Lit.: PAUL BLACK, *Lowland East Cushitic: Subgrouping and Reconstruction*, Ph.D. thesis, Yale University, 1974; RICHARD J. HAYWARD, "The Qawho Dialects and Yaaku", *Abbay* 9, 1978, 59–70; ID., "Comparative Notes on the Language of the S'aamakko", *Journal of Afroasiatic Languages* 2, 1989, 1–53; ROBERT HETZRON, "The Limits of Cushitic", *Sprache und Geschichte in Afrika* 2, 1980, 7–126; ROLAND KIESSLING, "South Cushitic Links to East Cushitic", in: ANDRZEJ ZABORSKI (ed.), *New Data and New Methods in Afroasiatic Linguistics. Robert Hetzron in Memoriam*, Wiesbaden 2001, 95–102; MARIA-ROSA LLORET, "Implosive Consonants", *Belgian Journal of Linguistics* 9, 1994–95, 59–72; EAD., "The Representation of Glottals in Oromo", *Phonology* 12, 1995, 257–80; HANS-JÜRGEN SASSE, "Die kuschitischen Sprachen", in: BERND HEINE – THILO C. SCHADEBERG – EKKEHARD WOLFF (eds.), *Die Sprachen Afrikas*, Hamburg 1981, 187–215; ID., "Case in Cushitic, Semitic and Berber", in: JAMES BYNON (ed.), *Current Process in Afro-Asiatic Linguistics: Papers of the Third International Hamito-Semitic Congress*, Amsterdam 1984, 111–26; MAURO TOSCO, "The Historical Syntax of East Cushitic: a First Sketch", in: THOMAS BEARTH et al. (eds.), *Perspektiven afrikanistischer Forschung. Beiträge zur Linguistik, Ethnologie, Geschichte, Philosophie und Literatur. X. Afrikanistentag (Zürich, 23–25 September 1993)*, Köln 1994, 415–40; ID., "Cushitic Overview", *JES* 33, 2, 2000, 87–121.

Joachim Crass

Luba ↗Gadaa

Lubo

Däğğazmač L. (ሉቦ, fl. 1759–83) was an official of *aṣe* ↗Iyoᵓas. The brother of Iyoᵓas's mother, Wəbit (GuiIyas 175 [tr.]; BruNile vol. 2, 659), in the 1760s he acted, along with his brother Dulo, as principal protector of the Emperor. Iyoᵓas inherited the throne when he was seven years old and much under the sway of his grandmother, *ətege* ↗Bərhan Mogäsa and her party, the *Qʷarräññočč* (↗Qʷara). Therefore, he turned to his uncles to establish his independence from his grandmother. L. first appears in the historical record in October 1759, with his appointment as ↗*šaläqa* of the Kanisa troops (GuiIyas 203 [tr.]). Five years later, at the end of September 1764, he was appointed *däğğazmač* of Amhara. Towards the end of 1767, the Emperor appointed his uncle as *balambaras*, and, early the following year, *ṭəqaqən* ↗*blatten geta* (GuiIyas 234, 237 [tr.]).

L. became the principal rival of *ras* ↗Mikaᵓel Səḥul of Təgray, to whom Bərhan Mogäsa turned to buttress her power. He was very active in the complex shifting coalitions which marked the late 1760s and early 1770s (BruNile vol. 2, 667ff., 675–80, 691–95), but the assassination of Iyoᵓas by Mikaᵓel in 1769 undercut his position and he soon dropped out of contention. L. made one notable re-appearance, when, in February 1783, he met with *aṣe* ↗Täklä Giyorgis and was baptized (most probably being earlier a Muslim), along with many of his followers (BlunChr 56f., 282f.).

Src.: BlunChr 56f, 282f.; BruNile vol. 2, 659, 667ff., 675–80, 691–95; GuiIyas 165, 193, 225, 228 [text], 175, 203, 234, 237 [tr.].

Lit.: CrumLand 111f.

Donald Crummey

Lucy ↗Australopitecus afarensis

Ludolf, Hiob

L. (older form Job Leutholf, b. 24 June 1624, Erfurt, d. 8 April 1704, Frankfurt on the Main) was the founder of ↗Ethiopian studies as an academic discipline. His parents were Hiob L. and Judith, née Brandt. He entered Erfurt University in 1639 to study medicine and law, but also music as well as Oriental languages and literature, including Gəᶜəz, Hebrew, Syriac and Arabic. Among

The only known portrait of Hiob Ludolf, 1652, published in his *Historia Aethiopica*; from Uhlig 1983, part a, frontispiece

his teachers were the theologian Bartholomaeus Elsner and the Orientalist Karnrad, whose Gəᶜəz grammar L. would later correct. He graduated in Law in 1645 and thereafter continued his philological studies in Leiden. In addition to familiarizing himself with a considerable number of Oriental languages, L. also acquired an extensive knowledge of many European tongues. He completed his studies by travelling widely across Europe, from 1646 accompanying a Dutch nobleman to France and England, and while in Oxford in 1648 he was briefly able to study the Ethiopian manuscripts of the ↗Bodleian Library.

In 1648 L. became private instructor at the house of Baron von Rosenhahn, the Swedish envoy in Paris, who soon, at the behest of Queen Christina of Sweden, sent his new employee to Rome to search for Swedish documents. Whilst the documents remained untraceable, this voyage became fundamental for L.'s interest in Ethiopia. In 1649 in Rome he met four Ethiopian monks from ↗Santo Stefano dei Mori, and one of them, *abba* ↗Gorgoryos from Mäkanä Śəllase, became L.'s teacher of Gəᶜəz and main informant. Their regular meetings between March and May 1649 formed the basis for L.'s subsequent research into Ethio-Semitic languages as well as Ethiopian history, culture, literature and Christianity.

In 1651 L. returned to Erfurt, and in 1652 he entered the service of Ernst I, Duke of Saxe-Gotha-Altenburg. The Duke, who was particularly interested in the land of ↗Prester John which at that time was still supposed to be in Ethiopia, suggested that L. invite Gorgoryos to Ernst's castle Friedenstein in Gotha. L. used the three months of Gorgoryos's stay to continue his work on Gəᶜəz and Amharic dictionaries. L. recorded his conversations with the monk and used them later for his *Sciagraphia historiae Aethiopicae* (1676), *Historia Aethiopica* (1681) and, especially, *Theologia Aethiopica* (ed. Uhlig 1983). Back in Rome, Gorgoryos continued to act as L.'s informant through their correspondence (for the letter exchange s. Flemming 1890–94).

In 1652 L. was appointed a counsellor to the Reichstag in Regensburg, and in 1653 he started teaching the Duke's son Frederick. After receiving doctorate in jurisprudence in 1658 L. was appointed court counsellor, in which function he thereafter advised several German royal courts on questions of politics, diplomacy and finance (Uhlig 1983:40).

L. married Emilia Maria Dimpler in 1661. In the same year his Gəᶜəz dictionary and grammar (modelled upon Thomas Erpenius's *Grammatica arabica*, 1613) were published in London, somewhat carelessly edited by L.'s student Johann Michael ↗Wansleben (in 1699 a revised edition appeared in Frankfurt [Main]). In 1663 L. gained Duke Ernst's consent to finance a mission led by Wansleben to Ethiopia; the latter, however, only got as far as Egypt. From 1664 to 1670 L. was the court director of the Duke, a position he resumed in 1675 under Frederick.

After the death of his wife in 1676, L. retired from political office and moved to Frankfurt where he devoted himself to Ethiopian studies. However, he continued to serve on individual missions when his expertise was requested for the public good, and in 1679 Emperor Leopold I called him to Prague to try to achieve alliance with Ethiopia against the ↗Ottoman empire. L.'s "letter to the Ethiopian Nation" was written in Gəᶜəz after the siege of Vienna in 1683 (van Donzel 1974, passim; Uhlig 1983:284–90). For his help, L. received the title Kaiserlicher Rat ('Imperial councillor'; Hammerschmidt 1987). From 1681 to 1685 he was senior advisor to Kurfürst Carl of Palatia. In this capacity he participated in negotiations between Germany and France in 1682. That year he also married his second wife, Anna Katharina Müller.

Whereas L.'s attempts to establish a diplomatic contact with Ethiopia in the early 1680s were unsuccessful, his two letters, to the Ethiopian Nation and the ↗*baḥər nägaš*, remaining unanswered, the same cannot be said about his scholarly endeavours. In 1683 he composed a 13-point questionnaire which, through his Dutch contact Nicolaas Witsen, was delivered to al-Muḫa two years later for *ḫoğa* ↗Murād to complete. The answers were provided by the Ethiopian envoy during his second visit to Batavia in 1692 and were used by L. in his *Relatio nova* (1693). In 1696 Murād provided answers to another 24-point questionnaire by L. (DonMurad 54–60, 71–81f., 89–98, 154–58). In 1690 L. was appointed President of the *Collegium Imperiale Historicum*, at the recommendation of Gottfried Wilhelm von Leibniz, one of the many prominent scholars of L.'s time with whom he entertained a lively correspondence. In this function he published the first two volumes of the *Schaubühne der Welt* (1699, 1701), a survey of the contemporary global events of the time, which due to L.'s interests had Ethiopia as one of its main foci (Uhlig 1988). In 1698 L. published his grammar and dictionary of ↗Amharic, one of the earliest European studies on the language.

After the death of his second wife, L. married Maria Catharina von Lersner in 1694. The last decade of his life he spent in Frankfurt, surrounded by his students. Wansleben and Christoph ↗Schlichting were his best-known assistants. By 1702, L. had completed about 15 more or less extensive works dedicated to Ethiopian studies, all following scholarly principles already established for other philological disciplines (precise mention of sources, explanation in footnotes). Due to the groundbreaking importance of his writings, they were soon translated from the original Latin into the major European languages of the time. His grammar and dictionary of Gəᶜəz remained standard reference works for two centuries until they were superseded by ↗Dillmann's studies.

L. was buried in the Katharinenkirche in Frankfurt.

Src.: Legatum Ludolfianum, Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek Frankfurt am Main; [HIOB LUDOLF] "Briefwechsel zwischen H. Ludolf und dem Aethiopen Gregor", in: *Programm der Lateinischen Hauptschule*, Halle 1875–76, no. 17; ID., *Confessio fidei Claudii regis Aethiopicae* ..., London 1661; ID., *Lexicon Aethiopico-Latinum* ..., London 1661; ID., *Sciagraphia historiae Aethiopicae; sive regni Abessinorum* ..., Jena 1676; ID., *Historia Aethiopica, sive brevis et succincta descriptio regnis Habessinorum* ..., Francofurti ad Moenum 1681; ID., *Ad suam Historiam Aethiopicam antehac editam Commentarius* ..., Francofurti ad Moenum 1691; ID., *Grammatica linguae Amharicae*, Francofurti ad Moenum 1698; ID., *Lexicon Amharico–Latinum*, Francofurti ad Moenum 1698b; ID., [JOBI LUDOLFI] *Relatio nova de hodierno Habeßiniae statu* ..., Francofurti ad Moenum 1693; ID., *Lexicon Amharico-Latinum* ..., Francofurti ad Moenum 1698; ID., *Psalterium Davidis Aethiopice et Latine* ..., Francofurti ad Moenum 1701; [ID.], *Allgemeine Schaubühne der Welt, oder: Beschreibung der vornehmsten Welt-Geschichte* ..., vol. 1, 2, Francofurti ad Moenum 1699, 1701; s. Lockot I, index; SIEGBERT UHLIG (ed., tr.), *Hiob Ludolfs "Theologia Aethiopica"*, Wiesbaden 1983 (AeF 14ab; Lit.) (ill.); EMERI VAN DONZEL, "Two Ethiopian Letters of Job Ludolf", *BiOr* 31, 1974, 226–38.

Lit.: DonMurad, s. index; JOHANNES FLEMMING, "Hiob Ludolf: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der orientalischen Philologie", *Beiträge zur Assyriologie* 1, 1890, 537–82 and *ibid.*, 1894, 63–110; EIKE HABERLAND, "Hiob Ludolf, Father of Ethiopian Studies in Europe", in: *PICES* 3, 131–36; ERNST HAMMERSCHMIDT, "Die äthiopischen Studien in Deutschland: von ihren Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart", *AE* 6, 1965, 255–77; ID., "War Hiob Ludolf Reichshofrat?", *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte* 104, 1987, 268–76; IGNATIJ KRAČKOVSKIJ, *Vvedenije v efiopskuju filologiju* ('Introduction into Ethiopian Philology'), Leningrad 1955, 54ff., index (Lit.); WOLBERT SMIDT, "Abba Gorgoryos – ein integrer und ernsthafter Mann. Der Besuch eines äthiopischen Gelehrten in Thüringen 1652", in: KERSTIN VOLKER-SAAD – ANNA GREVE (eds.), *Äthiopien und Deutschland, Sehnsucht nach der Ferne*, Berlin 2006, 48–57; JÜRGEN TUBACH, "Ludolf (Leutholf), Hiob", in: *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon*, vol. 5, 1993, 317–25; SIEGBERT UHLIG, "Ludolfs Deutung der Geschichte des 17. Jahrhunderts in der 'Schaubühne der Welt'", *AuÜ* 71, 2, 1988, 267–88.

Siegbert Uhlig

Lule Täsfaye

L.T. (ሉሌ፡ ተስፋዬ, b. 1906 A.M. [1913/14 A.D.], Addis Abäba, d. 25 November 1978, Sweden) was an important figure among the leading Ethiopian women of her time, by virtue of her continuous contribution to voluntary welfare. She was the daughter of *ato* Täsfaye Tägañ, diplomat, and of *wäyzäro* Šäwaräggäd Adäfrəs, founder member of the Ethiopian Women's Welfare Association (**የኢትዮጵያ፡ ሴቶች፡ በጎ፡ አድራጎት፡ ማኅበር**, *Yäʾityopya setočč bäggo adragot maḫbär*).

L.T. came from a Catholic family and was educated in France, where her father was head of the Ethiopian Delegation in Paris. Returning to Ethiopia before the Italian occupation, she succeeded her mother in the Association, becoming its Secretary-General. She supervised the running of the Association's school and worked tirelessly, over many years, to raise funds for it, as well as to meet the other expenses of the Association, which also supported the Princess Ṣäḥay Clinic and an orphanage, originally for war orphans.

L.T.'s husband, *ato* Täfäri Šaräw, supported the abortive ↗Coup d'État of December 1960 (s. EAE II, 1081f.) while he was Ambassador in Sweden, and remained there in exile for 16 years. Because of these circumstances L.T., who stayed in Ethiopia, found it wise to decline the honour of representing the Association when it was awarded the Ḫaylä Śəllase I Prize in 1970.

L.T. went to Sweden for medical treatment, but could not be cured and died there in 1978. Her husband passed away in Addis Abäba almost immediately afterwards, and both were buried together in Addis Abäba's Gulläle Cemetery on 2 December.

In 2000/01 L.T. was posthumously awarded by the Government the Twentieth Century Ethiopian Women's Prize on the recommendation of the then Minister for Women's Affairs and President of the Ethiopian Women's Movement, *wäyzäro* Taddäläčč Wäldä Mikaʾel.

Src.: BƎRHANU ABBÄBÄ, oral communication, 28 April 2006, 25 May 2006, October 2007; Archbishop BƎRHANU IYÄSUS SURAFEL, oral communication, October 2007; YÄWÄYNƎŠÄT BÄŠAH WƎRÄD, oral communication, 20 April 2006.

Lit.: ATNAFU MAKONNEN, *Ethiopia Today*, Tokyo 1960, 265f.; SYLVIA PANKHURST, *Ethiopia: a Cultural History*, Woodford Green, Essex 1955, 631ff.; EAD., "Ethiopian Women's Welfare Association", *EthObs* 4, 2, 1960, 45–47; CHRISTINE SANDFORD, *Ethiopia under Hailé Selassié*, London 1946, 66f.; ZerÉth 260.

Rita Pankhurst

Lundin, Avraam Grigor'evič

L. (b. 25 December 1929, Leningrad, d. 12 October 1994, St. Petersburg) was a Russian Orientalist, who specialized in South Arabian and Aksumite studies. A son of school teachers, in 1946 he joined the Oriental Faculty at Leningrad State University and the last stream of students who were taught main subjects by Ignatij ↗Kračkovskij. L. graduated in 1951 as Historian of Arab countries, and in 1954–57 followed the post-graduate course at the Leningrad Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences under the supervision of Nina Pigulevskaja, Corresponding Member of the Academy, famous Syriologist and broad-minded specialist in the early medieval history and culture of the Middle East.

In January 1958 L. was employed by the Leningrad Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies as Research Fellow, in April submitted his Ph.D. thesis on *South Arabia in the 6th cent. A.D.* and became the pioneer of Sabaean studies in the Soviet Union. At this stage of his career the sphere of his interests embraced the relations between the kingdoms of ↗Ḥimyar and ↗Aksum in the first half of the 6th cent. A.D. His principal works were dedicated to the political régime, social structure and religious beliefs of Sabaʾ, Qatabān and ↗Ḥaḍramawt in the 1st millennium B.C. In 1969 L. submitted his "Doctor of Sciences" (habilitation) thesis on *Sabaʾ as the State of Mukarribs* (*Sabaean Eponymate*). ↗Epigraphic South Arabian documents were always at the centre of his scholarly activities. Notably he published the so-called list of the eponyms of Sabaʾ from the tribe of Ḫalīl and ca. 150 inscriptions collected in Yemen by Grjaznevič in 1966–67 and 1970–71. He presented some of the results of his research relating to Aksum at the Ninth ↗International Conference of Ethiopian Studies in 1986. L. took part in the Soviet-Yemenite Multidisciplinary Expedition in 1987–91 as Epigraphist.

In his works on the early history of alphabetic writing L. considered the names of the Ethiopic letters to be an important argument in favour of the acrophonic principle of its origin.

Src.: AVRAAM GRIGOR'EVIČ LUNDIN, *Južnaja Aravija v VI veke* ('South Arabia in the 6th cent. A.D.'), Moscow – Leningrad 1961 (Palestinskij sbornik 8, 71); ID., "Aksum", "Aksumskoe tsarstvo" ('Aksum', 'The Aksumite Kingdom'), in: *Sovetskaja istoričeskaja entsiklopedija* vol. 1, Moscow 1961, 310–11; ID., *Sammlung Eduard Glaser V. Die Eponymenliste von Saba (aus dem Stamme Ḫalīl)*, Wien 1965 (Sitzungsberichte der philosophisch-historischen Klasse der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 248, 1); ID., "Sur les rapports entre l'Éthiopie et le Ḥimyar du VIe siècle", in: *PICES* 4, vol. 1, 313–20; ID.,"Drevnejšie pis'mennye pamjatniki iz Efiopii" ('The Earliest Written Documents from Ethiopia'), in: *Vsesojuznaja konferentsija po efiopskim issledovanijam (Moskva, 19–21 Ijunja 1979). Tezisy dokladov* ('All-Union Conference of Ethiopian Studies, Moscow 19–21 June 1979. Abstracts of Papers'), Moscow 1979, 59–61; ID., "L'origine de l'alphabet", *Cahiers de l'Institut de Linguistique de Louvain* 11, 1–2, 1985, 173–202; ID., "Axum in the Second and Third Centuries A.D. (Based on Sabaean Inscriptions)", in: *PICES* 9, vol. 6, 128–34; ID., "Aksum v sabejskih nadpisjah II–III vv. n.e." ('Aksum in Sabaic Inscriptions of the 2nd–3rd cent. A.D.'), "Nadpis' sabejskih poslov v Zafare" ('The Inscription of Aksumite Ambassadors in Ẓafār'), in: O.K. DREJER (ed.), *Istorija Afriki v drevnih i srednevekovyh istočnikah. Hrestomatija* ('The History of Africa in Ancient and Medieval Sources. A Chrestomathy'), Moscow ²1990, 155–60, 188; ID., "Efiopskoe pis'mo" ('The Ethiopian Writing'), in: *Lingvističeskij entsiklopedičeskij slovar'*, Moscow 1990, 599; ID. – GLEB BAUER, *Epigrafičeskie pamjatniki drevnego Jemena* ('Epigraphic Monuments of Ancient Yemen'), St. Petersburg 1998.

Lit.: G.S. ŠRON, "Osnovnye naučnye trudy doktora istoričeskih nauk A.G. Lundina" ('The Principal Research Works by Dr. A.G. Lundin'), *Narody Azii i Afriki* 2, 1989, 208–09; SERGUEI A. FRANTSOUZOFF, "Avraam Grigor'evič Lundin (25. XII. 1929 – 12. X. 1994)", *Peterburgskoe Vostokovedenie* 6, 1994, 639–43 [French tr. by J. RYCKMANS in: *Raydān* 7, 2001, 7–11] (Lit.); MIHAIL A. RODIONOV, "Avraam Grigor'evič Lundin (25.12.1929–12.10.1994)", *Vestnik drevnej istorii* 213, 3, 1995, 251–52; CHRISTIAN J. ROBIN, "Avraam Grigorievitch Lundin (1929–1994). Articles et ouvrages", *Chroniques Yéménites* 1995, 9–15.

Serguei A. Frantsouzoff

Lüpke, Theodor von

L. (b. 12 April 1873, Hermannsburg near Celle, d. 13 April 1961, Bückeburg, Lüneburger Heide) was an architect who played a prominent role in the 1905/06 ↗Deutsche Aksum-Expedition (DAE). He studied in Munich and Hanover. Already as a student he started to work with photographic equipment (unusual at that time), which was to have a decisive impact on his professional life.

The German Emperor Wilhelm II, during his travels to the Near East in 1898, acquired the concession for excavations at Baalbek, Lebanon, where German excavations were carried out under the direction of Otto Puchstein in 1902/03. Members of the team were, among others, the architect Daniel ↗Krencker and L. The latter was responsible for the photogrammetric work, a new branch of architectural photography.

In 1905, L., on the recommendation by Krencker, who also participated, was appointed a member of the DAE under Enno ↗Littmann; L. assisted Krencker. He contributed to the final publication of the DAE, especially to DAE III, of which he was the editor. On this expedition (to Aden, ʿAsäb, Massawa and ↗Aksum) L. took nearly 1,000 photographs of archaeological monuments, churches, priests, ordinary people, plants, and landscapes. About 660 negatives are still preserved at the Brandenburgisches Amt für Denkmalpflege und Archäologisches Museum, Wünstorf (the first part of this material was been published in WenDAE I).

In 1909 he became the director of the Prussian "Meßbildanstalt" and inaugurated major projects: the architectural documentation of downtown Berlin (1910) and Potsdam (1911–12). The Greek government invited him in 1910 to photograph systematically important ancient monuments. After World War I he incorporated major collections of photographs into the archives of the now "Staatliche Bildstelle". He documented the Theodosian city wall of Constantinople (Istanbul) in 1928 and the German excavations of the late antique ruins of Aizanoi, Anatolia. During the 1930s he documented the old buildings of Nuremberg and prepared a documentation of German theatres. He retired in 1938.

Src.: DAE III.

Lit.: REINER KOPPE, "Theodor von Lüpke 1873–1961 – Architekt, Bauforscher und Photograph. Sein photographischer Beitrag zur Deutschen Aksum-Expedition 1906", in: *WenDAE* I, 129–42.

Steffen Wenig

Luqas

Äläqa L. (ዐላቃ, fl. end of 19th – beginning of 20th cent.) was an Ethiopian painter, probably from ↗Goğğam (Guida 242), who is supposed to have decorated various churches during the reigns of *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV and *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II. His first set of wall ↗paintings would be the now destroyed decoration of ↗Däbrä Bərhan Śəllase church in ʿAdwa, founded by *däğğazmač* Kaśa Mərṣa in 1868 and finished in 1871. The paintings must have been partially completed later, after Kaśa's ascension to the throne as Yoḥannəs IV. On the eastern socle of the ↗*mäqdäs*, Yoḥannəs's accession to power is depicted, from the coronation in ↗Aksum Ṣəyon (January 1872) to the ↗*gəbər* given on this occasion and remembered for its munificence.

L. is mentioned by Mérab (1929:303) only in 1908 as the painter who executed those murals, and by the *Guida* in 1938. Numerous sources mentioning the same paintings before Mérab (e.g., Raffray 1876:72; Powell-Cotton 1902:393; DAE III, 57ff.) do not ascribe them to L. Mérab also states that L. decorated Mənilək's church dedicated to Maryam in ↗Addis ʿAläm and that he was still active in 1913. L. was probably also involved in the decoration of the old churches of Maryam and Yäkka Mikaʾel in Addis Abäba, of ↗Ǝnṭoṭṭo Raguʾel and of Täklä Haymanot in ↗Däbrä Libanos. The two latter churches he painted with the aid of his son, Śahlu Luqas (Pankhurst 1966:18).

An "Eritrean painter" named Luqas and identified with *äläqa* L. by Ricci (1986:280) exhibited a work at the Palermo National Exhibition in 1891–92.

Src.: DAE III, 57ff., pl. III; *Guida* 242; ÉTIENNE MÉRAB, *Impressions d'Éthiopie*, vol. 3: *Institutions civiles (mariage, justice, etc.), vie morale et matérielle des Abyssins*, Paris

1929, 303; PERCY HORACE GORDON POWELL-COTTON, *A Sporting Trip through Abyssinia*, London 1902, 393.
Lit.: ChojPaint 305f., ill. 152ab; STANISŁAW CHOJNACKI, "Notes on the Ethiopian Traditional Art. The Last Phase", *Ethnologische Zeitschrift Zürich* 2, 1978, 65–81, here 75f.; RICHARD PANKHURST, "Some Notes for a History of Ethiopian Secular Art", *EthObs* 10, 1, 1966, 5–80; LANFRANCO RICCI, "In margine a una mostra di dipinti etiopici tradizionali", *Annali IUO* 46, 1986, 280.

Anaïs Wion

Luqas

L. (ሉቃስ, d. 7 January 1899, Däbrä Marqos) was one of the three coadjutor bishops (the others were ↗Matewos and Marqos) who went to Ethiopia with the metropolitan bishop ↗Peṭros in 1881 (BTafY 153f.). They came following the request of *aṣe* ↗Yohannəs IV to the Coptic Patriarch Cyril V. This represented an extraordinary expansion of the Ethiopian episcopacy, there having rarely been in the country more than one bishop at a time. Expansion of the episcopacy was part of a broader religious strategy of Yoḥannəs: doctrinal unity through suppression of the ↗*Qəbat* and ↗*Yäṣägga ləǧ* sectarians; conversion of the leading Muslims of ↗Wällo; and expansion of the Church along with expansion of the state.

L. was assigned to ↗Goǧǧam and ↗Käfa, the territories under *nəguś* ↗Täklä Haymanot. He settled down at ↗Däbrä Marqos at the Abun Säfär, one of the new areas created by Täklä Haymanot; his "court" seems to have included a number of Gondärines (Täklä Iyäsus Waqǧera ch. 44 n. 19). He went twice to battles against the ↗Mahdists, first with Täklä Haymanot and later with Yoḥannəs.

L. is said to have enjoyed Täklä Haymanot's trust. He also played a conciliatory role during the struggle between Täklä Haymanot and Yoḥannəs. He was buried in the church of Marqos, Däbrä Marqos, and was succeeded by *abunä* Yoḥannəs (Täklä Iyäsus Waqǧera ch. 44 n. 4).

Src.: BTafY 151–55; GSMen ch. 47, 180ff.; GueCopMen 190 n. 11, 284, 303, 306; GIRMA GETAHUN (ed., tr.), *The Goǧǧam Chronicle by* aläqa *Täklä Iyäsus Waqǧera*, Ph.D. thesis, SOAS University of London 1991, ch. 35 n. 4, ch. 44 n. 19.
Lit.: SERGEW HABLE SELLASSIE, *The Church of Ethiopia. A Panorama of History and Spiritual Life*, Addis Ababa 1970, 34-35 ("The Period of Re-organization"); TedEthPrel II, 1038; ZewYohan 108f.

Donald Crummey – Red.

Luqas

Abunä L. (ሉቃስ, formerly *mämhər* Wäldä Mika'el; b. 1900, ᶜAddi Qäbay, Säraye, d. 18 November 1992) was an Ethiopian bishop. Born to *wäyzäro* Bərre and *qes* Bərhanä Mäsqäl, who taught him the ↗Psalter, he joined the monastery of ↗Däbrä ᶜAbbay. There he completed a traditional church ↗education, studying ↗*zema*, ↗*qəne*, Commentary to the N.T., liturgy (↗*Qəddase*) and the ↗*Abušakər*. He subsequently taught liturgy and took monastic orders.

After a failed project to go to Jerusalem, and following the outbreak of the ↗Italian war of 1935, L. joined the northern army. He was present at the battle of ↗May Čäw but was injured and returned to Addis Abäba. He lived in the Mänbärä Patrəyark Qəddəstä Qəddusan Maryam and ↗Qəddəst Śəllase churches. Enjoying the favour of the Emperor and the *əčč̣äge* for his presence at May Čäw, he was appointed *aläqa* of Ṣərḥa Ṣəyon Ḥawaryat Golla Qəddus Mika'el Church in Addis Abäba.

L. was also engaged in social projects, especially helping orphans. He opened an elementary school for poor children and continued social activities at Taᶜəka Nägäśt Bä'ata Lämaryam in Addis Abäba. He helped in the construction of the Ṣərḥa Mənilək building in Addis Abäba (↗Addis Kätäma) and secured the return of most of the property taken during the Italian occupation. It was around this time that he translated the ↗*Dərsanä maḥyäwi* from Gəᶜəz into Amharic.

In 1951, L. was promoted to General Manager of the Patriarchate and in May 1952 was appointed Bishop of the ↗Arsi diocese. There, he was active in developing traditional schools, promoting road and bridge construction. From 1962 to 1964, he acted as bishop in Eritrea. Under the *Därg* (↗Provisional Military Administrative Council), due to his stand against the brutal killings of youths, he was sentenced to four years in prison (1976–79). After his release he was forced to retire along with other critical bishops. He was buried in the Qəddəst Maryam Church, Asälla.

Lit.: ETHIOPIAN ORTHODOX TÄWAḤƎDO CHURCH, ትንሣኤ (*Tənśa'e*), *Mäggabit* 1972 A.M. [1979 A.D.], 14–16; MÄRŠA ALLÄḴÄÑ, ዜና፡ ፓፓሳት፡ ኢትዮጵያውያን (*Zena pappasat ityopyawəyan*, 'The History of Ethiopian Patriarchs'), Addis Abäba 1997 A.M. [2004 A.D.], 158–64.

Mersha Alehegne

Lutheran churches ↗Protestantism

M

Maale

Maale language

The M. language is spoken by ca. 53,800 people (CSA 1996; Gordon 2005:117) in the South Omo administrative zone, in south-west Ethiopia. M. is the sole member of the southern branch of the ↗Ometo cluster, which in turn belongs to the ↗Omotic language family.

M. consonant segments are: stops *p*, *b*, *t*, *d*, *k*, *g*, *ʾ*; implosives *ɓ*, *ɗ*; ejectives *ṣ*, *ʧ*, *q*; fricatives *s*, *z*, *š*, *ž*, *h*; affricates *ʦ*, *č*, *ǧ*; nasals *m*, *n*; liquids *l*, *r*; glides *w*, *y*. M. has five vowels (*i*, *e*, *a*, *o*, *u*); length is phonemic in both vowels and consonants.

Two tones are distinguished: high and low. Syllable-patterns include: CV, CVV, CVC, and CVVC, e.g., *nú*, 'we'; *lóó*, 'up there'; *ṣun.gú.ʦi* 'nail'; *waas.ka* 'on water'.

Basic (underived) nouns end in one of the terminal vowels *i*, *e*, *o*, or *a*, which are dropped when any morpheme beginning with a vowel is added to the noun.

Nouns in M. can be marked for gender, definiteness, number, and case.

The gender-distinction system is basically sex-based, though some inanimate nouns can also take a gender suffix. The markers are *-aʦi* for masc. def. and *-éll-* for fem. def., e.g., *naʾa*, 'a child' – *naʾaʦi*, 'the boy' – *naʾélla*, 'the girl'. Indefinite nouns are unmarked for gender.

In some nouns, definiteness is indicated by the suffixation of -z(z)- to sg. and *-nʦi* to pl. nouns (e.g., *kani*, 'a dog' vs. *kanzi*, 'the dog' and *kanattó*, 'dogs' vs. *kanattóntsi*, 'the dogs'), gemination of the final consonant (e.g., *wúdi*, 'a hut' vs. *wúdd-a*, 'the hut'), or alternation voiceless / voiced (e.g., *goši*, 'a farm' vs. *gož-á*, 'the farm').

Plural markers for indefinite nouns are *-aʦi* (coinciding with the masc. def. sg.; 'divorced woman' *sayó* [sg.] vs. *sayaʦi* [pl.]), *-att-* ('potter' *mani* [sg.] vs. *manattó* [pl.]), gemination of the final consonant of the sg. noun ('bridge' *zóka* [sg.] vs. *zókk-ó* [pl.]), and consonant alternation ('lash (for hitting)' *bádi* [sg.] vs. *bàžá* [pl.]).

Case marking is gender-sensitive. Thus, in masc. nouns, the nominative is marked by high tone on the final vowel of the noun, whereas the absolutive is unmarked, e.g. 'a tree' *mítsi* (Abs.) vs. *mítsí* (Nom.). In fem. nouns, nominative and absolutive are marked by *-á* and *-ó* respectively, e.g., 'the woman' *laalélláá* (Nom.) vs. *laalélló* (Abs.). Dative, ablative, instrumental, genitive, and locative are marked by *-m*, *-ppa*, *-na*, *-ko*, and *-ídda*, respectively (for both masc. and fem.); e.g., 'people' *ʾasóm* (Dat.), *ʾasóppa* (Abl.), *ʾasóna* (Instr.), *ʾasóko* (Gen.), *ʾasóídda* (Loc.).

Three sets of basic pronoun paradigms are distinguished.

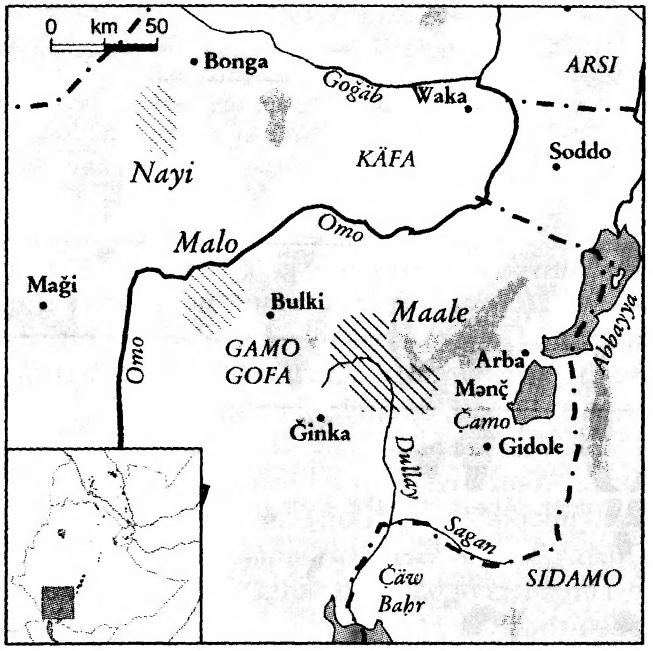
Pers.	Genitive	Subject	Object
1st sg.	*ta*	*táání / tá*	*táná*
2nd sg.	*ne*	*nééni / né*	*néná*
3rd sg. masc.	*ʾízá*	*ʾízí / ʾííní / ʾí*	*ʾízá*
3rd sg. fem.	*ʾízó*	*ʾízá*	*ʾízó*
1st pl.	*nu*	*núúní / nú*	*núná*
2nd pl.	*ʾíntsi*	*ʾíntsí*	*ʾíntsi*
3rd pl.	*ʾiyátó*	*ʾiyátá*	*ʾiyátó*

1st pers. sg. and pl., 2nd pers. sg. and 3rd pers. masc. sg. pronouns have alternative short variants. Peripheral cases such as the Dat., Abl., Instr., and Gen. are derived from the shorter variants, e.g., for 1st pers. sg.: *táám* (Dat.), *tááppe* (Abl.), *táána* (Instr.), *taakó* (Gen.).

Besides, M. has another pronoun which is only used when in the same sentence a third person possessor or affected entity is identical to the subject. This pronoun distinguishes only a possessive form (*pè*) and an absolutive form (*péná*).

There are two basic demonstrative forms: *ha-* (proximal) and *ye-* (distal). To these, gender, number, and case markers are added to derive twelve distinct demonstratives. The proximal Nom. forms are *hayí*, 'this (masc.)', *hánná*, 'this (fem.)', *háátá/hantsí*, 'these (pl.)'; the Abs. forms are *háya*, *hánnó* and *hááta*, respectively. E.g., *hánná ta nayíke*, 'this is my daughter'; *hayí ta nayíke*, 'this is my son'; *háátá ta naattóke*, 'these are my children'. Locative demonstratives include *haika/haka*, 'here'; *yeka/ʾiika*, 'there'; *léka*, 'up there'; *líka*, 'down there'; *séka*, 'there, to the side of the speaker'.

Question words are derived from the bases *ʾa-/ʾo-* and *wo-/wa-*: *ʾóóní*, 'who'; *ʾóná*, 'whom';



ʾaigé, 'what (Nom.)'; *ʾaigó*, 'what (Abs.)'; *ʾáiddó*, 'when'; *woka*, 'where'; *ʾánko*, 'to where'; *woyí*, 'which (masc. Nom.)'; *wónná*, 'which (fem. Nom.)'; *wozí*, 'how'; *wááʾʾí*, 'how many'.

Like adjectival, demonstrative and other modifiers, numerals generally precede the head noun as in *pétte*$_1$ *laali*$_2$ 'one$_1$ woman$_2$'. The noun modified by a numeral can be in the singular or in the plural: *haitsó ʾasi / haitsó ʾasó* 'three persons'.

In M. verbs, a two-way aspect distinction is made. The perfective is marked by *-é-* as in *mukké-ne*, 'has come'. The imperfective has two sub-categories: present imperfective, marked by *-á-* and future imperfective marked by *-andá-*: e.g., *mukká-ne*, 'comes' vs. *mukk-andá-ne*, 'will come'.

In M. one can distinguish declarative, interrogative, and imperative moods. *-ne* is the marker of affirmative declarative. In the negative declarative, *-se* replaces *-ne*, e.g., *mukk-íba-se*, 'has not come' vs. *mukk-uwá-se*, 'does not come' vs. *mukk-induwá-se*, 'will not come'. Affirmative interrogative is marked by *-y*, e.g., *ʾaigó múʾ-é-y*, 'what did (you) eat?' vs. *ʾaigó múʾ-á-y*, 'what do (you) eat?' vs. *ʾaigó múʾ-andá-y*, 'what will (you) eat?'.

In declarative and interrogative moods, M. verbs do not inflect for subject. In imperatives, sg. and pl. are marked by *-e* and *-uwáte* respectively. E.g., *múʾ-e*, 'eat (2nd pers. sg.)!' vs. *múʾ-uwáte*, 'eat (2nd pers. pl.)!'. A polite form of the imperative is marked by adding *-ra* to the pl. form: *múʾ-uwáte-ra*, 'please eat!'. The optative is marked by *-óm* for 1st pers. and by *-óngó* for 3rd pers.: *múʾ-óm*, 'let me/us eat!' vs. *múʾ-óngó*, 'let him/her/them eat!'.

Causative, passive, and inchoative stems are derived by adding respectively *-is-*, *-int-* and *-ad-* to the verb root. E.g., *gel-éne*, 'has entered' vs. *gel-is-éne*, 'make enter'; *mask-éne*, 'has washed' vs. *mask-int-éne*, 'is washed'; *bélsi*, 'lazy' vs. *belṣ-ád-éne*, 'become lazy'.

The basic word order is Subject-Object-Verb. Modifiers often precede their heads. Dependent clauses precede the matrix clause. A sentential example:

díbi	*banq-á*	*bed-áza*	*ʾeeʾé*	*hánná*
many	frog-Nom	see-Temporal	yes	this:Fem:Abs
baak-ka	*báiqq-áʾʾá*			
middle-Loc	disappear-Emphatic:negative			

'When they found many frogs [they said] "yes! (our frog) will certainly be among these!"'

The standard ten-word list for M. is: *pétte* 'one', *lamʾó* 'two', *haitsó* 'three', *tami* 'fire', *waatsi* 'water', *súgútsi* 'blood', *ʾábi* 'sun', *ʾagínni* 'moon/month', *ʾindírsi* 'tongue', *ʾáčči* 'tooth'.

Src.: CSA 1996; RAYMOND G. GORDON (ed.), *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*, Dallas, TX [15]2005, 117.

Lit.: AZEB AMHA, *The Maale Language*, Leiden 2001 (CNWS Publications 99); EAD., "Gender and Animacy in Maale in Comparative Perspective", in: *PICES* 15, 704–14 (Lit.); RALPH SIEBERT, "A Survey of the Male Language", *S.L.L.E. Linguistic Reports* 24, 1995.

Azeb Amha

Maale ethnography

The M. are an Omotic-speaking ethnic group in southern Ethiopia. In 1994, their number was 46,391 (CSA 1996:66).

The M. country lies north of the ↗Banna territory and east of the ↗Aari Mountains, the River Bazo (or Dəməkare) serving as the M.'s natural boundary with the ↗Gofa to the north and with the ↗Ṣamay to the east.They were traditionally subdivided into 13 chiefdoms, which followed a political hierarchy: Bala, Makana, Ǧaato, Šabo, Goddo, Bio, Lemo, Gento, Irbo Lalo, Gero, Ǧado and Gollo; the Bala chief had a higher status than the following ones, and the Gollo chief the lowest. Each chiefdom was represented by a chief called *goda*. The M. country was part of the ↗Hamär Bakko *awraǧǧa* of ↗Gamo Gofa province. Today M. *wäräda* (previously, Bakko Gazär *wäräda*) is part of the South-Omo Administrative Zone in the Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples's Regional State.

M. is the name of the dominant agro-pastoralist caste which is distinguished from two craft castes: potters and tanners/drummers on the one hand, and blacksmiths on the other hand, although ag-

riculture and cattle raising are now practiced by all. These three sedentary castes thus have mixed economies that also include activities such as beekeeping, gathering, hunting and fishing. The cattle are mostly kept in the semi-arid lowlands, but also all over the M. country. Agricultural produce (maize, sorghum, *ṭef*, beans, coffee, and some root crops such as sweet potatoes) represents the primary means of subsistence, however, with livestock reserved for rituals or matrimonial exchanges (Ferran 2005:20). M. attend the markets of their neighbours and sell, e.g., small stock, cattle and honey, depending on the market. Long distance traders come to M. country to buy cereals, red pepper (↗*Bärbäre*), pumpkin seeds, beeswax, cowhides and goatskins.

The M. were incorporated into the Ethiopian state by conquest in 1894 (s. Donham 1986:80f.) and like other peoples of the south have suffered under the ↗*gäbbar* system. Farming families were assigned to members of the conquering army to work for and feed their families. M. life under the Italian occupation improved considerably; M. tradition considers the Italians as their saviours from the oppressive empire. M. were in that period also employed in constructing a road to the regional capital Bakko. In the post-war period much of M. fertile land was re-appropriated by the descendants of the former conquerors from the north and by the M. *kati* (lit. 'king', equivalent of *kao* or *kawo* in other Ometo languages). This was later resolved by the decree of 1975 that nationalized rural land. However, after the collapse of the *Därg* military dictatorship, some of the previous owners reappeared under a new guise.

The M. include over 30 clans, traditionally divided into two exogamous marriage-classes (moieties), *karazi* and *raggi*. The *karazi*, who are said to have immigrated into the country after the *raggi*, possessed the superior position. In the 1950s Jensen observed a shift from this dual structure towards a greater importance of clan organization (VSAe I, 276f.). Present research, however, suggests that the moieties and the clans have always coexisted and have always formed a part of social organization. Craftsmen, as in other Ometo traditions, were excluded from farming activities, while farmers were prohibited from engagement in handicrafts. There are two endogamous craft groups: potters-tanners/drummers and blacksmiths. The hierarchical relation between the different categories of people

Jumping dance of the Maale during the ritual *laali baytsi*, in Bule, Irbo; photo 2006, courtesy of Hugo Ferran

created ritual and labour dependencies between higher and lower social ranks.

In traditional M. culture the institution of "kingship" was crucial. The village of Bala was the seat of the M. *kati*. He was responsible for the blessing of the country, the performance of sacrifices and functioned as a "rainmaker" (↗Rainmaking). His ability to curse made his power ambivalent. Jensen reports that the position of the *kati* was particularly expressed in the elaborate rituals connected with his burial and during the enthronement of the new *kati* (VSAe I, 269ff., 271–75). The M. system of kingship was based on the production of inequality and wealth to benefit kings, chiefs and sub-chiefs. The *kati*, however, has always been a ritual rather than a political king (Donham 1994:162, n. 3). After the incorporation of the M. into the Ethiopian empire the *kati* and the *goda* (chiefs) became the intermediaries between the M. and the imperial system. The last M. *kati* lived ca. 20 km south of ↗Arba Mənč in the village of Šelle, employed as a veterinary assistant until his death in 2005.

The rites of passage are not exclusive to the king and the chiefs. The common people have also to transit through a complex series of ritu-als to produce (and reproduce) the society. For instance, the rite *laali baytsi* ('bring a wife'), which is the third and last step of the wedding process, is necessary to integrate the wife in the lineage of the husband.

The neighbours of the M. regard them as reliable partners and aspire to enter into a relation of *bele* bond-friendship. The *bele* includes the exchange of gifts and visits, mutual support and revenge of the killing of the partner by an enemy. The pastoral neighbours of the M. in the south regard them as skilful warriors, and their use of

poisoned arrows is legendary. Even pastoralists armed with Kalashnikovs become wary when M. are mentioned (for the ↗Hamär's view of the M. s. Lydall – Strecker 1979). The Hor (↗Arbore) consider the M., whom they call Bagira, to be their most potent enemies. They traditionally considered killing a M. as very beneficial to their social and cultural reproduction of the Hor. Once every generation the Hor organized cattle raiding and man hunting teams to capture M.

Today an erosion or transformation of traditional values in M. society can be noted. The effects are visible in a declining cohesiveness in interpersonal relations and a weakness of traditional institutions that cared for common natural resources. Social cohesion was provided until the end of the 19th cent. by those whom the M. call their territorial and genealogical *fathers*. Today, the traditionalists live alongside Evangelical Protestants, Orthodox, Muslims and Syncretists.

Src.: ALEXANDER BULATOVICH, *Ethiopia through Russian Eyes: Country in Transition 1896–1898*, tr. by RICHARD SELTZER, Asmara 2000; GABRIELE DA CASOTTO, "Note sulle populazioni dell'alto e medio Galane", in: *CRStud* 150–81; CSA 1998; JÉRÔME-GASTON VANDERHEYM, *Une expedition avec le negous Menelik: vingt mois en Abyssinie*, Paris 1896.

Lit.: AZEB AMHA, *The Maale Language*, Leiden 2001 (CNWS Publications 99); HENRY DARLEY, *Slaves and Ivory in Abyssinia: a Record of Adventure and Exploration among Ethiopian Slave-raiders*, New York ²1969 (¹1935); DONALD L. DONHAM, *History, Power, Ideology: Central Issues in Marxism and Anthropology*, Cambridge – New York 1990; ID., *Work and Power in Maale Ethiopia*, New York 1994; ID., *Marxist Modern: an Ethnographic History of the Ethiopian Revolution*, Oxford 1999; ID. – WENDY JAMES, *The Southern Marches of Imperial Ethiopia: Essays in History and Social Anthropology*, Cambridge 1986; HUGO FERRAN, *Southern Ethiopia. Music of the Maale: Praises and Blessings*, Paris 2005; ID, *Les orchestres de flutes des Maale du Sud-Ouest éthiopien*, M.A. thesis, Université de Paris-VIII 2002; ID., "Ethnographie matérielle, sonore et spatiale de la mort chez les Maale", in: BERTRAND HIRSCH et al. (eds.), *La mort, le deuil et les funérailles en Ethiopie*, Paris (in preparation); JEAN LYDALL – IVO STRECKER, *The Hamar of Southern Ethiopia*, vol. 2: *Baldambe Explains*, Hohenschaftlarn 1979; SOPHIA THUBAUVILLE, *Maale Material Objects in their Social and Ritual Context*, M.A. thesis, Universität Mainz 2005; WOLDE GOSSA TADESSE, *Warfare and Fertility: a Study of the Hor (Arbore) of Southern Ethiopia*, Ph.D. thesis, London School of Economics 1999; ID., "The Persistence of Multiple Religious Ceremonies in South-West Ethiopia", in: WENDY JAMES – DAVID MILLS (eds.), *The Qualities of Time: Anthropological Approaches*, New York 2005, 219–35; THOMAS WIDLOK – WOLDE GOSSA TADESSE (eds.), *Property and Equality*, vol. 2: *Encapsulation, Commercialization, Discrimination*, New York – Oxford 2005; VSAe I, 263–301.

Wolde Gossa Tadesse – Hugo Ferran

Maanso

M. is a Somali word that is used (1.) as a general term for all genres of poetry and songs and (2.) in a narrower sense for indicating the genres of poetry that are traditionally regarded as "most noble and best fitted for dealing with serious and important matter" (Andrzejewski – Lewis 1964:47). The etymology of the Somali noun M. is still unknown; connecting it with Arabic *manẓūm* 'poem' (↗*Manzuma*; Morin 1999:48f.) is just pre-scientific folk etymology. Two of the salient features of the traditional oral M. of the Northern and Central Somali are its authoriality, i.e., that oral poems are attributed to individual poets, who are said to have composed each of them on a specific occasion and for a particular purpose, and its being aimed primarily at achieving a political or social effect, rather than a purely aesthetic or hedonistic one.

In traditional settings, the poet (*gabyaa* or *laašin* [*laashin*]) composes his M. poems orally and a memorizer, who is sometimes called a *ḥaafid* (*xaafid*), listens while each line is composed. Subsequently it is the memorizer who performs the poems to a wider audience. With the spread of modern electronic devices, tape recorders replaced memorizers, and audio cassettes, audio files on the Web and, increasingly, written transcripts are now used for disseminating old and new poems throughout the Somali homeland and the worldwide diaspora. Like most kinds of oral poetry, Somali M. are performed with a musical tune and rhythm, the *luuq*, that changes according to the genre and, at times, the author or the performer. Only in recent times have written poems started to be simply recited.

Sheekh Jaamac (1974:v) and Yaasiin (1984:66ff.) provide detailed classifications of the topics covered by M. poems. For instance, the former distinguishes *ammaan*, 'praise'; *ᶜay* (*cay*), 'abuse'; *faan*, 'self-praise'; *digašo* (*digasho*), 'derision'; *diradire*, 'controversy'; *ᶜalaaᶜal* (*calaacal*), 'lament'; *gubaabo*, 'exhortation'; *waano*, 'moral and religious advice'; *kuhaan*, 'curse', and *ḥigmad* (*xigmad*), 'wisdom', as the main topics of M. Passionate love has been introduced among the topics of M. only since the 30s, by urban poets such as ᶜIlmi Bownderi (Cilmi Bowndheri). Typically, there is no epic poetry among the Somali, although cycles of events centred around legendary or historical characters are frequently told as oral narratives, e.g., the terrible queen Arraweelo, the wise chief Wiilwaal, or the uprising of the Dervishes led by the *sayyid* ↗Muḥammad ᶜAbdallāh Ḥasan.

Concerning their form, all Somali verses are characterized by alliteration, by a scansion system based upon vowel length and syllable counting, and by sophisticated poetic diction with frequent use of rare words, oblique or veiled discourse, and permutations of the normal word order. Alliteration requires the use of words that begin with similar sounds in different portions of a line, as *koorta*, 'the bell' and *korommo*, 'gelded camels' in the first line of the *gabay* below, or in different lines when these are short, as *waaga*, 'the first light of dawn' and *wannahaarka*, 'and the whole day' in the first and second lines of the *geeraar* below. Most genres of Somali poetry require the same alliterating sound to be used in all the lines of a poem, even when their number is quite high. As far as scansion is concerned, it should be stressed that short vowels always count as metrically short, even when they occur in closed syllables like the second one in *korommo* (⏑⏑⏑), 'gelded camels' or the first one in *nirgaha* (⏑⏑⏑), 'the camel foals', while diphthongs are metrically anceps, i.e., either short or long.

Most Somalis agree that the main genres of pre-modern or "classical" M. are the *gabay*, the *geeraar*, and the *masafo*. The former is characterized by a long line divided into two unequal half lines by a fixed caesura. The general pattern is | ⏓ ⏓ ⏑ ⏓ ⏓ ⏑ ⏓ ⏓ ⏑ ⏓ ⏓ ⏑ |, but the second half-line has to consist of six syllables. It has been widely used in the past for most topics and, after the above-mentioned ʿIlmi Bownderi, also for love poems. Yet, during the 1970s and 1980s several of the most renowned poets started to prefer for political and love poetry the *ğiifto* (*jiifto*), a genre with shorter lines.

The following is the first part of a *gabay* alliterating in *k*, composed by Raage Ugaas – a 19th-cent. poet who lived in the Ogaden – when his wife Ḥaddiyo (Xaddiyo Nuur) was killed by a lion. It is an example of *ʿalaaʿal* (The text is in the Somali orthography).

Sida koorta yucub oo la sudhay
Ama geel ka reeb ah oo nirgaha
Ama beelo keynaan ah oo
Ama ceel karkaarrada jebshiyo
Ama habar kurkii wadnaha
Ama kaal danley qaybsatiyo
Shinni kaaluf galay ama sidii
Xalay kololo'aygii ma ladin
korommo buubaal ah
laga kaxaynaayo
kor u hayaamaaya
webi karaar dhaafay
lagaga kaw siiyay
kur iyo dhaal yaabis
koronkorroo oomi
kaamil reeruhuye.

'Like the wooden bell tied to camels that are running away,
Or like camel cows whose young are being separated from them,
Or like people journeying with no interruptions while moving camp
Or like a well which has broken its sides, or a river which has overflowed its banks,
Or like an old woman whose only son has been killed,
Or like the poor fighting among themselves for their scarce meal,
Or like bees entering their hive or corn when it crackles in the frying pan,
Yesterday my wailing kept all the camps away from sleep.'

The *geeraar* is a genre with shorter lines, whose general scansion pattern is | ⏓ – ⏑ ⏑ – (⏓) |, but also lines of eight or nine syllables are possible if an anceps syllable is added at the beginning or at the end. Its *luuq* is characterized by a strong trochaic rhythm. In the second half of the 19th cent. it was used by several poets for praising famous horses and camels, but also for topics like political exhortations. The following is a stanza from a *geeraar* alliterating in *w*, composed by the *sayyid* Muḥammad ʿAbdallāh Ḥasan in praise of Walhad, one of his favoured war horses.

Haddii waaga la fuulo
Wannahaarka boqoole,
Wahdi weeye qabow e
Walwal leyr ah miyaa?

'If he is mounted at the first light of dawn
And under the scorching sun throughout the whole day,
He is a cool wind himself:
Is he the light evening breeze?'

The *masafo* has been used mainly by religious poets for moral and religious advice and exhortations. But great poets such as *sayyid* Muḥammad ʿAbdallāh Ḥasan also used it for political controversy. The scansion pattern of the *masafo* resembles that of the *gabay*, but lacks the requirement of the six syllables in its second half line, and has a fixed caesura in the exact centre of the line.

Some Somali authors, such as *sheekh* Jaamac (1974:IV), also regard as M. a few other genres such as the *guurow*, used by poets of the Benaadir region for political, social and love topics, and the *buraanbur*. The latter has a distinctive scansion pattern, is composed only by female poets, and is frequently performed with an accompaniment of handclapping, stepping, or drumming. In the 1990s powerful poetesses used the *buraanbur* genre for long poems that denounce the horrors of the civil war and the degradation of living in their country.

Src.: BOGUMIL WITALIS ANDRZEJEWSKI – IOAN MYRRDIN LEWIS, *Somali Poetry: an Introduction*, Oxford 1964; BOGUMIL WITALIS ANDRZEJEWSKI – SHEILA ANDRZEJEWSKI (tr.), *An Anthology of Somali Poetry*, Bloomington, IN – Indianapolis, IN 1993; *sheekh* JAAMAC CUMAR CIISE, *Diiwaanka gabayadii Sayid Maxamad Cabdulle Xasan, ururintii kowaad* ('The Collection of Poems by the *sayyid* Muḥammad ʿAbdallāh Ḥasan'), vol. 1, Mogadishu 1974;

YAASIIN CISMAAN KEENADIID, *Ina Cabdille Xasan e la sua attività letteraria*, Napoli 1984; FRANCESCO ANTINUCCI – AXMED FAARAX CALI "IDAAJAA", *Poesia orale somala: storia di una nazione*, Roma 1986 (Studi Somali 7).
Lit.: BOGUMIL WITALIS ANDRZEJEWSKI, "Somali literature", in: ID. – STANISLAV PILASZEWICZ – WITOLD TYLOCH (eds.), *Literatures in African Languages: Theoretical Issues and Sample Surveys*, Cambridge – Warsaw 1985, 337–407; GIORGIO BANTI – FRANCESCO GIANNATTASIO, "Music and Metre in Somali Poetry", in: RICHARD J. HAYWARD – IOAN MYRRDIN LEWIS (eds.), *Voice and Power: Essays in Honour of B.W. Andrzejewski*, London 1996 (African Languages and Cultures, suppl. 3), 83–127; JOHN W. JOHNSON, "Power, Marginality and Somali Oral Poetry: Case Studies in the Dynamics of Tradition", in: GRAHAM FURNISS – LIZ GUNNER (eds.), *Power, Marginality and African Oral Literature*, Cambridge 1995, 111–21; DIDIER MORIN, *Le texte légitime: pratiques littéraires orales traditionnelles en Afrique du nord-est*, Paris 1999 (Selaf 380); MARTIN ORWIN, "On the Concept of 'Definitive Text' in Somali Poetry", *BSOAS* 66, 2003, 334–47; CABDILLAAHI DIIRIYE GUULEED CARRAALE, *Miisaanka maansaada Soomaaliyeed* ('The Scansion of Somali Poetry'), Eslöv 2003.

Giorgio Banti

Mäᶜaquddi

M. (መዓቀዲ) is a historical site in ↗Gärᶜalta (Təgray), on the rim of the southern mountain facing the ↗Dəgum plateau. It has an important rock-hewn church dedicated to John the Evangelist, called here by his cognomen "the Son of Thunder" (Mt 3:17) – Yoḥannəs Wäldä Nägʷädgʷad.

According to tradition, the church was founded in the 14th cent. by *abunä* ↗Gäbrä Mäsqäl of Gärᶜalta, who had previously established a major monastic community at ↗Däbrä Mäᶜar nearby. It is an oriented, three-nave basilica (ca. 10 x 9 m) accessible through a rock-hewn passage leading to the south door, which opens into the western bay of the church. A wooden Aksumite-type west door leads from a vestibule into the nave. The vestibule is divided into two sections (4 x 4 m and 5 x 5 m), behind the nave and south aisle respectively, both under flat domes. Three windows in the south façade and two small openings in the western wall let light enter the church. The interior plan, a cross-in-square with three bays divided into nine units by four pillars, is completed by connecting arches and imitation beams. The ceiling in the western bay is vaulted, the south ceiling of the central bay is shaped like a low canopy, elsewhere it is flat. The sanctuary runs the full-width of the church and is open from north to south, with high arches separating it from the nave and aisles. It has two altars, monolithic in the central section, and constructed in the north. An opening in the south-east corner of the sanctuary leads to a grotto. The architecture – namely the absence of side chambers in the sanctuary, the monolithic altar, the height – suggests that the church was hewn in the 14th cent., which conforms to local tradition and to Buxton's typology "Tigrean Basilicas – Earlier Series" (1971:38). A date contemporary with the mid-17th-cent. ↗paintings has also been proposed (Lepage – Mercier 2005:192), but seems very unlikely. A large water cistern, possibly of recent construction, is located to the south outside the monastic compound.

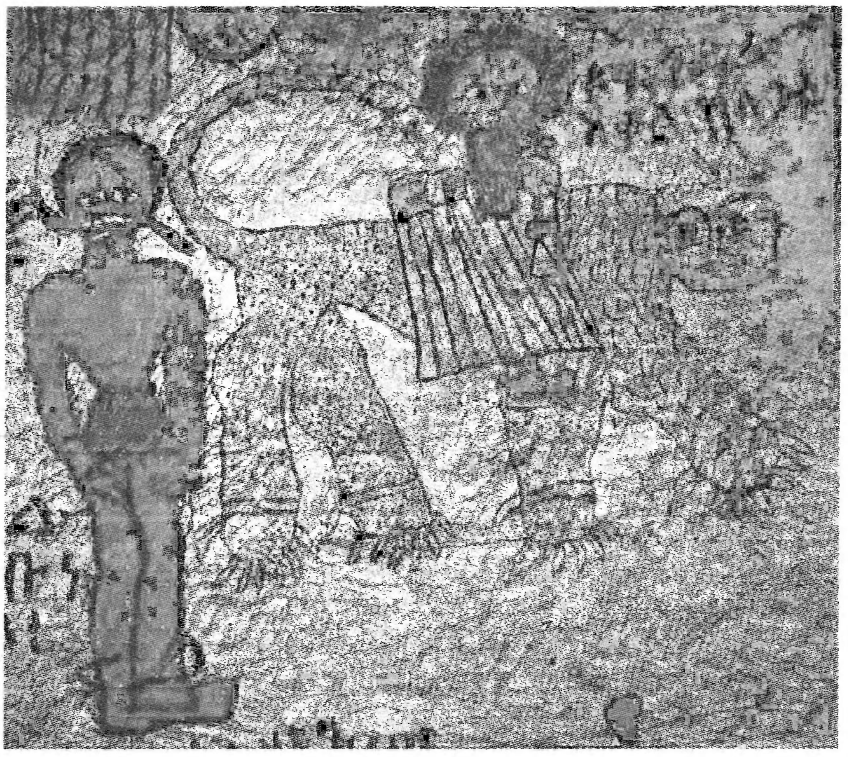
Painted geometrical patterns on the ceilings, pillars, capitals, arches and other architectural elements imitate wooden carvings, particularly the coffered ceilings of old constructed churches like ↗Yəmrəḥannä Krəstos.

Paintings cover the entire western bay-walls, engaged pillars, ceilings and the western surfaces of the free-standing pillars. The ↗inscription on the north wall states that they were ordered by a certain Gäbrä Iyäsus, "the (spiritual) son of Sägid Läʾab, whose father was Arganonä Śəllase of Däbrä Mäᶜarä", in the 26th year of *aṣe* ↗Fasilädäs's reign (= 1657 A.D.). The picture of the ↗donor, who himself is portrayed sitting on a chair near St. Mary and St. John the Evangelist, also mentions *mämhər* Aṣfä Krəstos, the contemporary abbot of Däbrä Mäᶜar, which suggests that the connections between the monastery and the church (i.e. dependency of the latter upon the former) were still strong in the 17th cent.

The pictorial programme includes ca. 60 painted figures and scenes. *Aṣe* ↗Fasilädäs on horseback, surrounded by guards spearing their enemies, is represented on the western wall, preceded by a procession of mounted and foot soldiers on the northern wall. The ↗*Maiestas Domini* appears at the top and centre of the northern wall, with the 24 Heavenly Priests before him around the vaulted ceiling of the western bay. A cherub and a seraph occupy the south-west corner, while the archangels Raphael, Raguel, Saquel, Fanuel and Afnin are on the central ceiling and on the free-standing and engaged pillars. Michael and Gabriel accompany St. Mary with the Child. The O.T. scenes include the Original Sin, completed by a representation of demons (one is identified as the Angel of Death). Scenes from the life of Christ are limited to Baptism, Temptation (middle of the western wall), and Crucifixion (atop the south pillar). The twelve Apostles appear high on the south and south-west walls.

A developed scene of the martyrdom of ↗John the Baptist on the central part of the western wall, showing Herodias with Salome before Herod and the decapitated body of the saint, may indicate that the church was originally dedicated to this saint. John the Evangelist, on the other side, appears twice: among the Apostles and on the opposite wall, his head raised to heaven. The figure on the west side of the monolithic altar, holding the cross and labelled "Yoḥannəs", cannot be clearly identified.

Other representations include four ↗equestrian saints struggling with evil powers (St. ↗George with the dragon on the north wall, St. Theodore the Oriental with the "pagan of Qʷəz", St. Aboli with ↗Muḥammad in the south-west corner, and St. Victor with a lion attacking a hyena on the west-central wall), ↗Gäbrä Krəstos, ↗Gäbrä Mänfäs Qəddus, ↗Libanos, two "Syrian" saints ↗Yəmʾata and ↗Liqanos, ↗Ewosṭatewos, ↗Täklä Haymanot and his followers (↗Mädḫaninä Ǝgziʾ, ↗Samuʾel of Waldəbba with his disciples Zärufaʾel and ↗ʿAbiyä Ǝgziʾ). Also portrayed are the founder of the church Gäbrä Mäsqäl and a certain *abba* Iyokäyos. Gäbrä Mäsqäl of Lägaso (Šire) is represented twice, holding a cross and riding a lion.



Abba Gäbrä Mäsqäl of Lägaso; wall-painting in Mäʿaquddi, ca. 1675; photo 2002, courtesy of Michael Gervers

The paintings are almost monochromatic, limited in colour to brown, beige and grey, and the figures are highly simplified. This style and the iconography remind one of the murals in the Ṗeṭros church at Mälähay Zängi, Ṣəraʿ, the painted parchment in Mäqälä museum (donation no. P3), and a painting on canvas in ↗Gundä Gunde.

Among the paraphernalia in possession of the church, an old *mänbärä tabot* which presently is used to support candles (and accordingly called *qändil*) and a tryptich depicting St. Mary with Child in the central panel and on the wings, deserve particular attention. Moreover there is a fragment of an illuminated gospel book with miniatures in the late ↗Gundä Gunde style (with the portraits of the Four ↗Evangelists, 12 Apostles on two pages, St. Mary with Child, *Maiestas Domini*). It also contains two added miniatures representing a male and a female saint which once belonged to a 14th-cent. ↗*Gädlä säməʿətat* in a style similar to the illumination of *Gädlä säməʿətat* from ↗Tulluu Guddoo, a fragment kept in ↗Aksum Ṣəyon and a Psalter from ↗Däbrä Wärq.

Lit.: AfrZion no. 70; EWA BALICKA-WITAKOWSKA, "Un psautier éthiopien illustré inconnu", *Orientalia suescana* 33-35, 1984-86, 17-48, here 21f., figs. VIII, 35-36, 39-43; DAVID BUXTON, "The Rock-Hewn and Other Medieval Churches of Tigré Province, Ethiopia", *Archaeologia* 103 [2nd series 53], 1971, 1–99, here 56, 72f.; ID. – RUTH PLANT, "Rock-hewn Churches of the Tigre Province", *EthObs* 13, 3, 1970, 157–267, here 202f.; OTTO DALE, "The Rock-hewn Churches of Tigre", *ibid.* 11, 2, 1968, 121–51, here 125f., 138f., figs. 130f.; GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, "ʾƎlla Gabaz (ʾƎlla) Ḥētāzā", *La Parola del Passato* 61, 2006, 115–41, here 139; GerKir [Eng] 126f., 130, figs. 103, 165; GIGAR TESFAYE, "Notes sur Gunda Gundé", *Abbay* 10, 1979, 93–100, here figs. 5ff.; OTTO JÄGER – IVY PEARCE, *Antiquities of Northern Ethiopia*, Stuttgart ²1974, 114f., 125f.; CLAUDE LEPAGE – JACQUES MERCIER, *Art éthiopien: les églises historiques du Tigray*, Paris 2005, 192–99; JULES LEROY, *Ethiopian Painting in the Late Middle Ages and under the Gonder Dynasty*, London 1967, pls. 15, 16; JACQUES MERCIER (ed.), *L'Arche Éthiopienne: Art chrétien d'Ethiopie. 27 septembre 2000–7 janvier 2001, Paris, Pavillon des Arts*, Paris 2001, 146f.; ID., *Vierges d'Éthiopie*, Montpellier 2004, 124f.; IVY PEARCE, "Pearce's Pilgrimage to the Rock-Hewn Churches of Tigre", *EthObs* 11, 2, 1968, 77–120, here 89–91, 104ff., figs. 91–95, 97–100; RUTH PLANT, *Architecture of the Tigre, Ethiopia*, Worcester 1985, 201; ROGER SAUTER, "Églises rupestres au Tigré", *AE* 10, 1976, 157–75, here 168; *abba* TEWELDE MEDHIN JOSEPH, "Introduction générale aux églises monolithes du Tigrai", in: *PICES* 3, 83–98, here 96.

Ewa Balicka-Witakowska – Michael Gervers

Mäbaʾa Ṣəyon

Abunä M.Ṣ. (መባአ፡ ጽዮን, frequently Mäbaʿa Ṣəyon, also መብአ፡ ጽዮን, Mäbəʾa Ṣəyon) was a 15th-cent. monk and saint. According his Vita (Budge 1898), he was a son of the nobleman Habtä Ṣəyon, "from the lineage of master (*räbban*) ↗*nəburä əd* Samuʾel" of Andägäbṭän (i.e., ↗Ǝndägäbṭän) and Ṣəyon Təkuna. He was ordained deacon, and then was sent for education to the monastery of St. John (the Baptist?), the place of the *mämhər* of Ǝndägäbṭän, where he was given the name Täklä Maryam (used in the Vita interchangeably with M.Ṣ; but cp. EMML VIII, 255). He was trained in chanting, writing and painting (his early devotion to St. ↗Mary's *śəʿəl* ['image'] is mentioned in the Vita, s. Budge 1898:3 [text] = 30f. [tr.]). After refusing the marriage arranged by his parents, he entered the monastic life. A certain *abba* Gäbrä Krəstos of ↗Damot foresaw his spiritual excellency, and he was ordained priest by *abunä* ↗Gäbrəʾel (after 1438) and eventually rose to the position of a respected religious leader (Budge 1898:4ff. [text] = 31–37 [tr.]) and high ranking ecclesiastic – *nəburä əd* of Ǝndägäbṭän (s. EMML V, 249f.).

In the Vita repeated attention is paid to M.Ṣ.'s great respect for the holiness of the ↗Eucharist (a topic reminiscent of *aṣe* Zärʾa Yaʿəqob's religious policy), and hints at M.Ṣ.'s connection with Däbrä Libanos of Šäwa, which M.Ṣ. visited (*abunä* ↗Täklä Haymanot appeared to him and gave him Holy Communion). The Vita reports several miracles, among which are visions of Jesus Christ and the crucifixion scenes (in all probability inspired by a Western European image of the Crucifixion). According to the Vita, he particularly revered the monthly feast of the Crucifixion (known as the *Mädḫane ʿAläm*, 'Saviour of the World', or *Täzkarä Mädḫən*, 'Commemoration of the Saviour') on the 27th day of the month (annual feast on 27 *Mäggabit*; cp. EMML VIII, 254, no. 3420) and cared for its proper celebration. The success of his spiritual teaching in Damot and among the ↗Gafat is also reported in the Vita of M.Ṣ, which is thus a rare witness to South Ethiopia's religious situation prior to the 16th-cent. Muslim wars. M.Ṣ. died on 21 *Ṭəqəmt* at the age of 74, probably at Däbrä Maryam of Šäwa.

M.Ṣ. may have been connected with the composition of the መጽሐፈ፡ ሕማማቲሁ፡ ወዜና፡ ስቅለቱ፡ ወቅትለቱ፡ ለእግዚእነ (*Mäṣḥafä ḥəmamatihu wäzena səqlätu wäqətlätu läʾəgziʾənä*, 'The Book of the Passion and the Account of the Crucifixion and Killing of Our Lord'), a homiliary to be read on the feast of *Mädḫane ʿAläm* (e.g., EMML 1779, fol. 2r-36v; 2860, fols. 39r-109r). The Vita of M.Ṣ. may be preceeded or followed by some other texts related to the *Mädḫane ʿAläm*, including sequences of miracles (↗*Täʾammər*) of the Saviour of the World and M.Ṣ. (e.g., in mss. EMML 519, fols. 56v–79v; 621, fols. 15r-18r; 1779, fols. 36v–43r). In some manuscripts, a loose collection including the Vita of M.Ṣ. appears under the title መጽሐፈ፡ ተዝካሩ፡ ለመድኃኔ፡ ዓለም (*Mäṣḥafä täzkaru lämädḫane ʿaläm*, 'The Book of the Commemoration the Saviour of the World'; EMML 766, fols. 8r–71v; cp. EMML 64, 519, 537). Sometimes, M.Ṣ.'s Vita is called መጽሐፍ፡ ለተዝካረ፡ መድኅን (*Mäṣḥaf lätäzkarä mädḫən*, 'The Book for the Commemoration of the Saviour'; e.g., Ṭānāsee 21, fols. 17ra–36vb; cp. EMML 621).

Diptych (detail) signed by Täklä Maryam (i.e. Mäbaʾa Ṣəyon), 15th cent., private collection; photo 1994, courtesy of Marilyn Heldman

In addition, a passage in the Vita concerning M.Ṣ.'s training before taking his monastic vow (Budge 1898:31–34 [tr.]) suggests that M.Ṣ. might have achieved a significant career as a painter. Indeed, some 15th-cent. paintings signed by a monk named Täklä Maryam (M.Ṣ.'s monastic name)

can be probably identified as the work of M.Ṣ. Among them is the left panel of a diptych showing St. ↗George of Lydda poised beneath the bust-length portraits of Christ and St. Peter and St. Paul (s. ill.). A note, painted on the red background, reads: "St. George the Martyr. May his prayer keep Elsäbeṭ and me the sinner, its painter Täklä Maryam. And forget not the one who commissioned the painting, Zena Ḥawaryat." Another note beneath St. George reads: "Salutation to George, head of the martyrs. May your intercession be a shield [and] grace for us. Amen" (tr. by Getatchew Haile). The identities of Elsäbeṭ and Zena Ḥawaryat are unknown. The panel is so close in style to the icons of ↗Fəre Ṣəyon that it merits attribution to a painter within the immediate circle of the latter (Heldman 1994:52ff.).

Possibly Zär'a Ya'əqob's contemporary, M.Ṣ. is not known as a founder of monastic institutions, nor is he included in any of the published versions of the ↗*Sənkəssar*. However, since Budge's luxurious edition of 1898 on the basis of one single ms. Lady Meaux no. 1 (which was considered lost, but s. *The Burlington Magazine* 1996, no. 1119), new information on M.Ṣ. and many new manuscripts of his Vita have come to light (the oldest ones dating from the 18th cent.; cp. also KinBibl no. 95). The spread of M.Ṣ.'s veneration and hagiography, though probably of later period (18th cent.?), is remarkable and requests further study.

Src.: ERNEST ALFRED WALLIS BUDGE, *The Life of Mabâ' Sĕyôn and Gabra Krĕstôs*, London 1898; EMML nos. 11; 64, fols. 3r-43; 519, fols. 3r-96r; 537, fols. 72r-130r; 621; 766, fols. 8r-71v; 1553 [= IES 697]; 1779; 2860, fols. 39r-122v; 3420, fols. 174r-211v; 4810, fols. 35v-91r; 4817, fols. 7v-62r; 4829, fols. 4r-81v; *The Burlington Magazine* 138, no. 1119, June 1996; HamTana I, 132ff., ms. Ṭānāsee 21 = Kebrān 21, fols. 17ra-36vb; HamTana II, 156ff., ms. Ṭānāsee 107 = Rēmā 18; SixTana III, 185, ms. Ṭānāsee 153 = Dāgā Eṣṭifānos 42, fols. 1ra-52va; RaiCer 186f., no. 236.

Lit.: AfrZion 186f.; BHO 248f.; ROBERT HENRY CHARLES, "Mr. E.A. Wallis Budge's Edition of the Lives of Mabâ' Sĕyôn and Gabra Krĕstôs", *Hermathena* 10, 1899, 397–406; FRIEDRICH HEYER, *Die Heiligen der Äthiopischen Erde*, Erlangen 1998 (Oikonomia 37), 162ff.; MARILYN E. HELDMAN, "Signs of Sanctity: Art into Vision, Vision into Art – an Ethiopian Perspective", paper presented at the *17th Annual Byzantine Studies Conference*, Hellenic College Brookline, MA, November 1991; EAD., *The Marian Icons of the Painter Frē Seyon: a Study in Fifteenth-Century Ethiopian Art, Patronage, and Spirituality*, Wiesbaden 1994 (Orientalia Biblica et Christiana 6), 81ff., 52ff., fig. 26; KapMon, s. index; KinBibl 81, no. 95; OSVALDO RAINERI, "Mabe'a Ṣeyon", in: *EncSan* vol. 2, 356–57; TadTChurch 237.

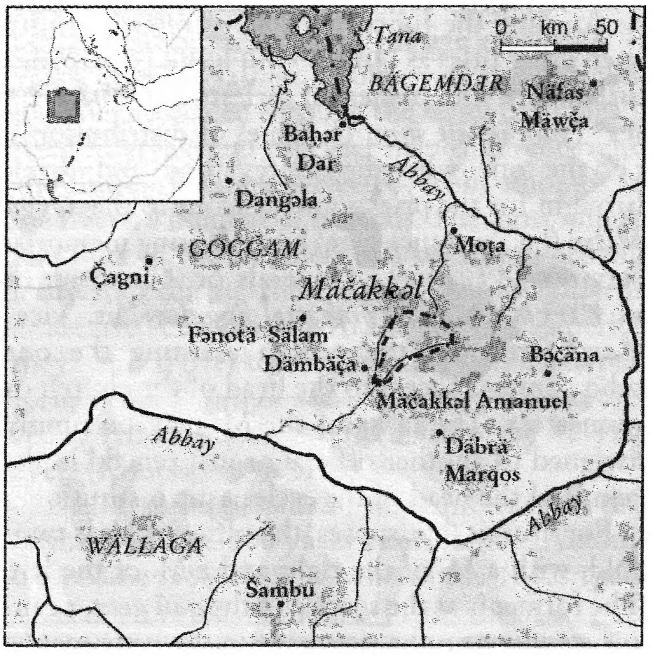
Marilyn E. Heldman – Osvaldo Raineri

Macaafa Qulqulluu ↗Bible

Mäčakkäl

M. (መቻከል, or መቻክል, Mäčakkəl) used to be one of the seven districts of the former ↗Däbrä Marqos *awraǧǧa* bounded by the rivers Gedäb-Ṭäd and Gulla-Tämča in the east and west, respectively. Its administrative centre was at M. Amanu'el. Formerly it was part of Q^{w}älla ↗Damot *awraǧǧa*.

M. is the name of a Säräbe clan which is traditionally traced back to an ancestor with the same name, who was allegedly of ↗Gafat stock. The Säräbe clans (M., Sahnan, Säbərad) occupy the lands between the Čay and Zəngəni rivers (Taddesse Tamrat in PICES 12, 954ff.). Another tradition states that M. was the land of the Amhara as opposed to the neighbouring areas which were inhabited by the ↗Agäw, Gafat and ↗"Šanqəlla" (BTafA 939). M. was probably originally inhabited by a Gafat group of the same name.



Src.: CSA 1970, appendix 8; GIRMA GETAHUN (ed.), *The Goǧǧam Chronicle by* aläqa *Täklä Iyäsus Waqǧera*, Ph.D. thesis, SOAS University of London 1991, ch. 22–c, 2 (unpublished).

Lit.: BTafA 939; TADDESSE TAMRAT, "Ethiopia in Miniature: the Peopling of Gojam", in: *PICES* 12, 951–62.

Tsega Endalew

Mäčäne

M. (መጫኔ, also ማጫኔ, *mačäne*, መጫነ, *mäčane*; Amh., from Gə'əz *mäṭ(ṭ)ani*, lit. 'the one who measures out [food]') is an important office in some larger churches of the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥədo) Church. The M. is appointed by the head of the church (↗*Aläqa*). In the Bä'ata church of Addis Abäba (the Mausoleum of *aṣe*

↗Mənilək II) the function of the M. is assigned to the *liqä liqawənt*, the head of the church (MahZekr 555).

The M. is responsible for allotting lodgings to each member of the community during a festival, and also for assigning tasks according to age and capacity. The M. may be entrusted with the control of the income of the church; he may regulate the access of visitors or supplicants to the head of the church, letting in after announcing their names those to whom permission has been granted and escorting out those who have been dismissed. At a banquet, the M. takes care of the guests ensuring that they are appropriately seated and served; he also takes care of their horses. He is also entrusted with allotting ↗musical instruments and books to the church choir on duty, and collecting them at the end of the service.

In some churches (and monasteries), the person performing the function of M. is referred to by such other titles as **የካህናት፡ አስተናባሪ** (*yäkahənat astänabari*, lit. 'usher of priests'); **የመክፈልት፡ ሹም** (*yämäkfält šum*, lit. 'chief of distribution'), i.e. the one who distributes food and drink brought for the priests and deacons to the *däğğä sälam* (i.e., entrance gate) house during memorial services (↗*Täzkar*), ↗funerals or ↗baptism; or as **ምክትል፡ አጋፋሪ** (*məkəttəl aggafari*, lit. 'vice-↗*aggafari*'), i.e. the person assisting the one who controls access to the head of the church or monastery. The tasks of the M. may be simply assigned to another official or just remain in the hands of the head of the ecclesiastic institution.

For liturgical purposes, the office of M. is twofold, with a M. of the right and a M. of the left. The former is at the service of the *qäñ geta*, a cantor standing on the right side in the *qəne maḫlet* of the ↗church building; the M. of the left is at the service of *gəra geta* (cp. ↗*Märigeta*).

In a donation by ↗Ləbnä Dəngəl to his mother ↗Naʿod Mogäsa that is dated 1526 and preserved in the *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*Aksum*, two officials bearing the title M. (*mäčänot*) are mentioned, probably those of the royal church (CRAxum no. 30). In a document of 1531 two other persons bearing the title appear (ibid., no. 43), where it is specified that one is the M. of the left, the other of the right.

The term M. is sometimes used interchangeably with the civil title (*liqä*) *mäṭani/mäṣane*, designating one of the four supreme judges (cp. ↗*Liq*).

↗Churches and church administration

Src.: CRAxum nos. 30, 41, 43; KaneDic 368; KWKDic 585; LesDic 372f.; MahZekr 554f., 652; THMDic 131.

Lit.: AmhChurchD vol. 4, 16; ARÄGGA ḪAYLÄ MIKAʾEL, **የማዕረግ፡ ስሞች** (*Yämaʿäräg səmočč*, 'The Names of the Titles'), ms. Addis Abäba, IES 1960 A.M. [1967/68 A.D.]; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, *Principî di diritto consuetudinario dell'Eritrea*, Roma 1916 (Manuali coloniali pubblicati a cura del Ministero delle Colonie), 387 n. 1; HabTent 301.

Mersha Alehegne

Mäčča

The M. are a branch of the ↗Oromo. They inhabit the north-western part of the present Oromiyaa Region, i.e. the former provinces of ↗Wälläga, ↗Illubabor, ↗Käfa and western Šäwa, but there are M. also north of the Abbay river, in Wämbära in southern Goğğam (Schuver 1996:211f.). Much of their country is a high plateau with undulating hills and a few higher mountain massifs. Traditionally, the M. settled mainly in an ecological zone above approximately 1,500 m A.S.L. and avoided permanent settlement in the lowlands, because of the prevalence of trypanosomiasis and malaria. The lowlands to the west and the valleys of the Abbay, the Ḍiḍeessaa (Didessa) and the Dabbus rivers were, until the state settlement schemes of the last decades, sparsely populated by speakers of Omotic and Nilo-Saharan languages (↗Anfillo; ↗Mao).

At the time of their expansion in the 16th cent., the Oromo were, according to the earliest written source (↗*Zenahu lägalla*) written by *abba* ↗Baḥrəy in 1593 (BeckHuntAlm xxxvi), divided into two main branches, the ↗Barentu and the ↗Boorana, with the M. and the ↗Tuulama belonging to the latter category (BeckHuntAlm 112). Baḥrəy enumerates the names of "tribes" or segments, that together made up the M. and indicates the reputed genealogical relationships between them, as well as between the M. as a whole and the Tuulama (Baḥrəy in BeckHuntAlm 112–15). Names mentioned by Baḥrəy, such as ↗Guduru, Liiban, ↗Leeqa, ↗Sayyoo and Tume, are known from M. history as designations of regions and their inhabitants (cf. maps in HuntGal, map 5; HuntGal, map E; Lewis 1965, maps 3–4; Negaso Gidada 1984, maps 2–8).

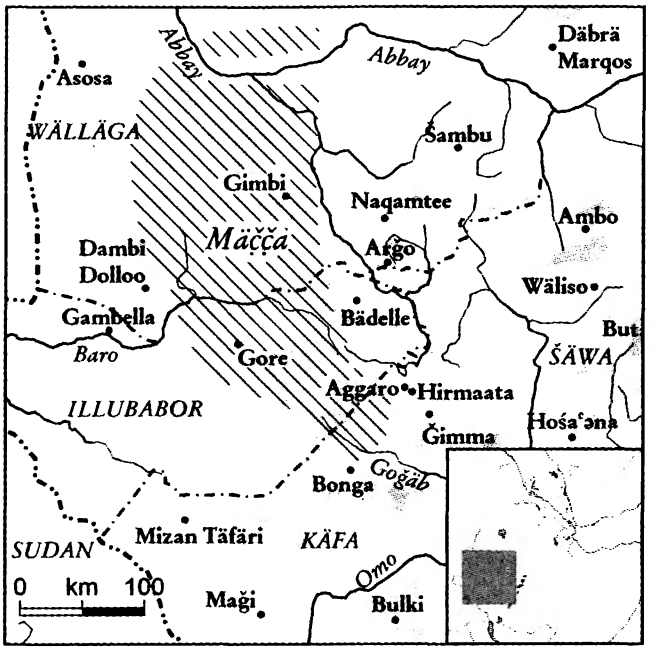
The M. penetrated the region south of the Abbay in the second half of the 16th cent. (↗Migrations). By then, the former polities in the area were already destroyed or weakened by wars in the preceding decades between Christians and Muslims (↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī) and by the campaigns and slave raids of Christian kings and war lords (Hultin 1982:196; 1988 [in PICES 8]; MHasOr 27ff., 46f.).

Traditions about the general pattern of migration suggest that in the 16th cent. the expansion into new areas was not made by large segments, but by smaller groups (cp. BeckHuntAlm 113). M. clans are not localized and therefore the same names of clans and lineages appear again and again all over M. country.

In the course of their 16th-cent. northward migrations, the M. and Tuulama had a common *gadaa* system with a common centre, ↗*čaffee*, at Odaa Nabi, south of present Addis Abäba (↗Finfinnee; VSAe II, 540; Knutsson 1967:170ff.; Hultin 1975:276; MHasOr 18). Later, according to d'Abbadie (1880) at the close of the 16th cent. (Knutsson 1967:178), the M. established their own *čaffee* further to the west at Odaa Bisil, or Ṭute Bisil, in the upper valley of the Gibe river (ibid.; MHasOr 42). Tuulama and M. traditions respectively blame the other party for the break up of their common ↗*gadaa* (MHasOr 42ff.).

According to M. traditions, their own, independent *gadaa* with its ritual prescriptions, calendar and law was first proclaimed at Odaa Bisil by a man, Makkoo Bilii (Knutsson 1967:178; BartOrom 60, 172, 212, 242 et passim; Negaso Gidada 1984:30–36 et passim; MHasOr 44ff.; Triulzi 1990; Hultin 2003:420), whom d'Abbadie (1880), on the basis of the number of generations given in the tradition, placed at the close of the 16th cent. (Knutsson 1967:178). Makkoo Bilii was not only the founding father of the M. *gadaa* system, he is also a cultural hero who figures in oral traditions and migrations from all over M. land (cf. e.g., Negaso Gidada 1984:17f., 32–36). The *čaffee* at Odaa Bisil was the central assembly of all M., but in addition there were lower, regional ones from where delegates were sent to the central *čaffee*. With continued migration and occupation of new areas, new regional and local district *čaffee* were established and the importance of the central one was attenuated until it was finally dissolved (Knutsson 1967:178ff.,184; Hultin 1975:275–78).

The M. *gadaa* system resembled in its general principles, but not in its details, the one of the Boorana. It was an exclusively male institution: women could not participate, but had their own institutions, such as the *siiqqee* socio-religious organization as well as the cults of ↗*Ateetee* and *Maaram*, powerful female spirits of fertility and birth (Fisseha H. Maskal 1959; Knutsson 1967; BartOrom 123–29, 265ff.; Mengesha Rikitu 1998:103–07). The M. *gadaa* system consisted of



a 40-year cycle divided into five eight-year periods. A man entered the system five grades, i.e. 40 years, after his father. Members of a *gadaa* class together advanced through the series of grades at fixed intervals and together held different rights and duties. Each class elected, from amongst its members, a number of officials. The most important duty of the members of a set was to provide leadership during their eight years as *luuba* in grade five (LewJim 27). At the end of this period they handed over to the incoming *luuba* and performed the ↗*buttaa* sacrifice and were circumcized. After this they retired from the 40-year cycle (Knutsson 1967:175).

The M. series of *gadaa* names differs from that of the Boorana. 300 years after Baḥrəy, Antoine d'Abbadie (1880:175ff.), who in the 1840s spent several years in ↗Guduru in northern M., recorded that ten *gadaa* groups were recognized which partly coincided in name, but not in order, with those mentioned by Baḥrəy (Knutsson 1967:177f.). Another century later, in 1976, Hultin (2003:420f.) witnessed how two elderly men at a political rally in western Wälläga referred to Makkoo Bilii as the founder of *gadaa* and to some of the names of *gadaa* classes mentioned by Baḥrəy and d'Abbadie. The names of *gadaa* classes recorded by d'Abbadie were arranged in five pairs in the following way: (1) Birmağı; (2) Malba; (3) Mudana; (4) Robale; (5) Dulo; Aldada; Horata; Bifole; Sabaqa; Kirole (cf. Knutsson 1967:178). In the prescribed sequence of *gadaa* class names, the class of a man and that of his son had different names. The name of a man's class and the ones of his grandfather and his grand-

sons, on the other hand, were the same (Knutsson 1967:178).

There is little concrete information about how the leadership within the M. *gadaa* system functioned in detail (Knutsson 1967:176–207). European observers since the middle of the 19th cent., such as d'Abbadie (1880:175ff.), Massaja (MasMis) and de Salviac (1901), mention the ↗*abbaa bokku*, who headed the *čaffee* assembly, and the war leader, ↗*abbaa duula*, or ↗*mooti*, as the most important officials of the ruling *luuba*. Whatever its function at the time when the M. entered their present land in the 16th and 17th cent., the central *čaffee* at Odaa Bisil disintegrated relatively early. Most traditions agree in suggesting that factional conflict, feuds and warfare caused the demise of Odaa Bisil. They vary, however, by putting the blame on different factions and political leaders for having dealt the final blow. Knutsson (1967:179ff., 205) cites the tale of a certain Mogora Dambalo, who criticized the inefficiency of the central assembly and the corruption of its officers (ibid. 205) and exhorted the people to go to their own, local *čaffee* instead. Mohammed Hassen (MHasOr 63) cites another tradition about "a certain Na'aa Doro", who is notorious for having "burned Oda Bisil out of madness". He was a war leader involved in conflicts between major M. groups, as well as with the Tuulama (ibid.; Negaso Gidada 1984:24f.); according to the "M. genealogy", he is also an ancestor of Kumsa Moroda (Negaso Gidada 1984:24, 54).

In the traditions about the disintegration of *gadaa*, the consequences are described as catastrophic. The regional and local *gadaa* assemblies and their officers, however, continued to proclaim law and dealt with the adjudication and resolution of local conflicts, but their authority was waning in the 18th and 19th cent. Instead of war leaders, wealthy lords of the land and men who controlled market places and taxed trade routes came to play an increasingly important part in local affairs, while *gadaa* became restricted to providing the context of the most important rituals.

In many districts, the performance of *buttaa* ceased in the 20th cent.; in Sibuu in western M., the last time was probably in the 1940s (Hultin 2003:421). Every eighth year, men who had undergone *buttaa* went on pilgrimage (*ğila*), to the ↗*abbaa muudaa* in what is now southern Oromiyaa (d'Abbadie 1880:181f.; CecZeila vol. 2, 30ff.; CerFolk 140; CerEt ch. 8; HuntGal 83ff.; VSAe II, 153; Knutsson 1967:147–51; BartOrom 64ff.; Mohammed Hassen 2005).

For the northern M. region, the written sources of d'Abbadie, Plowden and Massaja from the mid 19th cent., and later by de Salviac (1901), all report constant feuds and wars between territorial groups. In this situation, the *abbaa duula*, or *mooti*, the war leader of the *gadaa* system, became increasingly powerful. Like other *gadaa* officers, he was, ideally, elected for a period of eight years, due to the constant wars his term of office tended to be permanent and inherited. Despite the endemic conflicts, the trade routes between Goğğam and the Gibe region were not interrupted. Control of trade was a source of wealth. Plowden (1868:308) reports that local leaders and men in control of land taxed the caravans that passed through their territory. On their way south, the caravans had to stop for one or two months at the market in Asandabo to negotiate terms of passage with the different landowners. De Salviac (1901:195f.) reports that although much of the land was "communal", there was also a class of influential landowners, ↗*abbaa lafa*, fathers of land and *abbaa biyya*, fathers of the country. They could attract clients, relatives and craftsmen to settle on their land and recruit their own armed followings (Knutsson 1967:183; de Salviac 1901:196f.). All sources suggest that these landowners and war leaders coexisted for a long time with the *abbaa bokkuu* and the *čaffee* assembly. Sometimes a powerful man could ignore the authority of the assembly, for example in case that *abbaa lafa* and *abba bokkuu* made alliances (de Salviac 1901:195; LewJim 32). The men, who thus became rulers, are in traditions and sources invariably referred to as *mooti*.

In the central parts, amongst the ↗Leeqa, *mooti* ↗Bakaree Godanaa began in the middle of the 19th cent. to expand the territory under his control by defeating a number of neighbouring leaders (Abebe Abamtchew et al. 1957:9ff.; Bartels 1970:149–54). After Bakaree's death in 1868 (Triulzi 1986:52), his son ↗Moroda continued this policy. In the late 1870s, Moroda claimed supremacy over Sibuu and other parts of Wälläga, i.e. the region to the west of the Ḍiḍeessaa, "well beyond the traditional boundary of the Leka" (ibid.). After the battle of ↗Ǝmbabo in 1882, he was recognized as ruler of his territory and appointed *däğğazmač* by Mənilək (ibid. 34). His son, Kumsa (*däğğazmač* ↗Gäbrä Ǝgzi'abəḥer), succeeded him and descendants of Bakaree con-

tinued to rule as provincial and district governors throughout much of the imperial era.

Early in the 20th cent. Kumsa Moroda instructed the "elders" of his country to write down "the genealogy of our grandfathers so that it will not be forgotten by the youth". The Ethiopian ruler, *ras* Täfäri (later *aṣe* Ḫaylä Śəllase I), however, turned down his request to have it published (Triulzi – Täsämma Ta'a 2004:47–50). This genealogy enumerated hundreds of named lineages and their putative genealogical links in what amounts to an attempt to construct a comprehensive "M. genealogy" (cf. Negaso Gidada 1984:257–67 et passim).

Src.: ANTOINE D'ABBADIE, "Sur les Oromo, Grande Nation Africaine", *Annales de la Société Scientifique de Bruxelles* 4, 1880, 167–92; ID., *Les Gallas*, ms., Nouvelle Acquisitions Françaises, NAF 21300, BN n.d., fols. 709–800; BeckHuntAlm XXXVI, 112-15; BTafA, s. index; CecZeila 2, 30ff.; HuntGal; LudHist; MasMis; WALTER CHICHELE PLOWDEN, *Travels in Abyssinia and the Galla Country*, London 1868, 308; MARTIAL DE SALVIAC, *Un peuple antique au pays de Ménélik – les Galla, grande nation Africaine*, Paris 1901; TilDic 107f.; ALESSANDRO TRI[Y]ULZI – TÄSÄMMA TA'A, የመለጋ፡ የታሪክ፡ ሰነዶች፡ ከ1880ዎቹ፡ እስከ፡ 1920ዎቹ (*Yäwälläga yätarik sänädočč kä1880wočču əskä 1920wočču*, 'Documents for the History of Wälläga from the 1880s to the 1920s [A.M.]'), vol. 1: *Amharic Texts*, Addis Abäba 1996 A.M. [2004 A.D.], 283–306.

Lit.: ABEBE ABAMTCHEW et al., "Field Trip to Nakamte", *Ethnological Society Bulletin* 6, 1957, 9–86; AsmGada; LAMBERT BARTELS, "Studies of the Galla in Wallaga", *JES* 8, 1, 1970, 135–59; ID., "Dabo, a Form of Cooperation between Farmers among the Macha Galla of Ethiopia", *Anthropos* 70, 1975, 883–925; ID., "Dado, a Form of Cooperation on Equal Terms among the Macha Galla of Ethiopia", *ibid.* 72, 1977, 497–513; BartOrom; HECTOR BLACKHURST, "Adopting an Ambiguous Position: Oromo Relationships with Strangers", in: *BHTOrom* 239–50; ULRICH BRAUKÄMPER, "Oromo Country of Origin: a Reconsideration of Hypotheses", in: *PICES* 6, 25–40; CerFolk; CerEt vol. 2; FISSEHA G. MASKAL, "Atete", *Ethnological Society Bulletin* 9, 1959, 45-51; GULUMA GEMEDA, "Markets, Local Traders and Long-Distance Merchants in Southwestern Ethiopia during the Nineteenth Century", in: *PICES* 8, vol. 1, 375–89; ID., *Land, Agriculture and Society in the Gibe Region: Southwestern Ethiopia, c. 1850–1974*, Ph.D. thesis, Michigan State University 1996; JAN ERIK HULTIN, "Social Structure, Ideology and Expansion: the Case of the Oromo of Ethiopia", *Ethnos* 40, 1–6, 1975, 273–84; ID., "Political Structure and the Development of Inequality among the Macha Oromo", in: *Pastoral Production and Society / Production pastorale et société*, Cambridge - Paris 1979, 283–93; ID., "The Oromo Expansion Reconsidered", *N.E.A. Journal of Research on North East Africa* 1, 3, 1982, 188–203; ID., "Kinship and Property in Oromo Culture", in: *PICES* 7, 459–72; ID., "'Sons of Slaves' or 'Sons of Boys': on the Premise of Rank Among the Macha Oromo", in: *PICES* 8, vol. 1, 809–18; ID., "Resource-Use, Territory and Property Among the Macha Oromo", in: PAUL TREVOR WILLIAM BAXTER – RICHARD HOGG (eds.), *Property, Poverty and People ...*, Manchester 1990, 95–109; ID., "Rebounding Nationalism: State and Ethnicity in Wollega 1968–1976", *Africa* 73, 3, 2003, 402–26; KARL ERIC KNUTSSON, *Authority and Change: a Study of the Kallu Institution among the Macha Galla of Ethiopia*, Göteborg 1967 (Etnologiska Studier 29); LewJimm; HERBERT LEWIS, "Wealth, Influence, and Prestige among the Shoa Galla", in: ARTHUR TUDEN – LEONARD PLOTNICOV (eds.), *Social Stratification in Africa*, New York 1970; ID., "Neighbours, Friends, and Kinsmen: Principles of Social Organization among the Cushitic-Speaking Peoples of Ethiopia", *Ethnology* 8, 2, 1974, 145–57; ID., "Gada, Big Man, K'allu: Political Succession among the Eastern Mech'a Oromo", *NEASt* 12, 1, 1990, 43–64; MENGESHA RIKITU, *Oromia Recollected*, London 1998; MHasOr; MOHAMMED HASSEN, "Pilgrimage to the *Abba Muudaa*", *The Journal of Oromo Studies* 12, 1–2, 2005, 142–57; NEGASO GIDADA, *History of the Sayyoo Oromo of Southwestern Wallaga, Ethiopia, from about 1730–1886*, Ph.D. thesis, Johann Wolfgang Goethe Universität, Frankfurt am Main 1984; MARTIN NORDFELDT, *Bland Abessiniens Gallaer*, Stockholm 1935; WENDY JAMES – GERD BAUMANN – DOUGLAS H. JOHNSON (eds.), *Juan Maria Schuver's Travels in North East Africa, 1800-1883*, London 1996; ALESSANDRO TRIULZI, "Nekemte and Addis Abeba: Dilemmas of Provincial Rule", in: DONALD DONHAM – WENDY JAMES (eds.), *The Southern Marches of Imperial Ethiopia: Essays in History and Social Anthropology*, Cambridge 1986, 51–68; ID., "The Saga of Makko Billii: a Theme in Mac'a Oromoo History", *Paideuma* 36, 1990, 319–27; ID., "United and Divided: Boorana and Gabaro among the Macha Oromo in Western Ethiopia", in: *BHTOrom* 251–64; ID. – TAMENE BITIMA, "*Buttaa* Rituals of the Sayyoo Oromo", *Journal of Oromo Studies* 12, 1–2, 2005, 120–41; VSAe II; DIETRICH WASSMANN, *Das Oromovolk: aus unserm abessinischen Missionsfelde. Seine Sitten und Gebräuche*, Hermannsburg 1935.

Jan Hultin

Mäčča and Tuläma

The M.T. Association (Orom. *Waldaa Maccaa fi Tuulamaa*, Amh. *Yämäčča Tuläma Märrädäğa Maḫbär*) was founded in January 1963, in accordance with Article 45 of the Imperial Constitution and Article 14, No. 505 of the Civil Code of the Ethiopian Empire as a civilian self-help association among ↗Oromo speakers (Mohammed Hassen 1998:195). It included also membership in the wider ethnic setting of southern Ethiopia (Id. 1997:217f.). Within a short period the activities of the M.T. Association shifted from local demands for development as a *waldaa gargaarsaa* (Orom. 'self-help association'; cp. ↗*Maḫbär*) to collective demands for cultural and political freedoms (Mekuria Bulcha 1997:38f.). In February 1967 the association was banned. A well-researched book in Amharic on the history of the M.T. Association by Olana Zoga preceded the re-foundation of M.T. Association in 1992 (Olana Zoga 1993; Mohammed Hassen 1997; Zitelmann 1995:258). The M.T. Association was

banned again in 2004. Events in the early years of this century appear as a recent unfolding in the *longue durée* of the contested development of civic associations in Ethiopia.

The structural history of the M.T. Association is marked by efforts for development, schooling, and civic commitment, as well as opposition against Amhara supremacy. Since the late 1950s, local rural self-help associations mushroomed in Ethiopia (↗*Iddər*). The demand for control of these associations and their financial means by their members became an act of defiance against the state and regional governments that used "development" as a pretext for extra exactions from the peasants (Zitelmann 1994:80). The Ğibat-Mäčča Self-help Association and the Šäwa-Tulämа Self-help Association merged in 1963 into the M.T. Association (Alamuu Qixxeessaa in *Waldaa Maccaa* ... 1993:3). The M.T. Association's first president (and again in 1994) was Colonel Alamuu Qiṭṭeessaa (Qixxeessaa), with the lawyer Baqqalaa Naḍii (Nadhii) and Colonel Qadiidaa Gurmeessaa as his deputies. The lawyer Hayilamaaram Gammadaa became secretary of the Association (*Waldaa Maccaa* ... 1993:6), and is regarded as the intellectual leader behind the M.T. Association (Olana Zoga 1993:398–402). He chose the Odaa tree (↗Sycamore) as the symbol of the M.T. Association. General ↗Taddäsä Bərru (Taddasa Birruu), who is widely associated with the history of the M.T. Association, joined the association at a later stage (ibid. 418–25).

The bulk of M.T. Association membership came from the emergent middle class consisting of military, lawyers, academics, officials, journalists, and teachers. With the M.T. Association's expansion in 1965–66, the land-holding ↗"*balabbat* class" followed. The land-owners provided land for projects, and money and infrastructure to organize large public meetings in the provinces. The message of such meetings changed from the demand for local development to wider political and cultural issues that challenged the status quo. During the meetings the Oromo language was used in public, and commensality between Oromo Muslims and Christians was introduced as a provocative symbol of unity (Mohammed Hassen 1998:206; Zitelmann in BHTOrom 109). The M.T. Association's emergence in ↗Wälläga was seen as a particular threat to imperial rule. This branch was headed by the only women having office in the M.T. Association, Aṣäda Habtä Maryam (Asadaa Habta Maaram), of the royal house of Wälläga (Anon. 1993:8). The Wälläga membership threatened to penetrate the closed circle of the Emperor's trusted bureaucracy (Mohammed Hassen 1997:215).

Most of the land granted in Wälläga by the *balabbats*, was used for school projects (*Waldaa Maccaa* ... 1993:9f.). Mass education in Amharic for Oromo became a particular contested issue that, within a short time, alienated even Amharized Oromo from imperial rule. Taddäsä Bərru's joining the M.T. Association was the exemplary case. He was regarded as an important supporter of ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I's cause during the coup d'etat of 1960 (s. EAE II, 1081f.; Mohammed Hassen 1998:200). He had been a police general (riot battalion) since the 1950s, but he was also the head of the national ↗literacy campaign. Himself a self-educated person, he was eager to spread the Amharic language for educational purposes. In 1963 he did not join the M.T. Association, because he considered it as "tribal politics" (Olana Zoga 1993:24; Mohammed Hassen 1998:200), but he cooperated with the M.T. Association in promoting literacy. Prime Minister ↗Aklilu Habtäwäld, who was not aware of Taddäsä Bərru's Oromo background, adviced him informally to curtail the literacy campaign among the Oromo, to keep them far from modern education and power. Taddäsä Bərru was shocked by this suggestion, and joined the M.T. Association in 1964. While he initially believed that the Emperor did not support obstacles set by local administrations against the M.T. Association's work, he gradually became convinced that the Emperor himself was the obstacle (Mohammad Hassen 1997:219).

In late 1966 Taddäsä Bərru became involved in a Byzantine-style rebellion against the Emperor (ibid. 220ff.). This was immediately exposed and outwitted. Taddäsä Bərru received a gratuitous pardon, while the ban on M.T. Association as a whole became the target. In February 1967 state agents placed a bomb in Addis Abäba's Cinema Hall. The M.T. Association and its leadership were accused of being responsible, and the Association was banned. In a show trial, a young lieutenant, law student and cultural activist with Marxist leanings, ↗Mammo Mäzammər (Maammoo Mazammir), was sentenced to death (Mohammed Hassen 1997:222ff.). Hayilamaaram Gammadaa was tortured to death. Many of the early leaders of the M.T. Association died in prison, either during the last days of imperial rule

or during the early days of the *Därg* (*Waldaa Maccaa* ... 1993:11f.). Taddäsä Bərru was sentenced to local confinement in ↗Galamso. He was executed after he attempted to initiate a peasant uprising, after the *Därg* came to power, on charges of opposing land reform.

After 1967 the M.T. Association's card-holding membership, with a perhaps exaggerated estimate of 200,000 (Zitelmann 1994:80), was disbanded, but a core network remained active and became crucial for the emergence of Oromo political organizations during the 1970s, including the formation of the Oromo Liberation Front (↗Liberation movements; Zitelmann 1994:81; Mohammed Hassen 1998:213). However, membership included also prominent members of the *Därg*, as Teka Tulluu and Debela Ḍinsa (Dhinsaa; cf. Mohammad Hassen 1997:216), as well as the second president of the Ethiopian Federal Democratic Republic, Girma Wolde Giyorgis (Olana Zoga 1993:411–14; *Waldaa Maccaa* ... 1993:6).

Lit.: ANON., *Waldaa Maccaa fi Tuulamaa* (*Matcha-Tulama Association*), Addis Ababa 1993; MEKURIA BULCHA, "Modern Education and Social Movements in the Development of Political Consciousness: the Case of the Oromo", *African Sociological Review* 1, 1, 1997, 30–65; MOHAMMED HASSEN, [Review of Olana Zoga 1993], *Journal of Oromo Studies* 4, 1, 2, 1997, 203–38; ID., "The Macha-Tulama Association 1963–1967 and the Development of Oromo Nationalism", in: ASAFA JALATA (ed.), *Oromo Nationalism and the Ethiopian Discourse. The Search for Freedom and Democracy*, Lawrenceville, NJ 1998, 183–221; OLANA ZOGA, ግዝትና፡ ግዞት (*Gəzzətənna gəzot*, 'Excommunication and Exile'), Addis Abäba 1985 A.M. [1993 A.D.]; THOMAS ZITELMANN, *Nation der Oromo: Kollektive Identitäten, nationale Konflikte, Wir-Gruppenbildungen*, Berlin 1994; ID., "Re-Examining the Galla/Oromo Relationship. The Stranger as a Structural Topic", in: *BHTOrom* 101–16; ID., "Ethno-politische Vereinigungen, Codes der Vergemeinschaftung und politische Repräsentation von Nationalismus unter den Oromo", in: JOACHIM VON OPPEN – RICHARD ROTTENBURG (eds.), *Organisationswandel in Afrika. Kollektive Praxis und kulturelle Aneignung*, Berlin 1995, 239–58.

Thomas Zitelmann

Maccabees, Ethiopic Book of

The Septuagint (LXX) has four deuterocanonical ↗historical books giving the history of the Jewish family of the M. who rebelled against Seleucid rule. None of the four Books of M. known from the LXX (1–4 M.) are present in the Ethiopian Biblical canon (↗Bible). However, a completely different work generally known as the "Ethiopic book of Maccabees" (መቃብያን, *Mäqabəyan*) exists in Gəʿəz tradition.

According to Rahlfs (1908), the absence of the LXX books of M. in the Gəʿəz Bible can be explained by the latter's close relationship with the recension of the LXX cod. "B", i.e. the Codex Vaticanus (cf. Knibb 1999:20 n. 3), where the 1–4 M. are not found, as well as by the influence of the canon established by bishop ↗Athanasius of Alexandria on that of the early ↗Ethiopian Orthodox Church. In his discourse on the canon (cf. Festal Letter 39,15–20, ed. 2003:509–12), Athanasius does not mention the M. (the problem is not hinted at by Brandt 2000 or under ↗Bible canon in EAE I; cp. the observations in Bausi 1992:46–51, 72f., on the Bible canon in general, here 49). As a matter of fact, no book of M. has ever been part of the Hebrew Bible. The deuterocanonical M. are only found in two of the three main majuscule testimonies of the LXX, "A" (Codex Alexandrinus), and "S" (or א, i.e. Codex Sinaiticus, only 1 and 4 M.); Codex Vaticanus has none.

A few Ethiopic Bible manuscripts contain 1 and 2 M. (also ed. by Franciscus a Bassano 1926:413–99), which do not follow the LXX version and were translated from a different *Vorlage* – as generally assumed, from the Latin text of the Vulgata in the 16th or 17th cent., at the instigation of the Jesuit missionaries (cp. Simon 1938:386). The purported quotation from 1–2 Vulgata M. in a 15th-cent. writing by Giyorgis of Sägla on the Easter of Resurrection (YaqMist I, 393f. [text] = 247 and nn. 76f [tr.]) does not, in fact, challenge this assumption. The passage from the *Mäṣḥafä ↗məṣṭir* mentions the tradition on the "hiding of the Temple vessels" by the Prophet Jeremiah, which is found in 2 M. 2:4–5. However, with reference to the episode, the passage also mentions the "handing of the keys by the prophet over to the sun", and this tradition is not found in 2 M., while it is told in several writings on the prophet (cp. Piovanelli 1999:264, n. 60), such as the *Paralipomena of Jeremiah* 3,7–8.14 and 4,3–4 (DillmChr 3f. [text]; Piovanelli 1999:309–12 [tr.]; the two recensions of the Vita of Jeremiah in the *Vitae Prophetarum* have only the "hiding of the Temple vessels", cp. Knibb 1985:25, 27 [text] = 29 [tr.]). Thus, it is likely that the *Paralipomena of Jeremiah*, and not M., were the actual source of Giyorgis's writing.

The Ethiopic M. (excerpts ed. and tr. by Horowitz 1906) is traditionally subdivided into three parts. Sometimes it appears in the Bible in addition to 1–2 M. The Ethiopic M. is an origi-

nal work centred on the legendary martyrdom of three Jews under king Ṣiruṣaydan (from the name of the cities of Tyre and Sidon). It also contains an excursus on theological and philosophical questions and has as its main goal the proof of the resurrection of the dead (Horowitz 1906:195). It was probably composed not earlier than the 15th cent., and it seems to depend partially upon the ↗*Zena Ayhud* (ed. and tr. Kamil 1938), attributed to Josef ben Goryon (whose Hebrew *Vorlage* is usually known as the *Yosippon*; cp. GrafLit vol. 1, 221ff.). A historical compendium translated largely after the Gəᶜəz Bible from Arabic, the latter replaces the deuterocanonical M. in the biblical canon of some Christian Oriental Churches. Sometimes the summary of the *Zena Ayhud* (5 M. or Arabic M., cp. Haelewyck 1998, no. 200; GrafLit vol. 1, 223), not found in the Gəᶜəz tradition, likewise substitutes for the deuterocanonical M.

Src.: ATANASIO DI ALESSANDRIA, *Lettere festali*, Anonimo, *Indice delle lettere festali*, ed. by ALBERTO CAMPLANI, Milano 2003 (Letture cristiane del primo millennio 34), 509–12; DillmChr 1–15 ("Liber Baruch"); FRANCISCUS A BASSANO, *Vetus Testamentum cum antiquis codicibus necnon cum versionibus Syriaca, Graeca et Arabica comparatum*, IV: *Prophetarum et Maccabaeorum*, Asmarae 1926; JOSEF HOROWITZ, "Das äthiopische Maccabäerbuch", *ZA* 19, 1905–06, 194–233; MURAD KAMIL, *Des Josef Ben Gorion (Josippon) Geschichte der Juden*: ዜና፡ አይሁድ, New York 1938; MICHAEL A. KNIBB, "The Ethiopic Version of the Lives of the Prophets, II: Isaiah, Jeremiah, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi, Elijah, Elisha, Nathan, Ahijah, and Joel", *BSOAS* 48, 1985, 16-41; PIERLUIGI PIOVANELLI, "Paralipomeni di Geremia (Quarto libro di Baruc). Storia della cattività babilonese. (Apocrifo copto di Geremia)", in: PAOLO SACCHI (ed.), *Apocrifi dell'Antico Testamento*, vol. 3, Brescia 1999, 237-381; YaqMist I, 393f. (text) = 247 and nn. 76f (tr.).

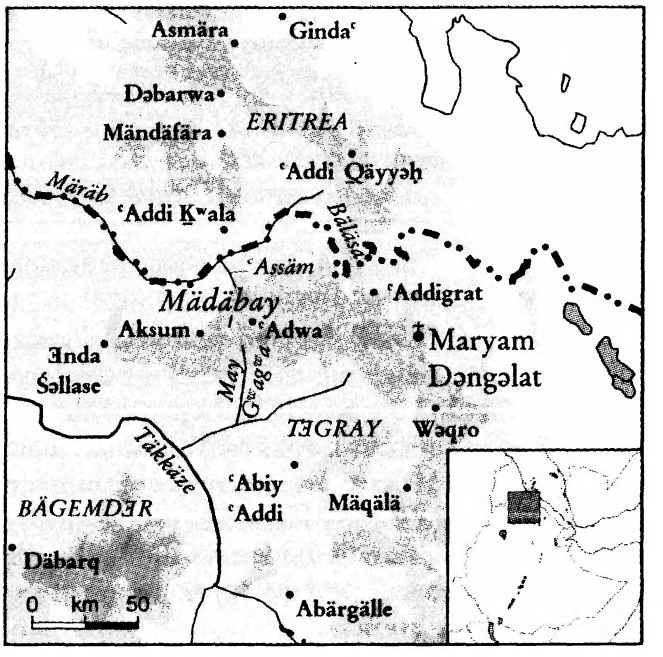
Lit.: ALESSANDRO BAUSI, "Alcune considerazioni sul «Sēnodos» etiopico", *RSE* 34, 1990 [1992], 5–73, here 46–51; ROGER BECKWITH, *The Old Testament Canon of the New Testament Church*, Grand Rapids, MI 1985, 478–505; J. NEVILLE BIRDSALL, "The Codex Vaticanus: its History and Significance", in: SCOT MCKENDRICK – ORLAITH O'SULLIVAN (eds.), *The Bible as Book: the Transmission of the Greek Text*, Oxford 2003, 33–41; PETER BRANDT, "Geflecht aus 81 Büchern. Zur variantenreichen Gestalt des äthiopischen Bibelkanons", *Aethiopica* 3, 2000, 79–115; JEAN-CLAUDE HAELEWYCK, *Clavis Apocryphorum Veteris Testamenti*, Turnhout 1998, nos. 180, 182, 183; MICHAEL A. KNIBB, *Translating the Bible: the Ethiopic Version of the Old Testament*, Oxford 1999 (The Schweich Lectures of the British Academy 1995) (Lit.); ALFRED RAHLFS, "Über das Fehlen der Makkabäerbücher in der äthiopischen Bibelübersetzung", *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 28, 1908, 63–64; JEAN SIMON, "L'édition du Zēnā Ayhud" [review of Kamil 1938], *Orientalia* nova ser. 9, 1940, 378–87; UllBibl.

Alessandro Bausi

Mädäbay

M. (መደባይ) is a term indicating an area and a descent group of Təgrəññа speakers (↗*ənda*) in ↗Təgray to the north-west of ↗Aksum, opposite Qʷäḥayn (KaneTDic 509). The M. region consisted of two parts, Mädäbay Tabor [or Tabər] in the west (around Mount Tabor, 1,976 m A.S.L.) and Mädäbay Wäläl in the east (bordering on the ↗Märäb). The Chronicle of *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs mentions a sub-district of M. Wäläl called Barkʷa (cp. CRAxum doc. 83) and a stream Məḥsab Alabu at which *aṣe* ↗Täklä Giyorgis II camped while retreating from his opponent Kaśa Mərčа in 1871 (BTafY 105). In the modern ↗administrative division, M. and Zana (a part of the historical region of ↗Šire with the town of Säläqläqa as its centre, south of M.) form the Mädäbay Zana *wäräda* (ca. 97,000 inhabitants in 1994) of the Məᶜrabawi Təgray Zone. The *wäräda*, stretching from Aksum to the Märäb, is sometimes also referred to as Mädäbay Tabor. Three villages west of Aksum (north of ↗Ǝnda Śəllase) bear the name M.

M. is mentioned several times in the *Liber Axumae* (*Mäṣḥafä ↗Aksum*), for the first time among the ↗*gʷəlt* that *aṣe* ↗Säyfä Arᶜad gave to St. ↗Mädḫaninä Ǝgziᵓ (CRAxum doc. 8). *Aṣe* ↗Dawit II then gave the M. province as a fief to *abba* ↗Samuᵓel of Däbrä Qʷäyäṣa (doc. 10). Renewing the land grants of the monasteries of Däbrä Bänkʷäl, ↗Däbrä Halleluya, Lägaso and Maḫbärä Maryam, ↗Ləbnä Dəngəl stipulates that no (people of) M. may enter the territory of the monasteries (docs. 42, 44). In the 19th cent., *däğğazmač* ↗Säbagadis endowed *qesä gäbäz*



Zä'amanu'el with ᶜAd Abaᶜər and ᶜAd Sälama in M. of Baḥar, specifying that the *śəyyum* of M. and Barkʷa would have no right to enter these territories any more (doc. 83).

Royal chronicles record that ↗Yolyos, retreating from *aṣe* ↗Susənyos's troops in ↗Dämbəya, had to face the ↗*č̣äwa* M. from ↗Ṣägade, one of whom, Amduy, killed Yolyos on 10 March 1617 (PerChron ch. 47). According to the tradition recorded in the *History of the Galla* by ↗Aṣmä Giyorgis, M. was the home of the very first *č̣äwa* (BTafA 202f.).

Before arriving in Säraye, St. ↗Abranyos reportedly spent some days in M., at a (sacred) place called Bäᶜattä Ḥammo Ǝgzi' ('Cave of Ḥammo Ǝgzi'') in the 1660s (Raineri 1983:454).

The 19th-cent. *Zena Lalibäla* speaks of M. as the place where ↗Mäsqäl Kəbra was waiting for ↗Lalibäla's return from his pilgrimage to ↗Jerusalem (SerHist 266).

According to a widespread ↗genealogy reconnecting people of northern Ethiopia to Jewish tribes (first recorded and published by Conti Rossini 1901:166ff., on the basis of four mss., among which a 16th-cent. ms. from ↗Däbrä Bizän of the Acts of Sts. Filəṗṗos and Yoḥannəs), the people (*ənda*) of M. descend from the tribe of Benjamin (Bənyam). The Jewish connection also features in ↗hagiographies: according to the genealogy of St. ↗Täklä Haymanot rendered by the long version of his Acts (ch. 3), the saint descended from a Jewish nobleman who had arrived from ↗Jerusalem with ↗Mənilək I and a woman of the Däqqä Mädäbay (↗*däqqi*; Budge 1906:2).

Oral traditions (EllLusAnt 29, 34, 37, 44) have it that a woman from the M., after a bath in a river, gave birth to a *zändo* snake, a monster which kept the people in slavery, until the hero Gäbgäbo came to set them free.

The birthplace of St. ↗Yared, ᶜAddi Ṣäḥafi north of Aksum, lies in M. *Abba* ↗Abäkäräzun of Däbrä Gärzän was also a native of M., and so was *abeto* Gäbrä Mäsqäl, the father of Yoḥannəs I's wife ↗Säblä Wängel.

In M., some 5 km to the north-west of Aksum, along the track leading from Aksum to the historical site of ᶜAddi Ṣäḥafi, there is an area of archaeological interest. The ↗pottery discovered by the M. farmers in 1997 was surprisingly intact, and this led the archaeologist ↗Munro-Hay to believe that it was associated with a ↗burial site (Munro-Hay 1999). The ceramic corpus consisted of globular pots with cylinder necks, one decorated with an applied pre-Christian crescent/disc motif, a globular oval jar of fine red Aksumite ware decorated with horizontal striations, a number of other globular pots with handles, a burnished beaker with incised-line decoration, a crucible and a pot stand. Munro-Hay suggested a 4th-cent. date for these vessels on the basis of comparison with material recovered during archaeological work at the Tomb of the Brick Arches at Aksum in the early 1970s. Recent work at that site by the British Institute in Eastern Africa in the 1990s has yielded a more detailed comparative ceramic database, and it would now appear that the majority of these forms do indeed belong to the late 4th cent. A.D., as "Classical Aksumite II ware" (Phillipson 2000:455). Future archaeological investigation at M. as a site on the periphery of the core Aksumite urban zone could provide a more detailed picture of the Aksumite regional system, and socio-economic relationships between town and hinterland.

↗Aksumite culture; ↗Archaeology

Src.: BTafA 202f.; BTafY 104f. [fol. 129va]; ERNEST ALFRED WALLIS BUDGE, *The Life and Miracles of Takla Haymânôt*, London 1906, 2 (text); EllLusAnt 29, 34, 37, 44; CENTRAL STATISTICAL AUTHORITY, *The 1994 Population and Housing Census of Ethiopia: Results for Tigray Region, I, Statistical Report*, Addis Ababa 1995, 10f.; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Il Gadla Filpos e il Gadla Yoḥannes di Dabra Bizan", *RRALm* ser. 5ª, 8, 1901, 61–170, here 166ff. (= BauEr II 43=45 [no. 8.II]); CRAxum 21ff., 37f., 39ff., 59f. (text) = 24ff., 44f., 46ff., 70f. (tr.) [nos. 8, 10, 42, 44, 83] (cp. also HuntLand); CRStor 153, 251; KaneTDic 509; PerChron ch. 47; OSVALDO RAINERI, "Atti di *abuna* Abrānyos, santo eritreo (1633–1718)", *MRALm* 380, ser. 8, 26, 4, 1983, 435–530 (text) = 562–622 (tr.), here 454 = 574; SerHist 266.

Lit.: BTafA 939 (Lit.); Guida 238; HuntGeogr s. index; STUART MUNRO-HAY, "Aksumite Pottery from Medebai", *Aethiopica* 2, 1999, 183–89; DAVID PHILLIPSON, *Archaeology at Aksum, Ethiopia 1993–7*, London 2000 (British Institute in Eastern Africa Memoir 17/ Society of Antiquaries of London Research Report 65), 57–77, 455.

Niall Finneran – Red.

Madäriya

M. (ማደሪያ, Amh. 'lodging, place to pass the night; land allotted in return for military service [temporarily or for the life of the holder]', from Amh. *addärä*, 'to pass the night') is a form of ↗land tenure. Both Guidi and Baeteman (GuiVoc 494; BaetDic 620; also KaneDic 1301) note that a secondary meaning of the verb *addärä* is 'to be, or to become, a soldier (a mercenary), a servant of someone'. The term appears primarily in documents of the late 19th and the 20th cent. and in the

context of the state of ↗Šäwa. It appears, if at all, only rarely in the Gondärine land documents. M. can be defined as 'place of stay, residence'; the corresponding verb appears in all the Ethio-Semitic languages (Mantel-Niećko 1980:98f.; Berhanou Abbebe 1971:50–63; LesCDic 258f.).

M. land was the reward for, and tied to, the performance of specific services, primarily military, to the state, or, by extension, to the Church, where it was equivalent to ↗*sämon* land. Most commonly, M. land was held by the military and was granted temporarily, the rights to it ceasing when the awardee left office or ceased to perform the service for which it had been granted. Mantel-Niećko notes that in some cases M. was land itself, which the holder cultivated or leased for cultivation. In other cases, where it was imposed over holders of ↗*rəst* land, M. was the income from the land, and not the land itself, which remained in the hands of the *rəstäñña*.

Where M. consisted of income from the land, it was often indistinguishable in form from ↗*gʷəlt*. Berhanou Abbebe distinguishes the two primarily in terms of extent, *gʷəlt* referring to much more extensive holdings. M. land was awarded to individual soldiers, whose holdings were dependent on their rank in return for campaigning in war. Individual M. holders had specific duties, although the most common was to serve as ↗*näfṭäñña*. An ordinary soldier might receive one to three *gaššа*, while commissioned officers might hold from ten to thirty *gaššа* (Berhanou Abbebe 1971:23, 53). In addition to soldiers, from the reign of Mənilək II up to 1935, M. land was also held by a number of different state officials, including land surveyors, imperial appointees (↗*Mälkäñña*), churchmen and churches in Šäwa and the southern provinces.

According to Mantel-Niećko (1980:99), as late as 1932, Ḫaylä Śəllase I granted the church of Däbrä Ṣəyon (St. Mary church) at ↗Addis ᶜAläm, land of 779 ↗*gäbbar* as M. Finally, holders of M. land could petition to have their holding made hereditary. The land and taxation reforms introduced in the early 1940s provided for the conversion of M. land to freehold (BZHist 191ff.).

Src.: Amsalu Aklilu, **አማርኛ፡ እንግሊዝኛ፡ መዝገበ፡ ቃላት** (*Amarəñña əngəlizəñña mäzgäbä qalat*, 'Amharic–English Dictionary'), Addis Abäba 1989 A.M. [1996 A.D.], 180; BaetDic 620; GuiVoc col. 494; KaneDic 323, 1301, 1305; LesCDic 258f.

Lit.: Berhanou Abbebe, *Évolution de la Propriété Foncière au Choa (Éthiopie) du Règne de Ménélik à la Constitution de 1931*, Paris 1971 (Bibliothèque de l'École des Langues Orientales Viventes 22), 50–63; BZHist 191ff.; Joanna Mantel-Niećko, *The Role of Land Tenure in the System of Ethiopian Imperial Government in Modern Times*, Warsaw 1980, 98f.

Donald Crummey

Mädḫaninä Ǝgziᵓ

M.Ǝ. (**መድኃኒነ፡ እግዚእ**; fl. 14th cent.) was an Ethiopian saint, a disciple of *abba* ↗Täklä Haymanot, who lived during the reigns of ↗Wədəm Räᶜad, ↗ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon, and ↗Säyfä Arᶜad.

M.Ǝ. probably joined the followers of Täklä Haymanot during the latter saint's stay at ↗Däbrä Damo (TadTChurch 163; in ↗Gʷənagʷəna according to the ↗*Sənkəssar* note for Täklä Haymanot, s. BudSaint 1245). In monastic genealogies he is mentioned among the very first disciples of the Šäwan Saint (e.g., Conti Rossini 1943; Getatchew Haile 1982). He is credited with the foundation of the monastery of Däbrä Bänkʷäl, near ↗Aksum, during the reign of Säyfä Arᶜad. The latter visited the Saint and richly endowed the monastery with lands in ↗Təgray, around 1352 or later (cp. CRAxum doc. 8). M.Ǝ. died shortly after Säyfä Arᶜad (d. 1372).

M.Ǝ.'s unpublished Vita (↗*Gädl*) recounts several miracles attributed to him, including those performed by the Saint posthumously, e.g., during the Ottoman invasion during the reign of *aṣe* Särṣä Dəngəl (1563–97), or following the order by *aṣe* Fasilädäs (1632–67) to plant decorative trees around Aksum Ṣəyon; as well as many ↗healings and otherwise prodigious acts. The late 17th cent. can thus be taken as the *terminus post quem* for the composition of the Acts. The

Mädḫaninä Ǝgziᵓ; double-sided pendant diptych (detail), 17th cent., monastery of Samuᵓel of (Däbrä) Qʷäyäṣa, Təgray; photo 2000, courtesy of Michael Gervers

Mäṣḥafä ↗ᶜArke (IES, ms. 34, fol. 44r) contains a short hymn dedicated to M.Ǝ.

Among the Saint's disciples and followers there were such famous monks as ↗Samuʾel of Waldəbba (whom M.Ǝ. is believed to have ordered to found the monastery of ↗Däbrä Abbay), Samuʾel of Säqurt, ↗Tadewos of Däbrä Bartarwa, ↗Yasay, Aron of Kətur, Yoḥannəs of Bänkʷäl (or of Zəgranaqʷe), ↗Yafqərännä Ǝgziʾ of Gʷəben, ↗Krəstos Bezanä and Zäkaryas of Gefa.

Src.: ms. IES, ms. 34, fol. 44r; ANLin ms. 13; BassÉt 10f., 99f.; BegCron 9, 19 n. 6; BudSaint 1245; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, [review of De Santis 1942], *RSE* 3, 1943, 335–40, here 339; CRAxum 22 (text) = 24f. (tr.), doc. 8; GETATCHEW HAILE, "The Monastic Genealogy of the Line of Täklä Haymanot of Shoa", *RSE* 29, 1983, 7–38, here 24; KinBibl no. 96; RICCARDO DE SANTIS, "Il Gadla Tādēwos di Dabra Bārtārwā, un contributo allo studio della letteratura agiografica etiopica", *Annali Lateranensi* 6, 1942, 1–116, here 28 (text) = 78 (tr.); StrANL 37–43.

Lit.: BudHist vol. 2, 289, 299; EllLusAnt 19; LUIGI FUSELLA, "Lo statuto dei Barequà", *RSE* 6, 1947, 46–61, here 46; GEORGE WYNN BRERETON HUNTINGFORD, "Saints of Mediaeval Ethiopia", *Abba Salama* 10, 1979, 257–341, here 333; TadTChurch 163; OSVALDO RAINERI, "Madḫanina ʾEgziʾ", in: *EncSan* vol. 2, 397; GIOVANNI VILLARI, "I 'Gultì' della regione di Axum", *Rassegna economica dell'Africa italiana* 9, 1938, 1030–44.

Osvaldo Raineri

Maʾəkälä baḥər

M.b. (**ማእከለ፡ ባሕር**) was an old title and office of a provincial governor. References to it appear predominantly in documents of the ↗Zagʷe and early Solomonic periods transmitted in the "Golden Gospels" of ↗Däbrä Libanos of Šəmäzana. The charter of *aṣe* ↗Lalibäla (which Conti Rossini "reconstructed", CRDLib no. 7), dated to 1225 A.D., seems to contain the earliest attestation of the title (ibid. 18). Officials bearing the title are mentioned in other ancient land grants: Yagb[əʾ]a Ṣəyon in a charter from ↗Yəkunno Amlak's time (ibid. 194f., no. 10); Maḥṣänt (who probably succeeded Yagb[əʾ]a Ṣəyon) in a charter by Sänbät Mäḥari, a contemporary of *aṣe* ↗Wədəm Räᶜad (ibid. 198, no. 14). M.b. Gäbru is mentioned in a charter by *ḥasgʷa* Täsfanä Ǝgziʾ (ibid. 199, no. 15), dated to 1305, and M.b. Sämay appears in a land grant by *aṣe* ↗ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon I (ibid. 206, no. 21). In another charter issued by ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon (ibid. 208, no. 22), his son Baḥrä Asgäd concentrated in his hand, besides the title of M.b., four of the most important titles of the state: *śəyyumä ənṭärta* (↗Ǝndärta), *maʾəkälä täwazat*, *ḥasgʷa* and *aqanṣan* (↗ᶜ*Aqaṣen*; cp. KrAmdS 5 n. 33; Conti Rossini 1910:859f.). The account of the campaign of ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon I against the Muslims also mentions the M.b., together with *maʾəkälä angot, maʾəkälä täwazat, mäkʷännənä əndärta* etc. (MarAmdS 52f.; KrAmdS 5, n. 34).

The origins of the title remain obscure and may be traced back to pre-Zagʷe times. The meaning of it is usually inferred from the interpretation of its parts: *maʾəkäl* 'centre', or, as an adverb or preposition, '(in) between', M.b. being thus interpreted as a geographic term, not as a title (cp. "Mittel-Meerland" in Dillmann 1884:1012, similarly in PerrAmdS 330). Others considered *maʾəkäl* to be a preposition and speculated as to what would *baḥər* could refer to: two rivers (e.g., Märäb and Täkkäze), the ↗Red Sea and a river, a lake etc. Later, the term was considered as referring to a maritime province(s), "which apparently included the whole region between the Märäb and the Red Sea" (TadTChurch 74, n. 5, cp. ibid. 97 no. 3; cp. CRDLib 192). Kropp (KrAmdS 5 n. 34) interprets *maʾəkäl* as a title (of unclear meaning) and *baḥər* as a term for the coastal areas southeast from Təgray, considering the M.b. precursor of such officers as ↗*təgre mäkʷännən*, ↗*baḥər nägaš*, or *śəyyumä baḥər* etc. One may wonder if the word *maʾəkäl* could refer to the central political position occupied by a M.b. in the region (cp. *maʾəkälä angot*).

The geographical location of the M.b.'s dominion is vague, apart from the general reference to the northern (coastal) region. Remarkably, in the documents, M.b. is frequently mentioned (but elsewhere omitted, e.g., CRDLib 200, no. 17) together with, or between, the governors of Ǝndärta and of the littlee known Däbrä Maᶜəṣo. This sequence of governors can refer to their actual hierarchy, but also reflect the geographical reality, i.e. the location of the area controlled by the M.b.

Sometime after ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon, the title seems to have been abolished (probably replaced by *baḥər nägaš*). It is registered only in two isolated charters by *aṣe* ↗Ləbnä Dəngəl (CRAxum nos. 26, 44), but otherwise missing in both documents and oral traditions. Despite the unsolved historical and linguistic problems connected with it, the title raised interest and is referred to in the new Ethiopian/Eritrean ↗historiography (cp. KilHDic 105, 298).

Src.: CRAxum nos. 26, 44; CRDLib nos. 7, 10, 14f., 17, 21f.; KrAmdS 3 (text) = 5 (tr.); MarAmdS 52f.; PerrAmdS 281 (text) = 330 (tr.).

Lit.: CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Studi su popolazioni dell'Etiopia. I. Gli Irob e le loro tradizioni", *RSO* 3, 1910,

849–900; AUGUST DILLMANN, "Die Kriegsthaten des Königs ᶜAmda-Ṣion gegen die Muslim", *Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin* 42, 1884, 1007–38; KilHDic 105, 298; TadTChurch 74 n. 5, 97 n. 3; TSTarik I, 421.

Denis Nosnitsin

Maᶜəṭänt

The M. (Gəᶜəz: **ማዕጠንት**, 'censer, thurible' [any censer burner]; Amh.: **ማጠንት**, *maṭänt*, **ማጠኛ**, *maṭäññа*; or, in current usage, **ጽና**, *ṣəna* [Gəᶜəz: **ጽንሓሕ**, *ṣənḥaḥ*], 'censer, thurible') in ↗Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥədo) Church worship is a circular metal vessel designed to contain heated charcoal upon which ↗incense is burned. The container is suspended from three chains (four when the pan is square) that are all attached to the handle, by which it is swung. It has a foot and is equipped with a lid that slides on the chains. Designed to control the smoke, the lid hangs on an additional chain with a cross at the end; the cross of this chain, passing through the shaft of the handle, tops the whole instrument. 24 small bells (called *šaḥura*, *bilbilla*) are also attached to the chains (twelve bells may be enough, evoking the twelve Apostles, whose voices reach "the end of the world" [Ps 18(19):4–5, sung as ↗*məsbak* on an apostle's feast day]).

The M. is used in almost every service in the Ethiopian Orthodox Church tradition. While it may be handled by deacons and even other people for practical purposes, priests alone may hold it by its handle and perform incensations. A folk explanation, frequent among the clergy, is that the shape of the M. represents the image of Mary's body, which was carried to the tomb by the Apostles, since the deacons who would normally have performed the task were not instituted until later (interview with ᶜAlämnäw Azzänä 24 May 2005).

Typology

The Ethiopian Orthodox liturgy (esp. the hymn *Anti wəʾətu maᶜəṭänt zäwärq* …, 'You are the Golden Censer …', ↗*Wəddase Maryam*, 6th strophe of Sunday; VelME I, 91; II, 296; *Mäṣḥafä qəddase* 1981/82, ch. III, no. 122 [Daoud 1954:41, no. 122] and the *Zə wəʾətu gize* …, 'This is the Time …', *Mäṣḥafä qəddase* 1981/82, ch. III, nos. 160–72 [Daoud 1954:48f., nos. 160–72]) and Ethiopian traditional scholars (via the ↗*Śərᶜatä betä krəstiyan*) attach a spiritual meaning to each element of the M. when it is being used: the golden M. (cp. Heb 9:4) represents the figure of St. Mary, who gave the Word of God his humanity. The live charcoal (**ፍሕም**, *fəḥəm*) in the M. is the burning Divine Word of God in Mary's womb; it is likened to the glowing coal the angel took to purify Isaiah's lips (Is 6:6), and the communion spoon (**ዕርፊ፡ መስቀል**, *ᶜərfä mäsqäl*) is itself likened to the tongs he employed. The incense is the perfume of Jesus Christ's Incarnation and his well-pleasing sacrifice. The pan and the three chains symbolize the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, One God; the handle represents the fullness of the Godhead; the 24 bells represent either the 24 Heavenly Priests (Rev 5:8), or the angels' voices at the foot of the Four Living Creatures. The smoke signifies the fragrance of God or the angels' scent.

A silver *maᶜəṭänt* belonging to St. Michael's church at Ankobär, Šäwa; photo 1993, courtesy of Michael Gervers

Nowadays, many churches in the towns use Greek censers, despite the fact that they lack some of the elements described in the *Śərᶜatä betä krəstiyan*.

Iconography

At ↗Ǝmäkina Mädḫane ᶜAläm (Lasta), a mural of the second half of the 13th-cent. depicts the angel, who attended the baptism of Christ, carrying a Coptic censer (Balicka-Witakowska 2004, fig. 13). It should be noted, however, that neither the form of the M. nor the way it is swung are shared with the Copts, though they are used in most of the same ceremonies. In contrast, an Ethiopian M. is engraved on the wall of *abunä* Abrəham's prayer room at 14th-cent. Däbrä Ṣəyon (Fritsch – Gervers 2007:25, fig. 11). A miniature of Christ's entry into Jerusalem in the Gospels of ↗Däbrä Maryam of Qʷäḥayn

(Eritrea, dated 1361) shows the Temple in Jerusalem as a Christian sanctuary (Heldman 1973:47, fig. 3); framed by the triumphal arch, a M., rather than the more common lamp, hangs above the altar. In such a context, it evokes the evening psalm "Let my prayer be as incense before thee, and the lifting up of my hands as an evening sacrifice" (Ps 140[141]:2) as well as the bloodless sacrifice of the ↗Eucharist which, according to the patristic and liturgical reading of Mal 1:11, takes the place of Temple worship, perpetuating the salvational actions of Jesus in the world.

Src.: interview with *liqä ḫəruyan* ʿAlämnäw Azzänä, 24 May 2005, Addis Abäba; CRAxum 11f. [no. 5], 15f. [no. 10] (tr.); MARCOS DAOUD (ed., tr.), *The Liturgy of the Ethiopian Church*, Addis Ababa 1954, Cairo 1959, 41, no. 122, 48f., nos. 160–72; SEBASTIAN EURINGER, "Die Geschichte von Narga: Ein Kapitel aus der abessinischen Kulturgeschichte des 18 Jhdts", *ZSem* 8, 1932; *ibid.* 9, 1933–34, 281–311; here 299, no. 52; *ibid.* 10, 1935, 105–62, here 135; MARCEL GRIAULE, "Règles de l'Église (Documents éthiopiens)", *JA* 221, 1932, 1–42, here 41; IGNAZIO GUIDI (ed.), "Il ዜና፡ ናርጋ ('Il Racconto di Nârgâ')", *RRALm* ser. 5ª, 14, 1905, 233–67, here 245; MARILYN EISEMAN HELDMAN, "Christ's Entry into Jerusalem in Ethiopia", in: *USCES* 43–60, here 47, fig. 3; KaneDic 602, 865, 1338, 2155, 2254; *liqä kahənat* KƎNFÄ GABRƎʾEL ALTAYYÄ, ሥርዓተ፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን (*Śərʿatä betä krəstiyan*, 'The Order of the Church'), Addis Abäba 1992 A.M. [1999/2000 A.D.], 54; LesCDic 76, 560; PATRIARCHATE OF THE ETHIOPIAN ORTHODOX TÄWAḤƎDO CHURCH (ed.), መጽሐፈ፡ ቅዳሴ (*Mäṣḥafä qəddase*, 'The Book of the Hallowing [Missal]'), Addis Abäba 1974 A.M. [1981/82 A.D.], ch. III, nos. 122, 160–72; ROGER SCHNEIDER, "Nouveaux témoins du texte éthiopien des *Règles de l'Église* (*Documents éthiopiens*)", *JA* 276, 1988, 71–96, here 82, 91; ውዳሴ፡ ማርያም (*Wəddase Maryam*, 'The Praise of Mary'), Addis Abäba [different editions]; VelMe I, 91; II, 296.

Lit.: EWA BALICKA-WITAKOWSKA, "The Wall Paintings in the Church of Mädhanä Aläm near Lalibäla", *Africana Bulletin* 52, 2004, 9–29, here fig. 13; TEKLE MARYAM SEMHARAY SELIM, *Règles spéciales de la messe éthiopienne*, Rome 1936, 14, 17.

Emmanuel Fritsch

Mäftəḥe śəray ↗Magic literature

Mafud

M. (ማፋዲ; 9° 54' N, 39° 51' E) is a small hill and the area surrounding it in the lower part of northern ↗Šäwa. M. hill is located about 2.5 km east of ↗Čəra Meda on the main road (for location s. Mägäzäz). The general altitude of the surrounding area is about 1,500 m A.S.L. The area is well suited for traditional farming, although vulnerable to drought.

M. is known as a centre of ↗Islam before the invasion of *imām* ↗Aḥmad Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī ("Grañ"). In the 16th cent., the area was overrun by the Karrayuu Oromo, but Muslim communities survived, led by the ↗*wälasma* based at M. The Muslim principality allied itself with the early Šäwan rulers in the struggle against the Oromo. The *wälasma* was one of the key figures in the ↗Šola Meda assembly which nominated ↗Səbəstyanos as ↗*märəd azmač*, and he was also an important ally in the later events that led up to the Šäwan victory against the imperial army in the battle of ↗Ayne. When the future *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II escaped from Tewodros, he was received by the *wälasma* at M.

In the 18th cent., the Muslim chiefs became subordinate to the Christian rulers. Travellers who visited ↗Ankobär about 1840, described the main *wälasma*, then based in the Ankobär lowlands, as one of the principal chiefs in the kingdom, but he held his position at the discretion of the king. Under Mənilək, the Muslim chiefs lost all political significance.

Today there are a few Muslim villages remaining to the east of M. Many still speak the ↗Argobba language. Formerly they occupied a much larger area, as demonstrated by many Muslim place names in what is now Christian territory.

During ↗World War II, in 1941, M. became the name of a large *wäräda*, stretching from the ↗Ṭarma Bär tunnel as far as the ↗Awaš river. Since then the borders, internal organization, as well as the name of the *wäräda*, have often changed.

Src.: BTafA, s. index; AWTarik 78, 82; HarAeth vol. 2, 258, 322; MahZekr 139ff.

Lit.: VOLKER STITZ, "The Western Argobba of Yifat, Central Ethiopia", in: *USCES* 185–92; HusIslam 6f.; AHMED HASSEN OMER, *Aspects of the History of Efrata-Jille Wareda (Shoa Region), with Particular Reference to Twentieth Century*, B.A. thesis, Department of History, Addis Ababa University 1987, 5f.; EgeClass 146, 166.

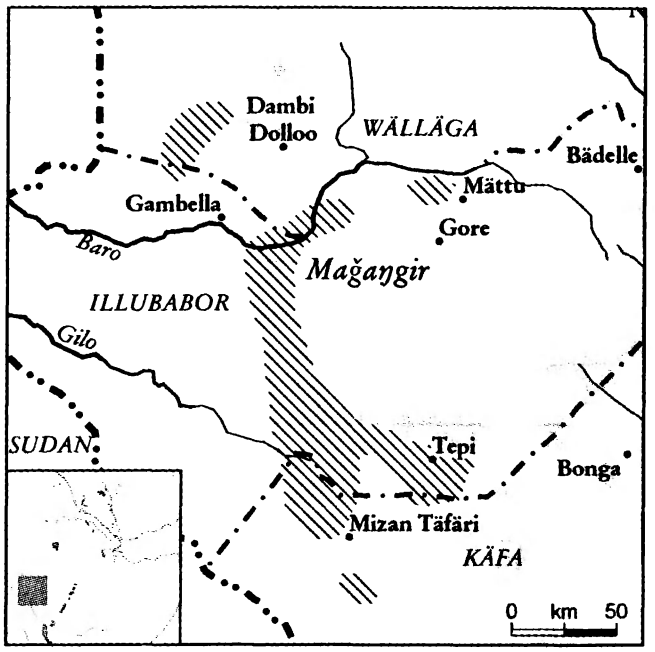
Svein Ege

Mağaŋgir

Mağaŋgir language

M. (also Mesengo, Masongo; self-name: *Ato mağaŋgiroŋk*, lit. 'mouth of the M.') is a language of the ↗Surmic group of the ↗Nilo-Saharan language family, and a name of the ethnic group speaking this language. The number of speakers, according to 1994 census, is ca. 15,000 (Hudson 1999:92; Gordon 2005:116).

Cerulli (1948) published the first description of M.; Bender's 1983 work (benefiting from the insights of missionary Harvey Hoekstra) gives a much more reliable and complete description.



The M. consonantal system (Bender 1983:116) comprises: labials *p*, *b*, *ɓ*, *m*, *w*; alveolars *t*, *d*, *ɗ*, *n*; velars *k*, *g*, *ŋ*; sonorants *l*, *r*; palatals *č*, *ǧ*, *ñ*, *y*; plus a few odd cases of intervocalic glottal stop *ʾ*. Palatal affricates *č* and *ǧ* are often pronounced as fricatives (*s*/*z* or *š*/*ž*). No initial consonant clusters are found. M. has nine vowels: *i*, *ɪ*, *e*, *ɛ*, *u*, *ʊ*, *o*, *ɔ*, *a*. Vowel (but not consonant) length is phonemic. Two tones are distinctive, mostly grammatical, but note the lexical minimal pair *táŋ* 'cow', *tàŋ* 'abcess'.

M. has many kinds of suffixes and almost no prefixes. Nominative and accusative are usually unmarked in nouns, genitive has suffix *-(oŋ)k*, locative/instrumental *-e*, dative *-a*. Number marking is not regular. In some nouns, a plural form is marked ('stool' *ɗàŋgé* [sg.] – *ɗàŋgéyík* [pl.]), some take suffixes for singular and plural ('tree' *kéét* [sg.] – *kéén* [pl.]), and some have a plural base and add a suffix to mark the singulative ('ear' *wííná* [sg.] – *wíín* [pl.]). Common patterns involve -(V)*t* for singular and -(V)*r* or -(V)*k* for plural. M. has no grammatical gender.

Pronouns distinguish singular and plural number and three grammatical persons (but not inclusive/exclusive) (Bender 1983:128):

Pers.	Sg.	Pl.
1st pers.	*èèt*	*èt/ŋk*
2nd pers.	*ìín*	*ìínák*
3rd pers.	*čèèn*	*čèèg*

Pronouns can attach locative and dative suffixes, e.g. *éét-á* 'for me'. The genitive (possessive) is more complex, following the Surmic pattern of marking number of both possessor and possessed (Bender 1983:129), cf. below the paradigm for 'knife': sg. *ááré*, pl. *ááréé*:

Pers.	Sg. possessee	Pl. possessee
1st sg.	*ááré-naak*	*ááréé-gaaŋk*
2nd sg.	*ááré-nook*	*ááréé-gooŋk*
3rd sg.	*ááré-nɛɛk*	*ááréé-gɛɛŋk*
1st pl.	*ááré-naŋk*	*ááréé-gaŋk*
2nd pl.	*ááré-noŋk*	*ááréé-goŋk*
3rd pl.	*ááré-nɛŋk*	*ááréé-gɛŋk*

M. has a rich verbal morphology. Verbs agree with their subjects and direct or indirect objects. Tense is expressed by clitics, distinguishing three past tenses and two future tenses: *ba* (remote past), *kàn* (medium past), *kò* (near past), *kóó* (near future), *kòy* (remote future) (Bender 1983:132). Reduplication marks reciprocality and intensity.

Negation in nominal sentences is expressed by the element *mókò*, e.g., *mókò èètì pɔ̀l, èètì pítèr* 'I am not Paul, I am Peter'. Negation of active verbs is marked by a negative verbal root *ku-* inflected for person, number, tense, etc. The negated root appears in a non-finite form, later in the clause:

kú- áá- kò	*čákóyé*	*ádà*
NEG-1sg-PAST	tuber	eat
'I did not eat tuber'		
kú- ɛr- kò	*čákóyé*	*ádà*
NEG-3pl-PAST	tuber	eat
'They did not eat tuber'		

The basic word order is V[erb]–S[ubject]–O[bject], with variations for focus, e.g.:

ɗam-ko	*bokai*	*čákóyé*
eat-PAST	Bokai	tuber
'Bokai ate tuber'		

M. has postpositions, e.g. *lééwè tàk* 'in a pot', and question words are placed sentence-finally (both are typological anomalies in a VSO language). Relative clauses (which are also used to express adjectival meanings) and numerals also follow their head nouns: *táŋ čò mìntánŋóŋk* (lit. 'cow that is-good'), 'good cow'.

M. ten-word list: 'one' *òmóŋ*, 'two' *pééy*, 'three' *gíít*, 'fire' *mád*, 'water' *mááw*, 'sun' *wààwì*, 'moon' *éyén*, 'blood' *yéróm*, 'tongue' *kàdà*, 'tooth' *ŋìdàn*.

Src.: RAYMOND G. GORDON (ed.), *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*, Dallas, TX [15]2005, 116f.; GROVER HUDSON, "Linguistic Analysis of the 1994 Ethiopian Census", *NEASt* 6, 3, 1999, 89–107.

Lit.: M. LIONEL BENDER, "Majang Phonology and Morphology", in: ID. (ed.), *Nilo-Saharan Language Studies*,

East Lansing, MI 1983 (Committee on Northeast African Studies, Monograph 13), 114–47; ENRICO CERULLI, "Il linguaggio dei Masongo nell'Etiopia Occidentale", *RSE* 7, 1948, 131–66; PETER UNSETH, "Sketch of Majang Syntax", in: M. LIONEL BENDER (ed.) *Topics in Nilo-Saharan Linguistics*, Hamburg 1989 (Nilo-Saharan Linguistic Analyses and Documentation 3), 97–127; ID., "Verbal Negation in Majang", in: *PICES* 8, vol. 1, 551–67.

Peter Unseth

Mağaŋgir ethnography

The M. (sg. Mağaŋ; also Mesengo, Masongo, self-name: Mağaŋgir) are an ethnic group of ↗Illubabor and to some extent ↗Käfa and ↗Wälläga. According to the recent administrative division, the majority lives south and east of ↗Gambella, a large number from Gurrafarda to east of ↗Tepi, a few near ↗Mättu and ↗Gore and a small cluster near ↗Dambi Dolloo. The M. mainly inhabit the elevations between the highlands and the lowlands, on the slopes of the escarpment.

The 1994 census gave the total of the M. population as 15,341 (Gordon 2005:116f.), but their number is undoubtedly much higher. Estimating their population is very difficult since M. live widely scattered in the rain forests, some in single-family settlements. Their villages are often interspersed with the villages of other ethnic groups, including ↗Oromo, ↗Añwaa, ↗Šakačo, ↗Šabo, ↗Šeko and Še (↗Benč, ↗Gimira).

The M. traditionally practiced shifting cultivation of sorghum, maize, taro, yams, sweet potatoes, pumpkins, beans, sesame, etc. They would stay in one place for no more than five years, then move and clear another area. The M. do not raise any livestock but they hunt a great variety of game and catch fish. Beekeeping is also important, honey often being sold for cash. Coffee leaves are traditionally brewed as *kàárí*, a hot drink prepared with salt, spices, and herbs.

M. society has patrilineal, exogamous clans, with stronger bonds between siblings than between husband and wife. Clans are not strong as political bodies and the M. society is traditionally not stratified and nearly acephalous. An exception is the role of the *tápád*, traditional leaders, most of them from the Melanir clan, their function, however, is more religious than political. The *tápád* were believed to have a kind of blessing power, to heal and to be able to foretell the future. Part of the old socio-religious system of the M. was the belief in spiritual beings (*wakoyo*, also 'God') who were able to possess people and were fed with sorghum beer poured on their chair (*saloy*).

M. were traditionally raided for slaves by Añwaa, Še and by highlanders, but they developed no collective defence strategy. There is evidence of a progressive migration movement from a southern location beyond the River Akobo towards the north. The M. were conquered by Mənilək at the end of the 19th cent., but systematic tax-gathering started only in about 1960. There have been widespread major changes within M. society since 1970, including the development of permanent villages (in the course of the *Därg*'s villagization programs), wearing of clothing, utilization of manufactured goods, attending school, participation in government political structures, small-scale livestock raising, widespread adoption of Protestant Christianity, and a growing sense of ethnic identity. New outside influences include the construction of roads and a major coffee plantation in M. territory.

Src.: RAYMOND G. GORDON (ed.), *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*, Dallas, TX [15]2005, 116f.

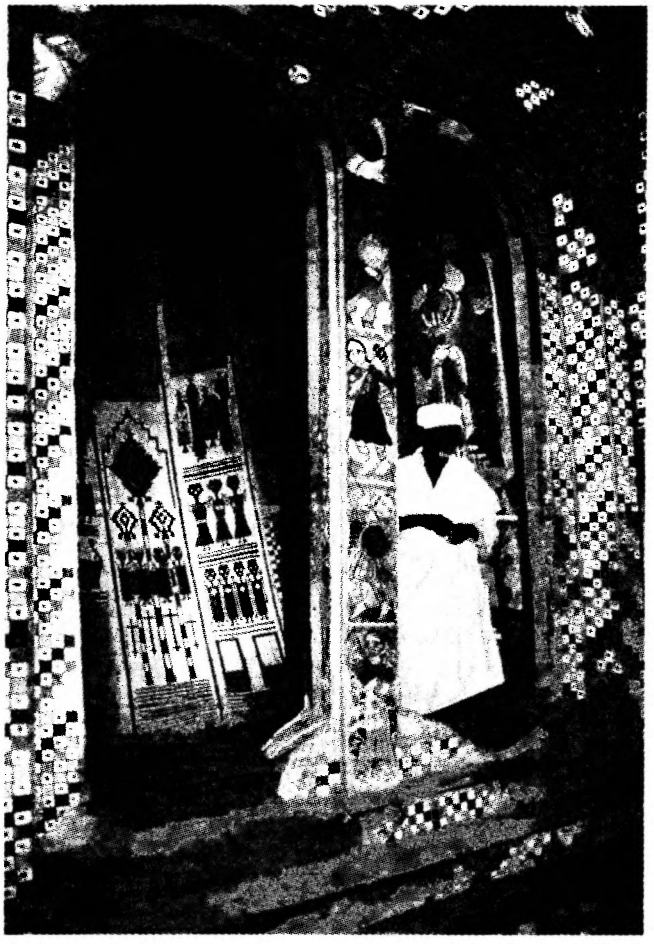
Lit.: REN'YA SATO, "Christianization through Villagization: Experiences of Social Change among the Majangir", in: *PICES* 13, vol. 2, 565–76 (Lit.); JACK STAUDER, "Notes on the History of the Majangir and their Relations with other Ethnic Groups of Southwest Ethiopia", in: *PICES* 3, vol. 3, 104–15; ID., *The Majangir: Ecology and Society of a Southwest Ethiopian People*, London 1971, 3 (map); PETER UNSETH, "Notes on Clan, Kinship, and Marriage Patterns among the Majangir", in: GERRIT DIMMENDAAL – MARCO LAST (eds.), *Surmic Languages and Cultures*, Köln 1998 (Nilo-Saharan 13), 145–78.

Peter Unseth

Mägarägga

M. (Amh. መጋረጃ, lit. 'curtain') are used in Ethiopian churches to partition the interior space, above all into ↗*mäqdäs*, the *qəddəst* and the place of the assembly (*qəne maḫlet*; cp. ↗church buildings). Thus, they separate the three groups of faithful according to the places they qualify to stand (Beylot 1984:19ff.; Coquin 1966:18, 106f.; Metzger 1986:312–15 [cp. Harden 1920:74]; Taft 1998:27ff.), replicating the three spheres (ʿ*alämat*; cp. Gr. *aiōn*) where ↗Angels dwell (*Fəṭḥa nägäśt* 1965/66:133a). The other threefold space categorisation into men (north), women (south) and priests (east) – after Noah as priest, his male, and female relatives when they boarded the Ark – is also relevant in the concrete liturgical rites.

M. are the projection into our days of the ancient divisions of the churches by chancels (Grossmann – Severin in *CE* vol. 1, 200ff.). The well known palaeo-Christian barrier of the *presbyterium* was



Tablet-woven *mägaräğa* screening main entry into the *mäqdäs*, 18th/19th cent., church of St. George, Ruba Kʷəsa, Tämben; photo 2002, courtesy of Michael Gervers

built in Ethiopia up to the first part of the 12th cent. (e.g., ↗Mikaʾel Amba), the sole complete example being found in ↗Däbrä Sälam Mikaʾel (Lepage – Mercier 2005:64f., 82–85, 96, 100f.). Regular lines of holes found in the rock floor of ↗Wəqro Qirqos suggest that wooden screens fitted between the columns used to divide the whole space (Fritsch – Sidot 2006) according to a perhaps not universally old Coptic model (Grossmann 2002:110; McNally 1998:93). The Coptic *horos* – a *presbyterium* enclosed within solid partitions that open through doors both to east (the sanctuary) and west (the assembly place) – is, however, undocumented in Ethiopia (Burmester 1967:20).

The two M. screening both the sanctuary and the altar are called by the Gəʿəz term for M., መንጦላዕት (*mänṭolaʿət*), reportedly taken from the phrase *bäwəsṭä wəsaṭe mänṭolaʿət* ... ('in the inner curtain ...') of the hymn *Yəweddəsəwwa mäläʾəkt* (ChRep no. 388; Groh hymn 26; ↗Psalter).

According to an ancient arrangement (Beylot 1984:20), the main western doorway into the sanctuary is always screened. Concealing the sanctuary, it emphasizes the transcendence of God, who lives "behind curtains" (cf. *Anaphora of St. Mary* by Cyriacus of Behnesa, MQ § 85; MD 141, 285; *Anaphora* of James of Serug, MQ no. 53; MD 141, 285; Böll 1998:192). Unlike in other Churches, including Coptic (and occasionally Roman), which all use a single piece of textile, the Ethiopian curtain is double, alluding to the curtain of the Temple torn in two when Jesus died (Mt 27:51, Mk 15:38, Lk 23:45); it is red in reference to Jesus's flesh (Heb 10:20). Inside the *mäqdäs*, a fixed screen or curtain between the altar and the doors prevents the altar from being seen from outside. Its origin may be found in the curtain hiding both altar and priest in ancient Coptic churches (Butler 1884, vol. 1, 22, 193; vol. 2, 28–31). Recent churches do not have this.

Since the altar (i.e. *Mänbärä ↗tabot*) developed under Coptic influence in ca. 14th cent. into a large construction surmounted with a canopy, long altar cloths were hung on all its sides except the front. This arrangement was observed by Alvares in the 16th cent. in ↗Däbrä Ṣəyon and ↗Wəqro Maryam (BeckHuntAlvar 76). Nowadays, the east side often has an image of St. Mary instead of M. The M. (or shutters) of the altar are opened for liturgical services and closed after the clergy has received Eucharistic communion for distribution.

While the curtains screening the sanctuary and the altar have theological meaning, the other M. are meant for ordering the church space (cp. Beylot 1984, §16). The *qəne maḫlet* of a round church is divided into three parts by two M. hanging on both sides of the choir in the central area. On the left of the cantors (to the north) is the area where men stand, while women are beyond the curtain on their right (to the south). The *qəddəst* area is sometimes also closed off by a M., chiefly at communion time, or has curtains to the north and south of its central part. These divisions correspond to the entrances to the church: north for the men, south for the women, east for the clergy. The north and south doors of the sanctuary may also be covered with one M. each.

The current tendency in town churches is to confine the hanging of M. only to the main door of the sanctuary, while men and women stand in the north and south areas of the *qəne maḫlet*, respectively. In country churches, on the contrary, M. received as gifts from enthusiastic devotees are hung wherever possible, partitioning the interior into many small areas. M. are also hung

before the paintings of the *mäqdäs* or other devotional images, to protect them from dust.

Tablet-woven M. recently found in Təgray (Balicka-Witakowska – Gervers 1996; Henze 1999–2000; Gervers 2004) have attracted considerable interest because of the method of their manufacture, the issue of their origin, and the peculiar features of their art.

Src.: BeckHuntAlvar 76; ROBERT BEYLOT, *Testamentum Domini éthiopien*, Louvain 1984, 19ff. (text) = 157ff. (tr.); VERENA BÖLL, *Unsere Herrin Maria. Die traditionelle äthiopische Exegese der Marienanaphora des Cyriacus von Behnesa*, Wiesbaden 1998 (AeF 48), 192; ChRep no. 388; RENÉ-GEORGES COQUIN, *Les Canons d'Hippolyte*, Paris 1966, 18, 106f.; MARCOS DAOUD (tr.) – MARSIE HAZEN (ed.), *The Liturgy of the Ethiopian Church*, Cairo ²1959 [= MD]; ፍትሐ፡ ነገሥት፡ ንባብና፡ ትርጓሜው (*Fəṯḥa nägäśt nəbabənna tərgʷamew*, 'The Law of the Kings, Reading and Interpretation'), Addis Abäba 1958 A.M. [1965/66 A.D.], 103a; GrohHymn 26; EMMANUEL FRITSCH – PHILIPPE SIDOT, unpublished report on Wəqro Qirqos floor, Addis Abäba 2006; JOHN M. HARDEN, *The Ethiopic Didascalia*, London 1920, 74; Ka; GABRIEL KHOURI-SARKIS, "Note sur l'anaphore syriaque de Saint Jacques. Note 14: Prière du Voile", *L'Orient Syrien* 5, 1960, 363–84; መጽሐፈ፡ ቅዳሴ (*Mäṣḥafä qəddase*, 'The Book of the Hallowing [Missal]'), Addis Abäba 1974 A.M. [1981/82 A.D.], [=MQ]; LesCDic 590; MARCEL METZGER, *Les Constitutions apostoliques*, T. 1: *Livres III–VI*, Paris 1986 (Sources Chrétiennes 329), 312–15.

Lit.: EWA BALICKA-WITAKOWSKA – MICHAEL GERVERS, "Monumental Ethiopian Tablet-woven Silk Curtains: a Case for Royal Patronage", *The Burlington Magazine* 138, 1996, 375–85; ALFRED J. BUTLER, *The Ancient Coptic Churches of Egypt*, Oxford 1884, vol. 1, 22, 193; vol. 2, 30ff.; OSWALD HUGH EWART KHS-BURMESTER, *The Egyptian or Coptic Church: a Detailed Description of Her Liturgical Services ...*, Cairo 1967, 20; MICHAEL GERVERS, "The Tablet-woven Hangings of Tigre, Ethiopia: from History to Symmetry", *The Burlington Magazine* 146, 2004, 587–601; PETER GROSSMAN, *Christliche Architektur in Ägypten*, Leiden 2002 (Handbuch der Orientalistik 1.62), 110; ID. – HANS GEORG SEVERIN, "Architectural Elements of Churches: Cancelli", in: *CE* vol. 1, 200f.; MARTHA HENZE, "Tablet-woven Curtains from Ethiopia: New Light on a Puzzling Group of Textiles", *The Textile Museum Journal* 38–39, 1999–2000, 84–100; *liqä kahənat* KƎNFÄ GÄBRƎʾEL ALTAYÄ – *qäsis* GETAČČÄW DÄĞÄNE, ሥርዓተ፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን (*Śərʿatä betä krəstiyan*, 'Church Order'), Addis Ababa 1998 A.M. [2006 A.D.]), 54–56; W. EUGENE KLEINBAUER, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture, an Annotated Bibliography and Historiography*, Boston 1992, 334f.; SHEILA MCNALLY, "Transformations of Ecclesiastical Space: Churches in the Area of Akhmim", *Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists* 35, 1998, 79–95; CLAUDE LEPAGE – JACQUES MERCIER, *Les églises historiques du Tigray: Art éthiopien*, Paris 2005, 64f., 82–85, 96, 100f.; SERGEW HABLE SELASSIE et al., *The Church of Ethiopia: a Panorama of History and Spiritual Life*, Addis Ababa 1970, 55 [ID. – BELAYNESH MIKAEL, "Worship in the Ethiopian Orthodox Church"]; ROBERT F. TAFT, "Women at Church in Byzantium: Where, When and Why?", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 52, 1998, 27–87; Abba TEKLÉ MARYAM SEMHARAY, *Règles spéciales de la messe éthiopienne*, Rome 1936, 17.

Emmanuel Fritsch

Mägäzäz

M. (መገዘዝ; 9° 17' N, 39° 31' E) is a mountain in ↗Bulga, Šäwa, 25 km east of Šäno town, and the area around it (for location s. Mähal Meda). The peak reaches 3,596 m A.S.L. and is easily visible from the main road. The northern, eastern and southern slopes fall abruptly towards the Qäbbänna and ↗Käsäm rivers. M. is famous for ↗juniper timber.

The sultanate of the ↗Maḫzūmī dynasty was located in the area between M. and ↗Ankobär. It was succeeded by the sultanate of ↗Ifat, which was in constant struggle with the Christian state until it was defeated and made tributary in 1415 (Stitz in USCES, 191).

M. is particularly associated with *aṣe* ↗Susənyos, in which context it probably referred to the upper Qäbbänna valley in general. In his youth, Susənyos was captured by the ↗Oromo and spent many years with them. He was later set free, but after the death of *aṣe* ↗Śärṣä Dəngəl he fled to Šäwa and was able to build up a large following consisting of both Oromo and Amhara. His capital during this period was ƎnžarinQəmbəbit, clearly within the district referred to as M. There is a small village named Qəmbəbit on the northern slopes of the moutain, and the historical M., Ənžar and Qəmbəbit may well have been in this area. According to tradition, it was at M. that Susənyos's son ↗Fasilädäs was born.

After Susənyos became emperor in 1607, he moved to ↗Gondär and lost control over Šäwa. A few years later he sent an army which campaigned victoriously from ↗Goğğam to M. and then returned back (BTafA 331).

The M. area was incorporated into the rapidly expanding Šäwan principality under ↗Ammәḫa Iyäsus in the mid-18th cent. (BTafA 513).

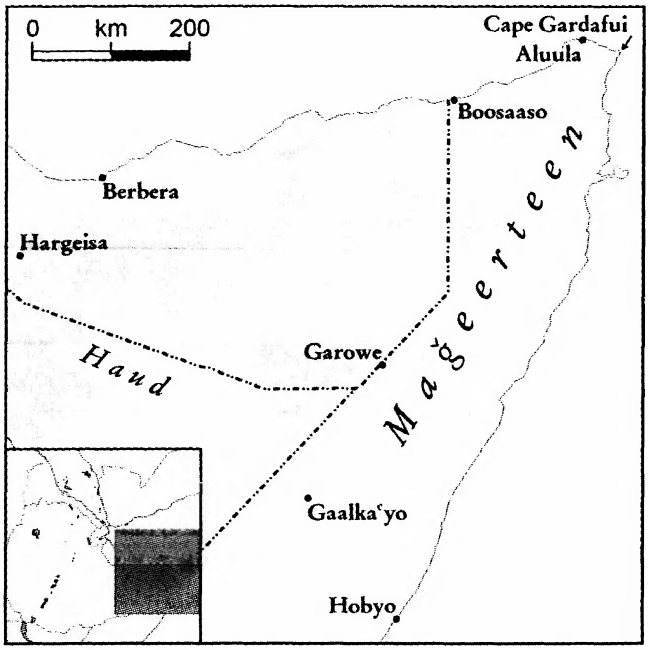
Src.: BTafA 245, 249, 251, 253, 277, 331, 513; PerChron vol. 1, 52ff.

Lit.: StStud 75–82; VOLKER STITZ, "The Western Argobba of Yifat, Central Ethiopia", in: *USCES* 185–92.

Svein Ege

Mağeerteen

M. (Somali sp.: Majeerteen) is a Somali clan which has a prominent position in Somali history as well as in the history of the wider Horn of Africa. According to tradition, M. was the nick-



name of Maḥamed, son of Ḥarti, son of Kombe, son of Kablalaḥ, son of Daarood. Therefore, by patrilinear descent the clan belongs to the Ḥarti clan-federation of the ↗Daarood clan-family. The M.-clan itself is subdivided into numerous groups. The most prominent in recent history are ʿAlī (Calii), Maḥamūd (Maxamuud), ʿIsmaʾīl (Cismaiil) and ʿUmar (Comar), named after the sons of Saleebaan. Of these, in particular, the three sons of Maḥamūd – ʿĪsa (Ciisa) Maḥamūd, ʿUṯmān (Cosmaan) Maḥamūd, and ʿUmar Maḥamūd – and their descendants played important roles in the last two centuries.

According to Cerulli, the M.-clan came from the north-west of the Somali peninsula and gradually expelled the earlier Oromo population in the region. For several centuries it has inhabited the north-eastern Horn from Cape ↗Gardafui (i.e. Ras Asir) to the port of Boosaaso in the west, and to Gaalkaʿyo and, from the late 19th to the early 20th cent., to ↗Hobyo in the south. Some M. sub-clans also live in the so-called Haud region (today Region Five; cp. ↗Ogaden) of Ethiopia, and, since the late 19th cent., also at ↗Kismaayu in the far South of ↗Somalia.

The M. lived as pastoral-nomads in the high plateau in the interior, as collectors and sellers of wild honey, gum Arabic and frankincense in the mountains bordering the sea, and as fishermen, pirates and traders along the coast. This put them in continuous contact with the Arabs of the opposite shore of the Red Sea: conversely, groups of Mahrī, such as the Maḥmūd Ṣāliḥ around the mid-18th cent., settled among the M., and in the progress of time were assimilated, also linguistically.

The highest traditional authority of the M. was called *boqor* ('sultan' in foreign relations), who was a member of the Bah Dir family, within the numerous ʿUṯmān Maḥamūd sub-clan. In the old days, the M.-*boqor* presided over the council of all Ḥarti clans (including Đulbahante, Warsangeeli and others). However, until the 19th cent. he excerted hardly more than nominal authority, like the other traditional leaders in the pastoral-nomadic Somali society. Around 1840, the *boqor* managed to establish a monopoly over the booty from shipwrecks of the mostly European and Indian ships stranded or sunk every year off Cape Gardafui. Furthermore, in 1838 he signed an agreement with the British that engaged him to protect their ships and nationals when passing or shipwrecked on the shores of M. country. He also broke the Indian monopoly of trade in his realm and replaced foreign merchants with M. traders. The *boqor* was then able to equip his followers with modern firearms and build a strong army. Thereby he and his family subsequently gained control over Boosaaso (Bandar Qāsim), the important port in north-east Somalia, and such strategic points as wells in the interior.

In the 1870s a conflict inside the royal family split the sultanate. The then *boqor* ʿUṯmān Maḥamūd Yūsuf saw his authority limited to the north-east with his capital at Aluula. His cousin Yūsuf ʿAlī (Yuusuf Calii "Keenadiid") seized the coastal town of Hobyo, ended the dominance of ↗Hawiye-clans, and established his new sultanate there, on the eastern shore of central Somalia. In 1889, both M. rulers made protection agreements with Italy. Nevertheless, the sultanates were relatively sovereign during the early 20th cent. Between 1899 and 1920, when the so-called Dervishes led by ↗Muḥammad ʿAbdallāh Ḥasan fought the colonial powers in the Horn, *boqor* ʿUṯmān and *sulṭān* Yūsuf ʿAlī at the beginning allied with the Dervishes, but later fought them so as to preserve their realms. In 1925, Italy started a campaign to crush the power of the M. sultanates, both defeated by 1927. The *boqor* and the *sulṭān* were deported to Mogadishu (s. EAE vol. 5), where they died in captivity.

M. politicians gained renewed prominence in independent ↗Somalia. On 1 July 1960 the British Protectorate of Somaliland and the Italian Trusteeship Territory of Somalia united to form the Republic of Somalia. The first Prime Minister was ʿAbdarrašīd ʿAlī Šermarke, a M. From 1967 until his assassination in October 1969 he

was President of Somalia. After the following coup d'état of young military officers led by Muḥammad Siyād (Muxammad Siyaad) Barre, members of the former military and civilian elite were imprisoned. Among them was the Colonel ᶜAbdullāhi Yūsuf Aḥmad (Cabdullaahi Yuusuf Axmad) from the ᶜUmar Maḥamūd-subclan of M. He was released from prison in 1977 to command the southern front in the Somali attack against Ethiopia during the Ogaden War (1977–78). After the defeat he was among the group of mostly M. officers who attempted to overthrow Siyād Barre in April 1979. The coup failed and 17 officers, among them 16 from the M.-clan, were executed. ᶜAbdullāhi Yūsuf escaped and fled to ↗Kenya and then to Ethiopia. There he and other opponents of the Somali regime established the Somali Salvation Front (S.S.F.), the first Somali guerrilla front, which was in 1981 transformed into the Somali Salvation Democratic Front (S.S.D.F.). The core of the fighters came from M. sub-clans. The Somali regime reacted by summarily punishing M. civilians inside Somalia. The guerrillas were mainly supported by Ethiopia and Libya. However, by 1985 internal tensions and conflict with Ethiopia led to the breakdown of the S.S.D.F. ᶜAbdullāhi Yūsuf was imprisoned in Addis Abäba and most of the S.S.D.F. fighters returned to Somalia, accepting the amnesty offered by Siyād Barre, or went to exile. A number of remaining forces continued to exist in name only under the command of the former police-general Maḥamed Abšir.

When ᶜAbdullāhi Yūsuf was released in 1991 he returned to Somalia and rebuilt the S.S.D.F. In the following Somali civil war the guerrillas gained control over north-eastern Somalia, the territory of the former M. sultanates excluding Hobyo, which had been taken back by Hawiye-clans a long time before. In 1998 the Ḥarti clans led by the M. established the Republic of Puntland as an autonomous state with ᶜAbdullāhi Yūsuf as President. The capital city was Garowe, the economical centre Boosaaso, and the personal stronghold of the president his hometown of Gaalkaᶜyo. ᶜAbdullāhi Yūsuf continued to rule against internal opposition until 2004. In October 2004 he was elected President of the Transitional Federal Government (TFG) of Somalia at the Somali Peace and Reconciliation conference in Kenya, held between 2002 and 2004 under the auspices of the East-African regional organization IGAD.

Lit.: ENRICO CERULLI, *Il diritto consuetudinario della Somalia Italiana settentrionale (Sultanato dei Migiurtini)*, Napoli 1919; ID., "Un gruppo di Mahrī nella Somalia Italiana", *RSO* 11, 1926, 25-26 [repr. in: ID., *Somalia, Scritti vari*, vol. 1, Roma 1957, 109-10]; ID., "Tradizioni storiche e monumenti della Migiurtinia", *Africa italiana* 4, 1931, 153–69 [repr. in: ID., *Somalia, Scritti vari*, vol. 1, Roma 1957, 71–90]; CHARLES J. CRUTTENDEN, "Report on the Mijertheyn Tribe of Somalis, Inhabiting the District Forming the North-East Point of Africa", *Transactions of the Bombay Geographical Society* 7, 1844–46, 111–25; WAYNE K. DURRILL, "Atrocious Misery: the African Origins of Famine in Northern Somalia", *The American Historical Review* 91, 1986, 2, 287–306; EDWARD HERTSLET, *The Map of Africa by Treaty: Revised and Completed to the End of 1908, by R[ICHARD] W[ILLIAM] BRAND and H[ARRY] L[ESLIE] SHERWOOD*, vol. 3, London ³1967; GUILIO BALDACCI, "The Promontory of Cape Guardafui", *Journal of the Royal African Society* 9, 33, 1909, 59–72; LEE VINCENT CASSANELLI, *The Shaping of Somali Society: Reconstructing the History of a Pastoral People, 1600–1900*, Philadelphia, PA 1982; IOAN MYRDDIN LEWIS, *A Modern History of the Somali: Revised, Updated and Expanded*, Oxford 2002; MARKUS VIRGIL HÖHNE, "Somalia – Ein Neubeginn? Entwicklungen und Perspektiven unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Verhältnisse in Nord-Somalia", in: WALTER FEICHTINGER – GERALD HAINZL (eds.), *Krisenherd Nordostafrika. Internationale oder afrikanische Verantwortung?*, Baden-Baden 2005, 41–63; ABDI SHEIK-ABDI, *Divine Madness: Mohammed Abdulle Hassan (1856–1920)*, London 1993.

Markus V. Höhne

Mäggabi

The M. (መጋቢ, Gəᶜəz 'steward', from መገበ, *mäggäbä*, 'administer', 'be in charge') is an official of importance in the monastic hierarchy of the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥədo) Church. He serves as a treasurer in a monastery (↗*gädam*, ↗*däbr*) being subject to its head (↗*aläqa*, *abä mənet* or ↗*mämhər*); in larger communities he is responsible to the *rəʾəsä däbr* who in turn answers to the *aläqa* or *mämhər*. The M. is usually responsible for the distribution of food and other financial matters, and was usually chosen by the monks from withn their own community.

The bishop of ↗Aksum received the epithet *mäggabe haymanot* (cp. the 14th-cent. doc. no. 33 from the Golden Gospel of Däbrä Libanos; CRDLib 216). The title often features in Ewosṭatean contexts (e.g., the *Gädlä ↗Absadi*, s. LusStud 79f.). A 15th-cent. Gospel ms. from ↗Däbrä Maryam of Qʷäḥayn includes a commemoration note (↗*täzkar*) on M. Muse (BauEr I, 38). St. ↗Anorewos ("the Elder") was the M. of the monastery of Däbrä Asbo (↗Däbrä Libanos of Šäwa) and in this function reorganized much of the monastic community. A certain

M. Ǝndrəyas seems to have played a role in the conflict between *əṣṣäge* ↗Ǝndrəyas and ↗Zär'a Ya'əqob (CerDLib II, 144ff.). During the reign of ↗Bä'ədä Maryam two M. were installed in Däbrä Libanos, one responsible for paying the tribute to the Emperor, and the other for administering the community. From the documents preserved in the *Liber Axumae* (*Mäṣḥafä ↗Aksum*) we know of the M. of ↗Aksum Ṣəyon Habtä Maryam (*mäggabe maḫbär*; CRAxum doc. 43) at the time of *aṣe* ↗Ləbnä Dəngəl. The Life of ↗'Ǝnbaqom mentions Ləbnä Dəngəl's ordering high church officials, *liqawənt wämäggäbt*, to reconcile the Metropolitan and *əṣṣäge* ↗Peṭros (RicEnbYoh iv, 77 and 92f.). Ricci (ibid. 92) assumes that the priest encountered by the mission of Rodrigo de ↗Lima and introduced to them as a bishop was in fact the M. of ↗Däbrä Bizän. M. ↗Gäbrä Maryam was, during the 1820s–30s, co-responsible (with M. Gäbrä Ḫəywät) for numerous yearly ↗feasts in Aksum Ṣəyon, under *qesä gäbäz* Zä'amanu'el (CRAxum doc. I.12). Ca. 1830 M. Gäbrä Maryam received numerous land grants from *nəburä əd* Yä'əgzer Barya. It is probably the same Gäbrä Maryam who, in the late 1830s, became the 49th ↗*əṣṣäge* of Däbrä Libanos of Šäwa. He was succeeded as M. of Aksum by Wäldä Dəngəl (CRAxum docs. 82, 93).

In conjunction with other terms, M. indicates different functions and positions. An ecclesiastic in charge of the novices is referred to as *mäggabe ardə'ət* (or *liqä ardə'ət*, s. ↗*Liq*), one in charge of all monks is *mäggabe mänäkosat*.

The term is also used to refer to learned scholars such as *mäggabe bəluy* (an expert in the interpretation of the ↗Old Testament); *mäggabe ḥaddis* (an expert in the interpretation of the ↗New Testament); *mäggabe liqawənt* (an expert in the interpretation of the Church fathers); *mäggabe ḥəgg* (an expert in the interpretation of the ↗*Fəṭḥa nägäśt*).

The *mäggabe bet(ä mängəśt)* was an official in charge of the royal household, including the archives: the Vita of ↗Märqorewos of Däbrä Dəmaḥ mentions a certain Ğäwar (an Egyptian; Arab. Ğawhar) who held this position under *aṣe* ↗Dawit II (Conti Rossini 1904:44; cp. LusStud 110ff.; Lusini 1998:13f. and nn. 32f.).

Src.: BauEr I, 38; BeckHuntAlvar 79, 89, 556; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, *Vitae sanctorum indigenarum*, I. *Acta Marqorēwos*, Louvain 1904 (CSCO 33, 34 [SAe 16, 17]), 44 (text) = 57 (tr.); CRAxum 18, 46, 70, 76f.; CRDLib 216.

Lit.: CerDLib II, 144ff., 162; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, *Principî di diritto consuetudinario dell'Eritrea*, Roma 1916 (Manuali coloniali pubblicati a cura del Ministero delle Colonie), 387 n. 1, 388 n. 1; LusStud 79 and n. 44, 80, 110ff., 123; GIANFRANCESCO LUSINI, "Scritture documentarie etiopiche (Dabra Deḫuḫān e Dabra Ṣegē, Sarā'ē, Eritrea)", *RSE* 42, 1998 [1999, pub. 2000], 5–55, here 13f. and nn. 32–33; RicEnbYoh IV, 77, 92f. n. 173, V, 127ff. n. 219, 138f. n. 233.

Evgenia Sokolinskaia

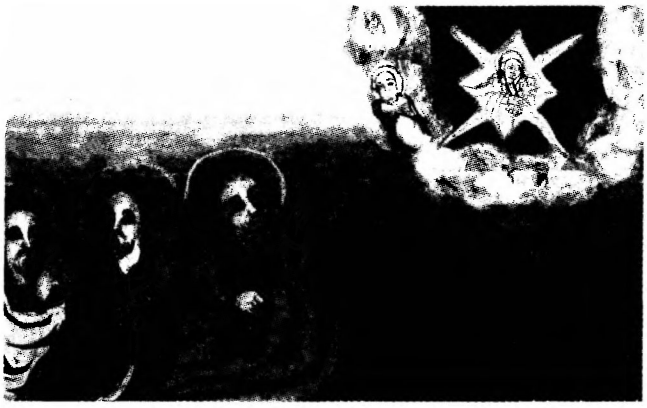
Mäggabit ↗Calendar, Christian

Magi

The M. (Gə'əz **መሰግላን**, *mäsäggəlan*, or **ሰብአ ሰገል**, *säb'a sägäl*) are the Wise Men from the East who, according to Mt 2:1–12, arrived in Bethlehem to pay homage and bring gifts to Jesus. This biblical passage, and the subtle Iranian connection evoked therein (cp. ↗Iran), has been much elaborated in Christian Oriental, including Ethiopian, tradition. In Ethiopic literature, besides the Gospel, the M. occur in several compositions, both original and translated. The latter are mainly N.T. apocrypha: the ↗*Tä'ammərä Iyäsus*, *Mäṣḥafä ↗ləddta lämaryam*, ↗*Tä'ammərä Maryam*, ↗*Nägärä Maryam*; or pseudepigrapha: the *Gädlä ↗Addam*; or exegetical works: the *Catena Gospel Commentary* and the so-called *Commentary* of ↗John Chrysostom (actually, by Ibn aṭ-Ṭayyib). The M. can also be met with in local homiliaries (↗*Dərsanä Maryam*, ↗*Dərsanä Ragu'el*) and commentaries on the Gospel (↗*Tərg*^{w}*ame wängelat*). In addition, their names appear in a few miniatures (e.g., ms. BN d'Abbadie 105, fol. 5v).

Tradition, as seen in these texts, includes several stories, which sometimes contradict one another, which thus cannot derive from a single source. Differences concern the time of the M.'s arrival (often when Jesus was two years old), their guides (Archangels Gabriel, Michael or Raguel), and, most conspicuously, their number and their names. In some texts the M. are three, in others twelve (only by mistake, eleven names are listed: s. Ibn aṭ-Ṭayyib's *Commentary* in, e.g., mss. BritLib Orient. 731 or EMML 368). In legends with three M., their name sets vary substantially: e.g., Ḥor, Bäsänaṭər, Qärsudan in the *Gädlä Addam*, vs. Bä'anti Suram, Mälikun and Bädisəsba in the *Catena Gospel Commentary*.

Some of these traditions can be traced back to early Christian sources, as is the case with the M. as kings, or with the significance of their gifts. Other traditions, such as, e.g., Mary and the Child visible in the middle of the star guiding them, the origin of the gifts from the Cave of Treasures, the



Magi guided by the star bearing the image of the Virgin and Child; ms. *Nägärä Maryam*, fol. 26r, 18th cent., Ǝndabba Ḥadära, Tämben; photo 2002, courtesy of Michael Gervers

figure of Zärädäšt (= Zarathustra or Zoroaster) as the ancestor of the M., and their number being twelve (like the signs of the Zodiac), as well as their names, can be traced to Syriac sources well-acquainted with Iranian lore: in particular, the *Cave of Treasures* (3rd cent.) and the *Story of the Magi*, included in the *Chronicle* of ↗Pseudo-Dionysius of Tel Maḥrē (8th cent.; Chabot 1927: 43, 1949:66; Monneret de Villard 1952:27-49).

In European tradition during the Middle Ages a conception evolved according to which the M. each came from one of the three continents, a result of the idea of the whole world paying homage to the newly-born Jesus. Therefore one of the M., usually Balthasar, was believed to have originated from Africa, and since the 14th cent. he was represented in art as a black man. According to J. Duchesne-Guillemin (1985, vol. 1, 154), such representation was influenced by the legend of ↗Prester John interpreted as the king of Abyssinia.

Src.: CRAbb 47, no. 19 [ms. Abbadie 105], fol. 5v; ERNEST ALFRED THOMPSON WALLIS BUDGE (tr.), *The Book of the Cave of Treasures*, London 1927; JEAN-BAPTISTE CHABOT (ed.), *Chronicon anonymum Pseudo-Dionysianum vulgo dictum*, I, Parisiis 1927 (CSCO 91 [Scriptores Syri 3:1]), 43 (text); ID. (tr.), *Incerti auctoris Chronicon Pseudo-Dionysianum vulgo dictum*, I, Lovanii 1949 (CSCO 121 [Scriptores Syri 3:1], 66 (tr.); JACQUES DUCHESNE-GUILLEMIN, "The Wise Men from the East in the Western Tradition", in: ID. (ed.), *Papers in Honour of Professor Mary Boyce*, Leiden 1985 (Acta Iranica 24, 2ème sér.: Hommages et opera minora 10), vol. 1, 149–57; EMML II, 81, no. 368; SU-MIN RI (ed., tr.), *La Caverne des Trésors: les deux recensions syriaques*, Lovanii 1987 (CSCO 486, 487 [Scriptores Syri 207, 208]); WriBriMus 199f., no. 308 [Orient. 731].

Lit.: ROGER W. COWLEY, *Ethiopian Biblical Interpretation: a Study in Exegetical Tradition and Hermeneutics*, Cambridge 1988 (University of Cambridge Oriental Publications 38), 46–54; UGO MONNERET DE VILLARD, *Le leggende orientali sui magi evangelici*, Città del Vaticano 1952 (Studi e Testi 163), 27–49 (Lit.); SU-MIN RI, *Commentaire de la* Caverne des Trésors: *étude sur l'histoire du texte et de ses sources*, Lovanii 2000 (CSCO 581 [Subsidia 103]), 445–66; ANTONIO PANAINO, *I Magi evangelici: Storia e simbologia tra Oriente e Occidente*, Ravenna 2004 (I Quaderni di «Flaminia» 7), (Lit.); WITOLD WITAKOWSKI, "Magi in Ethiopic Tradition", *Aethiopica* 2, 1999, 69–89 (Lit.).

Witold Witakowski

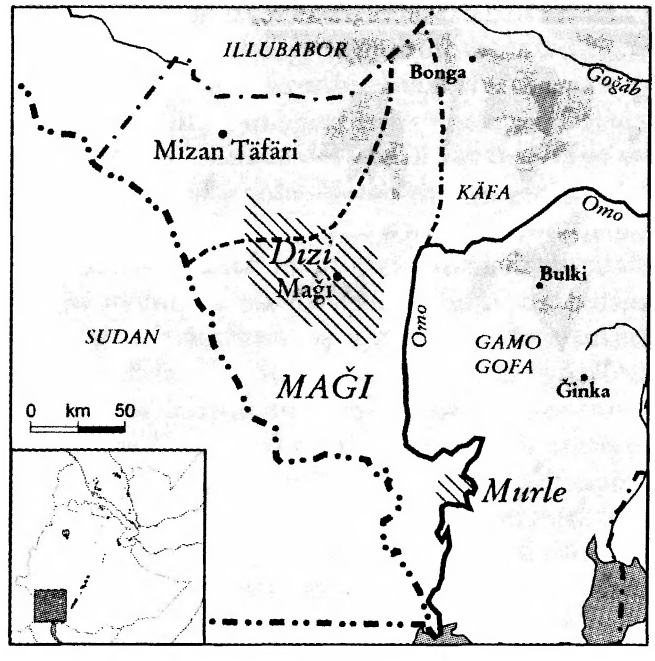
Maği ↗Dizi

Maği

M. (ማጂ; from Dizi *maašt*, 'high place') is a town and area in the ↗Käfa region of south-west Ethiopia. The name also refers to the language of the ↗Dizi people inhabiting the area along with the ↗Benç. The ↗Murle trace their descent to a place called Ǧen, beyond M.

The town of M. (6° 12' N, 35° 34' E; 2,430 m A.S.L.) was founded soon after the Käfa region was conquered by the troops of *aṣe* Mənilək II led by *ras* ↗Wäldä Giyorgis Abboyye in 1898 as a ↗*kätäma* for the ↗*näfṭäññä* from the north. Close to ↗Sudan, it was chosen as the site of a British consulate where in the 1920s Arnold ↗Hodson served as consul. The consulate had to be closed after the Italian occupation in 1936. In 1955, it was chosen as one of the pioneer stations of the United Presbyterian Church and is today an active Protestant missionary area. M. has a small airport where tourists land to visit the ↗Omo National Park.

The town had 3,000 inhabitants in 1938. Later, the population dropped (1,582 inhabitants in 1984 and 1,617 in 1994) and recovered its original size in 2004 (2,798 inhabitants). Administratively, it is today the capital of the Dizi *wäräda*, a subdivision of the Benç-Maği zone (capital in ↗Mizan



Täfäri) of the Southern Nations, Nationalities and People's Region. Formerly, Benç-Mağı was an *awraǧǧa* of the Käfa province. Benç-Mağı covers an area of 442 km² and its population grew from 325,878 inhabitants in 1984 to 455,527 in 2005 (16.7 inhabitants/km² density). Most of the inhabitants live in the densely populated highlands cultivating ↗*ənsät*.

Reportedly, while hunting in the M. area, *afä nəgus* Ǝšäte encountered and bought as a slave Ḫaylä Maryam, the father of Mängəštu. During the *Därg* period, Mängəštu Ḫaylä Maryam in his turn used M. as a place of internal exile for army commanders who failed in the civil war.

Src.: CSA 1984; 1998; 2004a; EMAtlas.

Lit.: *Guida* 544; ARNOLD HODSON, "Journeys from Maji, South-West Abyssinia", *Geographical Journal* 73, 1929, 401–28; STANISLAW STANLEY, "Ensete in the Ethiopian Economy", *Ethiopian Geographical Journal* 4, 1, 1966, 30–37; ZerÉth.

Alain Gascon

Magic

Scholars of culture and religion have tried to produce a definition which clearly distinguishes M. from religion, with only limited success. While some propose a functional distinction (M. has an immediate goal, while those of religion are more general), others have suggested that religion is public and compulsory, while M. is private (even secret) and voluntary. According to James Frazer's classic definition M. is a "primitive science", operating mechanically according to a clear set of "laws", as distinct from religion which depends on the desire of spirits and gods. M. has often been viewed by scholars as representing an early stage on an evolutionary scale and thus M. phenomena in advanced cultures are viewed as "survivals" from an earlier stage in cultural development (Kaplan in StudAeth 414ff.).

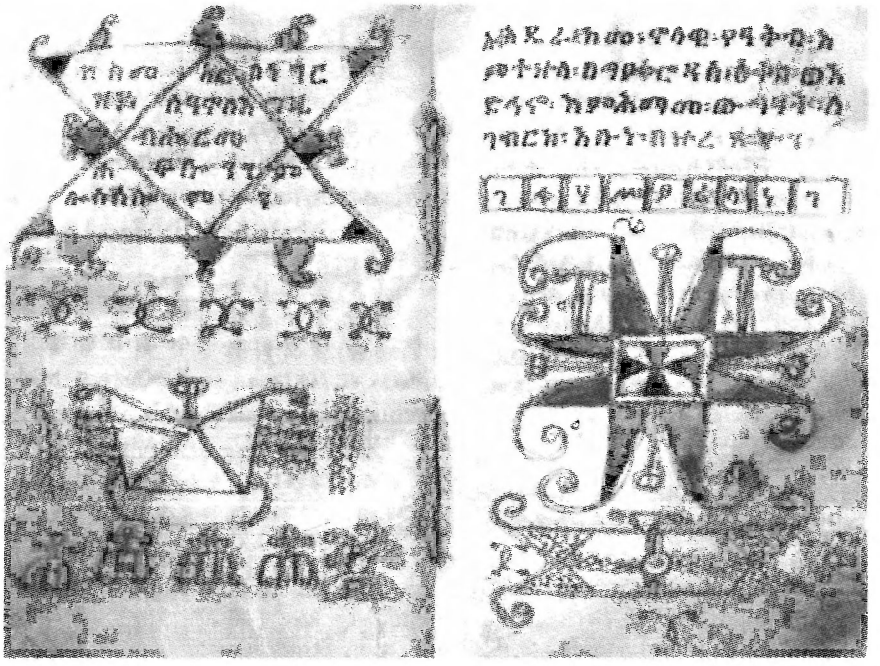
Scholars of Ethiopian culture have either explicitly or implicitly applied definitions such as these in their discussions of M. It has been depicted as an early stage of development in the history of religions, a survival of the "pagan" (↗Religion, traditional) past (UllBibl 79), "popular" as opposed to elite or official religion. It appears to have frequently been used as an outsiders' label for the beliefs and practices of "others", and often as a pejorative term. Practices and practitioners are often labelled as magicians to distinguish them from an idealized pure, usually monotheistic, religion, which seldom exists outside the imagination of some scholars and religious leaders. When looking at actual cases, such sharp distinctions are difficult to maintain. M. usually exists alongside or within a religious tradition and makes use of the same repertoire of symbols, rituals, and shares the same practitioners. In the traditional ethnic systems of Ethiopia, there was originally no concept equivalent to M. These difficulties in defining M. notwithstanding there are a variety of phenomena including practices, texts, and cults which are generally discussed in the context of M. and will be dealt with in this article.

Within the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church (EOTC) a wide array of texts, practices and beliefs fall under the general rubric of M. Thus M. or magic-religious prayers often invoke God, different angels, through the use of ↗*asmat* (cp. ↗Magic literature; ↗Names). Such texts are designed to protect or heal the beneficiary or accord him/her a particular power or desire (love, success, fertility etc.). They may be prepared by a ↗*däbtära* or even a priest or monk and often invoke a pseudo-epigraphic mytho-historical precedent (Solomon, St. Sisinius, Jesus or St. Mary). Such magical texts often appear in the form of an amulet or ↗magic scroll made to be worn by the beneficiary.

Indeed, in the Church, as in other traditions, a single object or act may be understood in different ways by believers under different circumstances; being both an object of religious devotion and an instrument of M. Thus the ↗Cross (↗*Mäsqäl*) serves as the central symbol of the Christian faith and offers protection from ↗demons, heals the sick and accomplishes other magical (or as the faithful would define them "miraculous") acts. Baptismal waters are crucial to the ritual in which a person is reborn and accepted into the Church, but they may also be used to heal and protect from evil, particularly demonic forces (cp. ↗*ṣäbäl*). An icon serves to visually focus the veneration of the faithful, but it may also have an inherent power to act, rewarding the faithful and punishing the wicked. A Biblical text such as the ↗Psalms has liturgical uses and is employed as an ↗oracle. Passages from liturgical texts such as ↗*Təmhərtä ḫəbuʾat* are incorporated into magic scrolls. The ↗*Ardəʾət* enjoys a liturgical status among the Betä Ǝsraʾel and is recited by monks in the EOTC; however it also serves as an amulet. Perhaps more than any Christian element, the ↗Eucharist, whose very existence depends

on a miraculous/magical transformation, is open to multiple interpretations.

M. has survived despite official disapproval and on occasion even royal sanctions and severe penalties. *Aṣe* ↗Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob campaigned aggressively against the M. practices of his time. While he may in part have been motivated by a desire to purify Christianity, he also sought to de-legitimize his enemies (both religious and political). Despite the resources he devoted to opposing M., he had little success in eliminating beliefs and practices, which were deeply rooted in the population.



Magic drawings; ms. *Mäṣḥafä śəray*, fols. 42v–43r, 19th cent. (?), *gädam* of Ǝndabba Ḥadära, Tämben; photo 2002, courtesy of Michael Gervers

Although both Christianity and Islam are formally against the use of oracles, people's desire to know hidden things, whether they be the cause of events which have taken place, or the course of events yet to occur, has proven stronger than any official condemnation. Among many "pagan" peoples, oracles and divination form an integral part of their religious practice and cosmology, and are seen as necessary techniques for leading a successful life. A wide variety of techniques exist including the reading of entrails, the casting of stones, coffee beans or "sandals", the interpretation of natural events and dreams.

Spirit ↗possession cults are also among the most common phenomena considered as a form of M. Practices linked to the beliefs in ↗*ǧinn* and ↗spirits which often intermingle with the *zar* cult, divination (oracles and ↗Prophecy) and other magical rituals are widespread in Ethiopia, even if, being in sharp contradiction to strict monotheism, they are formally condemned. Among peoples who are not monotheist, possession cults although often described within the context of M. usually form an integral part of their religious tradition.

Given its ambivalent status, it is not surprising that practitioners of M. are themselves often viewed with suspicion. Yet again, the formulation could just as easily be reversed to claim that people with an ambivalent status are often suspected of engaging in M. The *däbtära* is often feared for his use of M., but respected for his learning (LevWax 171ff.). So-called peripheral or ↗marginalized people (s. EAE vol. 5) are often associated with M. because as craftsmen (↗Handicrafts; ↗Blacksmiths) they use fire and have contact with "impure" substances. This in turn mingles with accusations of being ↗*buda*, malevolent beings who cause harm to their neighbours as well as their crops, livestock and children. Nevertheless, they sometimes also play a crucial role in their (mainly agricultural) neighbourhood rituals. Other practitioners of M. include those who bring or stop rain (↗Rainmaking), sorcerers who use a variety of means to harm others, witches (who like the *buda* may act unconsciously), and inevitably "witchdoctors", i.e. those who use M. to protect their clients from the harmful M. of others.

M. practices, particularly ↗healing, often result in the crossing of religious and ethnic boundaries as members of different groups sacrifice social exclusivity in the interest of practical efficacy. *Zar* cults which exist among Christians, Muslims and Jews throughout North-east Africa are on occasion the forum for the meeting of disparate individuals united only by their involvement in the cult. Similarly, a skilled *däbtära* or other practitioner with a good reputation may attract clients from considerable distances and from ethnic groups other than his own.

In the 20th cent. with the advent of modern education, M. suffered a further decline in status as educated Ethiopians came to denigrate it and deny its existence. Motivated less by the previously cited religious scruples and more by a sense that M. was "primitive" and "backward", it came

to be seen as a legacy of the past and inimical to progress and a modern identity. However, in Ethiopia and the Ethiopian diaspora, it continues to survive "underground", particularly where other religious, medical and technological solutions have not provided satisfactory solutions.

Src.: AARON ZE'EV AEŠCOLY (ed., tr.), *Recueil de textes falachas. Introduction. Textes éthiopiens*, Paris 1951 (Travaux et Mémoires de l'Institut d'Ethnologie 55), 80–149, 176–97; GETATCHEW HAILE (ed.), *The Epistle of Humanity of Emperor Zar'a Yaeqob (Tomara Tesbe't)*, Louvain 1991 (CSCO 522, 533 [=SAE 95, 96]); MARCEL GRIAULE (ed., tr.), *Le livre de recettes d'un dabtara abyssin*, Paris 1930 (Travaux et Mémoires de l'Institut d'Ethnologie 12); DEBORAH LIFCHITZ, *Textes éthiopiens magico-religieux*, Paris 1940 (Travaux et Mémoires de l'Institut d'Ethnologie 38); MAXIME RODINSON, *Magie, médecine et possession à Gondar*, Paris 1967; STEFAN STRELCYN (ed., tr.), *Prières magiques éthiopiennes pour délier les charmes (maftəḥē šərāy)*, Varsovie 1955 (= Rocznik Orientalistyczny 18); ID. (ed., tr.), "'Les mystères des Psaumes', traité éthiopien sur l'emploi des Psaumes (amharique ancien)", *BSOAS* 44, 1981, 54–84.

Lit.: AARON ZE'EV AEŠCOLY, "Les noms magiques dans les apocryphes chrétiens des Éthiopiens", *JA* 220, 1932, 87–137; HARALD ASPEN, *Amhara Traditions of Knowledge. Spirit Mediums and their Clients*, Wiesbaden 2001 (AeF 58), s. index; SEVIR CHERNETSOV, "Ethiopian Magic Literature", *St. Petersburg Journal of African Studies* 3, 1994, 109–17; DENA FREEMAN – ALULA PANKHURST, *Peripheral People: the Excluded Minorities of Ethiopia*, London 2003; STEVEN KAPLAN, "Magic and Religion in Christian Ethiopia: some Preliminary Remarks", in: *StudAeth*, 413–22; LevWax 171ff.; JACQUES MERCIER, "Les *däbtära* et le vocabulaire de la magie et de la médecine", *Abbay* 7, 1976, 113–34; ID., *Art that Heals: the Image as Medicine in Ethiopia*, New York 1997; REIDULF K. MOLVAER, *Socialization and Social Control in Ethiopia*, Wiesbaden 1995 (AeF 44), s. index; VERONIKA SIX, "Kategorien der äthiopischen Zaubertexte", *ZDMG* 139, 1989, 310–17; STEFAN STRELCYN, "La magie éthiopienne", in: *PICES* 1, 147–65; TriIslam 256–69; UllBibl 79; WILLIAM HOYT WORREL, "Charms and Amulets [Abyssinian]", in: JAMES HASTING (ed.), *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. 3, Edinburgh 1910, 398–401; ID., "Studien zum abessinischen Zauberwesen", *ZA* 23, 1909, 149–83; *ibid.* 24, 1910, 59–96; *ibid.* 29, 1915, 85–141.

Steven Kaplan

Magic literature

Christian magic literature

M.l. (i.e. the corpus of texts to be used for purposes of ↗magic), as part of Ethiopian literature, comprises written testimonies of various traditional beliefs and is heterogeneous in content, themes and genres. It provides us with valuable information regarding the degree of dissemination of ↗Christianity and the knowledge of the ↗Bible among the faithful but also about the role played by traditional polytheistic beliefs and their place within the major monotheistic religions of Ethiopia.

Most works of M.l. within a Christian context were written in ↗Gəʿəz, particularly appreciated because of its function as the language of liturgy (↗*Qəddase*); recently, texts in ↗Amharic have also gained wider spread. Problematic is the position of M.l. within ↗Gəʿəz literature and its connections with other genres. In the modern histories of literature M.l. has been mostly described deprecatorily or ignored.

Although M.l. in itself is anonymous, its tradition and transmission is to be attributed to literate people, mainly clerics such as the ↗*däbtära* or magic specialists such as the *ṭänqʷay* who are responsible for collecting and editing texts.

The following chronological survey of M.l. is very tentative. The majority of the manuscripts known in western libraries are datable to the last 300 years. The texts, however, may have been indirectly influenced by the literature of Late Antiquity. The traditions of magic names (s., e.g., Aešcoly 1932; ↗*asmat*), connected with the legends of St. ↗Susənyos, ↗Alexander the Great or ↗Solomon, support the idea of Near Eastern influences through Greek and Coptic mediation, though it cannot be said for sure during which period they reached Ethiopia. The polemic of *aṣe* ↗Zärʾa Yäʿəqob against magic practices could be interpreted as indirect proof of the existence of 15th-cent. M.l. The contacts with Muslims and Europeans have also influenced Ethiopian M.l.

Types of magic literature

The heterogeneity of M.l. makes its internal classification difficult. In the first place magic texts can be divided into those meant to be (frequently) read for different purposes (such as magic prayers) and those written and carried along but hardly ever read (such as ↗magic scrolls). According to the approach which traditionally distinguishes between "black" and "white" magic (Strelcyn 1955:XXI–XL), one can distinguish between M.l. with protective, apotropaic functions and that with a pronounced aggressive character. From the point of view of genre, M.l. can be classified into longer descriptive texts, usually with a subject line of their own, and shorter magic prayers or incantations.

Longer magic texts

Among the basic content elements one can distinguish biblical, hagiographic, liturgical or apocry-

phal motifs; some magical texts appear original, though even the frequently employ quotations from other texts, esp. from the ↗Bible.

Frequently recurrent biblical quotations are, e.g., Ps 1:1–3, 91 (LXX 90); Mark 1:29–31, 5:25–34, 7:31–37, 8:22–26, 10:46–52; Jn 1:1–5, 1:14 (Worrell 1910:410; Grébaut 1939:3–6; Strelcyn 1955:XXVII). Jesus's role as healer and exorcist was probably one of the reasons for the early magical use of these quotations.

An example of a hagiographic motif in M.l. is the text based on a legend from the Acts of ↗Susənyos; it is one of the most frequently used against miscarriage (Worrell 1909, 1910, 1915). The Ethiopic version of the so-called "Prayer of Cyprian" (Basset 1896; Grohmann 1917–18), attributed to ↗Cyprian of Antioch, who, according to the tradition, was a magician converted to Christianity, is another example.

Passages from such liturgical texts as the Doctrina Arcanorum (↗*Təmhərtä ḫəbuʾat*) or Mystagogia are written on scrolls or amulets (cp. ↗*ṭälsäm*) to protect the owner against illness or to assure a long life (Burtea 2001:91f.). Such pieces of M.l. as the ↗*Ḥaṣurä mäsqäl*, meant to protect against all categories of harm and enemies, and to curse Satan (Lifchitz 1940:88ff.), the *Säyfä śəllase* ('Sword of the Trinity', ibid. 226–38) which is meant to give help against enemies, the *Mälkəʾa Fanuʾel* (cp. ↗*Mälkəʾ*) meant to expel ↗demons (Burtea 2001:64–69) and the *Säyfä mäläkot* ('The Sword of the Divinity'; Grébaut 1936:1–6) believed to exorcize Satan, all borrow extensively from ecclesiastic hymnody. The "Prayer of our Lady in the Land of the Parthia" (*Bartos*), which keeps away diseases (Basset 1895:11–47; Conti Rossini 1896), can be classified both as M.l. and as an apocryphal text.

Original magic texts are generally characterized by the belief in the power of a name (↗*Asmat*). The ↗*Ləfafä ṣədq* is believed to possess the power to protect the soul after death on its journey to the next world through the secret and powerful magical names of Jesus. The ↗*Ardəʾət* aims, by means of the secret names of Jesus, to protect from every sin, evil, enemy and from snakebite and every infirmity and disease of the body. The ↗Betä Ǝsraʾel version of this text enjoys liturgical status.

A group of texts claiming the authorship of King Solomon – ↗*Märbäbtä Sälomon*, *Mäṣḥetä Sälomon* ('Mirror of Solomon') – aim to offer protection against the malevolent actions of demons. The ↗*Ləssanä säbʾ* and *Ləssanä Yäᶜəqob* (Grébaut 1935:6–12; Lifchitz 1940:240–43) are designed to protect against malevolent and slanderous tongues.

The use of M.l. in ↗healing is very important for the history of traditional medical practices in Ethiopia. Today most of the texts used in Amharic, though some of them also have Gəᶜəz counterparts. Most of the texts used for healing are collections of prescriptions against demons which are responsible, according to traditional Ethiopian ↗medicine, for causing various illnesses (Griaule 1930; Strelcyn 1966; Tsehai Berhane Selassie 1971; Strelcyn 1975). Some of them prescribe the use of or employ fully or in part magic texts of the types described above, prayers, or psalms (↗Psalter) – an example for the latter category is the *Məśtirä Dawit* ('Mystery of the Psalter'), known in both Gəᶜəz and Amharic versions (Strelcyn 1981, 1985).

Magic prayers

Prayers which are intended to have a particular effect are numerous and are frequently used in religious practices in Ethiopia and as such represent the main genre of M.l. Most of the magic prayers are commonly called *ṣälot* ('prayer'), because they begin with *ṣälot bäʾəntä* ('prayer for / against ...') or *ṣälotä* ('prayer of ...') followed by the name of the demons or ↗spirits addressed. The term for M.p. containing secret names is *asmat* or *qalat* ('[magic] words').

The basic idea that sustains magic prayers is the belief in the power of the uttered spell or incantation (*dəgam*). The written incantation in the form of an amulet or a scroll (*kətab*) is thought to be more efficacious than a verbal spell because its power is amplified by a variety of graphic elements such as the traditional magic paintings or drawings (cp. ↗*ṭälsäm*) and in addition, its effects are continuous (Young 1970:163). Closely connected to this is the belief in the power of the names of supernatural beings. When one knows the name of a being, either a benevolent one like God, Jesus, St. ↗Mary, ↗saints or ↗angels, or a malevolent one like demons or the ↗devil, or even an ambivalent one like most of the spirits or the ↗*zar*, one is able to exercise power over it.

Magic prayers are often attributed to famous biblical figures like Adam (SixTana III, 387, 439), ↗Moses (ibid. 356), Solomon (ibid. 325), ↗Henoch (Gragg in USCES), Mary (SixTana

III, 396), the Apostle Thomas (ibid. 436.3), or to historical persons, known for their anti-magic secret powers such as Alexander the Great or Cyprian of Antioch (Strelcyn 1955:L). The voluminous collection of prayers known as *Mäftəḥe śəray* is thought to protect against every kind of charm or sorcerer. These text contain countless magic words and names, as well as prescriptions similar to what is found in magico-medical literature.Prayers with the same title, but much shorter, can be found on magic scrolls.

Protective prayers are more varied and relate to the main concerns of Ethiopians: illness, misfortune or danger, such as fire (Grébaut 1936:36f.), hail and snakes (Griaule 1935), magicians and ethnic enemies. Standardized protective prayers figure on each magic scroll and in most known texts of M.l. Specialized magic prayers deal with only one disease or act against one demon or class of demon.

Protective prayers are an essential therapeutic element within traditional medicine, being used prophylactically against a consistent catalogue of diseases, or, if sickness is diagnosed, to expel the aggressive demons. A large number of magic texts are known to render demons harmless: *ṣälot bäʾəntä maʾəsärä aganənt* ('prayer for binding demons') or *ṣälot bäʾəntä mäsṭəmä aganənt* ('prayer for drowning demons').

The term employed for aggressive ("black") magic, meant to send illness or other misfortune to a designated victim, is *kəfat* (Amharic, from Gəʿəz *kəfʾat*, 'deformity'; Young 1970:195). The most common work of this category is known as *andärəbbi*. Aggressive magic is accompanied by the recitation of prayers which can be found in the magic notebooks of the *däbtära* (Strelcyn 1960:152f.). Some of them are: *mädfənä ṣär* (to paralyse the enemy), *mästäḥaməm* (to make someone ill) or *mästäbarər* (to make someone err; Mercier 1976a:125ff.). Additionally, invocations to Satan (Strelcyn 1983) or demons (*ganen*-calling or *ganen asmat*) can cause the enchantment of the victim.

Src.: AARON ZEʾEV AEŠCOLY (ed., tr.), *Recueil de textes falachas. Introduction. Textes éthiopiens*, Paris 1951 (Travaux et Mémoires de l'Institut d'Ethnologie 55), 176–97; RÉNÉ BASSET, *Les apocryphes éthiopiens traduits en français*, V: *Les Prières de la Vierge à Bartos et au Golgotha*, Paris 1895; *ibid.* VI: *Les Prières de S. Cyprien et de Théophile*, Paris 1896; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "La redazione etiopica della Preghiera della Vergine fra i Parti", *RRALm* ser. 5ª, 5, 1896, 457–76; SEBASTIAN EURINGER, "Der Spiegel Salomons: Ein abessinisches Amulett", *ZDMG* 91, 1937, 162–74; SYLVAIN GRÉBAUT (ed., tr.), "L'hymne-invocation Lesana Sabʾe", *Aethiopica* 3, 1935, 6–12; ID. (ed., tr.), "Prière magique contre le feu", *ibid.* 4, 1936, 36–37; ID. (ed., tr.), "La prière Sayfa malakot", *ibid.*, 1–6; ID. (ed., tr.), *Recueil de textes magiques éthiopiens*, Paris 1939 (Miscellanea Africana Lebaudy 1); MARCEL GRIAULE (ed., tr.), *Le livre de recettes d'un dabtara abyssin*, Paris 1930 (Travaux et Mémoires de l'Institut d'Ethnologie 12); ID., "Prière pour être protégé des serpents", *Aethiopica* 3, 1935, 47; ADOLF GROHMANN, "Studien zu den Cyprianusgebeten", *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 30, 1917–18, 121–50; DEBORAH LIFCHITZ, *Textes éthiopiens magico-religieux*, Paris 1940 (Travaux et Mémoires de l'Institut d'Ethnologie 38); MAXIME RODINSON, *Magie, médecine et possession à Gondar*, Paris 1967; SixTana III; STEFAN STRELCYN (ed., tr.), *Prières magiques éthiopiennes pour délier les charmes* (*maftəḥē šərāy*), Varsovie 1955 (= Rocznik Orientalistyczny 18); ID. (ed., tr.), "Les «Médecines du Bégamder et du Tchelga» (Éthiopie) d'Abbäbä Garrəd", *Africana Bulletin* 5, 1966, 53–78; ID. (ed., tr.), "'Les mystères des Psaumes', traité éthiopien sur l'emploi des Psaumes (amharique ancien)", *BSOAS* 44, 1981, 54–84; ID. (ed., tr.), "Un poème satanique éthiopien", in: JOSEPH TUBIANA (ed.), *Guirlande pour Abba Jérôme: Travaux offerts à Abba Jérôme Gabra Musé par ses élèves et ses amis*, Paris 1983, 83–115; ID. (ed., tr.), "La version guèze des Mystères des Psaumes", in: CHRISTIAN ROBIN (ed.), *Mélanges linguistiques offerts à Maxime Rodinson*, Paris 1985, 369–79; TSEHAI BERHANE SELASSIE, "An Ethiopian Medical Text-Book written by Gerazmač Gäbräwäld Arägahañ Däga Damot", *JES* 9, 1971, 95–180.
Lit.: AARON ZEʾEV AEŠCOLY, "Les noms magiques dans les apocryphes chrétiens des Éthiopiens", *JA* 220, 1932, 87–137; BOGDAN BURTEA, *Zwei äthiopische Zauberrollen*, Aachen 2001 (Semitica et Semitohamitica Berolinensia 1) (Lit.); SEVIR CHERNETSOV, "Ethiopian Magic Literature", *St. Petersburg Journal of African Studies* 3, 1994, 109–17; ID., "Ethiopian Magic Literature", *Scrinum* (St. Petersburg) 2, 2006, 50–71; GENE B. GRAGG, "A Magic Prayer of Henoch from a Manuscript of the Goodspeed Collection of the University of Chicago", in: *USCES* 61–71; JACQUES MERCIER, "Les *däbtära* et le vocabulaire de la magie et de la médecine", *Abbay* 7, 1976a, 113–34; ID., "Les plus anciens rouleaux protecteurs éthiopiens", *AE* 10, 1976b, 227–38; ID., *Zauberrollen aus Äthiopien: Kultbilder magischer Riten*, München 1979; VERONIKA SIX, "Kategorien der äthiopischen Zaubertexte", *ZDMG* 139, 1989, 310–17; STEFAN STRELCYN, "La magie éthiopienne", in: *PICES* 1, 147–65; WILLIAM HOYT WORRELL, "Charms and Amulets [Abyssinian]", in: JAMES HASTINGS (ed.), *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. 3, New York 1910, 398–401; ID., "Studien zum abessinischen Zauberwesen", *ZA* 23, 1909, 149–83; *ibid.* 24, 1910, 59–96; *ibid.* 29, 1915, 85–141; ALLAN YOUNG, *Medical Beliefs and Practices of Begemder-Amhara*, Ph.D. thesis, University of Pennsylvania 1970.

Bogdan Burtea

Islamic magic literature

Magic practices are widespread in ↗Islam. As in other cultures, ↗magic is divided into white, which is allowed, and black, or sorcery (Arab. *siḥr*), which is prohibited. The difference depends either on the intended effects or on the means used. If the effects are good (health, preg-

nancy, long life, wealth), it is allowed, if bad (death, illness), it is forbidden. As to the means, it is, e.g., allowed to write amulets (Arab. *ḥiǧāb*, *ḥirz*, *ṭilsam*; cp. ↗*ṭälsäm*) with Qurʾānic verses, or beautiful names of God. On the other hand, it is forbidden to call for the assistance (Arab. *istinzāl*) of the ↗devil (Arab. *šayṭān*).

Muslims have produced a vast literature on magic. Theologians and philosophers elaborated detailed theories on the different kinds of magic, and authors engaged in magic wrote practical handbooks on all its methods, such as tricks (Arab. *nīranǧ*), magical chants (Arab. *ruqya*), chiromancy (Arab. *sīmiyāʾ*), the usage of the secret powers of letters etc.

An important manifestation of Islamic M.l. is that of prayers: *duʿāʾ* (appeal, invocation to God), *ḥizb* (mystical prayer of a saint), and *wird* (devotional prayers usually linked to a mystical brotherhood). These prayers were originally conceived as a means to have one's sins forgiven by God, to invoke Him for the well-being of the community, or just to strengthen one's faith with pious practice. However, they often assume a magical function because they are read and recited in order to help solve the problems and obstacles of everyday life (to recover from illness; to give birth to a child; to have one's requests to an official accepted; to have relief from distress and so on). Talismans and amulets frequently worn around the neck or inside the clothes are frequently carriers of such prayers. Geometrical figures (*ǧadwal*, *waqf*) containing magical texts sometimes taken from the ↗Qurʾān or from other sources are also widespread.

Most of the longer and more complex magic texts are attributed to the Prophet ↗Muḥammad, to some of his relatives or companions (e.g., ʿAlī, al-Ḥusayn) or to renowned ↗holy men, whose intercession is openly or implicitly invoked to obtain the satisfaction of the request from God.

These are considered very powerful tools and at the same time they are confidently used and widespread: normally no doubt about their licit status exists as they are of prophetic origin or allegedly written by holy men.

Muslim M.l. in Ethiopia and Eritrea is comparatively little explored. On the basis of the available material one can say that Ethiopian Muslims have widely adopted the genre of M.l. and Ethiopian Arabic ↗manuscripts contain samples of almost all of its varieties. For instance, five *ḥizb* prayers are contained in the Arabic ms. from Harär now in the Robecchi Bricchetti collection in Pavia (Traini 1974:9) no. 5 fols. 60v–70r: three by the famous Harari author *šayḫ* ↗Hāšim b. ʿAbdalzīz (d. 1763) and two famous prayers, *ḥizb an-nūr* and *ḥizb al-baḥr*, by the much revered North African saint Abū l-Ḥasan aš-Šāḏilī (d. 1258). Two *ḥiǧāb*-texts are contained in ms. 6 fols. 1r–2v of the same collection (Traini 1974:11).

The known texts are written in Arabic. Most manuscripts originate in ↗Harär in Ethiopia, some in Eritrea. Recently, many texts of M.l. have become quite widespread in Ethiopia and Eritrea in booklets printed either in Arab countries or locally. A number of *duʿāʾ*- and *wird*-prayers of clearly magical content, some of which attributed to ʿAbdalqādir al-Ǧīlānī, as well as the popular *ḥirz an-nāqa* attributed to al-Ḥusayn and the magical prayer *al-Ǧawšan al-kabīr* (widespread in *šīʿī* tradition) were commonly sold in the Asmära book market (Gori 1995:99f.). Two works of the living scholar Saʿīd b. ʿAlī b. Wahf al-Qaḥṭānī, whose texts strictly adhere to the prophetic tradition, were recently printed by the Najashi Printing Press in Addis Abäba, *ad-Duʿāʾ wa-yalīhi: al-ʿIlāǧ bir-ruqya min al-kitāb wassunna* (1421 H. = 2001/02 A.D.) on the use of prayers and amulets (*ruqya*) to heal the sick, and the much renowned collection of *duʿāʾ* prayers *Ḥiṣn al-muslim* (published in Amharic as *Ḥisnul muslim* [1997 A.M. = 2004 A.D.] and in Oromo as *al-Azkaar zikriwwan guyyaafi halkanii* [n.d.]). *Al-Ḥizb al-aʿẓam*, a long series of invocations for every day of the week, by the famous mystic and Ḥanafī Law expert ʿAlī b. Sulṭān Muḥammad al-Qārī (d. 1014 H. = 1605/6 or 1607) was printed by the Bərhanənna Sälam Press.

Many M.l. texts found in Ethiopia are devoted to predicting the future in different contexts and by different means (↗Oracles and divination). Typical would be, for example, the prediction of the time of occurrence and development of an illness on the basis of the numerical value of the letters of the sick person's name and that of his mother; predictions based on the number of a hyena's howlings (one to fifteen) or on the behaviour of a raven; predictions on the behaviour of a person, perhaps a medium. Some texts are manuals containing instructions how to produce amulets for different occasions, for example, to disable one's wife to have sex with others. Magic texts frequently contain some magical signs with eyes like the letters of the so-called *suryānī* script (↗Harari secret script; WagHand 86–90). Such letters can

also be found in Christian Ethiopic M.l. and in Arabic magical texts of non-Ethiopian origin.

One work of the grand mufti of Eritrea, ↗Ibrāhīm al-Muḫtār Aḥmad ᶜUmar is entitled *al-Hady al-qudsī fī faḍāʾil āyat al-kursī* ('The Holy Guide to the Virtues of the Throne-Verse [Qurʾān II 255]'; FahLit 5). These virtues could be (though not exclusively or necessarily) of a magical nature, and the book may be related to the literature of *ḫawāṣṣ al-Qurʾān* which explores the beneficial virtues of the sacred text.

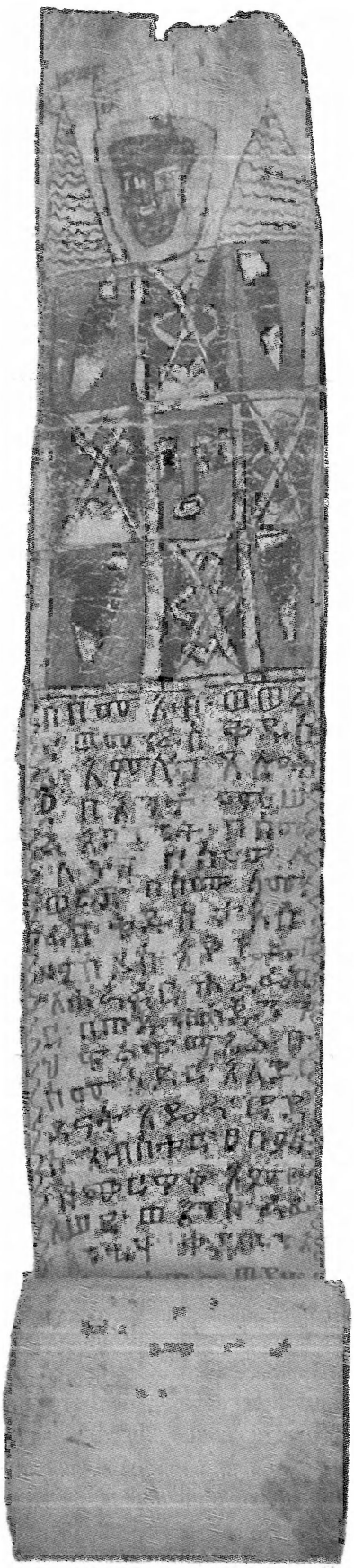
Src.: FahLit; RENATO TRAINI, *I manoscritti arabi esistenti nelle biblioteche di Pavia (collezione Robecchi Bricchetti)*, Roma 1974 (= extract from *RANLmor* ser. 8ª, 28, 7–12, 1973); WagHand.

Lit.: JOSEPH CHELHOD, "Ḥidjāb", in: *EI²* vol. 3, 359; FREDERICK M. DENNY, "Wird", *ibid.* vol. 11, 209–10; TOUFIC FAHD, "Khawāṣṣ al-Ḳurʾān", *ibid.* vol. 4, 1133–34; ID., "Siḥr", *ibid.* vol. 9, 567–71; LOUIS GARDET, "Duᶜāʾ", *ibid.* vol. 2, 617–18; ALESSANDRO GORI, "Soggiorno di studi in Eritrea e Etiopia – Brevi annotazioni bibliografiche", *RSE* 39, 1995 [1997], 81–129; DUNCAN B. MACDONALD, "Ḥizb", in: *EI²* vol. 3, 513–14.

Ewald Wagner – Alessandro Gori

Magic scrolls

Christian written amulets (Amh. ክታብ, *kətab*) are made of crude ↗parchment or leather (up to three strips usually sewn together with thongs of the same material) and can vary from 4 to 25 cm in width and from 40 to 200 cm in length. They are rolled and tied with a thong – the fact which made European scholars call them M.s. (↗Magic). A roll would be, possibly, a more appropriate denomination, since a scroll unrolls horizontally and a roll vertically, as do Ethiopian M.s. These can be kept in leather cases, as their protective effect is realized by the mere possession of them, not by reading. A M.s. is usually written, on special order, by a specially trained ↗*däbtära*.



A magic scroll (upper part), 19th cent. (?); from the Otto Meinardus collection, Ethiopian Studies Research Unit, Asien-Afrika-Institut, Universität Hamburg

Like any ↗manuscript, a M.s. can be cheap and simple, or expensive and decorated. M.s. are often illuminated, for "miraculous are considered not only sounds, words and letters, but images and figures as well" (Turaiev 1916:184). At the top of a M.s. an image of the archangel Michael or Gabriel with a drawn sword is typically depicted, in the middle various images symbolizing good and evil powers can be placed. As for the good, it may be the cross with sun and moon on either side ("↗Crucifixion without Crucified"), or a common Ethiopian eight-pointed cross, or an illustration for the text: for example, St. ↗Susənyos on horseback piercing the female demon Wərzəlya. The images of evil powers are more complicated both in their design and interpretation: they can be shown as a square face with two "horns" on each side, explained by the *däbtära* as "the tied demon" of the Evil Eye, or a grid-like geometric design — "the Devil's throne", inserted into the text with an evident purpose to induce evil spirits, who may possess a human being, to leave him and return to their proper place. These designs are usually framed in red lines of magic text to prevent the spirits from returning. The protective effect of such a written amulet is strictly personal, so the name of the owner is mentioned repeatedly throughout each text; when such a scroll changes owner, a new name is written over the previous one. In the M.s. made for further sale, a blank space for the name is invariably left to be filled in later.

As for the content and origins of these texts, Turaiev (1899:242) remarked that "in Christian ... Abyssinia there is almost no

borderline between faith and superstition, religion and magic practices. Priests and clergymen trade in writing and selling magic prayers which are venerated alongside the canonical ones; the latter in their turn may be used for magic ends, as well as the Scripture itself, by way of mechanical reading, or by wearing on the neck, or even by the very fact of its possession". In spite of a great diversity of texts used for magic ends, they comprise a limited set of literary and folklore subjects, mostly well studied. Among them are: the *Legend of St. Susənyos and Wərzəlya* (Fries 1893:50–70; Grébaut 1937:177–83; Chernetsov 1974:200–07), the *Bandlet of Righteousness* (↗*Ləfafä ṣədq*; Turaiev 1909:359–78; Budge 1929; Euringer 1940:78–99, 244–59), the *Legend of the Net of Solomon* (↗*Märbäbtä Sälomon*; Euringer 1928–29; Chernetsov 1975:209–13), ↗*Asmat*, *Mäftəḥe śəray* (Strelcyn 1955), *The Rampart of the Cross* (↗*Ḥaṣura mäsqäl*; Chernetsov 1975:215–18), *The Incantation of the Devil* (ibid. 213ff.), etc.

These texts, diverse as they are, could be considered, however, as a single category as they are united by distinctive common features: 1) function (they all serve as protective amulets efficacious by their mere presence); 2) form (they are all written in Gəᶜəz, and the repeated mentioning the name of an owner in the very text is indispensable); 3) structure (the narrative element of every written spell consists of a limited number of subjects); 4) mechanism of reproduction (the preservation and transmition of these works are limited by copying, when only a name of the owner is changed). Such distinctive characteristics allow to be classified these works of written protective magic as belonging to a special kind of literature, i.e. ↗magic literature (Chernetsov 1994:109–17). Ethiopian magic literature occupies an intermediary position between ↗Gəᶜəz literature proper and magic folklore and should be studied accordingly. The written form of M.s. permits textological analysis, but it is impossible – given the kind of text – to reconstruct an "original", all the variants being "original" in a sense. As for foreign borrowings, however, written magic offers a more promising field of research, than oral magic does. People always need protection, both physical and psychological, so written amulets, ancient as they are, remain a living reality in today's Ethiopia.

↗Ṭälsäm

Src.: ERNEST ALFRED THOMPSON WALLIS BUDGE (ed., tr.), *The Bandlet of Righteousness: an Ethiopian Book of the Dead*, London 1929 (Luzac's Semitic Text and Translation Series 19); SEBASTIAN EURINGER, "Das Netz Salomons", *ZSem* 6, 1928, 87–100, 178–99, 301–14; *ibid.* 7, 1929, 68–85; ID., "Die Binde der Rechtfertigung (Lefâfa ṣedeḳ)", *Orientalia* nova ser. 9, 1940, 76–99, 244–59; SYLVAIN GRÉBAUT, "La légende de Sousneyos et de Werzelya d'après le ms. éthiopien Marcel Griaule no. 297", *ibid.* 6, 1937, 177–83; OSVALDO RAINERI, *Catalogo dei rotoli protettori etiopici della collezione Sandro Angelini*, Roma 1990; STEFAN STRELCYN (ed., tr.), *Prières magiques éthiopiennes pour délier les charmes* (*maftəḥē šərāy*), Varsovie 1955 (= Rocznik Orientalistyczny 18).

Lit.: EWA BALICKA-WITAKOWSKA, "Enluminures d'un rouleau magique éthiopien rapporté par la Ière Expedition d'Étudiants Polonais en Afrique", *Africana Bulletin* 24, 1974, 59–65; EAD., "'Against Thirty and Twenty Five Devils': Two Ethiopian Painted Amulets in the British Museum Collection", in: WITOLD WITAKOWSKI – LAURA ŁYKOWSKA (eds.), Wälättä Yohanna. *Ethiopian Studies in Honour of Joanna Mantel-Niecko* ..., Warszawa 2006 (= Rocznik Orientalisticzny 59, 1), 33–46; BOGDAN BURTEA, *Zwei äthiopische Zauberrollen*, Aachen 2001 (Semitica et Semitohamitica Berolinensia 1); SEVIR CHERNETSOV, "Efiopskaja kartina sobranija MAE (No. 2594–14) i legenda o svjatom Sisinii i Verzilje" ('Ethiopian Picture from the MAE [Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography] Collection (No. 2594–14) and the Legend of St. Susənyos and Wərzəlya'), in: *Iz kulturnogo nasledija narodov Ameriki i Afriki*, Leningrad 1974, 200–07; ID., "Tri magičeskih služeta po materialam efiopskih rukopisnyh amuletov iz sobranija MAE" ('Three Magic Subjects on the Material of Ethiopian Manuscript Amulets from the MAE Collection'), *Africana* 10, 1975 208–18; ID., "Ethiopian Magic Literature", *St. Petersburg Journal of African Studies* 3, 1994, 109–17; KARL FRIES, "The Ethiopic Legend of Socinius and Ursula", in: *Actes du 8ème Congres International des Orientalistes*, sect. I, Leiden 1893, 50–70; IGNATIJ KRAČKOVSKIJ, "Abissinskij magičeskij svitok iz sobranija F.I. Uspenskogo" ('Abyssinian Magic Scroll from the Collection of F.I. Uspenskij'), *Doklady AN SSSR* 1928, 163–67; MANFRED KROPP, "Der dritte Talisman der Askalä-Maryam Dässeta: Eine äthiopische Zauberrolle im Stadt- und Hochstiftmuseum", *Jahrbuch des Historischen Vereins Dillingen* 91, 1989, 342–57; OSCAR LÖFGREN, "Äthiopische Wandamulette", *Orientalia Suecana* 11, 1962 [1963], 95–120; JACQUES MERCIER, "Les Peintures des Rouleaux Protecteurs Ethiopiens", *JES* 12, 2, 1974, 107-46; ID., "Les plus anciens rouleaux protecteurs éthiopiens de la Bibliothèque National de Paris", *AE* 10, 1976, 227–42; ID., *Ethiopian Magic Scrolls*, New York – Scranton, PA 1979; BORIS TURAIEV, "Efiopskie *orationes falsae et exorcismi*" ('Ethiopian *orationes falsae et exorcismi*'), *Recueil des travaux rédigés en mémoire du jubilé scientifique de M. Daniel Chwolson, 1846–1896*, Berlin 1899, 242–67; ID., "Svitok opravdanija" ('The Bandlet of Justification'), in: *Sbornik v čest' 70-letija G.N. Potanina* ('Anthology on the Occasion of G.N. Potanin's 70th Birthday'), St. Petersburg 1909, 359–78; EWALD WAGNER, "Die Illustrationen der äthiopischen Zauberrollen der Sammlung Littmann", in: WILHELM HOENERBACH (ed.), *Der Orient in der Forschung. Festschrift für Otto Spies*, Wiesbaden 1967, 706–32; WILLIAM HOYT WORRELL, "Charms and Amulets [Abyssinian]", in: JAMES HASTINGS (ed.), *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. 3, New York 1910, 398–401; ID., "Studien zum abessinischen Zauberwesen", *ZA* 23, 1909, 149–83; *ibid.* 24, 1910, 59–96; *ibid.* 29, 1915, 85–141.

Sevir Chernetsov

Mägʷina

M. (መጕና) is a monastery (↗*Gädam*) in Aläfa *wäräda* of North Gondär zone (for location s. Maḫbära Śəllase). The famous and isolated site is scarcely mentioned in scientific literature. Apparently, it was not visited by Europeans except Antoine d'↗Abbadie, who acquired and made several copies from the manuscripts of M.'s library (ms. BN éth. Abb. 266, p. 163).

The earliest mentions of M. refers to the time of *aṣe* ↗Fasilädäs, who is reported to have looted the monastery in 1657, a few years after the first pro-↗*Qəbat* council of ↗Aringo (Perruchon 1898:90; DombrChr 203). The abbot of M. Ammәḫa Giyorgis and *abba* Ṣəge Dəngəl were then killed and are commemorated as martyrs in some copies of the ↗*Sənkəssar* (on 7 *Yäkkatit*, s. mss. München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. aeth. 140; EMML 656, fol. 14b; cp. GuiIohan 84).

During the reign of *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs the monastery was rebuilt, as a notice in ms. BN Abb. 34, fol. 215r (CrAbb 148) testifies, referring to 22 rescued manuscripts from the former library of M. Since that time M. has been an important Unionist centre (↗*Täwaḥədo*). *Abba* Həryaqos, head of M., was appointed *mämhər* of Däbrä Libanos and then ↗*əčča̤ge* between 1669 and 1673. During *aṣe* ↗Iyasu I's reign he was reaffirmed in the two high offices and kept them from 1682 presumably until his death in 1691/92 (GuiIohan 9, 62; BegCron 55; BassÉt 293; DombrChr 217).

During the first part of Iyasu I's reign M. was a faithful supporter of royal policy. When in 1693 Iyasu asked monks to investigate the orthodoxy of the new metropolitan *abunä* ↗Marqos, he trusted the competence of the clergy of M. together with monks from ↗Waldəbba, Qänṭäfa and ↗Qʷäraṣa, other well-known *Täwaḥədo* monasteries (GuiIohan 174f.).

Ǝdä Krəstos was the head of M. after Həryaqos and at least from 1678. He was a close advisor of the emperors (GuiIohan 36f., 87). He strengthened the monastery and ordered some 50 manuscripts to be copied for the library, insisting on O.T. books and ↗monastic literature (CrAbb 147–49). Ǝdä Krəstos might also have commissioned the account of the martyrdoms of *abba* Ammәḫa Giyorgis and *abba* Ṣəge Dəngəl, celebrated for the first time in 1685 (ms. EMML 656, fol. 14b; GuiIohan 84). He died in December 1694 while "going to Egypt", as the "short chronicles" state in a somewhat symbolic way (BassÉt 305; BegCron 67); most probably, he was killed on the order of Iyasu I while trying to leave the country (DombrChr 219). The reason for this could be M.'s strength or its rigid *Täwaḥədo* stance whereas Iyasu had to deal with a strong *Qəbat* party. Nonetheless, the successor of Ǝdä Krəstos, *abba* ↗Zäwäldä Maryam, was also to become very powerful over the next three decades. In 1704–05 the monks of M. sheltered *bäğərond* Iyäsus Moʾa, a potential competitor for the throne, but the royal power infringed the right of ↗asylum and imprisoned him in ↗Wähni Amba (BassÉt 316; BegCron 77f.; DombrChr 235ff.; GuiIohan 238, 242ff.; Schneider 1990:119). At the end of the reign of Iyasu I, in 1705, one more council was held in Gondär in a climate of great instability (testified, e.g., by the fact of three *əčča̤ges* being successively dismissed). As a result, some important figures of the Däbrä Libanos *Täwaḥədo* network found asylum at M. Later, Iyasu I sent a messenger to M., seeking reconciliation with them (BegCron 80f.; Conti Rossini 1893:30f.; however, the pro-*Täwaḥədo* bias of the "short chronicles" calls for a careful interpretation of these statements). In 1706, hostility of M. towards Iyasu I was obvious. M. may even have sheltered the self-proclaimed *aṣe* ↗Täklä Haymanot, a son of Iyasu (DombrChr 240f.).

In the early 18th cent., M. retained the leadership of the *Täwaḥədo* movement. The hard-core *Täwaḥədo*-partisans of M. protested against the decisions of the pro-*Qəbat aṣe* ↗Tewoflos in 1708 (DombrChr 249). In 1718, when the ambiguous decisions of a church council in Gondär seemed to validate *Qəbat* views, the entire *Täwaḥədo* faction led by *abba* Zäwäldä Maryam of M. protested. Consequently, the monks were persecuted at night when they retired to the ↗*əčča̤ge bet* (BassÉt 341; BegCron 102; DombrChr 268; Guidi 1893:603f.). This crisis, the persistence of a policy promoting *Qəbat*, together with the governor of Goğğam *ras* ↗Wäldä Giyorgis, may have led to the death of *aṣe* ↗Dawit III in 1721. During the long period of Məntəwwab's (↗Bərhan Mogäsa) power, marked by a pro-*Qəbat* policy, the royal Chronicles do not refer as frequently to M. However, the monastery was still considered the main leader of the Däbrä Libanos *Täwaḥədo* faction in January 1731 (GuiIyas 67).

During the intense polemics of the mid-19th cent., some source indicate that monks from M. were the delegates of the *əčča̤ge* ↗Maḫṣäntä Mikaʾel, opposed to *abuna* ↗Sälama III (Conti Rossini 1916:468f.).

Src.: BassÉt [II] 293, 305, 316, 341, 346, 356, 362; BegCron 55, 66f., 77f., 80f., 102, 105f., 114, 119; CrAbb 36f., no. 11 [BN Abbadie 36]; 147–49, no. 125 [Abbadie 34]; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Due squarci inediti di cronaca etiopica", *RRALm* ser. 5ª, 2, 1893, 804–18; ID., "Fonti storiche etiopiche per il secolo XIX. I: Vicende dell'Etiopia e delle missioni cattoliche ai tempi di ras Ali, deggiac Ubiè e re Teodoro secondo un documento abissino", *RRALm* ser. 5ª, 25, 1916, 425–550; DombrChr 203, 217, 219, 235f., 240ff., 249, 268, 281, 287 (tr.); ms. EMML 656, fol. 14r; IGNAZIO GUIDI, "Di due frammenti relativi alla storia di Abissinia", *RRALm* ser. 5ª, 2, 1893, 579–605; GuiIohan 9, 36f., 62, 84f., 87, 143–42, 174f., 238, 242ff., 305, 318, 329f. (tr.); GuiIyas 67 (tr.); JULES PERRUCHON, "Notes pour l'histoire d'Ethiopie. Le règne de Fasiladas (Alam Sagad) de 1632 à 1667", *RevSem* 6, 1898, 84–92 (tr.); ROGER SCHNEIDER, "Notes éthiopiennes", *AE* 15, 1990, 113–39, here 118f. [II. "R. Basset, Études sur l'histoire d'Éthiopie"]; SixTana 3, 307, no. 99 [Cod. aeth. 140].

Anaïs Wion

Mahaffy, Francis Elwood

Reverend M. (b. 19 November 1917, Cherrydale, VA, d. 30 March 1980, Oak Park, IL) was an American missionary, Bible translator and linguist. He arrived in Eritrea in 1945 together with his wife Arlena to work for the Orthodox Presbyterian Church (operating as the American Evangelical Mission). Set up by Clarence Duff in 1943, the mission focused on medical work, ↗Bible translation and evangelical ↗preaching.

M. was initially engaged in the ↗ᶜAsäb area. As a result of this and with the help of local informants, he wrote a fine grammatical sketch of ↗ᶜAfar (1950–52), used later as a basis for the works of Colby and Parker (1961–67), while also helping in the first stage of the translation of the N.T. Later, he was relocated to the ↗Sāho-speaking area. There, he followed the Sāho nomads during their transhumant movements and became proficient in their language. M. translated portions of the N.T. into the Sāho language, wrote over a dozen booklets in that language (primers, religious tracts, Bible lessons) and translated others from English, Təgrəñña and Amharic. He worked together with the linguist William E. Welmers who was interested in the Sāho, ᶜAfar and Təgre languages. Welmers's article (1952) was completed, after a stay in Gindaᶜ and ↗Iṛāfalo, with M.'s and Clarence W. Duff's co-operation.

In 1964, with the help of his informant Ibrāhīm Ismāᶜīl (Ibraahim Ismaaciil), M. completed the translation into Sāho (↗Minifere dialect) of the Gospel of John. Other works on Sāho, such as a remarkable grammatical sketch, have never been published. M. also oversaw the translation into Təgrəñña of other religious tracts and booklets.

M. stayed in Eritrea until 1968.

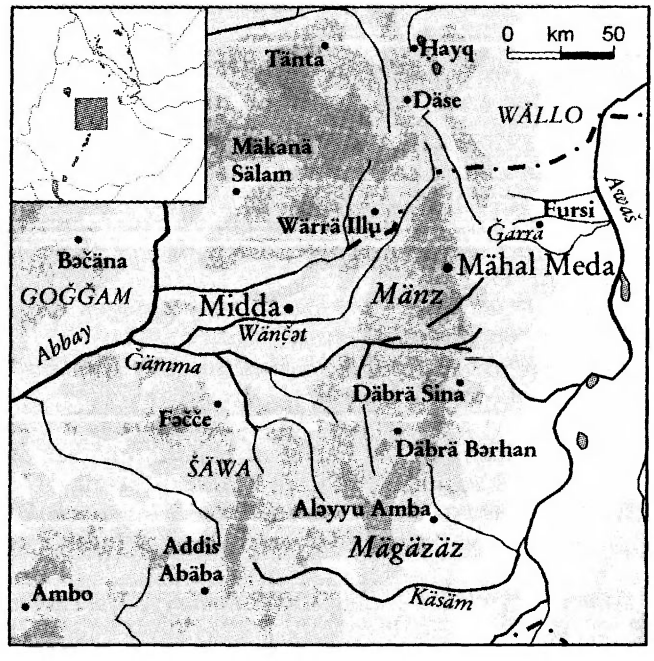
Src.: JOHN G. COLBY – ENID M. PARKER, *Pedagogical Grammar of Afar*, 1961–67, ms.; JOHN MAHAFFY, personal communication, 2004; FRANCIS E. MAHAFFY, *An Outline of the Phonemics and Morphology of the Afar (Dankali) Language of Eritrea, East Africa* (mimeographed), Ghinda 1952; ID. (tr.), *Injil Yohannes* ('Gospel of John'), South Holland 1964; WILLIAM E. WELMERS, "Notes on the Structure of Saho", *Word* 8, 1952, 145–62 and 236–51.
Lit.: CLARENCE DUFF, *God's Higher Ways*, Nutley 1977 (Lit.); RAINER MARIA VOIGT, "Bibliographie des Saho-ᶜAfar", *Africana Marbungensia* 8, 1, 1975, 53–63, here 53f., 58; ANDRZEJ ZABORSKI, "ᶜAfar-Saho Linguistics – an Overview", in: HANS G. MUKAROVSKY (ed.) *Leo Reinisch, Werk und Erbe*, Wien 1987, 85–95, here 87f.

Moreno Vergari

Mähal Meda

M.M. (10° 11' N, 39° 28' E) is a small urban centre which was chosen in the 1960s as the capital of the Mänz–Giše *awraǧǧa* in the ↗Šäwa region. Since the 1991 federal reform M.M. has been the capital of the Gera Mədər–Qäya Gäbrel *wäräda* – subdivided into 43 *qäbäle* – in the North Šäwa Zone of the Amhara *kəllәl*.

The journey there is difficult along the recently improved dirt road which branches off the Addis Abäba–Däse road to the west and climbs the Gʷassa Mountains at an altitude of 3,000 m A.S.L. This southern tip of the Abuyyä Meda range is home to the very rare Abyssinian dog (*Lycaon Pictus*). The town stands on plateaus of the left bank of the ↗Wänčət river which forms a canyon that the road crosses on its way north



to ↗Wärrä Illu and Däse. It could be the same as the halt on the direct mule track from Däbrä Sina to Wärrä Illu mentioned in Italian sources as "Uccan" (Guida 402; CTI fol. 4).

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The town houses the basic services catering for a dense rural population (103.1 inh./km² in 2004) 60 % of which suffered food shortage in 1995 (Emergency Unit for Ethiopia). World Vision has opened a hospital there and the town houses the offices of an Area Development Project.

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Alain Gascon

Mäḥaləyä mäḥaləy ↗Wisdom books, biblical

Mäḥaləyä näbiyat

M.n. (**መሐልየ፡ ነቢያት**, 'The Canticles of the Prophets') is a collection of 15 poetic excerpts from the Old and New Testaments (↗Bible). All of the passages are stylistically similar to the Psalms, but occur in Biblical books other than the ↗Psalter. M.n. is generally found bound in a single volume together with the Book of Psalms, Song of Songs (↗Wisdom books), ↗*Wəddase Maryam*, and ↗*Anqäṣä bərhan*. Additionally, the Psalter and M.n. together form one of the four collections of monastic hours in Ethiopia, recited by clergy and laypeople alike.

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3) **ጸሎተ፡ ሙሴ፡ ዘሣልስ** (*Ṣälotä Muse zäśaləs*, 'The Third Prayer of Moses'), Deut 32:22–43;
4) **ጸሎተ፡ ሐና፡ እመ፡ ሳሙኤል፡ ነቢይ** (*Ṣälotä Ḥanna əmmä Samu'el näbiyy*, 'The Prayer of Hannah, mother of Samuel the Prophet'), 1 Kgs [= 1 Samuel] 2:1–10;
5) **ጸሎተ፡ ሕዝቅያስ፡ ንጉሠ፡ ይሁዳ** (*Ṣälotä Ḥəzqəyas nəguśä Yəhuda*, 'The Prayer of Hezekiah, King of Judah'), Is 38:10–20;
6) **ጸሎተ፡ ምናሴ፡ ነቢይ** (*Ṣälotä Mənasse näbiyy*, 'The Prayer of Manasseh, the Prophet'), 2 Chr 33:1–14 (second numbering, between verses 13 and 14) [= apocryphal Prayer of Manasseh];
7) **ጸሎተ፡ ዮናስ፡ ነቢይ** (*Ṣälotä Yonas näbiyy*, 'The Prayer of Jonah, the Prophet'), Jon 2:3–10;
8) **ጸሎተ፡ ዳንኤል፡ ነቢይ፡ ስብሐት፡ ዘእምአዛርያ** (*Ṣälotä Danə'el näbiyy səbḥat zä'əm'azarya*, 'The Prayer of Daniel, the Prophet, Praise from Azariah'), Dan 3:26–45 [= apocryphal Prayer of Azariah 1–22];
9) **ጸሎተ፡ ሠለስቱ፡ ደቂቅ** (*Ṣälotä śälästu däqiq*, 'The Prayer of the Three Children'), Dan 3:52–56 [= apocryphal Prayer of Azariah 29–34];
10) **ጎበ፡ ባረኩ፡ አናንያ፡ ወአዛርያ፡ ወሚሳኤል፡ ለእግዚአብ ሔር** (*Ḫabä baräku Ananya wä'azarya wämisa'el lä'əgzi'abəḥer*, 'Ananiah, Azariah, and Mishael Blessed God'), Dan 3:57–88 [= apocryphal Prayer of Azariah 35–66];
11) **ጸሎተ፡ ዕንባቆም፡ ነቢይ** (*Ṣälotä ʿƎnbaqom näbiyy*, 'The Prayer of Habakkuk, the Prophet'), Hab 3:1–19;
12) **ጸሎተ፡ ኢሳይያስ፡ ነቢይ** (*Ṣälotä Isayəyas näbiyy*, 'The Prayer of Isaiah, the Prophet'), Is 26:9–20;
13) **ጸሎተ፡ እግዝእትነ፡ ማርያም** (*Ṣälotä əgzə'ətənä Maryam*, 'The Prayer of Our Lady Mary'), Lk 1:46–55 [= the Magnificat];
14) **ጸሎተ፡ ዘካርያስ፡ ካህን** (*Ṣälotä Zäkaryas kahən*, 'The Prayer of Zechariah, the Priest'), Lk 1:68–79 [= the Benedictus]; and
15) **ጸሎተ፡ ስምዖን፡ ነቢይ** (*Ṣälotä Səmʿon näbiyy*, 'The Prayer of Simeon, the Prophet'), Lk 2:29–32 [= the *Nunc dimittis*].

Src.: HamTana I, 209ff. [Ṭānāsee 56]; GrébGriaule I, 1-17 [Éthiopien 305]; JOHANNES POTKEN, *Psalterium Davidis et Cantica aliqua biblica Aethiopice*, Roma 1513; TÄSFA GÄBRÄ ŚƎLLASE (ed.), **መዝሙረ፡ ዳዊት፡ ወጸሎታት፡ ዘነቢያት** (*Mäzmurä Dawit wäṣälotat zänäbiyat*, 'Songs of David [Psalter] and the Prayers of the Prophets'), Addis Abäba 1959 A.M. [1966/67 A.D.].

Lit.: KIRSTEN STOFFREGEN-PEDERSEN, *Les Éthiopiens*, Belgium 1990.

Monica Devens

Mäḥammäd Ali

M.A. (**መሐመዲ፡ አሊ**, "horse name" Abba Ǧəbo; b. ca. 1740, d. ca. 1785) ruled the territory of ↗Wärrä Himäno in ↗Wällo in the second half of the 18th cent. He belonged to a lineage of Oromo Muslim notables who had settled in Wällo since the beginning of the 18th cent. His grandfather, Godana Babbo, and his father, Ali Godana, used their influence and politically advantageous marriage alliances to undermine the power of the petty chiefdoms in the eastern parts of Wällo. M.A. turned this lineage into a dynasty, the ↗Mammädočč. It is not clearly established if this name had been used before or only after him.

M.A. first successfully rebelled against the Arreločč chiefs who dominated the area around Lake Ḥayq and who had become unpopular because of excessive taxation. Then he conquered Wärrä Himäno, a territory strategically positioned

on the border of the decadent Gondärine kingdom. He established his headquarters at the town of Tänta, from where he could control Mäqdäla and the countries beyond the Bäšəlo river (Wadla, Dälanta, and Dawənt). According to local traditions, M.A. laid the basis of Mammädočč authority through low taxation, military feats and Islamic proselytization. He assumed the title of ↗*imām*. This title and the religious warrior spirit involved were inherited by his successors. Thus, M.A. is considered the eponymous founder of the dynasty.

M.A.'s mother Ləbəyat was a daughter of a Christian lord of Wadla Dälanta. M. had two Christian wives, Alkon from Amba Ləgot, who bore him three sons (Bätto, Adäm and Amäde), and Ǝgğəgayyähu from Ambassäl, who bore two sons Yəmäre and Qasime. This tradition of intermarriage with women of Christian descent is characteristic of the Mammädočč dynasty.

The only reference to M.A. in Christian historical sources is found in the account of the campaign of *aṣe* ↗Täklä Giyorgis against Wällo in 1783–84 (BlunChr 273–89). This account mentions M.A.'s eldest son, Bätto, as a leader of Wärrä Himäno. The latter allegedly submitted to the Christian king and was appointed *däğğazmač* of Wällo and Wəčale as a reward. However, he was imprisoned three months later for having refused to support the policy of mass conversion to Christianity. Thereupon M.A. lead his people against the rear of the Christian army. It is mentioned that Adäm, his "giant" son, fell in this fierce battle. It seems that M.A. himself died then, too.

The issue of M.A.'s succession is blurred. Bätto probably tried to keep his position as heir for some years, but he was challenged by his youngest brother, Amäde "Kolase" (the father of ↗Libän Amäde), who took the title of *imām* and defended the sovereignty of the Mammädočč not only against the surrounding Christian regional powers but also rulers of other Wällo groups.

Src.: SalTrav; BlunChr 273–89.

Lit.: DOMENICO BRIELLI, "Ricordi storici dei Uollo (con note di C. Conti Rossini)", in: *CRStud* 78–110; HusIslam; ZERGAW ASFERA, *Some Aspects of Historical Development in 'Amhara/Wällo' (ca. 1700–1815)*, B.A. thesis, Haile Selassie I University 1973.

Éloi Ficquet

Maḥámmad "Illálta" Ḥanfaḍé

M.I. (Maḥámmad b. Ḥanfaḍé b. ᶜAsa Aydāḥis [ᶜAfar sp.: Macammad "Illalta" Canfaxe], d. May 1902, nicknamed *illálta*, lit. 'permanent water hole, prosperous oasis', hence 'the man who brought prosperity'), of the ↗Mödaytó tribe, was the *sulṭān* of ↗Awsa from 1862 to 1902. His patronym, Ḥanfaḍé, which is often found in the *sulṭān*'s family, became a synonym for "*sulṭān* of Awsa" in colonial literature under various spellings: Anfari, Anfray, Hampharé, etc. His grandfather ᶜAsa Aydāḥis was the first to receive the title of *amóyta* (*sulṭān*). During his rule, M.I. increased the power of Awsa; however, his reign ended in a civil war.

M.I. established his domination over the sedentary tribes of Awsa (Harálla [cp. ↗Harla], Intēgér, Bayḍīᶜó) after several short battles in 1863. In 1866, he burnt ↗Tağūra, the residence of the Adᶜáli *sulṭāns* who had signed the 1862 agreement with the French. He formed an alliance with the Debné *sulṭān*, ↗Ḥúmmad b. Loᶜoytá with whose assistance he defeated the Somalis (↗ᶜIssa) at Mari in June 1867. Also, after M.I. made a secret agreement with Ḥúmmad b. Loᶜoytá, the latter led the Egyptian forces, headed by ↗Munzinger, to an ambush at Lake ᶜUddumma where the Munzinger and his troops were annihilated by M.I. on 15 November 1875. This alliance ended ca. 1894, when M.I. ordered the execution of ᶜAbdalqādir b. Arbāhintá, Ḥúmmad b. Loᶜoytá's permanent envoy to Mənilək of Šäwa (later *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II).

M.I. was a ruler who constantly strove for the independence of Awsa; however, the continual threat from ↗Egypt forced him to change his policy. In June 1881, he sent a letter to the French President, Jules Grévy, requesting his protection. The answer came three years later on 23 June 1884, one year after M.I. had signed the "Convention of Friendship and Commerce of Hadelè Gubò" (Addalé-Gub, 15 March 1883) with the Italian Count Pietro ↗Antonelli (known in ᶜAfar as Intinoole). Possibly upset by this diplomatic initiative, Mənilək ordered a military expedition against Awsa in 1886. After the convention of Addalé-Gub was unilaterally transformed by ↗Italy into a protectorate treaty with Awsa (1888), the Emperor started preparations for what turned out to be his final battle against the Italians. On 30 January 1896, two months before the battle of ↗ᶜAdwa, Mənilək's troops, led by *ras* ↗Wäldä Giyorgis Abboyye, *azzaž* ↗Wäldä Ṣadəq, and *däğğazmač* (later *ras*) ↗Täsämma Nadäw, defeated the *sulṭān*'s forces on the plain of ᶜArraddó (↗Millee). However, M.I. was appointed *däğğazmač* by Mənilək in 1896.

to ↗Wärrä Illu and Däse. It could be the same as the halt on the direct mule track from Däbrä Sina to Wärrä Illu mentioned in Italian sources as "Uccan" (Guida 402; CTI fol. 4).

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Alain Gascon

Mäḥaləyä mäḥaləy ↗Wisdom books, biblical

Mäḥaləyä näbiyat

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6) **ጸሎተ፡ ምናሴ፡ ነቢይ** (*Ṣälotä Mənasse näbiyy*, 'The Prayer of Manasseh, the Prophet'), 2 Chr 33:1–14 (second numbering, between verses 13 and 14) [= apocryphal Prayer of Manasseh];
7) **ጸሎተ፡ ዮናስ፡ ነቢይ** (*Ṣälotä Yonas näbiyy*, 'The Prayer of Jonah, the Prophet'), Jon 2:3–10;
8) **ጸሎተ፡ ዳንኤል፡ ነቢይ፡ ስብሐት፡ ዘእምአዛርያ** (*Ṣälotä Danə'el näbiyy səbḥat zä'əm'azarya*, 'The Prayer of Daniel, the Prophet, Praise from Azariah'), Dan 3:26–45 [= apocryphal Prayer of Azariah 1–22];
9) **ጸሎተ፡ ሠለስቱ፡ ደቂቅ** (*Ṣälotä śälästu däqiq*, 'The Prayer of the Three Children'), Dan 3:52–56 [= apocryphal Prayer of Azariah 29–34];
10) **ጎበ፡ ባረኩ፡ አናንያ፡ ወአዛርያ፡ ወሚሳኤል፡ ለእግዚአብ ሔር** (*Ḫabä baräku Ananya wä'azarya wämisa'el lä'əgzi'abəḥer*, 'Ananiah, Azariah, and Mishael Blessed God'), Dan 3:57–88 [= apocryphal Prayer of Azariah 35–66];
11) **ጸሎተ፡ ዕንባቆም፡ ነቢይ** (*Ṣälotä ʿƎnbaqom näbiyy*, 'The Prayer of Habakkuk, the Prophet'), Hab 3:1–19;
12) **ጸሎተ፡ ኢሳይያስ፡ ነቢይ** (*Ṣälotä Isayəyas näbiyy*, 'The Prayer of Isaiah, the Prophet'), Is 26:9–20;
13) **ጸሎተ፡ እግዝእትነ፡ ማርያም** (*Ṣälotä əgzə'ətənä Maryam*, 'The Prayer of Our Lady Mary'), Lk 1:46–55 [= the Magnificat];
14) **ጸሎተ፡ ዘካርያስ፡ ካህን** (*Ṣälotä Zäkaryas kahən*, 'The Prayer of Zechariah, the Priest'), Lk 1:68–79 [= the Benedictus]; and
15) **ጸሎተ፡ ስምዖን፡ ነቢይ** (*Ṣälotä Səmʿon näbiyy*, 'The Prayer of Simeon, the Prophet'), Lk 2:29–32 [= the *Nunc dimittis*].

Src.: HamTana I, 209ff. [Ṭānāsee 56]; GrébGriaule I, 1-17 [Éthiopien 305]; JOHANNES POTKEN, *Psalterium Davidis et Cantica aliqua biblica Aethiopice*, Roma 1513; TÄSFA GÄBRÄ ŚƎLLASE (ed.), **መዝሙረ፡ ዳዊት፡ ወጸሎታት፡ ዘነቢያት** (*Mäzmurä Dawit wäṣälotat zänäbiyat*, 'Songs of David [Psalter] and the Prayers of the Prophets'), Addis Abäba 1959 A.M. [1966/67 A.D.].

Lit.: KIRSTEN STOFFREGEN-PEDERSEN, *Les Éthiopiens*, Belgium 1990.

Monica Devens

Mäḥammäd Ali

M.A. (**መሐመድ፡ አሊ**, "horse name" Abba Ǧəbo; b. ca. 1740, d. ca. 1785) ruled the territory of ↗Wärrä Himäno in ↗Wällo in the second half of the 18th cent. He belonged to a lineage of Oromo Muslim notables who had settled in Wällo since the beginning of the 18th cent. His grandfather, Godana Babbo, and his father, Ali Godana, used their influence and politically advantageous marriage alliances to undermine the power of the petty chiefdoms in the eastern parts of Wällo. M.A. turned this lineage into a dynasty, the ↗Mammädočč. It is not clearly established if this name had been used before or only after him.

M.A. first successfully rebelled against the Arreločč chiefs who dominated the area around Lake Ḥayq and who had become unpopular because of excessive taxation. Then he conquered Wärrä Himäno, a territory strategically positioned

on the border of the decadent Gondärine kingdom. He established his headquarters at the town of Tänta, from where he could control Mäqdäla and the countries beyond the Bäšəlo river (Wadla, Dälanta, and Dawənt). According to local traditions, M.A. laid the basis of Mammädočč authority through low taxation, military feats and Islamic proselytization. He assumed the title of ↗*imām*. This title and the religious warrior spirit involved were inherited by his successors. Thus, M.A. is considered the eponymous founder of the dynasty.

M.A.'s mother Ləbəyat was a daughter of a Christian lord of Wadla Dälanta. M. had two Christian wives, Alkon from Amba Ləgot, who bore him three sons (Bätto, Adäm and Amäde), and Ǝgğəgayyähu from Ambassäl, who bore two sons Yəmäre and Qasime. This tradition of intermarriage with women of Christian descent is characteristic of the Mammädočč dynasty.

The only reference to M.A. in Christian historical sources is found in the account of the campaign of *aṣe* ↗Täklä Giyorgis against Wällo in 1783–84 (BlunChr 273–89). This account mentions M.A.'s eldest son, Bätto, as a leader of Wärrä Himäno. The latter allegedly submitted to the Christian king and was appointed *däğğazmač* of Wällo and Wəčale as a reward. However, he was imprisoned three months later for having refused to support the policy of mass conversion to Christianity. Thereupon M.A. lead his people against the rear of the Christian army. It is mentioned that Adäm, his "giant" son, fell in this fierce battle. It seems that M.A. himself died then, too.

The issue of M.A.'s succession is blurred. Bätto probably tried to keep his position as heir for some years, but he was challenged by his youngest brother, Amäde "Kolase" (the father of ↗Libän Amäde), who took the title of *imām* and defended the sovereignty of the Mammädočč not only against the surrounding Christian regional powers but also rulers of other Wällo groups.

Src.: SalTrav; BlunChr 273–89.

Lit.: Domenico Brielli, "Ricordi storici dei Uollo (con note di C. Conti Rossini)", in: *CRStud* 78–110; HusIslam; Zergaw Asfera, *Some Aspects of Historical Development in 'Amhara/Wällo' (ca. 1700–1815)*, B.A. thesis, Haile Selassie I University 1973.

Éloi Ficquet

Maḥámmad "Illálta" Ḥanfaḍé

M.I. (Maḥámmad b. Ḥanfaḍé b. ᶜAsa Aydāḥis [ᶜAfar sp.: Macammad "Illalta" Canfaxe], d. May 1902, nicknamed *illálta*, lit. 'permanent water hole, prosperous oasis', hence 'the man who brought prosperity'), of the ↗Mödaytó tribe, was the *sulṭān* of ↗Awsa from 1862 to 1902. His patronym, Ḥanfaḍé, which is often found in the *sulṭān*'s family, became a synonym for "*sulṭān* of Awsa" in colonial literature under various spellings: Anfari, Anfray, Hampharé, etc. His grandfather ᶜAsa Aydāḥis was the first to receive the title of *amóyta* (*sulṭān*). During his rule, M.I. increased the power of Awsa; however, his reign ended in a civil war.

M.I. established his domination over the sedentary tribes of Awsa (Harálla [cp. ↗Harla], Intēgér, Bayḍīᶜó) after several short battles in 1863. In 1866, he burnt ↗Tağūra, the residence of the Adᶜáli *sulṭāns* who had signed the 1862 agreement with the French. He formed an alliance with the Debné *sulṭān*, ↗Ḥúmmad b. Loᶜoytá with whose assistance he defeated the Somalis (↗ᶜIssa) at Mari in June 1867. Also, after M.I. made a secret agreement with Ḥúmmad b. Loᶜoytá, the latter led the Egyptian forces, headed by ↗Munzinger, to an ambush at Lake ᶜUddumma where the Munzinger and his troops were annihilated by M.I. on 15 November 1875. This alliance ended ca. 1894, when M.I. ordered the execution of ᶜAbdalqādir b. Arbāhintá, Ḥúmmad b. Loᶜoytá's permanent envoy to Mənilək of Šäwa (later *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II).

M.I. was a ruler who constantly strove for the independence of Awsa; however, the continual threat from ↗Egypt forced him to change his policy. In June 1881, he sent a letter to the French President, Jules Grévy, requesting his protection. The answer came three years later on 23 June 1884, one year after M.I. had signed the "Convention of Friendship and Commerce of Hadelè Gubò" (Addalé-Gub, 15 March 1883) with the Italian Count Pietro ↗Antonelli (known in ᶜAfar as Intinoole). Possibly upset by this diplomatic initiative, Mənilək ordered a military expedition against Awsa in 1886. After the convention of Addalé-Gub was unilaterally transformed by ↗Italy into a protectorate treaty with Awsa (1888), the Emperor started preparations for what turned out to be his final battle against the Italians. On 30 January 1896, two months before the battle of ↗ᶜAdwa, Mənilək's troops, led by *ras* ↗Wäldä Giyorgis Abboyye, *azzaž* ↗Wäldä Ṣadəq, and *däğğazmač* (later *ras*) ↗Täsämma Nadäw, defeated the *sulṭān*'s forces on the plain of ᶜArraddó (↗Millee). However, M.I. was appointed *däğğazmač* by Mənilək in 1896.

Maḥammad "Illalta", portrayed in 1890 by Augusto Valli, from the collection of Enrico Castelli

In ca. 1898, at the instigation of his third wife Rokkiyá, M.I. nominated his nephew Maḥámmad, son of his brother Aydāḥis, as his successor. This resulted in a struggle between Maḥámmad b. Aydāḥis on the one side, and M.I.'s sons on the other. Known as the "Sangerrá war" (after the name of the *sulṭān*'s residence), this struggle lasted for ten years after M.I.'s death.

↗Treaties

Src.: BAIRU TAFLA (ed., tr.) *Ethiopian Records of the Menilek Era: Selected Amharic Documents from the Nachlaß of Alfred Ilg, 1884–1900*, Wiesbaden 2000 (AeF 54), 402, 463; GueCopMen 401–06.

Lit.: MorDicAfar 69f., 186, 239, 241–44 (Lit.); GEORGES CLOVIS SAVARD, "Hanfari, Muhammad", in: *EncAfr* 84.

Didier Morin

Maḥammad Ôbakar

M.Ô. (Amh. *näggadras* Mähammäd, b. 1845, d. 28 March 1915, Addis Abäba) was the second son of ↗Abū Bakr b. Ibrāhīm b. Šahīm of ↗Zaylaᶜ from the ᶜAfar Ḥasōba (Ôbakartó lineage). He was also known as "Maḥammad *näggadras*" since he was the chief of the ᶜAfar merchants in ↗Bati. He created the market of Arāmo, between Gaysāsan and Kay, in the vicinity of Farré, Yəfat, where slaves were gathered before being taken to the coast (↗Slavery). ↗Borelli (1890:9) met him with his elder brother, Ibrāhīm, praising their intelligence which, he said, explained their influential role, while Arthur ↗Rimbaud (1954:447) criticized "le redoutable bandit Mohammed Abou-Bekr, l'ennemi juré des négociants et voyageurs européens au Choa". Oral tradition reports that *aṣe* ↗Mənəlik II used his services to get weapons from the ↗Ottoman Empire. M.Ô., an active arms dealer, seems to have been successful; one tradition claims that it was due to this success that the Emperor conferred the title ↗*näggadras* on him. M.Ô. established himself at Addis Abäba at the end of the 19th cent.

M.Ô.'s son, Ôbakar *näggadras* (also known as Abu Bäkär Čänno, allegedly being from Čänno in Yəfat, s. GebMolIyas 359) had a daughter, Fātuma (b. 1900), who became 20-year-old *ləǧ* ↗Iyasu's third official wife (or the first according to ᶜAfar oral sources) in a ceremony conducted at M.Ô.'s house in Addis Abäba in 1916. This marriage shows the political importance that the Ôbakartó family still had. Fātuma has been described by witnesses as an "admirable and skilled woman". It is said that she was baptized in the church of Abo behind the French legation (Jugniac 1979:63), an indication of her royal ambition. However, Iyasu was deposed on 27 September 1916, his relation to M.Ô. also being used as an argument against him (*L'Afrique Française* 1917:9, 11). Leaving Ethiopia, Fātuma took refuge in the French territory in the Godá mountains, in Ḥasōba territory, at Dīdalé (MorDicAfar 29), where she gave birth to a boy she called ↗Mənilək Iyasu, after Iyasu's grandfather. Her date of death has not been recorded.

Src.: JULES BORELLI, *Ethiopie méridionale. Journal de mon voyage aux pays Amhara, Oromo et Sidama, septembre 1885 à novembre 1888*, Paris 1890, 9; ARTHUR RIMBAUD, *Oeuvres complètes*, Paris 1954, 447; "Le Nouveau Gouvernement de l'Ethiopie", *L'Afrique Française, Bulletin mensuel du Comité de l'Afrique française et du Comité du Maroc*, December 1917, 6–13, here 9, 11.

Lit.: GebMolIyas 359; MARC FONTRIER, *Abou-Bakr Ibrahim, Pacha de Zeyla – Marchand d'esclaves*, Paris 2003; GONTRAN DE JUNIAC, *Le dernier Roi des Rois, l'Ethiopie de Haïlé Sélassié*, Paris 1979, 63; MorDicAfar 29.

Didier Morin

Maḥámmad Yāyyó

Sulṭān (locally: *amóyta*) M.Y. (ᶜAfar sp.: Macammad Yaayyo, also Yayyo, b. 1885 [or ca. 1896], Gargori, about 30 km from Aysaᶜiyta, d. December 1944, Addis Abäba) ruled ↗Awsa from 1927 to 1944. He was the eldest son of the powerful *däǧǧazmač* ↗Yāyyó, *sulṭān* of Awsa, son of *sulṭān* ↗Maḥámmad "Illálta" Ḥanfaḍé. M.Y. took over the Sultanate after his father had eliminated any possible challenger to the eldest son's succession. Different from his father, M.Y. decided to cultivate good relations with the Šäwan leaders. In 1927/28 he visited Addis Abäba where Empress ↗Zäwditu and the Crown Prince, *ras* Täfäri Mäkʷännən (later Emperor ↗Ḥaylä Śəllase I), conferred the title of ↗*däǧǧazmač* on him.

After Ḥaylä Śəllase had gone into exile in 1936, M.Y. became involved with the Italians. It

was agreed with the colonial ministry that M.Y. would remain in his position as the leader of Awsa with a certain degree of internal autonomy, but being directly responsible to the Italian colonial administration. M.Y. was then registered in the colonial payroll and received a monthly salary. In addition, the Italians constructed palaces for M.Y. at Massawa and ᶜAsäb.

In 1939 he was invited to visit Rome where he met ↗Mussolini. M.Y. was accompanied by 30 delegates including prominent Awsa leaders like *fitawrari* Yāyyó Ḥámmadu and Kurba Ḥámmadu. M.Y. presented Mussolini with a hand-made carpet woven of golden threads weighing 30 kg which his father *sulṭān* Yāyyó had received from *ləǧ* ↗Iyasu. In return Mussolini gave M.Y. a car and conferred colonial titles on the *sulṭān* as well as some of the delegates. After 34-days stay in Italy M.Y. returned to Awsa on 13 August 1939. The meat supply of the Italian army was largely organized by Awsa.

After the end of the Italian occupation of Ethiopia and Ḫaylä Śəllase's return from exile in 1941, the Emperor summoned *sulṭān* M.Y. to Addis Abäba. But the *sulṭān* kept on replying that he was sick. Following a conflict in 1942 with his deputy in 1942, *fitawrari* Yāyyó Ḥámmadu, M.Y. dismissed Yāyyó and appointed a "naturalized highlander" (s. Kassim Shehim 1982), Maḥámmad "ᶜĀsiyaytu" Gemmessis, son of a former slave of unknown origin living in Awsa and an ᶜAfar woman, ᶜAsiya. After his dismissal, *fitawrari* Yāyyó played a major role in dislodging M.Y. from office. He went first to Däse, where he met the nominal governor of Wällo province (including Awsa), Crown Prince ↗Asfa Wäsän Ḫaylä Śəllase, and then the Emperor at Addis Abäba. *Fitawrari* Yāyyó disclosed confidential information to them and accused the *sulṭān* of "selling" Awsa to France.

Some months after that event, in 1944 ca. 1,500 troops of the *kəbr zäbäññä* (the ↗Imperial Bodyguard) with a convoy of 34 military vehicles, led by *fitawrari* Yāyyó and *fitawrari* Mäkʷännən, invaded Awsa to capture M.Y. at his palace at Ḥinnale. There was only sporadic and uncoordinated resistance, but no effort was made by the *sulṭān* to challenge the invasion (Kassim Shehim 1982). On 14 April 1944 his wife Ukkubi Madina, daughter of ᶜIse, shot and killed the lieutenant who tried to arrest *sulṭān* M.Y. who was lying on his sick bed. Madina was immediately shot dead. M.Y. was arrested and taken to Addis Abäba where he died a few months later, reportedly executed. He was succeeded by *sulṭān* ᶜAli Miráḥ, with *fitawrari* Yāyyó Ḥámmadu again becoming the deputy, and ᶜĀsiyaytu resumed his former post of supervisor of the *sulṭān*'s cattle.

Amóyta Maḥámmad Yāyyó in Sardo, ᶜAfar; in the background lieutenant Bartelletti, Vice-Commander of the colonna di Dancali irregolari; photo 1936, courtesy of Didier Morin

Src.: interviews with *sulṭān* ᶜAli Miráḥ, Ḥabib Maḥámmad Yāyyó, August 2006, *šayḫ* Amin Ḫazali, *ḫāǧǧī* Yusuf Aḥmad, September 2006; DAVID BUXTON, *Travels in Ethiopia*, London 1949, 162; LEWIS MARIANO NESBITT, *Desert and Forest: the Exploration of Abyssinian Danakil*, London 1934, 262, 283.

Lit.: ABDALLAH A. ADOU, *The Afar: a Nation on Trail*, Stockholm 1993, 51; DAHILON YASIN, *The Rise and Fall of the Sultanate of Aussa with Particular Reference to the Reign of Ali Mirah*, Addis Ababa 1985, 13–19; ǦAMĀLADDĪN AŠ-ŠĀMĪ B. IBRĀHĪM B. ḪALĪL AŠ-ŠĀMĪ – HĀŠIM ǦAMĀLADDĪN AŠ-ŠĀMĪ, *Al-manhal fī taʾrīḫ waaḫbār al-ᶜAfar (ad-Danākīl)* ('The Source of the History and the Narratives of the ᶜAfar [Danakil]'), Cairo 1997, 357–59; KADAFO MOHAMMED, *The Background History of the Sultanate of Awsa*, Nigeria n.d., 36–48; KASSIM SHEHIM, *The Influence of Islam on the Afar*, Ph.D. thesis, Washington 1982, 108f.; MorDicAfar 71f., 74, 242ff.

Yasin Mohammed Yasin

Maḫbär

The Orthodox Christian M. (ማኅበር), alternately described as religious fraternal associations, are reputed to have existed for hundreds of years in Ethiopia. The original purpose of the M. was to collect money to host feasts on church saints' days. Membership was restricted to Orthodox Christians and specific M. were formed by people who felt an affinity to a particular saint. Members would meet on the saint's day (↗Calendar), which was once a month, in the house of each member in turn.

There was considerable latitude for peasants living within a parish to select a M. but once a member, the M. was a powerful vehicle of social control. One beneficial consequence was that membership promoted fellowship between members form one parish with those from distant parishes. Beyond their ceremonial functions, M. were organized to provide mediation and mutual assistance for their membership, for instance, to help rebuild a house that had burned down, support orphans, or lend seed during times of crop failure. Later this was expanded to include charities and some self-help projects at the rural parish level for the community at large, but most activities were non-monetary through the middle to late 19th cent.

With the establishment of Addis Abäba and the expansion of the capitalist economy in the early 20th cent., self-help assumed a different definition, for money was the facilitator of urban life. Membership fees were required and M. officials spent the income on projects that would benefit the religious community. Stemming from these additional activities, some scholars maintain that the M. became the progenitor of Ethiopian self-help associations that took distinct functional and regional forms; this is particularly true with reference to ↗*əddər*, a ubiquitous neighbourhood self-help organization that duplicates much of the functions of the M., except, but not always, shedding its religious ties.

Lit.: STÉPHANE ANCEL, "Mahbär et sänbäte: associations religieuses en Ethiopie", *Aethiopica* 8, 2005, 95–111; DAVID CRAIG KORTEN, *Planned Change in a Traditional Society: Psychological Problems of Modernization in Ethiopia*, New York 1972, 94f.; LevWax 277–79.

Charles Schaefer

Maḫbär fəqri hagär

On 8 April 1941, the ↗British Military Administration (B.M.A.) assumed responsibility for administering ↗Eritrea pending an international decision about the territory's fate. Nationalist aspirations, especially among the Eritrean youth, led to political demonstrations and violent confrontations. Italian officials in the B.M.A.'s service, particularly those who had been in the *Carabinieri* and the *Polizia dell'Africa Italiana*, sought to suppress the growth of Eritrean nationalism. Nevertheless, political agitation continued as Eritrean youths armed themselves. In April 1941, more than 4,000 Eritreans demonstrated in Asmära. The B.M.A. subsequently imprisoned many of the ringleaders and passed a regulation forbidding Eritreans to assemble in groups of more than three.

On 5 May 1941, a group of Eritrean activists and intellectuals in Asmära formed the M.f.h. (ማኅበር፡ ፍቅሪ፡ ሃገር, 'Society for Love of the Country', also *Maḫbär fəqri hagär;* not to be confused with the Addis Abäba-based *Yähagär fəqər maḫbär*, Amh. 'Love for the Country Association', founded in 1944). It was to be led by a committee with six Christian and six Muslim members. Its leaders included ↗Gäbrä Mäsqäl Wäldu (President; b. 1907, d. 1963), *šayḫ* ↗ᶜAbdälqadər Käbirä (Vice-President), ↗Ibrāhīm Sulṭān ᶜAlī, Muḥammad ᶜUmar Qāḍī, and ↗Wäldä Ab Wäldä Maryam. The society advocated an end to the Italian control of the economy, the replacement of Italians in the administration by Eritreans and self-determination for Eritrea. However, a rift eventually developed between those who wanted eventual independence and those who supported unification with Ethiopia. Additionally, the M.f.h. suffered from poor organizational and leadership skills. Many M.f.h. members accused Gäbrä Mäsqäl Wäldu of "indolence, indiscretions and drunkenness", all of which exposed the organization to criticism. His refusal to accept petitions demanding changes further alienated the M.f.h. membership. As a result, some M.f.h. militants formed a separate wing in early 1943 called the Sunday Association (*Sänbäte maḫbär*). After the British approved Eritrean political activities in 1946, the organization changed its name to ማኅበር፡ ኤርትራ፡ ምስ፡ ኢትዮጵያ (*Maḫbär Ertra məs Ityopya*, 'Association Eritrea with Ethiopia'). This group subsequently affiliated itself with a youth group called *Andənnät* (Amh. 'Union').

In November 1946, the M.f.h. held a new election. Then the Ethiopian official Colonel Nägga Ḫaylä Śəllase and pro-Ethiopian and pro-Unionist forces succeeded in defeating Gäbrä Mäsqäl Wäldu who lost the presidency but retained a Central Committee seat. *Däğğazmač* Bäyyänä Bäraḳi was elected M.f.h.'s president while Kidanä Maryam Gäbrä Mäsqäl became Honorary President. ↗Tädla Bayru assumed the responsibility for most of the M.f.h.'s day-to-day affairs. He also assembled a dedicated and competent staff that enabled him to create an organizational network that quickly spread throughout Eritrea.

After Britain authorized indigenous political activities, M.f.h. changed its name to ናይ፡ ኤርትራን፡ ኢትዮጵያን፡ ጎብረት፡ ማኅበር፡ ፍቅሪ፡

Assembly of the *Maḫbär fəqri hagär*: in the centre, with the cross, *abunä* Marqos, on his right (in white) *ras* Kidanä Maryam Gäbrä Mäsqäl and on his left (in a black cape) *käntebay* ᶜUṯmān, and the President of the Party *däğğač* Bäyyänä Bäraḳi (in a black cape) behind *ras* Kidanä Maryam; from Rampone 1953:16

ሃገር፤ ኢትዮጵያ፡ ምስ፡ ኤርትራ፤ ሓንቲ፡ ኢትዮጵያ (*Nay Erətran Ityopyan ḫəbrät maḫbär fəqri hagär, Ityopya məs Erətra, ḫanti Ityopya*, 'The Unity of Eritrea and Ethiopia, Society for Love of the Country, Ethiopia with Eritrea, One Ethiopia'). This new party quickly established offices throughout Eritrea and launched a party newspaper called *Ityopya* that supported Unionist activities.

After the restoration of the monarchy, ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I said that Ethiopia's future development depended on gaining access to Eritrea's ports and industrial facilities. Therefore, one of his first tasks was to devise a strategy to incorporate Eritrea into Ethiopia. To accomplish this goal, he funded the M.f.h. and created the *Patriotic Society for the reunification of Ḫamasen with Ethiopia* (also called the *Society for Unification of Eritrea with Ethiopia*), established in Addis Abäba, later also in Asmära. Both organizations sought to gain support for unification by launching a propaganda campaign that stressed the cultural, historical, and religious links between the two countries. Additionally, Ḫaylä Śəllase enlisted the support of the Orthodox Church to spread pro-Ethiopian sentiments throughout Eritrea. In November 1946, M.f.h.'s pro-unification wing had neutralized those who advocated Eritrean independence. As a result, by the end of the year, M.f.h. no longer existed. In 1947, the ↗Unionist party (also called *maḫbär fəqri hagär, Ityopya məs Erətra, ḫanti Ityopya*) succeeded M.f.h. on the political landscape.

Lit.: ᶜALÄMSÄGÄD TÄSFAY, **ፈደረሽን፡ ኤርትራ፡ ምስ፡ ኢትዮጵያ፤ ካብ፡ ማትየንሶ፡ ክሳብ፡ ተድላ፡** 1951–1955 (*Fädäräšən Erətra məs Ityopya: kab Matyänso kəsab Tädla, 1951–1955*, 'The Eritrean-Ethiopian Federation: from [Anze] Matienzo to Tädla [Bayru], 1951–1955'), Asmära 2005; KilHDic 295f., 417–29; LLOYD ELLINGSON, "The Emergence of Political Parties in Eritrea", *JAH* 18, 2, 1977, 261–81; JORDAN GEBREMEDHIN, *Peasants and Nationalism in Eritrea*, Trenton, NJ 1989; OSCAR RAMPONE, *Il Mareb era un confine*, Asmara 1953, 16 (ill.); RUTH IYOB, "The Eritrean Struggle for Independence: Domination, Resistance, Nationalism 1941–1993", *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 30, 1, 1997, 209–11; EAD., *The Eritrean Struggle for Independence: Domination, Resistance, Nationalism 1941–1993*, Cambridge 1995, 43f., 65–70, 132ff.; SHUMET SISHAGNE, *Unionists and Separatists: the Vagaries of Ethio–Eritrea Relation 1941–1991*, Hollywood, CA 2007, 51–54; TEKESTE NEGASH, *Italian Colonialism in Eritrea, 1882–1941*, Uppsala 1987, 160, 181; TESFATSION MEDHANIE, *Eritrea: Dynamics of a National Question*, Amsterdam 1986, 6–26.

Thomas P. Ofcansky

Maḫbärä ḥawaryat

The M.ḥ. (**ማኅበረ፡ ሐዋርያት**, 'Community of the Apostles') is a religious association founded in 1949/50 A.D. by a group of monks, priests and laymen as a youth association of the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church in Asmära. Later, on the initiative of *abunä* ↗Marqos, then Bishop of Eritrea, the name *Fəre haymanot* (**ፍሬ፡ ሃይማኖት**, 'the Fruit of Faith') was added to the title. Initially with 72 founding members and 120 external members, the association soon attracted large numbers of supporters as it spread throughout Eritrea. Its aim was to live the Christian life according to the Gospel spirit and spread it. The M.ḥ. built churches, schools and clinics throughout Eritrea, all administered by themselves. Among its members, there were a number of respected ecclesiastics and church scholars as well as all the monasteries of Eritrea.

A major milestone in the history of the M.ḥ. was the foundation of the Kokäbä Ṣəbaḥ ('The Morning Star') Printing Press on 1 June 1951. Among its executive members were ↗Dəmeṭros Gäbrä Maryam and *liqä mäzämmərən* ↗Mogäs ᶜƎqʷba Giyorgis, the chief editor, who became

famous for the works published there. The Press printed many important religious books, including the complete ↗Bible, the Missal, the ↗*Sənkəssar*, various devotional books, law, homiletics, lectionaries etc. Although Gəᶜəz was the main language of publication, soon it came to use vernacular languages (Amharic and Təgrəññа). The M.ḥ. also edited the monthly newspaper ዜና፡ ሐዋርያት (*Zena ḥawaryat*, 'The News of the Apostles'), founded in 1953/54. It appeared on the fifth of each month and went on until 1959/60. The newspaper was bilingual, producing material in Amharic and Təgrəññа. In 1990s, the association was incorporated into the Eritrean Orthodox Church.

Src.: interviews with *liqä bərhanat qäsis* Maḫdärä Täsfa Maryam, Asmära 2006, *mäggabe kahənat qäsis* Bärhä Wäldä Maryam, Asmära 2007.

Habtemichael Kidane

Maḫbärä məʾəmänan

The M.m. (ማኅበረ፡ ምእመናን, 'Congregation of the Faithful') is a ↗*mälkəʾ* named after the first two words of the ↗hymn which is also known as መልክአ፡ ቍርባን (*Mälkəʾa qʷərban*, 'Effigy of the ↗Eucharist'). Strictly speaking, the M.m. is a portion of the *Mälkəʾa qʷərban*.

The M.m. is not a typical *mälkəʾ*. Whereas the latter is normally a hymn of praise that begins with the exaltation of the various members of the human body, the M.m. does not display this pattern. Its strophes are not introduced by the otherwise standard salutation ሰላም፡ ለ... (*sälam lä*..., 'Hail to...').

The question of the M.m.'s authorship has yet to be settled. Later sources (Conti Rossini 1917:711, cp. 700) suggest that it was composed by *aṣe* ↗Bäʾədä Maryam in mid-15th cent. This association is indirectly confirmed (Raineri 1984:82) by the existence of a 16th-cent. copy of the hymn in ms. Vat. Aeth. 30, fols. 52–60 (GréTisVat vol. 1, 145). The text "On the Ancient Gondärine Kings" in EMML 1706 says, with no other detail, that its composer was *abba* Zämäläkot (Getatchew Haile in PICES 10, 371, cp. 373 and n. 46).

Even though all the printed missals do not have rubrics stipulating its use, in practice, it is compulsory to sing the M.m. (Euringer 1934:200) during the celebrationof the Eucharist, at two different points in the liturgy (↗*Qəddase*). The first part of the text, which normally comprises eight strophes, is performed inside the sanctuary by the clergy when they receive Holy Communion. The second part of the M.m. is sung after the recital of the thanksgiving prayer (*Ḫaddafe näfs*, 'Pilot of the Soul') and the Lord's prayer. At this point, the celebrants enter the sanctuary to purify the sacred vessels, and the main celebrant intones the M.m. The actual length of the recited part is not strictly fixed. There is no uniformity in its execution and it varies from place to place because it depends on the academic preparation of the clergy presiding over the celebration. Besides the Eucharist, the liturgy makes use of this hymn on at least two other occasions: on the commemoration of the birth of Christ, *Bäᶜalä Wäld*, the 29th of every month, and on the feast of the Saviour of the World (*Mädḫane ᶜAläm*), 27 *Mäggabit* (↗Feasts).

There are various editions of the M.m. that often differ in the number and arrangement of the strophes. Not all of the printed prayer books containing the hymn offer rubrics referring to the M.m.'s use in the Eucharistic celebration, and when they do, they are not always in agreement with one another, and they additionally present some variants in the wording of the composition. The comparative table of some of the printed editions prepared by Fritsch (2002:205) is a good research starting point, but much work is still to be done. An exhaustive survey of published and manuscript material remains a desideratum. As with the *Mälkəʾa qʷərban*, the M.m. was interwoven with several motifs, quotations and allusions drawn from the Old and New Testament. There is in fact a well-known pattern of interpretation that views the O.T. as foreshadowing the N.T. This pattern, already present in the N.T. (e.g. Gal 4:24, with the explicit use of the word "allegory"; cf. also 1 Cor 10:1–11), continued to be developed throughout the ages, especially by the Alexandrian school. The M.m. is a thought-out composition and some of the analogies employed are quite powerful (e.g., the parallelism between the cry of the Jews at the "Western Wall" and the daily contrition of the Christians in front of the sacrifice of the Body and Blood of Christ). The M.m. includes several theological statements and has numerous passages that reflect the Ethiopian Theology of the Eucharist. An example of this comes in the fifth strophe: "The Holy Spirit descends upon the bread and the wine, when the priest says 'Send the Holy Spirit', in the midst of this Holy Church of His, [the Holy Spirit] transforms them at once, so that they become the members [the Body and Blood] of Christ, by

His tremendous power and wonderful capacity" (Mogäs ᶜƎqubä Giyorgis 1964/65:248f.).

Src.: ChRep; DillmChr 131–36 ["Congregatio Fidelium"]; EMML ms. 1706; SEBASTIAN EURINGER, "Ein orientalisches Kommunionlied", *Theologie und Glaube* 26, 1934, 200–05; EMMANUEL FRITSCH, "Un hymne eucharistique éthiopienne: le Malkᵓa Qʷerban ou 'Portrait de l'Eucharistie'", *Irénikon* 75, 2–3, 2002, 195–229; GreTisVat vol. 1, 143–47, here 145; KOKÄBÄ ṢƎBAḪ MAḪBÄRÄ ḪAWARYAT (ed.), **መጽሐፈ፡ ሰዓታት፡ ወኵሉ፡ ጸዋትዊሁ፡ ምስለ፡ ባሕረ፡ ሐሳብ** (*Mäṣḥafä säᶜatat wäkʷəllu ṣäwatəwihu məslä baḥrä ḥassab*, 'The Book of the Hours and all its Parts Together with the Computus'), Asmära 1975 A.M. [1982/83 A.D.], 170ff.; *liqä mäzämmərän* MOGÄS ᶜƎQUBÄ GIYORGIS (ed.), **መጽሐፈ፡ ሰዓታት** (*Mäṣḥafä säᶜatat*, 'The Book of the Hours'), Asmära 1957 A.M. [1964/65 A.D.], 247–57; TÄSFA GÄBRÄ ŚƎLLASE (ed.), **መልክአ፡ መድኃኔ፡ ዓለም፡ ወመልክአ፡ ቍርባን** (*Mälkəᵓa mädḫane ᶜaläm wämälkəᵓa qʷərban*, 'Effigy of the Saviour of the World and Effigy of the Eucharist'), Addis Abäba 1951/52 A.M. [1959 A.D.], 91–101; ID. (ed.), **መልክአ፡ ጉባኤ** (*Mälkəᵓa gubaᵓe*, 'The Collection of *Mälkə*'), Addis Abäba 1983 A.M. [1990/91 A.D.], 17–24 [*Mälkəᵓa qʷərban*]; *mämhər* ṬƎᶜUMÄ LƎSSAN KIDANÄ MARYAM (ed.), **መጽሐፈ፡ ሰዓታት፡ ከነመልክቱ** (*Mäṣḥafä säᶜatat kännäməlәkkətu*, 'The Book of the Hours with Musical Notations'), Addis Abäba 1992 A.M. [1999/2000 A.D.], 416–23; OSVALDO RAINERI, "L'Inno etiopico «Malke'a Qurban» o «Effigie dell'Eucarestia»", *Ephemerides Liturgicae* 98, 1984, 81–87 (tr.); ID., *La spiritualità etiopica*, Roma 1996 (La spiritualità orientale 1), 213–19 (tr.).

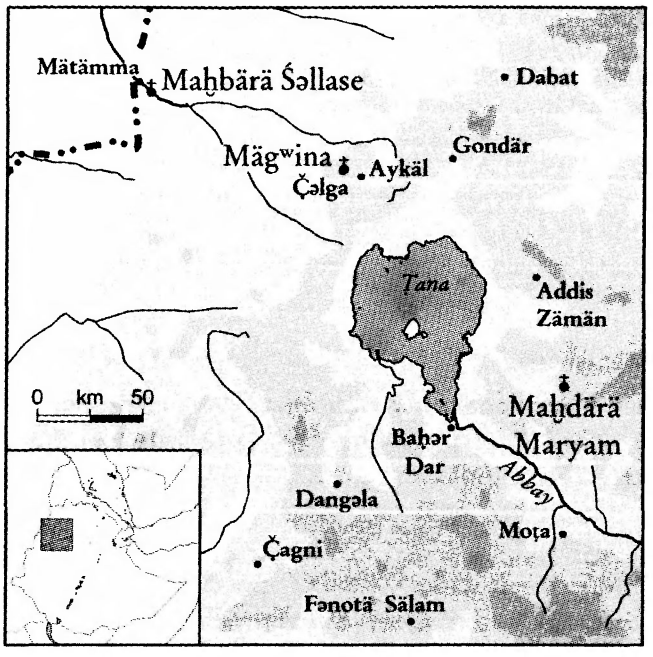
Lit.: CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Il libro delle leggende e tradizioni abissine dell'ecciaghié Filpòs", *RRALm* ser. 5ª, 26, 1917, 699–718, here 700, 711; GETATCHEW HAILE, "Builders of Churches and Authors of Hymns: Makers of History in the Ethiopian Church", in: *PICES* 10, vol. 1, 369–75, here 371, 373; *abba* MÄLKÄ ṢÄDÄQ, **ትምህርተ፡ ክርስትና** (*Təmhərtä krəstənna*, 'The Christian Teaching'), vol. 2, Addis Abäba 1984 A.M. [1991/92 A.D.], 170ff. [*Mälkəᵓa qʷərban*].

Tedros Abraha

Maḫbärä Śəllase

M.Ś. (**ማኅበረ፡ ሥላሴ**) is a monastery located near ↗Mätämma. Local tradition ascribes its foundation to the Kings ↗Abrəha and Aṣbəḥa, and links it with a vision of the Trinity that St. Frumentius (*abba* ↗Sälama Käśate Bərhan) is said to have had there. Historically, however, M.Ś. is associated with the 17th-cent. holy monk ᶜAmdä Śəllase, who miraculously healed *aṣe* ↗Susənyos. Subsequently, *aṣe* ↗Fasilädäs richly endowed the monastery. Administrative activities of M.Ś. included collecting tributes and taxation, administering justice and providing defence, all organized and directed from the town of Maṭbeya.

M.Ś. had close relations with the rulers of ↗Qʷara. *Ləǧ* Kaśa (the future *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II) was sent to M.Ś. by his mother Attəṭṭäggäb, and stayed and learnt there for some seven years,



leaving the monastery at the age of 16. Moreover, a few years after his death at Mäqdäla (13 April 1868), his son ↗Mäšäša reportedly transferred Tewodros's remains to M.Ś. Although it never accumulated substantial wealth, M.Ś. was attacked and pillaged several times. One of the raids might have happened whilst *ləǧ* Kaśa was there in 1827, being one of the few children to survive. In 1889, the ↗Mahdists attacked M.Ś., burnt the church and massacred the monks; the monastery is said to have also been raided by British soldiers, probably an expeditionary force that came from the Sudan. Finally, during the Italian occupation (some time in 1937), the church was destroyed and some 24 to 50 monks killed by Italian bombing. In August 1940, M.Ś. was the first place where Daniel ↗Sandford, the head of the "Mission 101", looked for local contacts and support.

Based on ᶜAmdä Śəllase's rules, the monastery practices a strict community-oriented form of asceticism. All private property is forbidden (*andənnät*-rule). The head of the monastery is a ↗*mämhər*, with an *afä mämhər* as his spokesman and representative. Relative isolation facilitated retention of land ownership after the ↗Revolution of 1974, and preservation of areas of sacred virgin land in its vicinity. The plan of the monastery is a perfect circle – the main church (dedicated to the Holy Trinity) in the centre with simple thatched houses of the monks around it. M.Ś. maintains relations with the nearby ↗Gumuz people. It is known as **(የ)ሺህ፡ ማኅበር**, (*yä*)*ših maḫbär*, i.e. 'the community of a thousand'.

Src.: MonVidTheo 1 (text) = 1 (tr.); CHRISTINE SANDFORD, *Ethiopia under Haile Sellase*, London 1946, 108.

Lit.: AmhChurchD vol. 1, 422f. (Lit.); *märḥa ṭäbbäbt* ZÄGÄNNAT MARYAM, "የማኅበረ ሥላሴ ገዳም አጭር ታሪክ (*Yämaḫbärä Śəllase gädam aṭṭər tarik*, 'A Short History of Maḫbärä Śəllase Monastery')", *Tənśa'e* (Addis Abäba) 136, *Näḥase-Mäskäräm* 1982 A.M. [1989/90 A.D.], 9–11; JOACHIM G. PERSOON, "Le monastère de Mahbêre Selassié", *Irénikon* 70, 1997, 496–519; RubTew 29f.; TSTarik IV, 13; ZewYohan 204.

Joachim Persoon

Maḫbūba

M. (German sp.: "Machbuba" [Arab. 'Beloved']; b. ca. 1825, d. 28 October 1840 Muskau Castle, Germany) was an Oromo slave-girl from ↗Guumma, who was taken to Germany in the early 19th cent. by the famous German Prince Hermann Pückler-Muskau, a noble garden architect and writer. She was originally called Bilillee (Oromo 'narrow-necked flask', from Amh. *bərälle*), and nicknamed ᶜAğamī (or "Agiamé", i.e. 'non-Arab'; cp. Assing-Grimelli 1874)..

Allegedly captured as a result of fighting in which her father and six brothers were killed, she and a sister were taken by slave merchants to ↗Gondär, where they were separated. M. was then conveyed to ↗Khartoum slave market where she and several other slaves are said to have been bought by a French speculator, after which she was, ca. 12–13 years old, purchased at Cairo in 1837 by the eccentric Prince von Pückler-Muskau, who called her, significantly, M. (Assing-Grimelli 1874:111f., 117–20). She followed him during his exploration of the Sudan, until Marāwi (Meroë). He then took her, together with another Oromo slave-girl, also called ᶜAğamī, up the Nile to Cairo, and thence to Palestine, where she met the remarkable British woman traveller of the East, Lady Hester Stanhope, and visited Jerusalem (Stanhope 1845:97, 100f., 106f.; Cleveland 1914:105f., 109f., 113).

Portrait of Maḫbūba in Egyptian clothes, around 1839(?); collection of the Stiftung Fürst-Pückler-Museum, Park und Schloss Branitz; from Volker-Saad – Greve 2006:116

Pückler subsequently took M., who had become his concubine, to Lebanon and Turkey, taught her Italian, which he considered the language of love, and interviewed her about the Oromo conception of God. In 1839, M. and the prince reached Vienna, where he introduced her as an "Ethiopian Princess" to such prominent figures as the veteran Austrian statesman Prince Metternich, the Hungarian nobleman Prince Esterhazy, the financier Baron Rothschild, and the Orientalist Joseph Baron von Hammer-Purgstall, with whom she communicated in Arabic.

Developing consumption, and suffering from tapeworm, she was taken by Pückler to the Bohemian health resort of Marienbad, after which she was installed in the Pückler family estate at Muskau (Assing-Grimelli 1874:112f., 122, 125f., 129, 1875:6–9, 14–17). There, by then in failing health, she came in contact with another Oromo ex-slave, Oču Aagaa, informant and student of ↗Tutschek, the author of the first Oromo dictionary (1844:XIII). Oču Aagaa recommended M. to Tutschek to whom she recited Oromo poems, and whose linguistic studies she thus assisted.

M. died, after which her portrait was painted, and plaster castes made of her head, hand and foot (see her wax figure, Ohff 1993:161). She was buried in Muskau church (Assing-Grimelli 1874:188f.; 1875:17, 21, 37).

Src.: LUDMILLA ASSING-GRIMELLI, *Fürst Hermann von Pückler-Muskau*, vol. 2, Berlin 1874; EAD., *Briefwechsel des Fürsten Hermann von Pückler-Muskau*, vol. 7, Berlin 1875; HESTER STANHOPE, *Memoirs of Lady Stanhope*, vol. 3, London 1845; CHARLES [CARL] TUTSCHEK, *Dictionary of the Galla Language. Lexicon der Galla-Sprache*, ed. by LAWRENCE [LORENZ] TUTSCHEK, Munich 1844, XIII.

Lit.: ELIZA BUTLER, *The Tempestuous Prince* (*Hermann von Pückler-Muskau*), London 1929; DUCHESS OF CLEVELAND [i.e. CATHERINA PRIMROSE], *The Life and Letters of Lady Hester Stanhope*, vol. 3, London 1914; ECKART KLESSMANN, *Fürst Pückler und Machbuba*, Berlin 1998; HEINZ OHFF, *Der grüne Fürst: Das abenteuerliche Leben des Hermann Pückler-Muskau*, München – Zürich 1993, 160 (photo tables), 221–26, 228 (caricature), index; RICHARD PANKHURST, "Mahbuba, the 'Beloved': the Life and Romance of an Ethiopian Slave-Girl in Early Nineteenth-Century Europe", *Journal of African Studies* 6, 1979, 47–55; ID., "Pueckler and Mahbuba: the Correspondence between a German Prince and the Ethiopian Slave-Girl", *QSE* 1,

1980, 30–41; ID., "Early Oromo Childhood Reminiscences", *The Ethiopian Journal of Education* 7, 2, 1975, 39–47; ID., "Ethiopian Slave Reminiscences", *Transafrican Journal of History* 5,1, 1976, 98–110; JOHANNES PAUL, *Abenteuerliche Lebensreise. Sieben biographische Essays*, Minden 1954, 237–40; KERSTIN VOLKER-SAAD, "Machbuba: 'Die treueste Copie einer Venus von Tizian, nur in schwarzer Manier'", in: EAD. – ANNA GREVE (eds.), *Äthiopien und Deutschland, Sehnsucht nach der Ferne*, Berlin 2006, 116 (ill.), 117–24.

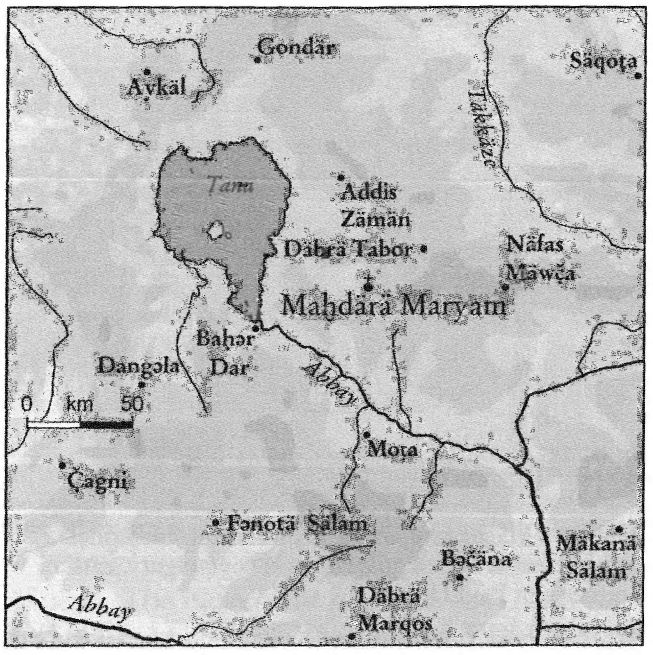
Richard Pankhurst

Maḫdärä Maryam

M.M. (**ማኅደረ ማርያም**) is a church located in the Farta *wäräda* (11° 43' N, 37° 55' E), in the ancient province of ↗Bägemdər, in the district of Gərarya.

Ǝtege ↗Maryam Śəna, the wife of *aṣe* ↗Särṣä Dəngəl, founded the church of M.M. before 1577 as her burial place (PerChron vol. 1, 99; Guidi 1926:377; CRHist 63). Her daughters Amätä Mikaʾel, Kəssosawit and Wälättä Giyorgis, wife of *ras* ↗Zäśəllase, were also buried there (Conti Rossini 1893:810; Perruchon 1896:278; BegCron 40; ms. EMML 8879; ms. Illinois/IES 88.XIII.18). In 1747 *bäğərond* Wäldä Giyorgis was buried in M.M. (GuiIyas 152), and, after his death ca. 1818, *ras* ↗Ḫaylu Wänd Bäwäsän (Conti Rossini 1917:886). A proverb says: **አገር፡ አላት፡ ይበሉኝ፤ ማኅደረ፡ ማርያም፡ ቅበሩኝ** (*Agär allat yəbäluñn. M.M. qəbäruñn*, 'Bury me in M.M. so that people say: "she has so much lands"'). Indeed, M.M. possessed a lot of land and, as a royal foundation, received grants from rulers. As the numerous archival documents preserved in the manuscripts of the church state, the church was destroyed during the time of Susənyos. *Aṣe* ↗Iyasu I had it rebuilt in 1681/82 and, to restore its wealth, granted numerous lands, as later did *aṣe* Bäkaffa and Täklä Haymanot (cp. CrumLand 87, 100; EMML 8879, 8883, 8884, 8897, 8902, 8937).

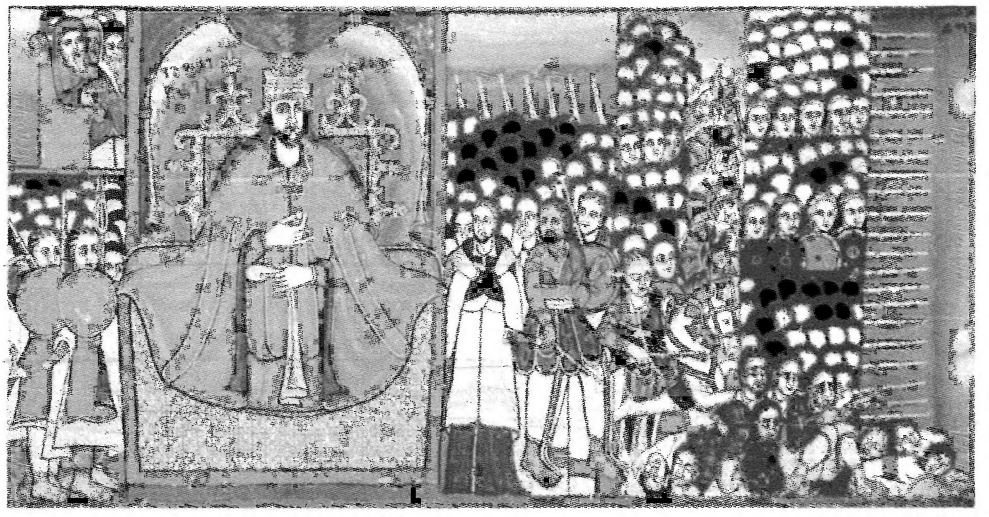
M.M. seems to have stayed away from the theological controversies of the ↗Gondärine kingdom, remaining a centre of traditional church ↗education and a place of ↗asylum. Some *əčč̌äge*, however, may have come from M.M. (CerDLib II, 177), proving the ↗*Täwaḥədo* tendency of the monastery or at least its connection with Däbrä Libanos. This link can also be seen in the fact that the library of M.M. received ca. 40 mss. from *mämhər* Wäldä Yoḥannəs of Däbrä Libanos (s. the library's inventory). Antoine d'↗Abbadie transcribed historical traditions told to him by a blind *däbtära* who reportedly memorized the text from a manuscript preserved in M.M. and given



to the church by *əčč̌äge* ↗Filəppos (ms. Paris, BN d'Abbadie 270; Conti Rossini 1917:700). Also, a copy of the monastic history of Däbrä Libanos (*Zena Däbrä Libanos*) is reportedly preserved at M.M. (Sergew Hable Sellasse 1993) but this is not confirmed by the clergy of the church, nor registered in the EMML microfilm collection.

Däğğazmač ↗Ḫaylä Mikaʾel Ǝšäte studied at M.M., and stayed there when exiled. There he met *abeto* ↗Abägaz and patronized the composition of his famous historical compilation, whose first part was completed in 1785/86 (↗Historiography; Kropp 1989:18f., 26, 34f., 307; ms. BritLib Orient. 820). The status of M.M. as a place of asylum was usually respected but it was violated at least twice. In 1797 *ras* ↗Wäldä Gäbrəʾel captured there *ras* Aligaz (BlunChr 443f.). In 1842 Ḫirut, the wife of *ras* ↗Ali Alula and daughter of *däğğazmač* ↗Wəbe Ḫaylä Maryam, was hiding there, but Ali's adversary *däğğazmač* ↗Bərru Goššu, who wanted to marry her, entered M.M. and kidnapped her (CRNuov 382; AbbSejour vol. 2, 56).

When in the 19th cent. ↗Däbrä Tabor gained in importance, so did M.M., which was located close to that political centre and on a commercial road. A town developed around the church, and several travellers reported about its beauty and its wealth. ↗Mänän Libän Amäde, Ali Alula's mother, established her court at M.M. ca. 1847, after defeating Kaśa (↗Tewodros II), and was visited there by several European travellers (↗Beke, ↗Combes and ↗Tamisier). The Chronicle of Mənilək II mentions that *nəguś* ↗Śahlä Śəllase rebuilt the church before his death in 1847,



Maḫdärä Maryam: painting representing enthroned *aṣe* Yoḥannəs IV holding the pearl in his hand as an insignia of royal sovereignty, eastern wall of the *mäqdäs*; photo 2000, courtesy of Paul Henze

after it had been ruined (GueCopMen 76), but this finds no confirmation in the sources produced at M.M. The church was burnt down ca. 1848, seemingly a result of a criminal act (at the same time as the church of Lədätä Maryam in ↗Gondär), and must have been rebuilt already ca. 1849–50 (CRNuov 397ff.).

Aṣe Tewodros II persecuted and killed the priests of M.M. and burnt the town in 1867, when he was leaving for ↗Mäqdäla, his last stronghold (MonVidTheo 4).

Aṣe ↗Täklä Giyorgis granted lands to M.M. in order to restore its prosperity, and *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV had the church decorated with fine murals (BlunChr 173). Images of Yoḥannəs himself, wearing a crown and holding the pearl (*lul*), were executed on three sides of the ↗*mäqdäs* (west, east and north), always next to the images of St. Mary. The name of the painter, Zä-Yoḥannəs, is mentioned in an ↗inscription on the northern wall. An oral tradition in M.M. has it that Yoḥannəs had the painter's hands cut off, so that he would not repeat such magnificent paintings elsewhere.

Mənilək, ↗Ṭaytu and ↗Zäwditu made donations of *regalia* to the church. In the 24th year of Mənilək's reign, *ras* ↗Wäldä Giyorgis Abboyye and his wife Yäšəmmabet Bəṭul paid for the construction of a new roof.

The church is still famous for its schools of ↗*andəmta*, ↗*aqʷaqʷam* and ↗*dəggʷa* and its rich library, today one of the largest in southern Bägemdər. Some mss. of M.M. could have been looted by Tewodros and, via Mäqdäla, brought to England (e.g., ms. Add. 1570 in the Cambridge University Library; Ullendorff – Wright 1961:1ff.).

The town also remains an important market place. There are two Muslim communities living in the parish of M.M. (PankHist II, 61).

Src.: mss. BritLib Orient. 820; CRAbb 248 no. 252 [6e cahier, Abbadie 270]; EMML 8879, 8883, 8884, 8897, 8902, 8937; EDWARD ULLENDORF – STEPHEN WRIGHT, *Catalogue of Ethiopian Manuscripts in the Cambridge University Library*, Cambridge 1961, 1ff., no. 2 [ms. Add. 1570]; University of Illinois at Urbana Champaign, Department of History – Addis Abäba IES, mf. 88.XIV.23–30 and mf. 88.XIII.18–35 (*Bəluy kidan*, Maḫdärä Maryam); AbbSéjour vol. 2, 56, 81; vol. 3, 22–25; BegCron 40; BlunChr 168ff., 173, 443ff., 449; EDMOND COMBES – MAURICE TAMISIER, *Voyage en Abyssinie, dans le Pays des Galla, de Choa et d'Ifat*, vol. 2, Paris 1938, 90–95; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Due squarci inediti di cronaca etiopica", *RRALm* ser. 5a, 2, 1893, 804–18, here 806, 810; ID., "Il libro delle leggende e tradizioni abissine dell'ecciaghié Filpòs", *ibid.* 26, 1917, 699–718; CRHist 63, 172 (text); CRNuov 375, 382, 398; CRReal 814, 820, 828 (text) = 881, 886, 891 (tr.); FusTeod 23 (text) = 91 (tr.); GueCopMen 76; IGNAZIO GUIDI, "Due nuovi manoscritti della 'cronaca abbreviata' di Abissinia", *RRALm* ser. 6a, 2, 1926, 357–421, here 377; GUILLAUME LEJEAN, *Voyage en Abyssinie exécuté de 1862 à 1864*, Paris 1872, 16f.; MonVidTheo 4 (text) = 36 (tr.); PerChron vol. 1, 99, 119; vol. 2, 75, 92 and 400; JULES PERRUCHON, "Notes pour l'histoire d'Ethiopie. Le règne de Sarṣa-Dengel ou Malak-Sagad Ier (1563–1597)", *RevSem* 4, 1896, 177–85, 273–78, here 278; TARAKEGN YIBAB, *The History of Mahdara Maryam, ca. 1596–1939*, B.A. thesis, History Department, Addis Ababa University 1998.

Lit.: CerDLib II, 177; ChojPaint 75, 98; CrumLand 58, 64, 69, 87, 100, 129, 158; MANFRED KROPP, *Die äthiopischen Königschroniken in der Sammlung des Däğğazmač Ḫaylu*, Frankfurt am Main – Bern – Paris 1989 (Heidelberger Orientalistische Studien 13), 18f., 26, 34f., 307; PankHist II, 61; SERGEW HABLE SELLASSE, "A Source for the History of Dabra Libanos", *Journal of the Archives of Ethiopia* 1, 2, 1993, 1–107; TELLELE DESTA, "Annual Report", *Kirche und Schule in Äthiopien* 54, 2001, 9.

Anaïs Wion

Maḫdärä Qal Täwäldä Mädḫən

M.Q. (ማኅደረ፡ ቃል፡ ተወልደ፡ መድኅን; b. ca. 1815, Adyabo, d. ca. 1891) was one of the first Ethiopians educated abroad who served as an advisor and secretary to Emperors ↗Tewodros II and ↗Yoḥannəs IV.

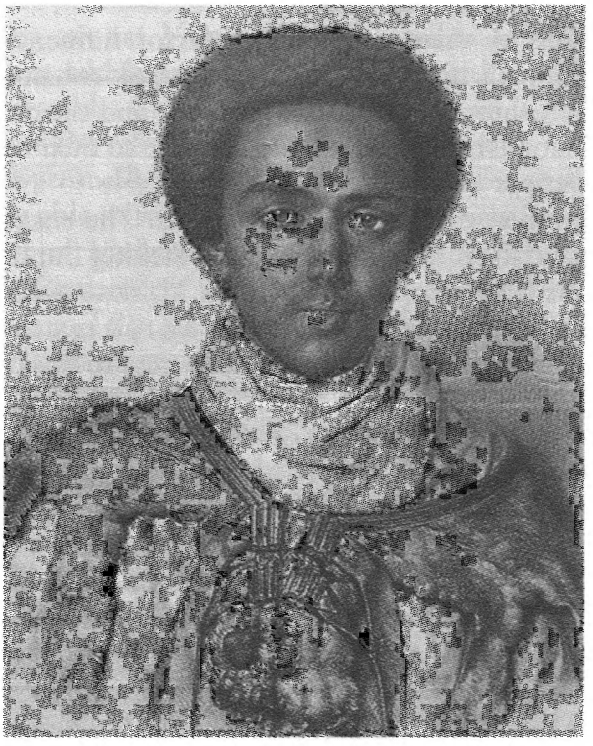
The French explorer and envoy Théophile ↗Lefebvre discovered M.Q. as an orphan during his travels in Ethiopia and took him to France on his return sometime around 1843. After studying on French government scholarship, M.Q. was returning to his country when he met in Cairo some Protestant missionaries, who enrolled him in the Protestant College in Malta, where he studied for five years. This represented for him both a confessional and linguistic shift (from Catholic to Protestant and from French to English, respectively). Indeed he was one of the first Ethiopians – if not the very first – to have written his letters in English. He is also an illustration of the prevalent Catholic-Protestant rivalry in the training and recruitment of young Ethiopians. In addition to French and English, M.Q. reportedly had some knowledge of Italian and Arabic.

M.Q. returned to Ethiopia – according to his fellow student ↗Bərru Ṗeṭros rather too suddenly – in late 1854 with the Protestant missionaries Johann Ludwig ↗Krapf and Martin ↗Flad. After a short spell at a Protestant school that he opened, M.Q. was employed by *aṣe* Tewodros II as his ↗interpreter and translator. After Emperor Yoḥannəs IV ascended the throne in 1872, M.Q. transferred his services to the new ruler, often taking considerable liberties in his translation of the Emperor's letters to Europeans.

Src.: ALEXANDRE GIRARD, *Souvenirs d'un voyage en Abyssinie [1868–9]*, Paris 1873, 195f.; LefAbyss vol. 2, 341; RubActa I, XII, 250f., 256; RubActa II, 3.

Lit.: ALEME ESHETE, "በቀድሞ፡ ዘመናት፡ ከ1889፡ በፊት፡ ውጭ፡ አገር፡ የተማሩ፡ ኢትዮጵያውያኖች፡ ታሪክ" (*Bäqädmo zämänat kä1889 bäfit wəčč agär yätämaru ityopyawəyanočč tarik*, 'The History of Ethiopian Students Abroad Prior to 1889'), *Ethiopian Journal of Education* 6, 1, 1973, 119–21; BAHRU ZEWDE, *Pioneers of Change in Ethiopia*, Oxford – Athens – Addis Ababa 2002, 16f.; RubInd 305, 320f.; RICHARD PANKHURST – LEILA INGRAMS, *Ethiopia Engraved: an Illustrated Catalogue of Engravings by Foreign Travellers from 1681 to 1900*, London – New York 1988, 51 (ill.).

Bahru Zewde

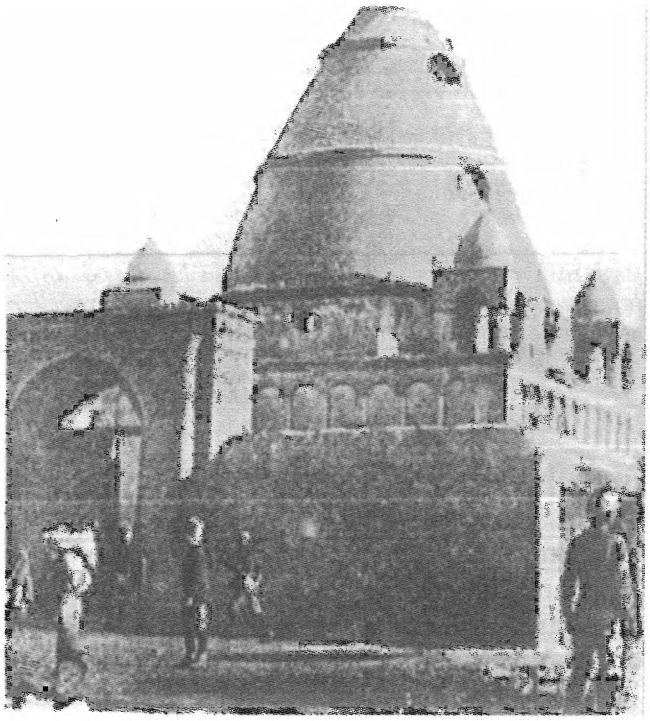


Maḫdärä Qal, portrait published by Lefèbvre; from Pankhurst - Ingrams 1988:51

Mahdists

The M. were followers of the *Mahdīya* movement of Islamic revival and political unification in the ↗Sudan. The movement began in 1881, and succeeded in establishing a state from 1885–98. Led and motivated by messianic expectations, it had in its time a considerable impact on Ethiopia's history.

The movement emerged as a resistance against the Egyptian (↗Egypt) occupation of Sudan. Under *ḫidīw* ↗Ismāʿīl *bāšā* (and for a while under his successor, *ḫidīw* Tawfīq, 1879–82) the Egyptian state was administered by both European and "westernizing" Egyptian functionaries, as well as by some Islamic scholars. The Sudanese opposition was led by a Sufi scholar, Muḥammad Aḥmad, the son of a boat-builder. The resistance combined local popular Islamic fraternities, tribal leaders and fighters, frustrated slavers, and the popular masses. They were all inspired by the vision of their leader, and believed that he was the Mahdī, the well guided one, sent by God to redeem ↗Islam from humiliation. By January 1885 the M. had defeated the Egyptians and their British superiors (Egypt itself had been occupied by the British in 1882). The Mahdī by now had abandoned the Egyptian-built ↗Khartoum and established his new capital at Umm Durmān (Omdurman). His new Islamic state was modelled after the Prophet Muḥammad's state in ↗Mecca. It was based on the authentic, early Islamic institutions and on strict obedience to Islamic law. Of central importance was the principle of ↗*ǧihād*, as the Mahdī was determined to fight all Muslims who failed to accept him as their leader. The Mahdī himself died in June 1885 and was succeeded by ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad at-Taʿāʾišī, who was proclaimed caliph (↗*ḫalīfa*). The Mahdī's followers called themselves *anṣār* (Arab. 'helpers, supporters') and are also known



Tomb of Muḥammad Aḥmad, the Mahdī, in Umm Durmān; photo taken shortly after the occupation of Khartoum by the British in the 1890s

as "dervishes" because of their mystical inclination.

The M.'s external priority was to reclaim "the land of Islam", especially Egypt. On 16 June 1885 (a few days before his death), the Mahdī wrote to *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV calling him to accept Islam and become his follower, but unlike similar letters he had written to other rulers, the Mahdī's accompanying threat was quite mild. A few weeks later, when ↗ᶜUṯmān b. Abī Bakr Diqna, a M. *amīr* of eastern Sudan, wanted to penetrate Ethiopian territory, the *ḫalīfa* reminded him of the *ḥadīṯ* "leave the Ethiopians alone as long as they leave you alone". However, because Ethiopia had committed itself to saving the Egyptian garrisons besieged in eastern Sudan, relations deteriorated. After *ras* ↗Alula Ǝngəda defeated ᶜUṯmān Diqna at ↗Kufit in September 1885, and after the *ḫalīfa* heard of Yoḥannəs's coercive treatment of Ethiopia's Muslims, he declared a holy war on the Christian empire. Further correspondence between Yoḥannəs and ᶜAbdallāh at-Taᶜāʾišī and his generals proved futile, and border clashes culminated with *nəguś* ↗Täklä Haymanot's victory of January 1887 over Muḥammad Wad Arbab's M. army. A year later, in January 1888, the M. retaliated when *amīr* ↗Abū ᶜAnǧa invaded ↗Gondär, defeated the army of Täklä Haymanot and massacred those unable to flee. The destruction of Gondär's 44 churches by the *därbuš* ("dervishes") was thereafter engraved in Ethiopian memory and had a traumatic effect on Yoḥannəs. As he faced the Italians on the ↗Massawa coast and the insubordinate *nəguś* Mənilək of Šäwa (later *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II), he decided in early 1889 to march against the M., a move which soon enabled the Italians to expand their occupation from Massawa into the interior. On 9 March 1889, whilst Yoḥannəs's army was winning the battle in ↗Mätämma, he himself was killed in action. Yoḥannəs's head was then sent to Umm Durmān for celebrations, and Mənilək quickly became the undisputed leader of the country.

After the death of Yoḥannəs and the transfer of imperial power in Ethiopia to Mənilək II, no further hostilities were initiated. The M. returned to concentrate their *ǧihād* in the direction of Egypt, and some diplomatic contact was established between Umm Durmān and Addis Abäba. In 1896 when Ethiopia gained its victory at ↗ᶜAdwa, the count-down towards the end of the M. state began. In the 1896–98 "River war", a British–Egyptian army destroyed the Sudanese–Islamic forces. In 1899, the fleeing *ḫalīfa* was hunted down and killed, and Sudan was proclaimed an Anglo–Egyptian joint dominion. The tomb of the Mahdī, which lies near the confluence of the White Nile and the Blue Nile, was then destroyed as a symbol of the Mahdīya state, but reconstructed later.

The M. state was a major factor influencing Ethiopia's history during the time of Yoḥannəs. The Ethiopian crusading Emperor and the charismatic Islamic leader – each captive to their own concepts and beliefs – proved unable to avoid a conflict neither of them wanted. The ensuing downfall of Yoḥannəs had far-reaching implications for Ethiopia. Though the M. state eventually disintegrated, the period of M. rule remains a formative period for Sudanese society to this day. After the movement was modified and divided, it was tolerated by the British, but continued to propagate the concepts of Sudanese independence from Egypt combined with fundamental Islam as the essence of local society, culture and state. The Mahdī's descendants, legacies, and his spiritual followers have continued to play major roles in Sudanese history with varying effects upon Ethiopian affairs.

The endeavours of the M. inspired the figure of the Somali ↗Muḥammad ᶜAbdallāh Ḥasan "Mad Mullah", who at some point in his career was

also seen as Mahdī although he never expressedly claimed to be such.

↗Hasän Ǝnǧaamo

Src.: BTafY; ZewYohan.

Lit.: RICHARD ALLAN CAULK, "Yohannes IV, the Mahdists and the Partition of North-East Africa", *Transafrican Journal of History* 1, 1971, 23–42; ErlAlula; ErlEth; PETER MALCOM HOLT, *The Mahdist State in the Sudan, 1881–1898*, Oxford 1970; ISMĀʿĪL B. ʿABDALQĀDIR AL-KURDUFĀNĪ, *Aṭ-ṭirāz al-manqūš bi-bušrat qatl Yūhannā malik al-Ḥubūš* ('The Coloured Brocade in the News of Killing of Yūhannā, King of Abyssinians'), ed. by MUḤAMMAD IBRĀHĪM ABŪ SALĪM – MUḤAMMAD SAʿĪD AL-QADDĀL, Beirut 1991; MUḤAMMAD SAʿĪD AL-QADDĀL, *Al-Mahdīya wal-Ḥabaša, 1881–1898* ('The Mahdīya and Ethiopia, 1881–1898'), Beirut 1992; NAʿŪM ŠUQAYR, *Taʾrīḫ as-Sūdān al-qadīm wal-ḥadīṯ* ('Ancient and Modern History of Sudan'), Cairo 1903 [ed. by MUḤAMMAD IBRĀHĪM ABŪ SALĪM, Beirut 1981]; GEORGE NEVILLE SANDERSON, "The Foreign Policy of Negus Menelik II", *JAH* 5, 1964, 87–98; ID., "Conflict and Cooperation between Ethiopia and the Mahdist State, 1884–1898", *SNR* 2, 1969, 15-40; TÄKLÄ ṢADƏQ MÄKᵛƏRIYA, *ዐፄ፡ ዮሐንስና፡ የኢትዮጵያ፡ አንድነት* (*ʿAṣe Yoḥannəsənna yäʾityopya andənnät, ʿAṣe* Yoḥannəs and Ethiopia's Unity'), Addis Abäba 1982 A.M. [1989 A.D.].

Haggai Erlich

Maḥfūẓ b. Muḥammad

M. (محفوظ بن محمد, Portuguese Mafudi, d. July 1517) was governor of ↗Zaylaʿ under the rule of the Walašmaʿ *sulṭān* ↗Muḥammad b. Aẓharaddīn of ʿAdal. It seems that Muḥammad tried to remain at peace with the Christians because both sides profited from an undisturbed trade. In contrast to that M. represented a militant Muslim party which propagated the duty of the ↗*ǧihād* against the Christians. M.'s title, ↗*imām*, emphasized the religious aspects of his policy.

Eventually M. gained so much power that he was able to raid Christian territory without consent of Muḥammad. He did so especially during Lent, when the Christians were weak from fasting. To put an end to this, the Ethiopian *aṣe* ↗Naʿod reorganized his army, cleared it of Muslim elements, and led it against M., defeating him decisively. Muḥammad hastened to remedy the situation and concluded a truce which lasted for a few years in spite of new raids by M. every now and then.

When Naʿod was succeeded by young *aṣe* ↗Ləbnä Dəngəl in 1508, *ətege* ↗Ǝleni continued peaceful relations with the Muslims. The situation changed when Ləbnä Dəngəl came of age and reversed this policy. On the Muslim side, M. had recovered from his defeat. He was inspired by emissaries from Arabia, who proclaimed the *ǧihād*. They offered M. a green standard and a tent of black velvet, and helped him with arms and trained men. The policy of both sides led to confrontation. In July 1517, Muḥammad, under the pressure of the religious leaders, launched a major raid to the Ethiopian province of ↗Fäṭägar. The Muslim army, however, was again defeated. Muḥammad escaped with his life, but M. was slain and Ləbnä Dəngəl invaded ʿAdal.

During M.'s rule Zaylaʿ was attacked and sacked twice by the Portuguese: in 1513 by Afonso de ↗Albuquerque, and in July 1517 by Lopo Soares de Albergaria (s. Correa 1860:336–60, 486–507).

M. was the first of a number of Muslim leaders in ʿAdal and Harär who became the *de facto* rulers while the members of the Walašmaʿ dynasty exerted only a nominal power. The most outstanding among those leaders were ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī ("Grañ"), who married M.'s daughter, ↗Bati Dəl Wämbära, and his successor ↗Nūr b. Muǧāhid, who also became her husband.

Src.: BassHist 26 (text) = 61 (tr.), n. 1; BeckHuntAlvar 410–15; BecRASO III, 15–18; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Storia di Lebna Dengel re d'Etiopia sino alle prime lotte contro Ahmad ben Ibrahim", *RRALm* ser. 5ª, 3, 1894, 617–40, here 622 (text) = 632f. (tr.); GASPAR CORREA, *Lendas de India*, vol. 2: *Em que se recontão os famosos feitos d'Afonso D'Alboquerque* ..., Lisboa 1860 [repr. Nendeln 1976], 336–60, 486–507; DombrChr 158f., n. 49; KrLebD 3ff. (text) = 4f. (tr.); PÊRO PAIS, *História da Etiópia*, vol. 2, Porto 1945, 257–60; PHILIPP PAULITSCHKE, *Harar: Forschungsreise nach den Somâl- und Galla-Ländern Ost-Afrikas*, Leipzig 1888, 221f.; LUYS DE URRETA, *Historia ecclesiastica, politica, natural, y moral, de los grandes y remotes reynos de la Etiopia*, Valencia 1610, 351–54.

Lit.: BruNile vol. 2, 114–42; ALBERT KAMMERER, *La Mer Rouge, l'Abyssinie et l'Arabie depuis l'antiquité*, vol. 1, 1, Le Caire 1922, 363f.; REIDULF K. MOLVAER, "The Tragedy of Emperor Libne-Dingil of Ethiopia (1508–1540)", *NEASt* new ser. 5, 2, 1998, 23–46, here 25f.; TrIslam 83f.; EWALD WAGNER, "The Genealogy of the Later Walashmaʿ Sultans of Adal and Harar", *ZDMG* 141, 1991, 376–86, here 380f.; ID., "Imamat und Sultanat in Harar", *Saeculum* 26, 1975, 283–92.

Ewald Wagner

Maḫlet

M. (*ማኅሌት*, Gəʿəz: 'canticle, hymn', from *ḫaläyä/ḫaläyä*, 'sing, praise') is in its narrow sense an antiphon of the ↗*Dəggʷa* that is sung, combined with the canticle of the Three Youths in the fiery furnace (Ct 9-10 = Dan 3), during the services of ↗*Mäwäddəs*, ↗*Kəśtätä aryam* and ↗*Səbḥatä nägh*. In the broader sense, M. came to designate an extended morning rite within the latter serv-

ice which includes the M. proper with the corresponding Matin (*nägh*) for the sanctoral feasts (cp. ↗*Sä^{c}atat*). M. is always performed standing, the singing being accompanied by dancing, in the appropriate ↗*aq^{w}aq^{w}am* style (but if M. is held in the monasteries, then without dancing, the use of ↗*käbäro* etc.).

The derived term **ማኅሌታይ** (*maḫletay*) or **ማኅሌታዊ** (*maḫletawi*), corresponding to Gr. μελῳδός, is a traditional name for the "composer of ↗hymns" – first and foremost St. ↗Yared, the "inventor" of Ethiopian church music, and the supposed author of the *Dəgg^{w}a*. Several special compositions are also named M.: e.g., the ↗*Maḫletä ṣəge* and the *Maḫletä śəllase*, a collection of praises and prayers to the Trinity.

Each M. begins with a standard opening *Səbbuḥ wäwəddus* ..., i.e. the first words of the formula 'Praised and glorified [is He who created the whole world by one word] ...'. After a short elaboration, a *nägś* follows – extolling the saints, the angels, the righteous and the Trinity – and then a ↗*mälkə^{ʾ}* that is fitting for the celebration. On the ↗saints' feasts, this section can be extended by one or several ↗*ziq*-psalms, three of them being allowed for each part of the saint's body praised. A stanza from the *Maḫletä ṣəge* or the *Maḫletä śəllase*, or even a summary of the ↗*Sənkəssar* reading for the day or the appropriate ↗*^{c}arke*, can be further added.

The ↗*məlṭan*, i.e. the final part of the antiphon, is its culmination point, in terms of both content and music. Taken from the Saturday matins of the ↗*Dəgg^{w}a*, and performed with particularly loud voices and accompaniment, it begins by intoning a refrain from Ps 137:8, *Ǝsmä* [*śəhləkä*] *lä^{c}aläm* ... ('For [Your mercy is] for ever ...'). The M. for a monthly, and often annual, feast ends here with the recitation of a ↗*sälam*.

On special occasions, the *addäraräs* M. (lit. 'rendition, composition'), i.e. the "unabridged" M., is performed. This lengthy service includes the *Kəśtätä aryam*, which used to be performed before the *məlṭan*, but in current practice follows it. In this case, the ↗*kəśtät* combines Ps 136 with the ↗*Wəddase Maryam*, hymns based on other psalms (e.g., Ps 50:14: *Yətfeśśaḥ ləssanəyä* ..., 'My tongue will rejoice ...', Ps 50:1: *Täśahaländni* ..., 'Have mercy upon me ...') and the appropriate ↗*məsbak* (the chant used to introduce the daily ↗Gospel reading). Besides materials of the *Səbḥatä nägh*, this version of the M. may even contain the entire ↗Psalter.

Src.: **አምስቱ፡ ጸዋትው፡ ዜማዎች** (*Amməstu ṣäwatəwä zemawoč̌*, 'The Five Categories of Chants'), Addis Abäba 1972 A.M. [1979/80 A.D.]; DillmLex 69f.; DTWDic 444f.; LesCDic 231; *liqä mäzämməran* MOGÄS ^{c}ƎQUBÄ GIYORGIS (ed.), **መድበል፡ ዘማኅሌት** (*Mädbäl zämaḫlet*, 'The Collection of Canticles'), Aśmära 1980 A.M. [1987 A.D.]; *liqä kahənat* ṬƎ^{c}UMÄ LƎSSAN KASA, **ያሬድና፡ ዜማው** (*Yaredənna zemaw*, 'Yared and his Chanting'), Addis Abäba 1981 A.M. [1988/89 A.D.]; VelMe II, 684, s. index.

Lit.: AmhChurchD vol. 1, 481–84 [210–13]; EMMANUEL FRITSCH, *The Liturgical Year of the Ethiopian Church*, Addis Ababa 2001 (Ethiopian Review of Cultures Special Issue 9–10), 30ff.; HabTent 110–17; HabUff 190, 198, 380f.; KAY KAUFMAN SHELEMAY – PETER JEFFEREY (eds.), *Ethiopian Christian Liturgical Chant: an Anthology*, Madison, WI 1993–94, vol. 1, 4, vol. 2, 3f.

Ezra Gebremedhin

Maḫletä ṣəge

M.ṣ. (**ማኅሌተ፡ ጽጌ**, 'Canticle of the Flower') is one of the most popular ↗hymns extolling St. ↗Mary that is considered one of the most beautiful genuine poetic works of ↗Gə^{c}əz literature.

The M.ṣ. comprises 156 stanzas of five lines each (rhyming as *aaaaa*). The work praises St. Mary, contemplating her nature and dealing with her miracles and her life, including the Dormition (↗*^{c}Ǝräfta*) and the Assumption (↗*Fəlsäta*), etc., as well as with the life of Jesus. The author of the M.ṣ. must have been an outstanding writer and learned theologian. In the Ethiopian tradition, the flower (*ṣəge*) is a frequent symbol of Mary (cf. ↗*Məśṭirä ṣəgeyat*, *Mälkə^{ʾ}a ṣəge*); among the literary devices used in the M.ṣ., the range of similes and epithets applied to Mary is exceptionally wide, and many of them are based on floral elements: e.g., "flower of Aaron", "flower of the faith", "flower of the Resurrection", "perfume of the flowers", "flower of the king" etc. (s. GrohHymn 63f.). Besides, the erudition of the author of the M.ṣ. shows through references and allusions to a number of works of Gə^{c}əz literature (esp. to the ↗*Tä^{ʾ}ammərä Maryam*), historical or biblical figures and real historical developments (e.g., to the Church council of ↗Däbrä Məṭmaq or "the enemies of Mary" – probably the ↗Stephanites, s. ibid. 64).

There is a disagreement concerning the author of the M.ṣ. It is traditionally ascribed to a certain *abba* Ṣəge Dəngəl (Dəmeṭros Gäbrä Maryam – Ṭəbäbu Bäyyänä 1959:6f.), who appears as author, with the "converted Jew" *abba* Gäbrä Maryam of Däbrä Ḥanta, in the Acts of *abunä* ↗Zena Marqos (AmhChurchD vol. 1, 481; cp. Getatchew Haile in PICES 6, 193f., on which

Fiaccadori 2004:687f. and nn. 50–52, equating here "Jew[s]" to "Stephanite[s]"). However, the style, the vocabulary, the ideas and the patterns of the M.ṣ. seem to fit better to the famous 15th-cent. *abba* ↗Giyorgis of Sägla (Fessehatzion Andemariam 1994). Grohmann (GrohHymn 64f.) dated the text to the time between the later period of *aṣe* ↗Zära Yaᶜəqob's reign and the end of the first peaceful part of *aṣe* ↗Ləbnä Dəngəl's reign. Also he assumes that the M.ṣ. is a creation of more than one author, and this hypothesis finds some confirmation elsewhere in the tradition (Getatchew Haile in EMML IV, 329). Since the known manuscript testimonies are more recent (the earliest ones seem to be the 16th-cent. BritLib Orient. 578, fols. 74r–80r, and Orient. 581, fols. 101r–11r), the time of the composition of the M.ṣ. may also be later (cp. GuiSLett 65).

In the liturgy of the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church, the M.ṣ. is performed during the 40 days of the so-called **ዘመነ** (*zämänä*, or **ወርኃ**, *wärḫa*) **ጽጌ**[**ያት**] (*ṣəge*[*yat*]), i.e. 'Season [Month] of the Flower(s)', from 26 *Mäskäräm* to 5 *Ḫədar* (↗Calendar), the name to which the title of the hyms is possibly related (cp. Fritsch 2001:116f.; Raineri 2000:108f.). In a few manuscripts, the text is subdivided according to the days of the week (GrohHymn 62).

After the M.ṣ. was edited and translated by Grohmann (ibid. 66–157), many other manuscripts came to light and still await an evaluation. A number of Ethiopian Church editions of the work exists for liturgical use.

Src.: AmhChurchD vol. 1, 481 [210]; ChRep 183–203, 337–57, here 352, no. 397; *nəburä əd* DƎMEṬROS GÄBRÄ MARYAM – *məkəttəl afä nəguś* ṬƎBÄBU BÄYYÄNÄ (eds.), **ቅዳሴያተ፡ ማርያም፡** [**ጕሥዓ – መዓዛ፡ ቅዳሴ**] (*Qəddaseyatä Maryam* [*gʷäśᶜa – mäᶜaza qəddase*], 'The Anaphoras of Mary [*eructavit* – the Pleasant of Consecration']), Asmära 1959 A.M. [1967/68 A.D.]; EMML IV, 329f., no. 1312, s. index; GrohHymn 46–321, s. index (Lit.); OSVALDO RAINERI, *Codices Comboniani Aethiopici*, Città del Vaticano 2000, 108f., no. 103, s. index; TÄSFA GÄBRÄ ŚƎLLASE (ed.), **ማኅሌተ፡ ጽጌ፡ ወሰቆቃወ፡ ድንግል** (*Maḫletä ṣəge wäsäqoqawä dəngəl*, 'The Canticle of the Flower and the Lamentation of the Virgin'), Addis Abäba 1964 A.M. [1971/72 A.D.]; WrBriMus 120ff., no. 188 [ms. Orient. 578], 129ff., no. 192 [ms. Orient. 581].
Lit.: *liqä ṭäbbäbt* AKLILÄ BƎRHAN WÄLDÄ QIRQOS, **መርሐ፡ ልቡና** (*Märḫa ləbbuna*, 'The Guide of the Conscience'), Addis Abäba 1945 A.M. [1952/53 A.D.], 85, 87f.; VERENA BÖLL, *Unsere Herrin Maria: Die traditionelle äthiopische Exegese der Marienanaphora des Cyriacus von Behnesa*, Wiesbaden 1998 (AeF 48), 30f., s. index; FESSEHATZION ANDEMARIAM, *Mariology in the "Mahleta Sege": Abba Giyorgis Gassičča's "Hymn of the Flower"*, M.A. thesis, Salesian Pontifical University, Rome 1994 (Lit.); GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, "Sul ms. Parigi, B.n.F., d'Abb. 78 (C.R. 38) e i metropoliti Yesḥaq, Yāᶜqob e Mārqos d'Etiopia (sec. XV–XVI)", *RRALm* ser. 9ª, 15, 2004 [2005], 679–90, ill. (693), here 687f. and nn. 50–52; EMMANUEL FRITSCH, *The Liturgical Year of the Ethiopian Church*, Addis Ababa (Ethiopian Review of Cultures Special Issue 9–10), 116f.; GETATCHEW HAILE, "The End of a Deserter of the Established Church of Ethiopia", in: *PICES* 6, 193–203, here 193; SYLVAIN GRÉBAUT, "Note sur la poésie éthiopienne", *ROC* 14, 1909, 90–98; GuiSLett 65; HabUff 240, 346, 380; CHRYSOSTOME HAYOZ, *Portrait de Marie: complainte de la Vierge. Deux poésies mariales éthiopiennes inédites*, Fribourg 1956, s. index; GENEVIEVE NOLLET, "Le culte de Marie en Ethiopie", in: HUBERT DU MANOIR (ed.), *Maria: Études sur la Sainte Vierge*, Paris 1949, vol. 1, 395–413; RicLett 829.

Habtemichael Kidane

Mäḥrəm

M. is a Pre-Christian Aksumite deity, attested in two "trilingual" royal inscriptions of king ↗ᶜEzana: RIÉ 185 I/2, 18, II/3, 19, 21, 25; and its duplicate RIÉ 185bis I/3, 19, 23, II/3–4, II C/26, 36, 44. M. appears also in RIÉ 186/4–5, 187/4 and 188/5, 29–30.

In the inscriptions of ᶜEzana M. is usually mentioned together with ↗ᶜAstär and ↗Mədr or ↗Bəḥer, cp. RIÉ 185 I/20–21: *lᶜstrm/*[*w*]*lbḥrm/w*[*lmḥrmm*]; RIÉ 185 II/21: *lᶜstr/wlmdr/wlmḥrm*; and RIÉ 185bis I/22–23: *lᶜṯtrm/wl*[*b*]*ḥrm/wlmḥrm*; RIÉ 185bis II/C 35–36: *lᶜstr/wbḥr/wlmḥrm*. In RIÉ 270, the Greek parallel of RIÉ 185bis, M. is identified with Ares (Ἄρης, while ᶜAstär = ὁ οὐρανός and Mədr/Bəḥer = ἡ γῆ), cf. RIÉ 270bis/30: τῷ οὐρανῷ καὶ τῇ γῇ καὶ τῷ … Ἀρέϵι.

M. may be called a dynastic deity of the Aksumite kings, since ᶜEzana calls himself "son of M.", cf. RIÉ 185 I/2 = RIÉ 185bis I/3: *bn/mḥrmm*; RIÉ 185 II/3: *wld/mḥrm*; RIÉ 185bis II/3–4: *wld/lmḥrm*. He gives M. the epithet "he, who begot us [i.e. ᶜEzana]", e.g., in RIÉ 185 I/18: *ḏwldn*[*m*]; RIÉ 185 II/19 = RIÉ 185bis II C/26–27: *zwldn*. The unknown Aksumite king who set up the ↗Monumentum Adulitanum calls Ares τὸν μέγιστον θεόν μου Ἄρην, 'my great god Ares' (RIÉ 277/33–34). The personal relationship between the deity and king is also indicated by the fact that only M. receives dedications – statues (RIÉ 185 I/17–18, II/18–20, 25; RIÉ 185bis I/19–21, II C/24–31, A/44; RIÉ 277/42–43), and cattle and prisoners (RIÉ 188/29–30).

The *interpretatio graeca* of M. as Ἄρης shows his warlike nature, which is also stressed by his epithet "(he) who will not be defeated (by the enemy)", cp. RIÉ 185 I/2–3: *ḏ*ʾ*ytmw*ʾ; RIÉ 185 II/3–4 (= RIÉ 185bis II/4): *z*[ʾ]*ytmw*ʾ/*lśr*; RIÉ

185bis I/3–4 (also RIÉ 186/4–5): *ḏ'ytmw'm/ lṣrm*; RIÉ 187/4: *zä'əyətmäwwa/läṣär*; RIÉ 188/5–6: *zä'ayətmäwwa'/lä[ṣä]r*; rendered into Greek by the adjective ἀνίκητος in RIÉ 270/6:29 and RIÉ 270bis/5:27, 31, 37 (the Greek parallels to RIÉ 185 and 185bis respectively) and in RIÉ 269/8.

In RIÉ 270bis, "the god of heaven and earth" is invoked in the curse-formula (RIÉ 270bis/32–33: ὁ θε[ὸς] τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς, with no parallel in RIÉ 185/RIÉ 270 and RIÉ 185bis). Since this epithet can only mean Ares, he seems to have overtaken the function of ἡ γῆ (= Mədr/Bəḥer) as well as that of ὁ οὐρανός (= ᶜAstär). The subordination of other deities to Ares is interpreted as a tendency towards monotheism (cp. BrakKirche 37–41). After ᶜEzana converted to ↗Christianity, similar epithets were used to designate the Christian god, e.g.: *[bä]ḫaylä 'əgzi'a sämay* [*zäbä*] *sämay wämədr mäwa'i* ..., 'By the might of the Lord of heaven, who is victorious in heaven and earth ...' (RIÉ 189/1).

A connection between Aksumite M. and the Qatabanian deity Ḥrmn (Höfner 1965:560) seems unlikely.

↗Aksum; ↗Inscriptions; ↗Kingship, divine

Src.: DAE IV; RIÉ nos. 185, 185bis, 186, 187, 188, 269, 270, 270bis, 277 (Lit.).

Lit.: BrakKirche 37–41 (Lit.); CRStor 111, 133, 141f., 148, 229; MARIA HÖFNER, "Die Semiten Äthiopiens", in: HANS W. HAUSSIG – EGIDIUS SCHMALZRIEDT (eds.), *Wörterbuch der Mythologie*. I: *Götter und Mythen im Vorderen Orient*, Stuttgart 1965, 555–67, here 559f. ["Maḥrem"].

Alexander Sima

Maḫṣäntä Mika'el

M.M. (ማኅፀንተ፡ ሚካኤል, b. Yänäğğä, Bägemdər, d. 1850, Ṣoma, Goğğam) occupied the office of ↗*əṣṣäge* during the last part of the ↗*Zämänä mäsafənt*, between 1840–41 and 1850.

Leader of the monks of the "house of Täklä Haymanot" in ↗Azäzo, M.M. professed the most radical theological teaching known as ↗*Śost lədät*, the most popular teaching amongst the followers of this congregation. M.M. was one of the main religious foes of the Egyptian metropolitan of Ethiopia, *abunä* ↗Sälama III, who preached a different theological teaching, ↗*Täwaḥədo*.

In 1841 *nəguś* ↗Śahlä Śəllase had purged the followers of *Täwaḥədo/Wäld qəb* under the pressure of M.M. Nevertheless, just after the arrival of *abunä* Sälama in Gondär, M.M. tried to avoid a doctrinal commitment with the bishop and they might have reached a *modus vivendi*. But the situation was difficult and Gondär was a hothouse of theological quarrels. Very soon, the relations between the bishop and M.M. broke down.

In 1842, Sälama tried to restore *Täwaḥədo* influence in Šäwa. At the same time he issued an excommunication against Śahlä Śəllase, and, in 1843, against M.M. himself.

M.M. and the *nəguś* tried to expel Sälama with the help of *ras* ↗Ali II and *ətege* ↗Mänän, rulers of Gondär. In 1846, Śahlä Śəllase sent messengers asking to have his excommunication lifted. Sälama refused and his house was besieged by the followers of M.M. After Sälama's capitulation, they forced him to walk on foot while M.M. rode. After two days passed in detention, Sälama was expelled to Təgray on Mänän's order.

However, in 1847, M.M.'s main ally Śahlä Śəllase died. At the same time, M.M. lost the support of *ras* Ali, who turned his troops against the clergy of Gondär, sacking their food store. The same year, *däğğazmač* ↗Bərru Goššu of Goğğam visited Gondär and required that M.M., who had no political support any more, abduct. M.M. was exiled to the *amba* of Ṣoma in Goğğam, next to ↗Dima Giyorgis where he died two years later.

Src.: CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Vicende dell'Etiopia e delle missioni cattoliche ai tempi di Ras Ali, Deggiac Ubié e Re Teodoro, secondo un documento abissino", *RRALm* ser. 5ª, 25, 1916, 425–550; CRNuov; MANFRED KROPP, "Les premières querelles théologiques d'abuna Salama III en Éthiopie", *AÉ* 14, 1987, 101–16; MasMis I; RubActa I nos. 28f., 100.

Lit.: CerDLib III, 158f.; DONALD CRUMMEY, "Doctrine and Authority: Abuna Salāmā, 1841–1854", in: *PICES* 4, vol. 1, 1974, 567–78.

Stéphane Ancel

Maḫtämä Śəllase Wäldä Mäsqäl

Blatten geta M.Ś. (ማኅተመ፡ ሥላሴ፡ ወልደ፡ መስቀል, b. 30 October 1904, Bulga, d. 20 October 1978, Addis Abäba) was the son of *ṣäḥafe tə'əzaz* Wäldä Mäsqäl and *wäyzäro* Dästa Ayyälä.

After receiving a basic traditional church ↗education, M.Ś. started to receive a modern education at ↗Mənilək II Secondary School in 1914. In 1921, he was called to work for the government, which was badly in need of educated manpower to work in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In 1923, M.Ś. was sent abroad by the government for further studies. He went first to Cairo and then to France, where he studied for six years. He received a university degree from the École Nationale supérieure d'Agriculture coloniale, Nogent-Sur-Marne, in 1932.

Upon his return home, M.Ś. was appointed governor of ↗Ambo where he became involved in modernizing the layout of the tow, distributing land for urban development and refurbishing the commercial sector of the Ambo mineral water and recreational facilities. He also helped establish Ambo College of Agriculture.

In 1933, M.Ś. was given the title of ↗*balambaras* by *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I and was appointed senior aid to *ləʿul* ↗Asfa Wäsan Ḫaylä Śəllase, who was at the time a regional governor. During his tenure, M.Ś. served the Crown Prince as Director of Administrative Services for Wällo, Təgray and Bägemdər provinces. He created an organizational chart of the administrative regions of Ethiopia, which was subsequently adopted by the government with the Emperor's approval.

After the ↗Italian war of 1935–36, M.Ś. submitted to the Italians and started to serve them in Addis Abäba. Later he was deported to a camp and was held as a political prisoner on the Italian island of Asinara together with his father and older brother *ləǧ* Ḫaylä Wäldä Mäsqäl.

After the Liberation, M.Ś. was assigned the task of cataloguing Ethiopian historical records in the imperial palace. Here he started working on his voluminous (985 pages long) compilation of documents **ዝክረ፡ ነገር** (*Zəkrä nägär*; MahZekr).

In 1946, M.Ś. was appointed Director General of the Ministry of Agriculture. He simultaneously held the position of Executive Manager of Agriculture and Animal Husbandry. In 1949, M.Ś. became Deputy Minister of Agriculture and in 1954 was promoted to Minister. In 1958, he was appointed Minister of Finance and two years later Minister of Education. In 1961 he became Minister of Public Works. He kept the position until 1966 when he became Crown Counsellor. The same year he received the title of *blatten geta*. M.Ś. was incarcerated following the 1974 ↗Revolution and died in prison. His son Säyfu, Minister of Education from 1969 to 1974, was also killed by the *Därg*.

M.Ś. received many honorary awards as well as seven imperial decorations from the Emperor, including the prestigious Mənilək II Medal. For his distinguished literary work, in 1965, M.Ś. won the Ḫaylä Śəllase I Prize. To date, there are ca. 20 publications to his name, among which are several large volumes. He additionally wrote several other manuscripts that are currently in the custody of his family which are planned to be published posthumously.

Maḫtämä Śəllase Wäldä Mäsqäl (right) and his father *ṣäḥafe təʾəzaz* Wäldä Mäsqäl (left) during the detention in Italy; photo courtesy of the author

Src.: articles in *Addis Zämän* 1941–78; MahZekr [¹1949]; MahHorse; *balambaras* MAHTEME SELLASSIE W. MESKEL [MAḪTÄMÄ ŚƎLLASE WÄLDÄ MÄSQÄL], "The Land System of Ethiopia", *EthObs* 1, 8, 1957, 283–301 [= Amh.: **ስለኢትዮጵያ፡ የመሬት፡ ሥሪት፡ አስተዳደርና፡ ግብር፤ ጠቅላላ፡ አስተያየት** (*Səläʾityopya yämäret śərrit astädadärənna gəbər: ṭäqlala astäyayät*, 'About Ethiopian Land Holding, Administration and Tax System: a General Overview'), Addis Abäba 1948 A.M. (1955/56 A.D.)]; ID., "Portrait retrospectif d'un gentilhomme éthiopien", in: *PICES* 3, vol. 3, 60–68; ID., **የአባቶች፡ ቅርስ** (*Yäʾabbatočč qərs*, 'Legacy of the Fathers'), Addis Abäba 1943 A.M. [1950/51 A.D.], ²1945 A.M. [1952/53 A.D.]; ID., **እፁብ፡ ድንቅ** (*Ǝśub dənq*, 'Great Miracle'), Addis Abäba 1943 A.M. [1950/51 A.D.]; ID., **ጥበበ፡ ገራህት፡ ፩ኛ፡ መጽሐፍ** (*Ṭəbäbä gäraht andäññä mäṣḥaf*, 'Agrology: Vol. 1'), Addis Abäba 1944 A.M. [1951/52 A.D.]; ID., **አማርኛ፡ ቅኔ** (*Amarəññä qəne*, 'Amharic Poems'), Addis Abäba 1948 A.M. [1955/56 A.D.]; ID., **እንቅልፍ፡ ለምኔ** (*Ǝnqəlf lämənе*, 'I am not Sleepy'), Addis Abäba 1952 A.M. [1959/60 A.D.]; ID., **አማርኛ፡ ቅኔ፡ ከነመፍቻው** (*Amarəññä qəne kännämäfčaw*, 'Amharic Poems with Explanations'), Addis Abäba 1955 A.M. [1962/63 A.D.]; ID., *Activities of the Ministry of Agriculture*, Addis Ababa 1955; ID., **የኛም፡ አሉን፡ እንወቃቸው** (*Yäññam alun ənnəwäqaččäw*, 'Let us Know What is Said to Be Ours'), Addis Abäba 1958 A.M. [1965/66 A.D.]; ID., **የኢትዮጵያ፡ ባህል፡ ጥናት፡ ቡልጋ** (*Yäʾityopya bahəl ṭənat Bulga*, 'Ethiopian Cultural Studies: Bulga'), Addis Abäba 1960 A.M. [1967/68 A.D.]; ID., **ባለን፡ እንወቅበት፡ የኢትዮጵያ፡ ባህል፡ ጥናት** (*Ballän ənnəwäqəbbät: yäʾityopya bahəl ṭənat*, 'Let us Know What We Possess: a Study of Ethiopian Cultural Studies'), Addis Abäba

1961 A.M. [1968/69 A.D.]; ID., ስም፡ ከመቃብር፡ በላይ (*Səm kämäqabər bälay*, 'The Name (Remains) Beyond the Grave'), Addis Abäba 1956 A.M. [1963/64 A.D.]; ID., ብ እሰ፡ ገራህት (*Bəʾəlä gäraht*, 'Agriculture'), Addis Abäba 1959 A.M. [1966/67 A.D.]; ID., ሰዋስው፡ ሰማይ (*Säwasəwä sämay*, 'The Ladder to Heaven'), Addis Abäba 1961 A.M. [1968/69 A.D.]; ID., ጕልቈ፡ ትውልድ፡ ዘንጉሥ፡ ሣህለ፡ ሥላሴ (*Ḫʷəlqʷä təwləd zänəguś Sahlä Śəllase*, 'Genealogy of *Nəguś* Sahlä Səllase'), Addis Abäba 1965 A.M. [1972/73 A.D.].

Lit.: PAOLO BORRUSO (ed.), *Il mito infranto: la fine del sogno africano negli appunti e nelle immagini di Massimo Borruso, funzionario coloniale in Etiopia (1937-46)*, Manduria – Roma – Bari 1997; ID., *L'Africa al confino: la deportazione etiopica in Italia, 1937-39*, Manduria – Roma – Bari 2003; KaneLit, s. index; SERGEW HABLE-SELASSIE, "Two Leading Ethiopian Writers", *JSS* 25, 1, 1980, 85–93, here 85-88; JACQUES VANDERLINDEN, "An Introduction to the Sources of Ethiopian Law from the 13th to the 20th Century", *Journal of Ethiopian Law* 3, 1, 1966, 227-83, here 237, 243, 252, 262.

Paulos Milkias

Maḫzūmī dynasty

The history of the M. (مخزومى) dynasty is known only from a short text copied in 1936 by ↗Cerulli (1941) from an Arabic manuscript of 1863. Owned by a notable from ↗Harär, it also contained texts of a chronological, astronomical and historical character. According to the document, the founder of the dynastic family was Wudd b. Hišām al-Maḫzūmī from the Qurayšite clan Banū Maḫzūm, which played an important role in pre-Islamic ↗Mecca, especially in the trade with Ethiopia and ↗Yemen. Wudd himself is said to have entered Ethiopia already in the time of the second *ḫalīfa* ʿUmar (634–44), but it was only in the year 896/97 that his descendants became *sulṭāns* of ↗Šäwa. With the exception of this date, the document says nothing about the first centuries of the dynasty's history and becomes more detailed only for the years 1231–89. This led Taddesse Tamrat (TadTChurch 43) to express some doubts about the early existence of independent Muslim states in Ethiopia before the 10th cent., especially because the Arab author al-Masʿūdī (d. 956) also says that the Muslim people who lived in the coastal towns of Ethiopia were under the protection of the Ethiopians (*fī ḏimmat al-Ḥabaša*). Yet, al-Masʿūdī may have relied on older sources, since he had not personally visited Ethiopia.

The region ruled by the M. seems to have been only the eastern part of modern Šäwa. The capital of the M. state was Walala (perhaps the modern Wäläle, 70 km north-east of Addis Abäba, cf. HuntGeogr 76).

During the 60 last years of its existence the M. state seems to have been in decline and disorder. Rivalry among at least four different branches of the ruling family, rebellion, usurpation, deposition and killing of rulers as well as burning of the capital were the order of the day. Typical was the fate of the last M. ruler, ↗Dilgāmis, who was twice deposed and finally killed. In addition to internal problems, the M. rulers had to fight the neighbouring Muslim statelets: ↗Gidāya (1233/34, 1266), ↗Mora (1264–67), Gabar-gē (Gurage?) (1263, 1270/71) and others. The M. state had also a few contacts with the Christians. For the year 1128 the document mentions the flight of the Amhara from the territory of the ↗Warğih and in 1279 the deposed *sulṭān* Dilmārra fled to the Ethiopian monarch, who must have been *aṣe* ↗Yəkunno Amlak.

The end of the M. state came when the newly established ↗Walašmaʿ dynasty of ↗Ifat started its expansion to the west and the south. In 1276/77 Walašmaʿ and his son ʿAlī appeared in Šäwa and in July/August 1285 Dilgāmis was deposed and the whole family killed.

A study of the non-Arabic personal names in the document led Cerulli to the conclusion that an Ethio-Semitic language was spoken in eastern Šäwa during the M. era (Cerulli 1941:31–34).

The document mentions the following rulers, the first of whom might not have been a member of the M. dynasty:

1. Queen ↗Badīt bint Māyā, d. 1063;
2. *sulṭān* Ḥarbaʿir, r. 1108;
3. *sulṭān* Mālasmaʿī, d. 24 August 1183;
4. *sulṭān* Ḥusayn, came to power 1179/80;
5. *sulṭān* ʿAbdallāh, came to power 1193/4, d. 20 May 1235;
6. *sulṭān* Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn, came to power June/July 1235;
7. *sulṭān* Mālzarra b. Muḥammad, came to power July/August 1239;
8. *sulṭān* Gnba, came to power June/July 1252, d. 27 February 1262;
9. *sulṭān* Girāmgazʾi, came to power March 16, 1262, abdicated 6 December 1263;
10. *sulṭān* Dilgāmis I, brother of Girāmgazʾi, first period of rule 6 December 1263 – 2 October 1269;
11. *sulṭān* Dilmārra b. Mālzarra, came to power 2 October 1269, deposed July/August 1278;
12. *sulṭān* Dilgāmis, second period of rule July/August 1278–May/June 1279;
13. the rebel ʿAbdallāh b. Ğanāḥ in May/June 1279;
14. *sulṭān* Dilgāmis, third period of rule July 1279–July/August 1285.

Src.: ENRICO CERULLI, "Il sultanato dello Scioa nel secolo XIII secondo un nuovo documento storico", *RSE* 1, 1941, 5–42 [repr. in: *CerIslam* 207–43]; AL-MASʿŪDĪ, *Murūğ*

aḏ-ḏahab wa-maᶜādin al-ǧawhar ('Meadows of Gold and Fields of Jewel'), ed. CHARLES PELLAT, vol. 2, Beirut 1966, 127 (text) [tr. by BARBIER DE MEYNARD – PAVET DE COURTEILLE, *Les prairies d'or, ... revue et corrigée par CHARLES PELLAT*, vol. 2, Paris 1965, 331].

Lit.: BELAYNESH MICHAEL, "Maḫzūmī", in: *DicEthBio* vol. 1, 106f. (s. also individual articles on all rulers of the dynasty); G.M. HINDS, "Makhzūm", in: *EI²* vol. 6, 137–40; HuntAmdS 14ff.; HuntGeogr 76; TadTChurch 42f., 50–53; TrIslam 58.

Ewald Wagner

Maiestas Domini

M.D. is a term for an image of Christian Oriental origin, depicting Christ-Pantocrator enthroned in a mandorla supported either by the angels or by the the Four Living Creatures (if the latter are carrying the books they symbolize Four Evangelists). The representation, understood as the majesty of God in heaven revealed at the Second Coming, is based upon the ↗Old and ↗ New Testament theophanic visions described in Is 6:1–4, Ezek 1:5–10, 10:16–22, Rev 4:6–8 and Mt 24–25. There is also a variant influenced by Dan 7:9 known as the "Ancient of Days".

In decoration programmes of early Christian and Byzantine churches, the M.D. was placed in the sanctuary, on the wall of the apse or in the cupola. This position expressed the connection between the eastern direction and the Second Coming of Christ. The M.D. formula also entered some Christian oriental representations of the Ascension, where it appears in the upper part of the scene, above St. Mary surrounded by the apostles ("narrative" type) or the *collegium apostolicum* ("liturgical" type).

The M.D. in all variants was particularly popular in Coptic Egypt, and, like some other pictorial formulas, was transferred to Ethiopia from the Coptic workshops. Besides the iconographical affinities between the Coptic and the Ethiopian M.D., their connection is revealed by some legends in which the Four Living Creatures usually called in Ethiopia ገጸ ንስር (*gäṣṣä nəsr*, 'face of eagle'), ገጸ ሰብእ (*gäṣṣä säbᵊ*, 'face of man'), ገጸ አንበሳ (*gäṣṣä anbäsa*, 'face of lion'), ገጸ ላህም (*gäṣṣä lahm*, 'face of ox') bear the names known from Coptic angelology: *Bäramira, Mäliṭo, Suritəyon, ʾAgramiṭa* (e.g., the Gospels from ↗Däbrä Ḥayq Ǝsṭifanos, fol. 24r, end of the 13th cent.).

The oldest known Ethiopian representation, dating to late 12th cent. and obviously influenced by contemporary Coptic paintings, is in the ↗Yəmrəḥannä Krəstos church. Placed on the eastern wall of the south aisle, close to the ↗*mäqdäs*, it forms part of the Ascension composition and is clearly rendered in ↗eschatological terms (royal, purple garments of Christ, mandorla encircled by stars, eye-covered wings of the Four Living Creatures).

A group of 13th–14th-cent. churches follows the early Christian tradition even closer, locating the M.D. in the sanctuary. In ↗Ǝmäkina Mädḫane ᶜAläm, the M.D. with Christ accompanied by six archangels occupies the cupola above the central part of the *mäqdäs*. In Gärᶜalta churches, such as ↗Däbrä Ṣəyon, it is depicted in the centre of the eastern wall and is accompanied by the 24 Celestial Priests, represented as young angelic figures. In ↗Qorqor Maryam the M.D. is placed in the third bay of the northern aisle and shows a lamb under the throne which stresses the apocalyptic character of the scene. In some churches the M.D. appears more than once: in ↗Däbrä Sälam of Aṣbidära it can be seen both in the cupola of the *mäqdäs*, and in the eastern bay of the north aisle, in both cases accompanied by the *collegium apostolicum*. In ↗Gännätä Maryam, the M.D. is presently discernible in the southern part of the *mäqdäs* flanked by two angels but it cannot be ruled out that it was originally also depicted in the central part where presently only the Celestial Priests are still seen. In ↗Mikaʾel Amba in Aṣbidära only the upper part of mandorla supported by the eagle in the upper right-hand corner and the top of Christ's head remain of the M.D. Except at the Däbrä Sälam, the M.D. is always either juxtaposed with the Entry into Jerusalem or placed in its immediate vicinity. In the pictorial language of early Christianity this combination visualizes the concept of the earthly and celestial triumph of Christ.

After 15th–16th cent., the M.D. loses its popularity and its original, liturgical connotation is not clear any more. If the scene appears in a church it is seldom placed in the *mäqdäs* (e.g., Ṗeṭros Mälähay Zängi, Ṣaᶜəda Ǝmba, ↗Mäᶜaquddi Yoḥannəs). From the 16th cent., the Ancient of Days often replaces the M.D. (e.g., ↗Yädəbba Maryam). Also in that form the theme is included in the iconographical programme of the *mäqdäs* in the early 17th-cent. circular churches, e.g. ↗Däbrä Sina near Gondär, ↗Ǝnṭonəs (now in Paris, Musée des Arts et Civilisations d'Afrique). Later on, the M.D.'s role and place in church decoration (upper part of the western

Maiestas Domini (detail of the Ascension); miniature in a Gospel Book, fol. 161r, end of the 15th cent., church of *abunä* ʿAbiyä Ǝgziʾ, Däbrä Mädḫanit, Təgray; photo 2002, courtesy of Michael Gervers

wall) was taken over by the Trinity and only a few examples of the M.D. from the 18th–19th cent. can be recalled (↗Wəqro Mäsqäl, ↗Ṣəraʿ Abrəha wä-Aṣbəḥa, ↗Däbrä Bərhan Śəllase).

In the oldest manuscripts (13th–15th cent.), primarily in the ↗Gospel Books with the scenes of Christ's life, some of them carrying on the Syro-Palestinian iconography, the M.D. occupies the upper part of the Ascension and appears in many variants. The differences concern the form of the mandorla (circular/square/almond-shaped), Christ's appearance (young/mature), his throne (which in some cases has form of the globe), the place of the Four Living Creatures around the mandorla and their aspects (full and half-figure variant). There are a few examples of the M.D. represented as a single scene and even in these cases its role is to close the Christological cycle (e.g., the Gospel book of Ğähğah Giyorgis, 15th cent.; mss. London, BritLib Orient. 481, fol. 109v, 17th cent. upon a 15th cent. *Vorlage* from ↗Amba Gəšän, 15th cent.). One more variant shows two or four angels instead of the Four Living Creatures (e.g., Psalter, Paris, BN, d'Abbadie 105, fol. 12v, late 15th cent.).

With the change in character of Gospel illustration, the M.D. disappears from manuscripts after the 16th cent. (with a few exceptions e.g., the Gospels in Qunäla Giyorgis, Tämben, 17th cent.). In 18th-cent. manuscripts, the M.D. sometimes reappears as one of the frontispiece miniatures, added at the beginning of different texts (e.g., ↗*Laḥa Maryam*, Ǝndäbba Hadära, Tämben; ↗*Apocalypse of Mary*, ms. Pistoia, Martini etiop. 5; frequently ↗*Dərsanä Mikaʾel*, e.g., in Ankobär Mikaʾel = EMML 2373, fol. 3v).

The M.D. was seldom the subject of painting on wood, the known examples are most probably the result of confusion with the Ancient of Days (e.g., triptych IES 6619). Instead it belonged to the decoration of liturgical fans ↗*märäwəḥ* where it occupied the centre of the composition in accordance with the liturgical function of the object and in connection with its symbolism. Some 15th-cent. ↗crosses bear the M.D. or the Ancient of Days (IES 3970, IES 4320, the cross from ↗Däbrä Nägʷädgʷad) as do, occasionally, other liturgical paraphernalia (e.g., a chalice from ↗Ǝnda Abba Gärima, early 15th cent.).

Lit.: Ewa Balicka-Witakowska, "Le psautier illustré de Belen Sägäd", in: Rudolf Zeitler (ed.), *Imagines Medievales. Studier i medeltida ikonografi, arkitektur, skulptur, måleri och konstverk*, Uppsala 1983, 1–46, here 14f., fig. 14; Ead.,"The Paintings of Yəmrəhannä Krəstos: a Preliminary Report", *Africana Bulletin* 59, 2001, 9–47, here 35ff., figs. 13–14; Ead., "Wall-Paintings in the Church of Mädhane Aläm near Lalibäla", *ibid.* 52, 2004, 9–29, here 22ff., fig. 16; Ead., "The Liturgical Fan and Some Recently Discovered Ethiopian Examples", *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* 57, 2, 2004, 19–46, here 28ff., figs. 27B, 29B; Ead., "The Wall-Paintings in the Sanctuary of the Church of Gännätä Maryam near Lalibäla", in: *PICEA* 7, 119–37, here 132–37, figs. III, IV, 3–5, 13; Stanisław Chojnacki, "The Four Living Creatures of the Apocalypse and the Imagery of the Ascension in Ethiopia", *Bulletin de la Société d'Archéologie Copte* 23, 1981, 159–81; ChojPaint 119–33, figs. 43–56; Roger Cowley, *The Traditional Interpretation of the Apocalypse of St. John in the Ethiopian Orthodox Church*, Cambridge 1983, 99ff., 110, 191–95, 215–44; Claude Lepage – Jean Gire, "Dieu et les Quatres Animaux Célestes dans l'ancienne peinture éthiopienne", *Documents pour servir à l'histoire de la civilisation éthiopienne* 7, 1976, 84–88, 96–101; Ugo Monneret De Villard, "La Majestas Domini in Abissinia", *RSE* 3, 1943, 36–45; C. Detlef G. Müller, *Die Engellehre der Koptischen Kirche: Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Christlichen Frömmigkeit in Ägypten*, Wiesbaden 1959, 83ff., 294; Lanfranco Ricci, "Qualche osservazioni sull'iconografia

della 'Maiestas Domini'", *RSE* 15, 1959, 106–11; FRITS VAN DER MEER, *Maiestas Domini: Théophanies de l'Apocalypse dans l'art chrétien. Étude sur les origines d'une iconographie spéciale du Christ*, Roma ²1990, 136–42; PAUL VAN MOORSEL, "The Coptic Apse-composition and its Living Creatures", in: *Études Nubiennes, Colloque de Chantilly 2–6 Juillet 1975*, Le Caire 1978, 325–33; PIOTR SKUBISZEWSKI, "Maiestas Domini et liturgie", in: CLAUDE ARRIGNON et al. (eds.), *Cinquante années d'études médiévales: a la confluence de nos disciplines ...*, Turnhout 2005, 309–408; WILHELM STAUDE, "Étude sur la décoration picturale des églises Abba Antonios de Gondar et Dabra Sina de Gorgora", *AE* 3, 1959, 185–235, here 212f., 216, pls. 80, 89f.

Ill.: AfrZion cat. nos. 5, 54, 56, 74, 78, 82, 120; STANISŁAW CHOJNACKI, *Ethiopian Icons: Catalogue of the Collection of the Institute of Ethiopian Studies Addis Ababa University*, Milano 2000, nos. 146, 204, 205, 320; GerKir [Eng] fig. 35; JULES LEROY, *Ethiopian Painting in the Late Middle Ages and under the Gonder Dynasty*, London 1967, pls. 3, 21, 38; ID. – STEPHEN WRIGHT – OTTO JÄGER, *Éthiopie: Manuscrit à peinture*, Paris 1961, pls. 21, 27; JACQUES MERCIER (ed.), *L'Arche Éthiopienne. Art chrétien d'Éthiopie*, Paris 2001, 75, 91, 132, 134, 161f.

Ewa Balicka-Witakowska

Mä²ison

M. (Engl. spelling MEISON, acronym for **የመላ፡ ኢትዮጵያ፡ ሶሻሊስት፡ ንቅናቄ**, *Yä-mälla Ityopya sošalist nəqənnaqe*, 'All-Ethiopian Socialist Movement') was founded at a secret congress held in Hamburg in 1968 as the first offshoot to emerge from the Ethiopian student movement. The founding congress, its leadership, and, for a time, even its membership were dominated by the leading members of the Ethiopian Student Union in Europe (E.S.U.E.); its post of Secretary General being alternately held by Ḫayle Fida (1968–73), Wärqu Färrädä (1973–January 1976), and Käbbädä Mängäša (February 1976–August 1977). The organization stood for the formation of a Marxist-Leninist vanguard party, a national democratic revolution, an armed struggle as the ultimate means to seize power, and for the recognition of the equality and the right of Ethiopian nations and nationalities to self-determination.

M.'s initial enthusiastic revolutionary agitation and its establishment of an underground network in Ethiopia ended with the imprisonment of its first crop of party workers in 1969. As a result, M. became extremely cautious about its political activities. During the five years between 1969 and the outbreak of the revolution in 1974, it maintained a low profile and conducted most of its activities through student unions and other front organisations. Thus it let its advantage of an early start slip by without making significant progress.

From its formation, M. indirectly dominated the E.S.U.E. until 1974 and in particular the Worldwide Union of Ethiopian Students until 1972. This was despite the growing challenge from the upcoming and younger militants who formed their own organisation that eventually became the ↗Ethiopian Peoples' Revolutionary Party (E.P.R.P.). Soon enough, the battle lines were drawn between M. and E.P.R.P., each of which wanted to dominate Ethiopia's student movement. The rivalry and antagonism between the two emergent revolutionary organizations was, by and large, managed behind the façade of a formally united student movement. However, the downfall of the monarchy led M. and the E.P.R.P. to begin settling their differences by violent means.

Notwithstanding the view that M. expressed in 1973 to the effect that a revolutionary upsurge was imminent, it was caught by surprise when the events of February 1974 unfolded. Yet, it was one of the more important clandestine organisations that sought to fuel and give direction to the essentially spontaneous mass uprising. M. produced and widely distributed publications like the serialized **ውጋገን** (*Wəgagän*, 'The Dawn') and, beginning in July 1974, its official organ, **የሰፊው፡ ሕዝብ፡ ድምጽ** (*Yäsäffiw Ḥəzb Dəmṣ*, 'Voice of the Masses').

Initially, M. opposed the seizure of power by the Därg (↗Provisional Military Administrative Council) because of its lack of ideological clarity, its political vacillations, authoritarian tendencies, and its highhandedness. However, M.'s scepticism gradually softened following what it perceived as the *Därg*'s responsive measures to a host of popular demands. Chief among these measures were its proclamation of socialism as a guiding ideology of the Ethiopian revolution, the Land Reform Act (↗Land tenure), and the National Democratic Revolution Program (N.D.R.P.) that sought to eradicate "feudalism, bureaucratic capitalism and imperialism"; facilitate the growth of socialism; and establish a People's Democratic Republic. These and other similar developments prompted M. to switch its policy from total opposition to "critical support". This meant that M. would continue to expose and challenge the regime's authoritarian tendencies and practices while supporting policies that paralleled M.'s own program.

This paved the way for the creation of the People's Organizing Provisional Office that was renamed the Provisional Office for Mass Organization Affairs (P.O.M.O.A., የሕዝብ፡ ድርጅት፡ ጊዜያዊ፡ ጽሕፈት፡ ቤት, *Yäḥəzb dərəǧǧət gizeyawi ṣəḥfät bet*) under the *Därg* on 20 April 1976. This organization's activities included implementing the N.D.R.P. The P.O.M.O.A. run the Yäkkatit 66 Political School that produced numerous cadres, many of whom belonged to M.

Co-operation and conflict characterized the M.-*Därg* alliance, which lasted from April 1976 to August 1977. Additionally, M. fielded its members to implement the land reform, politicize and organize the rural and urban masses, and, in particular, to assist in the formation of local self-government organs known as peasants' and urban dwellers' associations (*qäbäle*). M.'s growing influence provoked the fury of those that opposed the revolution as well as of competing leftist organizations, the E.P.R.P. in particular. The hostility towards M. members and sympathisers was expressed in different forms ranging from mud slinging to assassination.

On 11 September 1976, the *Därg* condemned the E.P.R.P. as "subversive and anti-revolutionary". Beginning on 26 September 1976, the E.P.R.P. unleashed a campaign of assassination against M. members, P.O.M.O.A. cadres, and leaders of urban dwellers' associations. The violence claimed the lives of hundreds of academicians, professionals, students, workers, and leaders of mass organizations, including two M.'s Central Committee members, Gäbrä Ǝgziʾabəḥer Ḥagos and ʿAbdulahi Yusuf. M. reacted by calling for a "Red Terror" as a means of reversing this phenomenon that was dubbed "White Terror", thereby placing the former firmly on the agenda of the Ethiopian revolution.

In January 1977, differences between the *Därg* and M. widened and became antagonistic soon after Mängəśtu Ḫaylä Maryam and his organization, Revolutionary Flame (አብዮታዊ፡ ሰደድ, *Abyotawi Säddäd*), gained the upper hand within the *Därg*. Shortly thereafter, in February, M. and four other organizations (Ethiopian Marxist-Leninist Revolutionary Organization; Ethiopian Oppressed People's Revolutionary Struggle, Revolutionary Flame, and Workers League) established the Joint Front of Ethiopian Marxist-Leninist Organizations to implement the N.D.R.P. and to create the Workers' Party of Ethiopia (የኢትዮጵያ፡ ሠራተኞች፡ ፓርቲ, *Yäʾityopya śärratäññočč parti*). As shown by later developments, M. joined this front while bidding its time to withdraw from the legal forum. In March, M. hastily convened an extraordinary national conference at Addis Abäba that resulted in the renunciation of its policy of "critical support" in favour of one of "revolutionary opposition".

That move was further precipitated by the July 1977 Somali invasion of the ↗Ogaden which gave the *Därg* a pretext to intensify its repression. On 20 August 1977, M., convinced of the futility of further co-operation with the *Därg* and facing the imminent attack to exterminate it, withdrew nearly all of its members from the government and ordered them to go underground. Given that M. was not adequately prepared to make a safe retreat and defend itself, it became an easy prey to the repression that ensued. Most M. Central Committee members, including Käbbädä Mängäša, Danəʾel Taddäsä, Mäsfən Kaśu, Kädir Mäḥammäd, and Bərhanu Gämäda, were killed while resisting arrest or committed suicide. Security forces killed, tortured and jailed large numbers of M. members. Later, in July 1979, the government executed several M. members including two of its Central Committee members, namely, Ḫayle Fida and Nəgəśt Adane (together with her husband Dästa Taddäsä). As a result, the organisation was virtually annihilated throughout the country except for a group that conducted armed resistance in the ↗Sidaama area until 1981.

Some M. leading members, including the only two members of its Central Committee to survive the repression, namely, Näggädä Gobäze and Andärgačč̌äw Assäggəd, continued to undertake political activities in exile. In the late-1980s, M. managed to forge some form of co-operation with other Ethiopian political groups, including the E.P.R.P. Following the Ethiopian Peoples' Revolutionary Democratic Front's (E.P.R.D.F.) seizure of power in May 1991, M. was one of the organisations that were barred from legally participating in the political process of the new dispensation. Then, both M. and the E.P.R.P. were the key players in the formation of the Coalition of Ethiopian Democratic Forces (C.O.E.D.F.). M., which is unique among Ethiopian political groupings of the revolutionary days in that it has never experienced internal splits and violent purges, has remained active abroad, particularly as a major player in the formation of the United Ethiopian Democratic Force (U.E.D.F., የኢትዮ

ጵያ፡ ዴሞክራሲያዊ፡ ኃይሎች፡ ጎብረት, *Yäʾityopya demokrasiyawi ḫayločč ḫəbrät*) in 2003.

↗Revolution

Lit.: ANDÄRGAČČÄW ASSÄGGƎD, በአጭር፡ የተቀጨ፡ ረጅም፡ ጉዞ፤ መኢሶን፡ በኢትዮጵያ፡ ህዝቦች፡ ትግል፡ ውስጥ (*Bäʾaṭṭär yäṭäqäṭṭä räğğəm guzo: Mäʾison bäʾityopya həzbočč təgəl wəsṭ*, 'A Long Journey Cut Short, MEISON in the Struggle of the Peoples of Ethiopia'), Addis Abäba 2000; ANDARGACHEW TIRUNEH, *The Ethiopian Revolution 1974–1987: a Transformation from an Aristocratic to a Totalitarian Autocracy*, Cambridge 1993, 134–53, 229–38; BABILE TOLA, *To Kill a Generation: the Red Terror in Ethiopia*, Washington, DC 1989, 162f.; CHRISTOPHER CLAPHAM, *Transformation and Continuity in Revolutionary Ethiopia*, Cambridge 1988, 52–57, 198ff., 202f.; DAWIT SHIFAW, *The Diary of Terror: Ethiopia 1974–1991*, Charleston, SC 2005; PATRICK GILKES, "Building Ethiopia's Revolutionary Party", *MERIP Reports* 106, June 1982 ("Horn of Africa: the Coming Storm"), 22–27; FRED HALLIDAY – MAXINE MOLYNEUX, "Ethiopia's Revolution from Above", *ibid.* 5–15; "Ethiopia", in: COLIN LEGUM (ed.)., *Africa Contemporary Record*, New York – London 1979, B230–B232; KIFLU TADESSE, *The Generation, the History of the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Party*, 2 vols., Silver Spring, MD – Trenton, NJ 1993, 1998; ID. [KƎFLU TADDÄSÄ], ያ፡ ትውልድ፤ የለውጥ፡ ማእበል፡ በኢትዮጵያ፤ የኢትዮጵያ፡ ህዝባዊ፡ አብዮታዊ፡ ፓርቲ፡ ታሪክ፡ (*Ya təwlədd, yäläwwəṭ maʾəbäl bäʾityopya, yäʾityopya həzbawi abyotawi parti tarik*, 'That Generation: The Wave of Change in Ethiopia, the History of the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Party'), vol. 3, Addis Abäba ²2001; MARINA OTTAWAY – DAVID OTTAWAY, *Ethiopia: Empire in Revolution*, New York 1978, 122f., 125, 187ff.; RICHARD PANKHURST, *The Ethiopians: a History*, Oxford 2001, 270f., 275; TEFERRA HAILE-SELASSIE, *The Ethiopian Revolution 1974–1991: from a Monarchical Autocracy to a Military Oligarchy*, London – New York 1997, 174f., 207f., 230.

Yeraswork Admassie – Kassahun Berhanu

Maize

M. (*Zea mays*; corn, Indian corn) is a tall annual cereal grass bearing kernels on large cobs. It is the world's third widest spread crop after wheat and rice. Though an introduced crop, there is much genetic diversity among the present M. gene pool in Ethiopia. As a popular staple cereal of tropical and warm temperate regions it is the main cereal in Africa. In Ethiopia it is mainly cultivated in the western and southern regions between 1,000–2,400 m A.S.L. (Phillips 1995). Cultivated in fields, M. provides more food per unit of land than other cereals. In comparison with other cereals M. cultivation is less labour intensive (McCann 2001:249; 2005:XI).

M. is extensively grown for human consumption, forage and as a source of oil and syrup. The M. cob or grain is often roasted and eaten as such. Cooked M. is added to vegetable dishes or prepared as porridge. M. flour, sometimes mixed with that of other cereals, is used for baking different kinds of bread and cake.

Domesticated ca. 7,000 years ago in Central America, M. was brought to Europe soon after the European penetration of America, and its cultivation expanded rapidly throughout the tropics of the Old World. The introduction of M. into Ethiopia in the late 16th or early 17th cent. was probably connected with the Portuguese activities in the region (↗Portugal, relations with). However, there is no reference to the introduction of new crops by the Portuguese in the medieval chronicles (McCann 2005:78, 248). Possibly, M. was introduced through ↗Arabia as the names *əffun* (Tgn. from dialectal Arab.), *mašälla baḥri* (Tgn.) and *yäbaḥr mašəlla* (Amh.), 'sea sorghum', i.e. sorghum that came from oversees, as well as the Harari term *aräb əḥi* and *arabbiḥi* in Somali may suggest. Linguistic data suggest that M. may have spread from western Ethiopia to regions further south. The Oromo seem to have had a considerable role in the spread of M. as indicated by names, like *boqollo* ('M.') which was adopted into Amharic from Oromiffa. Likewise, the Añwaa name for at least of one M. variety is *igalla* ('Oromo [cereal]') and also the second Somali name *gallay* suggests an adoption of M. from the Oromo (Leslau 1963:23, 31; Pasch 1983:198ff.).

Until the early 19th cent., M. was mainly cultivated by women in their vegetable gardens. Its role in different agricultural systems was due to the fact that it matured earlier than other cereals. Eaten in its green stage it served to bridge the "hungry season" before the harvest of the then major crops ↗sorghum and wheat (McCann 2001:249, 253; 2005:81). Evidence of M. as a field crop is found in travellers' reports only from the early 19th cent. At the beginning of the 20th cent. M. was to be found in southern Ethiopia in any type of mixed agricultural system, be it intercropped with ↗*ənsät* or cereals, like ↗*ṭef*. In other areas of Ethiopia M. remained of minor importance (McCann 2005:81f., 86ff.).

After the Italian occupation period the importance of M. grew drastically as did its regional distribution. When Ethiopia responded to an increase in the world market's demand for coffee with a move from the collection of wild coffee to cultivation, M. became part of a ↗coffee–M. complex, in which low-labour M. cultivation complemented coffee as a cash-crop. Due to

the state price policy of the 1980s the balance of the coffee–M. complex was destabilized again. However, the expansion of M. cultivation was never disturbed. Propagated by foreign aid organizations and Ethiopian governments hybrid M. types, fertilizers and new agricultural strategies were increasingly introduced into the country, while traditional M. types lost much of their popularity. By the end of the 20th cent. the production of M. rose by 12.3 % every year (McCann 2001:265; 2005:12, 89).

The extensive cultivation of M., especially of hybrids, despite obvious advantages, is accompanied by certain problems. The use of hybrids makes Ethiopian peasants dependant on foreign providers because Ethiopia's industry cannot produce domestic hybrids. M. is sensitive to deprivation of water, sunlight and nitrogen. Recent research shows the existence of an interconnection between the extent of (hybrid) M. cultivation and the appearance of ↗malaria, because M. pollen feed the larvae of *Anopheles arabiensis* (McCann 2001:249; 2007).

↗Agriculture; ↗Plants, cultivated

Src.: KaneDic 226, 907; KaneTDic 405; WOLF LESLAU, *Etymological Dictionary of Harari*, Berkeley, CA 1963, 23, 31; JAMES C. MCCANN – ASNAKEW KEBEDE YESHIWONDIM, "Maize and the Agro-Ecology of Malaria: the Latest Evidence from Ethiopia", paper presented at the *16th ICES*, Trondheim, July 2007; R. DAVID ZORC – MADINA M. OSMAN, *Somali–English Dictionary with English Index*, Kensington ³1993.

Lit.: JAMES F. HANCOCK, *Plant Evolution and the Origin of Crop Species*, Englewood Cliffs 1992, 305, 9; JAMES C. MCCANN, "Maize and Grace: History, Corn, and Africa's New Landscapes, 1500–1999", *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 43, no. 2, 2001, 246–72, here 249, 253, 265; ID., *Maize and Grace. Africa's Encounter with a New World Crop, 1500-2000*, Cambridge, MA 2005, XI, 12, 78, 81f. 86ff., 89, 248; HELMA PASCH, "Zur Geschichte der Verbreitung des Maises in Afrika", *Sprache und Geschichte in Afrika* 5, 1983, 77–218, here 198–211; SYLVIA PHILLIPS, *Flora of Ethiopia and Eritrea*, vol. 7: *Poaceae* (*Gramineae*), Addis Ababa – Uppsala 1995, 420, 20.

Zemede Asfaw – Dirk Bustorf

Maʾkälay ʿalet

M.ʿa. (ማእከላይ፡ ዓለት [also *ʿalät*]) is a Təgrəññа term used in the context of rights to land and the definition of lineages' relationships to each other. A M.ʿa. descended from an immigrant, who did not belong to the original founders of an *ʿaddi* ('land'), i.e. the area in which the M.ʿa. settled. Even if this migration dates back many generations, the M.ʿa. keep their position as a stranger within the local socio-political system. Similar concepts are also found among neighbouring ethnic groups (cp. ↗Kinship; ↗Genealogy).

The M.ʿa.'s position within a descent group was determined essentially by the idea that he did not belong to it from its foundation, i.e. that he brings with him qualities which do not preexist within the group. In some cultures, the foreigner could enjoy a privileged social or economic position. In the Eritrean highlands (↗*Käbäsa*), "foreigners" had a position comparable to that of the members of the group, but were never fully integrated within it.

For example, M.ʿa. normally could not participate in the formulation or amendment of traditional ↗laws. Similarly, the rules on vengeance and blood money did not generally apply when one of the parties involved in the dispute was a stranger. However, in the *Fəṭḥa Mäḥari* of the ↗Təgre, if a foreigner or stranger killed a ↗Mänsaʿ noble, "either a vendetta is started between the two groups, or blood money is paid" (Rodén 1913:304f.). Clearly, in this case compensation also constitutes a viable option between individuals who do not belong to the group.

The position of M.ʿa. with regard to land rights is particularly complex. Generally, they could not receive parcels of *rəsti* (↗*Rəst*) land, the land belonging to the group, as it is clearly stated, for example, by the laws of the ↗Loggo Särda and ƎndaFəqray. However, according to the latter, the foreigner could ask the village for a ruin that he could rebuild or he could buy an existing house, the request being taken into consideration only after all members of the ↗*ənda* had been satisfied (Conti Rossini 1904:12; Capomazza 1937:195f.).

With reference to *šəḥena* ('village land'; ↗Land tenure), M.ʿa. were sometimes allowed to cultivate or use common land, provided that they were residents, and after having obtained the consent of the *ənda*, if their request was made in due time, that is before a reallocation, and as long as they paid tribute (Capomazza 1937:150; *Śərʿat Adgəna-Tägäläba* 1938:33). It is probable that historically they were admitted in order to alleviate the burden of the tribute that was assessed on a village by the first colons (Pollera 1913:16). Of particular interest in this regard is the law of *Məʿem Mäḥaza* that after affirming the right of equal access of M.ʿa. to a parcel of village land, makes an explicit reference to *Krəstyanay kab Gondär* ('Christians from ↗Gondär') and *Aslamay kab Mändər* ('Muslims coming from coastal zones'; Capomazza 1937:89).

M.ᶜa. were usually given full access to *mədri wärqi* ('gold land', i.e. the land acquired by money), and to leaseholds tenancies (*kəray* 'rent', and *sädbi*); in colonial times, there is evidence of a number of these agreements. The ↗Adkämä Məlgaᵓ of Säraye also depicts a unique type of land ownership, *mədri gʷäytat*, 'land belonging to lords'. The three chiefs of the *əndas* of Godofəllase, ᶜAddi Mängʷəntu and May Ṣaᶜda, had taken over the functions of land division originally exercised by the elders of the community. They divided the land among people of the "same blood" as well as M.ᶜa. (Conti Rossini 1904:37). Many different kinds of agreement were concluded between M.ᶜa. and members of the group with regard to pasture and rights of access to water.

Lit.: ILARIO CAPOMAZZA, *Il diritto consuetudinario dell'Acchelè-Guzai, Massimario raccolto da Ilario Capomazza*, Asmara 1937; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "I Loggo e la legge dei Loggo Sarda", *Giornale della Società Asiatica Italiana* [Firenze] 17, 1904, 1–63; LYDA FAVALI – ROY PATEMAN, *Blood, Land and Sex – Legal and Political Pluralism in Eritrea*, Bloomington, IN 2003; ALBERTO POLLERA, *Il regime della proprietà terriera in Etiopia e nella colonia eritrea*, Roma 1913; KARL GUSTAV RODÉN, *Le tribù dei Mensa – Storia, legge e costumi, Traduzione italiana dalla lingua Tigré*, Stockholm 1913; ሥርዓት፡ አድግና፡ ተገለባ (*Śərᶜat Adgəna-Tägäläba*, 'The Customs of Adgəna-Tägäläba') [Asmära 1938 A.M. (1945 A.D.)].

Lyda Favali

Mäkanä Iyäsus

M.I. (መካነ፡ ኢየሱስ, 'Place of Jesus') is a church in ↗Ǝste to the east of Däbrä Tabor. It was founded by *däğğazmač* ↗Ḫaylu Ǝšäte between 1787 and 1789 (BlunChr 144f., 408ff.). With the sanction of *aṣe* ↗Ḥəzqəyas, Ḫaylu endowed the church with 42 ↗*gašša* of agricultural land plus lands dedicated to breeding horses for the royal stable and the right to tax both the local spring and the local market. He also gave the church the right to provide asylum. The dedication of the church was attended by the Emperor, the bishop (*abunä* ↗Yosab), the ↗*əčč̣äge*, palace notables and "learned people".

15 years later M.I. became embroiled in the theological controversies of the late ↗*Zämänä mäsafənt*. Ǝste fell within the domains of *ras* ↗Gugsa Märsa of the Yäğğu dynasty. In 1803, following the death of *abunä* Yosab, Gugsa plundered his property and expelled from his territories everyone who did not profess the ↗*Śost lədät* (CRReal 801f.). Church annals remember this as the time "when our faith was extinguished and our sanctuary destroyed" (Crummey in PICES 9, 202). 70 years later, in November 1873, there was full restitution in another elaborate ceremony presided over by *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV, *abunä* ↗Atnatewos and *əčč̣äge* ↗Tewoflos. M.I. remains a church of considerable regional influence.

Src.: BlunChr; CRReal 801f. (text) = 873f. (tr.).
Lit.: DONALD CRUMMEY, "Theology and Political Conflict during the *Zämänä Mäsafent*: the Case of Esté in Bägémder", in: *PICES* 9, 201–11; MANFRED KROPP, *Die äthiopischen Königschroniken in der Sammlung des Däğğazmač Ḫaylu*, Frankfurt-am-Main 1989, 79–130.

Donald Crummey

Mäkanä Iyasus

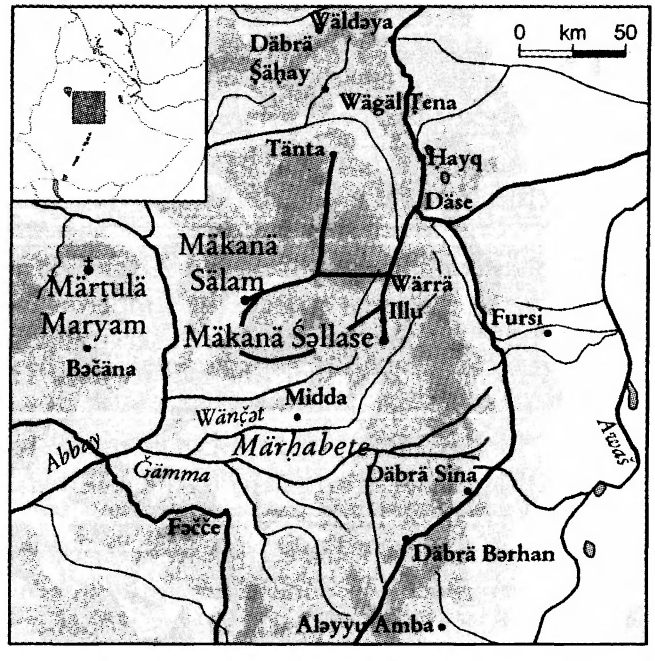
↗Ethiopian Evangelical Church Mekane Yesus

Mäkanä Sälam

M.S. (መካነ፡ ሰላም; 10° 37' 60" N, 38° 46' 60" E, 2,530 m A.S.L.) is a small market town in ↗Wällo, on the western edge of the plateau formed by lava masses from Mount Amba Farit (3,975 m A.S.L.) on the right bank of the ↗Abbay canyon between the confluence with the ↗Bätu river in the south and the ↗Bäšəlo in the north.

The town was established during the Italian occupation in the area where ↗*šəfta* and ↗resistance have been particularly active. Prior to 1991 M.S. was the capital of the ↗Boräna *awraǧǧa* (till 1987 Wällo region, 1987–91 South Wällo region). In the post-1991 administrative division it has become the main town of the ↗Däbrä Sina *wäräda* of South Wällo Zone, Amhara *kəllәl*.

M.S. is an important trading centre for the area with good accessibility owing to an airstrip



served by ↗Ethiopian Airlines flights from Addis Abäba and Däse. A road links it with Tänat and Däse, and a network of seasonal tracks with Wärrä Illu and Fəčče. The town offers administrative, educational and health care services for the surrounding area. Its population has been growing steadily, from 4,901 inhabitants in 1994 to 7,747 in 2003, and to 8,883 in 2006.

The M.S. region has been one of the strongholds of the Oromo People's Democratic Organization. Some of the demonstrators arrested during the post-2005-elections protests were detained in M.S. prison.

Src.: CENTRAL STATISTICAL AUTHORITY, *Ethiopia: Statistical Abstract 2004/2005/2006*, Addis Ababa 2004/2005/2006; CENTRAL STATISTICAL OFFICE, *Results of the National Sample Survey, 2nd Round*, volume V: *Land Area and Utilization,* Addis Ababa 1975; CONSOCIAZIONE TURISTICA ITALIANA, *Carta dell'Africa Italiana, scala 1:1.000.000, Folio 2*, Milano n.d.; CSA 1984; CSA 1998; EMAtlas.

Lit.: AYELE SOLOMON – ASSEGID WORKALEMAHU et al., *Livestock Marketing in Ethiopia: a Review of Structure, Performance and Development Initiatives*, Nairobi 2003 (Socio-economics and Policy Research Working Paper 52, ILRI), appendix; ODD ERIK ARNESEN, "The Becoming of Place: a Tulama-Oromo Region of Northern Shoa", in: BHTOrom 210–38 ; SIMON HAMPEL, *Beshilo and Blue Nile Expedition, Ethiopia, 12 October–7 December 2005*, The Scientific Exploration Society, Expedition base, Hotcombe, Shaftesbury, Dorset SP7 9BP (UK).

Alain Gascon

Mäkanä Śəllase

M.Ś. (መካነ ሥላሴ, 'Place of the Trinity') was a royal church and monastery in ↗Läga Gora, Amhara Sayənt (for location s. Mäkanä Sälam). It was founded in the early 16th cent. by *aṣe* ↗Naᶜod and completed under *aṣe* ↗Ləbnä Dəngəl. Like the previously established ↗Däbrä Nägʷädgʷad and ↗Atronsä Maryam, this monastery was affiliated to ↗Däbrä Libanos of Šäwa. The church was lead by a *liqä kahənat* referred to by Francisco ↗Alvares in the 16th cent. as a "son of the ↗*ᶜaqqabe säᶜat*", possibly signifying a monk coming from the ↗Ḥayq community (BeckHuntAlvar 378f.). According to the same source, the Emperor assigned 200 ↗*däbtära* for the church service, and donated so much land that one had to walk 15 days to travel through all of it. The Gospel of Iyäsus Moʾa (EMML 1832, fol. 1v) mentions some of these lands as originally having belonged to a certain *mähari* Täklä Yoḥannəs.

On 12 January 1521, the church was consecrated in the presence of Ləbnä Dəngəl, the queens ↗ƎIeni and ↗Naᶜod Mogäsa, the metropolitan *abunä* ↗Marqos and the clergy of the other royal churches. On this occasion, Alvares describes the interior of the church, built of stone topped by a wooden roof, with a principal door decorated with metal plates inlaid with stones, and above it Marian and angelic icons. On 15 January 1521, the body of Naᶜod was translated from a little church in the vicinity to the church of M.Ś.

Ləbnä Dəngəl probably also planned to be buried in M.Ś., but the church was plundered in 1531 by the soldiers of *imām* ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm ("Grañ"). The ruins of M.Ś., located about 20 km north of ↗Wärrä Illu, were rediscovered during the reign of ↗Mənilək II in 1881 (when Däbrä Nägʷädgʷad and Atronsä Maryam were also recovered; GueCopMen 169), "showing a building of 25 m on one side, constructed with big blocks of white stones, the external face of which was sculpted with arabesques and flowers" (Brielli in CRStud 82). A round church was built in the centre of the ruins which are still visible: one can see walls constructed of big stones, some of them sculpted. The ruins are ca. 25 m long and 1.5–2 m high.

Ludolf's informant *abba* ↗Gorgoryos came from M.Ś.

Src.: EMML 1832, fol. 1v; BassÉt 104; BassHist 284f., 307–11; BeckHuntAlvar 236, 253–57, 337–40, 360f.; BecRASO V, 83; CecZeila vol. 1, 243; GueCopMen 69, 169, 308, 563; KrLebD 10.

Lit.: ENRICO CERULLI, "L'Etiopia del secolo XV in nuovi documenti storici", *Africa Italiana* 5, 1933, 57–112, here 111, fig. 11; DOMENICO BRIELLI, "Ricordi storici dei Uollo", in: CRStud 81–82; DerDom 226f., 233, 238ff., 305f.

Marie-Laure Derat

Makədda

M. (ማከዳ, or Makʷəd[d]a, ማኰዳ, Makäd[d]a, ማከዳ) is one of the Ethiopic names of the Queen of Sheba. The name has been chiefly connected by scholars to either "Macedonian" (Gəᶜəz *Mäqedonawi*), i.e. the cognomen of ↗Alexander the Great, or "↗Candace" (Gəᶜəz *Ḥəndäke*/*Həndäke* or *Qəndäqe*), i.e. the title of the queens of ↗Meroë: in particular, of the "Queen of the Ethiopians" in Acts 8:27, where one of her eunuchs (↗Philip) is "administrator of her whole treasury" (s. UllBibl 9ff.). According to a more recent interpretation, it would be a distortion of Hebrew *miqdāš* ('Holy of Holies'), alluding to the Temple/Tabernacle personified in the Queen's female figure (Lur'e 2000:188ff.). Apart from other popular etymologies (s. below), the discussion still continues, M. being also, e.g., the

name of a group of people in the north of ᶜAgamä (↗Gulo Mäḵäda; CRStor 254), and *Makādā* meaning, likewise, 'Abyssinia' in eastern Sudanese (↗Sinnār) Arabic as well as "in several non-Semitic languages of northern Ethiopia" (Conti Rossini 1921–23:607f.).

The Queen of Sheba in ancient tradition

The earliest narrative on the Queen of Sheba is the biblical account of her visit to King ↗Solomon of Israel, which was first redacted in the 8th/7th cent. B.C. (1 [3] Kgs 10:1–13 and, with deeper theocratic overtones, 2 Chr 9:1–2). Attracted by the fame of the latter's wisdom, in order "to prove him with hard questions", the unnamed queen goes to ↗Jerusalem with a large retinue and a train of camels carrying lavish gifts, among which spices and precious stones. The king solves all her riddles, and she returns to her own country, satisfied with him and the manifold aspects of his realm.

Apropos of the Queen's rich presents, the Phoenician Hiram's fleet is mentioned – as purveyor either of further gifts by the Queen, or of similar imports for Solomon himself – that sailed as far as the mysterious land of ↗Ophir (possibly, ↗Somalia), and fetched from there gold, precious stones and wood suitable for musical instruments. Given the presence of spices among the Queen's gifts, and the name of her country in the Bible (Hebrew *Šeḇâ*, Gr. Σαβά, 'Sheba'), such an intriguing hint at trading and seafaring activities has long suggested the location of her home in south-west ↗Arabia, i.e. in the kingdom of Saba, rather than in the ↗Horn of Africa (not necessarily favoured by the "rich forest" of the biblical story). Nonetheless, it is difficult to assess the Queen's connection with South Arabia or the historicity of her visit to Jerusalem, either philologically or archaeologically: while Solomon is supposed to have reigned in the 10th cent. B.C., no female ruler seems to be attested in Arabia before the second half of the 8th cent. Then, however, Saba was still far from being the chief power in the peninsula, as it was, however, by the somewhat uncertain date (6th cent. B.C.?) of the text's final redaction, when the name of Saba was possibly added to the biblical narrative (Robin 1992:70, 1996:1045f.; cp. Gilliot 64). So the Queen is more plausibly seen as a north Arabian ruler: queens are well known from north Arabian tribes in the Assyrian records (none being attested for South Arabia at any time), where the Sabaeans appear, in fact, as a north Arabian people (Crone 1987:14f. and nn. 9–11).

Alluded to in the Gospels, which speak of the "Queen of the South" (Gr.: βασιλίσσα τοῦ νότου, *basilíssa toû nótou*, Gəᶜəz: *nəgəśtä azeb*) as a prophetic witness to the Last Judgement who "came from the uttermost parts of the earth to hear the wisdom of Solomon" (Mt 12:42, and Lk 11:32), the O.T. matter has undergone extensive Christian, Jewish and Islamic developments, becoming the subject "of one of the most ubiquitous and fertile cycles of legends of the Middle East and Africa" (Ullendorff in DicEthBio 151).

In the Jewish tradition, references to the unnamed Queen are sparse. The most complex ones, however, are given in such midrashim as the *Alphabet of Jesus ben Sira*, a medieval (10th/11th-cent.?) compilation of Aramaic and Hebrew proverbs (ed. Steinschneider 1858:fol. 21b [א כ]; cp. Lassner 1993:167f.), and, especially, the *Targûm šēnî* ('Second Targum'), a collection of 7th/8th-cent. A.D. (?) Aramaic homilies on the book of Esther that embodies a more detailed version of the story (I, 3, tr. Sulzbach 1920:26–37 [109–11]; cp. Grünbaum 1893:209–15) – already partially available in the 1st/3rd-cent. A.D. *Testament of Solomon*, a Judaeo-Christian pseudepigraphon of Egyptian origin (XIX, 3, ed. McCown 1922:60). Here, she becomes "Saba, the Queen of the South, a sorceress having immense knowledge", her new personal name being subsequently connected, through assonance, with Gr. *Sábbē* or *Sambē´thē*, the name of the so-called Hebrew or Chaldean/Persian Sibyl. In the Byzantine tradition, the Queen of Sheba is therefore called Sibyl, and regarded as an ancestress of the Three Kings (↗Magi), whose journey to Christ, with gifts including the "gold of Sheba" (Ps 72:10), would be precisely forestalled by her visit to Solomon, the true type of Christ (Nestle 1904; cp. Cerulli 1968:129–34).

A similarly developed legend is found in the ↗Qurʾān "Sura of the Ant" (27:20–45), reflecting some of the essential narrative figures of the story: the sun-worshipping Queen; the wizard's appearance of both her and Solomon, surrounded by demons; the hoopoe (*hudhud*), named sometimes Yaᶜfur/Yaġfur, with a letter from the king inviting her to convert to the One God; the Queen consulting with her nobles, sending gifts not well received in Jerusalem, and then coming herself to the king; the latter's deception – a polished glass floor resembling a sheet of water – to reveal her legs. A feature that presupposes

the story of the Queen's birth from a *ǧinnīya* ('female [evil] sprite') is betrayed by two clear marks of sorcery: her hairy legs and/or, in other tales, foot of an ass or a goat, according to the rumours circulated by Solomon's demons lest the king marry her, since they perceived her as a terrible rival.

These and other such elements as the healing of the Queen's deformity with a special cream (*nūra*) ordered by Solomon to remove the disfiguring hair, or with a treetrunk – later to be the wood of the Holy Cross (↗*Mäsqäl*), i.e. the tree planted by Seth on the grave of his father Adam – miraculously brought from the Garden of Eden for the building of the temple of Jerusalem, are variously elaborated by Arab Muslim commentators and writers: first and foremost, az-Zamaḫšarī, al-Bayḍāwī, aṭ-↗Ṭabarī, al-Ḥamdānī, ↗Ibn Ḫaldūn, aṯ-Ṯaʿlabī, al-Kisāʾī, al-Masʿūdī, Yāqūt, al-Buḫārī (s. list in Canova 2000:101f.). The Queen was also popular in Persian tradition (↗Iran): she appears, e.g., in the 14th-cent. *Dīwān* of Ḥāfiẓ, with a pun on her name (*Sabā*/*Ṣabā*, 'Sheba/Zephir'), and in the 18th/19th-cent. *taʿziya*, i.e. the ritual dramas reenacting the sufferings of Muḥammad's grandson al-Ḥusayn, third *imām* of the Šīʿa (s. Bausani 1960); in more recent tales, she is the daughter of the king of ↗China and the princess of the Šahristānī genii (Cerulli 1969:92 n. 27). The first Islamic visual portrayals of her, are indeed Persian, from the Timurid period (1387–1468): she is standing either in water before Solomon or to the right of him, who is then seated on a throne supported by *ǧinn* and lions and surrounded by demons (s. UllBibl 144; Pennacchietti 2002:36).

In Arab Islamic tradition, the Queen's name is *Bilqīs*. Such a form must be traced, via *Bq(w)lys* (and the usual mistake *b/n* due to lack of diacritics in the Arabic script), to Gr. *Nikáulē* or *Nikáulis*, as the "Queen of Ethiopia and Egypt" is called in the 1st-cent. by Josephus Flavius (*Ant. Jud.*, VIII, [158] 6, 2, and [165] 6, 5, ed. Thackeray – Marcus 1934:656 and 660), who further identifies her capital *Sabá* ('Saba') with ↗Meroë (*ibid.*, II, [49] 10, 2, ed. Thackeray 1930:272, s. Cerulli 1968:130ff.). *Nikáulē* or *Nikáulis* is a reinterpretation of **Nqwlh* or **Nqwlys*, Aramaic or Hebrew renderings of Gr. *Onókōlos* ('Donkey-Legged'), a popular nickname of Émpousa, the night hobgoblin of Aristophanes's *Frogs* (293) and *Assembly of Women* (1056) – *Onoskēlís* (also 'Donkey-Legged') in the *Testament of Solomon* (cp. Pennacchietti 2002:35).

Src.: WANDA WOLSKA-CONUS (ed., tr.), *Cosmas Indicopleustès, Topographie chrétienne*, vol. 1, Paris 1968 (Sources chrétiennes 141), 358 (text) = 359 (tr.); ABRAHAM SULZBACH (tr.), *Targum Scheni zum Buch Esther*, Frankfurt a.M. 1920, 26–37, 109ff.; MORITZ STEINSCHNEIDER (ed.), *Alphabetum Siracidis utrumque, cum expositione antiquâ (narrationes et fabulas continente)*, Berolini 1858, fol. 21b [ℵכ]; MAX GRÜNBAUM, *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sagenkunde*, Leiden 1893, 209–15; CHESTER CHARLTON MCCOWN (ed.), *The Testament of Solomon*, Leipzig 1922 (Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 9), 60; AṮ-ṬAʿLABĪ, *Storia di Bilqīs regina di Saba*, ed., tr. by GIOVANNI CANOVA, Venezia 2000, 101–08 (Lit.); HENRY ST. JOHN THACKERAY (ed., tr.), *Josephus*, IV: *Jewish Antiquities, Books I–IV*, London – Cambridge, MA 1930 [41966] (The Loeb Classical Library 281), 272 (text) = 273 (tr.); ID. – RALPH MARCUS, *ibid. V–VIII*, London – Cambridge, MA 1934 [41966] (The Loeb Classical Library 281), 656 and 660 (text) = 657 and 661 (tr.).

Lit.: ENRICO CERULLI, "La Regina di Saba e la tradizione dei Trenta Denari in un testo catalano del secolo XV", *RRALm* ser. 8a, 22, 1968, 117–35, here 129–34; ID., "La Regina di Saba e la Regina di Sicilia in una tradizione dell'Egitto medievale", *Athenaeum* nuova ser. 47 [57], 1969, 84–92, here 92 n. 27; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, [rev. of BUDGE, *The Queen of Sheba* ..., London 1922], *RSO* 9, 1921–23, 606ff.; PATRICIA CRONE, *Meccan Trade and the Rise of Islam*, Princeton, NJ 1987, 14f. and nn. 9–11; CR-Stor 254; CLAUDE GILLIOT, "La reine de Saba', légende ou réalité", in: *Yémen, au pays de la reine de Saba. Exposition présentée à l'Institut du monde arabe du 25 octobre 1997 au 28 février 1998*, Paris 1998, 64–66, here 64 (= "La regina di Saba, leggenda o realtà?", in: *Yemen. Nel paese della Regina di Saba* [*Roma, 6 aprile–30 giugno 2000*], 83–86, here 83); IWONA GAJDA, "La nostalgie de l'âge d'or", in: *Yémen, au pays* ..., 221–22 (= "La nostalgia dell'epoca d'oro", in: *Yemen. Nel paese* ..., 263–64); GuiSLett 47; GuiVoc 94; JACOB LASSNER, *Demonizing the Queen of Sheba: Boundaries of Gender and Culture in Postbiblical Judaism and Medieval Islam*, Chicago, IL – London 1993, 18, 24, 129f., 167f.; V.M. LUR'E, "Iz Ierusalima v Aksum čerez hram Solomona: arhaičnye predanija o Sione i Kovčege Zaveta v sostave Kebra Negest i ih translatsija čerez Konstantinopol" ('From Jerusalem to Aksum via the Temple of Solomon: Archaic Traditions on Zion and the Ark of Covenant in the *Kəbrä Nägäśt* and their Translation through Constantinople'), *Hristianskij Vostok* new ser. 2 [8], 2000 [2001], 137–207, here 188ff.; BERNARD LEEMAN, *Queen of Sheba and Biblical Scholarship*, Westbrook 2005; EDUARD NESTLE, "Zur Königin von Saba als Sibylle", *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 13, 1904, 492–93; FABRIZIO A. PENNACCHIETTI, "Legends of the Queen of Sheba", in: ST. JOHN SIMPSON (ed.), *Queen of Sheba: Treasures from Ancient Yemen*, London 2002, 31–38, here 35f.; JAMES B. PRITCHARD (ed.), *Solomon & Sheba*, London 1974; CHRISTIAN JULIEN ROBIN, "Quelques épisodes marquants de l'histoire sudarabique", *Revue des mondes musulmans et de la Méditerranée* 61, 1992 [= *L'Arabie antique de Karib'il à Mahomet. Nouvelles données sur l'histoire des Arabes grâce aux inscriptions*], 55–70, here 70; ID., "Sheba, II. Dans les inscriptions de l'Arabie du Sud", in: *Dictionnaire de la Bible. Supplément* 12, [5] = 70, Paris 1996 [1997], 1047–254; EDWARD ULLENDORFF, "Bilḳīs", in: *EI²* vol. 1, 1219-20; ID., "Sheba", in: *DicEthBio* 151–54, here 151; UllBibl 9ff., 144.

Gianfranco Fiaccadori

The Queen of Sheba in Ethiopian tradition

Most prominent among the Christian elaborations, the Ethiopian saga of the Queen of Sheba is fully expounded in chs. 21–39 of the early 14th-cent. ↗*Kəbrä nägäśt* (BezKebr 11b–38b). The great Sheba cycle is introduced by reference to the above mentioned N.T. passages, conflating the respective traditions on the "Queen of the South" and "Candace" (chs. 21 and 32), as already in Origen's *Commentary on the Song of Songs* (ed. Baehrens 1925:116), which elaborates on the "Austri Regina" (after Josephus). This is a further example of the fate of the writings of ↗Origen in Ethiopia. Here, "the Queen of the South [ንግሥተ፡ አዜብ, *Nəgəśtä Azeb*] is in fact the Queen of Ethiopia [ንግሥተ፡ ኢትዮጵያ, *Nəgəśtä Ityoṗya*]", and her "treasure" (Gr. γάζα, *gáza*), misinterpreted as "Gaza" in Palestine (Gr. Γάζα, *Gáza*, Gəᶜəz *Gaza*), becomes "the city which King Solomon had given to the Queen of Ethiopia" (BezKebr 12a and 29a): one may notice, however, that Gaza was at the end at the ↗incense route, starting in ↗Ḥaḍramawt. The Queen hears of the wonders of Solomon from the Ethiopian merchant Tamrin, who has been trading with Jerusalem; she bears the name M., explained as *akko kämäzə*, 'not thus' (ch. 91, ibid., 123b), a literal rendition of Arabic *mā kaḍā*, 'not so', referring to paganism as unfitting for her people (for *mā kaḍā* cp., however, the meaning tentatively offered in GuiSLett 47: 'What is like this [thing/animal/man]?', M. being also the name of *aṣe* ↗Iyasu II's horse).

The African context of M. suggests that *Azeb*, rather than "a metathetical approximation to סבא (*sb'*)" (UllBibl 1968:142 and Ullendorff in DicEthBio 154), is an explanation of Gəᶜəz *Saba* as the name of a wind or a cardinal point, "South-east" (Gr. *Nótos*, Lat. *Auster*). Likewise, in the *Kəbrä nägäśt*, *Saba* and *Liba*, i.e. "South-east" and "South-west", mark the extreme boundaries of Ethiopia, and correspond exactly to *Azeb* and *Liba* shown on local maps and compass cards (↗Geography; cp. GuiVoc 94, and Fiaccadori 1992:73f.); and Sāwīrus b. al-Muqaffaᶜ (↗Severos of Ašmunayn), in the life of Patriarch Cosmas III (921–33), styles "Abyssinia" (*al-Ḥabaša*) as "a vast country, namely the kingdom of Saba [*Sābā*] from which the Queen of the South [*at-Tayman*, lit. 'wind of the South'] came to Solomon [*Sulaymān*], the son of David [*Dāwūd*] the king" (SawHist vol. 2, part 2, 80, corrected by Tedeschi 1987: *Tābtaḥāğ*, '[King] Tābtaḥāğ' > *b-ibtihāğ*, 'with great joy, exaltation'). Within the same Coptic tradition, the story of Solomon and the Queen of Sheba is retold with reference to Ethiopia, as claiming possession of the ↗Ark of the Covenant, in the 12th/13th-cent. Arabic description of "The Churches and Monasteries of Egypt" attributed to ↗Abū Ṣāliḥ the Armenian (ed. Evetts 1894:132ff. [fols. 105a-106a]; cp. Lur'e 2000:194f.).

Only to a certain extent parallel to Muslim tales, the Ethiopian saga, as chiefly expressed in the *Kəbrä nägäśt*, is totally devoid of wondrous and fantastic elements, and somehow closer to fragmentary Christian legends known from medieval Egypt (Amélineau 1888:144–64; Erman 1897:24f.) – the "Abyssinian" connection of which is already confirmed, for the early 10th cent., by the Life of Patriarch Cosmas.

Considered overall, the Ethiopian focus might even echo ancient eastern Mediterranean folk themes gathered long before in Alexandria (Origen's native town), whence they naturally spread to the Red Sea area, there in turn forming local traditions (von Mžik 1935; cp. Fiaccadori 1992:84), with a possible convergence towards the gulf of ᶜAqaba and the borders of ↗Nubia (Beylot 2004). Such lore still seemed to be still unknown in Ethiopia around 518 or 523, when ↗Adulis and ↗Aksum were visited by ↗Cosmas Indicopleustes, who simply writes on "the queen of Sheba (*hē basilíssa Sabâ*), i.e. of Ḥimyar (*toutésti toû Homērítou*)" (*Top. Christ.*, II, 50, ed. Wolska-Conus 1968:359). In the Ethiopian tradition, however, M. is always represented as an Ethiopian queen, with her capital city named Däbrä Makəddа after her (upon which ↗Zion is set: chs. 85f. of the *Kəbrä nägäśt*, BezKebr 110b), and the emphasis is not so much on Solomon as on M. and her own nobility and wisdom. Indirect evidence for the greater antiquity of that tradition is provided by the Ethiopic version of 1 Kgs 10:1, where "with hard questions" (Gr. ἐν αἰνίγμασιν) is rendered as "with wisdom" (*məslä ṭəbäb*) – perhaps the earliest indication of the Ethiopian attitude towards M. (UllBibl 141 and nn. 1–2).

The king is in fact a seducer who takes the virgin queen by ruse. After a banquet with specially seasoned meat, they both retire to the Solomon's chambers, who swears to respect her provided that she promises not to take anything from his house; but the thirsty queen drinks some of the water from a bowl nearby, thus breaking her oath. After nine months and five days, on her journey

home, she is delivered of a child, Ǝbnä Ḥakim or ↗Mənilək I, who is the founder of the Ethiopian ↗Solomonic dynasty – the last representative of which was Emperor ↗Ḫayla Śəllase I.

In the 15th-cent. initial section of the so called *Liber Axumae* (*Mäṣḥafä ↗Aksum*), a work often transmitted along with the *Kəbrä nägäśt*, M. is the second founder of Aksum (after Mazəbər), which she built in the territory of ᶜAsəba or Asfa (CRAxum 3); hence her name (Saba) according to the same text, also with a plausible identification of Aksum with the otherwise unknown Däbrä Makəddа (not in, but beyond the ancient province of ↗Bur), the seat of the Queen's fabulous court. This toponym, however, has completely vanished from local tradition. A much more recent, loosely connected issue is that of the names "Bath/Spring" and "Palace of the Queen Sheba" for the imposing reservoir of May Šum and the ruined structures of ↗Dungur, respectively on the northern and western edges of Aksum (Munro-Hay 2002:252f., 260, 288f.). M. also appears, with a reign of 75 or 50 years, in the traditional "king lists" (CRList 286: list C, no. 6; and 300: list F, no. 2 resp.; cp. 299: list E, no. 3, with no regnal years).

In contemporary Ethiopia and Eritrea, her story is widely diffused, far beyond the general setting of the *Kəbrä nägäśt*, perceived as such, with slight variants, in the 17th-cent. Vita of *abunä* ↗Märqorewos of Däbrä Dəmaḥ (ed. Conti Rossini 1904:3ff.), and in the short accounts edited by Grébaut (1912, 1923), as well as in the historical abrégés found at the beginning of certain Ethiopian chronicles (↗Historiography).

In the later Təgre and Təgrəñña legends published by Littmann (1904, 1947) and Conti Rossini (1911:603ff.) respectively, who collected them at Aksum and Godayf (to the south of ↗Asmära), the story is combined with the more ancient saga of the serpent (or dragon) ↗Arwe, to whom first born daughters were to be sacrificed. When her turn comes, the "Queen of the South" (Tgr. *ətiye Azeb*) is rescued by a foreigner, ↗Angäbo, who kills the monster and marries her, thus giving birth to the dynasty to which Mənilək I belongs. The Christian version has it that she is freed by the ↗Nine Saints – here, actually, four or seven in number – who are called *Ṣadəqanat* (cp. ↗*Ṣadəqan*) in the Təgrəñña text (as in the ↗Ḥamasen traditions, with further variants, s. KolTrad I, 5–8). One of her feet, however, is turned into a hoof by the dragon's blood; she is eventually healed and seduced by Solomon. A recent compilation, in Amharic garb, of most available sources is the anonymous text in the mid-20th cent. illuminated ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Or. 3542 (Jankowsky 1982).

The story of M. and the accompanying mystique are officially embedded in the 1955 Revised Ethiopian Constitution (↗Constitutions): "The imperial dignity shall remain perpetually attached to the line [... that] descends without interruption from the dynasty of Mənilək I, son of the Queen of Sheba, and King Solomon of Jerusalem" (Art. 2); and continue to have wide popular appeal within Ethiopia as a cornerstone of the national "true Israel" identity, remaining in some areas "a favourite formula for literary and artistic inventiveness" (Ullendorff in DicEthBio 151).

Src.: BezKebr 11b–38b, 110b, 123b (text) = 9–31, 87, 97 (tr.); ERNEST ALFRED WALLIS BUDGE (tr.), *The Queen of Sheba and her only Son Menyelek (I)*, London 1922, ²1932 [repr. 2001], 16–40, 145, 161; CRAxum 3 (text) = 3 (tr.); CRList 286, 299f.; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, *Vitae sanctorum indigenarum*, I. *Acta Marqorēwos*, Louvain 1904 (CSCO 33, 34 [SAe 16, 17]), 3–7 (text) = 1–6 (tr.); ID., "Studi su popolazioni dell'Etiopia, II. La seconda migrazione degli Agau dell'Eritrea", *RSO* 5, 1911, 599–651, here 603ff. (text) = 611–16 (tr.); SYLVAIN GRÉBAUT, "Salomon et la Reine de Saba d'après le ms. éthiopien n° 3 de M. E. Delorme", *ROC* 17, 1912, 315–18; ID., "A propos de la Reine de Saba", *Aethiops* 2, 1923, 44f.; SawHist vol. 2, part 2, 80 (text) = 118 (tr.); BASIL THOMAS ALFRED EVETTS (ed., tr.), *The Churches and Monasteries of Egypt and the Neighbouring Countries, attributed to Abū Ṣāliḥ the Armenian*, with add. notes by ALFRED BUTLER, vol. 2, Oxford 1895, 132ff. (text) = 284–88 (tr.); ḪAYLÄ MARYAM – HUGUES LE ROUX (tr.), *Makeda, Reine de Saba*, ed. by JOSEPH TUBIANA, Saint-Maur ²2001 (Bibliothèque Peiresc 14); ÉMILE AMÉLINEAU, *Contes et romans de l'Égypte chrétienne*, Paris 1888, 144–64; ADOLF ERMANN, *Bruchstücke koptischer Volksliteratur*, Berlin 1897, 1–64, here 24f.; WILHELM ADOLF BAEHRENS (ed.), *Origenes Werke*, VIII: *Kommentar zum Hohenlied*, Leipzig 1925 (GCS 33), 116; ENNO LITTMANN, *The Legend of the Queen of Sheba in the Tradition of Axum*, Leyden 1904 (Bibliotheca Abessinica 1); ID., "La leggenda del dragone di Aksum in lingua tigrai", *RSE* 6, 1947, 42–45; ALICE JANKOWSKI (ed., tr.), *Die Königin von Saba und Salomo: Die amharische Version der Handschrift Berlin Hs. or. 3542*, Hamburg 1987 (Lit.).

Lit.: ALESSANDRO BAUSANI, "Drammi popolari inediti persiani sulla leggenda di Salomone e della Regina di Saba", in: *PICES* 1, 167–209; ROBERT BEYLOT, "Du Kebra Nagast", *Aethiopica* 7, 2004, 74–83; ANDRÉ CAQUOT, "La Reine de Saba et le bois de la Croix selon une tradition éthiopienne", *AE* 1, 1955, 137–47 (Lit.); CRStor 250–57; GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, *Teofilo Indiano*, Ravenna 1992 (Bibliotheca di «Felix Ravenna» 7), 73f., 84; IWONA GAJDA, "La nostalgie de l'âge d'or", in: *Yémen, au pays de la reine de Saba. Exposition présentée à l'Institut du monde arabe du 25 octobre 1997 au 28 février 1998*, Paris 1998, 221–22 (= "La nostalgia dell'epoca d'oro", in: *Yemen. Nel paese della Regina di Saba (Roma, 6 aprile–30 giugno*

2000), 263–64); GuiSLett 47; GuiVoc 94; V.M. LUR'E, "Iz Ierusalima v Aksum čerez hram Solomona: arhaičnye predanija o Sione i Kovčege Zaveta v sostave Kebra Negest i ih translatsija čerez Konstantinopol" ('From Jerusalem to Aksum via the Temple of Solomon: Archaic Traditions on Zion and the Ark of Covenant in the *Kəbrä Nägäśt* and their Translation through Constantinople'), *Hristianskij Vostok* new ser. 2 [8], 2000 [2001], 137–207, here 194f.; HANS VON MŽIK, "Neue Gesichtspunkte zur Würdigung der Bedeutung der 'Geographie' des Klaudios Ptolemaios für die Orientalistik", *Litterae Orientales* 54, 1933, 1–16; BERNARD LEEMAN, *Queen of Sheba and Biblical Scholarship*, Westbrook 2005; EDUARD NESTLE, "Zur Königin von Saba als Sibylle", *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 13, 1904, 492–93; FABRIZIO A. PENNACCHIETTI, "Legends of the Queen of Sheba", in: ST. JOHN SIMPSON (ed.), *Queen of Sheba: Treasures from Ancient Yemen*, London 2002, 31–38, here 35f.; JAMES B. PRITCHARD (ed.), *Solomon & Sheba*, London 1974; JÜRGEN TUBACH, "Die Königin von Saba: Die Wanderung einer Legende nach Äthiopien und ihre Rezeption", in: MARTIN TAMCKE (ed.), *Blicke gen Osten: Festschrift für Friedrich Heyer zum 95. Geburtstag*, Münster 2004 (Studien zur Orientalischen Kirchengeschichte 30), 275–92 (Lit.); SALVATORE TEDESCHI, "La Reine de Saba et le roi Tâbtaḥâdj", *AE* 14, 1987, 167–83; EDWARD ULLENDORFF, "Bilḳīs", in: *EI²* vol. 1, 1219-20; ID., "Sheba", in: *DicEthBio* 151, 154; UllBibl 9ff., 141 [and nn. 1–2], 142.

Gianfranco Fiaccadori

The Queen of Sheba in western culture

Echoes of the Queen of Sheba legend can be also found in western literature, art and music – up to King Vidor's 1959 Hollywood film *Solomon and Sheba* and the more recent television productions.

Long before, the name and the story of Bilqīs had perhaps been behind the figure of Belacâne, the black "Queen of the South" with her son Feirefiz, the father of ↗Prester John, in Wolfram of Eschenbach's *Parzival* (ca. 1200, s. Staude 1957; ↗Moors [EAE vol. 5]). As (the Queen of) Sheba or "Balkis" she passed into several European tales that are best typified in the 13th-cent. *Legenda aurea* ('Golden legend') by Jacopo da Varazze, which definitely grafted her story on to the mystical *Story of the Wood of the Cross* (ch. LXIV, ed. Maggioni 1998:459f.), as well as by the story of the "reine Pédauque" or "Queen Splay/Goose-foot" (s. Pennacchietti 2002:34). A symbol of the gentile Church in the quest for Christ, the Queen appears here with the webbed feet of a goose, stepping over a stream on a trunk laid as a bridge into the water separating her from Solomon – i.e. from Christ. According to the *Legenda aurea*, the treetrunk, prophesied and revered by her as the wood of the Cross, was buried by Solomon at the bottom of that stream, later to become the Sheep Pool, from which it re-emerged unexpectedly just before the Passion of Christ (ibid. 36). In other traditions that formed among Christian pilgrims in Jerusalem, towards the end of the Middle Ages, the stream is identified with the Cedron (↗Gihon): e.g., in the ↗itineraries of Gabriele Capodilista (1458), Arnhold von Harff (1496–99) and Friederich von Liegnitz (1507; s. CerPal vol. 1, 255f., 349f., and 363f. [cp. 347, 359], nos. 44, 69.III and 74, and Conti Rossini 1947:196f., on [Queen] Sibyl in von Harff).

The theme experienced its most far-flung development in the visual arts: during the Middle ages, since the 12th cent. at least, the Queen became a symbolic statuary figure to be seen in the company of apostles, prophets, patriarchs and kings over great cathedral doors (e.g., at Amiens, Chartres, Dijon, Le Mans, Rheims and Wells). Her visit to Solomon was also a popular subject in sculpture and painting (e.g., in the Parma Baptistry, with her statue by Benedetto Antelami; cp. also the stained glass of King's College Chapel at Oxford), where she is either standing or enthroned beside him – the coronation of the Virgin being alluded to in the latter case. Soon identified with the "black and beautiful" Bride of the *Song of Songs*, allegedly credited to Solomon, the Queen was in fact viewed as a foreshadowing of St. ↗Mary (hence the medieval cult of the "Black Madonna").

The same elements were again dealt with by European painters from the 14th to the 16th cent., whose taste for pageantry and display was definitely attracted by the figure of the Queen: first and foremost, in the fresco cycles by Agnolo Gaddi in the basilica of Santa Croce in Florence (1380s), and by Piero della Francesca in the basilica of San Francesco at Arezzo (1452–57; s. ill.), where she is the visible sign of the *concordia Ecclesiae*, much sought after in order to combat the Muslims around the middle of the 15th cent.

Further outstanding interpretations of the legend in sculpture, painting and drawing, or even embroidery and tapestry, are then provided by such artists as Konrad Witz, Lorenzo Ghiberti, Giovanni di Apollonio, Raphael, Giovanni Francesco Penni, Albrecht Altdorfer, Maître Philippe, Paolo Veronese, Jacopo Tintoretto, Rubens, Nicolaus Knupfer, Jacques Stella, Juan de la Corte, Claude Vignon, Erasmus Quellin II, Claude Lorraine, Johann Heinrich Schönfeld, Mattia Preti, Sebastiano Ricci, Francesco Solimena, Balthasar Beschey; not to mention book illustration and cartography from the 15th to the

The reception of the Queen of Sheba by King Solomon, from *The Legend of the True Cross* cycle, fresco by Piero della Francesca; ca. 1452–57, Arezzo, church of San Francesco; from Pennacchietti 2002:37, fig. 12

19th cent., of which the Queen is also an important feature (s. Red. – Bayer 1971:109f.; Ugucciоni 1988; Gribaudo 2000:118–52, 157–67; Simpson 2002:41–50). An impressive series of artefacts, circus spectacles and movies shows that the Queen became an influential figure in 19th- and 20th-cent. western popular culture (Llewellyn-Jones 2002).

Significant literary traces of her, more often with reference to Sibyl and/or Judas Iscariot and/or the magic ring the Queen gave to Solomon, are scattered in several late-medieval and early-modern texts more or less familiar with Oriental (Palestinian or Egyptian) lore: e.g., the *Pantheon* of Goffredo da Viterbo, finished in 1186 (Cerulli 1968:123ff.); a German version of the legend of the Magi written ca. 1350 in Cologne (ed. Röricht – Meisner 1886:49); the speech of the Ethiopian monk Ṗeṭros at the Council of ↗Florence in 1441, immediately translated into Latin (Cerulli 1933:353); and a Catalan chronicle, the *Biblia Pequeña*, compiled slightly later (Id. 1968:118f.). Of special interest, in this respect, are the Portuguese (↗Portugal) and ↗Jesuit writings on Ethiopia, based on a first hand knowledge of the country, the Christian tradition of which they tried to reinterpret in Catholic terms (↗Historiography).

Better known, though, are the occasional mentions of the Queen in the works of William Shakespeare (*Henry VIII*, V, 4), George Wither, Lascelles Abercrombie and Rudyard Kipling, as well as the specific "auto sacramental" on her by Pedro Calderón de la Barca, *El árbol del mejor fruto*, reworked in *La Sibila del Oriente y gran reina de Sabá* (I, 3, and 11: "es imperatriz y reina Sabá / [...] sino a Nicaula Maqueda", ultimately inspired by Josephus and the Portuguese and Jesuit writings, s. Cerulli 1968:132); and then the poems by Robert Browning, *Solomon and Balkis* (1883), Eugénio de Castro e Almeida, *Belkiss, Rainha de Sabá, d'Axum e do Himyar* (1894), Arthur Symons, *The Lover of the Queen of Sheba* (1918), and William Butler Yeats, *Solomon to Sheba* (1919) and *Solomon and the Witch* (1921) – the latter two also reflecting "several facets of the oriental legend" (Ullendorff 1968:143f.; s. Wilson 1960:276ff.). Interestingly enough, writers of the 19th and 20th cent. often betray greater ingenuity in the use of legendary material made accessible by contemporary scholarship. Some of the most comprehensive treatments of the figure of M. and her story are by Jewish authors, especially intrigued by her relationship with Solomon (s. the list in Red. – Bayer 1971:109).

Francisco ↗Alvares, an eye-witness to early 16th-cent. Ethiopia, who contributed to making her traditions known to western culture, deserves a special mention. The Ethiopian legend of the Queen is reported in his book for the first time, also an account of a "very long [or, ancient] chronicle" found in the cathedral of Aksum (↗Aksum Ṣəyon) – most likely, a copy of the ↗*Kəbrä nägäśt*. Thus, according to him, Aksum was the seat of several queens: M. the Queen of Sheba, ↗Candace and Gudit (↗Ǝsato), confused with the previous one. In particular, it "was the city, court and residence (as they [i.e. the Ethiopians] say) of the Queen Saba [whose own name was Maqueda] who took the camels laden with gold to Solomon, when he was building the temple of Jerusalem" (BeckHuntAlvar 145–48 [ch. 37]; cp. Munro-Hay 2002:246). The account of M. ("Marquerda") by the Augsburg physician Leon(h)ard Rau(ch)wolf(f), a pilgrim to the Holy Land in

1575/76, also depends upon the *Kəbrä nägäśt*, but by way of information given to him by the "Abyssinians" of ↗Jerusalem, who added the curious detail of Mənilək ("Meylich") branding his companions on their cheeks by fire to prevent them from leaving Ethiopia (s. CerPal vol. 2, 25f.).

A few centuries later, in 1940, Adolf Jakob ↗Mayer, also well-acquainted with Ethiopian tradition, published his novel *Makéda, Reine vièrge* (adapted into French by Gabriel d'Aubarède), where he follows, as far as the ↗Səmen highlands, the fabulous tracks of one of the "lost tribes" of Israel forced to flee in the "Second Exodus" from Egypt.

M. was not any less attractive to musicians: the introductory symphony to Act III of Georg Friedrich Händel's oratorio *Solomon* (1748) is known as "The arrival of the Queen of Sheba"; operas on her were composed by Charles Gounod, *La Reine de Saba* (1862), and Karl Goldmark, *Die Königin von Saba* (1866–71).

Src.: JACOPO DA VARAGINE, *Legenda aurea*, ed. GIOVANNI PAOLO MAGGIONI, Firenze 1998 (Millenio medievale 6. Testi 3), 459f. [ch. LXIV]; BeckHuntAlvar vol. 1, 145–48 [ch. 37]; REINHOLD RÖRICHT – HENRICH MEISNER, "Ein niederrheinischer Bericht über der Orient", *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie* 19, 1887, 1–86, here 49; ENRICO CERULLI, "Eugenio IV e gli Etiopi al Concilio di Firenze nel 1441", *RRALm* ser. 6ª, 9, 1933, 347–68, here 353; ID., "La Regina di Saba e la tradizione dei Trenta Denari in un testo catalano del secolo XV", *RRALm* ser. 8ª, 22, 1968, 117–35, 118f., 123ff., 129–34; CerPal vol. 1, 255f., 349f., and 363f. [cp. 347, 359], nos. 44, 69.III and 74; vol. 2, 25ff. [= LEONHARTI RAUWOLFEN *Aigentliche beschreibung der Raiß* ..., Laugingen 1582, partially in SIGMUND FEYERABEND (ed.), *Reysbuch des heiligen Lands*, Francofurti ad Moenum 1584]; BeckHuntAlvar 145–48; Prince JACOUB (ADOL MAR), *Makéda, Reine vièrge: Roman de la Reine de Saba*, Fr. version by GABRIEL D'AUBARÈDE, Paris 1940.

Lit.: ENRICO CERULLI, "La Regina di Saba e la Regina di Sicilia in una tradizione dell'Egitto medievale", *Athenaeum* nuova ser. 47 [57], 1969, 84–92; ANDRÉ CHASTEL, "La légende de la Reine de Saba" [I], *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 119, 1939, 204–25; II, *ibid.* 120, 1939, 27–44; III, 160–74 [repr. in: ID., *Fables, formes, figures*, Paris 1978, vol. 1, 61–101, cp. 53–58]; ID., "La rencontre de la reine de Saba dans l'iconograhie médiévale", *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 35, 1949, 99–114 [repr. *ibid.*, 103–12]; ID., "La légende de la reine de Saba dans la *Tentation de Saint Antoine* de Flaubert", *The Romanic Review* 40, 1949, 261–67 [repr. *ibid.* 123–30]; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, [review of CerPal vol. 2], *RSE* 7, 1948, 192–98, here 196f.; PAOLA GRIBAUDO (ed.), *La Regina di Saba: Arte e leggenda dallo Yemen (Torino, 26 settembre 2000–7 gennaio 2001)*, Milano 2000, 118–52, 157–67 [cp. 153ff. for Persian attestations]; LLOYD LLEWELLYN-JONES, "The Queen of Sheba in Western Popular Culture", in: ST. JOHN SIMPSON (ed.), *Queen of Sheba* ..., 12–22; STUART MUNRO-HAY, *Ethiopia, the Unknown Land: a Cultural and Historical Guide*, London – New York 2002, 252f., 260, 288f.; FABRIZIO A. PENNACCHIETTI, "Legends of the Queen of Sheba", in: ST. JOHN SIMPSON (ed.), *Queen of Sheba* ..., 31–38, here 34, 36; RED. – BATHJA BAYER, "Solomon. In the arts", in: *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, vol. 15, Jerusalem 1971, 108–11; ST. JOHN SIMPSON (ed.), *Queen of Sheba: Treasures from Ancient Yemen*, London 2002; WILHELM STAUDE, "Die äthiopische Legende von der Königin von Saba und die Parsival-Erzählung Wolfram von Eischenbachs", *Archiv für Völkerkunde* 12, 1957, 1–53; ALESSANDRA UGUCCIONI, *Salomone e la Regina di Saba: la pittura di cassone a Ferrara: presenze nei musei americani*, Ferrara 1988.

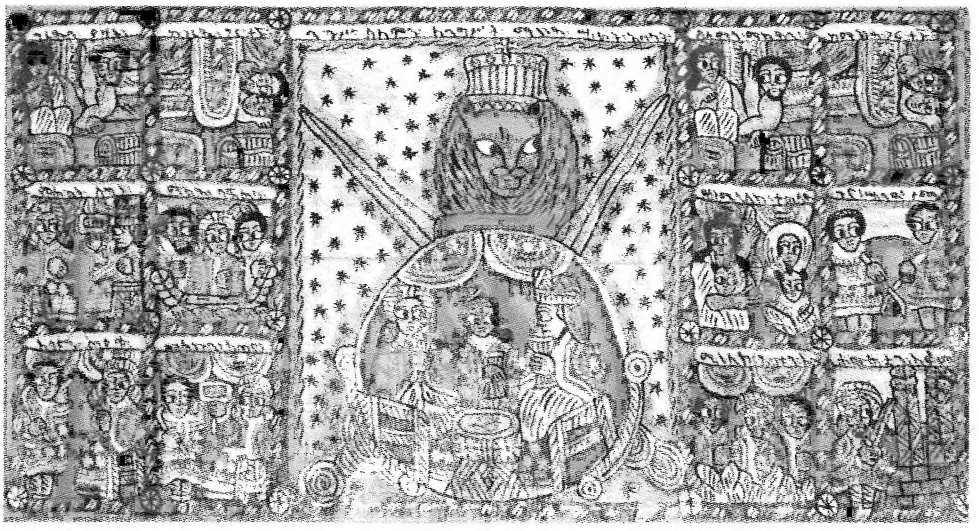
Gianfranco Fiaccadori

Makəddа in art

The story of M. and her son ↗Mənilək I fathered by king Solomon was given visual form at the beginning of the 20th cent., and immediately became one of the most popular subjects of traditional Ethiopian ↗painting. Displaying the numerous episodes and arranged in a cartoon-like series of scenes, the composition was, and still is, manufactured in considerable numbers, now mostly aimed at the tourist market. Some of these are signed and dated.

It is possible that the idea of illustrating the story came from Hugues ↗Le Roux, who ca. 1900 commissioned from Mikaʾel Ǝngəda Wärq a series of five pictures for the book entitled *Magda Queen of Sheba*. The painting purchased by the Russian diplomat A. Kohanovskij (preserved in St. Petersburg's Peter the Great Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography ["Kunstkammer"] of the Russian Academy of Sciences), with four episodes (no. 2594–9B) dates back to approximately the same time (two separate images in the same collection, nos. 2594–9 and 2594–9A, also represent M.). While the set ordered by Le Roux had the pictures separately, the two latter sets present each scene in a separate frame, arranged together into one large tableau. The two canvases published in the *National Geographic Magazine* in 1931 are of the same type. One, with three episodes, was used as a frontispiece for the 1930 French translation of the chronicle of Mənilək II (GueCopMen), the other, with four scenes, dates from 1928 and is preserved in Staatliches Museum für Völkerkunde, München (no. 77–12–5).

These early examples depict only the main events of the story which follow the text of the ↗*Kəbrä nägäśt*: the circumstances of M.'s visit to Solomon and the departure of M. for home. The further development of the pictorial narrative followed two directions. First, the illustration of a Təgrayan tale of a hero killing a snake (↗Arwe) and identified as M.'s father was insert-



Story of Makədda and Mənəlik in 13 scenes: in the middle Makədda and her servant dining with Solomon; painting on parchment, 20th cent., Horniman Museum, London, no. 1973/263; photo 1995, courtesy of Michael Gervers

ed at the beginning. Later on, an epilogue was added, based once again on the *Kəbrä nägäśt* and depicting the story of Mənilək I, his birth, visit to his father and return to Ethiopia with the ↗Ark of the Covenant.

From this three-series set of pictures the "classical" format of the painting emerged, with 44 scenes displayed in four rows of 11 episodes each. Starting in the upper left corner it reads, row by row, from left to right. The scenes, square or rectangular, are contained within frames often used as a background for Amharic legends (↗Inscriptions) describing each depicted event. Sometimes these texts are placed inside the pictures. In some particularly elaborate paintings these are relatively long and skilfully calligraphed (e.g., the painting by a certain Wäldä Mikaʾel, Völkerkundemuseum der Universität, Zürich, no. 10408).

Although paintings with a series of 44 narrative scenes are the most commonest, there are also shorter and longer variants, as well as some deviating from the standard pictorial arrangement of the story. In the painting belonging to the Horniman's Museum, London (no. 1973/263; s. ill.), the middle scene, representing Solomon dining with M. and her servant, is flanked by twelve episodes, six on the left and six on the right. The paintings by Afäwärq Mängäša executed ca. 1970 (private collection in Germany and London, BriMus no. AF 1991, 8:24, 25) present the story in 72 episodes divided between two pieces of skin: 34 scenes relate to the introduction, 23 to the main story, and 15 to the epilogue.

Beside the multi-pictorial representations of the legend there are pictures representing a single scene. Thus, a piece belonging to the American Museum of Natural History, Washington DC (no. 19.1/6173) depicts Solomon and M. banqueting; another one, in the Museum of Ethnology, Basel (no. 12849), the arrival of M. before Solomon; and a painting in the Horniman's Museum, London (no. 19.4.66/20x), M. giving Solomon a golden chain.

Most of the paintings, usually measuring ca. 70–90 cm high and 130–220 cm wide, are executed on canvas or tanned skin. The painters use very bright, commercially produced colours, which include gold and silver otherwise absent in Ethiopian traditional painting and introduce such anachronistic details as ↗firearms or European furniture. Being examples of mass-produced art, they seldom represent a high artistic level but may be used as important ethnographic sources because of the faithfully rendered scenes from Ethiopian daily life (domestic activities, the ↗*gənna*-game), the depiction of utensils, luxury objects (regalia), clothes etc.

Although the *Kəbrä nägäśt* manuscripts were not illuminated, the story of M. became the subject of miniatures that decorate various texts on the traditional history of Ethiopia, all composed in the 20th cent. E.g., among others, rarely pictured episodes on the wood of the Holy Cross, the manuscript in the Kreuz collection (Hammerschidt – Jäger 1968, no. 35) contains 92 miniatures related only to M.'s story (fols. 28v–29r, 36r). A manuscript, formerly in the collection of Sam Fogg, contains 20 miniatures painted in "Ethiopian style" by a certain Mr. Litter, the employee of the British Council in Addis Abäba. It represents 40 episodes and follows the iconography of the traditional "cartoon painting".

Src.: BezKebr; CRStor 250ff.; CARLTON S. COON, *Measuring Ethiopia and Flight into Arabia*, London 1936, 124; ALICE JANKOWSKI, *Die Königin von Saba und Salomo: Die amharische Version der Handschrift Berlin Hs. or. 3542*, Hamburg 1987 (Lit.); HUGUES LE ROUX – JOHN VAN VORST (eds.), *Magda Queen of Sheba*, New York 1907, 31, 39, 43, 83, 135 (ills.) [= ḤAYLÄ MARYAM – HUGUES LE ROUX (tr.), *Makeda: Reine de Saba*, ed. by JOSEPH TUBIANA, Saint-Maur ²2001 (Bibliothèque Peiresc 14), pl. I–V]; ENNO LITTMANN, *The Legend of the Queen of Sheba in*

the Tradition of Axum, Leyden 1904 (Bibliotheca Abessinica 1); HERMANN NORDEN, *Africa's Last Empire: through Abyssinia to Lake Tana and the Country of the Falasha*, London 1930, 10f; ERNEST ALFRED WALLIS BUDGE (tr.), *The Queen of Sheba and her Only Son Menyelek (I)*, London 1922, ²1932 [repr. 2001].

Lit.: DAVID APPLEYARD, *Ethiopian Manuscripts*, London 1993, 70f., 108f. (ill.); DANIEL F. MCCALL, "Dragon-Slayer and Kingship", *EthObs* 12, 1, 1967, 34–43; CILLA FABO PERCZEL et al. (eds.), *Ethiopia: Folk Art of a Hidden Empire* [Catalogue of the Exhibition, San Diego, Mingei International Museum of Art], La Jolla, CA 1983, 64f.; GIRMA FISSEHA – WALTER RAUNIG (eds.), *Mensch und Geschichte in Äthiopiens Volksmalerei*, Innsbruck 1985, 15–18, 133–41, figs. 1–10; MARCEL GRIAULE, "Légende illustrée de la reine de Saba", *Documents (Archéologie, beaux-arts, ethnographie, variétés)* 2, 1, 1930, 9–16; ERNST HAMMERSCHMIDT – OTTO JÄGER, *Illuminierte Äthiopische Handschriften*, Wiesbaden 1968, 164–75, figs. 89ff.; RICHARD PANKHURST, "Some Notes for a History of Ethiopian Secular Art", *EthObs* 10, 1, 5–80, here 24–35, 45ff., 57–73, figs. pp. 28f., 70, 72; MANUEL JOÃO RAMOS – ISABEL BOAVIDA, "Ambiguous Legacy: the Representations of the Queen of Sheba in Popular Ethiopian Painting", *AE* 21, 2005, 85–92; VERONIKA SIX, "A Second Version of the Pictorial Presentation of the Journey of the Queen Makəda", paper presented at the *16th ICES*, Trondheim 2007; BORIS TURAJEV – DIMITRI AJNALOV, "Proizvedenija abissinskoj živopisi sobrannye doktorom A. I. Kohanovskim" ('Abyssinian Paintings Collected by Dr. A.I.Kohanovskij'), *Hristianskij Vostok* 2, 2, 1913, 199–215, pl. 23.

Ill.: GueCopMen I, frontispiece; ALBERT KAMMERER, *La Mer Rouge, l'Abyssinie et l'Arabie depuis l'antiquité*, vol. 3, Le Caire 1952, pl. 88; JACQUES MERCIER (ed.), *Le roi Salomon et les maîtres du regard. Art et médecine en Ethiopie*, Paris 1992, 136f., no. 87; ERNST HEINRICH SCHRENZEL, *Abessinien*, Berlin 1928, 15; A. SCHOUTARD, "Modern Abyssinia", *The National Geographic Magazine* 1931, pl. 13; MONIKA WINKLER (ed.), *Äthiopien in der volkstümlichen Malerei*, Stuttgart 1993, 56–63.

Ewa Balicka-Witakowska

Makīn b. al-ᶜAmīd, Ğirğis al- ↗Giyorgis Wäldä ᶜAmid

Mäkʷännən Däməssäw

Bitwäddäd M.D. (መኮንን ደምሰው; b. 1884, d. 14 February 1936, near Amba Aradom, Təgray) was an eminent commander during the ↗Italian war of 1935–36. His father, *ras* Däməssäw Näsibu (husband of Assälläfäčč Wände until 1901) and his grandfather, *afä nəguś* ↗Näsibu, were prominent officials of *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II. His mother was *wäyzäro* Däbritu Kaśa. When *ras* Däməssäw was appointed governor and went to Wälläga, the young M.D. accompanied his father.

In June 1931 M.D. was appointed Minister of Justice, and in 1932 he became governor of Wälläga, Guduru and Leeqaa. He had the reputation of a just and generous ruler. As a member

Mäkʷännən Däməssäw; photo courtesy of the IES

of the Supreme Court, M.D. initiated "a new legal policy of a highly progressive nature" (Burgoyne 1967a:304).

At the beginning of the Italian war of 1935–36 M.D. raised an irregular army that numbered nearly 12,000 soldiers. On 1 October 1935, M. left ↗Arğo in Wälläga, and led his troops towards the northern war front in Wällo and Təgray. On its way the army was reviewed by *aṣe* Ḫaylä Śəllase I in Addis Abäba, with whom M.D. had a personal audience.

On 5 February 1936 M.D.'s army was ordered to leave ↗Koräm where it had been positioned, and march to the foot of ↗Ambalage, on the heights of which the forces of *ras* ↗Käbbädä Mängäša Atikäm were situated. Ignoring the advice of *ras* Käbbädä, M.D. proceeded further to ↗Amba Aradom in order to support *ras* ↗Mulugeta Yəggäzu. Leaving the bulk of his army on the Mahara plain behind Amba Aradom, M.D. led a small group of his men into attack on 13 February 1936, attempting to halt the encircling left wing of the Divisione Sabauda of the Italian forces in ᶜAddi Akäyte. The Ethiopians seized the enemy positions, losing half of their men. M. himself was mortally wounded while leading the centre flank. M. was taken by his people to a safe place where he continued commanding his army from the rear. Then he was transferred to a cave in Mahara where he died the next day. In order to transport his body to Wälläga, the officers had to cut it into two parts and place them in two sealed

war drums (↗*Nägarit*). Soon after the army left May Ḉäw, it was bombarded by the Italians, and a bomb hit a mule carrying one of these drums. The shattered drum was collected and buried by the road side under a tree. The second war drum was then buried at the near-by St. George's church. After the end of the Italian occupation, the drums were collected by M.D.'s widow, *aṣe* Ḫaylä Śəllase's niece, *ləᶜəlt* Yäšašwärq Yəlma, and reburied in ↗Qəddəst Śəllase Cathedral in Addis Abäba.

Src.: interview with *bitwäddäd* Mäkʷännən Däməssäw's family, especially Dr. Lämma Taddäsä of San Diego, CA.
Lit.: CLARISSA BURGOYNE, "Sequel (1960–1963)", *EthObs* 11, 4, 1967a, 278–311; ID., "Reconstruction of the Month of February 1936", *ibid.*, 1967b, 312–26; HSLife II, 32, n. 84; MockWar 96–101, 394.

Getachew Metaferia

Mäkʷännən Dännäqä

Brigadier General M.D. (መኮንን፡ ደነቀ, b. 28 August 1912, Addis Abäba, d. 11 March 2003, Addis Abäba) was the son of *qäññazmač* Dännäqä Yämər and *wäyzäro* Zäritu Ǝwnätu. After completing his traditional education at ↗Qəddəst Śəllase Cathedral in Addis Abäba, he entered the Täfäri Mäkʷännən Secondary School in 1923. In 1932 M.D., along with other young Ethiopians, was sent to Belgium to receive military and police training at the Gendarmérie Royal College. After two years of training he returned to Ethiopia, was promoted to the rank of Lieutenant and served as police commissioner in ↗Dərre Dawa. At the beginning of the Italo–Ethiopian war of 1935–36 M.D. took part in the resistance against the advancing Italian forces in the ↗Ogaden region. Soon he was captured bythe enemy forces and brought to Addis Abäba. He served as an interpreter for the Italian police commander, General Manberini. However, at the same time he worked closely with Mäkʷännən Wäldä Yoḥannəs (brother of ↗Wäldä Giyorgis Wäldä Yoḥannəs), *balambaras* Gäbrä Mädḫən and *ato* Dawit ᶜƎqubäᵓəgzi, who covertly communicated with *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I in exile, and with the patriots Abbäbä Arägi and Gärräsu Duki, reporting to them on the movements and intentions of the Italians.

After Liberation, M.D. collaborated with the British during the short transitory period of the British Military Administration. On 5 May 1941, when Ḫaylä Śəllase victoriously entered Addis Abäba, M.D. was part of the cavalry that escorted him to the imperial palace.

In 1942, M.D. was promoted to the rank of Major and served as the Emperor's representative in Käfa Province for nine months. Then he was transferred back to Addis Abäba and served with the reconstituted ↗Imperial Bodyguard. Three years later, he was promoted to the rank of Lieutenant Colonel and served as the first Ethiopian Assistant Police commissioner after the Italian occupation. During the ↗Coup d'état 1960 attempt, M.D. was wounded, receiving twelve shots to the lower part of his body, but he survived.

M.D. held several important posts under Ḫaylä Śəllase: he was the Emperor's Chief of Protocol; Ethiopia's ambassador to France and to Morocco for a total of ten years (1962–72). He served in the senate of the Ethiopian parliament for eight months before the fall of the Emperor in 1974. Under the new regime he was jailed for six years.

Src.: interviews with Adolf Bərhane, Ṣähay Mäzgäbe, and other members of Brigadier General Mäkʷännən's family; *Ṭobia* 7, no. 1, 1991.
Lit.: ClapHS 113; RICHARD GREENFIELD, *Ethiopia: a New Political History*, London 1965, 292, 378, 393, 410, 430, 440, 443.

Getachew Metaferia

Mäkʷännən Dästa

M.D. (መኮንን፡ ደስታ, b. 1910, Goğğam, d. 1966) was an Ethiopian intellectual, patriot and politician in post-Italian Ethiopia, and a filmmaker, as well as the first university-educated anthropologist of Ethiopia (Zitelmann 2001). He hold the title of *däğğazmač*.

During the 1920s he went to the Täfäri Mäkʷännən School at Addis Abäba. He continued his studies at the American University of Beirut. He then changed to Harvard University to study medicine where he later switched to anthropology. M.D. returned to Ethiopia in 1935, as a research assistant to the American anthropologist Carleton S. Coon (Coon 1936:20–24). Following the Italian occupation, M.D. fled via Goğğam to the Sudan. He became a teacher of mathematics at the English Mission College in Koubbeh, Cairo. In 1941 he returned to Ethiopia, and joined the patriots (↗Resistance) as a liaison officer for British support units in Goğğam (Zitelmann 2001:165; Shireff 1995:300 et passim). In the first post-independence ↗government of *aṣe* Ḫaylä Śəllase I M.D. served as Minister of Education (up to 1944) and re-established the Ethiopian educa-

Scene illustrating the modernization of Ethiopia from the film of 1956 co-directed by Mäkʷännən Dästa; capture, Asien-Afrika-Institut, Universität Hamburg

tional system. Afterwards he was transferred to the Ministry of Post and Telegraphic Department (Zitelmann 2001:169f.; Hussey 1959). In 1952 he served as governor of ↗Wälläga.

Dăğğazmač M.D. used his anthropological insights in promoting a decisively "patriotic" policy towards Ethiopian unity, including linguistic Amharization through the educational system (Zitelmann 2001:171). A short career as a filmmaker for the German newsreel "Deutsche Wochenschau" culminated in 1956 in the documentary film "Äthiopien, Kaiserreich zwischen Gestern und Morgen" (directors: M.D., Manfred Purzer and Admasu Badima).

Lit.: CARLETON S. COON, *Measuring Ethiopia and Flight into Arabia*, London 1936; ERIC ROBERT JAMES HUSSEY, *Tropical Africa 1908–1944: Memoirs of a Period*, London 1959; MockWar 394; DAVID SHIREFF, *Bare Feet and Bandoliers: Wingate, Sandford, the Patriots and the Part they played in the Liberation of Ethiopia*, London – New York 1995; THOMAS ZITELMANN, "Anthropology and Empire in Post-Italian Ethiopia: Makonnen Desta and the Imagination of an Ethiopian 'We-Race'", *Paideuma* 47, 2001, 161–79.

Thomas Zitelmann

Mäkʷännən Ǝndalkačča̍w

Ras bitwäddäd M.Ǝ. (መኮንን፡ እንዳልካቸው, b. 17 February 1890, Addisge, d. 27 February 1963, Addis Abäba) was both an accomplished politician and writer.

M.Ǝ. was son of *balambaras* Ǝndalkačča̍w Abräqä and *wäyzäro* Abonäš Täklä Maryam. He received a traditional church education at ↗Däbrä Libanos and was then educated at the Emperor's court; all his life M.Ǝ. was a close friend of *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I.

In 1914/15, M.Ǝ. married *wäyzäro* Zäwditu Mängäša, daughter of *ras* ↗Mängäša Atikam of Goğğam. Their son, ↗Ǝndalkačča̍w Mäkʷännən, almost equalled his father's career in its distiction.

From 1916–26 M.Ǝ. was officially appointed *ləğ* and made governor of Wämbäru, Abiččuu and Masit. In 1926 M.Ǝ. was made ↗*näggadras*; the same year he became chief inspector of the Franco–Ethiopian ↗Railway company. In 1927 he was sent to London as Ethiopia's representative. In 1931 he became ↗*käntiba* of Addis Abäba. A year after this he received the appointments of Deputy Minister of the Interior and Governor of Sibu, Guddaya and Genğ. In 1934 he became a *dăğğazmač* and was made Governor of Illubabor.

When Italy invaded Ethiopia in 1935 (↗Italian war 1935–36), M.Ǝ. commanded one of the armies that fought on the Ogaden front. After the defeat of the Ethiopian armies, he fled to ↗Jerusalem when the Emperor left for Britain, and at the Emperor's request he worked with Ethiopian refugees in Palestine.

Wäyzäro Zäwditu died in 1935, and in 1936 M.Ǝ. married *ləᶜəlt* Yäšašwärq Yəlma, daughter of Ḫaylä Śəllase's brother ↗Yəlma Mäkʷännən and widow of *ras* ↗Gugsa Arᵊaya and ↗Mäkʷännən Dämməssäw. Their daughter Assälläfäčč Mäkʷännən was the wife of *dăğğazmač* Ammәḫa Abärra, son of *dăğğazmač* ↗Abärra Kaśa Ḫaylu.

After the Liberation M.Ǝ. embarked on a rapid career in the ↗government. In May 1941 he became the Minister of the Interior and Chairman of the Council of Ministers. In this capacity he signed the agreement with the ↗United Kingdom on 30 January 1942 concerning Ethiopian sovereignty. Later the same year he was appointed Prime Minister. On December 1944 he became President of the Assembly established to renegotiate the "agreement" between Ethiopia and Great Britain concerning Ethiopian independence. In 1945 he was Ethiopia's representative inSan Francisco, where the Chapter of the ↗United Nations was signed. In 1957 he received the title ↗*ras bitwäddäd*, which can only be awarded once by the Emperor, and appointed President of the Senate.

M.Ǝ.'s first novel *ᶜAläm wärätäññа* portrayed the tribulations of the heroine, Yayne Abäba, and her family. This novel reflected the author's view that the world's only justification is to test the pure in heart. His second work, the play *Yädäm dəmṣ*, expressed M.Ǝ.'s concerns about the Italian occupation; it dramatized the martyrdom of *abunä* Ṗeṭros, a bishop of the Ethiopian church

Mäkʷännən Ǝndalkačč̣äw;photocourtesy of the IES (no. 7–1)

shot by the Fascists. The short novel *Yädəḳočč̣ kätäma* portrayed a wealthy businessman's inner struggle between the spiritual urgings of his foreboding dreams and the advice of a good man. M.Ǝ.'s autobiography *Mälkam betäsäbočč̣* was reprinted, along with many of his other works, in a collection entitled *Arrəmuññ*. As the leader of one of the country's most powerful feudal families, M.Ǝ.'s writings often depict an idealistic picture of a social system in which the aristocracy use their wealth and power for the benefit of the common people.

M.Ǝ.'s former residence in Addis Abäba today houses Dənqənäš Fine Arts Gallery.

↗Amharic literature

Src.: MÄKʷÄNNƏN ƎNDALKAČČÄW, ዓለም፡ ወረተኛ (*ʿÄläm wärätäññä*, 'The Inconstant World', 1947 A.M. [1953/54 A.D.]; ID., የደም፡ ድምጽ (*Yädäm dəmṣ*, 'The Voice of Blood', 1941 A.M. [1948/49 A.D.]); ID., የድኾች፡ ከተማ (*Yädəḳočč̣ kätäma*, 'The City of the Poor', 1949 A.M. [1956/57 A.D.]); ID., መልካም፡ ቤተሰቦች (*Mälkam betäsäbočč̣*, 'Good Families', 1949 A.M. [1956/57 A.D.]); ID., አርሙኝ (*Arrəmuññ*, 'Correct me'), 1947 A.M. [1954/55 A.D.].

Lit.: BZHist; JACK FELLMAN, "Ras Bitwadded Makonnen Endalkachaw: Some Thoughts on His Life and Work", *Research in African Literatures* 27, 1996, 194–95; ALBERT GÉRARD, *Four African Literatures: Xhosa, Sotho, Zulu, Amharic*, Berkeley, CA – Los Angeles, CA 1971, 303–12; KaneLit 154ff., 162f., 173ff.; MolLit 84–93; TSEHAI BERHANE-SELASSIE, "Makonnen Endalkachew", in: *EncAfr* 99–100.

Galina Balashova

Mäkʷännən Habtäwäld

Elder brother of ↗Aklilu Habtäwäld and Akalä-wärq Habtäwäld, M.H. (መኰንን፡ ሀብተወልድ; b. 28 October 1894, d. 16 December 1960) came from a clerical family. He had his traditional education at ↗Ǝnṭoṭṭo Raguʾel on the northern outskirts of Addis Abäba. He served as a ↗*diyaqon* and was engaged with his fellow-student, ↗Takkälä Wäldä Ḥawaryat, in reading prayer books to the ailing *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II at the palace.

M.H. started his administrative career as a customs official and rose to become Director and Director-General in the ministries of Agriculture, Finance and Commerce before the outbreak of the ↗Italian war of 1935–36. He was instrumental in setting up the Ethiopian Patriotic Association (s. ↗*Hagär Fəqər Tiyatər*) to mobilize the Ethiopian public for the war effort. He was aided in this objective by writers such as ↗Yoftahe Nəguśe and ↗Wäldä Giyorgis Wäldä Yoḥannəs. After the victory of Fascist forces, he went into exile in France, where he founded and ran an external wing of the Association.

Soon after the Liberation in 1941, M.H. was appointed Minister of Commerce and Agriculture. He used his position to withstand effectively the machinations of the British to control Ethiopian finance and foreign trade. M.H. was instrumental in setting up the Development Bank and the Ethiopian National Corporation. The latter, with a share capital of 1,300,000 Maria Theresa thalers, exercised a monopoly over the export of cereals to war-torn Europe and the Middle East. He also helped to create the Ethiopian Society for Commerce and Transport (popularly known as *Maḫbär bet*) to exercize the same kind of monopoly over import items, notably cotton goods. The British, who resented his tight control of the import-export trade, dubbed him an "ultra-nationalist" and accused him of extortionist practices. M.H. is quoted as having retorted by saying: "If one Ethiopian robbed another by profiteering, at least the money remained in Ethiopia".

M.H. continued to foster and promote the *Hagär Fəqər* as a centre for modern music and drama and a forum for public debates and lectures. The association even ventured into the media world with the launching of the newspaper *Yäʾityopya dəmṣ* ('The Voice of Ethiopia') and the magazine ↗*Mänän* in 1955. It also served as a venue for promoting harmony between Ethiopian Christians and Muslims, a matter that constantly preoccupied M.H. both in his private

capacity and as part of his government charge. An office to facilitate the annual pilgrimages to ↗Mecca was thus set up in the Association.

M.H. also briefly served as Minister of Interior. But it was as Minister of Finance that he probably left his enduring impact on imperial bureaucracy. His tenure was marked by a distinctly personal type of leadership and a premium on enhancing income and curtailing expenditure. While Minister of Finance, he also took charge of the information services, something that considerably enhanced his power. Once a close friend and ally of the powerful Minister of Pen, *ṣäḥafe təʾəzaz* Wäldä Giyorgis Wäldä Yoḥannəs, he later fell out with him and is believed to have played a pivotal role in the latter's downfall in 1955. Thereafter, M.H. became a power-broker in ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I's regime, helping to catapult his brother Aklilu to the post of Prime Minister in 1961.

A man of frugal tastes and ascetic disposition, M.H. was also known for his hard work and his generosity to those in need. He was also reputed to have created a powerful private intelligence network. Indeed, M.H. is reputed to have got wind of the coup that Brigadier General ↗Mängəśtu Nəway and his brother ↗Gärmame were plotting in December 1960 (↗Coup d'état 1960) and to have alerted the Emperor. The brothers were then forced to go ahead with the coup rather precipitately. When it failed, M.H. was one of those who was massacred at the Green Salon of the ↗Gännätä Ləʿul palace in the plotters' final act of desperation.

↗Government

Lit.: BAHRU ZEWDE, *Pioneers of Change in Ethiopia: the Reformist Intellectuals of the Early Twentieth Century*, Oxford – Athens, OH – Addis Ababa 2002, 74, 202; ID., "Some Aspects of Post-Liberation Ethiopia (1941–1950)", in: *PICES* 8, 281–83; ClapHS 157–64, 196; MÄNGƎŚTU MÄKʷÄNNƎN, መኰንን፡ ሀብተወልድ (*Mäkʷännən Habtäwäld*), Addis Abäba 1956 A.M. [1963/64 A.D.]; JOHN H. SPENCER, *Ethiopia at Bay: a Personal Account of the Haile Sellassie Years*, Algonac, MI 1984.

Bahru Zewde

Mäkʷännən Ḫaylä Śəllase

M. (መኰንን፡ ኃይለ፡ ሥላሴ, b. 16 October 1923, Addis Abäba, d. 13 May 1957) was the third child of *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I and *ətege* ↗Mänän Asfaw. He received his education at St Christopher's School, Bath, Wellington College and Gordonstoun, while staying with his father in exile during the Italian occupation. After the Liberation in 1941, he was given the title of

Märəd azmač Mäkʷännən Ḫaylä Śəllase; from ClapHS 34f.

mäsfənä Harär (Duke of ↗Harär) which made him the governor general of the large province of ↗Harärge. In 1944, he became governor of the town but spent most of the time at the Emperor's court in ↗Addis Abäba. In 1946, he married Sara Gəzaw, with whom he had five sons (Ṗawlos Wäsän Sägäd Mäkʷännən, Mikaʾel Ammәḫa Iyäsus Mäkʷännən, Dawit Mäkʷännən Mäkʷännən, Filəppos Täfäri Mäkʷännən and Bäʾədä Maryam Mäkʷännən).

Rumours have it that M. was the favourite son of the Emperor and that his father preferred the succession to be passed to him rather than to his elder brother, *alga wäraš* ↗Asfa Wäsän Ḫaylä Śəllase. Respected as a good officer serving in the ↗air force and an imaginative businessman, M. was well known for his love of women and fast cars. The latter hobby eventually led to his death from injuries during a car accident on the way to ↗Adaama. He was buried at the ↗Qəddəst Śəllase Cathedral, Addis Abäba.

Src.: YARED GÄBRÄ MIKAʾEL, ግርማዊት፡ እቴጌ፡ መነን (*Gərmawit ətege Mänän* 'The Majestic *ətege* Mänän'), Addis Abäba 1950 A.M. [1957/58 A.D.], 21f.

Lit.: ClapHS 34f. (ill.); RICHARD GREENFIELD, *Ethiopia: a New Political History*, London 1965, 276, 278, 358; HANS WILHELM LOCKOT, *The Mission: the Life, Reign, and Character of Haile Sellassie I*, New York 1989, 47, 49.

Hanna Rubinkowska

Mäkʷännən Wäldä Mikaʾel

Ras M. (መኮንን፡ ወልደ፡ ሚካኤል, b. 8 May 1852, Däräro Maryam, Gola, d. 22 March 1906, Qulləbi Gäbrəʾel) was a 19th-cent. political figure. His father was *däğğazmač* Wäldä Mikaʾel Gudisa, a renowned governor in ↗Dobaʾa and ↗Mänz, and his mother *wäyzäro* Tänañña Wärq, daughter of *nəguś* ↗Śahlä Śəllase.

In 1865, M. was invited to *nəguś* Mənilək's (future ↗Mənilək II) court at ↗Fəčče, where he engaged in military training and imbibed the skills of statecraft. He also acquired a common-law wife who gave birth to their son ↗Yəlma. In 1876, he left her to marry Yäšimabet Ali, the 11-year-old daughter of *wäyzäro* Wälättä Giyorgis and Ali Abbaa Ğifaar of Wällo. She died on 14 March 1894, two years after she gave birth to Täfäri (↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I). M. never took another wife, aside from a brief union with Məntəwwab, a niece of ↗Ṭaytu, which comprised an attempt by the Empress – who resented M.'s authority – to establish some influence over him, but the marriage was never consummated and was soon annulled.

In 1876, M. was awarded the rank of ↗*balambaras*, and by 1881 personally commanded about 1,000 well-armed troops. The same year he joined a campaign against the ↗Oromo who were disrupting caravans from ↗Taǧūra, and in 1882 he fought in ↗Arsi. He participated in the battle of ↗Ǝmbabo, faced the Arsi Oromo in fierce fighting for a second time, and led the troops that captured the enemies' field cannons at ↗Č̣ällänqo.

Ras Mäkʷännən Wäldä Mikaʾel; photo courtesy of the IES (no. 398–1)

Following the conquest of ↗Harär, M. was promoted by Mənilək to ↗*däğğazmač* and granted the governorship of the region, then suffering from an economy in shambles, insecure trade routes, a water shortage, and impending famine and social tensions between indigenous Muslims and incoming Christian settlers. Testimonies portray him as fair and just in his treatment of all subjects (except the Somali), and as impartial in the innumerable disputes he adjudicated. He introduced new systems of taxation and managed to promote Christian-Islamic relations. In 1887, M. pushed the expansion of the empire to the east and south of Harär. His troops conquered parts of the ↗Ogaden, ↗ʿIssa and the ↗Gadabuursi territories in the following two years. In 1890, a reinforcement was sent to Harär from Addis Abäba that enabled M's forces to occupy almost all of the Ogaden by 1891.

At Harär M. enjoyed good relations with expatriates, including ↗Capuchin missionaries and a growing number of Europeans en route to the capital. From them he learned as much as possible about the outside world. It seems he especially appreciated ↗Russians, who unlike western Europeans were Orthodox Christians and did not have colonial pretensions in the Horn. M. also shared with Mənilək his passion for ↗firearms. He imported weapons, most of which were shipped to Šäwa and many were later put to use at the battle of ↗ʿAdwa, but he employed some locally to subdue or extract tribute from Ogaden Somalis.

M.'s learning and loyalty, as well as his familiarity with Europeans, made him a logical choice to lead Ethiopian missions abroad. His first trip took place in 1889–90, to witness ↗Rome's formal ratification of the Treaty of Wəč̣ale (↗Italo-Ethiopian Treaty of Friendship and Commerce), which provided a welcome opportunity to buy modern arms and ammunition. On 1 October 1889 he signed the so-called Additional Convention of 1889. On the way home M. stopped in ↗Jerusalem, where he purchased land on behalf of his government, and the Greek Patriarch presented him with a gold crucifix in which a sliver of the True Cross was embedded. In April, after arriving at Addis Abäba, he was raised to the rank of ↗*ras*.

In December 1890, M. participated in the Ethio-Italian debates about Article 17 of the Treaty of Wəċale, condemning Italy's position. Back in Harär, he hardened and disciplined his well-equipped troops with raiding expeditions to the south and east, where they captured cattle and sheep to restock highland herds decimated by the rinderpest epidemic (↗Epidemics). In 1892, M. was summoned to Šäwa because of Italian intrigue in ↗Təgray, insurrection in ↗Goğğam, and an attempted palace coup which threatened to destabilize the internal political situation. The *ras*, who during this period was awarded the French Legion of Honour, spent much of the coming two years participating in internal and diplomatic discussions about Article 17.

In early 1895, tensions with Italy increased and, despite problems of security in Harärge that could have excused him, M. took part in the ↗Italian war 1895–96. At ᶜAdwa he had a prominent role; he was twice wounded and his life was reportedly saved by his son Yəlma. Succesively, as part of Mənilək's policy, M. subdued several sheikhdoms along the Sudanese border. In 1897, he participated in the negotiations for the delimitation of the boundary between ↗British Somaliland and Ethiopia that formed part of the Anglo-Ethiopian Treaty of 1897. In 1898, he helped suppress a rebellion in Təgray and was subsequently appointed governor there, as well as in Harärge. After fully pacifying the northern province a few months later, he requested to be relieved of his second governorship. Mənilək consented and publicly clarified his affection by declaring M. heir to the throne, although some sources suggest he first did so after the battle of ᶜAdwa. The announcement consternated Empress Ṭaytu, probably because she hoped for the nomination of one of her own relatives.

Back in Harär, M., beginning in 1899, helped coordinate combined Ethio-British manoeuvres against *sayyid* ↗Muḥammad ᶜAbdallāh Ḥasan. He also built a hospital and schools, encouraged the construction of the railway (↗Railways), and imported a printing press. In 1902, he went to London as Mənilək's representative at King Edward VII's coronation, and while in Europe toured Paris and Zurich. Apparently most impressed by what he had seen in France, upon his return to Harär he asked Dr. Joseph ↗Vitalien and Father André ↗Jarosseau to teach the ↗French language to his son Täfäri. He also concentrated on governing Harärge and advising the Emperor from afar, often by telephone or telegraph.

In early 1906 as the Eritrean Governor Ferdinando ↗Martini was going on an official visit to Ethiopia, Mənilək summoned M. to Addis Abäba. M., however, never reached the capital for he fell ill and died on the way. The news was phoned to Addis Abäba, where Mənilək commenced three days of intense grieving, before hosting a lavish ↗*täzkar*.

Respected domestically and internationally, *ras* M. was probably among the most progressive Ethiopians during a critically important era. As a mastermind of Ethiopia's military strategy at ᶜAdwa and as a top diplomat, he played central roles in defining modern Ethiopia's boundaries, negotiating its international relations, and guaranteeing his country's freedom from imperialism for another two generations.

Src.: GueCopMen I, 307 (index); HSLife, s. index.
Lit.: *gra geta* ḤAYLÄ GIYORGIS, ዜናሁ፡ ለልዑል፡ ራስ፡ መኰንን (*Zenahu lälaᶜul ras Mäkʷännən*, 'History of the *laᶜul ras* Mäkʷännən'), Addis Abäba 1965 A.M. [1972/73 A.M.]; MahHorse 222; HAROLD G. MARCUS, *The Life and Times of Menelik II: Ethiopia, 1844–1913*, Lawrenceville, NJ 1995, s. index; S. PIERRE PÉTRIDÈS, *Le Héros d'Adoua: Ras Makonnen, Prince d'Éthiopie*, Paris 1963; CHRIS PROUTY, *Empress Taytu and Menilek II: Ethiopia 1883–1910*, Trenton, NJ 1986, s. index; RubInd², 396, s. index.

Tim Carmichael

Mäkʷəriya Abəyähoy

Nəburä əd M.A. (መኩሪያ፡ አብየሆይ; b. 22 March 1898 [13 *Mäggabit* 1890 A.M.], Gurğ Mikaᵓel, Šäwa; d. 22 March 1998 [13 *Mäggabit* 1990 A.M.], Addis Abäba) was a prominent ecclesiastic of the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church.

Born to *mämhər* Abəyähoy Abəy and *wäyzäro* Wäsän Yälläš Bäzarde, M. began his traditional ↗education in Laᵓa Mädḫane ᶜAläm (Mänz) with *märigeta* Śəyyum. He was certified in liturgy (by *mämhər* Gäbrä Kidan), *qəne* (by *aläqa* Ṭəbäbu Gämme), the *Fəṭḫa nägäśt*, O.T. (by Bəluy Täkle) and N.T. (by *mämhər* Bälay). After completing all stages of education, M.A. replaced his deceased teacher *mämhər* Bälay teaching *qəne* and N.T. at ↗Däbrä Bərhan Śəllase (Gondär). Several years later, he came to Addis Abäba where he was assigned by the Patriarchate to ↗Mänbärä Mängəśt Qəddus Gäbrəᵓel Church as teacher of N.T., the *Fəṭḫa nägäśt* and the liturgy. At the same time he kept improving his knowledge of the subjects, e.g., studying the liturgy with *mämhər* Gäbrä Kidan (later *abunä* Mikaᵓel), N.T. with *aläqa* Ḫəruy, and O.T. with Bəluy Täkle (at Mäkanä Śəllase, today Bäᶜalä Wäld, in Arat Kilo).

M.A. was also active in writing down the orally transmitted traditional biblical commentaries (↗*Andəmta*). The texts of most of the commentaries of the N.T. books published by the Patriarchate were prepared by M.A. In addition, he prepared for publication such religious books as ↗*Dərsanä Mikaʾel*, ↗*Dərsanä Gäbrəʾel*, and ↗*Mäzgäbä haymanot wäṣälot* among others.

At different times, M.A. served as head of the Treasury Department of the Patriarchate, the Council of the Church Scholars (*Gubaʾe liqawənt*; s. ↗*Liq*), Qäranyo Mädḫane ᶜAläm church and St. Paul's Theological School.

In November 1950, M.A. was appointed ↗*nəburä əd* of ↗Aksum Ṣəyon, with the double responsibility of governing the city along with the cathedral and the then Aksum *awraǧǧa*. He greatly contributed to the development of the holy place and the area. During his tenure the new Cathedral of St. Mary at Aksum was built (1954-64), Aksum St. Mary's Hospital and Aksum Secondary School were established. The town also received a new running water system.

In 1967/68, M.A. was appointed member of the Senate. There, he actively tried to introduce new regulations. The topics of his governmental reports ranged from the importance of Agricultural Income Tax to the significance of the ↗Gəᶜəz language and the detrimental influence of alcohol. *Aṣe* Ḫaylä Śəllase I appointed him to the Constitution Revising Commission. M.A. also contributed to the drafting of the ↗Penal, Commercial and ↗Maritime codes. A rare case among traditional scholars, M.A. learnt English.

M.A. was married to *wäyzäro* Assäggädäčč Wäsäne and was father of ten children. He died at the age of 100 and was buried at the ↗Qəddəst Śəllase Cathedral; later his body was transferred to ↗Ǝtissa Täklä Haymanot.

Lit.: mss. EMML 4399, 4633–35, 4638–39, 4641, 4643, 4645, 4648, 4985–87.

Lit.: KENNETH REEDEN, *The Law Making Process in Ethiopia*, Faculty of Law Haile Sellassie I University, Addis Ababa 1966; MULUWÄRQ KIDANÄ MARYAM, **አክሱም፡ የታሪክና፡ የቅርስ፡ ማህደር** (*Aksum yätarikənna yäqərs mahdär*, 'Aksum: the Treasury of History and Monuments'), Addis Ababa 2004; *Recollections read at the Burial of nəburä əd Mäkʷəriya*, 16 *Mäggabit* 1990 A.M., ms.

Mersha Alehegne

Mäläʾəkt: Mäṣḥafä mäläʾəkt

The M.m. (**መጽሐፈ፡ መላእክት**, 'The Book of Angels') is one of a number of apocryphal works concerned with the fate of the soul after death. It relates the manner in which the soul is judged on the basis of its deeds as recorded by the Angel of Light and the Angel of Darkness. The pure soul is taken to Heaven when the Angel of Darkness has failed to seduce the person during his lifetime. The soul of the wicked is confined to ↗Sheol, where the evil angels rejoice.

M.m. itself is clearly based upon a section of the ↗*Dərsanä sänbät*, the same work that was adapted to form a section of ↗*Təʾəzazä sänbät*.

Leslau has speculated that at one time M.m. and ↗Baruch formed a single work based on the Apocalypse of ↗Paul, "just as the Book of Angels corresponds to the beginning of the Apocalypse of Paul, the Apocalypse of Barok [Baruch] is related to the latter part. An abridged version of both these Falasha writings seems to be the Apocalypse of Gorgorios" (Leslau 1951:51). Only further research employing additional mss. will provide a definitive answer concerning the inter-relationship between the different works.

↗Pseudepigrapha and apocrypha

Src.: AARON ZEʾEV AEŠCOLY, *Sepher Hafalšim*, Jerusalem 1943, 128–30 [= 1973, 92–97]; JOSEPH HALÉVY, *Tēʾēzāza Sanbat* (*Commandements du Sabbat*), *accompagné de six autres écrits pseudépigraphes admis par les Falachas ou Juifs d'Abyssinie*, Paris 1902, XVIIf., 51–56 (text) = 173–77 (tr.); WOLF LESLAU, *Falasha Anthology*, New Haven, CT 1951 (Yale Judaic Series 6), 50–56 (tr.).

Lit.: MARTHA HIMMELFARB, *Tours of Hell*, Philadelphia, PA 1984, 19–23, 158f.; STEVEN KAPLAN, "Teʾezāza Sanbat: a Beta Israel Work Reconsidered", in: SHAUL SHAKED – DAVID D. SHULMAN – GUY G. STROUMSA (eds.), *Gilgul: Essays on Transformation, Revolution, and Permanence in the History of Religions*, Leiden et al. 1987 (Studies in the History of Religions [Supplements to *Numen*] 50), 121f.; MORDECHAI WURMBRAND, "Le *Dersâna Sanbat*, une homélie éthiopienne attribuée à Jacques de Saroug", *L'Orient syrien* 8, 1963, 343–94.

Steven Kaplan

Mäläk Sägäd ↗Śärṣä Dəngəl

Mälʾakä Śäḫay Iyasu

M. (**መልአከ፡ ፀሐይ፡ ኢያሱ**, b. ca. 1916, Ṭəlṭal, ↗ᶜAdal lowlands, d. 4 October 1938) was the illegitimate son of *ləǧ* ↗Iyasu and Aṣädä Maryam Täklä Maryam, daughter of *mäggabi* Täklä Maryam from ↗Bulga. Born probably soon after Iyasu had been deposed as emperor, he was first taken care of by *wäyzäro* Śäḫayä Wärq Darge (daughter of *ras* ↗Darge Śahlä Śəllase, and married to *näggadras* ↗Täsämma Ǝšäte). Śäḫay Wärq, by that time divorced, gave him into the care of *mämhər* Yərdaw, head of the monastery

of Abəyye Gädam, who brought him up and supervised his initial traditional education.

M.'s existence and whereabouts were kept secret until the death of Ṣäḥayä Wärq in prison in 1925, whereupon Yərdaw, fearful that the secret about his charge would leak out, told Empress ↗Zäwditu and *ras* Täfäri (later Emperor ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I) about him, and they asked Yərdaw to go on caring for him, which he did. When the Italians invaded Ethiopia in 1935 and Ḫaylä Śəllase fled the country in 1936, the freedom fighters, feeling the need for a leader from the imperial family to unite the resistance movement, considered the three sons of Iyasu, Mənilək, Yoḥannəs and M. When both Yərdaw and M. himself resisted the appointment of M. as emperor, he was taken by force by the freedom fighters in Bulga, crowned emperor 2 September 1937 at Wägfäle Mikaʾel church in Bulga and anointed by Yərdaw. Due to his youth and inexperience, he was given "guardians", at first *fitawrari* Wäldä Mädḫən, later *balambaras* ↗Abbäbä Arägay, whom he made *ras*. M. functioned as a rallying point in Šäwa for the freedom fighters for about a year and a month, and when he died, after a week's illness, some suspected foul play. He was buried at Zoma Täklä Haymanot church near Ankobär.

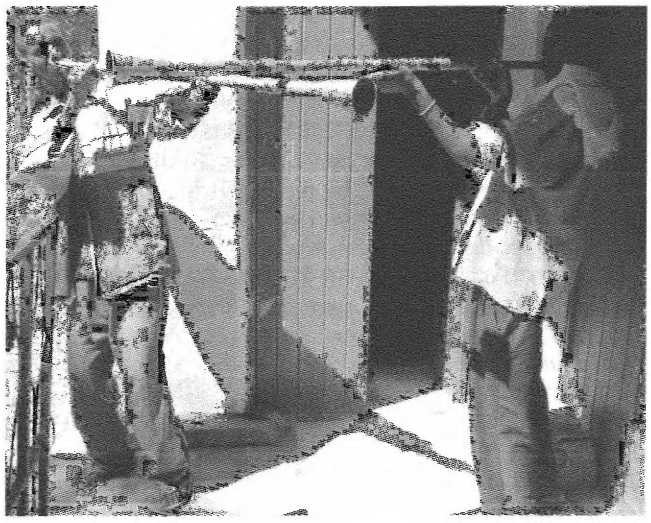
Src.: GebMollyas 571–75.
Lit.: BZHist 174; MockWar 190f., 402.

Reidulf K. Molvaer

Mäläkät

M. (መለከት) is a long, usually cylindrical side-blown trumpet with a bell-shaped mouthpiece. M. are found among the Amhara and Təgrayans, in northern and central Ethiopia (Šäwa, Bägemdər, and Təgray), and in southern Eritrea (Säraye and Ḫamasen). During a ceremonial state function, M. traditionally were used to accompany royal proclamations heralding the approach of the king or another high ranking official or authority. M., ↗*nägarit* and ↗*əmbilta* were often employed together, and were included in the insignia of royalty. Like the *əmbilta*, the M. is said to have been played by slaves, due to a belief that blowing on wind instruments damages the player's health (Ashenafi Kebede 1971:163ff.). More recently, the M. can occasionally be seen as a member of an instrumental ensemble such as that used as part of ↗Orchestra Ethiopia in 1964 (Kimberlin 2005:196, fig. 6).

The M. is at least one metre in length. The proximal end has a mouthpiece and no finger holes and



*Mäläkät*s of *aṣe* Yoḥannəs IV, kept at Däbrä Bərhan Śəllase, ᶜAdwa, Təgray; photo 2005, courtesy of Wolbert Smidt

the distal end is capped with a flared bell-shape metal or cow horn, or gourd that may be adorned with shells or beads. Occasionally a M. may have a finger hole and/or no mouthpiece. M. are made of metal (e.g. copper, brass), wood, or bamboo, the latter two sometimes having incised decorative marks burnt into the shaft or being covered with leather, skin, or cloth. Although the shape of the M. is usually cylindrical, the instrument can be slightly conical, the smallest end being at the mouthpiece, and the largest being at the throat of the bell right before the flare begins.

The player can choose a pitch using overtones or harmonics. This is done by the player changing his embouchure in which the sound is projected outward through the bell-shaped aperture. The mouthpiece allows the musician's lips to play without touching the sharp and restricted edge of the M. tube itself. The shape of the mouthpiece affects the timbre, sound quality and ease with which the M. can be played. Intonation is produced when the airstream passes through the player's vibrating lips (creating a "buzzing" sound", whereby gaining intermittant access to the air column which is made to vibrate. The rim diameter can be either big or small; a large rim allows for more assured striking of the notes while a smaller rim improves endurance but decreases flexibility.

↗Instruments, musical; ↗Music

Lit.: ASHENAFI KEBEDE, *The Music of Ethiopia: its Development and Cultural Setting*, Ph.D. thesis, Wesleyan University 1971, 163ff.; CHARLES BURNEY, *A General History of Music*, London 1776, vol. 1, 214–24 [essay by JAMES BRUCE]; CYNTHIA TSE KIMBERLIN, "Orchestra Ethiopia 1963–1975: Halim El-Dabh, Catalyst for Music Innovationand Preservation", in: BODE OMOJOLA – GEORGE DOR (eds.), *Multiple Interpretations of Dynamics of Creativity and Knowledge in African Music Traditions: a Festschrift in*

Honor of Akin Euba on the Occasion of his 70th Birthday, Richmond, CA 2005, 187–209, here 196, fig. 6; VICTOR-CHARLES MAHILLON, *Catalogue descriptif et analytique du Musée instrumental du Conservatoire royal de musique de Bruxelles*, vol. 1, Gand ²1893; MINISTRY OF INFORMATION (ed.), *Music, Dance, and Drama*, Addis Ababa 1968 (Patterns of Progress in Ethiopia 9), 17; MICHAEL POWNE, *Ethiopian Music. An Introduction: a Survey of Ecclesiastical and Secular Ethiopian Music*, London – New York – Toronto 1968, 35ff.; DAVID H. SHINN – THOMAS P. OFCANSKY, *Historical Dictionary of Ethiopia, New Edition*, Lanham – Toronto – Oxford 2004, 292; TESFAYE LEMMA, *Ethiopian Musical Instruments*, Addis Ababa 1975, 18; JOSEPH VARENBERGH, "Studien zur abessinischen Reichsordnung (*Šerʿata Mangešt*)", *ZA* 30, 1915/16, 1–45, here 3; KLAUS P. WACHSMANN, "Ostafrika", in: FRIEDRICH BLUME (ed.), *Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Musik*, vol. 10, Kassel 1961, 437–47.

Cynthia Tse Kimberlin

Mäläkotawit

Wäyzäro M. (መለኮታዊት, lit. 'Divine'; d. 20 February 1626), was the first daughter of *aṣe* ↗Susənyos by his spouse ↗Wäld Säʾala.

M. spent her early years in Däfäśa, Amhara, together with her mother and siblings, sister Gälilawit and brother Känafrä Krəstos (BTafA 247; PerChron 43).

Shortly upon his assuming imperial power, Susənyos married M. to one of his faithful lieutenants from the time when he was still a ↗*šəfta* with aspirations to the throne, ↗Yolyos, whom he at the same time declared governor of ↗Goǧǧam. This was done to spite the powerful *ras* ↗Atnatewos, the kingmaker in those days, who was both the governor of Goǧǧam and a son-in-law of *aṣe* ↗Särṣä Dəngəl. Yolyos was then involved in a series of uprisings against Susənyos, who, after having punished and pardoned him several times "for the sake of his daughter" (as in 1609; s. PerChron 132), ceased tolerating his son-in-law's disobedience and eventually defeated him in battle. Bairu Tafla mentions that M. might have betrayed her husband, disclosing his plans to her father (BTafA 942).

After 1624, according to Almeida's account (in BecRASO VI), M. married *ras* ↗Zäkrəstos, who later, in 1630, married her sister Wängelawit. M. also received lands in the parish of ↗Qoma Fasilädäs, founded by her mother Wäld Säʾala.

Ethiopian annals have little more to say about M., the "short chronicles" noting only her death in the 20th year of Susənyos's reign. Dombrowski, relying on unspecified sources, says that M. was killed in her sleep by an adherent to the Alexandrian faith (DombrChr 195, n. 315).

An inscription on the western wall of the *mäqdäs* in ↗Däbrä Sina Gorgora mentions that its paintings were commissioned by a certain M. It is not clear, however, whether this M. was the daughter of Susənyos as suggested by Cheesman (1936:196f.), the wife of *aṣe* ↗Iyasu I or another princess by the same name (Bosc-Tiessé 2000).

Src.: BassÉt I, 341, II, 124; BecRASO VI, 394, 425, VII, 109, VIII, 109; BegCron 46; DombrChr 195; PerChron 43, 132, 169 (text) = 34, 102, 130 (tr.); SixTana III, 147.
Lit.: BTafA 247, 339, 942, 994; CLAIRE BOSC-TIESSÉ, "L'histoire et l'art des églises du lac Tana", *AE* 17, 2000, 207–70, here 101, 104f.; SEVIR ČERNETSOV, *Efiopskaja feodal'naja monarhija v XVII veke* ('Ethiopian Feudal Monarchy in the 17th Century'), Moscow 1990, 73, 76; ChTana 196f.; MANUEL JOÃO RAMOS, *Historias Etiopes, diario de viagem*, Lisboa 2000, 156; WILHEM STAUDE, "Étude de la décoration picturale des églises d'Abba Antonios de Gondar et Dabra-Sina de Gorgora", *AE* 3, 1959, 185–235, here 228; ANAÏS WION, *"Aux confins le feu, au centre le paradis": Qoma Fasilädäs, un monastère royal dans l'Ethiopie du 17ème siècle*, Ph.D. thesis, Université de Paris 1 – Sorbonne 2003, 29f., 46, 65, 183, 256, 279, 305, 348, 363f.

Sevir Chernetsov

Inscription mentioning a certain Mäläkotawit as a patron of the paintings; Däbrä Sina Gorgora; photo 2006, courtesy of Michael Gervers

Mäläkotawit

Ǝtege M. (መለኮታዊት, d. 13 October 1708) was one of *aṣe* ↗Iyasu I's many concubines, and the mother of his son and successor, ↗Täklä Haymanot. Her parents are not known; she had at least two brothers, Ṗawlos and Dərmən (or Därmän). *Wäyzäro* M. lived on her estate in Aläfa south-west of Lake Ṭana, whereas Täklä Haymanot lived with his father in ↗Gondär and took part in his campaigns.

M. craved for power and wanted to take her chance when Iyasu abdicated and Täklä Haymanot assumed power. It

was reportedly under her influence that on 26 June 1706 Täklä Haymanot sent ↗Fəśśəḥa Krəstos together with M.'s brothers Ṗawlos and Dərmən to Iyasu's refuge on ↗Däq island to confine him to his palace on the island of Č̣əqla Mänzo. Later that same year M. sent her brothers to Iyasu once again, this time with the order to imprison him on ↗Wähni Amba. Iyasu refused to obey and was killed on 13 October 1706: Dərmən stabbed him with a ↗lance, the other soldiers beat him with a gun and burnt Č̣əqla Mänzo palace down.

Täklä Haymanot showed his gratitude by appointing Dərmən *däğğazmač* of Goğğam and Ṗawlos *däğğazmač* of Bägemdər. Dərmən continued his active services for the crown by suppressing numerous revolts, killing, among others, the pretender to the throne ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon on 3 October 1707. He also freed ↗Yosṭos who was later again confined by the king.

In spring 1708, Täklä Haymanot crowned his mother M. ↗*əṭege*.

On 30 June 1708, *aṣe* Täklä Haymanot was killed whilst hunting by Gäbärma Kaśa and Wäraf who stabbed the king with a lance. Power remained in the hands of *ras* ↗Fares until a new king, Iyasu's brother *aṣe* ↗Tewoflos, was enthroned. The latter ordered the prosecution of all those who participated in the conspiracy against Iyasu, including M., Dərmən and Ṗawlos. Dərmən was put in chains by his family and sent to prison in Gondär; Ṗawlos was captured in the monastery of Wälättä Ṗetros in ↗Qʷäraṣa and confined in the house of Yosṭos. Täklä Haymanot's murderer Gäbärma Kaśa was also seized. The accused were sentenced to death according to the Old Testament principle of "an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth" (Ex 21:24): Dərmən and Gäbärma Kaśa were killed with a spear; the soldiers who participated in Iyasu's murder with a gun; and Ṗawlos and M., who had not shed Iyasu's blood but had participated in the conspiracy, were bloodlessly hanged on a pole in the Addäbabbay, the central square of ↗Gondär, on 13 October 1708. To make the biblical vengeance complete, the corpses were dragged out of the camp and stoned.

M. may have been the patron of the paintings in ↗Däbrä Sina Gorgora, if the name M. found on the western wall of the *mäqdäs* refers to this queen.

Src.: BassÉt II, 324, 329; BegCron 87, 89, 91; BruNile vol. 2, 534f.; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Iyāsu I re d'Etiopia e martire", *RSO* 20, 1, 1942, 65–128; DombrChr 240–46, 248–51.

Sevir Chernetsov

Mälaku Amanu'el Bäyyan

M.B. (መላኩ፡ አማኑኤል፡ በያን, b. 29 April 1900, Wällo, d. 4 May 1940) was a political agent and one of the first American-trained Ethiopian physicians. The son of *grazmač* Bäyyan and *wäyzäro* Dästa, he grew up serving as a pageboy and attendant in the Harär palace of *ras* Täfäri Mäkʷännən (later ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I), his mother's first-cousin. In 1921, together with Bäšawəräd Habtäwäld and Wärqu Gobäna, he was sent by Täfäri to study in India for one year, and in 1922 the three, supported by Thomas ↗Lambie, were sent to the ↗United States to continue their education at the Presbyterian Muskingum College, New Concord, Ohio. He first had to complete his secondary education. On obtaining the school-leaving certificate in 1925, he entered the college and graduated in 1928. He then majored in chemistry at Ohio State University and in medicine at Howard University, Washington, DC, where he graduated in 1935. While at Howard, he married an African-American, Dorothy Hadley, by whom he had a son, Mälaku. In 1930, he also made a trip to Ethiopia following news of the confrontation between *ras* Täfäri and *ras* ↗Gugsa Wale.

In the United States, M.B. recruited a number of Americans to serve as advisors to the Ethiopian government and worked to build bonds between Ethiopians and black Americans, encouraging the latter to visit Ethiopia. M.B. wanted to seek an internship in the United States but the ↗Italian War 1935–36 made Ḫaylä Śəllase recall him to Ethiopia. A year later, he accompanied the Emperor into exile to the United Kingdom as physician, interpreter and secretary. In September 1936, M.B. became the Emperor's special envoy to the United States. He had no official standing with the American government but as a spokesman tried to make the public aware of the situation in Ethiopia. In 1937, he founded the Ethiopian World Federation and the ↗*Voice of Ethiopia* newspaper, in which he eventually accused the famous Marcus Garvey of taking the side of Italy by criticizing Ḫaylä Śəllase, calling Garvey "a militant usurper and hypocrite". In 1939, M.B. suffered a nervous breakdown, attributed to overwork, and died the following year.

Src.: HSLife 271; MALAKU E. BAYEN (ed.), *The March of Black Men*, New York 1939.

Lit.: BAHRU ZEWDE, *Pioneers of Change in Ethiopia: the Reformist Intellectuals of the Early Twentieth Century*, Oxford – Athens, OH – Oxford 2002, 89ff.; EDWARD O. ERHAGBE – EHIMIKA A. IFIDON, "African-Americans and the Italo–Ethiopian Crisis, 1935–1936: the Practical

Dimension of Pan-Africanism", *Aethiopica* 11, 2008, in preparation; JOSEPH E. HARRIS, *African-American Reactions to War in Ethiopia, 1936–1941*, Baton Rouge, LA – London 1994, s. index; WILLIAM R. SCOTT, "Malaku E. Bayen: Ethiopian Emissary to Black America, 1936–41", *EthObs* 15, 2, 1972, 132–38 (Lit.).

Richard M. Hodes

Mälaku Aššagəre

M.A. (መላኩ፡ አሻግሬ, b. 1929 A.M. [1936/37 A.D.], Addis Abäba, d. 8 June 1993) was born in the Gulläle sub-district of Addis Abäba during the initial stage of the Italian occupation. After the attempt on the life of Rodolfo ↗Graziani, M.A.'s parents, *ato* Aššagəre Wärqənäh and *wäyzäro* Wärqənäš Yəzähawal, took him to their own birthplace at Wabi Śəllase in Ǧərru district of Northern Šäwa.

M.A. came back to Addis Abäba at the age of seven and began his traditional ↗education at the church of Mädḫane ᶜAläm in Qäčäne where he became a deacon admired for his chanting voice. M.A. also served in St. George, Mark and John churches in Addis Abäba.

After his father died, M.A. joined ↗*Hagär Fəqər Tiyatər* (then *Yähagär Fəqər Maḫbär*) ca. 1947/48. He became a singer, an actor, prolific playwright and director.

M.A. has written and staged some 24 plays on many different stages but most in *Hagär Fəqər Tiyatər*. The plays, which enjoyed popularity, dealed with social and every day situations and problems in matrimonial relations. He had formed his own troupe and toured the country with his performances.

Lit.: *Melaku Ashagre (1929–1985 A.M.)*, 10th Year Commemoration Brochure, 1996 A.M. [2003/04 A.D.]; ELIZABET YƎLMA, *The Contributions Made by Ato Melaku Ashagre to Ethiopian Theatre*, Senior Essay for a B.A. degree, June 1986 A.M. [1993/94 A.D.]; *Hagär Fəqre*, Special Magazine, 1991 A.M. [1998/99 A.D.].

Asfaw Damte

Mäl'aku Bäggosäw

M.B. (መልአኩ፡ በጎሰው, b. 1900, Goǧǧam, d. 1940, Cairo) was one of the first Ethiopian dramatists. Having received a traditional Ethiopian ↗education in ↗*zema bet* and ↗*qəne bet* in ↗Däbrä Gännät Elyas, he became a ↗*däbtära* in Addis Abäba. In 1934 M.B. started writing plays for performance by students in the "School Theatre" of Mənilək II Secondary School, one of the first theatres in Ethiopia. At the beginning of the ↗Italian war 1935–36 he left his home country and lived in an Ethiopian monastery in Jerusalem.

The writings of M.B. were based on traditional Ethiopian literature. He did not know any foreign languages and thus was not under the influence of western literary standards. Though none of his plays was published, two of them have been staged. His historical drama, ትልቁ፡ ዳኛ (*Təlləqu daññа*, 'The Great Judge'), staged at the opening of the "School Theatre" in November 1934, enjoyed great success. As one of the first dramatists to write national drama, M.B. turned to Ethiopia's ancient history for inspiration, basing the plot on the legend of King Solomon as related in the ↗*Kəbrä nägäśt*. The second play, ዘነበች (*Zännäbäčč* [proper name]), was staged in 1942/43.

In his anthology, Yəlma Därässa (1940/41) describes M.B., together with ↗Yoftahe Nəguśe, as a playwright worthy of imitation.

↗Amharic literature; ↗Theater

Lit.: ALBERT GÉRARD, *Four African Literatures: Xhosa, Sotho, Zulu, Amharic*, Berkeley, CA – Los Angeles, CA 1971, 286-97, 300, 342, 413; DONALD E. HERDECK, *African Authors: a Companion to Black African Writing*, vol. 1: *1300–1973*, Washington D.C. 1973, 220; MolLit 136, 153, n. 6; MIHAIL L'VOVIČ VOL'PE, *Literatura Efiopii* ('Literature of Ethiopia'), Moscow 1981, 94, 208; *fitawrari* YƎLMA DÄRÄSSA, የአዲስ፡ ዘመን፡ መዝሙር፡ ስለ፡ ነጻነት፡ ክብር፡ የኢትዮጵያ፡ ወጣት፡ ጸሐፊዎች፡ የደረሱት (*Yä'addis zämän mäzmur səlä näṣannät kəbr yä'ityopya wäṭat ṣäḥafiwočč yädärräsut*, 'A New Age Hymn in Praise of Independence Composed by Young Writers of Ethiopia'), Addis Abäba 1933 A.M. [1940/41 A.D.].

Galina Balashova

Malaria

M. (Amh. ወባ, *wäba*, Tgn. ዓሶ, *ᶜaso*, Orom. *busaa*) is an infection caused by any of the four species of *Plasmodia* transmitted by the Anopheles mosquito. All four species of M. are present in Ethiopia: *Plasmodia falciparum* accounts for ca. 60 % of cases, *Plasmodia vivax* for ca. 40 % and the others constitute less than 1 %. Additionally, transfusion of infected blood may lead to infection. Symptoms begin 10–14 days after being bitten. The patient develops fever, chills, anaemia, and an enlarged spleen.

M. is a major public health problem in Ethiopia. It is found in about 75 % of the total area of the country, and 40 million (> 65 %) of the total population is at risk of infection. M. transmission is seasonal and depends on altitude and rainfall. Transmission usually occurs at altitudes below 2,000 m A.S.L. The two main seasons for transmission of M. in Ethiopia are

September–December, after the heavy summer rains, and March–May, after the light rains. M. epidemics are frequent and widespread in the country. Most of the areas affected by epidemics are highland or highland fringe areas (mainly 1,000–2,000 m A.S.L.), in which the population lacks immunity to M. Occasionally, transmission occurs in areas previously free of M., including areas above 2,000 m A.S.L., in which the microclimate and weather conditions are favourable for M. Recently, hybrid ↗maize cultivation has been shown to facilitate the spread of M.

M. remains the major cause of morbidity and mortality particularly in sub-Saharan Africa. M. annually affects 4-5,000,000 Ethiopians. While 400,000–600,000 have positive blood films each year, the remainder are diagnosed based on clinical signs and symptoms. In 2001 and 2002, 607,699 cases were reported. This disease was the primary cause of outpatient visits in 2000–01 (10.4 %, next was intestinal parasites with 6.7 %), the primary cause of hospital admissions (14.8 %, second was pneumonia with 8.9 %), and the third highest cause of death (4.6 %, after tuberculosis, 10.1 %, and pneumonia, 7.3 %). Seven percent of admissions to Gondär Medical College in 1995–2000 were for M., and in 1999 there were 6,023 cases in Addis Abäba alone. The death rate of Gambella children with severe M. was 22 %. In addition to the affects M. has within Ethiopia, it is inadvertently carried to other countries by travellers and refugees.

In 1958 an estimated three million cases of M. resulted in 150,000 deaths over six months. As a result of this, M. control efforts began the following year. Early diagnosis and treatment of M. is the primary component of M. control in Ethiopia, though some vector control to decrease the mosquito population is also practiced. Control services were decentralized and moved to regional health bureaux in 1993. The Roll Back Malaria campaign, which began in 1999, aimed to reduce M. rates by 50 % within a decade. Besides, the propagation of impregnated bed-nets and development of a regional warning system for epidemics should have positive results. Due to chloroquin resistance, fansidar (pyrimethamine-sulfadoxine) is the main treatment used against the disease.

In 2005 it was observed that the dichloromethane extract of the roots of Kniphofia foliosa Hochst (*Asphodelaceae*), which have long been used in traditional medicine for the treatment of abdominal cramps and wound healing, displayed strong in vitro antiplasmodial (antimalarial) activity against the chloroquine-sensitive 3D7 strain of *Plasmodium falciparum*. Among the compounds extracted from the roots of the plant chryslandicin inhibited the growth of *Plasmodium falciparum*.

Lit.: TAREKEGN ABOSE et al., *Re-orientation and Definition of the Role of Malaria Vector Control in Ethiopia: the Epidemiology and Definition of Malaria* [...], *WHO/Mal/1998.1085*, Geneva; 1998; FRANZ BUCAR et al., "Antimalarial compounds from Kniphofia foliosa roots", *Phytother Res* 19, 6, June 2005, 472–76; AKIRA ISHII et al., "Famine and Malaria Epidemics in Ethiopia", *Ethiopian Journal of Health Development*, special issue 12, 1998, 115–22; FISSEHA HABTE-MESKEL et al., "Problems, Policy, and Planning Options in Malaria", *ibid.* 123–35; KASAHUN MITIKU DESTA, "Pattern of Severe and Complicated Malaria in Children Admitted to the Gondar Medical College during 1995–2000", *ibid.* 16, 1, 2002, 53–59; BETEMARIAM GEBRE – YAYEH NEGASH, "Severe Malaria among Children in Gambella, Western Ethiopia", *ibid.* 61–70; YAYEHYIRAD KITAW – TADESSE KELBESSA – NEGUSSIE GEBREMARIAM, "Bibliography on Malaria in Ethiopia", *ibid.* 3, 1, 1989, 57–74; THERESA W. GYORKOS et al., "Antimalarial Drug Utilization by Women in Ethiopia: a Knowledge–Attitudes–Practice Study", *Bulletin of the World Health Organisation* 71, 6, 1993, 763–72; MINISTRY OF HEALTH, FEDERAL DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF ETHIOPIA, *Malaria Control Profile*, Addis Ababa 2000; ASSEFA NEGA TULU, "Malaria", in: HELMUT KLOOS – ZEIN AHMED ZEIN (eds.), *The Ecology of Health and Disease in Ethiopia*, Boulder, CO ²1993, 41–352; E. SCHWARTZ – YECHEZKEL SIDI, "New Aspects of Malaria Imported from Ethiopia", *Clinical Infectious Diseases* 26, 5, 1998, 1089-91; G.D. ALENE – S. BENNETT, "Chloroquine Resistance of P. Falciparum Malaria in Ethiopia and Eritrea", *Tropical Medicine and International Health* 1, 6, 1996, 810–15.

Richard M. Hodes

Mäläsay

The M. (Eth. መለሳይ, from Arab. ملساى) were an important force within the army of ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī ("Grañ"). Their precise status, however, is not fully clear.

ᶜArabfaqīh's ↗*Futūḥ al-Ḥabaša*, our main source on the M., suggests, on the one hand, that they were an elite unit (possibly originating in ↗Harär or in the area controlled by the Muslim state of ↗ᶜAdal) with a notable equestrian component. The historic records have preserved names (s., e.g., BassHist 36 = 84f. and Stenhouse 2003:50) of some of those "true conquerors and warriors of faith, upon whom the *imām* could always rely in battle" (*ahl al-ġazw wal-ǧihād al-aṣlī al-muᶜtamadᶜalayhim fī l-qitāl*; BassHist 52 = 111, Conti Rossini 1946:181). On the other hand, in several instances the term M. is used in ethnic juxtapositions. Within the joint *ǧihād* army M.

are regularly contrasted with the ↗Somali fighters, but also with the ↗Ḥarla, the Arabs and even the Mahra from ↗Ḥaḍramawt (e.g., BassHist 36, 52, 64, 110, 129, 346 [text]). Since the ↗ᶜAfar are the only major people not contrasted with M. it seems likely that they themselves were ᶜAfar. The fact that the terms ᶜAfar or Danākil never actually appear in the *Futūḥ* might indicate that M. is simply the text's ethnonym for the ᶜAfar. The connotation of elite fighters could then possibly refer to a pro-ᶜAfar bias of the author, perhaps facilitated by his hagiographic attitude towards Grañ who himself was of partly ᶜAfar descent.

When the term M. passed from the Muslim sphere into Christian Ethiopian usage it lost its original ethnic and elite connotations. In some parts of the "short chronicles" (DombrChr 39 [text] = 162 [tr.] and n. 76; KrLebD 14ff. [text]), the term M. serves as a generic term for ᶜAdalite Muslims, denoting sometimes Aḥmad Grañ himself (s., e.g., RicEnbYoh v, 194f., 222) as well as Muslim troops of the Ethiopian Christian army (e.g. CRHist 36 [text] = 42 [tr.]) – a shift of meaning possibly facilitated by the identical three root consonants in M. and *əslamay* ('Muslim') and a seemingly similar morphological pattern.

Whatever the term's precise original reference, its etymology is unclear. Neither the guess of Praetorius (1910:621f.) that it was a deliberate distortion of *əslamay*, nor that of Basset (BassHist 84, n. 4 [tr.]; s. also RicEnbYoh v, 223), who suggested an interpretation as 'converts' based upon special meanings in Amharic and Təgrəñña, can be accepted, even if both have found their way into dictionaries (LesCDic 345; they are also mentioned in the English translation of the *Futūḥ* 2003:50 n. 186 and 383 n. 896). Little can also be found to support the suggestions of Conti Rossini (1946:181f.), as Ricci showed (RicEnbYoh v, 223). Whilst the dictionary by Abdurrahmān Maḥammad Qorram (1984:34) offers as explanation of M. as "councillor (*ammakäri*)" who has many ideas/solutions (*balä bəzu mäla*) in stock, the etymology recently suggested by Morin (MorDicAfar 222) seems worth consideration: the term might derive from ᶜAfar *malás* or *maláys* ('try to kill', 'shooter').

According to Kropp (1990), who systematically analyzed Arabic, Ethiopic and European sources, the label M. is still used in Harär to denote a military officer's rank (the meaning also registered by dictionaries; s., e.g., Leslau 1963:107, 1965:116, with no guess as to etymology), or as a title in the context of Harari youth mobs. This use is reflected in the 80-verse-long soldier song *Mäläsay fäqär* (ᶜAbdulmuhaymin ᶜAbdunnāsir 1995:41–44, no. 11).

Src.: ᶜABDULMUHAYMIN ᶜABDUNNĀSIR, ሐረር፡ ጌይ፡ ፈቀር (*Harar gēy faqar*, 'Songs of Harar'), Harär 1416 H. [1988 A.M., 1995 A.D.], 41–44; ABDURRAHMĀN MAḤAMMAD QORRAM, ጨቅቲ፡ ከታብ። የአደርኛ፡ አማርኛ፡ መዝገበ፡ ቃላት (*Ç̣uqti kətab: yä'adärəññña–amarəññña mäzgäbä qalat*, 'Harari–Amharic Dictionary'), Addis Abäba 1978 A.M. [1986 A.D.], 34; BassHist 36, 52, 64, 110, 129, 346 (text) = 84f., 111f., 130, 185, 206f., 466 (tr.) (= *Futūḥ al-Ḥabaša, the Conquest of Abyssinia [16th Century]* ..., tr. by PAUL LESTER STENHOUSE, annot. by RICHARD PANKHURST, Hollywood, CA 2003, 50, 69, 85, 136, 155, 383); CRHist 36 (text) = 42 (tr.); DombrChr 39 (text) = 162 (tr.); KrLebD 4f., 14–18, 20f., 30, 39 (text) = 4 and n. 12, 6, 14–17, 21f., 35, 43 (tr.); LesCDic 345b; WOLF LESLAU, *Etymological Dictionary of Harari*, Los Angeles, CA 1963 (University of California Publications 1), 107, 217; ID., *Ethiopians Speak*. I. *Harari*, Los Angeles, CA 1965 (University of California Publications 7), 116.

Lit.: ULRICH BRAUKÄMPER, *Islamic History and Culture in Southern Ethiopia*, Münster ²2004 (Göttinger Studien zur Ethnologie 9), s. index [cf. review by ALESSANDRO GORI, *Aethiopica* 8, 2005, 227–34, here 230]; DombrChr 162, n. 76; MANFRED KROPP, "Mäläsay: Selbstbezeichnung eines Hadariner Offizierkorps und ihr Gebrauch in äthiopischen und arabischen Chroniken", in: HERRMANN JUNGRAITHMAYR – ANDREAS KRONENBERG – KARL HEINZ STRIEDTER (eds.), *Afrika-Studien* II, *Eike Haberland zum 65. Geburtstag*, Stuttgart 1990 (= Paideuma. Mitteilungen zur Kulturkunde 36), 105–13 (Lit.); ID., "Individualität und Bindung, die Geschichte des Äthiopischen (Geᶜez) im Spiegel von Wolf Leslaus *Comparative Dictionary*", in: *AfrHorn* 282–99, here 292; MorDicAfar 222; RicEnbYoh v, 194f. and 222f. n. 102; WagHar 409, 445f., 448, 480f.

Franz-Christoph Muth

Mälazo

M. (መላዞ) is an area in Təgray, ca. 10 km southeast of ↗Aksum, where several archaeological sites are located (for location s. May ᶜAyni). The cover term M. is used to indicate M. proper, as well as the adjacent archaeological sites of Gobo Čela (Gobo Sela), Ǝnda Çärqos, and Mäzabär. The nearby site of ↗Ḥawəlti is closely associated with M., both often referred to as the Ḥawəlti-M. area.

M. proper is a site of ca. 1 ha on a gently sloping terrace area above the north-western portion of the May Agᶜazen Basin. It was explored by the groups of Leclant and de Contenson during the 1950s–60s and by Michels in 1974. The site surface includes ↗pre-Aksumite and early ↗Aksumite culture period material culture, including dense potsherd concentrations, stone artefacts, and architectural rubble.

Gobo Čela is located on bluffs above the south-eastern portion of the May Agᶜazen Basin in an area referred to as Taḥtay-M. The site contains multiple mounds of rubble and artefacts dating to the pre-Aksumite and Aksumite periods. Artefacts include a group of cylindrical ↗incense altars with engravings of the disc and crescent symbol (cp. ↗Moon), a white-coloured stone statue of a bull, two round alabaster altars with tripod legs, and numerous dedicatory ↗inscriptions to ↗Almaqah (RIÉ 20, 22, 23 + 26, 24 + 27/or 23 + 27, 24 + 26/, 28–32). During October 1955 and April 1956 Leclant excavated two mounds. Mound A near the edge of a bluff contained a variety of ancient features, including a rectangular paved enclosure, walls, and artefacts that were attributed to the pre-Aksumite period. Mound B contained, among other things, intact two m-high walls, ruins of interior stairs, and a marble plaque fragment.

Ǝnda Ċärqos was excavated by de Contenson in 1958. Under remains of a circular building, a rectangular-shaped basilica-type church structure was revealed, probably dating to the Aksumite period (↗Church buildings). Built into this church were two earlier inscriptions of the pre-Aksumite period, one of which, almost complete, was compiled by a certain LMN, a local ruler, who bore the titles of "king" (MLKN) and of "*mukarrib* of ↗DᶜMT and SBʾ" (RIÉ 5). In its final invocation the gods ↗ᶜAstär, ↗HWBS, ↗Almaqah, ↗D̲āt Ḥimyam, and D̲āt Baᶜdān are mentioned.

Mäzabär, just north of Ǝnda Ċärqos on a plateau of the same name, covers an area of about one ha. In 1958 de Contenson documented the ruins of a two-room stone ↗house structure measuring 8.6 m x 4.2 m and containing steps and wall rebates of Aksumite type. Potsherds, a bronze hook, a fired clay oil lamp, a bronze pin, and a ceramic cup with an incised cross decoration were found here. In 1974 Michels documented an area just north-west of the house with a high density of jasper artefacts suggestive of an ancient stone-tool manufacturing area, for which an early Aksumite age is indicated both by associated pottery and by obsidian hydration dating. Analysis of ceramic sherd collections and obsidian hydration sample collections suggest dating to the early Aksumite culture period.

Src.: RIÉ.

Lit.: ABRAHAM JOHANNES DREWES, "Les inscriptions de Melazo", *AE* 3, 1959, 83–99; HENRI DE CONTENSON, "Aperçu sur les fouilles à Axoum et dans la région d'Axoum en 1958 et 1959", *ibid.* 101–04; ID., "Les fouilles à Haoulti-Melazo en 1958", *ibid.* 4, 1961, 39–46; JEAN LECLANT, "Haoulti-Melazo (1955–1956)", *ibid.* 3, 1959, 43–57; JOSEPH W. MICHELS, *Changing Settlement Patterns in the Aksum-Yeha Region of Ethiopia: 700 BC–AD 850*, Oxford 2005; ROGER SCHNEIDER, "Les inscriptions d'Enda Ċerqos", *AE* 4, 1961, 61–65.

Matthew C. Curtis

Mälʾəkti Sälam

M.S. (መልእክቲ፡ ሰላም, 'Message of Peace') is a periodical printed in ↗Təgrəñña that was first edited in 1909 by Olof Eriksson (1878–1962), a missionary from the ↗Swedish Evangelical Mission (SEM) in Eritrea. The first issue came out in March 1909 in Asmära and introduced the aim of the paper with the words: "This paper ... wants to bear testimony to Christ, announcing that he wants to be the king of this nation ... In this paper, you will find sermons, admonitions and good narratives, beneficial for the faithful as well as for the entire population." At first, M.S. was issued four times a year. Later on, it was issued once a month. The 1915 edition included articles in both Təgrəñña and Italian. The periodical printed a selection of articles on church-related subjects, such as sermons, poems, adages, world news, news on worldwide missions, other faiths, biblical figures, Church Fathers, royalty in Italy and Sweden, and mission leaders in Sweden.

The publication of M.S. was interrupted between 1915–48 due to the Italians' inimical attitude towards the SEM, as well as World War II. Distribution was resumed in 1948 under the auspices of the Evangelical Church of Eritrea (ECE). In 1951–69 the publication was issued by the ECE together with the Lutheran Church of Eritrea. Since Eritrea's independence in 1991, M.S. has become a regularly issued church paper with an emphasis on the life and activities of the ECE. From its inception in 1909, M.S. has always been a forum for general education and the enrichment of Təgrəñña as a language.

Lit.: GUSTAV ARÉN, *Envoys of the Gospel in Ethiopia: in the Steps of Evangelical Pioneers 1898–1936*, Stockholm 1999 (Studia Missionalia Upsaliensia 75), 188; OLOF ERIKSSON, *Melʾikti Selam*, Asmara 1912–13, 194–385; F. NATNAEL, "Melʾikti Selam", paper presented at the *First International Symposium on the Tigrinya Language*, Asmara, February 20–23, 1993 (ms.).

Ezra Gebremedhin

Mälfa

M. (መልፋ; 13° 38' N, 39° 8' E), the historical capital of Dägʷᶜa Tämben (Tgn. 'Upper Tämben')

in central Təgray, is today only the centre of a *ṭabiya* (administrative centre for several *qušät*, 'village[s]'); traditionally M. was also used as the name for the surrounding region (for location s. Märäb). It also temporarily served as the capital of *rəʾəsä mäkʷanənt* Kaśa Mərčʼa (later *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV).

M. lies well protected in a mountainous area in Däg^{wc}a Tämben and served as the seat of the governors of ↗Tämben, such as *šum tämben* Wäldä Kidan, *šum tämben* Ḥanṭal, and *šum tämben* Mərčʼa Wäldä Kidan. Kaśa Mərčʼa was raised here; he made M. his first capital as a rebel governor of Təgray (1867), before he moved his base to ↗Aksum and later Agula^{c} in ↗Ṣəra^{c}, when he became emperor.

Aṣe Yoḥannəs IV then appointed the influential *däğğazmač* Wäḥadä Lawṭe, from a side line of the family of the *šum tämben* (s. ↗Lawṭe Zäwde), governor of Däg^{wc}a Tämben in M. Later, however, the importance of M. decreased; ↗^{c}Abiy ^{c}Addi in the warmer Q^{w}älla Tämben ('Lower Tämben') assumed more importance as a capital, and, as a consequence, many migrated to the latter.

Mural on canvas on the western wall of the *mäqdäs* of Ǝnda Maryam, Mälfa, representing the Virgin and Child and *aṣe* Yoḥannəs IV with his attendants as supplicants; painting by *aläqa* Ǝsṭäzya, 19th/20th cent.; photo 2004, courtesy of Michael Gervers

In 1943 A.M. [1950/51 A.D.] the newly appointed governor of Tämben *däğğazmač* Gäbru Gäbrä Ḥəywät from Siḥäta in ^{c}Agamä finally moved the governor's seat from M. to the nearby, more easily accessible, flat, but muddy highland area called May ^{c}Aläqṯi (lit. '[place of] infected water'), calling his new city there ↗Hagärä Sälam.

Due to its relative inaccessibility, the area of M. again became the centre of a rebel government in the 20th cent. After the *Därg* lost control over Təgray, the ↗Tigray People's Liberation Front had its headquarters in nearby ^{c}Addi Gäzaʾiti, from 1989 until assuming power in May 1991.

The church of Ǝnda Maryam, also called Mälfa Ṣəyon, is believed to have been founded in the early 18th cent., during the reign of *aṣe* ↗Iyasu I, along with the monastery around it. The baptismal church of *aṣe* Yoḥannəs IV, it was richly endowed by the Emperor and keeps paintings showing Yoḥannəs and his followers, by *aläqa* ↗Ǝsṭäzya, and objects from his reign. Today there are ca. 20 monks in the monastery.

Src.: interviews with *fitawrari* Iyasu Aṣbəha, Mäqälä, June 2004; *qäñat* Dästa Gäbrä Iyäsus Wähade's family, Hagärä Sälam, July 2005; priests of Ǝnda Maryam Mälfa, July 2005; Muluwärq Kidanä Maryam, Mäqäla, July 2004, June 2005; *mämhər* Mäsfin Dästa, Mäqälä, July 2005; Ataḵilti Alämsäggäd, Hagärä Sälam, August 2005.

Wolbert Smidt

Mālikism

M. (Arab. *al-maḏhab al-mālikī*; *mālikīya*) is one of the four schools (*maḏhab*, pl. *maḏāhib*) of Islamic law (*fiqh*) in Sunni ↗Islam. M. is named after the jurist *imām* Mālik b. Anas al-Aṣbaḥī (d. 795 in Medina), whose doctrine it has adopted. It was also known as the School of Ḥiğāz or the School of Medina. One of the distinguishing features of *imām* Mālik's legal methodology was his use of the normative practices (^{c}*amal*) in Medina as a source of law. He recorded traditions, opinions and customary practices, together with his own observations, in his collection the *Kitāb al-Muwaṭṭaʾ*. Some scholars have asserted that Mālik used *raʾy* (personal opinion) and *qiyās* (analogy) in expounding legal rules. In the 9th and 10th cent. Mālik's successors – especially in North Africa – systematized more elaborately the M. School. Among the most important works of his successors are: *al-Mudawwana al-kubrā* by

Qayrawānī Saḥnūn (d. 854), a collection of M. jurisprudence and *ar-Risāla* by Ibn Abī Zayd al-Qayrawānī (d. 996), a précis of M. law. An influential compendium of M. law was *al-Muḫtaṣar*, composed by the Egyptian jurist Ḫalīl b. Isḥāq al-Ǧundī (d. 1374).

In the early medieval Islamic period the M. *maḏhab* succeeded in spreading mainly to North Africa and Muslim Spain. Nowadays, the M. School is predominant in Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia and Libya in North Africa. It also has a significant presence in Upper Egypt, Sudan, Bahrain, United Arab Emirates, Kuwait, and is the predominant legal rite of the Muslim communities of West Africa (e.g., Senegal, Mali, Niger, Togo, Nigeria and Chad).

In north-east Africa, the M. is present in parts of Eritrea and is associated, in its diffusion (both early and contemporary) with influences from the Sudan. The *Ḥanafī* and *Šāfiᶜī* schools preceded the introduction and establishment of the M. School in the Eritrean area, through wide-ranging and extensive contacts with the Arabian Peninsula (↗Šāfiᶜism) and the influence of Ottoman and Egyptian rule in the region (↗Ḥanafism). The earliest and strongest presence of M. is among societies of western Eritrea, yet the diffusion of Islam to other parts of the area in the 19th cent. brought the *maḏhab* to various Muslim communities in Sämhar, Saḥəl (traditionally *ḥanafī*) and also to the ↗Ǧäbärti on the highland plateau. It seems that the ↗ᶜAd Šek holy family was active in that process. According to oral data collected by the author, the Ḥāmid ᶜĀbid (referred to also as ᶜAbdu Ḥāmid) mosque in Massawa (no longer in use) was associated with the M. *maḏhab*.

A census conducted in Eritrea in the Italian colonial period (1931) identified the M. school as having a majority of followers with 65 % (*ḥanafis* 26 % and *šāfiᶜīs* 9 %), whereas Pollera estimated that the *ḥanafis* constituted the majority (PollEr 285f.). In the mid-20th cent. Trimingham noted that the M. rite was prevalent among the ᶜAd Šek (Saḥəl, Barka and Sämhar), ↗Beni ᶜAmər, sections of the ↗Ḥabab, Barya, Kunama, Algäden, Säbdärat, Ḥalänga, Aflända, sections of the Ǧäbärti as well as among immigrants from the Sudan. He also noted the existence of M. among the ↗Wäyṭo of Lake Ṭana in Ethiopia. (TrIslam 153, 232f.).

Various *qāḍī* lists prepared by Eritrea's Grand Mufti, *šayḫ* ↗Ibrāhīm al-Muḫtār, show that between the turn of the 20th cent. and ca. 1965 M. *qāḍī*s intermittently held office in most of Eritrea's towns and cities, regardless of the regional distribution of the legal rites. Most M. judges in that period were identified as members of the Təgre-speaking Beni ᶜAmər and ↗Marya groups. But there were also judges from the ᶜAd Täkles, ᶜAd Mäᶜalləm, Asaorta, ᶜAd Dərqi, ᶜAd Šek Ḥāmid, Ḥalänga, and Bedawi (↗Beğa) groups and clans (Ibrāhīm al-Muḫtār [1966]).

In the colonial era, especially after the Italian conquest of ↗Libya (1911), the Ministry of Colonies charged such prominent Italian Orientalists as ↗Guidi and Santillana to translate into Italian Ḫalīl b. Isḥāq's *Muḫtaṣar* which was subsequently published in 1919. Several other Italian colonial handbooks on M. law were published in the 1920s.

Although he identified himself as a *ḥanafī*, Eritrea's first Grand Mufti, Ibrāhīm al-Muḫtār, studied and wrote on the four Sunni legal schools, including the M. It appears that when in the mid-1920s he travelled to continue his religious studies in the Sudan, he expressed concern at his school's arguing that studying exclusively the M. *fiqh* would make his training useless after his eventual return to Eritrea. He therefore took private lessons in Omdurman (Umm Durmān) with the merchant and *ḥanafī* jurist, *šayḫ* Muḥammad al-Qūṣī. Ibrāhīm al-Muḫtār continued his studies in al-Azhar where he deepened and perfected his interests in Islamic jurisprudence. In the late 1930s he prefaced, revised and commented on the text *al-Masāʾil al-fiqhīya allatī lā yuᶜḍaru fihā bil-ǧahl* ('Matters of Jurisprudence which cannot be Pardoned on the Account of Ignorance', also known as *Masāʾil lā yuᶜḍaru fihā bil-ǧahl ᶜalā maḏhab al-imām Mālik*), written by the M. jurist Bahrām b. ᶜAbdallāh b. ᶜAbdalᶜazīz (d. 1402) which had already been commented upon by the scholar Muḥammad b. Muḥammad as-Sinbāwī Amīr al-Kabīr (1742–1817). His edition of Bahrām's text has been reprinted in Beirut (1986) and Cairo (1996). One unverified source points to another text written by Ibrāhīm al-Muḫtār (which might have been published in a journal such as *Maǧallat al-Azhar*) with the title *al-Madḫal al-waǧīz fī ṣṭilāḥāt as-sāda al-Mālikīya* ('A Brief Introduction to the Terminology of the Mālikī Masters').

Among several M. texts that are diffused in contemporary Eritrea one finds editions of the *Risāla* of Ibn Abī Zayd al-Qayrawānī (d. 996) and the *Muḫtaṣar* of the Algerian Abū Zayd

ᶜAbdarraḥmān al-Aḫḍarī (b. 1514) (s. more in Gori 1995).

In Ethiopia, M. seems to be present only in the areas along the Sudanese border (HusIslam 66) and, at least in the past, among the Wäyṭo and Ǧäbärti (TrIslam 153). Little is known about the diffusion of M. in other parts of Ethiopia, yet influences from the Sudan may have made some impact in further regions of the country. The famous 19th-cent. Wällo scholar and saint *al-ḥāǧǧ* ↗Bušrā āy Muḥammad was apparently influenced by M. during his stay in Sudan where he became a disciple of Aḥmad aṭ-Ṭayyib al-Bašīr. He is reported as sitting on the floor of the *ḫalwa* (place of spiritual retreat) of his master after it had been washed with a mixture of water and cow dung (which for M. does not defile ritual purity), while another Ethiopian *šayḫ* was very attentive to keep his clothes away from the impure liquid (HusIslam 107). Later, Sudanese *mālikī* learned men visited *al-ḥāǧǧ* Bušrā in Gäta. One of them, *šayḫ* ᶜAbdalkāfī, who had previously been to Wälqayt, came with 100 students wishing to teach law according to M. *Al-ḥāǧǧ* Bušrā, however, asked him to refrain from doing so as the dominant *maḏāhib* in the region were the *šāfiᶜī* and *ḥanafī* (ibid. 109). Thus, M. did not spread though it did have some influence. In a booklet on the legal rules of pilgrimage to ↗Mecca, recently translated and published by ↗Muḥammad Walī (1991/92) the M. position is given the same importance as that of the other law schools.

Src.: BRUNO DUCATI, *Diritto musulmano malikita*, Roma 1929; IGNAZIO GUIDI – DAVID SANTILLANA (ed., tr.), *Sommario del diritto malechita di Khalil ibn Ishaq*, Milano 1918; MINISTERO DELLE COLONIE, *Il Muhtasar o sommario del diritto Malechita di Ibn Ishaq*, vol. 1: IGNAZIO GUIDI, *Giurisprudenza religiosa* (ᶜ*Ibadat*) and vol. 2: DAVID SANTILLANA, *Diritto civile, penale e giudiziario*, Milano 1919; ID., *Istituzioni di diritto musulmano malichita, con riguardo anche al sistema sciafiita*, vol. 1, Roma 1926; MUḤAMMAD WÄLE (tr.), የሐጅና፡ ዑምራ፡ ጉዞ፡ ስነ፡ ስርዓት፡ በአራቱ፡ መዝሀቦች (*Yäḥaǧǧənna ᶜumra guzo sənä sərᶜat bäʾarattu mäzhabočč*, 'The Rituals of the Greater and Lesser Pilgrimage according to the Four Legal Schools'), Addis Abäba 1412 H. [1984 A.M. = 1991/92 A.D.].

Lit.: NICOLE COTTART, "Mālikiyya", in: *EI²* vol. 6, 278–83; ALESSANDRO GORI, "Soggiorno di studi in Eritrea ed Etiopia. Brevi annotazioni bibliografiche", *RSE* 39, 1995 [1997], 81–129, here 95f.; HusIslam 66, 107, 109; IBRĀHĪM AL-MUḤTĀR, "Al-maḥākim aš-šarᶜīya wa-quḍātuhā fī Iritriyā" ('The Islamic Law Courts and their Judges in Eritrea'), *Ǧarīdat al-Waḥda* 23, 27, 28 *Ramaḍān* 1385 H. [January 1966 A.D.]; PollEr 285f.; JOSEPH SCHACHT, "Mālik b. Anas", in: *EI²* vol. 6, 262–65; TrIslam 153, 232f.

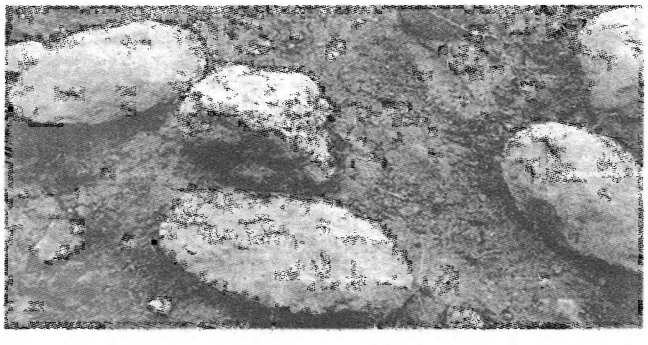
Jonathan Miran

Mälka Qunṭure

M.Q. (መልካ፡ ቁንጡሬ, or Mälka Konṭure; 8° 40' 60'' N, 37° 37' 60'' E, 2,726 m A.S.L.) is an archaeological, paleoanthropological, and paleontological site area located on both banks of the upper ↗Awaš River near the community of Mälka Awaš, ca. 50 km south of Addis Abäba, in Šäwa (for location s. Mäqi).

The M.Q. site area was first documented by Gerard Dekker in 1963 and investigated subsequently by Gerard Bailloud. Between 1965 and 1982 and again from 1993 to 1995 a French–Ethiopian research expedition, led by Jean Chavaillon, conducted systematic archaeological, palaeoanthropological, palaeoenvironmental, and geological research at M.Q. Since 1999 the Italian Archaeological Mission, directed by Marcello Piperno, has carried out research and organized plans for the construction of an open-air museum at M.Q.

The basic geology of the M.Q. site area consists of a number of fluvial terraces containing Pleistocene and Holocene sediments up to one-hundred metres in thickness. A number of archaeological sites have been investigated at M.Q., the most prominent among these include the sites of Gombore I, Gombore II, Garba I, Garba III, Garba IV, Garba XII, and Kella I. Excavations at the Gombore I site revealed Oldowan tool tradition artefacts, dating between 1.7 and 1.6 million years ago (y.a.) and a *Homo erectus* humerus fossil bone fragment. The Garba IV site dates to between 1.5 and 1.4 million y.a. and includes approximately 10,000 lithic artefacts made of obsidian and other igneous rock material, a *Homo erectus* child mandible, and thousands of faunal specimens from a wide variety of mammals. Excavations at the Garba XII site have produced important insights concerning the transition from the Oldowan tool tradition to the Acheulian tool tradition at about 900,000 y.a. The Gombore II



Archaeological site of Mälka Qunṭure, with hand-axes; from Schneider n.d.:6

site has revealed Acheulian tool tradition artifacts that date to ca. 700,000 y.a. and two skull fragments related to *Homo erectus*. The sites of Garba I and Garba III have produced later Acheulian artifacts dating to ca. 500,000 y.a. and ca. 250,000 y.a. respectively. At the Garba III site fossil human remains attributed to archaic *Homo sapiens* have been recovered. The Kella I site is significant in its long archaeological sequence ranging from the Oldowan period to the Later Stone Age.

↗Hominids; ↗Homo; ↗Palaeontology

Lit.: ANDREA D'ANDREA – ROSALIA GALLOTTI – MARCELLO PIPERNO, "Taphonomic Interpretation of the Developed Oldowan site of Garba IV (Melka Kunture, Ethiopia) through a GIS Application", *Antiquity* 76, 294, 2002, 991–1001; ARLETTE BERTHELET et al., *Melka Kunture: the Guide*, Napoli 2001; JEAN CHAVAILLON, "Chronologie des niveaux paléolithiques de Melka-Konturé," *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des sciences* sér. D, 276, 1973, 1533–36; ID., "Les habitats acheuléens de Melka-Kontouré", *Proceedings of the Panafrican Congress of Prehistory and Quaternary Studies, 7th Session*, 1976, 57–61; ID., "Stratigraphie du site archéologique de Melka-Kunturé", *Bulletin de la Société Géologique de France* 7e sér., 31, 3, 1979, 227–32; ID., "Les habitats paléolithiques de Melka-Kunturé", *Abbay* 11, 1982, 23–46; ID., "Le gisement paléolithique de Melka-Kunturé évolution et culture", in: *PICES* 8, vol. 1, 47–54; ID. – NICOLE CHAVAILLON, "Les habitats oldowayens de Melka Konturé (Ethiopie)", *ibid.* 268, 2244–47; ID. – NICOLE CHAVAILLON – YVES COPPENS – BRIGITTE SENUT, "Présence d'Hominidé dans le site oldowayen de Gomboré I à Melka-Konturé", *ibid.* 285, 1977, 961–63; ID. – YVES COPPENS, "Nouvelle découverte d'Homo erectus à Melka-Konturé", *ibid.* sér. II, 1, 303, 1986, 99–104; ID. – MARCELLO PIPERNO (eds.), *Studies on the Early Palaeolithic Site of Melka Kunture, Ethiopia*, Florence 2004 (Lit.); ID. – MAURICE TAIEB, "Stratigraphie du Quaternaire de Melka-Konturé, vallée de l'Awash, Ethiopie. Premiers resultants", *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des sciences* sér. *D* 266, 1968, 1210–12; DENIS GERAADS, "La faune des gisements de Melka-Konturé: artiodactyles, primates", *Abbay* 10, 1979, 21–50; MARCELLO PIPERNO, "Les sols d'occupations oldowayens évolués de Garba IV, Melka Konturé, Ethiopie (Fouilles 1972–1976)", in: RICHARD E. LEAKEY – BETHWELL A. OGOT (eds.), *Actes du 8e Congrès panafricain de Préhistoire et des Etudes du Quaternaire: Nairobi, 5 au 10 Septembre, 1977*, Nairobi 1980, 202–04; ROGER SCHNEIDER, "Le Moyen Age éthiopien", in: INSTITUT ÉTHIOPIEN D'ARCHÉOLOGIE (ed.), [folder], Addis Abeba n.d. [8 pp.], 6f. (ill.).

Matthew C. Curtis

Mälkam Ayyähu

M.A. (መልካም፡ አየሁ, b. ca. 1885, d. ca. 1945, Gondär) was the principal informant of Michel ↗Leiris during his research at Gondär in 1932. She lived in Gondär's Ba°ata district, where she led a little community of adherents of the *zar* ↗possession cult on the margins of Christian so-

Mälkam Ayyähu in the camp of the Dakar–Djibouti Mission, from left to right: Ṭəbäbu, Mälkam Ayyähu, *abba* Jérôme, Michel Leiris, Mälkam Ayyähu's pupil Dənqənäš; photo September 1932, from Mercier 2003:44

ciety. She practised as a kind of ↗healer for people afflicted by the *zar* (ዛር) ↗spirits. This type of spirit is believed to torment its hosts (ባለዛር, *bäläzar*, lit. 'owner of the *zar*') and create a form of possession which can be unlimited in time and hereditary. A person possessed by a *zar* cannot be freed from it by himself and must pay homage periodically to his *zar*. Herself possessed by several *zar*, M.A. acted as medium. Her mission was to identify which *zar* possessed her clients and to communicate with it. Thereby, M.A. established the worship that the *bäläzar* had to perform in order to make the spirit leave him in peace.

Thanks to his translator *abba* ↗Jérôme, Leiris adapted to the daily life of M.A. in order to study the worship of the *zar*. In the belief that ethnological analysis cannot be separated from subjective experience, Leiris described his life with M.A. in his book *L'Afrique Fantôme* (1934). With irony, he described M.A. as somebody who had all the qualities of a brothel-keeper, a clown and a soothsayer. Nevertheless, at the beginning of his research Leiris showed admiration for M.A. He even fell in love with Ǝmmawayš, a disciple of M.A. However, by the end of his journey to Gondär he rather showed an aversion, specifically after five months (from July to November 1932) of more or less surging common life. Recently, a well-known ↗*kərar* player Asnaqäčč Wärqu portrayed the enigmatic character of M.A. in the play *Michel Leiris à Gondar* by Geneviève Rosset (1997).

Src.: MICHEL LEIRIS, "Le taureau de Seyfou Tchenger", *Minotaure* 2, 1933, 74–82; ID., "Le culte du zâr à Gondar (Éthiopie septentrionale)", *Aethiopica* 3–4, 1934, 125–36; ID., *L'Afrique Fantôme*, Paris 1934; ID., *La possession et ses aspects théâtraux chez les Ethiopiens de Gondar*, Paris 1958.

Lit.: JACQUES MERCIER, *Le roi Salomon et les maîtres du regard, art et médecine en Éthiopie*, Paris 1992, 44 (ill.); ID., *Les traverses éthiopiennes de Michel Leiris*, Paris 2003.

Stéphane Ancel

Mälkäññа

The M. (መልክኛ) was a historical title and function in Christian Ethiopia. The word most probably derives from the Amharic verb *läkka* ('measure') and therefore originally meant 'the one who measures; measurer' (thus also *ṭäğğ mälkäññа*, *bäg mälkäññа*; s. GuiVoc 34, cp. THMDic 72). Similar to the title ↗*ṣäḥafe lam* ('counter of the cows'), given to governors of big provinces, M. became the title of a local government representative.

The institution is especially associated with northern ↗Šäwa, where all the territory conquered by the ↗Amhara was divided into estates consisting of different types of tax-paying peasants (mainly ↗*gäbbar*, *gəndäbäl* and ↗*sämon*), with a M. over all, usually holding non-hereditary government land (↗*Madäriya*).

The M. institution was highly adaptive and evolved over time. In the widest sense, it has been described as synonymous with *gʷəltäññа*, ↗*balabbat*, ↗*näfṭäññа*, and ↗*wälasma*, and any of these might be referred to as M. in certain contexts. The land rights even of the M. proper varied considerably according to the times. Weissleder has provided the only really detailed description – in the special setting of a church *mälkäññät* (Mäsḳa in ↗Ankobär) in the early 1960s.

The more narrow and original meaning of the term can be illustrated by oral information on the typical M. near ↗Doqaqit, the core area of the early Šäwan state. The role of the M. was to maintain law and order, enforce tax collection, judge in conflicts between his peasants, perform *wär tära* (one month of guarding government property every year), and above all, to go to war when called upon. In return he held one ↗*gaša* of government land (*madäriya*), which was cultivated by some peasants as part of their taxation for their *gäbbar* land. The peasants paid other taxes in labour or kind (later in money) directly to the local governor (the Yəfat ↗*šaläqa* at Wäyr Amba). Their land rights (*gäbbar* etc.) were considered ↗*rəst*, and they could sell their land, but the M. could not sell his *madäriya* land. There were, however, strong tendencies towards hereditary claims, and through a reform in 1955 *madäriya* land became private property.

Src.: interviews with Kura Wändəmmagäññähu (Ayne), 2 *Taḫsas* and 20 *Mäggabit* 1985 A.M; Gässäsä Täsämma (Armanya) 15–16 *Ḫədar* 1993 A.M.; Däməssäw Wändəmnäh (Wäyr Amba), 15–16 *Ḫədar* 1993 A.M.; BTafA 201, 503–21, index; DillmZarY 9; GEBRE-WOLD-INGIDA WORK, "Ethiopia's Traditional System of Land Tenure and Taxation", *EthObs* 5, 4, 1962, 302–39; GuiVoc 34; MANFRED KROPP, "Vier gwəlt-Urkunden von König ᶜAmdä-Ṣəyon aus dem Archiv der Kirche Däbrä-Ǝgziʾabəḥer-Ab von Amba-Gəše. Mit einem Exkurs über den Namen Bätärgelä-Maryam", in: WALTER RAUNIG – ASFA-WOSSEN ASSERATE (eds.), *Äthiopien zwischen Orient und Okzident. Beiträge zu Geschichte, Religion und Kunst Äthiopiens. 4. Wissenschaftliche Tagung der Gesellschaft Orbis Aethiopicus, Köln, Oktober 1998*, Bielefeld 2004, 39–64, here 52, 58; MAHTEME SELLASSIE WOLDE MASKAL, "The Land System of Ethiopia", *ibid.* 1, 9, 1957, 283–301; MahZekr 107–24; PerrZarY 9, 15, 32, 59; PAUL SOLEILLET, *Voyages en Éthiopie*, Rouen 1886, 18.
Lit.: BERHANOU ABBEBE, *Évolution de la propriété foncière au Choa (Ethiopie), du règne de Ménélik à la Constitution de 1931*, Paris 1971, 39f.; CrumLand 9–12; Ege-Class 158f., 186; RICHARD PANKHURST, "Hierarchy at the Feast: the Partition of the Ox in Traditional Ethiopia", in: *PICES* 9, vol. 3, 173–92; StStud 131, 240–45; WOLFGANG WEISSLEDER, *The Political Ecology of Amhara Domination*, Ph.D. thesis, University of Chicago 1965.

Svein Ege

Mälkəʾ

The M. (መልክእ [pl. *mälkəʾat*], also frequently *mälkəᶜ*) is a Gəᶜəz term meaning 'form, figure', and by extention 'image, icon, effigy, portrait, likeness; blazon' (from the verb *läkʾa*, s. DillmLex 51; LesCDic 313; cp. Amh.: *mälk*, 'face'; *mälkam*, 'nice, beautiful'). M. is a poetic composition in Gəᶜəz praising different parts of the body of a ↗saint or a member of the ↗Trinity. It is a peculiarly Ethiopian type of spiritual poetry (↗Hymns) and an original genre of Ethiopian hagiographic literature.

The number of stanzas in a M. fluctuates from the minimum of 22 to some 52 (ChRep 185f.; HabTent 54f.). Each stanza comprises five rhymed verses; the first verse usually starts with the words *sälam lä*... ('Peace be to .../ Hail to ...'). A few M. start with *əsäggəd* ... ('I worship ...'), or with *tämaḫṣänku* ... ('I entrust myself ...'); a few M. may start without the usual *sälam lä*.... Verses 2–5 do not necessarily praise the part of the body, but continue the motif of the first line and refer to some (miraculous) events from the saint's life (usually linked to his or her Vita [↗*Gädl*]), exalting the saint's holiness, virtue, potency and beauty. Usually the M. begins and ends with a doxology (HabUff 200; Cohen 1957:149ff.). Some M. contain a short invocation for protection or a plea to accept the prayer.

The M. is a necessary component of the saint's liturgical commemoration in the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥədo) Church (EOTC), and in manuscripts it frequently follows upon the Vita.

The list of the main parts (**እምርእስ፡ እስከ፡ እግር**, *əmrəᵓəs əskä əgər*, 'from head to foot') of the body celebrated in the M. can be classified as follows: (a) parts of the body above the neck: hair, head, face, temple, eyelashes, eyebrows, eyes, ears, nose, nostrils, mouth, teeth, tongue, voice, word, breathing, throat, lips (but also his/her name, beauty); (b) parts of the middle of the body: neck; (c) from the neck down to the waist: shoulder, breasts, chest, hands, arms, forearms, fingers, nails (hands), sides; (d) internal organs (*nəwayä wəsṭ*): womb, heart, navel, kidney, heart (e.g., conscience); (e) from the waist to the toes: knees, feet, toes, nails, legs, back; (f) decisive moments of the earthly life (the memory of his/her name, conception, virginity, birth, earthly life, passing away, his/her dead body, the shrouding of the body, burial, including afterlife (resurrection, second coming [of Christ], ascension [of Mary]) (ChRep 185f.; HabTent 54f.). There can be strophes addressed to the saint's *qumät* 'stature', or (as in the case of *abunä* ↗Täklä Haymanot) to the saint's monastic tunic (*qämis*), girdle (↗*Qənat*), or cap (*qobᶜ*) and "mantle" (*ᶜəṣəf*; MQAGE no. 12).

Unlike ↗*qəne*, M. are not improvised. In the liturgy, the M. is employed during the "major" ↗*Səbḥatä nägḥ* (or major lauds for the saints). In the Sunday office (↗*Mäwäddəs*) the M. is replaced by the ↗*Təmhərtä ḫəbuᵓat*. In addition, the M. is used in the Office of the Hours, mainly for the Matins (↗*Maḫlet*). The M. is also much used by Orthodox Christians for their private devotion. Many of them recite the M. of their favourite saint at least on the latter's feast or monthly commemoration, or even daily. The ↗*Mälkəᵓa Maryam* and the ↗*Mälkəᵓa Iyäsus* are recited by the ministrants as they prepare for the Eucharistic liturgy (↗*Qəddase*) of the EOTC, and are therefore memorized by the students of traditional church schools (HabTent 55). It is compulsory to know them by heart to be ordained ↗*diyaqon*. The others are left to each student to study according to his ability and his devotion to a certain saint.

Not all saints venerated by the EOTC have a M. of their own, but there are also M. for the Prophets, Apostles and Martyrs (ChRep no. 107), the Angels and Archangels (even for the Guardian Angel [ChRep nos. 39, 272]).

The M. praising the members of the Trinity are, e.g.: for God the Father *Mälkəᵓa əgziᵓabəḥer ab* (ChRep no. 320); for Jesus Christ: *Mälkəᵓa Amanuᵓel* (MG no. 11; Lifchitz 1948; Cohen 1951), *Mälkəᵓa mädḫane ᶜaläm* (ChRep no. 142, 164 [Cohen 1957]; MG no. 12), *Mälkəᵓa Iyäsus* (ChRep no. 25; MG no. 46); for the Holy Spirit: *Mälkəᵓa p̣äraqliṭos* (ChRep nos. 395; MG no. 9). There is also a M. for the Trinity as a whole (*Mälkəᵓa śəllase*, ChRep nos. 20, 189).

M. praising St. Mary are, e.g., *Mälkəᵓa Maryam*, *Mälkəᵓa* ↗*kidanä məḥrät* (ChRep no. 360; MG no. 42 [DillmChr 136–46]), *Mälkəᵓa səᶜəl* (M. for the Icon of Mary, ChRep nos. 32, 368), *Mälkəᵓa Maryam Ṣəyon*, *Mälkəᵓa Edom* (lit. 'M. of Paradise'; MG no. 38), *Mälkəᵓa Qʷəsqʷam* (MG no. 41). The M. praising the ↗feasts of Mary are: *Mälkəᵓa fəlsäta* (MG no. 40), *Mälkəᵓa lədäta* (ChRep no. 23), *Mälkəᵓa bäᵓata*. There are M. in honour of such texts of Ethiopian church literature as the ↗*Wəddase Maryam* (ChRep nos. 299, 319, 326, 383, 385, 398; MG no. 43) and ↗*Anqäṣä bərhan* (ChRep no. 240; MG no. 44).

There are M. dedicated to personified non-humans and objects, such as the ↗Eucharist (*Mälkəᵓa qʷərban*, ChRep no. 17; MG no. 14; Fritsch 2002 [↗*Maḫbärä məᵓəmänan*]); Sunday (*Mälkəᵓa sänbät*, ChRep no. 170; Raineri 2000, no. 178 = G 12; MG no. 36); the church (*Mälkəᵓa betä krəstiyan*, ChRep nos. 93, 179, 307); the ↗*tabot*; the suffering of the Cross (*Mälkəᵓa ḫəmamatä mäsqäl*; ↗Crucifixion).

There are also some M. in honour of such non-ecclesiastical figures as *aṣe* ↗Iyasu II (ChRep nos. 42, 207), ↗Mənilək II (ChRep no. 115; Esteves Pereira 1915), *ras* ↗Mäkʷännən Wäldä Mikaᵓel (ANLin, ms. Conti Rossini 125, XXII, 2); and even ↗Täklä Ṣadəq Mäkʷərya, "the father of Ethiopian history" (Ricci 1992:118).

It is not known which M. should be considered the earliest and when they were composed. A "short chronicle" refers to *aṣe* ↗Naᶜod as the author of "a M. to Mary" (BassÉt I, 327; the M. has not been identified). A document preserved in ms. EMML 1706 (Getatchew Haile in PICES 10, vol. 1) assigns the authorship of many M. to different personalities, including *aṣe* ↗Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob (presumably, the author of *Mälkəᵓa fəlsäta*), *aṣe* ↗Bäᵓədä Maryam (*Mälkəᵓa Maryam*) and *aṣe* ↗Gälawdewos (*Mälkəᵓa səᶜəl*). The *Mälkəᵓa abunä Täklä Haymanot* (ChRep no. 211) and *Mälkəᵓa śəllase*, which were authored by *abba* Yoḥannes and *abba* Səbḥat Läᵓab respectively, are

traditionally considered to be very ancient. However, the oldest known manuscripts containing M. do not antedate the 17th cent. Irrespective of the time and circumstances of the composition of the first M., it seems that there was a phase of systematic teaching of M. in the traditional schools; the popularity of M. greatly expanded and the genre of M. flourished during the time of the Gondärine period (Getatchew Haile 1995:52f.), when it was also introduced into the liturgical service (HabUff 204). To establish the time of the composition for many M., it would be important to investigate the *Gubaʾe mälkəʾ*, a large compendium of M. (cp. ↗*Mälkəʾa gubaʾe*).

The huge repertoire of M.-hymns and the persistance of this tradition prove the extraordinary popularity of this sort of religious poetry in Ethiopia and its importance for study. However, after a number of important works by Chaîne (ChRep), Grohmann (CrohHymn) and some others, the discussion has focused more on separate M.-hymns and the issue of the origin of M. than on the M. as a genre of Ethiopian medieval literature and its features. Both Ethiopian and foreign scholars have been interested in the identification of the origin of M. Some scholars (also the *liqawənt*, or doctors of the church, s. ↗*Liq*) believe that M. is a genuine type of spiritual poetry, and its sources should be sought in the Bible and Ethiopian hymnody (e.g., HabTent 53; Gabré Yesus Haylu in PICES 3; Gezahegn Getachew in PICES 15). Some others consider the Coptic origin or model of M. (GuiSLett 67; RicLett 819), the hypothesis remaining, however, without decisive arguments (SimChrAeth 308). Others refute any Coptic parallel (Zanetti 2001) and look for the origin of or parallels to Ethiopian M. in Byzantine (ibid.; Lourié 2005) and Latin texts (Stoffregen Pedersen in PICES 8; Beylot 2005).

↗Gəᶜəz literature; ↗Hagiography

Src.: BassÉt I, 327 (text) = II, 125 (tr.); መልክአ፡ ጉባኤ (*Mälkəʾa gubaʾe*, 'The Collection of *Mälkəʾ*'), ed. by TÄSFA GÄBRÄ ŚƎLLASE, Addis Abäba 1959 A.M. [1966/67 A.D.] [= MG]; *ibid.*, ed. by Fəkkare Haymanot society, Asmära 1974 A.M. [1981/82 A.D.]; መልክአተ፡ ቅዱሳን፡ አበው፡ ዘገዳማተ፡ ኤርትራ (*Mälkəʾatä qəddusan abäw zägädamatä Ertra*, 'Hymns to Holy Fathers of the Eritrean Monasteries'), Asmära 1962 A.M. [1971/72 A.D.] [= MQAGE]; ChRep; MARCEL COHEN, "Sur le poème éthiopien d'Emmanuel", *JA* 239, 1951, 311–33; DAVID COHEN, "Un poème éthiopien: Le Malke du Christ 'Sauveur du monde' (Mädḫane ᶜAläm)", *ibid.* 245, 1957, 147–83; DillmLex 51; *mämhər* ELYAS ABRƎHA, ይትበሀል፡ ዘጎንደር፡ ዘውእቱ፡ ሥርዐተ፡ ማኅሌት (*Yətbähal zägondär zäwəʾətu śərᶜatä maḫlet*, 'The Tradition of Gondar, which is the Order of the *Maḫlet* Office'), Addis Abäba 1989 A.M. [1996/97 A.D.]; EMMANUEL FRITSCH, "Une hymne eucharistique éthiopienne: le Malkʾa Qwerban ou 'Portrait de l'Eucharistie'", *Irénikon* 2–3, 2002, 195–228; DEBORAH LIFCHITZ, "Le livre d'Emmanuel (poème ethiopien)", *JA* 236, 1948, 65–86; FRANCISCO MARIA ESTEVES PEREIRA, *A poesia etiopica*, Coïmbra 1915; OSVALDO RAINERI, *Codices Comboniani Aethiopici*, Città del Vaticano 2000, no. 178; A. ROMAN, "Un hymne du Nagara Maryam", *ROC* 23, 1922–23, 416–26; StrANL 316f., ms. Conti Rossini 125, XXII, 2; TEDROS ABRAHA, "L'effigie dell'Assunzione", *Adveniat Regnum Tuum* 75–76, 2001–02, 45–52.

Lit.: ROBERT BEYLOT, "Parallèles latins au Malkᶜa Māryām éthiopien", in: *Mélanges linguistiques M. Rodinson*, Paris 1985 (Comptes rendus du GLECS, Supplément 12), 115–22; ID., "À propos du malkʾa Maryam et de l'occident (Suive de deux notes d'hagiographie)", *Aethiopica* 8, 2005, 130–39; *abba* GABRÉ YESUS HAYLU, "Considérations théologiques sur le Malkeʾa Sellasie de Abba Səbhat Leʾab", in: *PICES* 3, vol. 2, 272–79; GETATCHEW HAILE, "Builders of Churches and Authors of Hymns. Makers of History in the Ethiopian Church", in: *PICES* 10, vol. 1, 369–75 [= GH]; ID., "Highlighting Ethiopian Traditional Literature", in: TADDESSE ADERA – ALI JIMALE AHMED (eds.), *Silence is not Golden: a Critical Anthology of Ethiopian Literature*, Lawrenceville, NJ 1995, 39–59; GEZAHEGN GETACHEW, "Is Latin the Origin of the Mälkʾ?" in: *PICES* 14, vol. 3, 1936–62; GuiSLett 66f.; SYLVAIN GRÉBAUT, "Note sur la poésie éthiopienne", *ROC* 2ème ser. 4, 1909, 90–98; GrohHymn, s. index; HabTent 53–56; HabUff 200, 204; BASIL LOURIÉ, "S. Alypius Stylite, S. Marc de Tharmaqa et l'origine des Malkəʾ éthiopiennes", in: DENIS NOSNITSIN et al. (eds.), *Varia Aethiopica: in Memory of Sevir B. Chernetsov (1943–2005)*, St. Petersburg 2005 (= Scrinium 1), 148–60; KIRSTEN STOFFREGEN PEDERSEN, "The Mälkĕʾ: an Ethiopian Prayer of Latin Origin?", in: *PICES* 8, vol. 2, 547–60; LANFRANCO RICCI, "Un dignitario etiopico tra passato e presente", *RSE* 43, 1992 [1994], 117–34, here 118; RicLett 819, 833; SimChrAeth 307ff.; BERNARD VÉLAT, "Hymnes eucharitiques éthiopienne", in: *Rythmes du Monde*, Paris 1953, 26–36; ID., "Le Mawāseᶜet et les livres de chant liturgique éthiopien", in: *Mémorial du cinquantenaire de l'École des Langues orientales anciennes de l'Institut Catholique de Paris*, Paris 1964, 159–70; UGO ZANETTI, "Parallèles antiques au malkeʾe éthiopien", in: ROBERT F. TAFT – GABRIELE WINKLER (ed.), *Acts of the International Congress Comparative Liturgy Fifty Years after Anton Baumstark (1872–1948), Rome, 25–29 September 1998*, Rome 2001 (OrChrA 265), 1005–20.

Habtemichael Kidane

Mälkəʾa Gäbrəʾel

M.G. (መልክአ፡ ገብርኤል, lit. 'The Image[s] of Gabriel') is the title of several collections of ↗*mälkəʾ*-hymns, extolling the Archangel Gabriel. Of these, three are listed in Chaîne's repertory (ChRep; hereafter M.G.[1], M.G.[2] and M.G.[3]), only the latter being the *de facto* standard, official M.G. Like other *mälkəʾ* hymns, they all employ ↗*ᶜarke* style, with five rhyming and rhythmic lines per stanza, dedicated to praising a part

of the saint's body or such entities as the Trinity and different names of Christ.

The *incipit* of M.G.[1] (ChRep no. 126) reads: **ሰላም፡ ለዝክረ፡ ስምከ፡ በመጽሐፈ፡ ዳንኤል፡ ዘተጠይቀ** ... (*Sälam läzəkrä səmәkä bämäṣḥafä Danəʾel zätätäyyəqä*, 'Peace to the mention of your name that is verified in the Book of Daniel ...'). Of all the M.G., this is the only one whose author is known: in the text, the authorship is ascribed to a certain Baḥrəy who was, in all probability, the famous 16th-cent. *abba* ↗Baḥrəy (Getaccäw Ḫayle 2002:49). M.G.[1] is preserved in a single manuscript containing Baḥrəy's other works, including his ↗*Mäzmurä Krəstos* and the ↗*Zenahu lägalla*, s. ms. London, BritLib. Orient. 534, fols. 150r–53r (WrBriMus 84).

Remarkably, M.G.[1] did not enjoy popularity and remained practically unknown. There might have been some reasons for this, since the author speaks of the "waves of envy" arising against him (fol. 150b). As in his other works, Baḥrəy's impressive knowledge of ↗Gəʿəz literature is discernible in M.G.[1]. The roles he claims for Gabriel (as appearing to John in his ↗Revelation) and Michael (as rescuing Lot; cp. Gen 14) must have been inspired by non-biblical sources. In the conclusion, the author asks God for wisdom and knowledge (fol. 150v; s. Getaccäw Ḫayle 2002:49).

M.G.[2] (ChRep no. 156) has been attested in several manuscripts; since Chaîne's article, in which five mss. have been recorded, more copies have come to light: e.g., BritLib Orient. 9051 (fols. 31r–40v); Ṭānāsee 6 (fols. 38v–43r) and EMML 1284 (fols. 128r–32r). Furthermore, the fact that M.G.[2] has at least two different *incipits* could have prevented its identification. The standard *incipit* (s. ChRep 201) reads: **ሰላም፡ ለዝክረ፡ ስምከ፡ ዘተጸውዓ፡ ቀዲሙ** ... (*Sälam läzəkrä səmәkä zätäṣäwʿa qädimu*, 'Peace to the mention of your name, which has been referred to first ...'), whereas in ms. EMML 1284, e.g., the *incipit* goes as follows: **በስመ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ሥሉስ፡ ዘተጸውዓ፡ ቀዲሙ** ... (*Bäsəmä əgziʾabəḥer śəllus zätäṣäwʿa qädimu*, 'In the name of God the Trinity, [Gabriel] who was referred to first ...').

The unknown author repeatedly refers to *märqe* ('lowland', 'hot desert land'; e.g., EMML 1284, fols. 128r, 131v), the place where he had been or still was while composing the *mälkəʾ*. Interestingly, while the author seems to be well versed in Gəʿəz literature (claiming, e.g., that the ratio of the "Archangel's forearm" to that of a human being is 1:144), his praise of Gabriel's breath ("When your breath was spilt in Mary's ear soothingly, she conceived her Son ...", ibid. fol. 129r) contains an argumentation that is refuted elsewhere ("O man who says, due to the ignorance of the Scriptures, 'An invisible power entered with the words of Gabriel through the openings of the Virgin's ears and dwelt in her womb'", s. Conti Rossini 1904:3).

The anonymous M.G.[3] (ChRep no. 246) is the standard version of Gabriel's *mälkəʾ*. As such, it was widely copied, studied and memorized by both clergy and students of traditional schools, especially at churches dedicated to Gabriel. Apart from 14 mss. with M.G.[3] recorded in ChRep, a cursory survey reveals many more copies (EMML V alone contain nine mss.). M.G.[3] was printed in Ethiopia several times (e.g., in the collection *Mälkəʾa gubaʾe* 1966/67:313–25).

The reason for its popularity is most probably its having been the first M.G. composed and made known to the clergy. From the very beginning, M.G.[3] is marked by the exquisite ↗*sämənna wärq* style, reminiscent of ↗*qəne*-poetry (*Mälkəʾa gubaʾe* 1966/67:312):

ሰላም፡ ገብርኤል፡ መልአክ፡ በላዕለ፡ ማርያም፡ ዘአዕረፈ።
ከመ፡ እዜኑ፡ ጎዳጠ፡ ወአኮ፡ ትሩፈ።
እግዚአብሔር፡ ሀበኒ፡ ሲሳየ፡ ልቡና፡ መጽሐፈ።
ወአፉየ፡ ሙሴ፡ ለእመ፡ ኮነ፡ ጸያፈ።
ጰራቅሊጦስ፡ አሮን፡ ይኩነኒ፡ አፈ....

In order that I may proclaim a little bit, not overflowingly,
The greeting of angel Gabriel that rested upon Mary,
Give me, God, the Scriptures, nourishment of the mind;
If Moses, my mouth, is a blemish,
Let Paraclete, Aaron be [my] mouth'.

The author tried to guess the meaning of the name of Gabriel [Gəʿəz: Gäbrəʾel], which "looks as if it means lord and slave" (ibid. 312f.; obviously combining the meaning of Hebrew **ēl* 'lord' and Gəʿəz: *gäbr*, 'slave'"). The author gives Gabriel credit for rescuing the Three Holy Children from the furnace (Dan 3; ibid. 314). The work's other remarkable passages are prayers for guarding one's speech from offending anyone (ibid. 315) and for comforting sorrows (ibid. 318).

Ms. Munich, Museum für Völkerkunde, 88.310024 (fol. 4v) possibly contains still another, the fourth M.G., with the *incipit*: **ሰላም፡ ለዝክረ፡ ስምከ፡ ኀበ፡ ድንግል፡ ተፈናዊ** (*Sälam läzəkrä səmәkä ḫabä dəngəl täfänawi*, 'Peace to the mention of your name, messenger to the Virgin'; SixDeu 446).

↗Hymns; ↗Mälkəʾa gubaʾe

Src.: ChRep nos. 126, 156, 246; Carlo Conti Rossini (ed., tr.), *Vitae Sanctorum Antiquiorum*, I: *Acta Yārēd et*

Panṭalēwon, Louvain 1904 [repr. 1961] (CSCO 26, 27 [SAe 9; 10]), 3 (text) = 3 (tr.); EMML IV, 287, no. 1284; V, s. index; GETAČČÄW ḤAYLE, **የአባ፡ ባሕርይ፡ ድርሰቶች፡ ኦሮሞችን፡ ከሚመለከቱ፡ ሌሎች፡ ሰነዶች፡ ጋራ** (*Yaʾabba Baḥrəy dərsätočč Oromoččən kämmimmäläkkätu leločč sänädočč gara*, 'The Works of *abba* Baḥrəy with Other Documents Concerning the Oromo'), Collegeville, MN 2002, 49; HamTana I, 101-04, ms. Ṭānāsee 6 = Kebrān 6; **ሰባቱ፡ ኪዳናት፡ ቅዳሴ፡ ማርያም። መልክአ፡ ጉባኤ** (*Säbattu kidanat qəddase Maryam. Mälkəʾa gubaʾe*, 'Seven Covenants, the Mass of Mary. The Collection of *Mälkəʾ*'), Addis Abäba 1959 A.M. [1966/67 A.D.], 313–25; SixDeu 446ff., no. 226 [ms. 88.310024], s. index; StrBritLib 73ff., no. 43 [ms. Orient. 9051]; WrBriMus 82ff., no. 128 [ms. Orient. 534].

Getatchew Haile

Mälkəʾa gubaʾe

M.g. (**መልክአ፡ ጉባኤ**, 'The Collection of Images') is the title of the large collection of ↗*mälkəʾ* and other ↗hymns, as it appears in a contemporary printed edition of the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church (s., e.g., MG). The traditional title of the collection was *Gubaʾe mälkəʾ*, M.g. being thus the "Amharized" Gəʿəz title with the same meaning. It is sometimes called **ምእላደ፡ ጸሎት** (*Məʾəladä ṣälot*, 'Collection of Prayers'). In manuscripts the content of the collection varies; the title *Gubaʾe mälkəʾ* can be applied to compendia of diverse length, containing different sets of hymns, many of which are also known as separate texts.

The *Gubaʾe mälkəʾ* was dated to the second half of 16th cent. by ↗Guidi (GuiSLett 66), and his hypothesis seems plausible in view of a collection of hymns in ms. BritLib Orient. 575, with parts dating to the 16th and 17th cent. Some other manuscripts with the *Gubaʾe mälkəʾ* seem to date to the 17th cent. Of particular interest are mss. BritLib Orient. 578 (dated to 1645/46 A.D.), Orient. 573 with the hymns set according to the sanctoral dates of the ↗Calendar, and 18th-cent. Orient. 577. Ms. Orient. 574, the late 17th-cent. codex "of Däbrä Bərhan", contains, apart from the *Gubaʾe mälkəʾ*, a large list of all the hymns, including *mälkəʾat*, for the entire year (WrBriMus 124f.). It is apparent that, the study of *Gubaʾe mälkəʾ*-collections could shed light on the history of separate hymns and the development of the entire *mälkəʾ*-genre.

The contemporary M.g. may be the result of the conflation and selection of the hymns from several *Gubaʾe mälkəʾ*. The *mälkəʾat* comprising by the M.g. are the following:

1) Jesus: ↗*Mälkəʾa Iyäsus* (MG no. 46; ChRep no. 26); *Mälkəʾa Amanuʾel* (MG no. 11; Cohen 1951; Lifchitz 1948; Getatchew Haile in PICES 10, vol. 1); *Mälkəʾa mädḫane ʿaläm* (MG no. 13; ChRep no. 164; Cohen 1957);
2) Trinity: *Mälkəʾa śəllase* (MG no. 10; ChRep no. 20; Gabré Yesus Haylu in PICES 3, vol. 2);
3) God the Father: *Mälkəʾa əgziʾabəḥer ab* (MG no. 8).
4) Holy Spirit: *Mälkəʾa Ṗäraqliṭos* (MG no. 9; ChRep no. 143);
5) St. ↗Mary: ↗*Mälkəʾa Maryam* (MG no. 45; ChRep no. 172/220); *Mälkəʾa*↗*kidanä məḥrät* (MG no. 42; DillmChr 136–46; Raineri 1989); *Mälkəʾa fəlsäta lämaryam* (MG no. 40; ChRep no. 213; Roman 1922/23:416–26); *Mälkəʾa Qʷəsqʷam* (MG no. 41); *Mälkəʾa Edom* (MG no. 38; ChRep no. 221); *Mälkəʾa wəddase* (MG no. 43); *Mälkəʾa anqäṣä bərhan* (MG no. 44; ChRep no. 241);
6) The Archangels whose *mälkəʾat* are in the M.g.: Mikaʾel (MG no. 16, ChRep no. 119); Gäbrəʾel (MG no. 20, ChRep no. 246; ↗*Mälkəʾa Gäbrəʾel*); Rufaʾel (MG no. 18, ChRep no. 131); Raguʾel (MG no. 20, ChRep no. 365); Fanuʾel (MG no. 21); Uraʾel (MG no. 19; ChRep no. 129);
7) Saints whose *mälkəʾat* are in the M.g.: ↗John the Baptist (MG no. 22; ChRep no. 279); Peter and Paul (MG no. 23; ChRep no. 187); Mark the Evangelist (MG no. 25); John the Evangelist (MG no. 24); Ḥanna (MG no. 39; ChRep no. 178); Stephen the Protomartyr (MG no. 26; ChRep no. 253); ↗George of Lydda (MG no. 27; ChRep no. 147), his conception (MG no. 28) and his suffering (MG no. 29); ↗Täklä Haymanot (MG no. 32; ChRep no. 211); ↗Gäbrä Mänfäs Qəddus (MG no. 30; his second *mälkəʾ* MG no. 31); ↗Zämikaʾel Arägawi (MG no. 34; ChRep no. 278); ↗Gäbrä Krəstos (MG no. 33; ChRep no. 127); ↗Zena Marqos (MG no. 35); ↗Lalibäla (MG no. 37);
8) Sunday: *Mälkəʾa sänbätä krəstiyan* (MG no. 36; ChRep no. 170; Raineri 2000:178);

The M.g. also contains some liturgical texts (e.g., ↗*Kidanä nägḥ*, ↗*Təmhərtä ḫəbuʾat* etc.), prayers and poems do not correspond to the typical definition of a *mälkəʾ*. These are, e.g.: ↗*Maḫbärä məʾəmänan* (MG no. 14; ChRep no. 17), ↗*Ṭäbibä ṭäbiban* (MG no. 7; ChRep no. 372) and ↗*Ləssanä säbʾ* (MG no. 15).

Src.: **መልክአ፡ ጉባኤ** (*Mälkəʾa gubaʾe*, 'The Collection of *Mälkəʾ*'), ed. by TÄSFA GÄBRÄ SƎLLASE, Addis Abäba 1959 A.M. [1966/67 A.D.] [= MG]; *ibid.*, ed. by the Fəkkare Haymanot Society, Asmära 1974 A.M. [1981/82 A.D.]; **መልክአተ፡ ቅዱሳን፡ አበው፡ ዘገዳማተ፡ ኤርትራ** (*Mälkəʾatä qəddusan abäw zägädamatä Erətra*, 'Hymns to Holy Fathers of the Eritrean Monasteries'), Asmära 1962 A.M. [1971/72 A.D.]; ChRep; MARCEL COHEN, "Sur le poème éthiopien d'Emmanuel", *JA* 239, 1951, 311–33; DAVID COHEN, "Un poème éthiopien: Le Malke du Christ 'Sauveur du monde' (Mädḫane ʿAläm)", *ibid.* 245, 1957, 147–83; DillmChr 136–46; DEBORAH LIFCHITZ, "Le livre d'Emmanuel (poème ethiopien)", *JA* 236, 1948, 65–86; OSVALDO RAINERI, "L'Effigie di Maria 'Patto di Misericordia'. Note per un 'Mariale Aethiopicum'", *Ephemerides Liturgicae* 103, 1989, 92–109; ID., *Codices Comboniani Aethiopici*, Città del Vaticano 2000, 178, no. 178 = G 12; A. ROMAN, "Un hymne du Nagara Maryam (*Malkəʾa*

fəlsata)", *ROC* 23, 1922/23, 416–26; WrBriMus 119f., no. 187 [ms. Orient. 575]; 122-26, no. 189 [ms. Orient. 574]; 126ff., no. 190 [ms. Orient. 573]; 128f., no. 191 [ms. Orient. 577].

Lit.: *abba* GABRÉ YESUS HAYLU, "Considérations théologiques sur le Malkeʾa Sellassie de Abba Səbḥat Leʾab", in: *PICES* 3, vol. 2, 272–79; GETATCHEW HAILE, "Builders of Churches and Authors of Hymns: Makers of History in the Ethiopian Church", in: *PICES* 10, vol. 1, 369–75; GuiSLett 66; UhPal 492f., 627f., s. index.

Habtemichael Kidane

Mälkəʾa Iyäsus

M.I. (**መልክአ ኢየሱስ**, 'The Image[s] of Jesus') is a ↗*mälkəʾ*-hymn which praises the name of Jesus, his virtues, his physical characteristics and his wonderful works. The M.I. has 51 stanzas and ends with a doxology (**ስብሐት ለ...** *səbḥat lä...*) to Jesus himself and to the ↗Trinity. As in every *mälkəʾ*, a stanza of the M.I. is structured as follows: greeting (**ሰላም ለ...** *sälam lä...*, 'Hail to ...') and praise to every part of the body of Christ, supplication or request to fulfil a particular wish ("grant me ...", "protect me ...", "make me ..."). The objects of celebration are the main parts of Christ's body: a) above the neck; b) below the neck; c) internal organs; d) parts of the body from the waist to the toes; but also e) decisive moments of his earthly life: his birth, his death and his burial; the tomb, his resurrection, his ascension to heaven, his second coming. In the M.I., Christ is praised as the High Priest, the Lover of humankind, the Saviour of the World, etc.

The M.I. is performed liturgically on the Nativity of Christ (↗*Lədät*), but it is also sung at such annual ↗feasts as the Incarnation (*Təsbəʾət*), the Crucifixion (*Mädḫane ᶜAläm*) etc. (at all major and minor feasts of Christ; the one who recites it must still be fasting, even in the afternoon). Since some of these feasts occur monthly, the M.I. is consequently to be sung monthly. Extracts from the M.I. are recited during the preparation of the Eucharistic bread and wine.

One of the most used among all the *mälkəʾat*, the M.I. is recited at every morning office (cp. ↗*Maḫlet*; ↗*Kidan zänägh*) after the ↗*Mälkəʾa Maryam*. The M.I. is learnt by heart by the young pupils who begin to learn reading in church schools, and, along with the *Mälkəʾa Maryam* and other prayers, by advanced students who seek to be ordained deacons. The M.I. is very much used for private devotion.

It is not certain when the M.I. was composed, its authorship having been ascribed to a certain ᶜAmdä Ḥawaryat, who probably lived in the 17th–18th cent. However, this assumption is rather questionable, for the liturgical relevance of the work suggests a much older use. Besides, the traditional scholars (*liqawənt*) of ↗Dima Giyorgis identify *abba* Səbḥat Läʾab of Gondär (to whom also the ↗*Səbḥatä fəqur* is ascribed) as the author of the M.I.

↗Gᵊəz literature; ↗Hymns; ↗Qəddase

Src.: GuiSLett 67, n. 1 (Lit.); ChRep 199, no. 123; **ሰባቱ ኪዳናት ቅዳሴ ማርያም መልክአ ጉባኤ** (*Säbattu kidanat qəddase Maryam. Mälkəʾa gubaʾe*, 'Seven Covenants, the Mass of Mary. The Collection of *Mälkəʾ*'), Addis Abäba 1959 A.M. [1966/67 A.D.], 757-77, no. 47.

Lit.: GETATCHEW HAILE, "Builders of Churches and Authors of Hymns: Makers of History in the Ethiopian Church", in: *PICES* 10, vol. 1, 369–75, here 374, n. 63; HABTEMICHAEL KIDANE, *Bibliografia della liturgia geᶜez* (forthcoming); TEDROS ABRAHA, "Il Mälkeʾa Iyyäsus (Effigie di Gesù)", *OrChrP* 71, 1, 2005, 97–120.

Habtemichael Kidane

Mälkəʾa Krəstos

M.K. (**መልክአ ክርስቶስ**, also Mälkəᶜa Krəstos, fl. 1629–35, d. 1635) was a rebel in ↗Lasta. He was a descendant of *aṣe* Ḥəzbä Nañ (↗Täklä Maryam) whose family had suffered persecution under *aṣe* ↗Zärʾa Yaᶜəqob (both Ḥəzbä Nañ and Zärʾa Yaᶜəqob being sons of *aṣe* ↗Dawit II). When the latter's descendant, *aṣe* ↗Susənyos, embraced Catholicism, the Lasta branch of Ḥəzbä Nañ's family under the leadership of M.K. attempted to reclaim the throne, the latter presenting himself as the champion of Ethiopian Orthodoxy (according to a note in the 15th-cent. Gospel book preserved at Lalibäla, Betä Gäbrəʾel, ms. EMML 6954, fol. 10).

Since 1629, M.K. began to build a strong coalition of forces against the Emperor in ↗Bägemdər, ↗Təgray, and ↗Amhara. The main stronghold of rebellious M.K., who received wide support, became the scarcely accessible mount ↗Ǝmäkina in Lasta (the "short chronicles" call him the "rebel of Ǝmäkina"; BassÉt I, 342; FotiCr 114f.). In 1632 Susənyos undertook several military expeditions into Lasta to quell the rebellion, but was unable to break into Ǝmäkina. In 1632, M.K. took the battle into the heart of Bägemdər, close to the Emperor's court. At the battle of Wäyna Däga, the rebel army was defeated and M.K.'s officers *wag šum* ↗Rətuᶜa Amlak and ↗Bihono were killed, but M.K. eluded the Emperor and fled from the battlefield (PerChron ch. 99; DombrChr 196). Shortly afterwards, frustrated Susənyos abdicated the throne and proclaimed

the restoration of Orthodoxy. Consequently, M.K. was credited by the people with the re-institution of the Orthodox Church, and remembered as "the restorer of the Faith" or "king of the (Orthodox) faith".

After that, M.K. did not give up the claim to the throne and his rebellion did not end. In the third year of *aṣe* ↗Fasilädas's reign (1635) he defeated the army of the Emperor in a surprise attack at ↗Libo. Fasilädäs had to flee, M.K. "entered the King's house" and even "sat on the throne" and put a "candelabra" on his head pretending to be king (BegCron 48f.). A few days later, however, Fasilädas gathered new forces, attacked M.K. and killed him.

Src.: BassÉt I, 342f.; II, 125f. and n. 267 on p. 180; BegCron 48f., 52; DombrChr 196ff.; FotiCr 114f.; mf. EMML 6954, fol. 10 [not catalogued]; PerChron ch. 99, s. index.
Lit.: SEVIR CHERNETSOV, *Efiopskaja feodal'naja monarhija v XVII veke* ('Ethiopian Feudal Monarchy in the 17th Century'), Moscow 1990, s. index; WUDU TAFETE KASSU, *A Political History of Wag and Lasta, ca. 1543–1919*, M.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1995, 32–55.

Wudu Tafete Kassu

Mälkaʾa Krəstos

Abetohuṇ M.K. (መልክአ፡ ክርስቶስ, also Mälkaʿa Krəstos, d. 10 December 1633) was a prominent 17th-cent. nobleman and high-ranking officer of *aṣe* ↗Susənyos.

The personality of M.K. is somewhat difficult to single out, since at that time there were a number of noblemen bearing this name. It is not quite sure that the chronicler *abba* ↗Täklä Śəllase was always able to avoid confusion, and consistent in adding *abetohun* and other titles to M.K. (the same applying to Portuguese sources). At least, *abetohun* M.K. should not be confused with a step-brother of Susənyos (from PerChron ch. 17; s. Chernetsov 1984:328 n. 1 to ch. 27, p. 194).

In the Chronicle of Susənyos, M.K. probably appears for the first time in October 1609, accompanying the Emperor in the raid against the ↗Agäw at Zalabasa (PerChron ch. 39). Over many years, M.K. remained loyal to the Emperor despite the latter's inclination to ↗Catholicism. At the same time, M.K. was obviously the husband of the famous anti-Catholic saint ↗Wälättä Peṭros (he is mentioned as commander of the Śəlṭan Märʿəd regiment both in the Chronicle and Wälättä Peṭros's Acts, s. Ricci 1970:13; PerChron 164 [ch. 47]; Papi 1943:88 n. 2; Chernetsov 1984:334f., n. 7 to ch. 39, p. 221). M.K.'s three children from Wälättä Peṭros died; when she decided to become nun, he managed to bring her back from the monastery (Conti Rossini 1912:14ff.). They finally separated in 1617, when M.K. took part in the battle against ↗Yolyos, one of the first anti-Catholic rebels, in which *abunä* ↗Səmʿon was killed, and happened to take the Metropolitan's vestments (Conti Rossini 1912:17, 70). Possibly, M.K. did not remarry; a certain Wälättä Ṣadəqt of the monastery of ↗Qʷäraṣa, mentioned elsewhere (cp. DombrChr 197 n. 330; TurIz 271), is probably still the same Wälättä Peṭros.

In 1618/19 M.K. appears as *abetohun* and *blatten geta* (PerChron ch. 53), fighting, together with *däğğazmač* Yonaʾel, against ↗Funǧ and "Arabs" (in Daläb, Kahba, Barta, Radamer, Abromela, Sən and Sahya). Soon thereafter, he fought against ↗*šanqəlla* and the "people of ↗Atbara, called *bagara*", having been left in a difficult situation by *däğğazmač* ↗Wäldä Ḥawaryat, who did not want to be commanded by M.K. In 1622, M.K. fought the people of ↗Ambassäl who joined *däğğazmač* Yonaʾel, by that time in rebellion, until they were all defeated (PerChron chs. 66–67; cp. BassÉt 27; BegCron 45; DombrChr 193). In the same year, M.K. was appointed *abägaz* for the campaign against ↗Gedewon, but was less successful and caused Susənyos's indignation (PerChron ch. 69). In 1623 M.K. was sent to Ambassäl, to help *däğğazmač* Buko fight the locals and "Fälaša" (↗Betä Ǝsraʾel). The campaign was successful, but thereafter M.K. refused to assist *ras* ↗Səʿəlä Krəstos, his rival, and deeply upset Susənyos. At the end M.K. was pardoned and appointed governor of ↗Səmen, the region of the restive Betä Ǝsraʾel. In ca. 1625 he scored a significant success, killing Gedewon (PerChron ch. 74).

According to the Portuguese sources, M.K. was present when Alfonso ↗Mendes was introduced to Susənyos in February 1626 (BecRASO VIII, 143). M.K. was said to be very close to Susənyos, but rather hostile to the Portuguese (the feeling aggravated, probably, by the drama of M.K.'s marital life). By 1629, M.K. is mentioned as senior (*ʿabbiy*) *blatten*[*očč*] *geta* (PerChron ch. 81; without the title *abetohun*; cp. "mordomo mor", BecRASO XII, 274). However, the Chronicle later mentions that M.K. was appointed (i.e. reduced in rank?) *blatten*[*očč*] *geta*, and finally blames M.K., referring to the tension between M.K. and Susənyos, which was lessened thanks to the mother of the former, *wäyzäro* Mäsqäl

ʿƎbäya (PerChron chs. 84–85). The change of M.K.'s attitude towards the Emperor seems to be logical in the context of the fierce anti-Catholic conflict during the last years of the latter's reign.

In 1632 M.K. avoided campaigning against rebels again (PerChron ch. 96). His links to the rebellion in Lasta and its champion, also called ↗Mälkaʾa Krəstos (cp. DombrChr 197 n. 330; Conti Rossini 1912:61), by that time became transparent, especially after the battle of Wäyna Däga, in which the rebel officers ↗Rətuʿa Amlak and ↗Bihono were killed. M.K. was arrested, accused of treason and sentenced to death, which was substituted by exile (BecRASO VIII, 360). A "short chronicle" reports that *bəḥtəwäddäd* M.K. died on 4 *Taḥśaś* of the second year of *aṣe* ↗Fasilädäs (BassÉt 29; 10 December 1633 A.D.).

Src.: BassÉt 27, 29 (text) = 130, 133 (tr.); BegCron 45, 48; BecRASO VIII, 143, 360; IX, 519 [index: "Melca Christôs, regius oeconomus"]; XI, 453; XII, 274; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI (ed.), *Vitae sanctorum indigenarum. I. Acta S. Walatta Petros*, Louvain 1912 (CSCO 68 [SAe 30]), 17, 70; DombrChr 193, 197 n. 330; PerChron, s. index; SEVIR CHERNETSOV, *Efiopskie hroniki XVI–XVII vekov* ('Ethiopian Chronicles of 16th–17th Centuries'), Moscow 1984, s. index; LANFRANCO RICCI (tr.), *Vita di Walatta Pietros*, Louvain 1970 (CSCO 316 [SAe 61]), s. index.

Lit.: SEVIR CHERNETSOV, *Efiopskaja feodal'naja monarhija v XVII veke* ('Ethiopian Feudal Monarchy in the 17th Century'), Moscow 1990, s. index; MARIA ROSARIA PAPI, "Una santa abissina anticattolica Walatta-Petros", *RSE* 3, 1, 1943, 87–93; TurIz 271ff., s. index.

Denis Nosnitsin

Mälkaʾa Krəstos

Abunä M.K. (**መልክአ፡ ክርስቶስ**, also frequently Mälkəʿa Krəstos, fl. second half of the 17th–early-18th cent.) is a saint venerated by the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church. According to the unpublished Vita of M.K., the main source on his life, he was born in a region called Säräko, southern ↗Wällo, as the son of Ṭaʿəmä and Awganya. Distinguished by piety, he learned by heart commentaries on the Scriptures wandering from place to place, including to such monasteries as ↗Waldəbba Dəlšaho and ↗Däbrä Abräntant. At Waldəbba he completed his education and decided to become monk. There, M.K. was ordained priest and later appointed abbot.

His Vita stresses that M.K. was a supporter of the ↗*Täwaḥədo* doctrine who taught the Union of Divinity and Humanity in Christ and preached the observance of two ↗Sabbaths. The Vita mentions M.K.'s many disciples: ʿAmdä Bərhan, Zämänfäs Qəddus, Gännätä Maryam, Nəwayä Maryam, Səhinä Maryam. Founding churches and monasteries, M.K. travelled extensively in Təgray, Ḥamasen, Amhara, Goğğam, Šäwa, Sayənt, Wadla, Dawənt, Lalibäla, Gayənt, Guna, Abärgälle etc.

According to the Vita of M.K., St. Mary ordered him to build a monastic community at Gəšäq, situated between the Bäšəlo and the Minčəq rivers, in the district of ↗Mäqdäla (↗Wärrä Himano). However, the monastery of Gəšäq had been founded prior to M.K.'s arrival. M.K. apparently was a member of that community and may have re-established Gəšäq after a period of desertion (s. Getatchew Haile, EMML V, 465). According to the Vita, M.K. died on 10 *Säne* at Gəšäq (but he is commemorated in the *Mäṣḥafä ↗gəṣṣawe* on 5 *Mäskäräm*, also the day of his annual feast at Gəšäq monastery).

The Vita of M.K. is followed by some ten miracles (↗*Täʾammər*). A story tells how two disciples of M.K., Maḫdärä Krəstos and Samuʾel, asked him to permit them ↗martyrdom, since they wanted to rebuke the King (most probably *aṣe* ↗Fasilädäs) for marrying two sisters at the same time. Both were beheaded; M.K. summoned the monks of Gayənt, Sayənt, Lasta, Wadla and Bägemdər, met them at Därа (Däbrä Tabor) and went to the King, who resided at Araha. The King was advised by his soldiers Kämal Säno and Baša Aygäbəz to persecute the monks immediately. But *əčč̌äge* Zäkrəstos (one of the two ↗*əčč̌äges* bearing the same name, both contemporaries of Fasilädäs, CerDLib II, 172f., 175) advised the King to speak with the monks. Having exposed the reason for their coming, M.K. so impressed the King that he set the monks free and promised not to harm them.

The Vita of another saintly monk, *abunä* Ǝstänfasä Krəstos, claims that M.K. was his disciple during the time of *aṣe* Fasilädäs, until the reign of *aṣe* ↗Iyasu I. The traditions of Waldəbba known so far do not remember M.K. A manuscript of his extensive, though recent Vita, written by an anonymous hermit, has been recorded at Gəšäq (KinBibl no. 99) and photographed by E. Ceccarini (Raineri 1990:369, no. 4; fols. 1r–39r Vita, fols. 39r–63r Miracles, fols. 63v–66v *mälkəʾ*), the photos being preserved at the House of Comboni Mission (Addis Abäba) and in the Vatican Library. A manuscript with ↗*mälkəʾ* of M.K. is kept at ↗Däbrä Ḥayq Ǝsṭifanos (EMML 1950).

Scr.: EMML V, 465, no. 1950, fol. 99a–100b; **መጽሐፈ፡ ግጻዌ፡ ከዓመት፡ እስከ፡ ዓመት፡ በቅዳሴና፡ በማኅሌት፡ ጊዜ፡ በዘወትርና፡ በዕላተ፡ ሰንበት፡ የሚነበብ። ባሕረ፡ ሐሳብ።** (*Mäṣḥafä gəṣṣawe käʿamät əskä ʿamät bäqəddasenna bämaḫlet gize*

bäzäwätrənna bäʿəlatä sänbät yämminnäbbäb. Baḥrä ḥassab, 'Lectionary of what is to be Read from Year to Year, at Mass and at Matins, on the Days and on the Sundays. Computus'), 1960 A.M. [1968 A.D.],10; **ገድለ፡ እስትንፋሰ፡ ክርስቶስ** (*Gädlä Ǝstənfasä Krəstos*, 'The Vita of Ǝstənfasä Krəstos'), ms. Dawənt, Southern Wällo; **ገድለ፡ መልክአ፡ ክርስቶስ** (*Gädlä Mälkəʾa Krəstos*, 'The Vita of Mälkəʾa Krəstos'), ms., the monastery of Gəšäq, Mäqdäla, Southern Wällo; **ገድለ፡ ተክለ፡ ሃይማኖት** (*Gädlä Täklä Haymanot*, 'The Vita of Täklä Haymanot'), Addis Abäba 1973 A.M. [1980 A.D.], 142 (ch. 41:8); OSVALDO RAINERI, "I manoscritti etiopici fotografati da p. Emilio Ceccarini (1912–1979)", *Quaderni utinensi* 8 [15–16], 1990 [1996], 367–74, here 369, no. 4.

Lit.: AmhChurchD vol. 1, 132 [13]; CerDLib II, 172f., 175; III, 170; KinBibl 69, no. 47, 82, no. 99; OSVALDO RAINERI, "Malkeᶜa Krestos", in: *EncSan* vol. 2, 399.

Amsalu Tefera Alemu

Mälkəʾa Maryam

M.M. (**መልክአ፡ ማርያም**, lit. 'The Image[s] of Mary', 'Effigies Mariae') is the title of at least two hymnological compositions in ↗Gəᶜəz praising the Virgin ↗Mary which are written in the poetical form of ↗*mälkəʾ*. In each stanza a different part of Mary's body is praised, beginning with the words: *sälam lä...-ki*, 'Peace be for your ... /Hail to your ...'. According to Ethiopian theology, the uniqueness of Mary is shown by the ultimate perfection of her body, each part of which can thus be dealt with as a divine concept.

Although considered as one of the most important ↗hymns, the M.M. has not been thoroughly investigated. The existence of several M.M. has long been known, but given hitherto insufficient attention. M.M. texts are not distinctly described in manuscript catalogues. In fact, any hymnological composition praising Mary's body could be entitled M.M.; the source of the confusion was also the inconsistency of titles in the manuscripts themselves.

One M.M. [1] is known from the editions of Dillmann (DillmChr 136–46) and Budge (1900:78–83), as well as a few translations (ibid., 149–57; Grébaut 1909; Budge 1933:236–44; Euringer 1938). It is listed in Chaîne's répertoire (ChRep no. 360). Grohmann (GrohHymn 30) has it under the title *Mälkəʾa kidanä məḥrät* and notes that the hymn bears the same title in the ↗*Mälkəʾa gubaʾe* collection (cp., e.g., *Säbattu kidanat* ... 1966/67:681–700). Also Raineri uses the title *Mälkəʾa kidanä məḥrät* (1989:92f., 101f.), originally due to the fact that the text is to be read on the feast of the ↗*Kidanä Məḥrät* which is mentioned in each stanza (16 *Yäkkatit*, ibid.; cp. also *Mälkəʾa kidanä məḥrät* 1948 [A.M.]). The title M.M. seems to have been added to the hymn by Dillmann (s. Euringer 1938:76). The hymn is connected with the *Transitus Mariae* literature and the interlinked Dormition accounts (s. *Mäṣḥafä ↗ᶜərgäta lämaryam*), as well as with the tale of the *Five Pains of Mary* (Cerulli 1957) and often recited together with the *Mälkəʾa Fəlsäta* and *Mälkəʾa Ṣəge*.

Another widespread text, known as M.M. [2] only and included in the modern *Mälkəʾa gubaʾe* (e.g., *Säbattu kidanat* ... 1966/67:735–56, no. 46; *Mälkəʾa gubaʾe* 1966/67, no. 45, one and the same as ChRep no. 220; corresponds obviously to no. 172, cp. also GrohHymn 35).

The time of composition of the M.M. [1] and M.M. [2] is unknown. The oldest manuscripts seem to date to the 17th cent., but the texts could have been written as early as in the 15th cent., under *aṣe* ↗Zärʾa Yaᶜəqob, the great propagandist of the veneration of St. Mary. Sometimes tradition ascribes the authorship of the M.M. to Ethiopian emperors such as *aṣe* ↗Bäʾədä Maryam or ↗Naᶜod, whose connection with those compositions is, however, far from obvious (cp. SimDillmChr 307ff.; Getatchew Haile in PICES 10, 373, n. 48f.; cp. GrohHymn 46).

The M.M. [2] is used in the Eucharistic liturgy (↗*Qəddase*) and is sung (*bäzema*) at annual and monthly ↗feasts of Mary (some stanzas performed with the full ↗*aqʷaqʷam*), always after it has been recited (*bädägam*). It is recited at every morning office, i.e. ↗*Maḫlet* or ↗*Kidan zänägh*, its portions being distributed among the church choir members. It is always followed by the ↗*Mälkəʾa Iyäsus*. The M.M. [2] is recited also at the ↗*Fətḥat* ceremony, in the house of the deceased. In monasteries, the M.M. [2] is recited in the morning and in the evening, after 5 p.m., before the only meal of the day.

It is used by the faithful for private devotion at home (e.g., it may be said before meals, together with the ↗*Wəddase Maryam*). In addition, it is chanted by heart, solo or chorally, on a specific melody for the five verses during private occasions on which Mary is venerated, such as meetings of ↗*maḫbär*-associations (even if the *maḫbär* is not dedicated to Mary; s. Ancel 2005:105, n. 36). The M.M. [2] is learned by heart in Ethiopian church schools and is used for memorizing the Ethiopic alphabet.

The question of the possible non-Ethiopian sources of the *mälkəʾ*-hymns has been discussed

with special reference to M.M. Similar texts can be found in the works of the Greek church fathers and in Syriac writings (Zanetti 2001), as well as in western Marian literature: analogies have been detected even in a German *Ave Maria* translated into French in the 17th cent. (s. Beylot 2005).

↗ᶜƎräfta

Src.: **አምስቱ፡ ጸዋትወ፡ ዜማዎች** (*Amməstu ṣäwatəwä zemawoč̌č̌*, 'The Five Categories of Chants'), Addis Abäba 1976 A.M. [1983/84 A.D.], 314c–15b; ERNEST ALFRED WALLIS BUDGE, *The Miracles of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and the Life of Ḥannâ...*, London 1900, 78–83 (text) = 149–57 (tr.); ID., *Legends of our Lady, the Perpetual Virgin, and her Mother Ḥannâ*, London 1933, 236–44; ChRep nos. 172, 220, 360; DillmChr 136–46 (text); SEBASTIAN EURINGER, "Das Hohelied des 'Bundes der Erbarmung': Aus dem Äthiopischen übersetzt und erklärt", *OrChr* 35, 1938, 71–107, 192–213; *ibid.* 36, 1941, 68–73; SYLVAIN GRÉBAUT, "Note sur la poésie éthiopienne", *ROC* 4, 1909, 90–98, here 95ff. (tr.); GrohHymn 30, 35, 46, s. index; StrBritLib 72ff., no. 43 [ms. Orient. 9051]; **መልክአ፡ ጉባኤ** (*Mälkəʾa gubaʾe*, 'The Collection of *Mälkəʾ*'), ed. by TÄSFA GÄBRÄ ƎLLASE, Addis Abäba 1959 A.M. [1966/67 A.D.], no. 45; **መልክአ፡ ኪዳነ፡ ምሕረት** (*Mälkəʾa kidanä məḥrät*, '*Mälkəʾ* of the Covenant of Mercy'), Addis Abäba 1948 A.M. [1955/56 A.D.]; **ሰባቱ፡ ኪዳናት፡ ቅዳሴ ፡ ማርያም፡ መልክአ፡ ጉባኤ** (*Säbattu kidanat qəddase Maryam. Mälkəʾa gubaʾe*, 'Seven Covenants, the Mass of Mary. The Collection of *Mälkəʾ*'), Addis Abäba 1959 A.M. [1966/67 A.D.], 681–700, no. 43; 735–56, no. 46.

Lit.: STÉPHANE ANCEL, "Maḫbär et sänbäte: associations religieuses en Ethiopie", *Aethiopica* 8, 2005, 95–111; ROBERT BEYLOT, "Parallèles latins au Malkʾa Māryām éthiopien", in: *Mélanges linguistiques M. Rodinson*, Paris 1985 (Comptes rendus du GLECS, Supplément 12), 115–22; ID., "À propos du malkʾa Maryam et de l'occident (Suive de deux notes d'hagiographie)", *Aethiopica* 8, 2005, 130–39, here 130–33 (Lit.); ENRICO CERULLI, "La festa etiopica del Patto di Misericordia e le sue fonti nel greco «Liber de transitu» e nel racconto latino dei Cinque dolori di Maria", in: *Silloge bizantina in onore di Silvio Giuseppe Mercati*, Roma 1957 [= Studi bizantini e neoellenici 9], 53–71; GETATCHEW HAILE, "Builders of Churches and Authors of Hymns. Makers of History in the Ethiopian Church", in: *PICES* 10, vol. 1, 369–75; BASIL LOURIÉ, "S. Alypius Stylite, S. Marc d Tharmaqa et l'origine des *malkəʾ* éthiopiennes", in: DENIS NOSNITSIN et al., *Varia Aethiopica: in Memory of Sevir B. Chernetsov (1943–2005)*, St. Petersburg 2005 (Scrinium 1), 148–60; OSVALDO RAINERI, "L'Effigie di Maria «Patto di Misericordia». Note per un «Mariale Aethiopicum»", *Ephemerides liturgicae* 103, 1989, 92–109 (Lit.); SimDillmChr 307ff. (Lit.); HabUff 117f., s. index; UGO ZANETTI, "Parallèles antiques au malkeʾe éthiopien", in: ROBERT F. TAFT – GABRIELE WINKLER, *Acts of the International Congress on Comparative Liturgy: Fifty Years after Anton Baumstark (1872–1948), Rome, 25–29 September 1998*, Rome 2001 (OrChrA 265), 1005–20.

Verena Böll

Mälläsä Täkle

M.T. (**መለሰ፡ ተክሌ**, b. 9 January 1923, Gändəwa Gäbrəʾel, Gondär, d. 28 June 1957, Wisconsin, USA) belonged to the first generation of ↗Betä Ǝsraʾel (Fälaša) educated elite and was the youngest disciple of Jacques ↗Faitlovitch. At the age of eight M.T. was enrolled in a school founded by Faitlovitch in Addis Abäba. He studied there for four years, till the Italian invasion of 1935. During the occupation period M.T. served as a copy typist for the Italians.

Mälläsä Täkle; photo courtesy of the author

After Liberation, in 1942 M.T. became a record officer in the municipality of Gondär. When the Ethio-Eritrea Unity Association (**የኢትዮ፡ ኤርትራ፡ አንድነት፡ ማሕበር**, *Yäʾityo-Erətra andənnät maḫbär*) was formed in 1946, he was one of its members. From 1951 up to 1955 he served as Deputy Director General of the municipality of Gondär. In 1955 *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I appointed him Chief for the Municipalities of ↗Šäwa province. During this posting he prepared administrative guidelines which served as a basis for municipalities management. M.T. showed himself to be a hard worker, and was lauded "for honesty and incorruptibility" (Messing 1982:69). At the same time M.T. continued his education. In 1952 he studied English, French, history, economics etc. via correspondence with Oxford University. In 1956 he completed a municipality administration course and received a certificate from Ḫaylä Śəllase.

In addition to his governmental jobs M.T. worked intensively for the Betä Ǝsraʾel community. Thus, he assisted in the establishment of schools for Betä Ǝsraʾel children. He also wrote letters of entreaty to Ḫaylä Śəllase, begging him to alleviate the oppression faced by the Betä Ǝsraʾel community. M.T. was in constant contact with foreign Jewish communities, and also with researchers on Betä Ǝsraʾel, such as Wolf ↗Leslau and Simon David Messing. He served as guide and secretary for Leslau during his sojourn among the Betä Ǝsraʾel.

M.T. was sent by Ḫaylä Śəllase in September 1956 to make a tour of various U.S. municipalities with the purpose of studying urban development. During his mission he established contact

with American Jewish communities and supplied them with information on the Ethiopian Jews.

The circumstances of M.T.'s premature death are obscure. The official reason was suicide while his family does not accept this version.

Src.: DIBORA MÄLLÄSÄ TÄKLE, እውነተኛ ታሪክ (*Əwnätäññña tarik*, 'The True Story'), (forthcoming).
Lit.: WOLF LESLAU, *Falasha Anthology*, New Haven, CT 1951 (Yale Judaica Series 6), XI; SIMON DAVID MESSING, *The Story of the Falashas, "Black Jews" of Ethiopia*, New York 1982, 49.

Deborah Mälläsä Täkle

Malo

Malo language

The M. language (self-name: Malittso), spoken by about 20,000 people (CSA 1996; Hudson 1999:92), is a member of the north ↗Ometo branch of ↗Omotic (for location s. Maale). Little linguistic research has been done on M. The present contribution is based mainly on Mahider Tesfu (2003) and an interview with Yema Yela (2006).

M. has the following consonants: stops: *p*, *b*, *t*, *d*, *k*, *g*; ejectives: (*p'*), *ṣ*, *č'*, *q*; implosives: (*ɓ*), *ɗ*; sibilants: *s*, *š*, *z*, *ž*; affricates: *č*, *ǧ*, *ʦ*, *ʣ*; nasals: *m*, *n*; laterals: *l*; vibrants: *r*; approximants: *w*, *y*; glottals: *ʾ*, *h*. Both *p* and *ɓ* are reported; most probably, only one of these is phonemic. The vowels are *i*, *u*, *e*, *o*, *a*. Vowel length and gemination are contrastive, e.g. *maʦ* 'bee' vs. *maaʦ* 'milk'; *gado* 'diseases' vs. *gaddo* 'to put down'.

Most citation-form nouns and adjectives end in one of the lexically determined terminal vowels: *e*, *o*, or *a*. Some nouns end in consonants, e.g. *keʦ* 'house'; *ṣeet* 'hundred'. Plural is marked with *-it-*, and in kinship nouns with *-unʦ*, e.g. *naʾa*, 'child' vs. *nayita*, 'children'; *aabbo*, 'father' vs. *aabbunʦ*, 'fathers'. Singular is unmarked.

Gender (masc. and fem.) is distinguished in 3rd pers. pronouns. In nouns, gender is interrelated with the marking of definiteness and of cases (nominative and accusative). The definiteness marker, *-(a)t-*, is used only for fem. nouns, e.g. *gaware*, 'cat (citation form)' vs. *gawar-at-a*, 'the cat (fem. nom.)'. Nominative is marked by *-i/-y* (masc. sg./pl.) and by *-a* (fem.). Accusative is marked only in definite nouns by *-a* (pl. and masc. sg.) or by *-o* (fem. sg.). E.g.: *gawar-at-a*$_1$ *kap-at-o*$_2$ *bayez*$_3$, 'The cat$_1$ (fem.) chased$_3$ the bird$_2$ (fem.)'; *asa-y*$_1$ *gemat-ita-a*$_2$ *šuqez*$_3$, 'The man$_1$ slaughtered$_3$ the oxen$_2$'. Dative, ablative, locative, and instrumental/comitative are marked by *-(a)s*, *-(a)p*, *-n*, *-ar*, respectively: *daydo-s* 'to/for Daydo (name)'; *dere-p* 'from a mountain'; *hiiʦa-n*, 'on/in bed'; *kawe-r*, 'with a gun'. There are also locative terms (relational expressions based on body-part nouns): *bella*, 'on/on top'; *giddo*, 'inside'; *garsa*, 'under'; and *mille*, 'side'.

Personal pronouns in M. include:

Pers.	Subject	Accusative	Possessive
1st sg.	*tani / ta*	*tana*	*ta*
2nd sg.	*neni / ne*	*nena*	*ne*
3rd masc. sg.	*ezi / e*	*eza*	*e*
3rd fem. sg.	*iza / i*	*izo*	*i*
1st pl.	*nuni / nu*	*nuna*	*nu*
2nd pl.	*yinti / yi*	*yinta*	*yi*
3rd pl.	*unti / u*	*unta*	*u*

Although the short forms of subject pronouns in the above table appear identical with respective possessive pronouns, there probably exists a tone/accent difference between the two (this question is not discussed in Mahider Tesfu 2003; the author's own data are insufficient to draw a conclusion).

Possessive pronouns can be nominalized through attachment of special markers of gender and number, e.g.: *tasi yeʾez*, 'mine (masc.) came'; *tara yeʾez*, 'mine (fem.) came'; *esitay mez*, 'his (pl.) eat'.

The demonstratives are:

	proximal		distal	
	nom.	acc.	nom.	acc.
masc. sg.	*ayi*	*aya*	*yeni*	*yena*
fem. sg.	*hanna*	*hanno*	*yanna*	*yanno*
pl.	*ayitay*	*ayitaa*	*yenitay*	*yenitaa*

Question words include: 'who' *oni*, 'what' *abi*, 'when' *ayde*, 'where' *ana*, 'why' *abis*, 'how' *wosta*, 'how much' *aappun*.

Numerals may precede the head noun (in this case they are not marked for gender and case); more frequently, they follow the head noun and are marked for gender and case: *naʾa tab-ita-y yeʾ-e-z*, child ten-PL-NOM come-PF-DECL, 'The ten children came'.

Subject agreement is not indicated on the verb. Perfective, imperfective and future tenses are marked by *-e-*, *-i-* and *-od-*, respectively; the declarative markers *-z(a)/-(a)* occur after vowel/consonant endings: *ta afila meč̣č̣-e-z*, 'I washed clothes'; *ta afila meč̣č̣-i-z(a)*, 'I wash clothes'; *ta ant-od-(a)*, 'I will work'. (Cf. interrogative clauses, marked with *-ne/-e*: *e ang-e-ne*, 'did he go?'; *e ang-i-ne*, 'does he go?'; *e ang-od-e*, 'will he go?')

Progressive action is expressed by an analytic construction involving the main verb followed by *-idar* and the imperfective form of the exis-

tential verb *ye-*, e.g.: *ta ant-idar ye-iz(a)*, 'I am working'. Distinction between present perfect and past perfect is reported: *ta m-iaš-ez(a)*, 'I have eaten' vs. *ta m-iašaš-ez(a)*, 'I had eaten'.

In negatives, present, past/perfective and future forms are distinguished, e.g.: *nu wong-owa*, 'we do not buy'; *nu wong-ekka*, 'we did not buy'; *nu wong-enna*, 'we will not buy'. The negative progressive is: *nu wong-idar baa*, 'we are not buying'.

Imperative is marked by *-ob* (sg.) and *-oyta* (pl.), e.g. *ant-ob*, 'work (2nd pers. sg.)'; *ant-oyta*, 'work (2nd pers. pl.)'. Negative imperative forms are: *oyč-ipp*, 'do not ask (2nd pers. sg.)!'; *oyčippat*, 'do not ask (2nd pers. pl.)!'. Optative/hortative is marked by invariable *-o* (affirmative) and *-ippe* (negative) for all 3rd pers.: *oyč-o*, 'let him/her/them ask!' vs. *oyč-ippe*, 'don't let him/her/them ask!'.

M. clauses mainly follow Subject-Object-Verb order. In noun phrases with adjectival or numeral modifiers, head-modifier order (with case and other nominal information added to the phrase-final element) is the most frequent. Possessive pronominals on the other hand precede the head.

as	*dura-y*	*ketsa*	*wong-ez*
man	rich-M:NOM	house:ACC	buy-PERF

'The rich man bought the house'

nu	*kets*	*dammo*
1SG:POSS	house	big

'Our house is big'

The standard ten-word list for M.: 'one' *petto*, 'two' *nam'i*, 'three' *heedz*, 'water' *atsa*, 'fire' *tama*, 'sun' *awaata*, 'moon' *ageena*, 'blood' *suts*, 'tongue' *irints*, 'tooth' *ača*.

Src.: interview with Yema Yela, a native speaker (2006); CSA 1996; GROVER HUDSON, "Linguistic Analysis of the 1994 Ethiopia Census", *NEASt* 6, 3, 1999, 89–107.

Lit.: AKLILU YILMA – RALPH SIEBERT, "Sociolinguistic Survey Report of the Chara, Dime, Melo and Nayi Languages of Ethiopia. Part 1", *SIL Electronic Survey Reports* 2002, 029; ALEMAYEHU ABEBE, "Malo: an Unknown Ometo Language", in: *PICES* 12, vol. 1, 1064–84; MAHIDER TESFU, *Morphology of Malo*, M.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 2003.

Azeb Amha

Malo ethnography

The M. form one of the ethnic groups who live in the middle Omo valley of south-western Ethiopia. The term a local ethnonym used by the group itself as well as by the neighbouring groups, but Amhara and other central Ethiopians conventionally call them *mälo* or *mällo* (leading to the spelling Melo or Mello in official documents). The traditional area of the M., currently administered by the Malo-Koza *wäräda* of Gamo Gofa Zone, Southern Nations Nationalities and Peoples' Region, is bordered to the east by ↗Gofa, to the south by ↗Basketo, to the west by Dola and other ↗Dokko groups (further to the west by ↗Dime), to the north-west by Čara, to the north by ↗Konta (and Koyša), and to the north-east by ↗Dawro. M. and the neighbouring peoples all speak ↗Omotic languages. The number of the M. population is estimated at 19,918 (CSA 1996).

Located on the southern fringe of the Omo River, the land forms a remarkably steep mountain topography with its highest peak of Mount Zaalallo (ca. 3,400 m A.S.L.) in the centre. Altitudes in the area range from ca. 600 to ca. 3,400 m A.S.L., but people generally live between 1,000 and 3,000 m A.S.L.

The majority of the people are subsistence farmers who engage in crop cultivation and livestock raising. They grow more than 100 species of cultivated plants: cereals (barley, wheat, ↗maize, sorghum, ↗*ṭef*), tuber and root crops (↗*ənsät*, taro, yams, cassava, potatoes), pulses (peas, beans, etc.), vegetables (Ethiopian cabbage, squash, etc.), fruits (banana, papaya, sugarcane, etc.), spices (pepper, Ethiopian cardamon, etc.), stimulants (↗coffee, ↗*čat*, etc.), plants for material uses (gourd, eucalyptus, bamboo, etc.), ornamentals (rose, etc.). Still a large number of local varieties are distinguished among the major food crops such as *ənsät* (over 60 varieties), taro (over 30), barley and wheat (over 20 respectively). *Ǝnsät*, which is found in almost every household garden, is by far the most important both for daily food sources and for various non-food material uses. *Ṭef* is nowadays sown most extensively in the lowlands, both for domestic consumption and for cash sale.

Plough cultivation has found its way in the lowland fields, while the digging stick known as *mangatso* is the main implement for tillage in the highland fields. People raise some cows, sheep, goats, and chickens as well as horses, mules, and donkeys, using the dung as essential manure for home gardens. Some of the people engage in beekeeping for collecting honey which is partly consumed in drinks but largely sold for cash.

Historically, M. was an autonomous kingdom ruled by a hereditary king (*kaate*). Though oral tradition is largely dismissed and seriously frag-

A Malo house in an *ənsät* grove; photo 1950/52 by Eike Haberland, courtesy of Frobenius-Institut (23–Ha061–11)

mented after its final extinction following the demise of the imperial regime, more or less ten kings are remembered, suggesting the kingdom was established no later than the 19th cent. The kingdom was settled by immigrants from the neighbouring areas, mostly from Gofa. The early kingdom, however, only occupied the north-eastern tip of the territory later called Abba. The royal clan of the Abba dynasty, referred to as Abba Gošana'a, migrated from and then kept good relation with their homeland of Gofa. But around the turn of the 19th cent., king Gobe and his followers were driven to the other side of the Omo River where they settled and formed the Konta kingdom. The leader of the emergent group who took over power from the Abba dynasty was Madda, founder of the M. dynasty. He and his successors, whose clan is claimed to be M. Gošana'a, based their residence (*gad'o*) in Šama in central M. Under the M. dynasty, the kingdom expanded through constant battles against the neighbouring polities in the 19th cent. King Ṣoona, referred to as Tona in Borelli's account (1890), is familiar to the people today.

In early 1890s when imperial troops invaded the land, however, expansion suddenly ceased. Central and northern Ethiopians, mostly Amhara, came to settle the land. While the kings maintained their status by becoming ↗*balabbats*, commoners became heavily exploited under ↗*gäbbar* system.

Even before incorporation into the empire, the M. area had been penetrated by several trade routes linking Ǧimma and the current South Omo area where wild animals abounded. In Šama, Bokre, and Godo, all market towns on the routes, Islamic merchants had their settlements. Local boys and girls were taken to Ǧimma as slaves (*ayle*), which apparently continued up to the Italian occupation in 1936.

During the Italian period, some of the northern M. area became unsafe because local Amharas and others central Ethiopians concealed themselves in the forests along the Omo river as a base for resistance, raiding local settlements. When the Italian occupation ended in 1941, Libaane Alto, one of the local collaborators (*banda*) who had furnished the Italians with firearms and bullets, started an anti-Amhara or anti-imperial war which was suppressed in a year or so. After the fall of the imperial regime in 1974, armed Bodi and other ↗Me'en agro-pastoralists, locally referred to as *golde* or *golda*, repeatedly came from the lower Omo valley to attack northern M. settlements for cattle, which led to depopulation in the northern M. area.

The social organization of the M. is hierarchically arranged. It includes four distinctive hereditary subgroups: two farmer groups (Goqa and Dokko) and two artisan groups (Ota Mani and Gita Mani). Goqa is the most dominant subgroup composed of over 30 clans most of which have putative origins outside M. land. It occupies most fertile fields suited for crop cultivation. Dokko, on the other hand, has a smaller population and is composed of about 15 clans most of which do not have any putative lands of origin. The Dokko are more or less confined to remote and isolated places such as steep slopes or lands surrounded by cliffs and deep valleys. Other than farming, they usually engage in various handicrafts such as basket making and weaving. Oral tradition tells that the Goqa came from the immigrant settlers who ruled during the kingdom period and the Dokko descend from the conquered autochthons.

Th ere are also two hereditary artisanal groups, which are subsumed under the derogatory term Mani. One group is the Ota Mani, whose female members work as potters, and the other is the Gita Mani, whose male members work as black-

smiths. The Mani do not intermarry with farmers. In former times, especially up to the imperial conquest, they were considered impure and were differentiated from farmers because of their alleged food habits and strange behaviour. These days, relationships between farmers and artisans have gradually ameliorated.

Reflecting the complex origins of the people, various languages are spoken in the region. The Dokko keep their original language Dokittso (the Dokko language) which is similar to Baskeetittso (Baskeeto language) spoken in the south of M. Probably the ancestors of the current Goqa brought the ancestor of the M. language when they immigrated into the land a few centuries ago. But now the language is not common even among Goqa members. It is being replaced by Gofattso (Gofa language). The process of language shift from Malittso to Gofattso in M. land started in the first half of the 20th cent. And now Malittso is obviously one of the endangered languages of Ethiopia. The language shift may be related to local concepts. While the Gofa language is associated with sophistication or civilization (*žaažo* or *ǧaaǧo*) and often called Žaažiččo or Ǧaaǧiččo (language of sophistication), people commonly regard Malittso as Gezittso (language of *gezo*, ignorance or backwardness). In this context, the ↗Oyda language, close to the M. language, is considered Gezittso as well.

Various traditional beliefs and practices such as ancestor worship and harvest rituals associated with fertility are maintained, but only sparsely. Muslim traders from Ǧimma brought Islam to the land. Their descendants who keep their faith now live in several settlements as farmers. Since the incorporation into the Ethiopian state, Orthodox Christianity and possession cults entered the country though both are not popular. It is a missionary Christianity that has gained ground, which reached the region in the latter half of the 20th cent.

Src.: CSA 1991; CSA 1996.

Lit.: JULES BORELLI, *Éthiopie méridionale: journal de mon voyage aux pays Amhara, Oromo et Sidama Septembre 1885 à Novembre 1888*, Paris 1890; TAKESHI FUJIMOTO, "Enset and its Varieties among the Malo, Southwestern Ethiopia", in: *PICES* 13, vol. 3, 867–82; ID., "Malo", in: DENA FREEMAN – ALULA PANKHURST (eds.), *Living on the Edge: Marginalised Minorities of Craftworkers and Hunters in Southern Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 2001, 141–58; ID.,"T'ef (*Eragrostis tef* [Zucc.] Trotter) Cultivation among the Malo, Southwestern Ethiopia", in: *PICES* 14, 767–84; ID., "Social Stratification and its Relevance to Ethno-history: a Case in Malo, Southwestern Ethiopia", in: *PICES* 15, 92–103; EIKE HABERLAND, "Notes on the History of Konta: a Recent State Foundation in Southern Ethiopia", in: *2000 ans d'histoire africaine. Le sol, la parole et l'écrit: mélanges en hommage à Raymond Mauny*, Paris 1981, 735–49.

Takeshi Fujimoto

Mämhər

M. (መምህር, Gəᶜəz: lit. 'teacher', from *mäharä*, 'teach') is a traditional title in the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥədo) Church. From its original meaning of 'teacher' the term has come in the course of time to assume additionally the specific meaning of 'abbot', i.e. the head of a monastery ormonastic community (cp. ↗*gädam*), the supreme teacher in spiritual, religious matters (cp. ↗*aläqa* for ↗*däbr*). However, today M. is frequently used also as an honorific title, while there are other terms which are used to denote technically the role of the superior of a monastery: cp., e.g., Gəᶜəz *liqä mənet*, *abä mənet* (DillmLex 194); Amh. *abba mənet* (cp. early evidence in CRDLib 190). Some abbots bear a particular title linked to the monastery in which they serve: ↗*ᶜaqqabe säᶜat* of Ǝnda Abba Mäṭaᶜ (↗Däbrä Libanos of Šəmäzana) or ↗Däbrä Ḥayq Ǝsṭifanos, *makbəb* of ↗Atronsä Maryam, *bätra yarəq* of ↗Tädbabä Maryam etc. An abbot may be addressed simply as "father" (cp. ↗*Abba*, ↗*Abbate*) and not as a M. The title *afä mämhər* (lit. 'the mouth of M.') refers to the spokesman or vicar of the abbot.

It is difficult to know when the term (in origin, a participle form from the intensive stem, **mämə*h*(*h*)ər* [Dillmann 1907:241, §114a], but traditionally pronounced as a participle form of the causative stem, *mämhər*, like *mädḫən* [ibid. 242]) started to be used in the monastic context. It appears in the Ethiopic Bible rather in the meaning 'scholar, doctor' or 'teacher' (DillmLex 144). The part of the so-called *Regulae Pachomii* (cp. ↗Pachomius) translated from Greek during the Aksumite period, employs *abbas* (from Greek: ἀββας) for the superior of a monastery (DillmChr 62f.; also in BauEr II, 46f., III, 36), while a later Ethiopian addition uses M. (DillmChr 64, 65; also in the ↗*Fəṭḫa nägäśt*, cp. Guidi 1897–99, § 10, 15).

During the Salomonic period M., in the meaning 'abbot, superior', was widely used, although in many cases the connotation 'teacher' was specifically emphasized: e.g., *mämhəranä ḫägg abäwinä*, 'the teachers of the law, our fathers', *mämhərənä wämägäśśəṣənä* ('our teacher and tutor', cp. BauEr

I, 44), or *mämḫərä däbr məslä däqiqu* ('the M. of the monastery with his (spiritual) sons', CRDLib 186); cp. also *mämhəranä zäkäswa bämänbärä məhəro abunä Ǝsṭifanos*, 'the teachers of Käswa on the seat of the teaching of *abunä* Ǝsṭifanos' (Mordini 1953:57). Cp., however: *litähi Ṗeṭros baᶜälä Bizän mämhərəkəmu zəkäruni*, 'remember me, your teacher Ṗeṭros, the master of Bizän' (BauEr III, 37). The same term was used also in the context of a legal stipulation where the upper hierarchical position of M. had to be stressed (... *əmmähi mämhər wäʾəmmähi qäysä gäbäz* ..., '... if a M. or if a *qäysa gäbäz* ...', BauEr I, 68).

In the Ethiopian monastic tradition, the appointment of the M. as the head of the monastery was a complex matter, where Canon ↗law, political considerations and local tradition encountered each other. As attested in the sources, it could occur in at least three different ways. Sometimes a M. was elected by the monastic community (e.g., the same Filəṗṗos, according to the Acts of ↗Anorewos). At other times, lots could be drawn by a number of candidates elected within the community (this method was used, e.g., in the selection of the 16th-cent. *əčč̣äge* ↗ᶜƎnbaqom). Lastly, the M. could be appointed by the king, as was the case of ↗Iyäsus Moʾa of Däbrä Ḥayq, who was appointed by a ↗Zagʷe king; and similarly with ↗Märḥa Krəstos who was appointed by *aṣe* ↗Zärʾa Yaᶜəqob.

As knowledge is a frequent component of sanctity, the Fathers of the Church can also be called *mämhəranä betä krəstiyan*, lit. 'the teachers of the Church', in church discourse and literature (specifically, in ↗hagiography); remarkably, *abunä* ↗Täklä Haymanot is termed *mämhərä ᶜaläm*, 'Teacher of the World' in the first passage of the ↗*Sənkəssar* entry devoted to him (cp. BudSaint 1241; GuiSyn III, 377). In the 15th-cent. Acts of *abunä* ↗Filəṗṗos, a 14th-cent. abbot of ↗Däbrä Libanos of Šäwa, the saint was appointed head of a group of eleven monks who were commissioned with spreading Christianity ('teaching', i.e., evangelizing). All of these monks were given the title M. (in allusion to the twelve Apostles) and founded monasteries of their own.

The narrow meaning of the term has been retained till today in the traditional system of ↗education, especially at its higher levels, where the teacher is called M. The title M. is also employed in village churches to address married priests.

↗Churches and church administration; ↗Monasteries

Src.: BauEr I, 44, 51, 63, 68, II, 46f., III, 37; BudSaint 1241; CRDLib 186f., 190; Carlo Conti Rossini, *Vitae sanctorum indigenarum*. II. *Gadla Anorēwos seu Acta Sancti Honorii*, Louvain 1905, repr. 1961–62 (CSCO 28, 29 [SAe 11, 12]), 76 (text) = 65f. (tr.); DillmChr 62f., 64, 65; DillmLex 194; GonzGal 153; Ignazio Guidi (ed., tr.), *Il "Fetha Naqast" o "Legislazione dei Re" codice ecclesiastico e civile di Abissinia*, Napoli 1897, 80–84 (text), Roma 1899, 116–21 (tr.) [§ X, 15]; GuiSyn III, 377; GuiVoc 512; KaneDic 1348*b*; Stanisław Kur (ed., tr.), *Actes de Marḥa Krestos*, Louvain 1972 (CSCO 330, 331 [SAe 62, 63]), 42f. (text) = 38f. (tr.); KurMoa 6 (text) = 5 (tr.), 18; PerrZarY 121f.; RicEnbYoh II, 92, n. 98; Boryssus Turaiev, *Vitae sanctorum indigenarum*. IV. *Gadla Filpos seu acta sancti Philippi*, Louvain 1908, repr. 1961 (CSCO 30, 31 [SAe 13, 14]), 198f. (text) = 178f. (tr.).

Lit.: AmhChurchD vol. 1, 142; Harald Aspen, *Amhara Traditions of Knowledge, Spirit Mediums and their Clients*, Wiesbaden 2001 (AeF 58), 77f.; Bairu Tafla, "Titles, Ranks and Offices of the Ethiopian Orthodox Tawāhdo Church: a Preliminary Survey", *Internationale Kirchliche Zeitschrift* 76, 1986, 301–04; Carlo Conti Rossini, *Principî di diritto consuetudinario dell'Eritrea*, Roma 1916 (Manuali coloniali pubblicati a cura del Ministero delle Colonie), 387, n. 1; August Dillmann, *Ethiopic Grammar*, tr. by James A. Crichton, London 1907, repr. Amsterdam 1974, 241f., § 114a; Antonio Mordini, "Il convento di Gunde Gundiè", *RSE* 12, 1953 [1954], 29–63, here 57.

Marie-Laure Derat – Denis Nosnitsin

Mamlūks

M. (Arab. مملوك, lit. 'owned') was an ancient Oriental system of enslaving skilled manpower. It developed into a process whereby new recruits were transformed into individuals who went on to hold high administrative and military positions. The final outcome was that M.-ruling households emerged in various corners of the Islamic world. In ↗Egypt local M. took over in 1250 and transferred power within their system until 1517. The M. period (divided into the Baḥrī [Kiptchak, 1250–1382] and the Burgi [Circassian, 1382–1517] periods), was medieval Egypt's golden age, and it coincided with the hayday of the Solomonic monarchy in Ethiopia, 1270–1529. During this period the relations that developed between the two countries left an enduring legacy.

After the Mongols destroyed Baghdad in 1258, Egypt became the capital of Middle Eastern ↗Islam. The M. *sulṭāns* hosted the ᶜAbbāsid caliphs and engaged in conflicts with both the Mongols in the Fertile Crescent, and the late Crusaders in the Mediterranean. They also invested in building Egypt, developing its cities, the Nile irrigation, and its long-distance trade. M. interest in Ethiopia stemmed from all those aspects. Facing the menace of the Crusades from Europe, they

were concerned about the Christian connection to Ethiopia and developed the myth that Ethiopia might block the ↗Nile. As political and military patrons of Islam, they assumed some patronage over the Islamic sultanates of Southern Ethiopia, notably ↗Ifat and ↗ᶜAdal, who were fighting a losing battle against the Solomonic rulers. Because the land trade-route to the east was blocked by the Mongols, they developed a Red Sea fleet and established contact with the Muslims of the Horn (to whom they mostly referred to as *zayāliᶜa*, sg. *zaylaᶜī*) through the port of ↗Zaylaᶜ. The M. often regarded the Copts as a "fifth column" in Egypt because the way they treated them often angered the Solomonic rulers. Additionally, the M. controlled ↗Jerusalem and the Christian Ethiopian pilgrimage route; and, like all Egyptian rulers, they were in a position to prevent the sending of new metropolitans to Ethiopia (↗*Ṗappas*).

This cycle of fears, threats and Ethiopian–Egyptian counter-threats manifested itself in the correspondence between the *sulṭāns* and the Ethiopian emperors: aẓ-Ẓāhir Baybars (1260–77) and ↗Yəkunno Amlak; Manṣūr al-Qalāwūn (1279–90) and ↗Yagbəᵓa Ṣəyon; an-Nāṣir Muḥammad (1309–41) and ↗ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon I; aẓ-Ẓāhir Barqūq (1382–99) and *sulṭān* ↗Barsbāy, ↗Dawit II and ↗Yəsḥaq; *sulṭān* Ǧaqmaq (1438–53) and ↗Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob. During the reign of *aṣe* Dawit II, in 1381, an Ethiopian force even dared to penetrate upper Egypt (TadTChurch 255).

In the midst of the conflicts, there were often positive exchanges between the two sides. Under M. rule, Egypt went on to become a source of innovation and progress. *Abunä* ↗Sälama "the Translator" supervised the momentous scripture translation enterprise for texts that were transported from Egypt to Ethiopia. In the al-Azhar mosque of Cairo, the M. opened a corner for Ethiopian Muslims who went to study there (*Riwāq al-Ǧabartīya*; cp. ↗Gäbärti). Faḫraddawla, a prominent administrator in the M. court who fled to Ethiopia, reorganized *aṣe* Yəsḥaq's entire government, including taxation system, along the M. administrative lines. In addition to this, *aṣe* Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob obtained, for the first time, a second bishop from Egypt.

The fact that Ethiopia was often on the M. agenda is also reflected in the rich literature produced in Egypt during that period. Of the various sources on the Horn of Africa, worth mentioning are the writings of Aḥmad b. ᶜAlī al-↗Maqrīzī, and Ǧalāladdīn as-↗Suyūṭī. Altogether, medieval Egypt was quite respectful of Solomonic Ethiopia, as reflected in the *sulṭāns'* letters to their Ethiopian counterparts, which show the deferential approach they dedicated to Ethiopian monarchs (Gori 2002). The Solomonic dynasty, for their part, had a similar egalitarian attitude to Egypt. This Egyptian–Ethiopian mutuality, however, was to take a different shape following Egypt's fall to the Ottomans (as of 1517), and after the Solomonic dynasty was traumatically shattered by ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī's *ǧihād*.

Lit.: ᶜABDUH QĀSIM, "ᶜAlāqāt Miṣr bil-Ḥabaša fī ᶜaṣr salāṭīn al-Mamālīk" ('Egypt's Relationship with Ethiopia in the Era of the Mamluk Sultans'), in: RAᵓŪF ᶜABDALḤAMĪD (ed.), *Al-ᶜArab fī Ifrīqyā* ('Arabs in Africa'), Cairo 1987, 57–84; JOSEPH CUOQ, *L'islam en Éthiopie: des origines au XVIᵉ siècle*, Paris 1981; ALESSANDRO GORI, "Sugli incipit delle missive inviate dalla cancelleria Mamelucca ai sovrani d'Etiopia nel XIV e XV secolo", *RSE* nuova ser. 1, [44], 2002, 29–44; HERIBERT HORST, "Berichte frühmamlūkischer Historiker über Äthiopien", in: BRIGITTA BENZING – OTTO BÖCHER – GÜNTER MAYER (eds.), *Wort und Wirklichkeit: Studien zur Afrikanistik und Orientalistik Eugen Ludwig Rapp zum 70. Geburtstag*, vol. 1, Meisenheim 1976, 170-85; ErlEth; HAGGAI ERLICH, *The Cross and the River: Ethiopia, Egypt, and the Nile*, Boulder, CO 2002; JULIAN PLANTE, "The Ethiopian Embassy to Cairo of 1443", *JES* 13, 1975, 133–40; RAĞAB MUḤAMMAD ᶜABDALḤALĪM, *al-ᶜAlāqāt as-siyāsīya bayna muslimī z-Zaylaᶜ wa-naṣārā l-Ḥabaša fī l-ᶜuṣūr al-wusṭā* ('Political Relations between the Muslims of Zaylaᶜ and the Christians of Abyssinia in the Middle Ages'), Cairo 1405 H. [1985 A.D.]; TadTChurch 255; TADDESSE TAMRAT, "Ethiopia, the Red Sea and the Horn", in: ROLAND OLIVER (ed.), *Cambridge History of Africa*, vol. 3, Cambridge – New York 1977, 98–182; GASTON WIET, "Les Relations Egypto-Abyssines sous les sultans mamlouks", *Bulletin de la Société d'Archéologie Copte*, 1938, 115–40.

Haggai Erlich

Mamma mədər ↗Mänz

Mammädočč dynasty

M. is the name used to refer to the ruling dynasty of the ↗*imāms* of ↗Wärrä Himäno, who ruled this part of ↗Wällo from the end of the 18th cent. The *imām* Mäḥammäd ᶜAli's conversion to Christianity as *ras* ↗Mikaᵓel in 1878 can be considered as marking the end of the independently ruling Muslim dynasty, though its representatives continued dominating political scene within the Christian Ethiopian empire.

There are two etymological assumptions in the traditions that explain the foundation of this dynasty. The more common one refers to the locality of Mammäd in Gärfa (not far from present day ↗Bati) where the founder of the dynasty, Goodanaa Babboo, an Oromo Muslim cleric from ↗Arsi,

settled in the middle of the 18th cent. The second assumption, deriving M. from the name Muḥammad, suggests two possibilities: either claiming a prestigious Šarifian ancestry from the Prophet of ↗Islam through the lineage of *šayḫ* Nūr ↗Ḥusayn of Bale (which may be a later reconstruction, but not in contradiction with an Arsi origin) or from ↗Mäḥammäd ᶜAli "Abba Ǧibo", the grandson of Goodanaa Babboo, considered the real founder of the dynasty in Wärrä Himäno.

The process of political and territorial expansion led by the M. was rapid as it took themonly a few decades to subdue and reassemble the fragmented and rival chiefdoms of Wällo and to establish their dominance over this territory. It started with Goodanaa Babboo, who "exploited his credentials as a religious notable" (HusIslam 117) to achieve hegemony over the Arloč clan who had been dominating Sägarat located between Wärrä Babbo and ↗Täkʷəladäre. His son ᶜAli Goodanaa revolted against the Arloč and took over their possessions and proceeded to expand the territory further. Mäḥammäd ᶜAli "Abba Ǧibo" further consolidated the dynasty from its centre at ↗Tänta. This location was of strategic importance as M. controlled the resources of a fertile highland territory and, through its ↗*amba*-mountains (↗Mäqdäla, Ləgot), a system of valleys (the ↗Bäšəlo river and its tributaries) serving ↗Bägemdər and ↗Yäǧǧu. This location gave to the M. a strong power base that enabled them to take advantage of the turmoil of the warlord era of the ↗*Zämänä mäsafənt*.

The M. chiefs succeeded in maintaining their authority through exceptional abilities as warriors on the battlefield. But this was not attained only through force. They also based their authority on promoting and strengthening ↗Islam. This religion was effectively used as an ideological shield against the ongoing process of the incorporation of Wällo by the neighbouring Christian powers.

Mäḥammäd ᶜAli was succeeded by the *imāms* Amäde "Kolase" (↗Wäldä Gäbrəʾel), ↗Libän Amäde "Abba Ǧərru" and Amäde Libän "Abba Muǧa". They participated in a number of battles and intrigues in which they often gained an advantageous position. Their immediate rivals were the rulers of the Wärräsek Yäǧǧu dynasty (who were similar to the M. in origin) dominating Bägemdər and Yäǧǧu. The M. used their strength against the Wärräsek by maintaining a power balance among their large neighbours: Təgray, Goǧǧam and Šäwa.

Later on, the M. were internally divided by fighting for the title of *imām*. This division weakened them particularly when they faced ↗Tewodros II who established his headquarters at Mäqdäla and waged a violent campaign against the M. who were a hindrance to his policy of territorial unification. Nevertheless Wällo forces resisted the campaign of oppression led by the two widows of M. *imāms*, ↗Mästawät and ↗Wärqitu, claiming power for Amäde Liban "Abba Waṭäw", and Mäḥammäd ᶜAli, respectively. They eventually found themselves caught in the rivalry between ↗Mənilək of Šäwa and ↗Yoḥannəs IV of Təgray. The sons of both queens were finally forced to be baptized at the Council of Boru Meda in 1878.

This event marked a turning point in the history of Wällo, but it was not a radical break in the M. strategy to accumulate power. The most striking feature of the M. *imāms* was the intricate interplay with their Christian rivals. A close look at M. genealogy shows that the first M. *imāms* married women of Christian background. The mother of Mäḥammäd "Abba Ǧibo" was the daughter of a lord of ↗Wadla Dälanta. He himself had two Christian wives, one from Amba Ləgot, the other from Ambassäl, who bore him his successor, Amäde Kolase. The latter, in his 20s, entered the service of *ras* ↗Goššu, who baptized him with the name of Wäldä Gäbrəʾel and who gave him his niece in marriage. After Goššu's death, Amäde returned to Islam and took over the leadership of Wärrä Himäno. His son Libän "Abba Ǧərru" received a Christian education in Bägemdər with his mother. After her death, he returned to his father who converted him to Islam. When he was *imām* in his turn, he vigorously championed Islam. Like his predecessors, he also married a Christian woman, the mother of Ali "Abba Bulla". After Libän, this process of matrimonial absorption of Christians in the M. dynasty was discontinued, yet we must note that his daughter (by another wife) ↗Mänän (later *ətege*) married *däǧǧazmač* Alula, with whom she conceived *ras* ↗Ali II. She later married Alula's brother Wäle and eventually the Gondärine *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs III.

This genealogical sketch allows us to understand that the case of Mäḥammäd ᶜAli – Mikaʾel was not unique. It was part of a historical pattern of interreligious mix. That is what his son, *ləǧ* ↗Iyasu, tried to suggest when claimed to combine his M. paternal heritage with his Solomonic maternal ancestry.

Src.: BlunChr; DOMENICO BRIELLI, "Ricordi storici dei Uollo (con note di C. Conti Rossini)", in: *CRStud* 78–110; ZÄRGAW ASFÄRRA, *Some Aspects of Historical Development in Amhara/Wällo (ca. 1700–1815)*, B.A. thesis, Haile Selassie I University 1973.
Lit.: HusIslam 2001; ÉLOI FICQUET, *Du barbare au mystique: Anthropologie historique des recompositions identitaires et religieuses dans le Wällo (Ethiopie centrale)*, Ph.D. thesis, EHESS, Paris 2002.

Éloi Ficquet

Mammo Çorqa

M.Č. (ማሞ፡ ጮርቃ, Mammo Corka or Chorka, b. 12 *Ḥamle* 1894 A.M. [1902 A.D.], Gidaamii, d. October 1965, Addis Abäba) was an Evangelical pastor, government official and Member of Parliament in Western ↗Wälläga. In his youth he was taught at Sadi Guma by teachers recruited from Rev. Cederqvist's so-called "English School" in ↗Addis Abäba. During the 1920's M.Č. worked as a teacher at the American Presbyterian Mission School in Sayyoo (↗Dambi Doolloo), he also tutored in-patients at the hospital and conducted daily devotions. When the Evangelical Church in Sayyoo was organized in 1934, M.Č. became one of the elected elders and its spokesman after the Italian invasion. In 1938 the congregation elected M.Č. for ordination. After training in Addis Abäba he was ordained priest (*qes*) by Rev. D. Henry on 6 February 1939. He returned to Wälläga and served as a pastor in Sayyoo and also in the vacant Swedish mission stations Mändi, Näğğo and Boğği.

On 8 August 1940 *qes* M.Č. was arrested by the Italian authorities and taken to Ǧimma, accused of espionage for the British and for the Emperor. He was held in solitary confinement and cruelly tortured during the first three months of his incarceration and later sentenced to death. A few hours before his execution he was freed by British troops on 3 June 1941.

In 1943 *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I requested *qes* M.Č to take charge of the gold and platinum mines in Yubdo/Wälläga. After consultation with the Sayyoo elders M.Č. accepted the government assignment.

In 1957 M.Č. was elected as a Member of Parliament and moved to Addis Abäba. Besides his duties he served voluntarily in the Bethel Congregation and other places, until his death.

M.Č. was a man highly trusted by those in both high positions and low. He often served as mediator between quarrelling persons and groups and used his personal authority for reconciliation.

Lit.: MILLS J. TAYLOR (ed.), *Mamo Chorka's Own Story*, n.p. 1942; DEBELA BIRRI, *History of the Evangelical Church Bethel 1991 to 1947*, Ph.D. thesis, Lutheran School of Theology at Chicago 1995; GUSTAV AREN, *Envoys of the Gospel in Ethiopia: in the Steps of the Evangelical Pioneers*, Stockholm 1999.

Johannes Launhardt

Mammo Mäzämmər

M.M. (ማሞ፡ መዘምር, Maammoo Mazammir, b. 1937, Gudär, d. 1970, ᶜAläm Bäqañ) was an Ethiopian soldier and an Oromo nationalist originating from the ↗Ambo area of the Ǧəbate-Mäčča district. His parents were Umee Gurmeesa Nagawoo and Mazammir Haabta Durii. He received his junior secondary education at Däğğazmač Bäšah School in Gudär and at Yämaᶜərägä Ḫəywät Qädamawi Ḫaylä Śəllase School in Ambo. After having attended Täfäri Mäkʷännən School in Addis Abäba, he started training as a teacher in Harär, in order to make a living. However, in due course he followed his real aspirations and joined the ↗Harär Military Academy.

Since M.M. scored the highest result in the Harär Military Academy, he stayed there as a teacher until he received the rank of lieutenant. In 1962 he was one of the members of the military who were given a scholarship to pursue a higher education, earning an L.L.B degree in the Faculty of Law at Ḫaylä Śəllase I University.

Whilst M.M. was at the university, he joined the ↗Mäčča and Tuläma Association. He was a leading activist for the aims of the Association till his death. He spent much of his time reading books on history and politics, and collected many historical documents in order to write a history of the Oromo people.

M.M. was accused of exploding two bombs at the Cinema Ampere in Addis Abäba on 20 October 1967. The bombing, which was actually carried out by government agents, caused many causalities. M.M. was arrested in the morning of 22 November 1967 and later sentenced to death. He was hanged at ᶜAläm Bäqqañ Prison in 1970. According to Ṭäsfäye Dägaga, his prison mate and lifelong friend, the real reason for this punishment was a draft copy of a history of the Oromo people which was found when his house was searched.

M.M. is said to have declared in the last minutes of his life, as he was walking towards his executioners, that his death was a "sacrifice" for the sake of the Oromo people and the

fight against the feudal system (Olana Zoga 1993:428).

Lit.: ANDRÉ DAVY, *Ethiopie d'hier et d'aujourd'hui, Le Livre African*, Paris 1970; GEMECHU TAYE, *The History of Macha Tulama Association*, B.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1993; OLANA ZOGA, ግዝትና፡ ግዞት (*Gəzzətənna gəzot*, 'Excommunication and Exile'), Addis Ababa 1985 A.M. [1993 A.D.].

Dawit Kassaye Woldeyohannes

Mammo Taddäsä

Ato M.T. (ማሞ፡ ታደሰ, b. 1924) was a prominent politician of ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I's government. He was born into a middle-class Catholic family from ↗Šäwa. His grandfather, Kiros Ayyälä, was the first dragoman of the French legation in Addis Abäba and the brother of Wäldä Maryam, an extraordinary secretary of *ras* Täfäri.

After studying in France in the years following World War II and marrying a French woman, from 1958–66, he served as a Vice-Minister and Minister of State in the Prime Minister's Office. From 1966–69, he served as Minister of Justice and then Minister of Finance. In 1966 he was a personal envoy of Ḫaylä Śəllase to Accra to help resolve the conflict between Ghana and Guinea Conakry.

In addition, M.T. often acted as deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs and sat on many governmental boards and commissions, including as Chairman of the Codification Commission and Head of the Central Personnel Agency. He worked on the Ethiopian ↗constitution with René David and was closely associated with Prime Minister ↗Aklilu Habtäwäld. As it was also the case with the latter, based on his French education and wife, M.T. was perceived by more traditional opponents as a tool of undue foreign influence. He was imprisoned by the *Därg*.

Mammo Taddäsä; from ClapHS 131

Lit.: ClapHS 72f., 85, 101, 131 (ill.), 196, 199; ROBERT LEE HESS, *Ethiopia: the Modernization of Autocracy*, Ithaca 1970, 153; W.A.E. SKURNIK, "Ghana and Guinea, 1966 – A Case Study in Inter-African Relations", *Journal of Modern African Studies* 5, 3, 1967, 369–84, here 371.

Evgenia Sokolinskaia

Mammo Wälde

M.W. (ማሞ፡ ወልዴ, also Däməsse Wälde, Mammo Wälde Dägaga; b. 12 June 1932, Diri Ǧille, d. 26 May 2002, Addis Abäba) was an athlete and Olympic marathon champion. Orphaned very young, he joined the ↗Imperial Bodyguard in 1951, spending two years in Korea as part of the UN peace-keeping mission. After his victory in the Olympic Games of 1968 he was promoted by Emperor ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I to the rank of captain, remaining in post-revolutionary times on the military payroll working as a sports lecturer until 1992.

Altogether M.W. participated in four Olympic Games (1956, 1964, 1968 and 1972). In 1968, in Mexico City M.W. became the second Ethiopian (after ↗Abbäbä Biqila) to win a gold medal in an Olympic marathon race (2:20:26,4 h); he also won there a silver medal in the 10,000 m-race. With a bronze medal in the marathon race in Munich 1972, the 40-year-old M.W. was the oldest medal winner in a running event of the Olympic Games.

After the victory of 1968 Solomon Täsämma, a legendary sports journalist, wrote a song to honor the Ethiopian marathon heroes, M.W. and Abbäbä Biqila, entitled ማራቶን፡ ልዕልትዋ (*Maraton lᵊəltwa*, 'Marathon the Princess').

For two years at the end of the 1970s M.W. headed a political committee as a junior local official. In 1993 he was arrested, charged with being involved in the murder of a 15-year-old boy named Samuʾel Alemo in 1978. M.W.'s case gained international attention in 1996 when he was invited to be a guest at the Summer Olympics in Atlanta 1996 by the International Olympic Committee. However, all efforts by various former Olympic champions such as Kenyan runner Kipchoge Keino were unsuccessful: M.W. remained under arrest until 2002 in the Central Prison of Addis Abäba awaiting his trial. Sentenced at last to six years in prison, M.W. was released from custody in January 2002 because of his long pre-trial imprisonment, and returned to his family, second wife Abärraš Sämhate and his three children. Only five months later M.W. died at the age of 69. A commemorative life size statue for M.W. was erected in 2003 (next to the one of

1975 honouring Abbäbä Biqila) near his burial place in the cemetery of St. Joseph's Church in Addis Abäba. In the beginning of 2007 the statues and tombstones of both athlets were damaged by unknown persons.

↗Sports

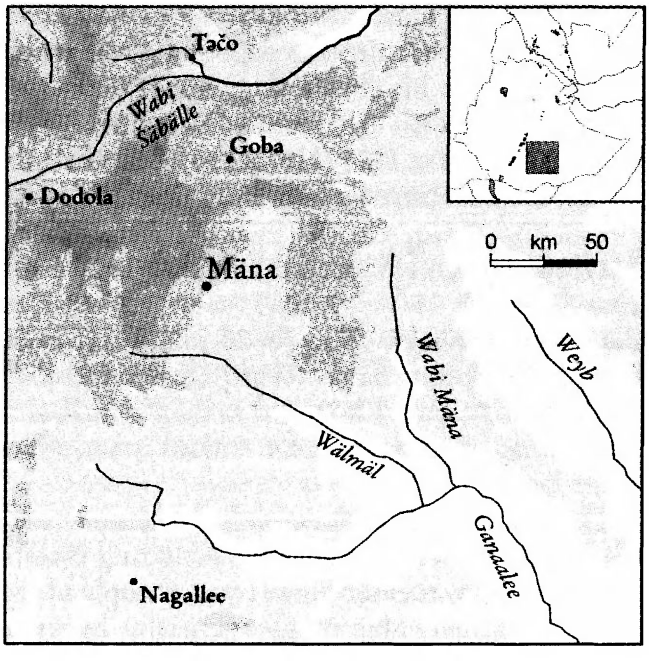
Lit.: AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL, "Ethiopia-report: Human Rights Trials and Delayed Justice – the Case of Olympic Gold Medallist Mammo Wolde and Hundreds of other Uncharged Detainees", *AI Index: AFR 25/11/96*, 1996; VOLKER KLUGE, *Olympische Sommerspiele: Die Chronik*, vol. 3: *Mexiko Stadt 1968–Los Angeles 1984*, Berlin 2000, 160; NICK MASON, "Obituary", *The Guardian*, 8 June 2002, 18; K.P. MOHAN, "Obituary: Champion Mamo Wolde had a Traumatic Life", *Sportstar* 25, no. 28, 2002, 18; KENNETH C. MOORE, "Chasing Justice", *Runners World*, January 2004, 62–68; KALANI SIMPSON, "Marathon Man Makes Long Run toward Heaven", *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 6 December 2002; ID., "Running down a Dream", *ibid.*, 22 May 2005; WALTER UMMINGER, *Sport Chronik: 5000 Jahre Sportgeschichte*, Berlin 2000, 495; ERKKI VETTENNIEMI, "The Life and Trials of Mamo Wolde. Soldier, Olympian, Prisoner ... The Many Sides of Ethiopia's 1968 Olympic Gold Medalist", *Running Times Magazine*, September 2002.

Thomas Rave

Mäna

M. is a town in ↗Bale, lying at 1,700 m A.S.L. in the cultivated valley of the Wabi Mäna river, a left-bank tributary of the ↗Ganalee which has its source on the eastern slopes of the Bale massif. It is the river that gave the town its name.

M. was the capital of the former ↗Dolo *awraǧǧa* of the Bale region (1960–87). After the reform of 1991 it became the administrative centre of the Mäna, Harä and Buluq *wäräda* of the Bale zone, Oromiyaa *kəlləl*. It had 2,666 inhabitants in 1984, 6,947 inhabitants in 1994, and 11,873 inhabitants in 2004. The *wäräda* population grew from 81,011 inhabitants on 6,680 km² in 1994 to 111,469 (density 16.7) in 2004.



Src.: CSA 1984; 1998; 2004; CONSOCIAZIONE TURISTICA ITALIANA, *Carta dell'Africa Orientale Italiana* (scala 1: 1 000 000), Milano 1938, fol. 4; *Guida* 466f.; EMAtlas.

Alain Gascon

Mänän

M. (መነን) was a monthly periodical that was issued in Amharic (later also in English) between 1955–74. The opening of the magazine was timed to the 25th jubilee of coronation of Emperor ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I and Empress ↗Mänän Asfaw. It was named after the Empress to stress her contribution to the modernization of Ethiopian women's social role and promoting their issues. Initially, the magazine was supposed to help in these tasks, since its objectives, as outlined in the editorial of the first issue, were to introduce women and the youth to the modern ways of house keeping, bringing up children, managing family matters and health care. Later both the topics of the articles and the range of the potential readers were expanded.

The maiden issue of M. has no date or place of publication or name of editor in it. Its date of issue is probably 1 *Ḫədar* 1948 A.M. [11 November 1955 A.D.], since the second issue is dated 1 *Taḫśaś* 1948 A.M. [11 December 1955 A.D.]). The mark "Copertina Officina Grafica della S.A. Corriere Eritreo – Asmara" appears at the bottom of the front cover; thus, the first issue must have been printed in the then province of ↗Eritrea.

In the 1 *Mäskäräm* 1950 A.M. [11 September 1957 A.D.] issue of M., the cover title changed to መነን፡ ዘመናዊ፡ መጽሔት (*Mänän zämänawi mäṣḥet*, '*Mänän*. Modern Magazine'). From that time on, articles in English started appearing in M., until it was declared a bilingual magazine in December 1958. In September 1962, M. was split into two independent periodicals, Amharic and English, both preserving the original title. In April 1969, M. became bimonthly, and in August 1969 it was again a monthly magazine.

The publishers of M. were the Ethiopian Patriotic Association (s. ↗*Hagär Fəqər Tiyatər*) from 1955 to July 1969, the Ministry of Information from August 1969 to September 1972, ᶜAläm Public Relations Consultants from October 1972 to 1974.

The first editor ("directress") of M. was *wäyzäro* Romanä Wärq Kaśahun (1955–56), followed by Alexander Velahoviski, a Swiss national (1956–58), Mängəśtu Mäkʷännən (1959–60), Zäwde Rätta (April 1960–September 1961), Ḫamärä Śəllase Betä Maryam (September 1961–March 1969). Homer Smith (1959–62) and Yaᶜəqob Wäldä Maryam (1962–69) were the English editors of the bilingual M. After the splitting of the magazine, the Amharic M. was edited by ↗Bäᶜalu Gərma (April–July 1969), who considerably reshaped it and opened new columns that covered diverse social and political topics, including arts and entertainment information. He was followed by Mulugeta Lule (August 1969–September 1972), and Azarya Kiros (October 1972–74). The last issue of the Amharic M. found in the library of the ↗Institute of Ethiopian Studies is that of *Säne* 1966 A.M. [June 1974 A.D.].

According to the report published in the *Näḫase* 1955 A.M. [August 1963 A.D.] issue, the monthly run of the Amharic M. was 1,500 exemplars for *Miyazya* 1955 A.M. [April 1963 A.D.], but raised to 10,000 for *Ḫamle* 1955 A.M. [July 1963 A.D.].

In the course of its history, M.'s editorial policy and scope of interests were changed several times. Its original objectives were reconsidered in 1960 by Zäwde Rätta, who suggested catering, *inter alia*, for the educated elite. In 1969, with Bäᶜalu Gərma, the journal stepped back to the original motto. In April 1974, it was declared that M.'s three main aims were informing, teaching and establishing links between readers and "knowledgeable people" in "various disciplines". The only constant topic of the magazine was Ḫaylä Śəllase's court and its life.

The issues of M. contain valuable information on cultural and social life of Ethiopia of the period, and, in particular, on such prominent personalities as ↗Abbäbä Biqila, ↗ᶜAśrat Wäldäyäs, ↗Kidanä Wäld Kəfle, ↗Dästa Täklä Wäld etc.; painters and writers like Afäwärq Täkle, ↗Gäbrä Krəstos Dästa, ↗Ṣäggaye Gäbrä Mädḫən etc.; singers and dancers such as Iyoᵓel Yoḥannəs, Dästa Gäbre, Täsfaye Śahlu etc.; music and literary commentators and critics like Solomon Därässa, Yoḥannəs Admasu, Täsfaye Gässäsä, ↗Bərhanu Zäryəhun etc.; writers of articles on issues related to language and culture such as Yəggäzu Bəśrat, Getaččäw Ḫayle, Bairu Tafla, etc. Information on *Hagär Fəqər Tiyatər*, Ḫaylä Śəllase I Theatre, the School of Fine Arts, the Young Men's Christian Association, Ḫaylä Śəllase I Prize Trust, the National ↗Literacy Campaign and other economic, educational and social institutions can also be found in M.

↗Press

Src.: *Mänän* issues 1948–66 A.M. [1955–74 A.D.].

Fekade Azeze

Mänän Asfaw

Ǝtege M.A. (መነን ፡ አስፋው, also Mänän *dagmawit* [= Mänän II], originally called *wäyzäro* Mänän Mikaᵓel, baptismal name Wälättä Giyorgis; b. 25 March 1889, Ǝgwa, Ambassäl, d. 15 February 1962, Addis Abäba) was the wife of *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I until her death. Daughter of *ǧanṭərar* (title of the guardian of the mountain fortress of ↗Ambassäl) Asfaw, scion of one of the ancient families of Wällo, and *wäyzäro* Səḥin Mikaᵓəl, M.A. was, through her mother, granddaughter of *nəguś* ↗Mikaᵓel ᶜAli and niece of *läǧ* ↗Iyasu.

As a young lady she was married to *däǧǧazmač* Ali of Č̣äräč̣a in Wällo and had two children with him, *wäyzäro* Bälaynäš Ali and *ǧanṭərar* Asfaw Ali (Zäwde Rätta 2005a); but she was soon divorced from him. She was then married by her grandfather to another prominent Wällo nobleman, *däǧǧazmač* Amäde Ali "Abba Dəyas". Their children were *wäyzäro* Dästa Amäde and *ǧanṭərar* Gäbrä Ǝgziᵓabəḥer Amäde (ibid.). After her husband's death she was married in ca. 1909/10 to a Šäwan nobleman, the considerably older *däǧǧazmač* (later *ras*) ↗Ləᶜul Sägäd Aṭnaf Sägäd, which was a political marriage as were the previous ones. They had one child, but she was separated from him soon in order to arrange a new political alliance.

After this short third marriage she was married by *läǧ* Iyasu to his cousin *däǧǧazmač* (later *ras*) Täfäri Mäkʷännən (the future Emperor Ḫaylä Śəllase) in August 1911 (HSLife 41f.). She had six children with him, of whom only three, Princess ↗Tänañña Wärq, Crown Prince ↗Asfa Wäsän Ḫaylä Śəllase and Prince Śahlä Śəllase (b. 27 February 1931, d. 23. April 1962) survived her. Her daughters Zännabä Wärq (b. 25 July 1918, d. 25 March 1933) and Ṣäḫay Wärq (b. 13 Octobre 1919, d. 17 August 1942) died in their youth, and her second son *märəd azmač* ↗Mäkʷännən a few years before her death.

The marriage lasted for over half a century and, according to several accounts including Rosita Forbes, who was entertained by the couple in the early 20s: "there was much sympathy between

them" (Forbes 1925:137). This also emerges from the Emperor's autobiography (HSLife 41f.). In the pre-war years the couple, and many nobles, facilitated commercial agriculture, especially coffee-growing, deriving considerable profit from permits to do business, as well as taxes on trading posts and coffee scales. The future Empress also benefited from trading in coffee grown on her own lands by sharecroppers (Marcus 1987:80).

In a break with tradition, M.A. was also crowned on the occasion of her husband's coronation ceremony in 1930. The year after her coronation M.A., encouraged by the Emperor (Sandford 1955:48), endowed the Empress Menen School for Girls, the first girls' school in the country, built in the Palace grounds. With the Italians preparing to invade Ethiopia she backed the formation of the Ethiopian Red Cross Society, becoming their patroness, and the first Ethiopian women's association, whose chief patron she remained until her death. When the invasion was launched she organized Ethiopian women to tend the wounded, and appealed to women's associations abroad for material and moral help.

M.A. shared her husband's exile in Great Britain, though, having had a traditional education and not being acquainted with foreign languages she passed on her public role in support of her husband to her Swiss-educated daughter, Princess Ṣäḥay (who later trained as a nurse in Britain), and subsequently, to another daughter, Princess Tänañña Wärq, who was familiar with England and could speak fluent English. M.A. made pilgrimages to the Holy Land, the then British-ruled Palestine, and to Syria and Lebanon, to pray for Ethiopia. She made a vow to St. Mary in Bethlehem to donate her crown to her if her homeland was liberated.

On returning home in 1941, M.A. kept her vow never to wear her crown again, which was sent to the Church of Nativity at Bethlehem. Deeply religious, she spent her last years in failing health, but continued her good works, constructing and repairing monasteries and churches, including the Ethiopian Church in ↗Jerusalem, where she had spent part of her exile. It is said that, by her death in 1962 she deprived Ḫaylä Śəllase of one of his most trusted advisers, though it is difficult to assess her influence as it was exerted in private. She played little part on the wider political scene (ClapHS 61). She was buried in the crypt of the ↗Qəddəst Śəllase Cathedral of Addis Abäba. Her remains were transferred to her sarcophagus

Ǝtege Mänän Asfaw; photo 1930s, courtesy of the IES (no. 51–1)

in the northern transept of the Qəddəst Śəllase Cathedral's nave on the occasion of her husbands belated funeral of 2000.

Src.: GebMolIyas; HSLife; HSLife II; KTMast; MERSʾÉ HAZEN WOLDE QIRQOS, *Of What I Saw and Heard, the Last Years of Emperor Menelik II & the Brief Rule of Iyassu*, tr. by HAILU HABTU, Addis Ababa 2004 (Ethiopian Studies 1); YARED GÄBRÄ MIKAʾEL, ግርማዊት፡ እቴጌ፡ መነን (*Gərmawit ətege Mänän* 'The Majestic *ətege* Mänän'), Addis Abäba 1950 A.M. [1957/58 A.D.].

Lit.: ClapHS 61; ROSITA FORBES, *From Red Sea to Blue Nile*, London 1925; HAROLD G. MARCUS, *Haile Sellassie I: the Formative Years, 1892–1936*, Berkeley, CA 1987; CHRISTINE SANDFORD, *The Lion of Judah Hath Prevailed: Being the Biography of His Imperial Majesty Haile Selassie I*, London 1955; ZÄWDE RÄTTA, ተፈሪ፡ መኰንን፡ ረ ዥሙ፡ የሥልጣን፡ ጉዞ፡ በምኒልክ፡ በኢያሱና፡ በዘውዲቱ፡ ዘመን፤ ፲፰፻፹፬ ፲፱፻፲፪ *1884–1922* (*Täfäri Mäkʷännən räžžəmu yäśəlṭan guzo bämənilək bäʾiyasunna bäzäwditu zämän 1884–1922*, 'Täfäri Mäkʷännən, the Long Journey to Power, from the Periods of Mənilək, Iyasu to Zäwditu, 1884–1922'), Addis Abäba 1998 A.M. [2005 A.D.].

Rita Pankhurst

Mänän Libän Amäde

Wäyzäro M. (መነን፡ ሊበን፡ አመዴ) was a daughter of the powerful *imām* ↗Libän Amäde of ↗Wärrä Himano and herself a major political figure in central Ethiopia of the 19th cent. In 1831 one of

her sons, ↗Ali Alula (she had at least two others, Ḫaylu and Yəmam [CRNuov 390]), was elected to rule the ↗Yäğğu Wärräsek dominion in central Ethiopia whilst he was still a boy. M. enjoyed great power and influence throughout the 1830s and 1840s. She ruled provinces in her own right and led troops in battle. During the 1830s, she acted as regent together with her brothers Bäšir and Amäde. After Ali overthrew the regency, M. retained her influence over her son until the very end of his rule, in 1853, when they fled together from the armies of Kaśa Ḫaylu (later *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II) to Yäğğu (CRNuov 408).

Before the death of her father, she was baptized and soon after married Alula (CRNuov 359f.). Subsequently, at the insistence of *ras* ↗Gugsa Märsa, then head of the Wärräsek clan, she divorced Alula and married a certain Wäle. In 1840 her son by the first husband Ali gave her the lands of ↗Maru Qämmäs, which she held for seven years, actively asserting her claim through a series of military campaigns. During this period, she married Yoḥannəs, a recognized scion of the Solomonic line, and in 1840 she deposed *aṣe* Śahlu (↗Śahlä Dəngəl), replacing him with her husband, who became ↗Yoḥannəs III. They underwent the coronation ceremony together, and M. thus gained the title *ətege* (CRReal 63f.; CRNuov 380).

In 1844 she began to restore the church of ↗Ḥamärä Noḫ in Gondär, originally founded by *aṣe* Tewoflos. She renamed it Lalibäla and installed two altars, one for each of the sectarian parties, the ↗*Qəbat* and the ↗*Ṣägga*. While many (if not all) of the Wärräsek were Muslims, M. did not appear to waver in her adherence to Christianity. In 1846 sectarian conflicts within the Ethiopian Church reached a peak. *Abunä* ↗Sälama, who arrived in 1841, had taken up residence in Gondär, where he soon came into conflict with *əčč̌äge* Maḫṣäntu, a *Ṣägga ləğ* partisan. Sälama had anathematized the province of Šäwa following the establishment of *Ṣägga* teaching there in 1841. Five years later, Śahlä Səllase, ruler of Šäwa, wrote to Sälama, Ali and M., to have the anathema lifted. Sälama refused and in the conflict which followed Ali and M. supported the party of the *əčč̌äge*, who expelled Sälama, with some violence, from Gondär (CRNuov 386f.).

As ruler of Maru Qämmäs, M. was Kaśa Ḫaylu's overlord. By the mid-1840s she became uneasy at his rising influence. To win him over she arranged for him to marry ↗Täwabäčč Ali, her granddaughter, and appointed him ruler over Qʷara (ZänLitTheo 11–15; RubTew 36f.). In 1847, Kaśa rebelled, captured M. in battle and took over the rule of Maru Qämmäs. M. then withdrew to Maḫdärä Maryam, near Däbrä Tabor. Whilst there, she was visited by a number of Europeans, who describe her as being a formidable character; Lefebvre likened her to Catherine de Medici or Catherine the Great (LefAbyss vol. 1, 356; see also AbbSéjour 182f.).

M. was one of the most notable women to hold power in Ethiopia. For two decades she was at the centre of the country's political and military affairs, which she shared with her son, Ali. In this respect, she resembled her predecessor, Empress ↗Bərhan Mogäsa (Məntəwwab), although the latter's power probably exceeded that of M. M. was also a significant representative of Wärräsek power. Though the dynasty's roots lay in Yäğğu and Wällo, and many of its members were Muslims, M. serves as an example of the dynasty's conversion to Orthodox Christianity.

Src.: BritLib Orient. 777, 280v, 285r; BritLib Orient. 778, 2rv; CRNuov 359f., 377f., 180, 381–92; CRReal 884, 887, 915; RubActa I, 80, 103; AbbSéjour 182f., 190–95; LefAbyss vol. 1, 355f.; ZanLitTheo 6, 11.

Lit.: AbPrince 38, 105, 110, 115, 130, 139; RubTew 22, 24f., 35–39; RubInd 79, 90, 94, 98, 101f., 116.

Donald Crummey

Mänbärä Mängəśt Qəddus Gäbrəʾel

M.M. (መንበረ፡ መንግሥት፡ ቅዱስ፡ ገብርኤል) is one of the major churches of ↗Addis Abäba (today in Arada district) that was established by *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II. According to tradition, before he marched to the north during the ↗Italian war of 1895–96, Mənilək had vowed to establish another ↗*tabot* in his small private chapel known as Däbrä Mänkərat Kidanä Məḥrät (also known as *śəʿəl bet*, lit. 'House of paintings'), built inside the palace compound (↗*Gəbbi*). At the time of his vow, Mənilək had not specified the *tabot*'s dedicatee. After his victory at ↗ʿAdwa, Mənilək chose Archangel Gäbrəʾel and installed the *tabot*. Thus, the Emperor's chapel came to be known as ∃lfəñ Gäbrəʾel (lit. 'Gäbrəʾel of the Inner Chamber'). Actually, the *tabot* had been brought long before from the monastery of Abba ↗Qäwisṭos in Bulga in 1880 A.M. [1887/88 A.D.], reportedly by one of Mənilək's men, *qäññazmač* Gäbrä Giyorgis.

The *tabot* remained in ∃lfəñ Gäbrəʾel for a few years. In 1899, the Emperor decided to build a new church to which the *tabot* of Gäbrəʾel would be transferred. He preferred the site not

to be too far from the former church. The neighbouring area occupied by *azzaž* Zäᵓamanuᵓel, the chief administrator of the *ətege* Ṭaytu's "chancellery" (*śəra bet*), was chosen, and Zäᵓamanuᵓel, whose residence is still in the compound serving as a store house for the church, was then moved to Ras Mulugeta Säfär.

The corner stone for the construction of the church was laid by *abunä* ↗Matewos in the presence of *aṣe* Mənilək in 1904–05. From the outset, the Emperor closely followed the work. He also instructed his soldiers and servants to collaborate voluntarily in the building of the church supervised by Wäle Mäḥammäd, the then chief constructor in the palace.

The octagonal church, with four entrance doors, was completed in 1908–09. The interior walls of the church were decorated with pictures of saints by the well-known artist Kaśa Äräggahäññ (Haile Gabriel Dagne in CentAddis 67). The consecration by *abunä* Matewos followed, and the *tabot* was transferred from Ǝlfən Gäbrəᵓel to the new church in the same year, on 19 *Taḫśaś*, the annual feast of St. Gabriel. The inauguration ceremony was conducted on the same day, in the presence of the Emperor, the Empress and other court dignitaries. Later, Gäbrəᵓel's church received the status of ↗*gädam* from *ətege* Zäwditu, *ras* Täfäri Mäkʷännən and *abunä* Matewos. For some time after its foundation, the church was known as Gəbbi Gäbrəᵓel. However, in 1915 A.M. [1922/23 A.D.], Zäwditu renamed it M.M. During the occupation of 1935–41, the Italians ordered the removal of the *tabot* to the Church of St. Mary, but the priests managed to avert this.

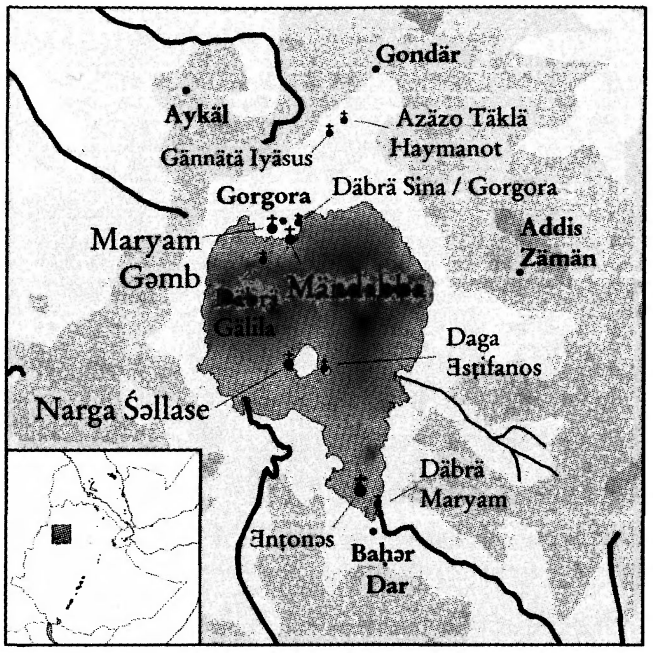
Src.: GSMen 278–84 (ills.), 333; GueCopMen 465–70, 522 n. 2, 524 n. 10 (Lit.).

Lit.: MILENA BATISTONI – GIAN PAOLO CHIARI, *Old Tracks in the New Flower: a Historical Guide to Addis Ababa*, Addis Ababa 2004, 31f. (ill.); HAILE GABRIEL DAGNE, "The Establishment of Churches in Addis Ababa", in: *CentAddis* 57–78, here 67; RICHARD PANKHURST, "The Foundation and Growth of Addis Ababa to 1935", *EthObs* 6, 1, 1961, 33–61.

Mersha Alehegne

Mändabba Mädḫane ᶜAläm

M. (መንዳባ፡ መድኃኔ፡ ዓለም, also Mandabba, Mändä Amba, Mandämba, Mandəban) is a monastery located on a peninsula of the northern shore of Lake ↗Ṭana, ca. 70 km from Gondär, close to Gorgora (the Dämbiya *wäräda*). It is the second largest monastery (↗*Gädam*) in the Lake Ṭana region after ↗Daga Ǝsṭifanos.

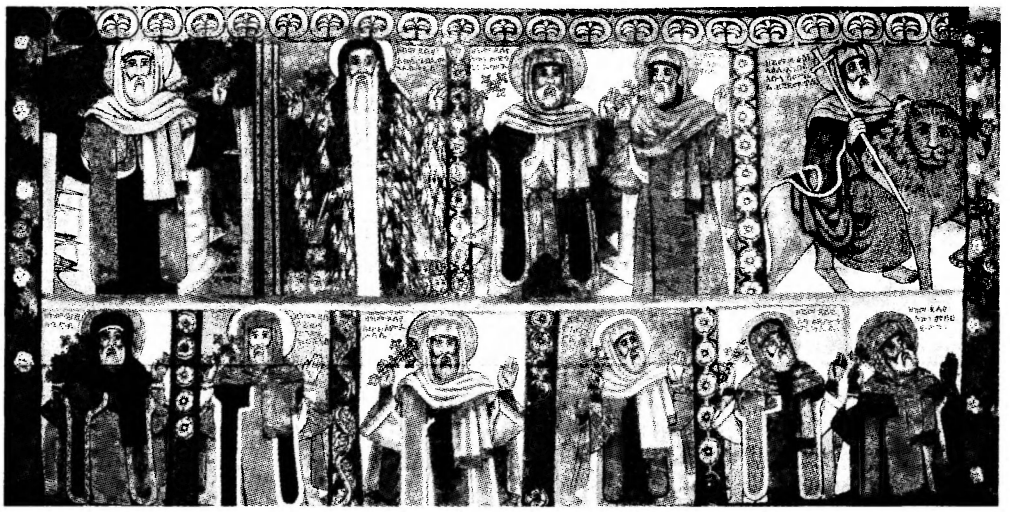


M. was allegedly founded in the 14th cent. by *abunä* ↗Yasay, son of *aṣe* ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon I, one of the so-called "seven stars" associated with *abunä* ↗Mädḫaninä Ǝgziᵓ (cp. Fiaccadori 1997:47, 50f.). Yasay reputedly travelled between the islands of Ṭana in a "stone boat", still displayed in the churchyard. The place name M. is thought to refer to him and traditionally interpreted as *man əndä abba* (Amh. 'Who is like the *abba*?').

The entrance to the monastic compound is forbidden to women. The main church, established by *abunä* Yasay, reputedly survived most invasions undamaged, including the 16th-cent. wars of *imām* ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī ("Grañ"), who according to the local tradition was chased from the monastery by the archangels Michael and Gabriel. The building was renovated in the 17th cent. by *aṣe* ↗Fasilädäs, his sister ↗Mäläkotawit subsidizing the wall-paintings. Later, *aṣe* ↗Bäkaffa, his wife ↗Bərhan Mogäsa (Məntəwwab) and other emperors were benefactors of the monastery.

As an important centre of learning, M. played a central role in the Christological disputes of the Gondärine period. The monastic tradition remembers the 17th–18th-cent. abbot *abba* Niqolawos (also known as *abba* Liqanos), contemporary of *aṣe* ↗Iyasu I and one of the ↗*Täwaḥədo* leaders, who was beheaded together with 40 church scholars by *aṣe* ↗Dawit III for opposing the ↗*Qəbat* teaching.

The church and the monastery did not suffer in the 19th-cent. ↗Mahdist wars. In the 20th cent., *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II and Empress ↗Zäwditu donated books to the library, *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I



Ethiopian saints (upper row, left to right: Täklä Haymanot, Gäbrä Mänfäs Qəddus, Mädḫanina Ǝgziᵓ and Yasay, Samuᵓel of Waldəbba; lower row: Nob, Tänśəᵓe Krəstos, Amdä Śəllase, Kiros, Bäṣälotä Mikaᵓel and Mäbaᵓa Ṣəyon); mural on cloth in the main church of Mändabba, by Täwäldä Gäbrä Bərhan, 1983; photo 2006, courtesy of Michael Gervers

provided for the extensive renovation of the old church and *ətege* ↗Mänän Asfaw financed an adjoining church for women.

M.'s ↗*rəst* and ↗*gʷəlt* once included the districts of Sowit, Aläfa and Täkʷəsa. Though much reduced now they are still larger than for most other monasteries. The monastery survived the *Därg* period fairly well, a water pump facilitated agricultural projects like the planting of fruit trees and cattle-breeding. However, lack of access to markets caused problems.

M. is administered by the abbot (cp. ↗*mämhər*) bearing the title of ↗*mäggabi*, with a *liqä räd*ᵓ ('head of the novices') and an *afä mämhər* (abbot's spokesman); they build a committee dealing with financial matters. The main festival of Mädḫane ᶜAläm ('Saviour of the World') is celebrated on 27 *Mäggabit*.

The liturgy is only celebrated on major festivals; Saturday afternoons are devoted to spiritual teaching, and on Sundays the monastic rules, *Śərᶜatä abäw mänäkosat* are read (cp. ↗Monastic literature). The usual number of monks is close to 150. The monastery boasts a number of learned monks and ↗*səwwuran* said to live nearby.

Thanks to its rich endowments throughout history M. still preserves paintings and objects of artistic value. Only small fragments of the 18th-cent. paintings which once covered the whole exterior of the ↗*mäqdäs* are still visible on its walls and the doors (St. Mary with the Child, St. George, an archangel, two saints or monks). Some badly damaged fragments belonging to the same set and depicting the scenes of the Passion were discovered in 2006 inside of an old *mänbärä* ↗*tabot* kept in the *qəne maḫlet* of the church. The new paintings were executed in 1983 by the current head *mämhər* Täwäldä Gäbrä Bərhan who had studied art in Aksum and painted more than ten churches (he is also said to have taught at least 40 pupils, some of them becoming professional artists). Executed in acrylic colours on canvas glued to the walls they display the complete iconographical programme composed and arranged according to the rules established in the 18th cent.

An important collection of ↗manuscripts owned by the monastery has never been properly recorded. Scholars have noted so far a copy of the *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*ḥawi*, a short history of the monastery and a recently produced paper copy of the same written by the abbot Zämänfäs Qəddus Gäbrä Ṣadəqan, the illuminated 14th-cent. *Acts of the Apostles* and the 18th-cent. ↗*Dərsanä Mikaᵓel* with 54 miniatures. The latter once belonged to the noble couple Gäbrä Ləᶜul and Märᶜatä Giyorgis portrayed on fols. 4v and 14v.

The professional crosses are mostly recent (19th–20th cent.) with the exception of a bronze one which may be dated to the 15th cent.

Painting on wood is represented by a group of triptychs from 17th–19th cent. The largest (61 cm x 43 cm x 4 cm) displays in the central panel the Flight into Egypt and follows the tradition of the second Gondär School of ↗painting which in this particular case became strongly influenced by a baroque model.

Src.: ChTana 199–202; DombrChr 214, 332; ZotBNat 3.
Lit.: Aymro Wondmagegnehu, *Monasteries and Churches of Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 1970; Laverle B. Berry – Richard Smith, "Churches and Monasteries of Lake Tana, Ethiopia, 1972", *Africa* (Roma) 34, 1–2, 1979, 1–34, here 2f.; Gianfranco Fiaccadori, "Ripristino dell'omelia etiopica sull'arcangelo Afnin", *Miscellanea marciana* 12, 1997 [1998], 45–51, here 47, 50f.; *Guida* 368; Otto Jäger – Ivy Pearce, *Antiquities of North Ethiopia*, Stuttgart 1965, 66; KinBibl 96, no. 169; Zämmädyəḫun Bäqqälä, **ቅዱሳን፡ መካናት፡ በኢትዮጵያ** (*Qəddusan mäkanat bäᵓityopya*, 'Holy Places in Ethiopia'), Addis Abäba 2000.

Joachim Persoon – Ewa Balicka-Witakowska

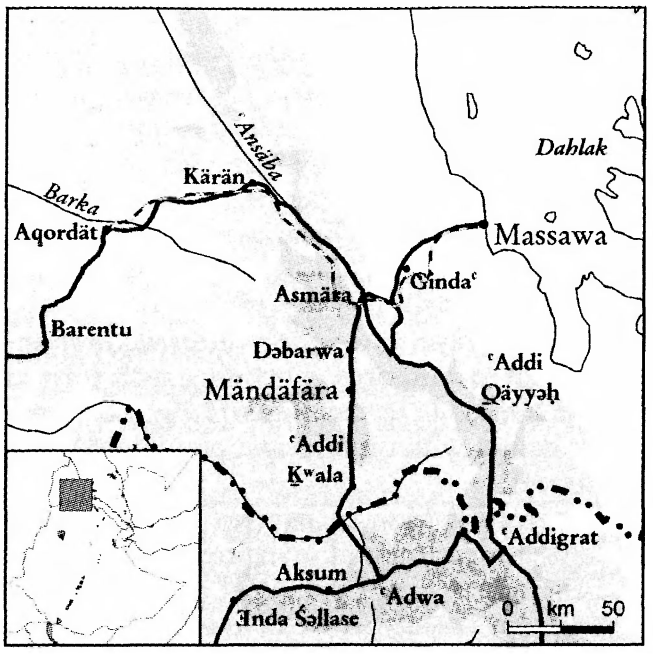
Mändäfära

M. (መንደፈራ, 14° 53' N, 38° 48' E; 2,022 m A.S.L.) is a town in the historical district of ↗Säraye, Eritrea, 54 km south of Asmära along the road connecting Asmära, ↗ʿAddi Ḵʷala and ʿAdwa. Another road links M. with ↗ʿAddi Qäyyəḥ (Akkälä Guzay, via May ʿAyni and the plain of Ḥasamo) in the east, and with ↗Barentu in Kunamaland (via Arresa) in the west. The ↗Märäb has its source north of M., near ↗Dəbarwa.

The village of ʿAddi Wägri (ዓዲ፡ ወግሪ; today administratively part of M., lying at its outskirts) was a caravan post on the way from the Red Sea coast to Təgray. The place is an early settlement area: the 2004 archaeological rescue excavations, directed by Yosef Ləbsäqal, Federica Crivellaro and Yämanä Samuʾel, revealed a 2nd-cent. B.C. graveyard where ↗pottery, skeletons and bronze objects were found (s. *Sudan Tribune*, 4 December 2004). Nearby M. there is the old monastery of Ǝnda Abunä Abranyos (↗Däbrä Ṭəllul).

The new urban settlement of M. was founded near ʿAddi Wägri by the Italians (↗Africa Orientale Italiana) who chose it as the centre of administration (Residenza) for the Commissariato del Seraè. The town, which soon also replaced ʿAddi Wägri as the trading post, became known as M. after the hill at its centre. In folk etymology the city's name is attributed to a noble, who passed by in the 19th cent. or earlier, and – judging the area difficult to plough because it was densely covered by bushes and trees and populated by wild animals – remarked: "Who dares [to dwell here]?" Another, probably secondary, interpretation of the name connects it with the memory of local resistance against colonialism (Kimberlin in PICES 15, 416). The Italians themselves, in any case, kept referring to the new settlement by the name of the old village nearby (s. Guida 234f.: Adi Ugrì, Áddi Úgri). Therefore, on older maps M. appears under the name of ʿAddi Wägri, even if formally it is not totally correct.

During the Italian war, in late 1894/early 1895, ↗Baratieri stationed in M., with ca. 3,500 soldiers. The Eritrean colonial governor ↗Graziani spent his first four years in Eritrea in M. (1908–12). The Orthodox church of St. George was built during the Italian time in art nouveau style. The church school dates back to the same period, so do the Catholic (S. Francesco) church and school (among the most famous former students of the Capuchin school was the late Cardinal ↗Ṗawlos Ṣadwa). The Catholic mission established a printing press in M. There is also a station of the ↗Swedish Evangelical Mission (since 1905), a Protestant Qalä Ḥəywät church, and a mosque. A government school was established in 1905; in 1914 then the Scuola d'Arti e Mestieri S. Giorgio. From 1919 till 1921 there was also a school of agriculture in M.



M. is now the capital of the *zoba* Dəbub ('Southern District'). With over 30,000 inhabitants, it is the third biggest town of Eritrea. It is planned (2006) that 25 villages become part of M., to be enlarged from two to eight administrative zones.

Another small locality by the same name lies between ↗Dəgsa and ↗ʿAddi Qayyəḥ in Akkälä Guzay (Guida 209).

Lit.: BauEr III, 32–37 (no. 13); *Guida* 209, 234f.; GIANFRANCESCO LUSINI, "Una pagina di storia Eritrea: *kabasā* tra linguistica e filologia", in: BOGDAN BURTEA – JOSEF TROPPER – HELEN YOUNANSARDAROUD (eds.), *Studia Semitica et Semitohamitica: Festschrift fur Rainer Voigt anläßlich seines 60. Geburtstages am 17. Januar 2004*, Münster 2005, 243–51, here 245, n. 8, 250, n. 26; CHRISTINE SMITH-SIMONSEN, "*... all'Ombra della Nostra Bandiera." A Study on Italian Educational Activities in Colonial Eritrea 1890–1941*, Tromsø 1997; CYNTHIA TSE KIMBERLIN, "'Who Dared?': Twenty-Two Təgrəññña Songs from Mändäfära, Eritrea", in: *PICES* 15, 416–28; *Sudan Tribune*, 4 December 2004.

Wolbert Smidt

Mänfäs qəddus ↗Trinity

Mängädä sämay

The M.s. (መንገዱ፡ ሰማይ, 'Journey to Heaven') is a title of (1) several (seven?) Gəʿəz prayers (*Ṣälotä zämängädä sämay*; s. Fusella in PICES 10) and (2) a short catechetic text in Amharic or in both

Amharic and Gəᶜəz (sometimes also referred to in its *incipit* as *Zämängädä sämay nägär* or *Zämängädä sämay məśṭir*, 'The Matter of the Journey to Heaven' or 'The Mystery of the Journey to Heaven', resp.) that is devoted to the soul's journey after the person's death (for summary and discussion s. Fusella in PICES 3, vol. 2; for ed. and tr. of the Amharic text from two mss. s. Getatchew Haile in StudAeth).

The M.s. prayers are widely diffused, often appearing in manuscripts containing such texts as the ↗*Ləfafä ṣədq* or the *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*gənzät*, or in combination with other magic prayers (↗Magic literature).

The treatise M.s., in its two parts, one describing the journey of a righteous man's soul, and the other that of the sinful one, follows all steps, from the departure of the soul from the body (pleasant for the righteous and tormenting for the sinful) to the heavenly judgement of the soul at the court of justice (unlike Mt 25:35–40, the knowledge of the Christian faith is more important here than the righteous deeds) and to the final journey to the temporary abode (via the Kingdom of Heaven and the fire of Hades to Paradise for the righteous and via same way to Bärbanos or Hell for the sinful) where it will stay until the final Resurrection or the Second Coming of Christ (↗*Dagəm məṣᵊatu läkrəstos*).

Although differing significantly in its details, the M.s. is heavily dependent on such Gəᶜəz apocalyptic texts as the ↗*Raᵊəyä Maryam*, the *Raᵊəyä Gorgoryos*, the ↗*Dərsanä sänbät* and the *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*mäläᵊəkt*.

The M.s. treatise is one of several short works composed in the form of a catechism that deal with themes of the Church's teaching (cp. ↗*Ammənstu aᶜəmadä məśṭir*). Although the concept of the journey implied in the M.s. has no support in the canonical scriptures, several copies of the text are a mark of both its importance as the "teacher's manual" on an important aspect of Ethiopian Orthodox Christianity, and of its place in the Church's popular literature.

↗Funeral; ↗Eschatology

Src.: CRAbb 114f., no. 75 [Abbadie 50], fol. 113r; 156, no. 135 [Abbadie 214], fol. 39r; GréTisVat 603f., ms. Aetiop. 159, fols. 52v–71; ZotBNat 98, no. 106 [éth. 77], fols. 11–15.
Lit.: LUIGI FUSELLA, "Il 'Mangada samay'", in: *PICES* 3, vol. 2, 254–58; ID., "*Maṣḥafa heywat* et *Mangada samāy* d'après onze manuscrits inédits", in: *PICES* 10, 363–67; GETATCHEW HAILE (ed., tr.), "Journey to Heaven: the Popular Belief of Reward and Punishment in Ethiopian Christianity", in: *StudAeth* 41–66 (Lit.).

Getatchew Haile

Mängäša Abboyye

Däğğazmač M.A. (መንገሻ፡ አቦይ, "horse name": Abba Səbär, d. 30 August 1967) was a resistance fighter. The son of *däğğazmač* Aboyye from ↗Wällo, he served as a soldier on the northern front during the ↗Italian war of 1935–36 and after Ethiopia's defeat continued as a partisan. His wife Laqäčč Däməssäw, a great granddaughter of *nəguś* ↗Śahlä Śəllase of Šäwa, accompanied him to the front in a man's uniform and with a rifle.

After the Liberation in 1941 he served as a governor of one of the districts in Wällo province. Towards the end of his life he went to Europe hoping to find a cure for his deteriorating sight. The treatment brought no success and M.A. returned to Ethiopia where he went blind and died.

Src.: MahHorse 217; ጥንታዊት፡ ኢትዮጵያ፡ ጀግኖች፡ ማኅበር (*Ṭəntawit Ityopya ğägnočč maḥbär*, 'Union of Ancient Ethiopian Heroes'), Addis Ababa n.d., 9–10: የክብርት፡ ወይዘሮ፡ ላቀች፡ የሕይወት፡ ታሪክ (*Yəkəbərt wäyzäro Laqäčč yähəywät tarik* 'The Biography of the Honourable *wäyzäro* Laqäčč').

Hanna Rubinkowska

Mängäša Atikäm

Ras bitwäddäd M.A. (መንገሻ፡ አቲከም, "horse name": Abba Gädəb; b. Agäw Mədər, d. 1910, Addis Abäba) was an officer of *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II. A son of *blattengeta* Atikäm Bitärfu, whose family came from Zägedəm, ↗Damot, Goğğam (Caulk 2002:46), M.A. was one of Mənilək's earliest and most faithful companions as well as a councillor throughout his life. They became acquainted at the court of *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II, in whose army M.A. was serving at the time. In the 1860s, when Mənilək escaped from Tewodros's detainment, M.A. followed him to Šäwa. He was then made the head of the ↗Gondär army with the title of *qäññazmač*.

In the late 1870s, M.A., then *däğğazmač*, played an important role during the struggle between *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV and Mənilək. In 1877 he was a part of a mission sent by Mənilək to *əčč̣äge* Tewodros carrying a letter to *aṣe* Yoḥannəs in which Mənilək declared his readiness to submit to the Emperor. M.A. served as governor of several provinces. In 1878, a governorship of ↗Dämbəya, Gondär, ↗Bägemdər, and ↗Wällo (formally under *ras* ↗Arᵊaya Śəllase Yoḥannəs) was given to him when he shared the regency for Yoḥannəs's son together with ↗Ṭaytu's brother, *däğğazmač* Wäle.

In 1889, Mənilək bestowed the title of *ras* on M.A. The next year Mənilək ordered him to leave his land in Amhara Sayənt and to lead an expedition against Wälaytta, which turned out to be unsuccessful. In 1891, M.A. received the governorship of Dämbəya and Gondär (Caulk 2002:283f.) and in 1894 he was bestowed the title of *ras bitwäddäd* together with the governorate of the most part of Bägemdər (Caulk 2002:403). In 1896, he was probably behind the detention of *käntiba* ↗Gäbrä Ǝgziʾabəḥer Dästa, since as governor of Gondär he could not tolerate competition with a mayor.

M.A. took part in the battle of ᶜAdwa (↗ᶜAdwa, battle of) with an army of at least 6,000 soldiers. He did not enjoy, however, a good reputation as a warrior, even being nicknamed *wäyzäro* because of his extreme caution. After the battle he participated, together with *ras* ↗Mäkʷännən Wäldä Mikaʾel, in peace negotiations with Italian representatives. In 1901, after *nəguś* Täklä Haymanot's death, a large part of Goğğam including Damot, Agäw Mədər and Qʷara was given to M.A. In 1902 he safeguarded the situation between Ethiopians and ↗Mahdist forces at the Ethiopian–Sudanese borderlands. M.A. also held governorships over Wändige, ↗Ačäfär (1899–1909), and Wälläga (1910) and remained politically active during the time of Mənilək's illness.

M.A. had one son, *ras* ↗Käbbädä Mängäša, and three daughters: Laqäčč, who married *ləğ* Gäbrä Rufaʾel Gobäna, son of *ras* ↗Gobäna Dači, and bore Ṣəge Maryam, who married ↗Ǝmmərru Ḫaylä Śəllase; Askalä Maryam; and Zäwditu. He is buried in the cemetery of the Qəddəst Śəllase church in Addis Abäba.

Src.: BTafA 885; GueCopMen 129, 144, 185 n. 11, 261 n. 2, 325 n. 2, 349 fig. 54, 362 n. 7; HerTar 8; HSLife 16, 32; MahHorse 217; MÄRSƎʾE HAZÄN WÄLDÄ QIRQOS, **የዘመን፡ ታሪክ፡ ትዝታዬ፡ በዳግማዊ፡ ምኒልክ፡ ዘመነ፡ መንግሥት** (*Yäzämän tarik təzzətayye bädagmawi Mənilək zämänä mängəśt*, 'My Memories of the History of the Period of Mənilək II's Government'), Addis Abäba 1994 A.M. [2002/2003 A.D.], 14, 43, 69, 108f.; TSTarik [ed. 1945] IV, 45, 48, 93.

Lit.: ABDUSSAMAD H. AHMAD, "Trading in Slaves in Bela-Shangul and Gumuz, Ethiopia: Border Enclaves in History, 1897–1938", *JAH* 40, 3, 1999, 433–46, here 441; BAIRU TAFLA, "Two of the Last Provincial Kings of Ethiopia", *JES* 11, 1, 1973, 29–55; RICHARD CAULK, *"Between the Jaws of Hyenas": a Diplomatic History of Ethiopia (1876–1896)*, ed. by BAHRU ZEWDE, Wiesbaden 2002 (AeF 60), 46, 242f., 248, 283f., 290, 355, 358, 403, 487f., 510, 524, 529, 532f., 550, 552, 576f., 587; HAROLD GOLDEN MARCUS, *The Life and Times of Menelik II, Ethiopia 1844–1913*, Oxford 1975, 71, 217; ZewYohan 92.

Hanna Rubinkowska

Mängäša Ğämbäre

Bitwäddäd M.Ğ. (**መንገሻ፡ ጀምበሬ**, b. 24 May 1884, Baḥər Dar *wäräda*, d. 15 April 1950) was a 20th-cent. resistance fighter and governor of ↗Goğğam. By 1920 he was *fitawrari* and governor of Gola in Goğğam; he governed other provinces in Goğğam before the outbreak of war in 1935, including Meč̣č̣a and ↗Ačäfär, and was married to Säblä Wängel, daughter of *ras* ↗Ḫaylu Täklä Haymanot.

As *däğğazmač*, he commanded a detachment of the Goğğame forces at the battle of Šire in 1936 (↗Italian war 1935–36). He led ↗resistance forces in northern Goğğam throughout the Italian occupation, pledging his loyalty to ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I in August 1938. His most spectacular action was an attack on Italian forces at the "Piccolo Abbay" ford on 14 March 1940. He welcomed Daniel ↗Sandford's Mission 101 in September 1940, and joined Ḫaylä Śəllase during the Goğğam campaign of 1941 (↗Gideon Force).

After the Liberation, M.Ğ. was appointed governor of Mätäkkäl, Agäw Mədər, Baḥər Dar, becoming vice Governor General of Goğğam in 1943, with the title of *bitwäddäd*. After a brief period in the Senate, he was Governor General of Wälläga from 1946 to 1949. He had difficult relations with other resistance leaders in Goğğam, notably ↗Nägaš Bäzzabbəh, and like other Goğğam resistance leaders, came under suspicion after the Liberation, but did not openly challenge the imperial government.

Src.: HSLife II 77 n.133, 124, 129, 153.

Lit.: *Ethiopian Herald*, 5 May 1950; SELTENE SEYOUM, *A History of Resistance in Gojjam (Ethiopia) 1936-1941*, Ph.D. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1999; DAVID SHIRREFF, *Bare Feet and Bandoliers: Wingate, Sandford, the Patriots, and the Part they Played in the Liberation of Ethiopia*, London – New York 1995, 18, 44ff.; CHRISTOPHER SYKES, *Orde Wingate*, London 1959, 243, 269, 273.

Christopher Clapham

Mängäša Wəbe

Bitwäddäd M.W. (**መንገሻ፡ ውቤ**, "horse name": Abba Gatäw, b. 1895 in Šäwa, d. 24 March 1961, Addis Abäba) was a son of *däğğazmač* ↗Wəbe Aṭnaf Sägäd, who was briefly the third husband of *nəgəśt* ↗Zäwditu.

M.W., a protégé of Zäwditu, spent his youth at the imperial court and became the ↗*liqä mäkʷas* of *ras* Täfäri Mäkʷännən (later *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I). In 1919, bearing the title of *fitawrari* at the time, M.W. was a member of the Ethiopian delegation to Italy. In 1922 he was accused of participating in

a plot; along with a few other dignitaries, he was brought to the court, but later pardoned. From 1929, M.W. acted as the Minister Plenipotentary in Rome. Upon his return home M.W. received the title of *däğğazmač*, together with the governorship of ↗Wälläga-Säyyo province. Before the Italian invasion he, also, ran the Slavery Office as director-general. This institution worked towards for the liberation of slaves in Ethiopia, an objective which he pursued energetically (ZerÉth 401).

M.W. participated in the ↗Italian war 1935–36, with the task of defending the capital. However, in the final period of the war, his troops deserted and M.W. surrendered to the Italian army. He was imprisoned in Italy from 1937 until 1944, following the attempt on ↗Graziani's life, and returned to Ethiopia several years after the Liberation. M.W. was President of the Senate in 1946 (s. MockWar 395) and held a number of ministerial portfolios including the office of Minister of Post. M.W. was buried at ↗Däbrä Libanos, Šäwa.

Src.: HSLife 60; KTMast 44, 55, 64ff.; MahHorse 218; GebMollyas 511; ZerÉth 401.
Lit.: HSLife II, 80; MockWar 122, 134, 394f.

Hanna Rubinkowska

Mängäša Yəlma

Däğazmač M.Y. (መንገሻ ይልማ, "horse name": Abba Täbəb, d. 31 March 1936) was a 20th-cent. military leader. A son of *däğğazmač* ↗Yəlma Mäkʷənnən, the eldest son of *ras* ↗Mäkʷənnən, he was thus *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I's nephew.

During the first years of Ḫaylä Śəllase's reign M.Y. was appointed to the newly formed administration of the southern border districts ↗Mağı and Goldiya. Before the ↗Italian war of 1935–36 he also served as Director of the War Ministry.

As a general of the Ethiopian army during the war, M.Y. took part in the fighting at the Waräw Pass and at Däbrä Hansa. His army, at first successful, was cut into two parts and M.Y. only managed to escape by simulating death. He was killed about a month later in the battle of ↗May Čäw.

Src.: HSLife 234; MahHorse 218.
Lit.: HAROLD GOLDEN MARCUS, *Haile Sellassie I: the Formative Years, 1892–1936*, Berkeley, CA 1987, 115; MockWar² 105f., 119, 395; TSTarik IV, 180.

Hanna Rubinkowska

Mängäša Yoḥannəs

Ras M.Y. (መንገሻ ዮሐንስ; b. 1868, d. 1906, Ankobär, Šäwa, r. 1889–1906) was a governor of Təgray and a son of *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV (r. 1872–89). His mother was Wälättä Täklä Haymanot, wife of *däğğazmač* ↗Gugsa Mərča. Before 1889, M.Y. was considered the Emperor's nephew, but on 9 March 1889 the Emperor on his deathbed, in ↗Mätämma, recognized him as his son, from a side-relation with his brother Gugsa's wife. Therefore, some informants still claim that M.Y. was not his biological son. Apparently, M.Y. was strongly attached to Yoḥannəs throughout his life.

Däğğazmač M.Y. was designated by the Emperor as his heir-to-the-throne, and allegedly crowned still on the battlefield of Mätämma, but M.Y. was not able to claim the throne. In the aftermath of the disastrous battle of Mätämma, the Təgrayan ruling families found themselves embroiled in a power struggle that led to a regional civil war (ErlAlula 140–86; Caulk 2002; BZHist 149). This state of anarchy sapped the energy of M.Y.'s camp to unite the region under his authority. Quickly, instead, *aṣe* Mənilək II was proclaimed emperor in November 1889.

Ras M.Y., however, had the strong military and political backing of Yoḥannəs" chief military general, *ras* ↗Alula Ǝngəda. Additionally, he had inherited a considerable number of armaments and soldiers that had long bolstered the power of Yoḥannəs IV. However, historians cast doubts on M.Y.'s basic military prowess and leadership skills to mobilize the available resources and prevail over rivals, in contrast to his predecessor Yoḥannəs. M.Y.'s strong political ambition once nearly pushed him to ally with the Italians, as demonstrated by the Märäb Convention of 1891 (↗Treaties; ibid. 323, 330; BZHist 75f.). By 1890, the Italians had taken control of the ↗Märäb Məlläš, and aimed at the control of entire Təgray. In the meanwhile, M.Y. and his Təgrayan vassals had revolted against *aṣe* Mənilək II. Italian attempts to instigate them were, nonetheless, short-lived. The Italians' non-committed stance, coupled with M.Y.'s hesitant attitude finally convinced him to end his rebellion, even against the opposition of his counsellors and his military supporters, such as *ras* Alula (ErlAlula 179–86; BZHist 76).

In June 1894, M.Y. ultimately dropped his claims to the imperial throne and officially submitted to *aṣe* Mənilək II (ibid.), ostensibly in expectation of the title of *nəguś* of Təgray. Mənilək, in turn, appointed him governor, not *nəguś* of Təgray. For a while, M.Y. demonstrated his loyalty. The conflict subsequently developing between the Italians and

Mənilək, gave him the opportunity to prove his indispensability to the central government.

During the first phase, in the years 1894–95, the Italians made a number of incursions into northern Ethiopia. M.Y. was then responsible for defending the northern borders. He was beaten in the two battles of Kʷäᶜatit (1894), ↗Säṅᶜafe (Eritrea) and Däbrä Ḫaylä (1895); in early 1896 he even retreated from his stronghold ↗Mäqälä, but kept the Italians busy until a united Ethiopian army was gathered to face them (↗ᶜAdwa, battle of).

Ras M.Y. played an even more important role in the next phase of the conflict. Together with *ras* Alula, he was largely responsible for organizing and running the intelligence of Mənilək II. He exploited his local connections, gathered intelligence and rendered a fairly outstanding command of the Təgrayan army. All these inputs had a crucial role in deciding the outcome of the battle of ᶜAdwa in 1896, which ended up as a grim loss to the Italians (Caulk 2002:555–66).

Despite M.Y.'s retention of "Təgray proper", Eritrea remained in the hands of the Italians. His proposal to sustain the war to push the Italians out of Eritrea was played down by the Emperor, who focused on the control of his own realm. Mənilək officially rewarded M.Y. with 300,000 silver dollars and married him to Kafay Wäle Bəṭul of Yäğğu, *ətege* ↗Ṭaytu's niece. The marriage was meant to cement further the bonds between the houses of Təgray, Šäwa and Yäğğu. It was obtained at the cost of divorcing his loving wife (ibid. 591). Still, M.Y.'s long expectations of promotion to *nəguś* of Təgray were shattered for the second time (Mekonnen Berhane 1996:VI).

M.Y.'s final and desperate rebellion (in concert with *ras* Səbḥat of ᶜAgamä) in 1898 ended with his captivity and confinement at Addis Abäba, starting from 1899, and then in Ankobär where he died as a prisoner in 1906 (ibid.; Tsegay Berhe 1996:165).

M.Y.'s controversial political career, however, left a legacy of Təgrayan identity and autonomy. Indeed, his son, *ləᶜul ras* ↗Śəyyum Mängäša and his grandson, *ləᶜul ras* Mängäša Śəyyum were able to gain the governorship of Təgray, each at different stages of the history of this region (sometimes also partitioned among several governors, relatives of M.Y.), until the 1974 Revolution. Mängäša Śəyyum played then a role as the leader of an anti-*Därg* oppositional party, the Ethiopian Democratic Union, which dates back to the mid 1970s.

Ras Mängäša Yoḥannəs as the governor of Təgray; photo ca. 1900, courtesy of the IES (no. 760–1)

Src.: BTafA; BAIRU TAFLA, *Ethiopian Records of the Menilek Era: Selected Amharic Documents from the Nachlaß of Alfred Ilg 1884–1900*, Wiesbaden 2000 (AeF 54), s. index; GERHARD ROHLFS, *Meine Mission nach Abessinien*, Leipzig 1883, 292f.; interview with *balambaras* Mäsfən Məruṣ, 76 years, Mäqälä 1992.
Lit.: BZHist 75f.; RICHARD CAULK, *"Between the Jaws of Hyenas". A Diplomatic History of Ethiopia (1876–1896)*, ed. by BAHRU ZEWDE, Wiesbaden 2002 (AeF 60), 149; ErlAlula; TSEGAY BERHE, *A History of Agamä, 1822–1914*, M.A. thesis, Department of History, Addis Ababa University 1996, 165; MEKONNEN BERHANE, *The Political History of Tigray, Shawan Centralization versus Tegrean Regionalism, 1889–1908*, M.A thesis, Department of History, Addis Ababa University 1994, VI; ZewYoh 284f.

Tsegay Berhe

Mängəśtu Lämma

M.L. (**መንግሥቱ ለማ**, b. 1 *Säne* 1920 A.M. [8 June 1928 A.D.], Harär, d. 21 *Ḥamle* 1980 A.M. [28 July 1988 A.D.], Addis Abäba) was a prominent Ethiopian author, poet and playwright.

M.L. was born to Abbäbäčč Yəlma Yəṭäyyəqu and *aläqa* ↗Lämma Ḫaylu Wäldä Tarik in Adäre Ṭiqqo in Harär where he also pursued traditional church ↗education (*nəbab*, *zema*, *qəne*), as well as modern education in the elementary school opened by the Italians for natives. After the Liberation, he continued his modern education at a gov-

Mängəśtu Lämma, portrait from Mängəśtu Lämma 1966/67

ernmental school. As a task of his school director, *muse* Anton (Monsieur Antoine?), he wrote his first poem, **የአንድ፡ ጌታ፡ አስተዋይነት** (*Yäʾand geta astäwayənnät*, 'The Observation of a Rich Man'; printed in the 1995/96 collection). M.L. then went to Addis Abäba, where he joined Kotäbe Secondary School (↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I Secondary School). He completed his graduate studies in the United Kingdom, attending Regent Street Polytechnic (now part of the University of Westminster; February 1948–July 1949) and London School of Economics and Political Science (1949–53). M.L. was among the founders of the Ethiopian Student Society in London, served as its secretary and became its fifth president. He was the first editor of the Society's journal, *The ↗Lion Cub*, where he published a number of articles.

M.L. returned to Ethiopia in 1953/54 and started his career at the Civil Aviation. After that, he served in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (including service as a Secretary at the Ethiopian Embassy in New Delhi), and in 1969/70 became Secretary-General of the Amharic Language Academy (↗Ethiopian Language Academy). He travelled abroad several more times, including his trip to Moscow in 1965 to attend a symposium on literature sponsored by the Soviet Writers' Union, and to Stockholm in 1967, to present a paper on Ethiopian literature to the African Scandinavian Writers' Conference.

M.L.'s first book of poetry, *Yägəṭəm gubaʾe*, was a collection of 18 poems written in Ethiopia and England over the period of some 13 years; it was first published in 1957/58; the second edition (1962/63) included eight poems written in India. *Yabbatočč č̣äwata* (1960/61) was a collection of poems based on tales of elders. *Bašša Aššäbbər bäʾamerika* (1974), written on the eve of the Revolution, was his second collection of poems.

M.L. greatly contributed to the development of the Ethiopian playwriting (↗Amharic literature: Amharic drama) and ↗theatre. His early plays, *Yalačča gabəčča* (1964/65, a Russian tr. was published in Moscow in 1966, the author's own English tr. appeared in 1970) and *Ṭälfo bäkise* (published 1968/69, dedicated to the marathon runners ↗Abbäbä Biqila and ↗Mammo Wälde; Engl. tr. 1964), were both comedies; they were staged at ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I Theatre. On the surface they deal with choosing a wife, but on a deeper level raise the topic of conflict between tradition and modernization. For his works of the pre-Revolution period M.L. was awarded with the Ḫaylä Śəllase I Prize in 1967.

After the ↗Revolution, M.L. was elected member of the National Assembly in 1974, and served there until its dissolution in 1975. He worked then for the Ministry of Culture as a literature expert, later transferring to ↗Addis Ababa University to teach at the Department of Theatre Arts. He had four plays staged in this period. Performed at ↗Hagär Fəqər Tiyatər in 1974/75 and at the Addis Ababa Theatre and Culture Hall in 1975/76, *Baläkabbanna balädabba* dealt with the political proclivities of the foreign-educated Ethiopians before their departure and after their return. Presented at the National Theatre in 1976/77 and at Ras Theatre in 1979/80, *Ṭäyyaqi*, an adaptation of John B. Priestley's *An Inspector Calls*, dealt with issues of class and moral struggle in capitalism and feudalism. *Śärä koloniyalist* was staged at the National Theatre in 1981/82 and at Addis Ababa University Postgraduate Hall in 1984/85; it was a historical play about the struggle of Ethiopian patriots against Fascist Italy and the socio-economic damage inflicted by the war. (These three plays were later collected into the anthology *Yätäwnet gubaʾe* 1982/83.) M.L.'s fourth play, **ሽሚያ** (*Šəmmiya*, 'The Scramble'; unpublished), performed at the National Theatre in 1985/86, showed the power struggle taking place within the bureaucracy. Besides, M.L. wrote a one-act play **የዓለም፡ ንጉሥ** (*Yäʿaläm nəguś*, 'The King of the World'; unpublished).

M.L. also translated Anton Chekhov's *The Bear* (as **ዳንዴው፡ ጨቦዴ**, *Dandew č̣äbbude*, 'The Strong Č̣äbbude') and Tawfīq al-Ḥakīm's *Lust to Kill* (as **ግደይ፡ ግደይ፡ አለኝ**, *Gədäy gədäy aläññ*, 'It Told me: Kill, Kill!'). Both (unpublished) plays were performed and transmitted on the national radio.

M.L. was deeply dedicated to the preservation of the traditional culture, and he extensively wrote and spoke both on Amharic literature and on Gəᶜəz *qəne* poetry. He published on literature theory (e.g., *Yätəyatər dərsät yaṣṣaṣaf bəlhat*, 1971/72) and supervised the collection and publication of the *Qəne Collections* at the ↗Institute of Ethiopian Studies. M.L.'s non-fiction works also include a collection of his father's memories (1966/67); and his own autobiography (published posthumously in 1996).

M.L. was concerned with the problems of language and perspectives of modernization; he called Ethiopian intellectuals, particularly those living abroad, to preserve the purity of their language (*The Lion Cub*, January 1951), and warned them not to be too quick in accepting foreign ideas and ideologies (ibid., Spring 1952 [as "Ityopis"]). He extensively dwelt on methods of cultural rejuvenation and transition from the traditional to the modern or from the old to the new. He defined himself as social criticist, whose characters were not embodiments of good or evil but ordinary characters in everyday life (Akalu Getanäh 1981:80–88). M.L.'s worldview pervaded not only his creative but also publicist writing and even his personal life style.

M.L. was buried in Mädḫane ᶜAläm church in Qäčäne (Addis Abäba). Accompanied by a list of his works, M.S.'s autobiography was published posthumously in 1996.

Src.: author's personal data; MÄNGƎŚTU LÄMMA, "Ethiopian Schools of Poetry", *New Times and Ethiopia News*, 13 November 1948; ID., **የግጥም፡ ጉባኤ** (*Yägəṭəm gubaᵓe*, 'Synod of Poetry'), Addis Abäba 1950 A.M. [1957/57 A.D.], ²1955 A.M. [1962/63 A.D.]; ID., "The Language Problem", *The Lion Cub* 1, 2, 7 January 1951, 11–14; ITYOPIS [MÄNGƎŚTU LÄMMA], "The Best System of Ideas", *ibid.* 1, 3, Spring 1952a, 15–17 [repr. in: SYLVIA PANKHURST, *Ethiopia: a Cultural History*, Essex 1955, 713–16]; ID., "The Future of Ethiopian Classical Poetry", *ibid.* 1, 4, Winter 1952b, 33–36; ID., **ያባቶች፡ ጨዋታ** (*Yabbatočč č̣äwata*, 'The Conversation of the Fathers'), Addis Abäba 1953 A.M. [1960/61 A.D.]; ID., **ያማርኛ፡ ግጥም – ዓይነቱ፤ ሥረቱ፤ ሥርዓቱ** (*Yamarəñña gəṭəm – ᶜaynätu śərätu śərᶜatu*, 'The Technical Aspects of Amharic Versification'), *JES* 1, 2, 1963, 133–51; ID., **ያላቻ፡ ጋብቻ** (*Yalačča gabəčča*, 'The Marriage of Unequals'), Addis Abäba 1957 A.M. [1964/65 A.D.]; ID., "The Future of Ethiopian Classical Poetry", *The Ethiopian Herald*, 28 January 1966; ID., **መጽሐፈ፡ ትዝታ፡ ዘአለቃ፡ ለማ** (*Mäṣḥafä təzzəta zäᵓaläqa Lämma*, 'The Book of *aläqa* Lämma's Reminiscences'), Addis Abäba 1959 A.M. [1966/67 A.D.] (ill.); ID., "The Real Meaning of Semenna-Warq", *The Voice of Ethiopia*, 3 and 20 January, 3 February 1967; ID., **ጠልፎ፡ በኪሴ** (*Ṭälfo bäkise*, 'Abducted in my Pocket'), Addis Abäba 1961 A.M. [1968/69 A.D.]; ID., **የትያትር፡ ድርሰት፡ ያፃፃፍ፡ ብልሃት** (*Yätəyatər dərsät yaṣṣaṣaf bəlhat*, 'The Art of Writing a Play'), Addis Abäba 1964 A.M. [1971/72 A.D.]; ID., "Snatch and Run, or Marriage by Abduction", *EthObs* 7, 4, 1964, 321–60; ID., **ባሻ፡ አሸብር፡ በአሜሪካ፤ የፖሊቲካ፡ እስረኛ፡ የነበሩ፡ ግጥሞች** (*Bašša Aššäbbər bäᵓamerika: yäpolitika əsräñña yänäbbäru gəṭmočč*, 'Bašša Ašabbər in America: Poems of Political Prisoners'), **Addis Abäba 1967** A.M. [1974 A.D.]; ID., *The Marriage of Unequals: a Comedy*, London 1970; ID., **የተውኔት፡ ጉባኤ** (*Yätäwnet gubaᵓe* 'A Collection of Plays'), Addis Abäba 1975 A.M. [1982/83 A.D.] (including **ባለካባና፡ ባለዳባ**, *Baläkabbanna balädabba*, 'The Rich and the Poor'; **ጠያቂ**, *Ṭäyyaqi*, 'Inspector'; **ፀረ፡ ኩሎኒያሊስት**, *Ṣärä koloniyalist*, 'Anti-Colonialist'); ID., "Language and Literature: the Language of the People as the Language of Literature", *Yäkkatit* 6, 4, June 1983, 13–22; ID., "A Possible Role for Geez Qene in Ethiopian Vernacular Poetry", in: *PICES* 8, vol. 1, 729–37; ID., **ደማሙ፡ ብዕረኛ (ግለ፡ ታሪክ)** (*Dämamu bəᶜəräñña* [*gəlä tarik*], 'The Handsome Writer [Autobiography]'), ed. by MÄSFƎN ᶜALÄMAYYÄHU, Addis Abäba 1988 A.M. [1996 A.D.].

Lit.: AKALU GETANÄH, *Comedy and Social Purpose: Two Plays of Mengestu Lemma*, M.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1981; LUIGI FUSELLA, "Introduction au **መጽሐፈ፡ ትዝታ፡** maṣḥafa təzzətā", in: ALAIN ROUAUD (ed.), *Les orientalistes sont des aventuriers: Guirlande offerte à Joseph Tubiana ...*, Paris 1999 (Bibliothèque Peirezc 12), 157–60; KaneLit 14f., 21, 24, 26, 59f.; MolLit 275–88; RICHARD PANKHURST, "Menghestu Lemma", *JES* 21, 1988, 199–213 (Lit.); ID., "Memories of Menghestu Lemma in Britain", *Yäkkatit* 12, 3, March 1989, 24–26; TÄSFAYE GÄŚŚÄŚÄ, **መንግሥቱ፡ ለማ** (*Mängəśtu Lämma*), *JES* 21, 1983, 195–97; "Menghestu Lemma", *Daily Telegraph*, 15 August 1988; "Tribute to a Deceased Artists [sic]", *The Ethiopian Herald*, 2 November 1988.

Fekade Azeze

Mängəśtu Nəway

M.N. (**መንግሥቱ፡ ንዋይ**; b. 1916 or 1919, d. 30 March 1961, Addis Abäba) was an ↗Imperial Bodyguard commander and one of the plotters of the abortive ↗Coup d'état of 1960.

M.N. attended the ↗Holäta Military Academy. After the outbreak of the Italian–Ethiopian War in 1935, M.N. went into exile in the Sudan, where he received additional military training at Sobar Academy in 1940/41. He also served as a subaltern with the Commonwealth forces and with the Patriots (↗Resistance) during the re-conquest of Ethiopia.

Shortly afterwards, M.N. became a confidant of ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I. In 1951, he helped suppress a plot against the Emperor led by *bitwäddäd* ↗Nägaš Bäzzabbəh. M.N. then served as a commander with the ↗Qañňäw Battalion during the Korean War. In 1956 (some sources give 1955), he became the commander of the Imperial Bodyguard and, on 3 October 1956, received promotion to Brigadier General.

In collaboration with his younger brother, ↗Gärmame Nəway, M.N. conspired to over-

Mängəśtu Nəway (left) with the Olympic games gold medalist Abbäbä Biqila; photo courtesy of the IES

throw Ḫaylä Śəllase. According to the *Times* (1960), M.N. was a man with a weak personality who was "influenced by his younger brother", who had, according to some sources, sympathies for socialism (Tubiana 2006:250). On 13 December 1960, the pair attempted a coup d'état while the Emperor was on a state visit to Brazil. M.N. lured the Emperor's cabinet and key ministers to ↗Gännätä Ləʿul Palace under the pretext that the Empress ↗Mänän Asfaw had fallen ill. They were then detained.

The coup attempt quickly unravelled primarily because M.N. and his co-conspirators failed to gain the loyalty of the Army, Air Force, and key government ministries; to devise a coherent plan beyond capturing Addis Abäba and issuing a proposed 11-point program of reforms; and to arrest key supporters of the Emperor such as General ↗Märəd Mängäša (Chief of Staff of the Armed Forces), and ↗ʿAśratä Kaśa (Vice President of the Senate); they also lacked support from governors of key provinces and regions, such as General ↗Abiye Abbäbä (s. EAE vol. 5), chief administrator of autonomous Eritrea. On 15–16 December 1960, loyalists suppressed the coup attempt, prompting M.N. to flee into the mountains. On 17 December 1960, the Emperor returned to Addis Abäba via Eritrea.

Informed by peasants, who knew his hiding-place, the police captured M.N. on 24 December 1960, after he had been wounded in a shoot-out. On 28 March 1961, a three-man tribunal convicted him of committing "outrages against the constitutional authorities", of being the ringleader of the failed coup attempt, of seeking to overthrow the government by armed revolt, and of being implicated in the shootings of 15 persons – six of whom had been former ministers – during the rebellion. The tribunal then sentenced him to be hanged in public, be deprived of his military rank, and relinquish control of all his property. Two days later, M.N. was hanged in ↗Addis Kätäma on Täklä Haymanot square (for many years also called "M. Addäbabay", 'Square of M.', in the colloquial language of Addis Abäba; s. Tubiana 2006:251).

Src.: *The Times*, London, 24 December 1960, 5.

Lit.: CHRISTOPHER CLAPHAM, "The Ethiopian Coup d'Etat of December 1960", *Journal of Modern African Studies* 6, 4, 1968, 495–507; RICHARD GREENFIELD, "Mangestu Neway", in: *EncAfr* 105; ID., *Ethiopia: a New Political History*, London 1965, 376–452; INDRIAS GETACHEW, *Beyond the Throne: the Enduring Legacy of Emperor Haile Selassie I*, Addis Ababa 2001, 131–35; HAROLD GOLDEN MARCUS, *A History of Ethiopia*, Berkeley, CA 1994, 179–89; REIDULF K. MOLVAER, "About the Abortive Coup Attempt in Addis Abeba from 5 *Tahsas* to 8 *Tahsas* 1953 (14–17 December 1960)", *NEASt* new ser. 3, 2, 1996, 97–125; PETER SCHWAB, *Haile Selassie I: Ethiopia's Lion of Judah*, Chicago, IL 1979, 117–18; JOSEPH TUBIANA, [review of EAE 2], *Aethiopica* 9, 2006, 249–56.

Thomas P. Ofcansky

Manǧo

The M. (also Manča) are a low-ranked social group, often termed "caste" (cp. Marginalized people, EAE vol. 5), in ↗Gonga-societies, notably among the Käfičču (↗Käfa) and ↗Šakačo, where they are estimated to constitute 5–10 % of the population. They are also found amongst the ↗Dawro and some other southern groups. Linguistically, the M. language is said to be an argot variant of the ↗Käfa language. The M. were originally a hunter-gatherer group, living from forest products, but did seasonal agricultural jobs for others as well. They often migrated to different areas according to the opportunities available. Their social status was generally low, and historically they were held as inferior. To a certain extent they internalized this condition of inferiority, but in towns this low-rank identity now is fading.

In Käfičču origin myths, the ancestor of the M. figures as the first human emerging from the earth, with a hunting net, thus emphasizing their status as original inhabitants of the area. Historically the M. had a special relationship with the Käfa kings, as M. were appreciated for their hunting skills and products (lion manes, leopard skins, ivory). M. were often appointed as palace

guards, personal guards of kings and nobles, and executioners, reflecting a familiar pattern of special ruler–minority group relations in many East African societies. The M. were also considered good soldiers. They had their own paramount chief (*manǧi* ↗*tato*) representing them at the Käfa court.

M. have their own named (and exogamous) clans, which seem to differ from the Käfiččo and Šakačo clans. M. mostly marry among themselves. Inter-marriage and commensality of Käfiččo and Šakačo commoners with M. was rejected in theory and limited in practice, with reference to their dietary habits held to be "polluting" (e.g., consumption of *gureza* [Colobus] ↗monkey, pig and porcupine) and to their general "closeness to the animal world". For the non-M. amongst whom they lived, they were involved in funerals as corpse bearers. M. could neither enter the homes of non-M. nor share the same food and drink vessels with them. M. traditionally had no rights to own land. In their turn, the M. looked down upon the *Mano* (tanner-potter) craftworker groups. Traditionally the M. followed the same religious beliefs as the Kafiččo and Šakačo, i.e. the ↗*eqo* cults and the belief in the sky god Yero.

Many negative stereotypes about the M. thus prevented closer social relations with their dominant neighbours, but due to modernization, economic and political changes – including socialist ideology since the 1974 Revolution – and legal practices, group perceptions and social behaviour have changed to the benefit of the M. They also theoretically could own land for cultivation after 1974–75, but did not take up farming on any significant scale and maintained a marginal position. They remain fairly cohesive as a group and have their own dispute resolution mechanisms. After 1991, with the advent of the new government, tendencies remerged among the non-M. population in Käfa and Šeka to revert back to old, "pre-revolution" perceptions of the M.: they are again looked down upon, and injunctions against eating with them or against inter-marriage have resurfaced here and there. This is a social phenomenon also noted among other marginalized groups, for instance in Gurage or Hadiyya societies.

As hunting is getting more difficult and is often prohibited in many parts of Ethiopia, M. now work mostly in other occupations, such as apiculture, collecting and selling of firewood, and charcoal burning. M. women often are potters (↗pottery). Growing numbers of M. have taken up trade and other occupations outside the traditional rural economy as well, but their living standard has remained generally low. Occasional tensions, prejudice and avoidance behaviour towards them can therefore still be noted, even when M. and their neighbours are of the same religious belief.

Lit.: GEZAHEGN PETROS, *Differentiation and Integration: Craftworkers and Manjo in the Social Stratification of Kafa, Southwest Ethiopia*, Bergen 2003; INGRID HARTMANN, "'No Tree, No Bee – No Honey, No Money': the Management of Resources and Marginalisation in Beekeeping Societies of South West Ethiopia", paper presented at the conference *Bridging Scales and Epistemologies*, Alexandria 2004; SARAH VAUGHAN, *Ethnicity and Power in Ethiopia*, Ph.D. thesis, Edinburgh University 2003, 276–82; BEHAILU ABEBE – DATA DEA, "Dawro", in: DENA FREEMAN – ALULA PANKHURST (eds.), *Peripheral People: the Excluded Minorities of Ethiopia*, London 2003, 123–28; GEZAHEGN PETROS, "Kafa", *ibid.*, 90–96; WERNER JÜRGEN LANGE, *History of the Southern Gonga (Southwestern Ethiopia)*, Wiesbaden 1984, 161f., 264–68.

Jon Abbink

Männagäša

M. (መናገሻ, 9° N, 38° 45' E) is an area and a town situated west of Addis Abäba, between two extinct volcanoes, Mount M. (2,924 m) and Mount Sululta (for location s. Mägäzäz). In the pre-1974 ↗administrative division, the M. area had the status of an *awraǧǧa*; today it belongs to Wälmära *wäräda* of Mə'ərab Šäwa zone, Oromiyaa *kəlləl*. In 2004, M. town had 4,112 inhabitants.

Mount M. was a ↗coronation site for Ethiopian emperors in medieval times, a fact reflected by the name M., which literally means 'place of appointing kings' (in earlier times, an Aksumite locality, a square in front of ↗Aksum Ṣəyon, by the same name served the same purpose; DAE I, plan II, 46). "Ambanegst" of ↗Fra Mauro's map of 1460 – i.e. Amba Nägäšt, 'mountain of kings', can perhaps be identified with Mount M. (Craw-Itin 194).

The M. forest dates back several centuries, and there are traditions that indicate that it existed during the reign of *aṣe* Zär'a Ya'əqob in the 15th cent. It was made a State forest by *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II who also established a saw-mill there. The timber from M. was used for the construction of the ↗*gəbbi* and for the churches on ↗Ǝnṭoṭṭo mountain, sometimes under Mənilək's and Ṭaytu's personal supervision. ↗Junipers, Podocarpus and ↗*koso* trees can be found in the forest today. It is

still rich in endemic fauna, including such species as Mənilək's bushbuck, Colobus monkey, Duiker and Klipspringer.

Two churches are located on Mount M., M. Maryam, founded by *aṣe* Mənilək II half-way up the slope and painted by *aläqa* ↗Mäzmur Dawit, and Mädḫane ᶜAläm, located next to the ruins of a more ancient church near to the mountain top (possibly dating back to the time of ↗Ləbnä Dəngəl who had a house at Ǝnṭoṭṭo). *Abunä* ↗Matewos had his residence built near Mädḫane ᶜAläm.

↗Parks, National

Src.: JULES BORELLI, *Éthiopie méridionale: journal de mon voyage aux pays Amhara, Oromo et Sidama, septembre 1885 à novembre 1888*, Paris 1890, 142; CrawItin 194; CSA 2004; DAE I, plan II, 46; GuiVoc 399; GueCopMen 47, 211f., 307, 466, 565; SYLVAIN VIGNÉRAS, *Une mission française en Abyssinie*, Paris 1897, 168–73.

Lit.: FRIEDRICH VON BREYTENBACH – J. KOUKOL, "Menagesha State Forest: a Description of the Forest, its Management and its Future Development including the National Park Project", *Ethiopian Forestry Review* 1, August 1962, no. 3/4, 17–34; MesfAtlas; PancEcon 245f., 301, 698, 704; PankHist II, 175, 207, 217f., 303, 314.

Tesfaye Akalu – Red.

Manoel I

Dom M. (also Manuel, called "o Venturoso" ['the Fortunate']; b. 31 May 1469, Alcochete, d. 13 December 1521, Lisbon, r. 1493–1521) was king of ↗Portugal. He was the son of the Infante Fernando, Duke of Viseu, by his wife, Beatrice of Aveiro, princess of Portugal, and succeeded his cousin ↗João II.

M. supported Portuguese exploration in the Atlantic Ocean and political expansion. During his reign, in 1498 Vasco da Gama reached India and in 1515 Afonso de ↗Albuquerque secured the Portuguese dominion over the Indian Ocean. He also sponsored contacts with Ethiopia. In 1507, two Portuguese, João Sanches and João Gomes, and a Tunisian, Sidi Muḥammad, were sent to Ethiopia with letters of friendship to ↗Ǝleni (Aubin 1976:5ff.). As a response, the Ethiopian envoy ↗Mateus reached Lisbon in 1514 and was well received at the Portuguese court.

M., then at the peak of his power, cultivated the image of a Renaissance monarch, patron of the arts and friend of savants (João de ↗Barros, Damião de ↗Góis), who was eager to establish connections with figures such as ↗Prester John, whom Europeans located in Christian Ethiopia. Following Albuquerque's advice, he considered the ↗Red Sea a strategic area for control over ↗Indian Ocean ↗trade. As a result, a political alliance with the Ethiopian *nəguś* became a priority in Portugal's foreign policy (Thomaz 1990:55ff.).

An intense exchange of letters between M., Pope Leo X (1513–21; ↗Vatican) and the Christian Orient followed. The king, through his ambassador in Rome, Miguel da Silva, proudly informed the pontiff of his contacts with the Ethiopian ruler (Cortesão – Thomas 1938, apendice b; Santarém – da Silva 1891: 257ff.). The Pope, in turn, began a policy of diplomacy with both Portugal and Ethiopia. In 1514 he dispatched the Florentine merchant and agent Andrea ↗Corsali with two letters to "Davide" (i.e. ↗Ləbnä Dəngəl; Raineri 2005:45–48) and issued a bull to M. encouraging him to send bishops to Ethiopia (Santarém – da Silva 1862:248ff.; another bull, from 1521, in Jordão 1868:124). In 1521, he sent three further bulls to Ethiopia, and two letters to Mark, Patriarch of Alexandria. The Pope exhorted the Ethiopians to abandon ↗circumcision, offer obedience to the Roman Church (↗Catholicism), and conclude the alliance with the Portuguese against the Ottoman empire (Raineri 2005:48–57; Cortesão – Thomas 1938, apendice d). He also offered Mark ecclesiastical benefits and privileges, should he recognize papal authority (Cortesão – Thomas 1938, apendice e; Jordão 1868:128f.).

In the meantime, towards the end of 1514, the Portuguese court was preparing an embassy to Ethiopia – a project carefully followed by M.'s close advisor, Duarte Galvão, also appointed his ambassador (Aubin 1996; Cortesão – Thomas 1938:36f.). The embassy was richly endowed with presents, including several books, a planisphere and clothes (for these gifts, s. Dias 1995; Hook 1973; Aubin 1976, 39, n. 190), valued at 30,000 *cruzados* (Cortesão – Thomas 1938:37). However, opposition from the Governor of India, Lopo Soares de Albergaria, and the death of Galvão on Karaman Island led the embassy to failure. Three years later, a new embassy was organized in India, headed by the *fidalgo* Rodrigo da ↗Lima and the new governor Diogo Lopes.

When news of the encounter between Diogo Lopes and the ↗*baḥər nägaš* "Adiby" (= Adäbabay) at ↗Massawa reached Portugal, M. had a pamphlet published which described it (Cortesão – Thomas 1938). In 1499, after da Gama returned from India with news of his "discoveries", M. added to his titles "Lord of the con-

quest and navigation of Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia, and the Indies" (s. Thomaz 1990:37ff.). M. was succeeded by his son, Dom ↗João III.

Src.: BeckHuntAlvar (map 26); GASPAR CORREIA, *Crónicas de D. Manuel e de D. Joao III (até 1533)*, ed. by JOSÉ PEREIRA DA COSTA, Lisboa 1992, 116f.; ID., *Lendas da India*, vol. 2, Lisboa ^{1}1860, Nendeln ^{2}1976, 587; ARMANDO CORTESÃO – HENRY THOMAS (eds.), *Carta das novas, que vieram a el Rei nosso Senhor do descobrimento do Preste João (Lisboa, 1521)*, Lisboa 1938, 36f., apendices B, D, E; DAMIÃO DE GÓIS, *Legatio Magni Indorum Imperatoris Presbyteri Ioannis ...*, Antwerp 1532; ID., *Fides, religio, moresque sub imperio Pretiosi Ioannis ...*, Lovanii 1540, Parisiis ^{2}1541 (= SIEGBERT UHLIG – GERNOT BÜHRING [ed., tr.], *Damian de Góis' Schrift über Glaube und Sitten der Äthiopier*, Wiesbaden 1999 [AeF 39]); ID., *Crónica do Felicíssimo Rei D. Manuel*, Lisboa ^{1}1566–67, Lisboa ^{2}1619, Coimbra 1926, parte III, chs. 58–62; LEVY MARIA JORDÃO, *Bullarium patronatus Portugalliae Regum in ecclesiis Africae, Asiae atque Oceaniae*, vol. 1: *1171–1600*, Olisipone 1868, 124, 128f.; OSVALDO RAINERI, *Lettere tra i pontefici romani e i principi etiopici (sec. XII–XX)*, Città del Vaticano 2005, 45–57; VISCONDE DE SANTARÉM – LUÍS A. REBELLO DA SILVA, *Corpo diplomático português ...*, vol. 1, Lisboa 1862, 248ff., vol. 11, Lisboa 1891, 257ff.

Lit.: JEAN AUBIN, "L'ambassade du Prêtre Jean à D. Manuel", *Mare Luso-Indicum* 3, 1976, 1–56; ID., "Duarte Galvão", in: ID., *Le latin et l'astrolabe: recherches sur les Portugal de la Renaissance, son expansion en Asie et les relations internat*, Lisbonne – Paris 1996, 11–48; AIDA FERNANDA DIAS, "Um presente régio", *Humanitas* 47, 1995, 685–719; DAVID HOOK, "A Note on the Books Sent to Prester John in 1515 by King Manuel I", *Studia* [Centro de Estudos Históricos Ultramarinos] 37, 1973, 303–15; LUIS FILIPE THOMAZ, "L'idée impériale manueline", in: JEAN AUBIN (ed.), *La découverte, le Portugal et l'Europe. Actes du colloque célébrée à Paris le 26, 27 et 28 mai 1988*, Paris 1990, 35–103.

Andreu Martínez

Mänsa^{c}

The M. (መንሳዕ, also Mänsä^{c}) are a Təgre-speaking Christian and Muslim group of Eritrea whose population was estimated in the mid-20th cent. at ca. 6,500 (cp. NadEr 39; TrIslam 163). They call themselves and their dialect M. The M. dialect is used as the ↗Təgre standard form.

The M. inhabit the country adjacent to the town of ↗Kärän and about 50 km north-west from the Red Sea-port of Massawa which embraces the territory of the "Northern Hills" (↗Sänḥit), i.e. the low plateau from which the chains of hills slope down towards the north (cp. LitPEA vol. 2, 335; NadEr 31; KilHDic 310). This corresponds to the mountain ridge between the upper ↗^{c}Ansäba valley and the coastal plain adjoining the Sämenawi Baḥri. They marry among themselves and with the other Təgre groups as well as with the ↗Bilin and the ↗Təgrəññña speakers.

In the highlands, the M. move with their animals to winter pastures at lower elevations where they also cultivate crops in a cycle known as *səbäk sagəm* ('seek pasture, return to native village', lit. 'go down, go up' [imperativ]). This phrase is also used to describe dry and wet seasons. M. agro-pastoralism is largely the product of an arid environment that cannot sustain sedentary agriculture. Seasonal movements in search of grazing land and stream-bed cultivation sites mark the lives of these pastoral peoples. M. livestock herds which include goats, camels and some cattle traditionally provide insurance against droughts and other natural disasters, as well as indispensable animal traction for agriculture.

M. were once predominantly pastoralists grazing their herds (cattle, goats) on the plains of Šə^{c}əb (NadEr 32). At the end of the 19th cent., however, almost all their animals were killed by rinderpest (Tgr. *gəlḥay*; s. ↗*Kəfu qän*) and they had to shift to agriculture combined with semi-transhumant pastoralism (LitPEA vol. 2, 236, 335; Shack 1974:76f.; KilHDic 214).

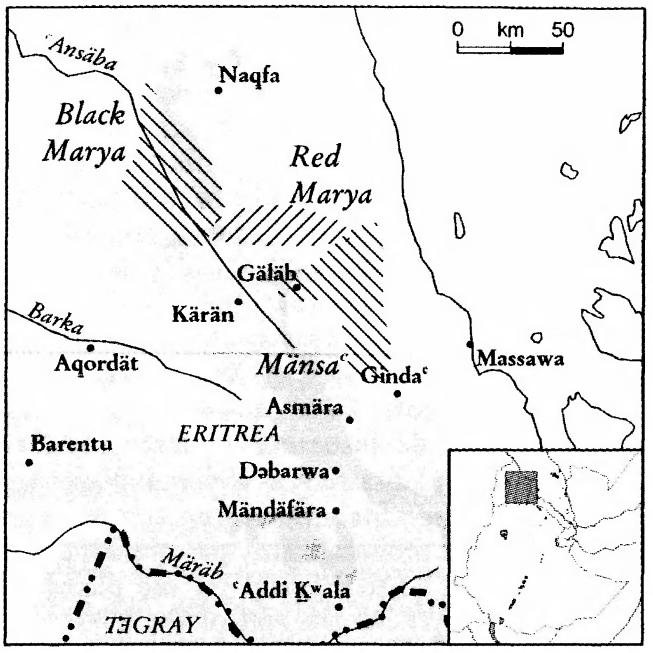
The main diet of the M. consists of meat and milk products, unleavened bread (*bərkətta*) and mead. For *bərkətta* they put dough made of flour, salt and water around a hot stone and let it bake in a charcoal fire until it is ready. Mead is prepared from a concoction of honey, water, ground bark (*kaddo*-tree), and some grains of durra. The mixture is sealed in a jar and buried near the fireplace for four days, after which it is strained (Shack 1974:77; LitPEA vol. 2, 229ff.; Littmann Nachlass, diary notes).

In accordance with their economic strategies the M. developed different types of ↗houses: the semi-transhumant pastoralists use the *qəšaša* (a movable tent shaped like a beehive) while the sedentary cultivators dwell in the *səqlo* (round house) or the *mä^{c}adäni* (rectangular shape; LitPEA vol. 2, 336, 339, figs. 23ff.).

According to oral tradition, the M. descend from a common ancestor called Mänsä^{c}ay, whose father Zed is reported to be an offspring of the tribe of Qurayš and to have emigrated from Arabia to Eritrea. Mänsä^{c}ay's brother Mayray (or Maryay) is believed to be the ancestor of ↗Marya (Conti Rossini 1901; Rodén 1913).

The M. are patrilineal and consist of two major clans, the Bet Abrəhe and the Bet Ǝšḥaqän (or Bet Šäḥaqän). This division into two sections (each with five kinship groups) probably appeared in the middle of the 16th cent.

The senior branch, Bet Abrəhe, occupied the



northern part around Gäläb and were richer in land. One of their ancestors is said to have received in 1600 the rank of *käntebay* (↗*Käntiba*) from the Ethiopian emperor, which then became the hereditary title of their chiefs (NadEr 39; LitPEA vol. 2, 335; MunSt 140f.). The *käntebay* was originally invested by Təgrayan governors during the 17th and 18th cent. His traditional seat was Gäläb. This village is set in a high round valley whose shield-like shape gives it its name.

The Bet ƎšḥaqänThe Bet ƎšḥaqänThe Bet ƎšḥaqänThe

education, Christian missionaries first recorded M. Təgre texts, in Ethiopic scripts, beginning with the Swedish Evangelical Mission at Gäläb. European scholars, including missionaries, also took an interest in M. Təgre's extremely rich traditions of oral poetry, and tales, some of which were collected and published by Munzinger, Littmann (LitPEA) and Rodén, among others.

The Swedish Evangelical Mission built a Middle School in Gäläb during the 1940s, and reportedly the village then had a mixed Muslim/Christian population of about 2000 people. Gäläb was first attacked and burned by the Ethiopian army in the late 1970s, and many M. fled to Käran and then escaped to Sudan as refugees. Gäläb was again attacked by the Ethiopian army in 1975 and in 1980, when many M. villagers were killed and the survivors fled to the Sudan. In 1988, at the time of the Šəᶜəb massacre, Gäläb was cluster-bombed and the last of its population fled, after which the front line between the Därg and the ↗Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF) around Käran cut directly through M. land until the end of the war in 1991. Today Gäläb is a sub-zone administrative centre, a major market place for several surrounding villages, is dotted with schools and clinics, and is connected by an all weather road to Käran.

Src.: Staatsbibliothek Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, Enno Littmann Nachlass 245, Kasten 87, diary notes, 2 November 1905; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Tradizioni storiche dei Mensa", *Giornale della Società Asiatica Italiana* 14, 1901, 41–99; MARIA HÖFNER, *Das Feteḥ Maḥārī: Sitten und Recht der Mänsaᶜ*, Wiesbaden 1951; LitPEA vol. 2, 229–33, 236, 238ff., 335f., 339; MIKAEL HASSAMA RAKA, *Future Life and Occult Beings*, New York 1984; KARL GUSTAV RODÉN, *Le Tribù dei Mensa: Storia, legge e costumi*, B: *Traduzione italiana dalla lingua del Tigrè*, Stockholm 1913; GIUSEPPE SAPETO, *Viaggio e missione cattolica fra i Mensâ i Boros e gli Habab: con un cenno geografico storico dell'Abissinia*, Roma 1857.

Lit.: CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Schizzo etnico e storico delle popolazioni eritree", in: FERDINANDO MARTINI (ed.), *L'Eritrea Economica*. Roma 1913, 72–90; ID., *Principî di diritto consuetudinario dell'Eritrea*, Roma 1916, 548–630; KilHDic 310, 214; ENNO LITTMANN, "Specimens of the Popular Literature of Modern Abyssinia", *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 23, 1, 1902, 51–55; MunSt 140f., 174; MIKAŘEL ḤASAMA RAKA, ዛንታ ኤርትራ (*Zanta Erətra*, 'The Story of Eritrea'), Asmära 1992, 47–66; NadEr 31–40; RUFFILLO PERINI, *Manuale teorico-pratico della lingua tigre*, Roma 1893, 1–8; PollEr 169–77; SHLOMO RAZ, "Vowel Quantity in Tigre", in: *PICES* 6, 455–57; WILLIAM SHACK, *The Central Ethiopians. Amhara, Tigrina and Related Peoples*, London 1974 (Ethnographic Survey of Africa 4: North Eastern Africa), 68–93; TÄḴÄSTÄ FÄQADU GÄBRÄHƎYWÄT, ጉዕዞ፡ ካብ፡ ናቅፋ፡ ናብ፡ ናቅፋ፡ ኣብ፡ ብልሒ፡ ብብልሒ፡ 1976–1979 (*Gʷəᶜzo kab Naqfa nab Naqfa, ab Bəlḥi bəbəlḥi 1976–1979*, 'Journey from Naqfa to Naqfa, in Bəlhi with Shrewdness'), Asmära 2006, 101–05; TrIslam 162ff., 177, 232.

Kerstin Volker-Saad

Manṣūr b. Muḥammad b. Ayyūb

M. (منصور بن محمد بن ايوب) ruled in ↗Harär and ↗Awsa between 1575–76. When ↗Muḥammad b. Naṣīr b. ᶜUṯmān left Harär to fight the Christians during the reign of ↗Śärṣä Dəngəl, the ↗Oromo took the chance, invaded the country and besieged Harär. Muḥammad's brother, *wazīr* Ḥāmid b. Naṣīr, whom Muḥammad had made regent during his absence, was able to prevent the occupation of the town, but not the devastation of the country. In August/September 1575 a new man rose in Harär: M., who fought the Oromo. In the *Storia dei re* (s. Cerulli 1931) it is not mentioned whether he did so by order of Ḥāmid or after a rebellion. The latter seems to be more probable, because a variant in the same book mentions him as ruler of Harär between the reigns of Muḥammad b. Naṣīr and ↗Muḥammad Gāsā I b. Ibrāhīm, which means that he must have overthrown Ḥāmid.

After pushing back the Oromo, M. took 150 Somali cavalrymen and 300 footsoldiers, and marched against ↗Zaylaᶜ. In April 1576 he proceeded further against Awsa, where in May he removed the *hēgan* Hāšim, whom Muḥammad b. Naṣīr had installed there. This also shows that he acted against the wishes of the ruling family. In July/August 1576, M. planned an expedition against Ǧināḥasar (or Ǧanaḥsir, Ǧanāsir, Čənaḥasän, about 30 km north-west of Ǧiǧiga, cf. HuntGeogr 87, 102, map 18; Cerulli 1941:30, n. 2; BassHist 80 [text]). He had not, however, yet advanced far from Awsa when his own soldiers attacked him. In the following month, Muḥammad Gāsā I, who had taken control of Harär after Muḥammad b. Naṣīr was killed by Śärṣä Dəngəl, transferred the capital of ↗ᶜAdal from Harär to Awsa. If M. had not been already removed by his own people, this must have happened at this time through Muḥammad Gāsā I. At any rate, nothing is heard of M. later.

Src.: BassHist 80 (text) = 151 (tr.); ENRICO CERULLI, "Documenti arabi per la storia dell'Etiopia", *MRALm* ser. 6ª, 4, 1931, 39–101, here 54f., 64 (text) = 61f., 70 (tr.) [repr. in: *CerIslam* 135–206, here 154f., 167 (text) = 162f., 173 (tr.)].

Lit.: ENRICO CERULLI, "Il sultanato dello Scioa nel secolo XIII secondo un nuovo documento storico", *RSE* 1, 1941, 5–42, here 30, no. 2 [repr. in: *CerIslam* 207–43, here 234]; HuntGeogr 87, 102, map 18; PankHist I, 52f.; TrIslam 96.

Ewald Wagner

Manuscripts

The term M. (from Lat. *manu scriptum*, 'written by hand') is applied to artefacts (codices, unbound fascicles, scrolls, or even single leaves), usually on parchment, much more rarely on paper (writing on papyrus is not attested in the Ethio–Eritrean region), which primarily carry texts and/or paintings; their contents are themselves of no relevance to the definition of M. as such. Epigraphic writings (↗inscriptions on stone, metal, wood), occasional writings on paintings (captions and legends), on pottery, textiles, and other objects (such as ↗*mänbärä tabot*), are not to be considered M. On the other hand, scrolls (whether ↗magic or not), although sometimes considered separately, can be labelled M.

Christian, Islamic and Betä Ǝsraʾel cultures have developed and been transmitted in Ethiopia and Eritrea mainly through the production and preservation, in M. form, of numerous texts in various fields (theological, liturgical, literary, historical, etc.) and in various languages (esp. ↗Gəʿəz and ↗Arabic, ↗Amharic, and, to a lesser degree, ↗Harari, ↗Təgrəññña and others).

The peculiar and exceptionally relevant importance of M. in Ethiopian culture is determined by the very late introduction of an extensive use of ↗printing, which does not antedate the 19th cent. (↗Incunabula). Ethiopia and Eritrea are still among the few countries where a tradition of parchment M. (↗Manuscript preparation) is still alive. The M. tradition is rooted in the peculiar past of the area, where – contrary to most African countries south of the Sahara – written tradition (starting from the 1st millennium B.C. in the so-called "South-Arabian phase" of Ancient Ethiopian history) has played a central role in the development of civilization.

Manuscript studies

The study of M. is of major importance to research in various fields of ↗Ethiopian studies. Modern research, esp. recent trends starting from the second half of the 20th cent., has clearly distinguished various branches within M. studies, or "manuscriptology", each one with its own methodology and scope, based upon the fundamental distinction between text and what supports the text.

Codicology studies hand-written books as artefacts, with specific reference to their material constituents and techniques of production ("archaeology of M.", cp., e.g., Muzerelle 1985; Maniaci 2002). Illuminations and drawings in M. are the subject of art history.

↗Palaeography considers the peculiarities of writing and its general development and dating (historically the first aim of palaeography), but also the general "act of writing" in all its general contexts and aspects (UhPal).

Text-criticism, or ↗philology in the narrow sense (cp. Bausi in PICES 15b), has refined its methods in the search for reliable criteria to establish the original reading of texts. It takes advantage of recent developments in other disciplines, witnessed, for example, by the emergence of such specific sub-disciplines as "codicological stemmatics", or "material philology". These new research directions establish the relationships between the M. and the texts they transmit, also by tracing the history of each single M., its material structure and/or the influence specific copies may have exerted within a single textual tradition. So far these recent disciplinary subdivisions have seldom been applied to Ethiopian M. studies.

Ethiopic manuscripts

I. General topics in Ethiopic M. studies

There are fundamental issues in M. studies which still need a definitive assessment, such as:

(1) The total number of manuscripts, inside and outside Ethiopia and Eritrea

(a) Manuscripts inside Ethiopia and Eritrea

The exact number of Ethiopic M. in the Ethio–Eritrean region is not known. The estimate that there should be ca. 200,000 (excluding scrolls; cp. Sergew Hable Selassie 1981:35) seems realistic if one considers the minimum number of M. necessary for every church for religious and liturgical practice (the number of parishes ranging from at least 13,000 to 32,350), and the occasionally large M. collections still preserved in monastic libraries (e.g., ↗Däbrä Ḥayq Ǝsṭifanos, ca. 200 M.; ↗Däbrä Bizän, ca. 570 M.; ↗Gundä Gunde, formerly 800 [?] and now ca. 220 M.; ↗Aksum Ṣəyon, several hundred M. at least). Although still relatively little exploited by scholars and not yet furnished with printed catalogues, two institutional Ethiopian libraries have rich M. collections: the Library of the ↗Institute of Ethiopian Studies, ca. 1,500 M.; and the ↗National Archives and Library of Ethiopia (NALE), ca. 850 M.

(b) Manuscripts outside of Ethiopia and Eritrea

The number of M. abroad may be estimated to be several thousands, most of them catalogued

(for details on the principles of cataloguing Gəᶜəz M. s. Bausi 2004:7–11). The four biggest collections in Europe are those of the ↗Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (VatLib), the ↗Bibliothèque Nationale de France (BN), the ↗British Library (BritLib) and the ↗Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Orientabteilung (Berlin). The VatLib (also the first one to have been catalogued, cp. GréTisVat II, 9ff.) has 1,082 M., including the collections Vaticano and Borgia (348 M.; s. GréTisVat I–II; van Lantschoot 1962; Raineri 1993 and in PICES 11), Cerulli Etiopici (332 items; s. RaiCer), Comboni (290 items, s. Raineri 2000) and Raineri (112 items, s. Raineri 1998). The BN has over 1,000 M. and scrolls; the main collections are Éthiopien (s. ZotBNat, ChMonV, GrébGriaule I–III, StrGriaule) and d'Abbadie (s. AbbCat, ChAbb, CRAbb). The BritLib has at least 624 M. (s. DillmLond, WrBriMus, StrBritLib, Nersessian 1989:172ff.); this includes the M. of the India Office (s. Cerulli 1946). The Berlin Library preserves 328 M. (s. DillmBerl, HamSixBerl, SixDeu, Six 2001, 2003, 2005, 2006) and an important microfilm collection of 182 items (s. HamTana I–II, SixTana III).

As far as microfilms are concerned, the collection of the ↗Ethiopian Manuscript Microfilm Library, with so far 9,238 M., is the most important one (the first 5,000 items have been catalogued in EMML I–X). The catalogues of Ethiopic M. and microfilms in the aforementioned collections are:

AbbCat; ENRICO CERULLI, "I manoscritti etiopici della biblioteca dell'India Office di Londra", *Oriente moderno* 26, 1946, 109–16; ChAbb; ChMonV; ROGER WILLIAM COWLEY, "The Ethiopian Manuscripts", in: M. ROSARIA FALIVENE – ALAN F. JESSON (eds.), *Historical Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Bible House Library*, London 1982, 66–121; CRAbb; DillmBerl; DillmLond; EMML I–X; *Exhibition of Ethiopian Manuscripts from the Collection of the Institute of Ethiopian Studies. Museum of the Institute of Ethiopian Studies: University of Addis Ababa, February 16–March 16, 1988*, Addis Ababa 1988; GrébGriaule I–III; GréTis Vat I–II; HamSixBerl; HamTana I–II; ARNAULD VAN LANTSCHOOT, "Inventaire sommaire des mss. vaticans éthiopiens 261–299", in: *Collectanea Vaticana in honorem Anselmi H. Card. Albareda I*, Città del Vaticano 1962 (Studi e testi 219), 453–512; VREJ NERSESSIAN, "Roger W. Cowley (1940–1988)", *JES* 22, 1989, 171–75; OSVALDO RAINERI, "I Manoscritti Vaticani Etiopici 249–250, 300–323", in: *PICES* 11, vol. 1, 685–710; ID., "I manoscritti Vaticani etiopici 300–323. Inventario analitico", *Quaderni Utinensi* 7/13–14, 1989 [1993], 105–44; ID., "Inventario dei manoscritti etiopici 'Raineri' della Biblioteca Vaticana", in: *Collectanea in honorem Rev.mi Patris Leonardi E. Boyle, O.P. ...*, Città del Vaticano 1998 (Miscellanea Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae VI/Studi e testi 385), 485–548; ID., *Codices Comboniani Aethiopici*, In Bibliotheca Vaticana 2000 (Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae codices manuscripti recensiti 47); RaiCer; SixDeu; SixTana III; VERONIKA SIX, "Neuerwerbung einer äthiopischen Handschrift durch die Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz Berlin", *Aethiopica* 4, 2001, 179–81; *ibid.* 6, 2003, 192–95; *ibid.* 8, 2005, 170–73; *ibid.* 9, 2006, 180–89; StrANL; StrBritLib; StrGriaule; WrBriMus; ZotBNat.

A full list of collections and catalogues, with minor omissions, has been compiled by Beylot and Rodinson (BeyRodRép); an updated version is being prepared by Wion – Derat – Bosc-Tiessé (2006); Zanutto (ZanBibl) is still useful in some cases.

(2) The emergence of manuscripts in the Ethio–Eritrean area and dating of manuscripts

The Gəᶜəz word መጽሐፍ (*mäṣḥaf*) is the most general term to indicate 'manuscript, book, writing' in all its meanings (cp. DillmLex 1268f.; LesCDic 552). The term was borrowed into Arab. *muṣḥaf* (also *maṣḥaf*, *miṣḥaf*), which seems to imply that the Arabs adopted the use of M. (codices) in pre-Islamic times from the Ethiopians (Nöldeke 1910:50), who had received it in turn from the late antique Near-Eastern and Mediterranean world. The tradition is already attested in the 9th cent. by Abū ᶜUṯmān al-Ǧāḥiẓ (d. 868/69 A.D.) in his *Faḫr as-sūdān ᶜalā l-bīḍān* ('The Boasting of the Blacks over the Whites'; cp. the Arab. text in van Vloten 1903:71, ll. 11–14). Not clear in its etymology (from **brh* 'be light, be clear', but more likely from Gr. μεμβράνα, cp. DillmLex 501; LesCDic 104; Cohen 1929), the Gəᶜəz term ብርሃና (*bərhanna*), probably a pseudo-etymological spelling for ብራና (*bəranna*) as in Amh. (the form *bəranna*, however, is found in the colophon of the ms. Pistoia, Biblioteca Forteguerriana, Martini etiop. 5, fol. 195rb, dating to 1437/38 A.D., cp. Fiaccadori 1993:162ff., where *säraḥtä bəranna*, 'makers of parchment', are mentioned), is specific for 'parchment', for which the ancient term ረቅ (*räqq*) is also used (cp. DillmLex 284; LesCDic 472). Specific are the borrowings ክርታስ (*kərtas*) for 'leaf' (from Gr. χάρτης, 'papyrus', 'a papyrus roll'; cp. DillmLex 837f.; LesCDic 294), and the later ክታብ (*kətab*), 'writing', but esp. 'magical writing, amulet' (from Arab. *kitāb*, 'book', in all its meanings; cp. DillmLex 852; LesCDic 297). M. may have already been used in pre-Christian times, though there is no evidence for that. In any case, the introduction of ↗Christianity in Aksum certainly implied an early diffusion of M., at least for the strict necessity of religious services and liturgical practice. Though no M. dating to that

Fig. 1: A manuscript with a *ḫarägʷ*: *Gädlä sämaᶜətat*, beginning of St. Thecla's story, fol. unknown, 15th cent., *abunä* ᶜAbiyä Ǝgziᵓ's monastery Däbrä Mädḫanit, Təgray; photo 2002, courtesy of Michael Gervers

period are known so far, their presumed existence is evidenced by the abundance of literature dating from Aksumite times and transmitted through M. up to the present (the ↗Bible with O.T. and N.T., apocrypha, patristic texts of various kinds, i.e., theological, liturgical, hagiographic etc., translated from Gr. models). The oldest preserved M. date to the 13th–14th cent., but in considerable quantities only from the 16th–17th cent. onwards. Christian tradition tends to attribute the scarcity of M. antedating the 16th–17th cent. to the destruction of Christian heritage brought about in the first half of the 16th cent. by ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī. The wars must have seriously affected the survival of M., although the extent of damage can not be determined with any certainty. On the other hand, the intentional destruction/substitution of texts (cp. Bausi in PICES 15a:537f.), the custom of burying M. together with their owners (cp. Lusini 1999a:414) as well as poor preservation conditions in monastic libraries have been adduced to explain the scarcity of ancient M. The conflict with the ↗Jesuits in the 17th cent. and the full restoration of the traditional cult in the ↗Gondärine kingdom may have occasioned the revival of M. production.

Three Gospels from ↗Ǝnda Abba Gärima (I, II and III) are considered to be the oldest Ethiopian M. ever found. Their dating, however, is still uncertain and a matter of discussion, ranging according to different scholars from the 7th or even the 6th cent., esp. considering the style of the illuminations (↗Canon tables) and radiocarbon chronology, up to the 14th cent. (cp. Bausi 2004 [Lit.]). The Georgian palimpsest M. with inferior text in Gəᶜəz discovered in the Monastery of Saint Catherine in Sinai (cp. Aleksidzé – Mahé 1995:487f., esp. n. 6) may be particularly old.

The overwhelming majority of M. can be dated only on the basis of palaeographic evidence (cp. UhPal). In some cases dating is provided by a colophon (also named *subscriptio*, with prevalent exclusive reference to the name of the copyist), i.e., a final note directly referring to the M. where the copyist mentions the place and/or the date of copying according to various chronological systems (cp. Uhlig 1986), and who, or which church or monastery, has paid for it.

II. Codicological manuscript studies

In the total absence of a specialized monograph devoted to Gəᶜəz M. (but s. some recent contributions listed in Proverbio – Fiaccadori 2004:666, n. 3), apart from a short, but useful booklet by Sergew Hable Selassie (1981; cp. also Mellors – Parsons 2002ab), Ethiopian codicology is still in its early stages.

(1) Manuscript typology according to overall format

Two basic types of Gəᶜəz M. are traditionally distinguished, both prepared on parchment according to fixed traditional procedures:

(a) the scroll, usually not calligraphic and almost exclusively used for magical texts and for paintings, not for sacred texts or large works (as in Jewish culture);

(b) the codex, usually with wooden binding and leather cover.

Palimpsests are rarely attested; they are obtained by washing off the ink, more than by erasing, as in the 17th-cent. M. BN d'Abb. 191 (s. CRAbb 108, no. 65; UhPal 233). Washing and erasing (but not rewriting) as radical acts of censorship are well represented, e.g., in the *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*bərhan* of Däbrä Bizän, before 1457/58 (s. BauEr II, 25ff., esp. 30ff., figs. 2–6 [s. fig. 2]).

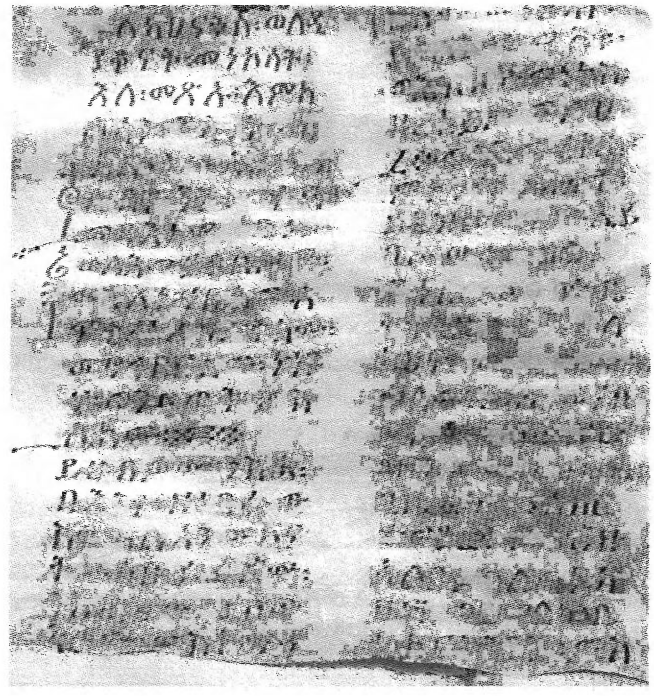


Fig. 2: Example of censorship by erasing; *Mäṣḥafä bərhan*, 15th cent., Däbrä Bizän, fols. 233v–234r; photo 1995, courtesy of the author

(2) Manuscript typology according to material

M. found in Ethiopia and Eritrea can be either

(a) parchment M. as described above; or

(b) paper M.

M. on paper are comparatively rare and very recent, appearing from the end of the 19th and esp. in the 20th cent. Collections containing Gəᶜəz M. copied by Ethiopian copyists for European scholars consist in some cases of a good deal of European-paper M., e.g., Conti Rossini collection in ANLin (cp. StrANL).

(3) Manuscript composition, layout and metrology

Fascicles are normally composed of 4 bifolia in older M.; from the 17th/18th cent. onwards fascicles of 5 bifolia prevail (cp. Uhlig 1989).

Although dimensions and other metric data of M. (number of columns, size of the writing, width of the margins etc.) should be studied as components of the general *mise en page*, no statistical study is yet available for Gəᶜəz M., apart from very limited sample studies. On this provisional basis, one can say that the dimensions of the M. range from 10–12 cm to more than 40 cm in height (48 cm in an exceptional M. from Däbrä Bizän, cp. BauEr II, 34ff., little less than some archaic copies of the ↗Octateuch, cp. Fiaccadori 1994, and also M. 1837 of the Schøyen private collection, London – Oslo, 49 cm.); the most common height is ca. 30 cm.

The most ancient M. usually organize text in two columns; from the 16th cent. the three-column model tends to become frequent and later on prevails. Exceptions are attested, e.g., the three-column M. of the ↗*Gädlä sämaᶜətat* EMML 7602, dating from the period of *aṣe* ↗Dawit II. As a rule, the ↗Psalter is copied in one single column. M. dimensions are only partially dependent upon the number of columns.

Guidelines are drawn on parchment, not by ink, but simply by pressure of a special tool. Paragraph marks are very simple before the end of the 14th cent.; thereafter they become more elaborate. Geometrical ornaments and interlacing (↗*Ḥaräg*) also developed from the 14th cent.; this kind of ornamentation enjoyed a special revival in imperial *scriptoria* in the 20th cent. (UhPal 783).

Black (or dark brown) and red inks are very common; other colours are also used, esp. in ornaments; one special case of "negative" writing (black ink is erased to obtain "white" writing using the colour of the parchment) is attested in the colophon of an Octateuch, Bible House Library, Ethiop. 1, fol. 284r (s. Cowley 1982:71; the M.

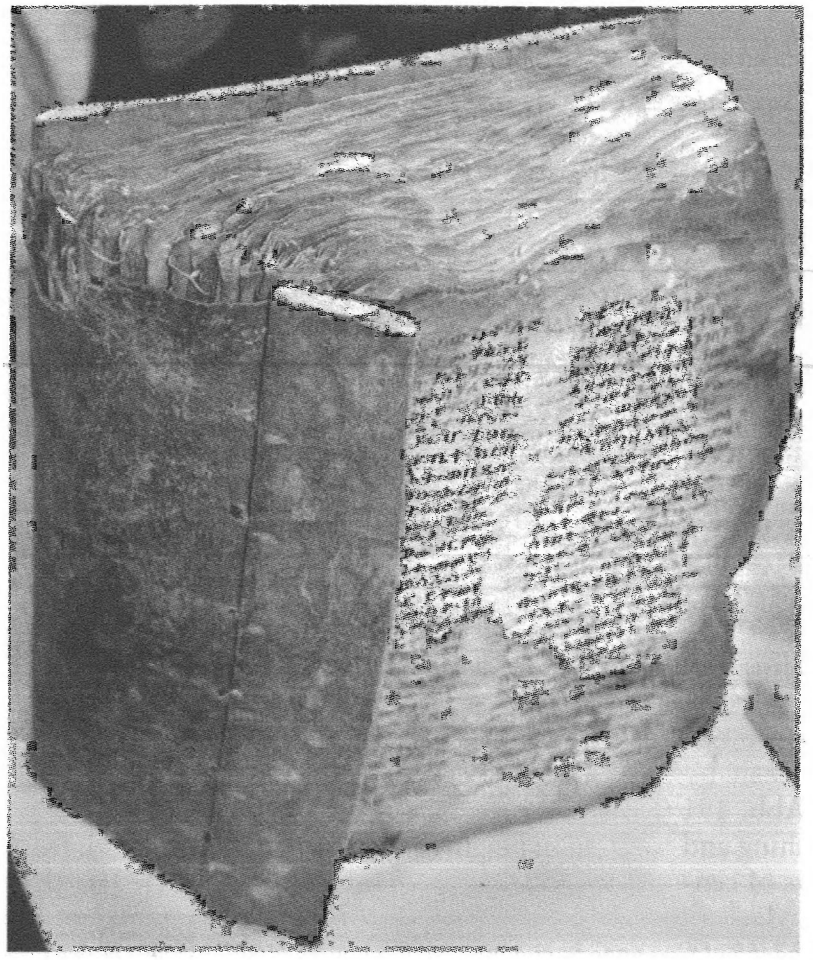


Fig. 3: A manuscript of the *Gädlä sämaᶜətat*, 55 x 45 x 25 cm, 15th cent., Yoḥannəs Käma, Təgray; photo 2006, courtesy of Michael Gervers

is at present in Cambridge University Library, s. BeyRodRép 46f.).

Ethiopian binding technique seems to be of a specific type, technically termed "chain-sewing with two threads" (cp. Bartelt – Hammerschmidt 1976; Bozzacchi 1996; Mellors – Parsons 2002b:16f.). M. are usually provided with wooden covers, very often covered with ornamented leather according to traditional styles (cp. Pankhurst 1983–84).

III. Palaeographic manuscript studies

Apart from the study of writing in the strict sense, the modern concept of palaeography presupposes both the analysis of the mutual interrelationship within a single "data carrier" of texts of different status, and – besides the material aspect of the preparation – the social context presupposed by M. production and use.

We have some information on the training of a copyist as observed in the 20th-cent. imperial *scriptorium*, (cp. Haile Gabriel Dagne in PICES 8). Training consisted, as expected, of traditional church education, including some knowledge of Gəᶜəz and calligraphy (cp. Sergew Hable Sellassie 1981:27–32). A regulation issued in 1919 estimated that it took a copyist one year to copy the Octateuch, eight months and 15 days for the ↗*Fəṯḥa nägäśt*, 18 months for the ↗*Dəggʷa*, and up to 16 months for each of the two parts of the ↗*Sənkəssar* (MahZekr 660–63).

↗*Däbtära* play an important role in M. production, although it has been observed that copying skills are not of central importance for them and other learned people of the church, writing being considered a task of lower prestige (s. ibid. 27ff.; Bausi 2004:14, esp. n. 31). This circumstance may also explain why autograph writings are extremely rare, and only begin to emerge with private and official letters and documents (↗Epistolography), in the 19th cent.

Production of M. was a task of the monastic communities, and ↗monasteries have also been – and in many cases still are – the main repositories of M. M. are rarely preserved in specially devised places ("libraries"): usually they are considered "precious objects", and are inventoried and preserved in the same place (↗*ᶜƎqa bet*) as liturgical objects, paintings, clothes, textiles, crosses, and other paraphernalia (s. ↗*Qəddase*). In some cases M. are entrusted to an **ዐቃቤ፡ መጻሕፍት** (*ᶜaqqabe mäṣaḥəft*, 'keeper of the books'), who is responsible for their care; in many cases written inventories have also been drawn up. Old preserved lists (attested from the end of the 13th cent., cp., e.g., Sergew Hable Selassie in OrbAethChoj) are normally used by scholars in order to establish the *terminus ante quem* of literary works and/or the relative interest of monastic communities in them (cp. BauEr I, 15–21, esp. 20ff.). Inventories of items and books often appear as *additiones* ("additional notes", s. Lusini 1999b), on blank pages and/or in spaces not completely used up by the text, at the beginning or more usually at the end of the M. Unlike the colophon, these notes of various typology (personal and historical records; sentences and judgements on controversies; lists of important people, saints, foreign words, months; prayers, short hymns; calendaric remarks; *fätinä bərᶜ*, 'pen trials') do not directly refer to the main

M. text. The practice of *additiones* may be considered very old, as we find such (almost contemporary) notes even in the most ancient M. The Bible (particularly Gospels, cp. ↗*Wängelä wärq*) and M. of the Acts (↗*Gädl*) of the founder of a monastic community are frequently used to host documents of direct interest to the community, such as feudal deeds attesting benefices, historical records etc. (cp. also *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*Aksum*). In some cases, fascicles containing important feudal deeds are rebound together (e.g., in the "Golden Gospel" of ↗Däbrä Libanos of Šəmäzana, in this case, together with a recent copy of the same deeds). Directly referring to the M. and very useful for its history are notes of other kinds, such as indications of ownership and/or the information usually preserved in the colophon.

IV. Philological manuscript studies

The attitude of the scribes towards their text – actually a subject of ↗philology, or text criticism – is also of importance to M. studies in wider sense. As a rule, Ethiopian scribes do not systematically change the received text, neither do they correct errors; it is a common experience that copyists usually accept and tolerate even extremely corrupted texts, or texts virtually impossible to understand (this is consistent with the average figure of the copyist, who is not necessarily a man of learning). Occasional corrections do not consistently apply each time a M. is copied, so that (contrary to what tends to happen for linguistic reasons, e.g., in Romance texts) each M. does not necessarily represent a different recension of the text. There are also examples of corrections or changes due to cultural and literary requirements, esp. in the case of texts of crucial religious and theological relevance, such as the Bible and others (cp. Zuurmond 1989 part I, 73ff.; Lusini 2004; for the censorship of the *Mäṣḥafä bərhan* of Däbrä Bizän cp. above; cp. also Bausi 2004:17ff., in PICES 15b:546ff.). It is more than likely that the systematic revision of the ↗Bible – O.T. and N.T., in various phases and periods – was due to institutional Church initiatives and re-translations (for the canonico-liturgical collection, cp. Bausi in PICES 15a).

We also lack any analysis for establishing a reliable correlation between the textual history of Gəᶜəz texts – which is a subject of philological research – and the varying peculiarities of the M. as such. The Bible can serve as an example. It was originally translated in Aksumite times and in the course of time became a "conflated text" corrupted by glosses, variant readings and doublets. It was then corrected in the 14th cent. with the help of Arabic (in turn from Greek, Coptic and Syriac) versions, later in the 16th and 17th cent. (cp. above) "deconflated" and revised again, till the establishment of a shorter and better readable "eclectic" text-type (*vulgata*, *textus receptus*) by selection of earlier readings. We cannot establish, however, whether the revision of the text was always accompanied by a parallel and consistent updating of the M. type, or if older models have exerted, or to what extent still exert, their influence. In this respect, very impressive is the case of the *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*ṭefut*, a M. consisting of the Octateuch, Four Gospels and ↗*Senodos*, dating from the 14th/15th cent., that was accurately reproduced (directly from the original model or from an intermediary copy) by order of *aṣe* Iyasu I; the M. is at present preserved in the BritLib, as ms. Orient. 481 (cp. Fiaccadori 1994).

Src.: DillmLex 104, 284, 837f., 852, 1268f.; LesCDic 294, 297, 472, 501, 552; for mss. catalogues s. part I.1 above and BeyRodRép; ANAÏS WION – MARIE LAURE DERAT – CLAIRE BOSC-TIESSÉ, *Inventaire des bibliothèques et des catalogues de manuscrits éthiopiens*, [Paris] 2006 (Ménestrel; online edition); ZanBibl.

Lit.: Z. ALEKSIDZÉ – J.-P. MAHÉ, "Manuscrits géorgiens découverts à Sainte-Catherine du Sinaï", *Académie des Inscriptions & Belles Lettres. Comptes Rendues* 1995, 487–94; ERNST BARTELT – ERNST HAMMERSCHMIDT, "Die Technik des äthiopischen Handschrifteneinbandes", in: HERBERT FRANKE et al. (eds.), *Folia rara. Wolfgang Voigt LXV. diem natalem celebranti ... dedicata*, Wiesbaden 1976 (VOHD Supplementband 19), 6–10; BauEr I–III; ALESSANDRO BAUSI, "Il testo, il supporto e la funzione. Alcune osservazioni sul caso dell'Etiopia", in: *StudAeth* 7–22 (Lit.); ID., "Some Short Remarks on the Canon Tables in Ethiopic Manuscripts", in: *PICEA* 6, 120–39 [revised in: CARMELA BAFFIONI (ed.), *Scritti in onore di Clelia Sarnelli Cerqua*, Napoli 2004 (= Studi Magrebini 26), 45–67]; ID., "The Aksumite Background of the Ethiopic 'Corpus Canonum'", in: *PICES* 15 [a], 532–41; ID., "Current Trends in Ethiopian Studies: Philology", *ibid.* [b], 542–51 (Lit.); ID., "La tradizione scrittoria etiopica", *Segno e Testo. International Journal of Manuscripts and Text Transmission* 6, 2008 (in preparation) (Lit.); GIAMPIERO BOZZACCHI, "La legatura etiopica", in: MARINA REGNI et al. (eds.), *Conservazione dei materiali librari, archivistici e grafici*, Torino 1996 (Documenti 3), vol. 1, 333–39; MARCEL COHEN, "Quelques voyages de mots (sémitique et domaines voisins)", *Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris* 29/3 (88), 1929, 132–37, here 136f. § 3; GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, "Bisanzio e il regno di 'Aksum. Sul manoscritto Martini etiop. 5 della Biblioteca Forteguerriana di Pistoia", *Bollettino del Museo Bodoniano di Parma* 7, 1993, 161–99; ID., "Prototipi miniati dell'Ottateuco etiopico", *ibid.* 8, 1994, 69–102 (Lit.); HAILE GABRIEL DAGNE, "The Scriptorium at the Imperial Palace and the Manuscripts of Addis Ababa Churches", in: *PICES* 8, vol. 2, 215–24;

GIANFRANCESCO LUSINI, "Questioni di paleografia etiopica", *Scrittura e civiltà* 23, 1999, 407–17; ID., "Scritture documentarie etiopiche (Dabra Deḫuḫān e Dabra Ṣegē, Sarā'ē, Eritrea)", *RSE* 42, 1998 [1999], 5–55; ID., "Copisti e filologi dell'Etiopia medievale. Lo *Scriptorium* di Dabra Māryām del Sarā'ē (Eritrea)", *La Parola del Passato* 59/3 (336), 2004, 230–37; MARILENA MANIACI, *Archeologia del manoscritto. Metodi, problemi, bibliografia recente*, Roma 2002 (I libri di Viella 34) (Lit.); JOHN MELLORS – ANNE PARSONS, *Scribes of South Gondar*, London 2002a; IID., *Ethiopian Bookmaking*, London 2002b; DENIS MUZERELLE, *Vocabulaire codicologique: répertoire méthodique des termes français relatifs aux manuscrits*, Paris 1985 (Rubricae 1); THEODOR NÖLDEKE, *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft*, Strassburg 1910, 50; RICHARD PANKHURST, "Ethiopian Manuscript Bindings and their Decoration", *Abbay* 12, 1983–84, 205–57; DELIO VANIA PROVERBIO – GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, "Un nuovo testimone etiopico della *Rivelazione di Pietro a Clemente*: il ms. 121 del Monumento Nazionale di Casamari (Veroli)", *RANLmor* ser. 9ª, 15/4, 2004, 665–93 (Lit.); SERGEW HABLE SELASSIE, *Bookmaking in Ethiopia*, Leiden 1981, 27–32; ID., "The Monastic Library of Däbrä Hayq", in: *OrbAethChoj* vol. 1, 243–58; SIEGBERT UHLIG, "Kolophone und zeitgenössische Vermerke in äthiopischen Handschriften", in: *Freundesgabe ... B. Spuler zum 75. Geburtstag am 5. Dezember 1986*, Bern 1986 (= Internationale kirchliche Zeitschrift 94 [new ser. 76]), 307–19; ID., "Grundfragen äthiopischer Kodikologie", in: FRANÇOIS DÉROCHE (ed.), *Les manuscrits du Moyen-Orient. Essai de codicologie et de paléographie ...*, Istanbul – Paris 1989 (Varia Turcica 8), 35–38; UhPal (Lit.); GERLOF VAN VLOTEN, *Tria opuscula auctore Abu Othman Amr Ibn Bahr Al-Djahiz Basrensi*, Lugduni Batavorum 1903 [repr. 1968]; ROCHUS ZUURMOND, *Novum Testamentum aethiopice: The Synoptic Gospels*, I: *General Introduction*; II: *The Gospel of Mark*, Stuttgart 1989 (AeF 27).

Siegbert Uhlig – Alessandro Bausi

Arabic manuscripts

I. Introduction

The situation with Ethiopian and Eritrean M. in ↗Arabic, as well as ʿ*ağamī* (i.e., M. in other languages written in Arabic script), is even more difficult than with Ethiopic M. Our knowledge is even more limited mostly owing to the relative recency of the research tradition dealing with Arabic and Islamic culture of the region.

Arabic is not exclusive to Muslims. Christian ↗Arabic literature is very rich and M. from ↗Egypt and, perhaps, from the Middle East must have been circulating in Christian Ethiopia since earliest times. This assumption is confirmed by the many translations from Arabic into Gəʿəz (Murad Kamil 1942; Kropp 1986). Moreover, Arabic notes, mostly of a legal nature, sometimes appear in Gəʿəz or Amharic M. (Schneider 1974), an indication that at least some senior clerics – especially in the entourage of the Egyptian metropolitans (↗*Pappas*) – knew and used this language. A special case are M. written in Arabic by former Muslims converted to Christianity, such as, e.g., the one containing the *Sylloges* of *šayḫ* ↗Zäkaryas (Gori 2001).

Arabic being the language of religion and education in Islam, Arabic texts are always widely spread among Muslim communities, including those of Ethiopia and Eritrea. The direct connection between M., the traditional education system and cult practices explains the wide diffusion of M. containing non-Ethiopian works, considered fundamental for the instruction of the faithful and for strengthening of ↗Islam. These are usually copied and commented upon by local scholars. While some of the M. circulating in Ethiopia and Eritrea and containing both foreign and indigenous texts were produced locally, others were brought in by itinerant clerics, learned men or traders. Detailed information on the imported M., their relative proportion regarding indigenous ones, types of texts, countries of origin, once available, would be essential for our understanding of Islamic culture in the area, i.e. the degree of foreign influence and the needs these texts satisfied.

II. Overview of collections and catalogues of Ethiopian Arabic manuscripts

(1) Collections

Very few Arabic Islamic M. have so far become known (only ca. 90 are more or less duly catalogued); an estimate of the total number, even very approximate, is impossible. Arabic M. in private hands or stored in places often unfit for preservation are indubitably very numerous.

In Ethiopia, the ↗Institute of Ethiopian Studies (IES) houses a precious collection of 140 Arabic M. (Hussein Ahmed 1994:129). Most of them come from ↗Harär; recently some M. from ↗Wällo (e.g., the original M. of the hagiography of *šayḫ* ↗Gaʿfar Bukko, s. Hussein Ahmed in PICES 8 [IES 1895; FahLit 54]; the chronography of Wällo, s. HusIslam 209 [IES 1954]) and from the ↗Ǧimma region (esp. M. of the *tiǧānī šayḫ* Maḥmūd b. Sulaymān, nephew of ↗Abbaa Ǧifaar II, s. FahLit 53) have been added. The collection still lacks a detailed and precise catalogue. Five M. (IES 276, 955–58) were copied by Wagner for the ↗Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, and catalogued (WagHand Hss. or. sim. 5120f., 5134–37, 5139f.). Jomier (1967), who started but never completed the checklist of

the entire Arabic M. collection, provides useful observations on 16 M. of the IES.

The ↗National Archive and Library of Ethiopia (NALE) in Addis Abäba keeps a certain amount of Arabic M., amongst which is a Qurʾān, but we know neither the size nor the content of this collection (s. Bəzuwärq Täsfaye 2006:103).

Jomier (1967:292f.) also mentioned four or five Arabic M. which he managed to consult in the Ğāmiᶜ an-Nūr mosque in Dərre Dawa (including a copy of the *Ṭabaqāt* by the Yemeni Aḥmad aš-Šarğī [d. 893/1487] dated 993 H. [1585 A.D.]) and in Gimma (where he saw the Arabic M. owned by the *sulṭān* ↗Abbaa Ğoobir Abbaa Dulaa).

In Harär, the local Cultural Museum has several Arabic M. on display. However, no catalogue is available, and many of the M. are, in fact, only borrowed by the Museum for temporary exhibition (Pankhurst 1992:215, n. 4).

Harär, Wällo and Ğimma are to date the three Ethiopian regions where the copying and the spread of Arabic M. are relatively well documented – a reflection of the outstanding position of these regions in Islamic Ethiopia. Arabic M. are probably widely diffused in other Muslim areas as well (for some general data about the ↗Gurage land s. Drewes 1976).

In Eritrea, no publicly accessible collections of Arabic M. apparently exist, but local scholars and distinguished families have private libraries (for a general assessment s. FahLit 1–17). The National Museum in Asmära holds and exhibits several apparently old leather-bound M.

In Italy, there are two large collections of Arabic Islamic M. from Ethiopia, at the ↗Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (VatLib) and at the Biblioteca Civica "Carlo Bonetta" of Pavia.

The Vatican collection consists of the M. which Cerulli acquired in Somalia and Harär and donated to the Vatican library in 1963. Most of these he had previously published (CerStud I esp. 1–55, II esp. 1–37, Cerulli 1931, 1941, 1942, 1964 [all repr. in CerIslam], 1972). Only four Cerullian M. (Vat. ar. 1791–93, 1796) were catalogued by Levi Della Vida (1965:150–59). It is not clear whether Vat. ar. 1787 was found by Cerulli in Ethiopia or elsewhere: the content points to modern Ḥaḍramawt but it could also be one of the M. imported into Ethiopia (ibid. 146). The M. Vat. ar. 1799 (ibid. XX) came from the Maghreb and was found in ↗Bəčäna in southern Goğğam.

The Civic Library of Pavia has twelve Arabic M. which ↗Robecchi Bricchetti acquired in Harär in 1888–89, described in 1896 (131f.) and donated to the library in 1926. They were later mentioned by Gabrieli (1930:34), catalogued by Traini (1974:1–19) and, finally, briefly described by Vicini (1987:121f.) along with the entire Robecchi Bricchetti's ethnographic collection.

In Germany, Hans Martin ↗Schlobies collected 22 Arabic M. during his stay in Ethiopia (1925–28). They were originally kept at the Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Berlin with the scholar's entire bequest. After World War II they moved to the Akademie der Wissenschaften und Literatur in Mainz, where Maria ↗Höfner prepared a checklist of the collection, revised by Wagner (1952–53). Eventually, they returned to Berlin – first to the National library and finally to the Archiv der Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. All the Schlobies M., including the Arabic ones, were catalogued by Wagner (WagHand nos. 2, 30, 53–57, 85f., 91, 98f., 101f., 104f., 113, 141, 154–57, 161, 179f., 182, 190f., 196f.).

The ↗Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz owns 21 original Ethiopian Arabic M. (Hs. or. 10451–54, 10457–61, 10463f., 10466, 10468–76; s. WagHand 197 for his numbering) collected by Wagner during two stays in Harär in 1966 and in 1972; almost all have been published (Tedeschi in PICES 4; Wagner 1974a, 1974b, 1976, 1979, 1991). The library also has 15 copies of Arabic M. used by Wagner and Abdurahman Garad (1990): beside the five from the IES, there are three M. (Hs. or. sim. 5117–19) from the Lewis Somali Arabic collection at the London School of Economics (catalogued in Andrzejewski – Lewis 1994a:18f. [ms. 3], in EtRicci 5f. [ms. 4] and Lewis 1998 [ms. 27]); two (Hs. or. sim. 5132f.) from the VatLib (Vat. ar. 1793, 1796); and one (Hs. or. sim. 5138) from the ↗Bibliothéque Nationale de France (BN) in Paris (BN Arabe 4957). Two microfilms have been made for the Institut für Orientalistik of the University of Gießen (Film 21 = Hs. or. sim. 5139f., Film 39 = Hs. or. sim. 5132f.; s. WagHand 199).

The BN has six Ethiopian Arabic M., three in the general Arabic and three in d'↗Abbadie collection. The above-mentioned BN Arabe 4957, with several historiographic texts, was brought, probably in 1890, by ↗Paulitschke, who had got it from *amīr* ↗ᶜAbdullāhi b. Muḥammad in Harär in 1885, and catalogued by Blochet (1925:45). The two other manuscripts, BN Arabe 6118 (dated to 1193 H. [1779/80 A.D.]; Blochet 1925:190f.;

Ethiopian Arabic ms., incipit of the *ʿUnwān aš-šarīf* by Abū al-Ḥasan Nūraddīn ʿAlī b. Nāṣir; copied *Ḏū l-Qaʿda* 1353 [Feb. 1935 A.D.], probably in Belbelletti, by *šayḫ* ʿAbdalkarīm b. *šayḫ* Ṣiddīq b. *šayḫ* Ibrāhīm an-Nūrī; photo 2007, courtesy of Alessandro Gori

BrockGal S II, 569) and Arabe 6628 (Blochet 1925:321) contain the ↗*Futūḥ al-Ḥabaša*. The latter, brought from Šäwa by ↗Mondon-Vidailhet (ChMV XIII n. 1), was used by ↗Basset for his edition (BassHist VII). One of the M. of the d'Abbadie collection, d'Abb. 104 (s. d'Abbadie 1859:113f.; ChAbb 65f.; CRAbb 235, n. 246), also contains the *Futūḥ*. It was brought by Arnaud d'Abbadie together with two more copies of the same work which are now apparently missing. The other two d'Abbadie M. are d'Abb. 161 and d'Abb. 224 (d'Abbadie 1859:171f. and 218; ChAbb 97 and 129; CRAbb 107 and 236). The first is a mixed Ethiopic/Arabic M., the Arabic part of 94 pages containing the *Nuzhat al-malik wal-mamlūk fī muḫtaṣar sīrat man walā Miṣr min al-mulūk* by al-Ḥasan b. Abī Muḥammad ʿAbdallāh al-Ḥabašī, actually a version of the hagiography of *šayḫ* ↗Ḥusayn of Bale (Schneider 2006). The second contains the *Kitāb al-manqūš fī manāqib al-ḫubūš* by an-Nawawī (d. 1277; the name appears in catalogues as an-Nuwī or an-Nuwuwī), an abridged version of the famous *aṭ-Ṭirāz al-manqūš fī maḫāsin al-ḫubūš* by ↗Muḥammad al-Buḫārī al-Makkī.

The ↗British Library in London possesses a copy of the *Futūḥ* (BritLib Orient. 2409, also used by Basset; s. BassHist VI–VII; BrockGAL II, 410, where the manuscript is numbered Br. Mus. Suppl. 599) which was collected by Charles Gordon.

In Russia, the St. Petersburg branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences owns several Arabic and *ʿağamī* M. collected by Nikolaj Gumilev during his stays in Ethiopia in 1910–11 and 1913 (s. Dobronravin in PICES 15).

In Algiers, the National Library owns two copies of the *Futūḥ*. The first (n. 1628, previously n. 1732, Fagnan 1893:453) was acquired by Pierre Bardey in Harär and given to the library by his brother Alfred in 1883 (Guesdon 2006; Basset 1897:VI). The second (n. 1629, previously 1782a) is a copy of the first (*codex descriptus*).

Recently, some Arabic M. have been published in offset books in Ethiopia and spread through internal book markets. Sometimes different M. of the same text get published, a sign of the continuity of the tradition.

E.g., *al-Qaṣīda al-witrīya fī madḥ ḫayr al-barīya* by Mağdaddīn Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr al-Wāʿiẓ al-Baġdādī al-Witrī, with the *taḫmīs* by Muhammad b. ʿAbdalʿazīz al-Warrāq, copied by *šayḫ* ↗Hāšim b. ʿAbdalʿazīz of Harär in 1140 H. [1727/28], publ. by *al-ḥāǧǧ* Yūsuf ʿAbdarraḥmān, Addis Abäba 1386 H. [1966/67] (cp. Drewes 1983:70) in one book with the *taḫmīs* of *al-Qaṣīda Ibkār al-afkār fī madḥ an-nabī al-muḫtār* composed by the *Qaṣīda*'s author *al-qāḍī* Ǧamalāddīn ʿAbdalkarīm b. Dirġām aṭ-Ṭarāʾifī (d. 1448) and allegedly copied by Hāšim's brother *šayḫ* ʿUmar b. ʿAbdalʿazīz [?]; *al-Qaṣīda al-witrīya* with the *taḫmīs* copied by Ibrāhīm Muḥammad Wazīr in 1412 H. [1991 A.D.], publ. Addis Abäba n.d.); *al-Fatḥ ar-Raḥmānī* by *šayḫ* Hāšim, publ. by *al-ḥāǧǧ* Yūsuf ʿAbdarraḥmān ca. 1970; *ibid.* copied in 1386 H. [1976] by Ibrāhīm b. ʿUmar Sulaymān from the autograph kept in the *maqām* of *šayḫ* Hāšim in Harär, publ. by the copyist in *Muḥarram* 1401 H. [November 1980].

(2) Catalogues

The listings and descriptions (and sometimes editions) of Arabic M. from Ethiopia and Eritrea that have become known to this date are found in the following publications:

BOGUMIŁ W. ANDRZEJEWSKI – IOAN MYRRHDIN LEWIS, "New Arabic Documents from Somalia", *Sudanic Af-*

rica 5, 1994a, 39–54; IID., "New Arabic Documents from Somalia", in: *EtRicci* 1–15; IID., *New Arabic Documents from Somalia*, in: Lewis 1998, 141–53; BassHist; EMILE BLOCHET, *Bibliothèque Nationale Paris Catalogue des manuscrits arabes des nouvelles acquisitions (1884–1924)*, Paris 1925; CerStud I, II; ENRICO CERULLI, "Documenti arabi per la storia dell'Etiopia", *RRALm* ser. 6ª, 4, 2, 1931, 39–96 [repr. in: *CerIslam* 136–206]; ID., "Il sultanato dello Scioa nel secolo XIII secondo un nuovo documento storico", *RSE* 1, 1941, 5–42[repr. in: *CerIslam* 207–43]; ID., "Gli emiri di Harar dal secolo XVI alla conquista egiziana", *ibid.* 2, 1942, 2–18 [repr. in: *CerIslam* 365–82]; ID., "La fine dell'emirato di Harar in nuovi documenti storici", *Annali IUO* nuova ser. 14, 1964, 75–82 [repr. in: *CerIslam* 383–91]; ID., *Nuove ricerche sul Libro della Scala e la conoscenza dell'Islam in Occidente*, Città del Vaticano 1972 (Studi e Testi 271), 257f.; ChAbb; CRAbb; ABRAHAM JOHANNES DREWES, "The Library of Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-Shakūr, Sulṭān of Härär, 1272–92/1856–75", in: ROBIN LEONARD BIDWELL – G. REX SMITH (eds.), *Arabian and Islamic Studies: Articles presented to R.B. Serjeant on the Occasion of his Retirement*, London – New York 1983, 68–79; EDMOND FAGNAN, *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France, Départements*, vol. 18: *Alger*, Paris 1893; GIUSEPPE GABRIELI, *Manoscritti e carte orientali nelle Biblioteche e negli Archivi d'Italia*, Firenze 1930; ALESSANDRO GORI, *La Silloge di* šah *Zakkāryās*, Roma 2001 (= *Atti ANLin, Classe di Scienze Morali, Storiche e Filologiche, Memorie*, ser. 9ª, vol. 13, fasc. 4, 453–583); MARIE-GENEVIÈVE GUESDON, "Dix-sept manuscrits arabes rassemblés au Yémen et donnés à la Bibliothèque nationale de France par Pierre Bardey", *Chroniques Yémenites* 1, 2006 [online]; JACQUES JOMIER, "Notes sur quelques manuscrits arabes se trouvant en Ethiopie", *Mélanges de l'Institut Dominicain d'Études Orientales* 9, 1967, 287–97; GIORGIO LEVI DELLA VIDA, *Secondo elenco dei manoscritti arabi islamici della Biblioteca Vaticana*, Città del Vaticano 1965 (Studi e Testi 242); FahLit; RUDI PARET, "Eine fragwürdige arabische Chronik von Harar", in: *PICES* 4, vol. 1, 421–43; LUIGI ROBECCHI BRICCHETTI, *Nell'Harrar*, Milano 1896; MADELEINE SCHNEIDER, "Deux actes de donation en arabe", *AE* 8, 1970, 79–87; SALVATORE TEDESCHI, "L'emirato di Harar secondo un documento inedito", in: *PICES* 4, vol. 1, 481–500; RENATO TRAINI, *I manoscritti arabi esistenti nelle biblioteche di Pavia (collezione Robecchi Bricchetti)*, Roma 1974 (extract from *RANLmor* ser. 8ª, 28, 7–12, 1973); DONATA VICINI, "Luigi Robecchi Bricchetti, la nascita del museo etnografico pavese", *Pavia economica* 3, 1987, 113–23; EWALD WAGNER, "Eine Liste der Heiligen von Harar", *ZDMG* 123, 1973, 269–92; ID., "Three Arabic Documents on the History of Harar", *JES* 12, 1974a, 213–24; ID., "Genealogien aus Harar", *Der Islam* 51, 1974b, 97–117; ID., "Arabische Heiligenlieder aus Harar", *ZDMG* 125, 1975, 28–65; ID., "Die Chronologie der frühen muslimischen Herrscher in Äthiopien nach den Hadariner Emirslisten", in: BRIGITTA BENZING – OTTO BÖCHER – GÜNTER MAYER (eds.), *Wort und Wirklichkeit: Studien zur Afrikanistik und Orientalistik Eugen Ludwig Rapp zum 70. Geburtstag*, I, Meisenheim 1976, 186–204; ID., "Neues Material zur 'Ausa Chronik'", in: ULRICH HAARMANN – PETER BACHMANN (eds.), *Die Islamische Welt zwischen Mittelalter und Neuzeit. Festschrift für Hans Robert Roemer zum 65. Geburtstag*, Beirut 1979, 657–73 (Beiruter Texte und Studien 22); ID., "The Genealogy of the Later Walashmaʿ Sultans of ʿAdal and Harar", *ZDMG* 141, 1991, 376–86; WagHand; KURT WENDT, "Amharische Geschichte eines Emirs von Harar", *Orientalia* nova ser. 4, 1935, 484–501.

III. Ethiopian Arabic manuscript studies

A detailed analysis of the characteristics of Arabic M. can only be possible when more M. have been collected and properly catalogued, providing information on their exact location, origin, type, and content. The available data allows the following few observations.

(1) Codicology of Arabic manuscripts

Most of the Arabic M. in Ethiopia are relatively recent and all written on paper. No surely dated M. seems to be older than the 18th cent. (but s. Hussein Ahmed 1994:130 for a M. possibly copied in the 16th cent. and for a "biographical dictionary of famous *ʿulamāʾ* written in 1055 H. [1645]"; Pankhurst 1992:216 refers to an Arabic M. of the IES "apparently written in 986/1578–9"). IES 1854 has a colophon dated *Ḏū l-ḥiǧǧa* 1136 H. [Aug.–Sept. 1724]: however, the copyist (ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh al-Yamānī) is probably from Yemen, and the M. could also be of Yemenite origin. IES 310 is dated 112[3?]8 H., IES 258 (Harar 20) is a complete *muṣḥaf* copied in *Raǧab* 1141 H. [Jan.–Mar. 1729] (s. also Hussein Ahmed 1994:130). IES 311 was copied in *Ḏū l-ḥiǧǧa* 1186 H. [Feb.–Mar. 1773]: also in this case the copyist (*as-sayyid* ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAqīl b. ʿAbdallāh b. Abī Bakr as-Saqqāf) is of Ḥaḍramī origin. A marginal note points to the fact that the M. was purchased by *kabīr* Ibrāhīm b. Abā (sic!) Bakr (most probably a Harari) from Ibrāhīm Fallāṭ b. *ḥāǧǧ* Aḥmad for 3 *ašrāf* in *Rabīʿ al-awwal* 1187 H. [May–June 1773].

The size of Ethiopian Arabic M. can range from several pages to voluminous works that can include several texts (e.g., Pavia Robecchi Bricchetti 7; Vat. ar. 1791). Sometimes loose pages are inserted into a larger M., usually of the Qurʾān or Law books (e.g., Hs or. 10463, 10472). Such insertions are comparable to marginalia and *additiones* of longer M. (s. WagHand XV).

Purely Arabic works (whether local or foreign) can be sometimes copied in one and the same M. with texts in local languages written in Arabic script (*ʿaǧamī*). Hussein Ahmed (1994:129) mentions three mixed Arabic/Harari M. in the library of the IES (e.g., IES 276).

Bindings and covers of M. copied in Harär were studied by Pankhurst (1987, 1992) but no research has been done for other Islamic areas.

Argobba *ʿagamī* ms., religious pamphlet referring to the Argobba, attributed to Yūsuf Qanqe "Abba Assiya" (d. 1835), Bitaha/Wata, south-eastern Wällo; photo courtesy of Andreas Wetter

(2) Palaeography of Arabic manuscripts

So far one can only very tentatively try to assess some peculiarities of the ductus in Arabic Ethiopian M. In many recent M. (e.g., WagHand pl. 1) a very thick *nasḫī* ductus is characterized by sharply drawn letters with relatively short *kašīde*. The shape of letters is clear and wide with almost no extensions at the end of the line. The height hardly varies from letter to letter and the words are aligned on the same line, not even final *ʿayn* (ع), *ġayn* (غ), *qāf* (ق), *lām* (ل), *mīm* (م), *nūn* (ن) and *yāʾ* (ى), medial and final *rāʾ* (ر), *zāy* (ز) and *wāw* (و) extending below it. Though in some cases careless and clumsy, the writing style normally remains easily legible. It could be at least partially compared to the ductus of some Arabic M. of northern Somalia. In Ethiopia, this handwriting does not seem to be peculiar of a particular region but to be rather connected with the current use of the Arabic script.

In some recent M. from Wällo (e.g., IES 1897, 1954), letters are written in a regular *nasḫī*, with small and thin letters whose shapes are standardized; they look dry and sharp-edged. *Kašīde* is much reduced or almost non-existent. Words are placed uniformly on the line with very little variation in height. Final extensions under the line are very short in *ʿayn*, *ġayn*, *qāf*, *lām*, *mīm* and *yāʾ*, medial and final *rāʾ*, *zāy* and *wāw*, and are fully absent in *nūn*.

In other recently copied M. of theological content (e.g., IES 1895, 1929, probably from Addis Abäba) one finds a very small and thin *nasḫī*, characterized by regular letters with small *kašīde* and reduced final extensions. Lines are regular and bold, but when the hand is careless, the usually tidy ductus becomes hardly legible.

For the Harär area one can differentiate between more ancient and recent M. Whereas the recent M. show the same thick and clumsy *nasḫī* hand as in other regions (s. WagHand, 144 on Hs. or. sim. 5132 [= Vat. Ar. 1793]: "Mittelgroßes ungelenkes *nasḫī*"; s. also Levi Della Vida 1965:155: "Scrittura estremamente rozza e malformata"), older M. have a more careful calligraphy. In the above-mentioned M. copied by *šayḫ* Hāšim, we find a beautiful *nasḫī* of varying height, regular and well positioned along the lines with short *kašīde*, with some ornamental extensions in final *ʿayn*, *ġayn*, *qāf*, *lām*, *mīm*, *nūn*, and *yāʾ* and in medial and final *rāʾ*, *zāy* and *wāw*. Letters are accurately drawn and the bigger ones are almost monumentally elaborate. Some basic but significant ornament is added in the colophon. In the greater part of the 19th-cent. M. Vat. Ar. 1791, the *nasḫī* has small letters quite sharply drawn and cornered but also sometimes relatively thick. Final or medial and final extensions are very short and almost absent in final *nūn*. Words are placed very smoothly on the lines and the general impression one gets is of a "regular and quite accurate hand" (Levi Della Vida 1965:153). This handwriting is qualified by Levi Della Vida as "African type" (cp. also Traini 1973, passim, "*nasḫī* del tipo usato in Africa Orientale"). The style closely resembles that of central Somalia. The available data is not sufficient to discuss the relationships among different handwriting styles in the Horn of Africa. It is possible that some of the Ethiopian Arabic handwritings (just like the Somali ones) have been influenced by Yemenite patterns.

Src.: for bibliography on mss. catalogues and descriptions s. section II (2).

Lit.: ABDURAHMAN GARAD, *Harar: Wirtschaftsgeschichte eines Emirats im Horn von Afrika (1825–1875)*, Frankfurt am Main 1990; AHMED ZEKARIA, "Harari Manuscripts",

in: INSTITUTE OF ETHIOPIAN STUDIES (ed.), *Exhibition of Ethiopian Manuscripts from the Collection of the Institute of Ethiopian Studies*, Addis Ababa 1988, 34 and pl. 4; ID., "Some Notes on the Account-Book of amīr 'Abd Shakūr b. Yūsuf (1783–1794) of Harar", *Sudanic Africa* 8, 1997, 17–36; BƎZUWƏRQ TƏSFAYE, "Bäbəḥerawi betä mäzagəbtənna betä mäṣaḥəft dərəgg̈ət yämmiggäññäw yäṭəntawi ṣəḥufoččənna yämaykrofilm kəməčč̈ət" ('The Collection of Old Books and Microfilms in the National Library and Archives'), *Proceedings of the First International Symposium on Ethiopian Philology*, Department of Linguistics, Addis Ababa University 2006, 102–06; CARL BROCKELMANN, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*, Berlin – Leiden 1898–1942 (= BrockGAL); ROBERT BRUNSCHVIG, "L'Islam enseigné par Ḥāmid b. Ṣiddīq de Harar (XVIIIe siècle)", in: *PICES* 4, vol. 1, 445–54; NIKOLAJ DOBRONRAVIN, "Gumilev's Manuscript Collection (Harar and Jimma)", in: *PICES* 15, 569–71; ABRAHAM JOHANNES DREWES, "Classical Arabic in Central Ethiopia", *Oosters Genootschap in Nederland* 7, 1976, 169–98; GETATCHEW HAILE – EWALD WAGNER, "Die Geschichte Nūr b. Muǧāhids von Harar oder The History of Aẓe Zär'a Yaʿqob", *ZDMG* 139, 1983, 43–92; ALESSANDRO GORI, [review of Wagner 1999], *Aethiopica* 2, 1999, 250–57; HUSSEIN AHMED, "Introducing an Arabic Hagiography from Wallo", in: *PICES* 8, 185–97; ID., "The Life and Career of *shaykh* Ṭalḥa b. Jaʿfar (c. 1853–1936)", *JES* 22, 1989, 13–30 (also in: *PICES* 10, vol. 1, 567–76); ID., "Two Muslim Shrines in South Wollo", in: *Proceedings of the V Seminar of the Department of History*, Addis Ababa 1990, 61–74; ID., "Ethiopia", in: GEOFFREY ROPER (ed.), *World Survey of Islamic Manuscripts*, vol. 4, London 1994, 129–30; HusIslam; MURAD KAMIL, "Translations from Arabic in Ethiopic Literature", *Bulletin de la Société d'Archéologie Copte* 8, 1942, 61–71; OLGA KAPELIUK, [review of WagHand], *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 32, 1999, 520–21; MANFRED KROPP, "Arabisch–äthiopische Übersetzungstechnik am Beispiel der *Zena Ayhud* (*Yosippon*) und des *Tarikä Wäldä 'Amid*", *ZDMG* 138, 1986, 315–46; ID., [review of WagFath], *OrChr* 65, 1981, 229–31; IOAN M. LEWIS, *Saints and Somalis. Popular Islam in a Clan-Based Society*, Lawrenceville, NJ 1998; RICHARD PANKHURST, "The Manuscript Bindings of Harar. A Preliminary Description", *Azania* 22, 1987, 47–54; ID., "The Last Bookbinder of Harar and his Tools", *The Book Collector* 41, 1992, 215–19; MADELEINE SCHNEIDER, "Sur la route de Šayḫ Ḥusayn du Bale (Éthiopie méridionale): une inscription en Arabe", *Aethiopica* 9, 2006, 92–101; RAINER VOIGT, [review of WagHand], *AuÜ* 81, 1998, 145–46.

Alessandro Gori

Preparation of manuscripts

The art of producing M. is still alive in Ethiopia. M. are often higher valued than printed books, especially in the ecclesiastic circles. Most practices related to the production of M. may be rooted in very old traditions but our knowledge about it is limited due to lack of written sources and relatively late age of the oldest presently known M. (13th cent., with exception of the Gospels kept in ↗Ǝndä Abba Gärima). They include the preparation of ↗parchment and the manufacture of the tools involved, from ink and writing materials to tools used for bookbinding and, in the case of the illuminated M., paints and brushes (↗Painting: technical aspects). The procedures for each stage of the production are fixed by certain rules, of which some may even possess magical aspects, for instance, production of red ink, which under some circumstances can be used as eye medicine (cf. also the magic prayer for receiving good skills in calligraphy, ms. London, BritLib Orient. 12511, fols. 3v–4r).

The choice of skin depends on the size and character (religious or secular) of the intended M. Sheepskin and goatskin are most common, the pieces of high quality are said to be extracted from young goats of uniform hair colour. Sometimes skins of calves, horses and even wild animals (antelope, lion) can be used. Some of these may be considered unclean in the religious sense and not used for books intended for church services. For a ↗Psalter, the most commonly ordered M., about 20 sheep skins are needed. The preparation of parchment includes soaking and washing skin in fresh water, stretching it on a special wooden frame (*mäwwaṭäriya*, or *qänbär*, here and later, Amharic terminology being provided), made of four poles (*läbäq*) scraping and cleansing the piece from flesh with a curved knife (*mäqad/mäfaqiya karra*) and pumice (*märramämiya, märamämiya dəngay*), and finally drying it in the sun a couple of days. After that, the hair is removed with a kind of curved axe (*mäṭräbiya, məlačč̈*), the holes are patched, and the surface of skin gets the final treatment with clay (*mädmäṣ/mädmäṭ*) or sand (*hoṣa*) in order to prepare the pieces to absorb properly ink and paint. During the whole process, the tension of the skin is carefully checked and adjusted.

Before cutting of the parchment into pieces to be later folded in half, the required size of the new M. is estimated, and the corners of the sheets are pricked with an awl (*wäsfe/mäkfäčä*). The same tool and a ↗bamboo ruler are used to have margins, columns and lines for straight writing marked on the flesh side.

Black ink (*qäläm*), usually used for writing the main text, may be produced in many ways; its quality depends upon the composition of the ingredients (mainly soot and vegetable substances), the skill of the manufacturer and the time for its preparation: e.g., after mixing, the ingredients are stirred every day for several months. The best sort of ink should be lustrous and as black as charcoal. It could be kept many years in dried

Twin scribes, ill of a miracle of St. Mary, ms. *Tä'ammərä Maryam*, 18th cent., Aksum Ṣəyon (C2-IV-204), fol. 79r; photo 2000, courtesy of Michael Gervers

Most Ethiopian M. are in the form of a square codex. Their size varies from a few cm to over half a meter. Magic texts are frequently produced in the form of scrolls (↗Magic scrolls), always by specially trained ↗*däbtära*. For such short texts as ↗*Ləfafä ṣədq* or for series of pictures, a long strip of vellum folded like a concertina may be used (↗*Sənsul*). Other M. forms also occur: e.g., a Psalter cut in the shape of a cross once was in the possession of the ↗Kəbran Gäbrə'el monastery; a set of magical illustrations on an similarly cut parchment sheet is also known (ms. Paris, BN Eth. 451).

A quire in an Ethiopian codex is usually composed of five folded sheets but older M. tend to have only four. The quires are arranged in such a way that "flesh sides" of folios face "flesh sides", and "hair sides" face "hair sides" (the so-called Rule of Gregory). A single volume should not consist of more than 15–16 quires, otherwise it cannot be bound and is difficult to handle. The layout of many texts is established by tradition, and seldom abandoned. Thus, the psalms are always written in one column, the subsequent texts in two. The longer works are written in four columns, with small characters, and if necessary divided into several volumes (e.g., the ↗Old Testament appears in four parts, the ↗*Sənkəssar* in two).

The numbering of quires at the top left margin is generally used as guide line for binding, but it may be replaced by the last segment of text of the previous quire, which is rewritten at the beginning of the next one. The quires are sewn together with a thick thread or a string made of gut, without binding the spine. Two independent pairs of link-stitches join the quires together, connecting them directly to the covers. For covering, thick boards of hard ↗wood are used, most often of *wanza* tree (*Cordia Abyssinica*), but also eucalyptus, fig and juniper. Especially valuable M. are covered with reddish brown dyed and tooled leather, and occasionally decorated with silver bosses, rosettes and small crosses.

The stamps for tooling (*yämädägg^{w}əs ʿəqawočč*) provide many different designs, but seven are applied most often. Each has a name recalling its form: e.g., *qärnä bägʿu* ('ram's horn'),

blocks. Red ink, made of vegetable components, is used for headlines, punctuation marks, important words and proper names, esp. of God, St. ↗Mary, ↗saints etc. In recent years, scribes started using commercially produced red ink, which is of pinkish or purple hue. Ink in other colours is uncommon, even though M. with passages written in yellow, green and blue occur (e.g., the Gospel Book of *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II, London, BritLib Orient. 733, where on the first pages of each gospel four colours of ink are used). Rare examples of M. entirely written in green and blue inks belong to the d'Abbadie collection (Paris, BN d'Abbadie 196, 102). Writing in gold is mentioned in several texts (e.g., in the note of ms. Rome, ANL, Conti Rossini 25, on the chief scribe at the court of *aṣe* ↗Zär'a Yaʿəqob who had written the homilies on St. Mary in golden letters), but it might rather be a rhetoric feature, as there is no material evidence for such an ink to be used in Ethiopia. Yet, according to tradition, one M. written in gold is kept at ↗Amba Gəšän.

Usually, when writing, empty spaces were left for words to be inserted later highlighted in red; in a few cases, these lacunae were never filled (likewise, empty pages were left for miniatures).

As inkstands (*yäqäläm qänd*), goat, cow or antelope horns are used. Pens (*qäläm*; Gəʿəz: *bərʿ*) are made of dried reeds (*šämbäqqo*), quills and jasmine or asparagus stems, all properly cut and scraped, sometimes on both ends. The width of pen's nib depends upon the size of the characters, and is re-sharpened after about four pages of writing.

ʿaynä rəgəb ('dove's eye'), *mäsqäl* ('cross'). The patterns are arranged in a composition, the same on front and back sides of the cover. In case of religious books, it is usually a cross within a decorative frame. The inside of the cover, front and back, is often embellished with pieces of textile, sometimes even with a little mirror. The latter may suggest that the book belonged to a woman. Many M. are kept in a double leather-case with a strap (*maḫdär* and *dəfat*), to be either hung thereby for protection, or carried along slinged over the shoulders. Metal covers are extremely rare, and some of them seem to originate outside Ethiopia. The oldest ones known today belong to the ↗Gospels in ↗Ǝnda Abba Gärima and in ↗Däbrä Libanos near Ham.

The decoration system of M. includes the ornamentally treated punctuation marks and other signs dividing a text, the miniatures (↗Painting: miniature painting) and the ↗*ḫaräg*. Neither decorative initials nor marginal illustration exist in Ethiopian M.

The miniatures may be gathered at the beginning and at the end of the book, or inserted as frontpages to various sections of the text. A miniature usually occupies the entire page. Half-page and smaller miniatures appear in extensive cycles of illuminations with several hundreds of representations (so, e.g., the ↗*Nägärä Maryam* BritLib Or. ms. 607, with 260 miniatures). The place for illustrations are marked before writing the text.

Learning in M. production is usually a form of apprenticeship from a master that is reserved, in the first place, to students with eight years of traditional ↗education at least. The central skill is the calligraphy, but generally the aim is to enable a pupil to produce a complete M. on his own. The length of the training depends upon the teacher and the aptitude of the student, but usually takes between six months and two years. Painting of miniatures is mostly entrusted to specialists; their contributions, however, seem to have been little valued, since in colophons their names almost never appear alongside with those of the scribes.

Schools of calligraphy evolved around a few centres of traditional learning, with M. produced according to peculiar local styles, for illuminations as well (e.g., at ↗Gundä Gunde, ↗Ḥayq, ↗Gondär etc.).

In Ethiopia the manufacturing of a M. is time-consuming task. The entire process including writing and painting is carried out outside the house, without suitable furniture such as a desk or chair. Moreover it is tradition to work only in daylight. Judging from the notes which sometimes occur in colophons, the production of a large M. like the *Mäṣḥafä ↗ḥawi*, *↗Dəggʷa* or a *Sənkəssar* takes about one and a half years; a medium-sized M., like the Psalter, the Gospels or the *Mäṣḥafä ↗gənzät* might take half a year.

M. were seldom produced for commercial purposes, and for this reason never had a definite market price. The value of a M. depends on its size (i.e. the amount of parchment used), the type of binding and the number of the ornaments and miniatures. The general attitude is that a new copy is more valuable than an old one, but it does happen that old miniatures are transferred into new M.

The royal scriptorium established in Addis Abäba by *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II in 1911, to the aim of supplying the churches of the new capital with M., was re-organized by ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I. It remained active until the revolution, and a number of sumptuous religious M. it produced are still in use in Addis Abäba and its surroundings.

Src.: AbbCat 112, 114–18, 130f.; CRAbb 18–21, 47–50, 66–72; StrANL 89, no. 25; StrGriaule 78; StrBritLib 7; WrBriMus 34, 142; HamTana I, 84–91; JOHN MELLORS – ANNE PARSONS, *Ethiopian Bookmaking*, London 2002; ID., *Scribes of South Gondar*, London 2002; ID., "Manuscript and Book Production in South Gondar in the Twenty-First Century", in: *PICEA 6*, 185–99; interviews with the scribes: *liqä liqawənt* Gäbrä Mäsqal, Gondär 1993, *märigeta* Asfaw, Mäqälä 2006; *märigeta* Fälägätəhabo Aḥaduʿaläm, Aksum 2006; *mämhər* Gäbrä Ṣadəqan, Mändabba 2006.

Lit.: ASEFFA LIBAN, "Preparation of Parchment Manuscripts", *Bulletin of Ethnological Society, University College of Addis Ababa* 8, 1958, 5–21; EWA BALICKA-WITAKOWSKA, "Le psautier illustré de Belén Sägäd", in: RUDOLF ZEITLER (ed.), *Imagines Medievales. Studier i medeltida ikonografi, arkitektur, skulptur, måleri och konstverk*, Uppsala 1983, 1–46; ERNST BARTELT – ERNST HAMMERSCHMIDT, "Die Technik des Äthiopischen Handschrifteneinbandes", in: HERBERT FRANKE et al. (eds.), *Folia rara. Wolfgang Voigt LXV diem natalem celebranti ... dedicata*, Wiesbaden 1976 (VOHD Supplementband 19), 6–10; ALESSANDRO BAUSI, "Il testo, il supporto e la funzione: alcune osservazioni sul caso dell'Etiopia", in: *StudAeth* 7–22; MARCEL COHEN, "Sur la fabrication des livres manuscrits éthiopiens", *Groupe linguistique des études chamito-sémitiques. Comptes rendus* 5, 1948–51, 90–91; ERIC GODET, "La préparation du parchemin en Ethiopie", *Abbay* 11, 1980–82, 203–10; ID., "Une méthode traditionnelle de préparation de l'encre noir en Ethiopie", *ibid.* 211–18; HAILE GABRIEL DAGNE, "The Scriptorium at the Imperial Palace and the Manuscripts of Addis Ababa Churches", in: *PICES* 8, vol. 2, 215–24; INSTITUTE OF ETHIOPIAN STUDIES (ed.), *Exhibition of Ethiopian Manuscripts from the Collection of the Institute of Ethiopian Studies*, Addis Ababa 1988; PATRICIA IRWIN TOURNERIE,

Colour and Dye: Recipes of Ethiopia, London 1986; BENT JUEL-JENSEN, "Three Ethiopic Bindings" in: DENNIS E. RHODES (ed.), *Bookbindings and other Bibliophily Essays in Honour of Anthony Hobson*, Verona 1994, 185–91; JACQUES MERCIER, *Rouleaux magiques éthiopens*, Paris 1979, 15f., 32; DELIO VANIA PROVERBIO, "Un nuovo testimone etiopico della *Rivelazione di Pietro a Clemente*: il ms. 121 del Monumento Nazionale di Casamari (Veroli)", con Appendice di GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, *RRALm* ser. 9ª, 15, 2004 [2005], 665–93, here 666 n. 3 (Lit.); RICHARD PANKHURST, "Imported Textiles in Ethiopian Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century Manuscripts in Britain", *Azania* 15, 1980, 43–55; ID., "Imported Ethiopian Eighteenth Century Manuscripts in Britain", *ibid.* 16, 1981, 131–50; ID.,"Ethiopian Manuscript Bindings and Decoration", *Abbay* 12, 1983–84, 205–57; ID., "Imported Textiles in Early 19th Century Ethiopian Bindings", *QSE* 6–7, 1985–86, 105–14; ID., "An Ethiopian Binding with Silver Plaques, Crosses and Pins", *The Book Collector* 48, 1, 1999, 101–09; BERTHE VAN REGEMORTER, "Ethiopian Bookbindings", *The Library* 5, 17, 1962, 85–88; SERGEW HABLE SELLASIE, *Bookmaking in Ethiopia*, Leiden 1981; VERONIKA SIX, "Bemerkungen zur äußeren Form der Textgestaltung äthiopischer Handschriften", in: ALBRECHT WEZLER – ERNST HAMMERSCHMIDT (eds.), *Proceedings of the 32nd International Congress for Asian and North African Studies, Hamburg 25–30 August 1986*, Stuttgart 1992 (ZDMG Supplementa 9), 243–48; JANOS ALEXANDER SZIRMAI, *The Archaeology of Medieval Bookbinding*, Aldershot 1999, 45–50 ["The Ethiopian Codex"]; TAYE WOLDE MEDHIN, "La préparation traditionnelle des couleurs en Ethiopie", *Abbay* 11, 1980–82, 219–24; SIEGBERT UHLIG, "Ornamente und Marginalzeichen in den äthiopischen Handschriften. Ein Vergleich mit anderen semitischen und mit koptischen Codices", *BiOr* 41, 1984, 318–36.

Ewa Balicka-Witakowska

Mänz

M. (መንዝ; also Mənzəḥ, Mänzəḥəl) is a region in north-eastern ↗Šäwa. It is a remote and rugged, cool and windswept highland plateau with an elevation of ca. 3,100–3,600 m A.S.L., bounded by a mountain range in the east and cross-cut by steep river gorges (for location s. ↗Mähal Meda). The historical M. lies to the west of the ↗ʿAdal lowlands and north of ↗Tägulät (separated from it by the Mufär Wəha river). Sometimes Məhuy in Šäwa is seen as part of M. In the administrative division of ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I's reign, M. formed an *awraǧǧa* (later in combination with ↗Gəšše, with the capital in Mähal Meda). The natural border between M. and Gəšše is formed by the Qäčč̣əno (↗Wänč̣ət) river, a tributary of the Žämma (Adäbay). M. had three *wäräda*-subdistricts, Gera Mədər, Lalo Mədər and Mamma Mədər.

History of Mänz

The early history of M. is little known. Archaeological evidence suggests that the area was populated in the 1st millenium A.D. Tradition claims that the legendary last Aksumite king Anbäsa Wədəm fled to M. from ↗Aksum when it was sacked by ↗Ǝsato in the 10th cent. In the 14th cent. M. fought beside the neighbouring region of Zega on the side of ↗Ḥaqqaddīn b. Dalḥūy of ↗Ifat against *aṣe* ↗ʿAmdä Ṣəyon but submitted to the Christian Emperor during his war against ↗Ṣabraddīn b. Dalḥūy. In the 15th cent., *aṣe* ↗Zärʾa Yaʿəqob established a monastery at Fərkut(t)a in M. (today known as Kidanä Məḥrät). *Aṣe* ↗Bäʾədä Maryam I had his residence (↗*Kätäma*) at Məsḥalä Maryam in M. and had priests of M. officiate at his ↗coronation. He had a royal church built at Məsḥalä Maryam with the *tabot* of Lədätä Maryam (rededicated in the late 19th cent. to the archangel Rufaʾel). The late 16th–early 17th cent. *däğğazmač* ↗Faris was born in M. and killed while defending Amba Dayər in M., his base during his struggle against *aṣe* ↗Susənyos. The governors of M. in the time of Susənyos are reported to have had the title of *qaṣ* or *makbäb*.

Tradition has it that the three sub-districts of M. were named after three ↗*balabbats*, Gera, Lalo, and Mamma, who were appointed by the 16th-cent. emperor ↗Gälawdewos (or, according to other legends, by a Gondärine emperor in the 17th cent.) to settle their portions of land after the defeat of *imām* ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī Grañ, who devastated M. in 1531. Gera, the most powerful of the three lords, controlled the greater portion of northern M. Lalo Mədər was the central part, bordered by Afṭänät in the north, ↗Märḥabete in the west and ↗Gədəm in the east. Mamma Mədər was the southern part of M. The figures most probably had historical prototypes in the latter part of the 17th cent.

According to the ↗*Dərsanä Raguʾel, abetohun* "Yaʿ" (i.e. Yaʿəqob), the fourth son of ↗Ləbnä Dəngəl, sought refuge in M. during the wars of ("Grañ"). Tradition sees Yaʿəqob as the ancestor of two branches of the ↗Solomonic dynasty – of the Gondärine dynasty as a great-grandfather of *aṣe* Susənyos (via ↗Fasil Gäram) and of the Šäwan dynasty as the great-great-great-grandfather of the late 17th–early 18th cent. ↗Nägaśi Krəstos Wärädä Qal.

The most famous son of M., Nägaśi Krəstos came from the historical Aganča area in Gera Mədər. He expanded the original boundaries of the region by displacing the ↗Oromo to the south-east of M., founded numerous settlements and churches in the area. Finally, he became the

founder of the Šäwan ruling dynasty. The monastery at Fərkuta flourished during his time. He also founded the church of Kidanä Məḥrät in Aganča, one of the larger churches in M.

Nägaśi's successor ↗Səbəstyanos also ruled from M. Thereafter ↗Abbəyye, whose mother came from Mamma Mədər, moved his capital to ↗Ḥarr Amba but maintained close connections to the M. region. Fərkuta Kidanä Məḥrät served as a refuge for another Šäwan ruler of Nägaśi's line, *märədazmač* ↗Asfa Wäsän, in the late 18th cent. Zännäbä Wärq, the mother of another Nägaśi's descendant, ↗Śahlä Śəllase, was a native of Aganča. A *balabbat* of M., she had her capital in Sälla Dängiya, south of Molale in Lalo Mədər. *Ato* Bäzzabbəh "Abba Dəqər", *balabbat* of M. and the last governor (with the title of ↗*abägaz*) of Šäwa under *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II, had his stronghold in M., and it was in the vicinity of Amba Dayər that his troops fought those of the future *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II in 1864–65 and were defeated. *Ras* ↗Bäzzabbəh Täklä Haymanot was kept prisoner by Mənilək II on Mount ↗Afqära in Gera Mədər in 1905. Mənilək had also a palace and an armoury built on Afqära.

M. played an important role during the ↗Italian war 1935–36 and the subsequent occupation as the site of a fierce ↗resistance movement.

Cultural geography of Mänz

M. is considered one of the core ↗Amhara areas. It is traditionally seen by the Amhara as the place of their origin (**የአማራ ምንጭ**, *yäʾamara mənč̣*). M. has fertile soils which can yield three harvests per year when rainfall is ample. The climate is most temperate in the southern Mamma Mədər. However, agriculture is difficult since the plateau is cut by deep gorges and consists of distinctly articulated lower-level plateaux.

The Amhara peasant farmers live in scattered subsistence-based homesteads consisting of two- to three-generation extended families, where work roles, cultivating barley and husbanding sheep, are defined by gender and age. ↗Eucalyptus and ↗juniper adorn the compounds of homesteads and churches. Molale has a Saturday market where each week some 2,000 peasants gather from far and wide to trade in spices, cotton, livestock, eggs, milk, skins, metal utensils, clothing, cloth, blankets, and jewellery, and numerous other items of interest.

The material culture of the people of M., considered to be the "proper Amharic" one, is marked by some local features. The differences are partially due to the high altitude of M. and the resulting coldness of its climate. The standard ↗clothing in M. is thus the *banna*, a blanket made of locally produced sheep wool (unlike the cotton *šamma* worn by the other Amhara). Barley is used instead of *ṭef* to produce *ənǧära* (↗Bread). ↗Houses are built of stone rather than wattle so that they can resist the winds.

Traditional ↗healing and ↗magic rituals are frequently resorted to in M. and are in high esteem. In a remote place called Sägät, for example, a certain ↗*šəmagəlle* (elder) named Wäfa Läggäsä enjoyed as late as in the 1990s a great popularity, with people coming from afar for his healing, divination, and mediation skills. His authority was so great that it was compared by the locals to that of a feudal lord. He was said to "own" Sägät and was sanctioned as a community leader by the government. He was also said to have founded a church and a school.

Until the late 1960s the only forms of communication were a scraped mule track and a telephone line from Addis Abäba. In the mid-1990s the road to Molale was widened, and the first electricity lines were established.

The ↗Amharic language of M. has developed into a distinct dialect.

Christianity in Mänz

M. is an area with a share in the old tradition of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church. It has many legends related to the origins and spread of ↗Christianity in the region, offering one of the highest density of ↗churches and monasteries in the country.

There are traditions about a visit of St. Mary to M., particularly to the Afqära mountain. A variant, already in the ↗*Dərsanä Uraʾel*, narrates how Mamma Mədər was sanctified by the archangel Uriel who sprinkled Jesus's blood over the area while standing on the hill of Däbrä Qopros (cp. ↗Cyprus).

A holy man, ↗Yoḥannəs Məśraqawi, is credited with the actual Christianization of the area. The saint, traditionally referred to as the "apostle of Mänz", can be plausibly identified with Yoḥannəs of Kəlʾat, acting on behalf of *abunä* ↗Yaᶜəqob and *əčč̣äge* ↗Filəppos of Däbrä Libanos at the request of *aṣe* ↗ᶜAmda Ṣəyon ca. 1330. Oral traditions about "*əčč̣a* Yoḥannəs" in M. combine elements of the Vita of Yoḥannəs Məśraqawi with events of the time of ↗Iyasu I.

The Kidanä Məḥrät monastery at Fərkuta in Gera Mədər – indeed connected with the local accounts on "*əčča* Yoḥannəs" – is the most important Christian foundation. Today two large buildings are found in the monastery compound, one of them allegedly dating back to Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob's time and the other to the reign of *ləǧ* ↗Iyasu in the early 20th cent. Other important foundations of M. are the Kidanä Məḥrät church founded by Nägaśi and the two churches on Mount Afqära, one dedicated to St. Gabriel at its lower level and the other to the Trinity (Śəllase) at the top level. The Śəllase church is believed to have been founded during the time of *abunä* ↗Täklä Haymanot.

At the north-west boundary of M., in the district of Qaya Gäbrəᵓel, the Yällema Gädam lies, a *balä əǧǧ* (craftsmen's) monastery similar to those found elsewhere in northern Šäwa (cp. ↗Mugär Gädam; Məntək Gädam near ↗Lət Maräfiya). The inhabitants, male and female, produce ↗pottery and follow religious beliefs similar to those of the ↗Betä Ǝsraᵓel; they are sometimes referred to as the ↗Betä Abrəham.

Src.: AWTarik 66–69, 78; BassHist 282 and n. 2 (tr.); BTafA, s. index; GueCopMen 50, 53, 56, 95ff., s. index; HarAeth vol. 2, 341, vol. 3, 28f.; HuntAmdS 17, 54, 57, 131; IsKrapf 289ff., 299f., 306, 309; MahZekr 138f., 492, 496; PerChron 44, 74, 76 (text); PerrAmdS 14, 280; PerrZarY 116, 126, 151.

Lit.: CerLett 101ff.; EgeClass, s. index; GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, "Nota su Yoḥannes Meśrāqāwi", *Quaderni utinensi* 6 [11–12], 1988 [1991], 141–50 (Lit.); ID., "Aethiopica minima", *ibid.* 7 [13–14], 1989 [1993], 145–64, here 146f., 155ff. [II. Kelᵓat, Wagdā e Sarmāt]; HABTE MARIAM MARCOS et al., "Regional Variations in Amharic", *JES* 11, 1973, 113–29; BERTRAND HIRSCH – BERTRAND POISSONNIER, "Recherches historique et archéologiques à Meshalä Maryam (Mänz, Éthiopie)", *AE* 16, 2000, 59–87; BERTRAND HIRSCH – FRANÇOIS-XAVIER FAUVELLE-AYMAR, "L'Éthiopie médiévale. État des lieux et nouveaux éclairages", *Cahiers d'études africaines* 166, 2002, 315–35 (Lit.), esp. 319–26, 328f.; DONALD LEVINE, "On the History and Culture of Manz", in: *PICES* 2, 204–11; LevWax, s. index; HELEN PANKHURST, *Gender, Development and Identity: an Ethiopian Study*, London 1992; RONALD A. REMINICK, *The Manze Amhara of Ethiopia: a Study of Authority, Masculinity, and Sociality*, Ph.D. thesis, University of Chicago 1973; VOLKER STITZ, "Distribution and Foundation of Churches in Ethiopia", *JES* 13, 1, 1975, 11–36; TSTarik III, 20.

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Manẓūma

M. (Arab. منظومة, lit. 'put into poetic form'; Amh. መንዙማ, *mänzuma*) normally refers to a text conceived according to the metrical system of Classical ↗Arabic poetry (as opposed to a prose text, *naṯr*), *naẓm* being sometimes the word for the versified version of an already existing prose text. The word is also widely used to name poetry in local languages spoken by Muslim peoples and is used in most of Ethiopia to designate Islamic poetry in general. As M. poems are usually chanted, they can also be regarded a kind of religious ↗songs.

In Ethiopia, M. appeared first in Wällo, where, beginning with the late 18th cent., Sufi scholars introduced Sufi ↗Islam and established centres of Islamic scholarship. The advancement of M. was closely connected with the activities of the ↗Islamic brotherhoods. From Wällo it spread to other Muslim regions, like ↗Ǧimma, ↗Harär and the ↗Gurage region.

In classical Islamic tradition most M. are didactic in nature, explaining the fundamental notions of the faith. Also mystical topics are frequently dealt with in a M. composition. In Ethiopia most of M. are praise poems. The following topics are the most diffused: prayer for the Prophet ↗Muḥammad (*taṣliya*), praise of the Prophet (*madḥ an-nabī*), biography of the Prophet (*mawlid* and *miᶜrāǧ*) and praising of God (*ṯanāᵓ Allāh*). Berhanu Gebeyehu (1998) identified three different genres of Islamic poetry practiced in Wällo: *täwḥid* (Arab. *tawḥīd*), didactic poems which serve to teach the laymen; *madḥ*, descriptive and panegyric poems composed in praise of the Prophet Muḥammad and local saints (↗*Walī*); and *hayyä*, spontaneously improvised songs about various religious matters.

M. poems are primarily composed in ↗Amharic, although they also exist in ↗Oromiffa and other Ethiopian languages. For the Gurage area, for example, Drewes observed that in the ↗Səlṭi region texts in Amharic are "chanted more frequently than texts in Silṭi" (1976:185). In Harär, the term M. is often associated with the religious songs in Oromiffa, those in ↗Harari frequently being generically referred to as *zikri* (cp. ↗*ḏikr*). M. in local languages follow a metrical scheme, with the final rhyme. Arabic M. are also practiced among Ethiopian Muslims.

M. are performed orally but are often composed beforehand and written down in *ᶜağamī* (Amh. *ağäm*), i.e. Arabic script used for writing in non-Arabic languages. A characteristic feature is the use of many Arabic loan-words and phrases. The refrain sentence is most often an Arabic religious formula which can serve also as a title, even when the text itself is in a local language

(e.g., *Allahummä solli ala muhammädi imamul anbiya säydal mursälin* by *šayḫ* Ahmäd ᶜUmär; *Muhammäd räsuluhu* by Muḥammäd Awwäl Ḥamza).

M. is recited and performed during the month of ↗*Ramaḍān* as well as on the occasion of religious ↗feasts like *ᶜĪd al-aḍḥā*, *ᶜĪd al-fiṭr*, on ↗*mawlid* celebrations and during *ziyāra* (↗pilgrimage) to the shrines of local saints. Further occasions are *wädağa* rituals (Islamized traditional Oromo prayer ceremonies) and *ḥaḍra* meetings (Sufi gatherings for prayers and ecstatic *ḏikr* meditations) organized by individuals. There are different ways of performing M. Most frequently, M. are performed in *əngurguro* [cp. Amh. ↗*ʔingʷərgʷərro*, 'lamentation']) mode, when there is only one singer, sometimes supported by a chorus, but no accompaniment. Another mode is *dəbbe* M. (from *dəbbe*, 'drum'); it is accompanied by drums and clapping of hands. The singer(s) can remain seated or standing during the performance or also dance. The singing and dancing styles vary regionally.

M. tape recordings and CDs are quite popular and can be found in music shops all over the country. So far M. belongs to the least studied arts in Ethiopia.

↗Music

Lit.: ABRAHAM JOHANNES DREWES, "Classical Arabic in Central Ethiopia", *Oosters Genootschap in Nederland* 7, 1976, 169–98, here 185; BERHANU GEBEYEHU, *Islamic Oral Poetry in Wällo: a Preliminary Descriptive Analysis*, M.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1998; MOḤAMMÄD ĞAMAL, በውሎ፡ ክፍለሀገር፡ የሸ፡ ጫሊ፡ የመውሊድ፡ ግጥምች፡ መንዙማዎች፡ ትንታኔ፡ ከቅርጽና፡ ይዘት፡ አንፃር (*Bäwällo kəfläḥagär yäšä Ċali yämäwlid gəṭəmoċċ/mänzumawoċċ/ tənəttane käqərṣənna yəzät anṣar*, 'The *Mawlid*-Poems (*Manẓūma*) of Šä[yḫ] Ċali from the Wällo Province, Classification according to Form and Content'), Addis Abäba 1984 A.M. [1991/92 A.D.]; FahLit 57; ALULA PANKHURST, "Indigenising Islam in Wällo: *Ajäm*, Amharic Verse Written in Arabic Script", in: *PICES* 11, 257–73; WagHand 101.

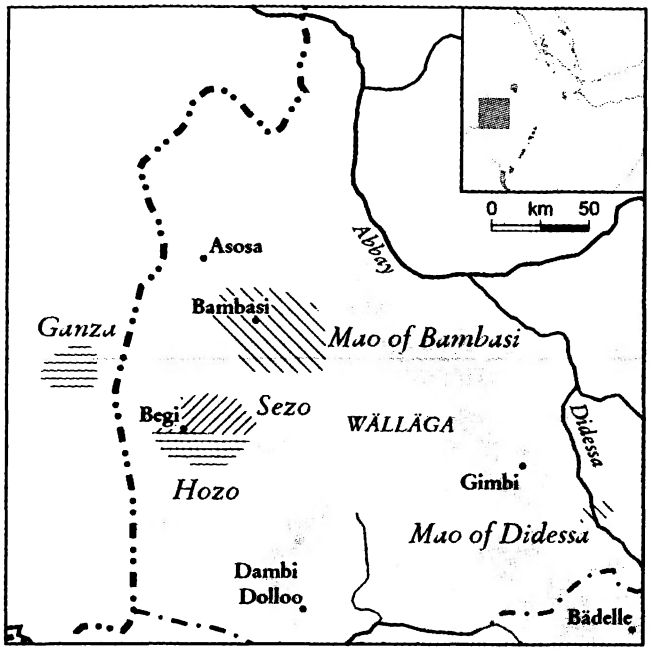
Andreas Wetter

Mao

M. language group is a distinct branch of ↗Omotic, which includes several languages in the western Ethiopian highlands and an outlier in the nearby Sudan. The exact position of M. within Omotic is still debated. Based on lexical correspondences, Bender (2003:286) suggests that the closest relative of M. is the *Ta/Ne* group, and that together they are further related to Dizoid. However, the morphological analyses by the same author (s. Bender 2000:202, 2003:299) led him to consider M. as the most divergent branch of Omotic. M. languages may be hybridized to an unusual degree. Fleming, however, disagrees with both of these conclusions. The difficulty is that we know little of the "substratum" of M. languages, i.e. what language(s) may have been spoken by the ancestors of the current M.-speaking peoples. Koman and ↗Gumuz are probably the substratum.

M. as a branch of Omotic was unknown until very recently. Before that, when it was mentioned at all, it was presumed to be a part of ↗Koman, the sub-phylum of ↗Nilo-Saharan which dominates the Sudan–Ethiopia borderlands. The situation was complicated by the fact that the term M. (derived from the word 'person', e.g., Hozo *maa*, pl. *maʷa*, s. Bender 2000:179) is applied to various linguistic and ethnic groups both by local people and by scholars. Notably, the term is used to refer to ↗Anfillo (s., e.g., Murdock 1959), also labelled "Southern M.", whereas "Northern M." is sometimes used as the name of M. language group and sometimes as the name of the Bambeshi Mao language. S.L.L.E. employs the term "Begi M." to refer to ↗Kwama (Siebert – Siebert – Wedekind 1993). Grottanelli 1940, a book length ethnography on a Gongan people, Anfillo, also contained considerable evidence on a M. language and suggested that M. was Koman. Bryan (1945:192) may have been the first to notice the relationship of M. to the *Ta/Ne* group. Bender gathered data on all the M. languages except Ganza in the 1970s, and he was the source of most of our information on M. until 1989, when Fleming recorded over 2,000 words and phrases in Didessa Mao. In his comparative work (1971) Bender was unable to shake off the perception that the M. were Koman, because of apparent cultural and "racial" similarities to the Koman, but as a linguist he could not include them in either Koman or Nilo-Saharan. Fleming, who just missed recording the M. data around Begi and Asosa in 1957 (while recording several Koman languages), realized that Grottanelli's data and Bender's were akin to each other and definitely not Koman. A process of elimination led to the realization that M. was related to North Omotic which he finally proposed formally (in PICES 7).

M. is divided into three different branches. 1) Bambeshi and Didessa (Didessa Aga) (↗Mao of Bambasi), spread in different communities



from just west of Naqamtee in Wälläga to near Asosa; number of speakers ca. 5,000 (Gordon 2005:113). 2) Cluster of ↗Hozo-Sezo; ca. 6,000 speakers (Gordon 2005:115, 118). The whole cluster is centered on the lower highlands of the western flanks of the Didessa. 3) Ganza (self-name: Gwami), spoken by ca. 5,400 people (Gordon 2005:115), is one language with no recorded internal diversity. First discovered by Reidhead and James, it is found nearby in Sudan in the hill country near the Ethiopian border, being the only Omotic language found outside of Ethiopia. A serviceable corpus of nearly 500 words and phrases has been recorded. There are many "divisions" in Ganza society, probably clans or lineages, but no evidence that they represent dialects. While distinctive for an Omotic language in having no borrowings from Amharic, it does have two from the Oromo language.

While the separation among the three clusters is clear in grammar and lexicon, and the separation is not recent, there is some indication that – lexically – Ganza is a little closer to the Hozo-Sezo cluster than it is to the Bambeshi-Didessa branch; it is also closer to Hozo-Sezo geographically.

For the reconstruction of M. consonantal system, s. Fleming (in PICES 9) and Bender (2003:295f.). Bender also reconstructs a vocalic system of five vowels, *i*, *e*, *a*, *o*, *u* (ibid.).

As genuinely autochthonous in Wälläga as Koman, M. has doubtless shared genes and words with Koman for many millennia. As a repository of old ↗Afro-Asiatic linguistic features, M. bids fair to be sitting in the original Afrasian homeland (its western highland branch). Detailed bio-genetic study of the several M. groups is urgently needed.

Src.: author's own data; field notes of M. Lionel Bender – Atieb Ahmed Dafallah 1974; RAYMOND G. GORDON (ed.), *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*, Dallas, TX [15]2005, 113.

Lit.: M. LIONEL BENDER, "The Languages of Ethiopia", *Anthropological Linguistics* 13, 5, 1971, 165–288; ID., *Comparative Morphology of the Omotic Languages*, München 2000 (Lincom Studies in African Linguistics 19), 179–93; ID., *Omotic Lexicon and Phonology*, Carbondale, IL 2003, 266–98; MARGARET A. BRYAN, "A Linguistic No-Man's Land", *Africa* 15, 4, 1945, 188–205; HAROLD C. FLEMING, "The Importance of Mao in Ethiopian History", in: *PICES 7*, 31–38; ID., "Mao's Ancestor. Consonant Phonemes of Proto-Mao. Stage One", in: *PICES* 9, vol. 5, 35–44; VINIGI LORENZO GROTTANELLI, *I Mao*, Roma 1940 (Centro di studi per l'Africa Orientale Italiana: Missione Etnografica nel Uollega Occidentale 1); WENDY JAMES, *Ganza*, ms. 1965; GEORGE PETER MURDOCK, *Africa: its Peoples and their Cultural History*, New York – Toronto – London 1959; PARIS W. REIDHEAD, *Note on the Ganza Language: a Preliminary Descriptive Analysis*, Melut 1947; RALPH SIEBERT – KATI SIEBERT – KLAUS WEDEKIND, "Survey on Languages of the Asosa-Begi-Komosah Area", *S.L.L.E.* Linguistic Reports 11, 1993, 1–22.

Harold C. Fleming – Red.

Mao ethnography

The term M. (Ma^{w}o; Ma^{w} in Hozo, Ma^{y} in Sezo; in the Sudan also Mau) is an ethnic denomination for several different, sometimes interconnected groups in western Ethiopia, mainly near the Sudanese border areas of ↗Wälläga and ↗Illubabor (in today's Benišangul-Gumuz *kəllə́l* and Gambella *kəllə́l*). Several M. groups are ↗Omotic speakers, others speak languages belonging to the ↗Nilo-Saharan language family. (For discussion of the different M. languages, s. the entries on the languages ↗Anfillo, ↗Kwama, ↗Mao of Bambasi, cluster ↗Hozo-Sezo, language groups ↗Koman and ↗Mao.) The term "M." is mainly used by the western Oromo for all "indigenous" peoples especially of western Wälläga "who accept to any degree a measure of association with the Oromo" (James 1981:29). The term M. itself must originally be Omotic and is given to different, sometimes unrelated groups. The only common feature of all M. groups seems to be that they were once vassal groups of the ↗Anfillo Kingdom and later entered into similar vassal relationships with the Oromo and Berta.

Meaning and usage of the term

It is possible that the term M. is a remnant of an older ethno-political interconnection, e.g., within the framework of the larger Anfillo Kingdom in

Wälläga and its vassal groups, which existed until the mid-19th cent.: "The Kingdom of Anfillo ... [was] based upon an opposition of Busase rulers and Mao subjects ... it seems likely that the subject category 'Mao' was introduced among the indigenous people of Wallega; and that many of them in acquiescing to Kaffa [i.e. Busase] rule became assimilated to this category, when they had not necessarily been 'Mao' before" (James 1981:29). It may, however, also simply originally be a term which was coined by linguistically related groups, but independently from each other. The term seems to be related to the words for 'people' in the Omotic Hozo-Sezo dialect cluster (*maʷ* in Hozo and *maʸ* in Sezo).

The two main M. groups – both sometimes referring to themselves as "M." – are (1) the Omotic speaking Anfillo, remnants of the dominating ethnic group of the Anfillo Kingdom (s. Tesema Ta'a 1980; Moges Yigezu 1995), and (2) the M. north of them, near the town of Begi. The name "Southern M." has been coined for the Anfillo, in distinction from the M. of the Begi area, the "Northern M.". The Northern M. are a cluster of several, linguistically and culturally closely related Omotic-speaking groups, mainly consisting of the Hozo and Sezo, who call themselves collectively the *Beg-mawa* ('M. of Begi'). In the case of Anfillo, the term M. has two meanings – it is often applied to the whole Anfillo group today, but originally it seems to have been used only for the group conquered by the leading classes of the Anfillo, the Busase, who once migrated there in about the 17th cent. These subdued M. are considered in oral tradition the original inhabitants of the country (CerPeople 87). M. families were connected with specific families of the Anfillo nobility as serfs or slaves; the nobility recruited individual M. as serfs for their households and sold others as slaves. At the same time the Anfillo leaders provided the M. protection against raids from others (ibid. 88). The M. of Anfillo do not have their own clan names, but adapt the clan names of their respective patrons, and they also do not know their original language, and differ only by sociolect (ibid. 91).

A third group sometimes called M. are the Kwama of Illubabor, whose language belongs to the Koman language group (Nilo-Saharan). In the *S.L.L.E.* they are listed as "Begi M.", as they live in the Begi area, i.e. the area of the Northern M. (their core area seems to have been Mount Banga area, near Begi). Therefore the Kwama are sometimes also subsumed in academic discourse under the term Northern M. (Zelealem Leyew 2005). In fact, the Kwama near the Begi plateau are called M. by the Oromo and accept the term themselves, while those living in the mountainous Banga area do not, they are being called Koma or similar.

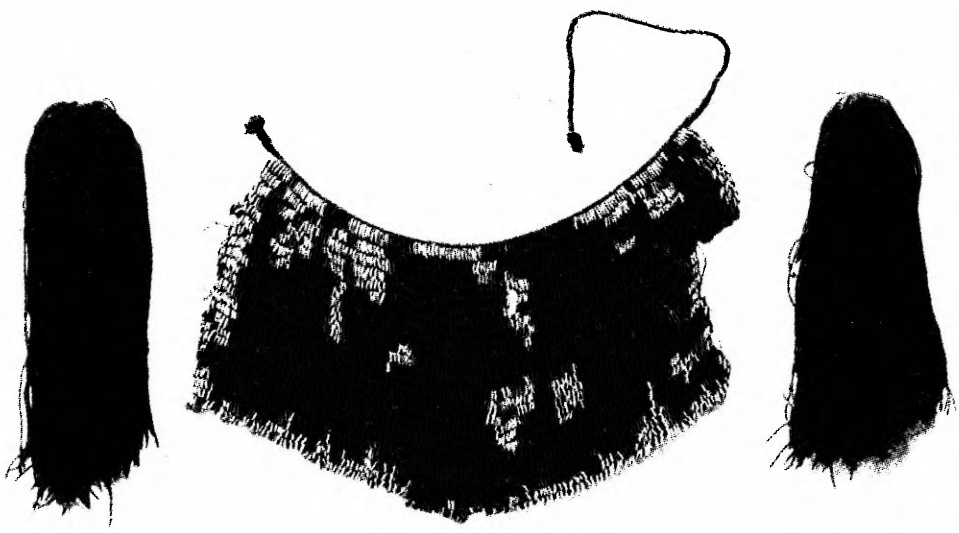
A group culturally linked to the Kwama (but, unlike them, speaking an Omotic language belonging to the Mao language group), and related to the Hozo, are the Ganza, also known as M. (or even, erroneously, "Kwama"), living south of the Berta. Some smaller M. groups, also related to the "Northern M.", whose exact historical and cultural relations to the Hozo and Sezo (Hozo-Sezo) are not yet established, also live in western Wälläga: the Bambasi M. and the Didessa M. (near the ↗Didessa river of Wälläga). These two Omotic-speaking groups are, together with the above-mentioned Ganza M. further in the south, collectively called the "Omotic M." by linguists. It can be supposed that all these smaller M. groups descend from the same M. group. Their languages constitute a separate genetic unit within Omotic, which suggests their common origin. This again suggests that the original language of these groups (in the Begi area) was Omotic, not Nilo-Saharan. The culturally related Koman-speaking group of Kwama would then have adopted their Nilo-Saharan language from other Koman-speakers through a language shift; it is, however, more likely that there was originally no relationship between M. and Kwama. The term "M." would then just express a social hierarchy.

After their subjugation, i.e. about the 17th cent., the "Southern M." Anfillo population has allegedly (CerPeople 87) shifted from a Nilo-Saharan to an Omotic language – which is, however, more distantly related to the Omotic languages spoken by the other "Omotic M.". This would suggest that their genealogical relation to the Northern M. would be extremely remote, if there is any. It is more probable that they were coined "M." in expression of their status of dependence, adopting the term already in use for diverse other groups in the region.

For the ethnography and history of the Southern M., s. the entry Anfillo.

The Northern Mao: Ethnography and history

The groups belonging to the Northern M. (here including the "Omotic M.") are culturally and linguistically interrelated, but separated from



Example of an egg-shell costume of Mao in southern Ethiopia; from Montandon 1913:329

each other by a long history of migrations. The Hozo and Sezo (also Seze), or *Beg-mawa*, are the main groups of the Northern M. In older sources they are also known under the more general term Amam (used by Arabs and Berta, referring to the Northern M. with the Kwama). They and other related groups such as the Ganza and the Bambasi M. live in settlements scattered over a large area. Due to their close connection with the Oromo, the *lingua franca* used by Hozo and Sezo is Oromiffa.

The Hozo and Sezo live in areas north of the former Anfillo Kingdom, to which they were connected as vassals, at least loosely, over a long time; the Kingdom reached up to the Didessa. The hill Gara Mao near ↗Dambi Dolloo is a witness of the formerly wider expansion of the M. (Bahru Zewde 1970:3; also called Tulluu Mao, CerPeople 104). After the decline of this kingdom in the mid-19th cent. most Northern M. partially depended on the ↗*waṭāwīt* rulers of ↗Beni Šangul (these in turn became tributary to the Sudanese ↗Mahdists in the 1880s). In the late 19th cent. the expanding Oromo *mooti* ↗Ǧootee Tulluu of Wälläga allegedly reached as far as Begi, making the area tributary at least for a short time (cp. Bahru Zewde 1970:11f.). In the late 19th cent. the most Northern M. were effectively included into Ethiopia, as dependencies of *šayḫ* ↗Ḫʷağalī of Beni-Šangul.

Within these realms the term M. was connoted with a rather low status (a connotation also linked with the term Amam). The ethnographer Georges ↗Montandon in the early 20th cent. reported that many M. were captured as slaves and sold in ↗Gore in Illubabor (Montandon 1913:332) and other slave markets (↗Slavery); also the traveller Juan Maria ↗Schuver mentioned plans of slave raiding, by a Leeqa Oromo chief with the help of submitted Dinka, "Amam" and Koma in 1881/82 (ed. James et al. 1996:161f.).

In ethnographic literature the "M.", mostly meaning the Hozo and Sezo, are mentioned from time to time, but no major research has been carried out among them (except Grottanelli 1940). Among the first to give ethnographic descriptions of the M. around the "Amam plateau" was Schuver in the early 1880s. A speciality of these M. was the production and wearing of fine waistcloth made of slivered ostrich eggshells joined together by threads (Montandon 1913:329, 331f., s. ill.). The northern M., including the Ganza, practice sister-exchange marriage (James, field notes 1967) and have no form of bridewealth payment. When a young man wishes to marry, his family will stipulate an agreement with the family of the bride, exchanging a girl from the groom's family against the bride. There is a number of avoidance rules; the pregnant wife will not inform her husband about the pregnancy, but a female neighbour. The consumption of any kind of meat is not subjected to taboos, different from the neighbouring Oromo (e.g., hippopotamus or pork may be consumed). Their socio-political organization is polycephalous; 19th cent. reports suggest a high degree of social stability and absence of political hierarchy, the chiefs exercising a rather advisory role.

The Sezo live in a small enclave near the village of Begi in the Beni Šangul/Gumuz *kəlləl*. The Hozo live south of them, in ca. 50 villages between the rivers Dabbus and Daka. Each group numbers ca. 3,000 (Gordon 2005:115, 118). Their neighbours to the west are the Kwama, to the north, south and east the Oromo (ibid. 698). The region remained quite closed to Europeans until well into the 20th cent. In the 1930s Begi belonged to the Province of Beni Šangul under the governorship of *šayḫ* Ḫʷağalī. In that period the

American Protestant Mission (↗Sudan Interior Mission) of Dambi Dolloo, 20 hours of mule journey away, extended their activities as far as Begi, their medical doctor Maxwell coming there once in a year (ZerÉth 333); it is not reported, however, whether these activities led to conversions to Protestantism.

The Ganza, linguistically closely related to the Hozo and Sezo (Ruhlen 1987:322), live in an enclave near Mount Banga (also Manga; Shinn – Ofcansky 2004:177). They are first mentioned as "Gonza", a group of the "Amam", in Schuver's report of the early 1880s (ed. James et al. 1996:149), living in a border region outside the control of Egypt. In Ethiopia the ethnic group numbered 6,291 in 2000 (with 5,400 speakers in 2004; Gordon 2005:115). Their neighbours are the Berta in the west and south, the ↗Šinašša in the north, the Gumuz in the east, and Oromo in the south (Gordon 2005:698; s. also ↗Qubba). There are Ganza on both sides of the Ethiopian-Sudanese border. In the Sudan they live in the Blue Nile Province, south of the river Yabus (below Begi also called Yal), north of Dota, and are sometimes subsumed under the Gumuz (Gordon 2005:191). Here, the Ganza's neighbours to the north are ↗Uduk, a few ↗Komo and Berta, Mabaan to the west, Kwama to the east, and ↗Opuuo and Komo to the south.

The Bambasi M. (also Bambeši), linguistically also related to the Hozo and the Sezo, live in villages in the Dabbus area north of the Sezo, near Bambasi town, in the Beni Šangul/Gumuz *kəllə̀l* and numbered, together with the Didessa M., about 5,000 in 1982 (Gordon 2005:113, 698). In the 1880s they were tributary to a Berta *šayḫ*, thus being a dependency of Beni Šangul (Schuver, ed. James et al. 1996:150f.). Their houses are of a cylindrical shape. Except their own language (the Mao of Bambasi), many speak Oromiffa and sometimes Arabic, due to their proximity to the Sudan. Their socio-political organization is based on a system of exogamous clans. The Bambasi M. are polycephalous; the only recognized authority are the leaders of each clan. Their belief system is based on the concept of a sky god, Yere (or Yereṣi), who lives in "a serene heaven" (Shinn – Ofcansky 2004:58). In the past, the Bambasi M. were also a dependency of *šayḫ* Ḫʷağalī of Beni Šangul.

The Didessa M. (Oromo: Ḍiḍeessaa), speaking a dialect close to the Mao of Bambasi, live near the Didessa valley. Before the conquest by Ethiopia in the late 19th cent., this valley belonged to the Oromo kingdom of ↗Guummaa (Montandon 1913:356). In the 20th cent. tributary relations to the Oromo continued, and Oromo chiefs represented the local non-Oromo population in all contacts with the Ethiopian leadership (cp. Haberland 1954:142).

Src.: personal communication from Käbbädä Hordofa, Addis Abäba, April 2004; field notes of Wendy James 1967; field notes of Günther Schlee, *Tagebuch Äthiopien/ Ethiopian Diary 2001/2002*, 34ff., 44, 51–55; AbbGeogr, passim; BTafA 164ff., 881; JULES BORELLI, *Éthiopie méridionale, journal de mon voyage aux pays Amhara, Oromo et Sidama, septembre 1885 à novembre 1888*, Paris 1890; ANTONIO CECCHI, *Fünf Jahre in Ostafrika, Reisen durch die südlichen Grenzländer Abessiniens von Zeila bis Kaffa*, Leipzig 1888, 485ff. (tr. of CecZeila); *Guida* 81; JUAN MARIA SCHUVER, *Reisen im oberen Nilgebiet*, Gotha 1883 [Engl. tr. by WENDY JAMES – GERD BAUMANN – DOUGLAS H. JOHNSON, *Juan Maria Schuver's Travels in North-East Africa, 1880–83*, London 1996 (Hakluyt Society 2nd ser. 184)]; MasMis vol. 5, 20–56; GEORGES MONTANDON, *Au pays Ghimirra; récit de mon voyage à travers le massif éthiopien (1909–1911)*, Neuchâtel 1913, 329 (ill.), 330–32, 356.

Lit.: BAHRU ZEWDE, *Dejasmach Jote Tulu (1855–1918)*, Essay, Department of History, Haile Selassie I University 1970, 3, 5, 11f.; LAMBERT BARTELS, "Studies of the Galla in Wälläga", *JES* 8, 1, 1970, 135–60; FRIEDRICH BIEBER, *Kaffa: ein altkuschitisches Volkstum in Inner-Afrika*, Münster 1920, 69, 128, 149, 153, 158; CerEt vol. 2, 87–91 ["Gli Anfillo ed i Mao ed il loro ordinamento politico"], 104; CerPeople 13; LIDIO CIPRIANI, "Sui Berta, Coma e Mao dell'ovest etiopico", *RSE* 2, 3, 1942, 273–76; HAROLD FLEMING, "The Importance of Mao in Ethiopian History", in: *PICES* 7, 31–38; RAYMOND G. GORDON (ed.), *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*, Dallas, TX [15]2005, 113, 115f., 118, 191, 698; VINIGI LORENZO GROTTANELLI, *I Mao*, Roma 1940 (Centro di studi per l'Africa Orientale Italiana: Missione Etnografica nel Uollega Occidentale 1); ID., "Gli Scinascia del Nilo Azzuro ed alcuni lessici poco noti della loro lingua", *RSE* 1, 3, 1941, 234–70; EIKE HABERLAND, "Über einen unbekannten Gunza-Stamm in Wallegga", *ibid.* 12, 1953 [1954], 139–48; HabKön 223; WENDY JAMES, "Ethnic Terms and Ambiguities on the Sudan-Ethiopian Border", *Journal of Research on North East Africa* 1, 1, summer 1981, 16–31; EAD., *Kwanim pa. The Making of the Uduk People: an Ethnographic Study of Survival in the Sudan-Ethiopian Borderland*, Oxford 1979; EAD., *The Listening Ebony: Moral, Knowledge and Power among the Uduk of Sudan*, Oxford 1999, 357; BLANDENA LEE KOSSODO, *Die Frau in Afrika, Zwischen Tradition und Befreiung*, Gütersloh n.d. [ca. 1980], 87, 165; MOGES YIGEZU, "Dying Twice – The Case of Anfillo Languages", *AAP* 43, 1995, 67–95 (Lit.); MERRIT RUHLEN, *A Guide to the World's Languages*, vol. 1: *Classification*, Stanford 1987, 322; DAVID H. SHINN – THOMAS P. OFCANSKY, *Historical Dictionary of Ethiopia, New Edition*, Lanham – Toronto – Oxford 2004, 58, 177, 211, 353; RALPH SIEBERT – KLAUS WEDEKIND – CHARLOTTE WEDEKIND, "Third S.L.L.E. Survey on Languages of the Begi/Asosa Area", *S.L.L.E. Linguistic Reports* 15, 1994; TERREFE WOLDETSADIK, "The Unification of Ethiopia (1880–1935):

Wälläga", *JES* 6, 1, 1968, 73–86; TESEMA TA'A, *The Oromo of Wälläga*, M.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1980; ZELEALEM LEYEW, "Gwama: a Little-Known Endangered Language of Ethiopia", *Ethiopian Languages Research Center Working Papers* 1, 1, 2005, 1–52; ZerEth 333.

Wolbert Smidt

Mao of Bambasi

M. (Bambasi-Mao, Bambasi, Northern Mao) is a language spoken by a group of people living around Bambasi in the Beni Šangul/Gumuz Regional State; another variety of the same language is spoken near the ↗Didessa river in Oromiyaa, and is referred to as Mao of Didessa (for location s. Mao language group). M., together with Mao of Didessa, is called Mao language (or Bambasi-Mao, to avoid confusion with other languages spoken by various ↗Mao peoples); it belongs to the ↗Mao language group, a branch of ↗Omotic.

The consonant phonemes of the variety spoken in the Bambasi area include *b, p, d, t, g, k, ṗ, ṭ, s, q, ʾ, ǧ, č, z, ž, f, s, š, h, m, n, ñ, l, r, w, y*. It has five short vowel phonemes: *i, u, e, o, a* (which has an unstressed variant *ä*) with long counterparts: *kúusu*, 'ten' vs. *kúsu*, 'approached'; *šiiká*, 'together' vs. *šiká*, 'spread out'. Tone is also phonemic with two levels: *bitá*, 'wine' vs. *bíta*, 'was'.

The syllabic structure is (C)(C)V(V)(C). Word initial clusters are restricted to two members, of which the first is *t*, *k*, or *š* and the second is a glide, e.g. *šwama*, 'brain'; *kwela*, 'cooked'. Other sequences of two consonants are possible in medial position only.

Nearly all nouns, adjectives and verbs are bisyllabic, with high tone on their first syllable in nouns and adjectives, e.g. *síta*, 'pepper'; *zánka*, 'red'.

Nouns show inflections for number, case and definiteness. Plural is marked by the suffix *-ola* for nouns: 'horse' *wora* (sg.) – *waro-la* (pl.), and by reduplication for adjectives: 'tall' *kwaṣṣa* (sg.) – *kwaṣṣ-kwaṣṣa* (pl.). Nominative, accusative and genitive cases are marked by *-š*, *-na* and *-n* respectively. All other semantic cases are expressed by postpositions. Indefiniteness is unmarked. The definite article is a prefix *iš-*: *piš-(ola)*, 'child-(pl.)' vs. *iš-piš-(ola)*, 'the child-(pl.)'.

Personal pronouns are based on the roots *ti-* (1st pers. sg.), *hi-* (2nd pers. sg.) and *ʾi-* (3rd pers. sg.). Fem. gender is indicated by the suffixes *-ša* (2nd pers. sg.) and *-šeš* (3rd pers. sg.). The plural forms are *ham-* (1 pers.), *haw-* (2nd pers.) and *ʾišk-ola* (3rd pers.).

Pronouns occur with the copular enclitics *-yä* and *-tä* which render the existential meaning 'I am', 'you are', etc.

Demonstratives are based on the roots *naʾ-* and *geeš-*: 'this' *naʾa* (sg.) – *naʾ-ola* (pl.); 'that' *geeša* (sg.) – *geeš-ola* (pl.). Their locative counterparts are *nata*, 'here' and *geešata*, 'there'. Interrogatives include *ki-ya*, 'who'; *kiñña*, 'whose'; *kums-ya*, 'what'; *kumsiñña*, 'whose'; *ʾind-ata*, 'where' and *naa-ta*, 'when' (*-ya* and *-(a)ta* are copula).

The numeral system is five-based: the numerals from six to ten are based on the form *ki-* of *ki-ssíi*, 'five', e.g., *kúteezä*, 'eight' (from *ki-*, 'five' and *téezä*, 'three', with vowel dissimilation). Ordinal numerals are marked by *-inge*, e.g. *iški*, 'one' vs. *išk-inge*, 'first'. In phrases, the ordinal suffix is attached to the noun head: *meṣa*$_1$ *awa*$_2$ 'four$_1$ days$_2$' – *meṣa*$_1$ *aw-inge*$_2$ 'the fourth$_1$ day$_2$'.

Verbs show the pronominal bases *ti-* (1st pers. sg.), *hi-* (2nd pers. sg.), *ʾi-* (3rd pers. sg.). Perfective aspect is marked by suffix *-a*: *hi-š-ṣol-a* 'drink (2nd pers. sg. fem. perf.)'. Tense is expressed by auxiliaries: *kump-* 'break', *kump-iža* (present), *kump gamša* (future), *kump-a* (past), *kump-iya* (present perfect), *kump bit bite* (past perfect). The imperative markers are *-ii* for sg. and *-wa* for pl.: 'wash!' *buṣ-ii* (sg.) – *buṣ-wa* (pl.). Negation is marked by *-wa-* in verbs and by *-pa* in copulas: *kump-wa-*, 'not break'; *tin-pa-ya*, 'It is not mine'.

The passive is derived with the suffix *-eq-*: *penq-*, 'chop' – *penq-eq-*, 'be chopped'. Direct and indirect causatives are formed with a prefix *taš-* and a suffix *-sisa* respectively: *buṣa*, 'wash' – *taš-buṣa*, 'make someone wash something' – *buṣ-sisa*, 'cause someone to make someone else wash something'. Reciprocal forms are derived with a suffix *-mund-*: *kazz-*, 'insult' – *ham-kazz-munda*, 'we insult each other'. Iteratives are formed by means of total reduplication: *qir-* 'cut' – *qirqira* 'cut into pieces/repeatedly'. Benefactive and malefactive forms are derived with *-na-* and *-kil-* respectively: *ti-na-šan-*, 'buy for my benefit' – *ti-kil-šan*, 'buy for my detriment'.

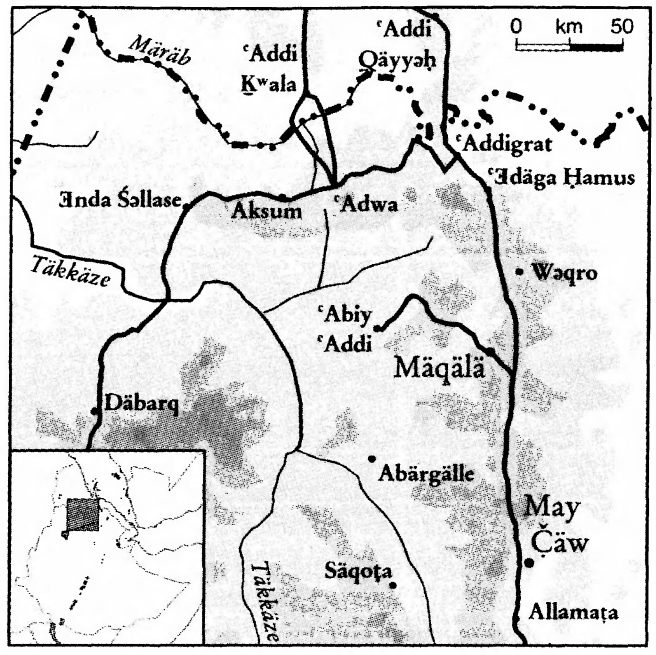
Clauses are verb-final, and all phrases are head-final, e.g. Adverb – Complement – Verb: *kwallas*$_1$ *hambil*$_2$ *ʾi-šan-a*$_3$, 'He bought$_3$ yesterday$_1$ a camel$_2$'; Adjective – Noun: *keemit*$_1$ *keeṭa*$_2$, 'big$_1$ house$_2$'. With more modifiers, the order is: Demonstrative – Relative clause – Adjective – Noun: *geešš-iš*$_1$ *šanq-iš*$_2$ *ʾi-šan-it*$_3$ *woora*$_4$, 'that$_1$ horse$_4$ that Shank$_2$ bought$_3$'. Subordinate clauses precede main clauses: *qom-es-iš*$_1$ *ʾi-heeq-itt-iš*$_2$

sonṣ-ol-iš$_3$ *keeṭ*$_4$ *šan-and-a*$_5$, 'After the old man$_1$ died$_2$, the children$_3$ bought$_5$ a house$_4$'.

The ten-word list is as follows: *íški* 'one', *numbu* 'two', *teezä* 'three', *kámä* 'fire', *haaṣä* 'water', *awtokä* 'sun', *ʾáánsä* 'moon', *hándä* 'blood', *ánṣílä* 'tongue', *ààṣä* 'tooth'.

Lit.: M. LIONEL BENDER, *Comparative Morphology of the Omotic Languages*, München 2000 (Lincom Studies in African Linguistics 19), 179–93; ID., *Omotic Lexicon and Phonology*, Carbondale, IL 2003, 266–98; HAROLD C. FLEMING, "The Importance of Mao in Ethiopian History", in: *PICES* 7, 31–38; ID., "Mao's Ancestor. Consonant Phonemes of Proto-Mao. Stage One", in: *PICES* 9, vol. 5, 35–44; RALPH SIEBERT – KATI SIEBERT – KLAUS WEDEKIND, "Survey on Languages of the Asosa-Begi-Komosah Area", *S.L.L.E.* Linguistic Reports 11, 1993, 1–22; IID., "Sociolinguistic Survey Report on Languages of the Asosa – Begi – Komosha Area. Part I", *SIL Electronic Survey Reports* 2002–054, 2002.

Baye Yimam



Mäqälä

M. (መቐለ, Amh. Mäqälle, መቀሌ; 13° 29' N, 39° 28' E), formerly the capital of ↗Ǝndärta *awraǧǧa* in ↗Təgray, is today the capital city of Təgray National Regional State. It is linked by all-weather roads to ↗Addis Abäba and ↗Aksum, and has an airport, Ras Alula Aba Nega International Airport.

M. lies at an elevation of 2,254 m A.S.L. (at the airport), close to the edge of the northern portion of the Ethiopian Rift Valley, on a Jurassic limestone plateau, in a semi-arid area with a mean annual rainfall of 715 mm. Except for a moderately dense eucalyptus cover on the hills in the eastern edges of M. and some exotic species of trees and shrubs lining the streets, the surrounding landscape is almost treeless.

M. is believed to have evolved from a 13th-cent. hamlet called Ǝnda Mäsqäl (later Ǝnda Mädḫane ʿAläm), becoming a town by the early 19th cent. (Medhane Taddesse 1995:III), when *ras* ↗Wäldä Śəllase of Ǝndärta made Ḥəntalo (↗Anṭalo) his seat of power, and the region of M. (40 km to the north) his recreational centre (Taddäsä Səkkʷar 2000/01:16; cp. Valentia 1967:117). In the tax records of *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II, M. appears as a tributary district within Ǝndärta with a ↗*nägarit* of its own (Germaselassie Asfaw – Pankhurst 1979:81).

The credit for M.'s growth into a regional capital goes to *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV who made M. political capital of his expanding state. He must have chosen the place for its strategic proximity both to rich agricultural areas (of ↗Rayya Azäbo) and to the ʿAfar ↗salt country. M.'s position on the route to Šäwa, the power base of Yoḥannəs's main rival Mənilək could have been another factor (cp. ZewYohan 67, 82). Three institutions still important for modern M. were founded by Yoḥannəs: the grand palace at Mäʿem Anbäsa ('quarter [cage] of ↗lions'), built in 1882–84 by his architect Giacomo ↗Naretti, together with the engineer Ǝngədašät Schimper and still forming the nucleus of the city, the large market, ʿƎdaga Sänuy ('Monday Market', s. ZewYohan 44, 369) and the church, at Däbrä Gännät Mädḫane ʿAläm, built after the return from Rayya Azäbo campaign in 1871; ↗Arʾaya Śəllase was buried there (BTafY 95, 121ff.). In the 1880s, M. became the Emperor's capital city. Among the factors that further accelerated M.'s growth and ↗urbanization were the establishment of residential quarters by the "nobility" and court servants, the prominence of the ↗*amole* salt market and the subsequent establishment of local and foreign trading and occupational communities, and M.'s strategic position as a transit centre for commodities of the long-distance trade routes of north eastern Ethiopia, attached to the Red Sea ports, and to northern and central Ethiopia. By establishing a market in M., Yoḥannəs could draw on the northern trade routes as well as the salt caravan routes to the town, capitalizing on his political leverage (Medhane Taddesse 1995:27).

The succession of *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II of Šäwa signalled a trading reorientation from northern to southern Ethiopia (centred in Šäwa). The new capital Addis Abäba quickly outstripped M.,

View of Mäqälä before the mid-1930s with the palace of *aṣe* Yoḥannəs IV in the background; from Wencker-Wildberg 1935, illustration annex, ill. no. 33

which, however, retained its political importance as the district and regional administration centre of Ǝndärta (or Eastern Təgray) and Təgray respectively through the 20th cent., and its economical role in the Ethiopian salt trade.

During the ↗Italian War of 1895–96, M. became an important site in the conflict. After the fall of ᶜAdwa in spring 1895, *ras* ↗Mängäša Yoḥannəs retreated from his father's capital M. following the advice of *aṣe* Mənilək II. M. was occupied by the Italians without a shot and integrated into the Colonia ↗Eritrea; from here the Italians extended their occupation south, up to ↗Ambalage. The Italian army established their fort near the Ǝnda Iyäsus church above M. in October 1895. After the re-occupation of Ambalage in late 1895, the fort was besieged by Ethiopian troops, who cut the Italians' water supply. When the Italians surrendered in January 1896, Mənilək allowed them to retreat to their stronghold ↗ᶜAddigrat, probably hoping to prevent an escalation of the conflict, and he appointed his own governor over Ǝndärta at M., *däğğazmač* Tädla Abba Gubän, in order to check the rebellious Təgrayan princes (ErlAlula² 194).

Three historical epochs sustained M.'s urbanization in the 20th cent. The first was the advent of *däğğazmač* ↗Abrəha Arᵓaya Dəmṣu, governor of Eastern Təgray with M. as his capital. Abrəha imitated his cousin Yoḥannəs by establishing his own splendid palace (now the Hotel called Abrəha Castle) on a hill facing the grand palace, a new Saturday Market (ᶜƎdaga Sänbät), and a new church, Śəllase, all of which were situated to the south of M. proper. Likewise, he attracted various occupational groups including Muslim traders, women service vendors, and army retainers. Consequently, in the 1920s and early 1930s, M. witnessed a remarkable growth in trade (Medhane Taddesse 1995:44f.) *Däğğazmač* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase Gugsa renovated the Palace in the centre to use it as his seat. There were about 5,000 inhabitants in 1935.

The second phase occurred during the Italian occupation (1936–41). The Italians, who occupied the town in November 1935, contributed considerably to the modernization of M. They built a military airport and a fort at Ǝnda Iyäsus (now main compound of M. University); reorganized roads, telephone lines, offices and residences; and installed modern water pipelines, electricity, clinics, postal services, cinema hall and resort/sport centres. They also expanded ᶜƎdaga Sänuy market by introducing corrugated iron shops. This also attracted foreign entrepreneurs (Greeks, Arabs and Armenians). M., then divided into two zones: Italian and Native, grew about twice its former size. In 1938 there were about 12,000 inhabitants (Guida 302f.). Starting from May 1943, M. was in the hands of the leaders of the ↗Wäyyane uprising against the then weak restored Ḫaylä Śəllase I government. The following British air bombardment of the town of September–October heavily damaged the town; on 14 October 1943 M. was recaptured by the Ethiopian government forces (Gilkes 1975:18, 189f.).

The third phase in M.'s urban development took place mainly during 1942–74. Modern urban sectors were diversified, and new administrative offices were established. The M. municipality (founded 1942), telecommunications and post office, Commercial Bank and the Aṣe Yoḥannəs Elementary and Secondary School (1952, 1960) were established. The first master plan was issued in 1962. Small-scale enterprises such as oil refineries, soap mills, leather and caning bags, costumes and flour mills were set up up to 1974.

Most of the industrial establishments, however, either declined, degraded or closed during the 1974–91 wars.

M. has grown rapidly since 1991. In 1984 it had 61,583 inhabitants, in 1994, 96,938 (96.5% being Təgrəññña-speakers), and in 2006, 169,200, i.e. 4% of the population of Təgray. M. is 2.6 times larger than ↗ᶜAddigrat, the second regional centre. It is the fifth largest city in Ethiopia, after Addis Abäba, Dərre Dawa, Adaama, and Gondär.

The largest proportion of the population of M. depends on government employment, commerce and small-scale enterprises. M. now has new engineering, cement and textile factories, producing for the local and foreign market. There is a rising University, which developed out of the pre-1991 Arid Agricultural College, and about a dozen other governmental and private colleges.

Src.: BTafY 95, 121ff.; DAVID BUXTON, *Travels in Ethiopia*, London 1949, 119; CENTRAL STATISTICAL AUTHORITY (ed.), *1994 National Census of Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 1994; GueCopMen 253 n. 2, pls. XXIII, XXXII, s. index; *Guida* 302f.; GIRMASELASSIE ASFAW – RICHARD PANKHURST, *Tax Records of and Inventories of Emperor Tewodros of Ethiopia, 1855–1868*, London 1979, 81; VICO MONTEGAZZA, *Gl'Italiani in Africa: l'assedio di Macallè*, Firenze 1896; FRANCIS HARRISON SMITH, *Through Abyssinia: an Envoy's Ride to the King of Zion*, London 1890, 227-32; ALBERTO SBACCHI – GINO VERNETTO (eds.), *Giacomo Naretti alla corte del negus Giovanni IV d'Etiopia: Diari 1856–1881*, Ivrea 2004; GIAN CARLO STELLA, *Dall'Alta Val Tanaro ad Adua. Vita del Tenente Colonello Giuseppe Galliano*, Ceva 2004; GEORGE ANNESLEY VISCOUNT VALENTIA, *Voyages and Travels to India, the Red Sea, Abyssinia and Egypt in the years 1802–1806*, vol. 2, London 1809 [repr. 1967], 117.

Lit.: ErlAlula², s. index; PATRICK GILKES, *The Dying Lion: Feodalism and Modernisation in Ethiopia*, London 1975, 180, 188ff.; MEDHANE TADDESSE, *Salt, Trade and Urbanization: the Story of Mäqälä Town, 1872–1935*, M.A. thesis, Department of History, Addis Ababa University 1995; MockWar 65, 83, s. index; PankHist II, 120–24 and s. index (Lit.); TADDÄSÄ SƎKKʷAR, የመቀሌ፡ ከተማ፡ አመሰራረ ትና፡ እድገት (*Yämäqälle kätämä ammäsärarätənna ədgät*, 'Foundation and Growth of Mäqälä Town'), Mäqälä 1993 A.M. [2000/01 A.D.]; FRIEDRICH WENCKER-WILDBERG, *Abessinien, das Pulverfass Afrikas*, Düsseldorf 1935, ill. no. 33 (ill.); ZewYohan 44, 67, 82, 369, s. index.

Yohannes Aberra – Tsegay Berhe Gebrelibanos

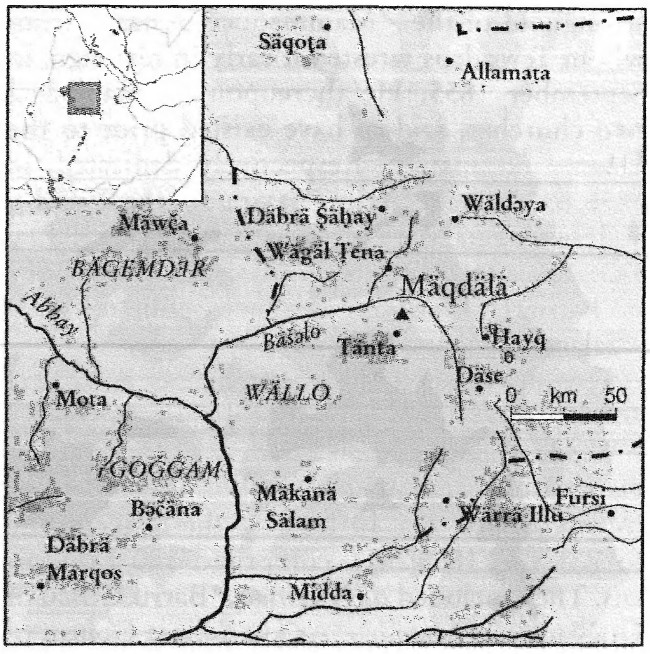
Mäqdäla

M. (መቅደላ) is a 2,777 m A.S.L. high flat-topped mountain (↗*Amba*) and seasonal settlement in Wällo, which will ever be associated with *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II. *Aṣe* Susənyos spent a rainy season there early in the 17th cent. (PerChron vol. 2, 58). Later, it was occupied by neighbouring Oromo, and was especially important as a stronghold of the ↗Mämmädočč dynasty, from whom Tewodros wrested it early in his reign, in September 1855. He thereupon re-established two churches, said to have existed prior to the Oromo occupation. Respectively dedicated, in 1856, to Mädḫane ᶜAläm ('Saviour of the World'), and Ǝgziᵓətənä Maryam ('Our Lady Mary'), they were consecrated by the visiting Egyptian Coptic Patriarch Cyril and the metropolitan *abunä* ↗Sälama (MonVidTheo 70).

Tewodros visited M. early in his career on several occasions and, according to his chronicler ↗Wäldä Maryam, soon established the place as his treasury and prison for political detainees (MonVidTheo 22). In his day these, according to Rassam (1869:261), comprised 180 Ethiopians. They included *däğğazmač* ↗Bərru Goššu of Goğğam; *däğğazmač* ↗Arᵓaya Śəllase Dəmṣu of Təgray; ↗Mənilək, the future king of Šäwa, and his uncle ↗Darge Śahlä Śəllase; Färis Ali of Wällo [*däğğazmač* Färis Aligaz?]; *wag šum* Täfäri of Lasta [Ḥagos Täfäri?]; and *käntiba* Ḫaylu of Gondär. The foreigners included the British Consul, ↗Cameron; Queen Victoria's special envoy, ↗Rassam; the Protestant missionary ↗Stern; and over 20 other adult Europeans, plus several children. Henry Blanc estimated the "native" prisoners at "not less than 660" (1868:211; for a list of Ethiopian and European captives released in 1868 s. Holland – Hozier 1870:48f., 80f.).

M., all observers agree, was an almost impregnable natural fortress (PankHist II, 81f.). Blanc calls it "one of the strongest" in the country: its approach was "difficult on account of the deep ascent and narrow precipitous ravines" separating it from the Bäšəlo and Ǧidda rivers and Wällo tableland (Blanc 1868:205, 207). The fortress complex formed part of a vast mountain massif which consisted of two major cones: Śəllase, the site of the church of that name, and M. which stood to the south. These heights were joined by a narrow strip of somewhat lower land called Ǝslamge, which was also connected by a saddle to ↗Fala, a smaller hill west of Śəllase. The citadel's mountainous defences were reinforced by stonework, which, though "rudely constructed", was "as well designed", as if built by "the best engineer of Europe or America" (Stanley 1874:460).

The M. palace, which stood in the centre of the *amba*, was a large two-storey rectangular building with an outside staircase and thatched roof. When there, Tewodros preferred, however, to hold court in a nearby tent. Separated from the



palace by an open field stood the sheds of the granary, the treasury-cum-arsenal and Mädḫane ᶜAläm church. The latter was a conventionally-designed round thatched building, but without wall-paintings. Though smaller than churches in many other capitals, it was still sizable: it was surmounted by a "glittering cross" and possessed over a thousand Gəᶜəz mss. which Tewodros had taken from churches in Gondär and elsewhere (Pankhurst 1973:15–42). There were also many other thatched round houses of various sizes, which covered almost the entire area within the fort. Those of the principal chiefs were clustered together in a single large fenced enclosure. To the south, the prison comprised two circular houses, likewise within a thorn fence (PankHist II, 81–86). The settlement had a "permanent" population of 3,000, but this increased to over 30,000 when Tewodros and his army were present (Markham 1869:359, 364 and maps p. 315; Holland – Hozier 1870:36, 52; Rassam 1869:311).

M. was the site of the historic confrontation between Tewodros and the British expedition led by Sir Robert ↗Napier. The citadel of M. fell to the British on 13 April 1868, when Tewodros committed suicide to avoid capture. Napier's victorious troops thereupon "dispersed all over the amba in search of plunder" (Markham 1869:359). This included two ↗crowns; the icon of the ↗*Kʷərʾatä rəʾəsu*, or effigy of Christ with the Crown of Thorns carried by the Ethiopian army on campaign; ten altar slabs (↗*Tabot*); numerous processional and other ↗crosses; two marquee-type tents; a number of royal cloaks and shields; several of the Emperor's letters to nobles and others; and just over one thousand mss. Most of this booty was transported on 15 elephants and almost 200 mules to the Dälanta plain, where it was sold at a two-day auction on 20 and 21 April to raise "prize money" for the troops. Many other items were, on the other hand, kept by individual soldiers, and still ocassionally appear in sales catalogues.

After his victory, Napier found it difficult to dispose of M. He proposed giving it to *wag šum* Gobaze (later *aṣe* ↗Täklä Giyorgis II), who declined to accept it. The British commander thereupon ordered the settlement's destruction "as a mark of the anger of the British at the ill treatment of their countrymen, as well as their abhorrence of the cruelties which Theodore had committed there" (Holland – Hozier 1870:77). M. was accordingly put to the flames on 17 April (Markham 1869:367f.). The British then began their march home. They did this in accordance with a promise, made to *däğğazmač* Kaśa, the ruler of Təgray (later *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV), and to the Ottoman Porte, that Britain would withdraw from Ethiopia as soon as the dispute with Tewodros was settled.

Before leaving, the British gave 600 looted mss. to churches in Təgray and took the remaining 400 back to Britain, together with the crowns, *tabots*, and other booty. Most of these articles were deposited in the British Museum (↗British Library) and the Victoria and Albert Museum. Other M. mss. were acquired by the ↗Bodleian Library in Oxford, Cambridge University Library, the Royal Library in Windsor Castle, as well as other British libraries. Their arrival led to considerable European scholarly interest in Ethiopian literature. Ten mss. were published and/or translated into English by ↗Budge, several of them in facsimile. Other artefacts, however, attracted little interest. A ms. of the ↗*Kəbrä nägäśt* was subsequently returned to *aṣe* Yoḥannəs IV, a royal crown to Empress ↗Zäwditu, and a seal and cap to Emperor ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I. Other returned items of loot were given to the ↗Institute of Ethiopian Studies Museum and the Ethiopian National Museum. The *Kʷərʾatä rəʾəsu*, despite a request by *aṣe* Yoḥannəs for its repatriation, remained in private possession abroad (Pankhurst 1979). Demands for the return of other loot have been voiced by an Addis Abäba and Edinburgh-based society, the AFROMET (Association for the Return of Ethiopian Maqdala Treasures), founded in 1999.

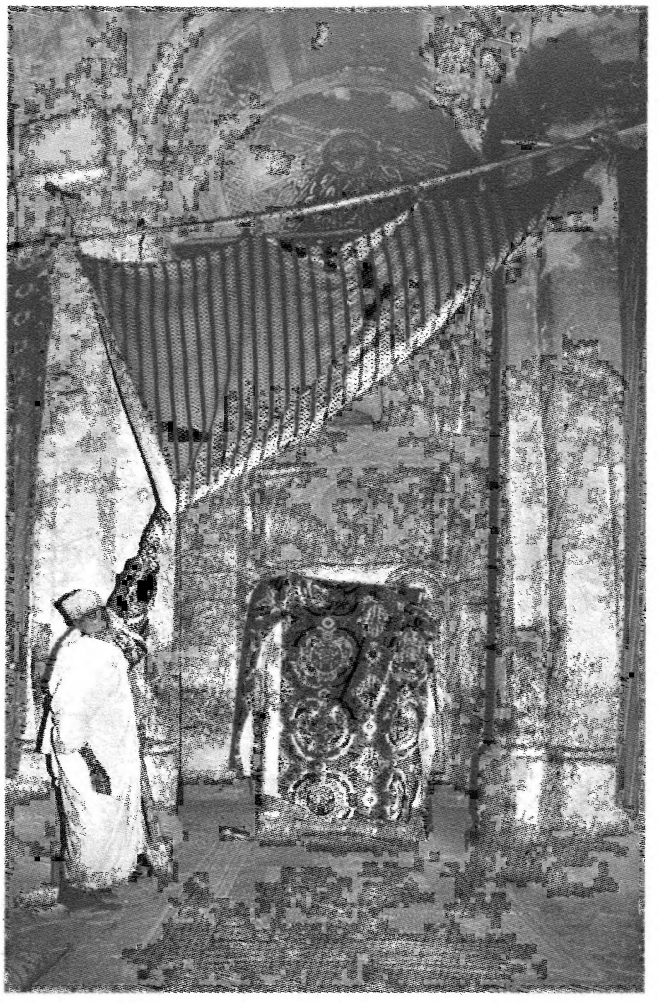
Src.: HENRY BLANC, *A Narrative of Captivity in Abyssinia*, London 1868, 205, 207, 211; TREVENON JAMES HOLLAND – HENRY MONTAGUE HOZIER, *Record of the Expedition to Abyssinia*, vol. 2, London 1870, 36, 48f., 52, 77, 80f.; CLEMENTS MARKHAM, *A History of the Abyssinian Expedition*, London 1869, 315, 359, 364, 367f.; MonVidTheo 22, 70; PankHist II 81–86; PerChron vol. 2, 58; HORMUZD RASSAM, *Narrative of the British Mission to Theodore, King of Abyssinia*, vol. 2, London 1869, 261, 311; HENRY MORTON STANLEY, *Coomassie and Magdala: the Story of Two British Campaigns in Africa*, London 1874; WrBriMus.

Lit.: [memorandum from AFROMET] in: GREAT BRITAIN, HOUSE OF COMMONS (ed.), *Culture, Media and Sport Committee, 7th report, appendix*, London 2000, vol. 3, 354–58; RICHARD PANKHURST, "The Kwerᶜata Reʾesu: The History of an Ethiopian Icon", *Abba Salama* 10, 1979, 169–87; ID., "Detached Ethiopian Illustrated Manuscript Folios from Maqdala", in: WALTER RAUNIG – ASFA WOSSEN ASSERATE, *Orbis Aethiopicus, Beiträge zu Geschichte, Religion und Kunst Äthiopiens*, Band X, Lublin 2007 (Bibliotheca Nubica et Aethiopica), 185–91; RITA PANKHURST, "The Library of Emperor Tewodros II at M. (Magdala)", *BSOAS* 36, 1, 1973, 14–42; ID., "The Mäqdäla Library of Tewodros", in: TADDESE BEYENE – RICHARD PANKHURST – SHIFERAW BEKELE, *Kasa and Kasa: Papers on the Lives, Times and Images of Tewodros II and Yohannes IV (1855–1889)*, Addis Ababa 1990, 223–43; VIRGINIA SURTEES, *The Actress and the Brewer's Wife: Two Victorian Vignettes*, London 1997.

Richard Pankhurst

Mäqdäs

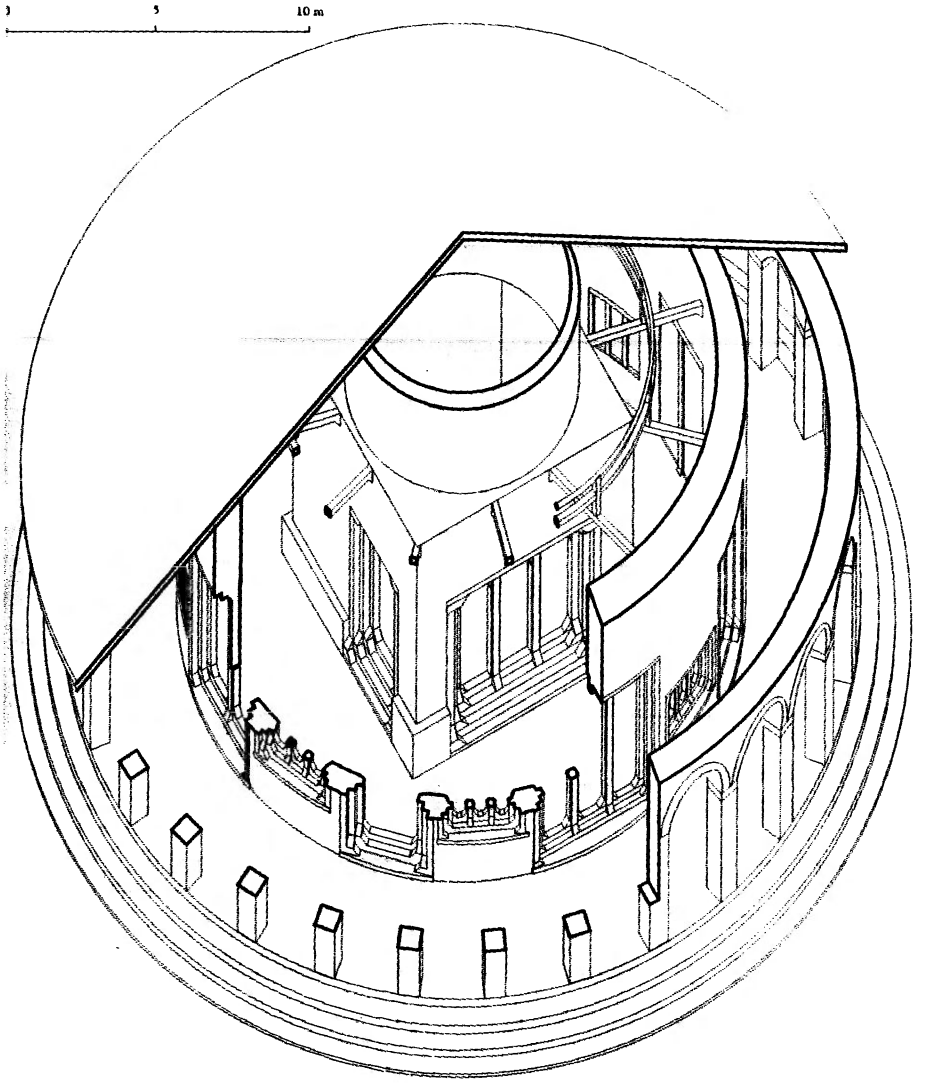
M. (መቅደስ, lit. 'sanctuary', the noun derived from Gəᶜəz verb *qäddäsä*, 'sanctify', hence also 'celebrate Mass' etc.) or *betä M.* (lit. 'house/room of the sanctuary') is the traditional term referring to one of the three space subdivisions of the Ethiopian ↗church building, the other two being the *qəddəst* and the *qəne maḫlet*. Many texts refer to the same area by using as referent the curtain, *mänṭolaᶜət* (↗*Mägaräğa*) or the altar itself (*tabot, mänbärä tabot, məśwaᶜ*); so is it that the ↗*Testamentum Domini* describes it without naming it (Beylot 1984:19ff.). Today the term M. is used in the official terminology describing the church edifice (EOTC 1996:60f.; Kənfä Gäbrəʾel Altayä – Getaccäw Däğäne 2006:47f.). M. refers to the eastern sanctuary of the ancient basilicas and later hall-churches as well as to the central sanctuary of the round churches in which the altar (the *mänbärä tabot* complete with the consecrated tablet or ↗*tabot*) is found, and where, therefore, only the ordained clerics (beginning with ↗*diyaqon*; cp. ↗*kəhnät*) are allowed to enter. The ↗*Fəṭḥa nägäśt* specifically precludes women. Only when the *tabot* has been publicly removed for some reason may the M. be visited by lay people, who may take advantage of the opportunity to gather some dust from there (*əmnät*, ↗*ṣäbäl*) for healing.



Unveiled *mäqdäs* with covered *mänbärä tabot*; Kidanä Məḥrät church of Däbrä Ṣəyon, Gärᶜalta, Təgray; photo 2004, courtesy of Michael Gervers

The threefold arrangement is often identified with that of the Temple of ↗Jerusalem (1 Kgs 6-8; 2 Chr 3-7), although care is taken to distinguish that ancient disposition from that of the New Testament. Within the church, the M. may symbolize heaven; moreover the tradition (cp. ↗*Śərᶜatä betä krəstiyan*) interprets it as, e.g., "Alexandria" (Griaule 1932:23, 30) or "body of St. Mary" (ibid. 4, 8; Schneider 1988:93, 94; cp. also the third strophe of the Sunday portion of the ↗*Wəddase Maryam*).

In round churches, built from the end of the 16th cent. (one of the early evidences seems to be BeckHuntAlm 99), especially in the area of Lake ↗Ṭana and ↗Gondär, the M. is in the centre of the church edifice (cp. di Salvo – Chojnacki – Raineri 1999; Angelini 2006; DAE III). While the *qəddəst* and the *qəne maḫlet* are circular or concentric, the M. is always square. In such "Gondärine" churches, the M. has three doorways: the central



Schematic representation of the church of Narga Śəllase, with the *mäqdäs* in the centre; after reliefs by Alberto Giussani and Giorgio Vassena, from Di Salvo 1999:120

one as well as two others which are a likely relic of the side doors once connecting the M. with now disappeared *pastophoria* (sacristies) or, from ca. mid-13th cent., additional sanctuaries. Doorways may formerly have been screened by curtains (as suggested by some ancient texts, s. e.g., Beylot 1984:19ff.). Much of this arrangement originates in Coptic Egypt. There, the sanctuary was closed in the 7th cent. by the eastern wall of the *ḫūrus* (Arab. 'choir', from Greek-Coptic *horos*), an Egyptian development of the *presbyterium*. Located between the sanctuary and the nave, the *ḫūrus* was hitherto delimited westwards by chancel barriers, as in Ethiopia until the 12th cent., and henceforward by a western wall with doors leading towards the nave. The ca. 16th-cent. introduction of painted walls with doors and curtains around a square sanctuary may be seen as an adaptation of the Coptic *ḥiǧāb* (Arab. 'curtains', a solid screen with centrally placed lockable doors, and eventually decorated with icons). A pair of curtains was put to cover the outside of the double main doors in the western wall of the M. (called *wanna ḫoḫət*, 'main door', or *anqäṣä Ṣəyon*, 'gate of Zion'). In addition, another screen often hangs between the altar (i.e., *mänbärä tabot* with *tabot*) and the doors, preventing the altar to be seen from outside; curtains (or shutters) cover the altar from three sides. In round churches, the outer sides of the M. walls are utilized for spectacular iconographic programmes (↗Painting: monumental).

In the ancient basilicas, the M. lies in the eastern part of the church building. It is elevated and has either a rounded apse or a flat wall, generally with a centrally placed window, and is accessed through a large "triumphal arch". Until about the mid-13th cent. the M. was flanked by two side rooms. One was meant for the preparation of bread and wine before the liturgy (*prothesis*); the other often gave access to the tomb of a saint and was used as a sacristy (*diaconikon*). The post mid-13th-cent. hall-churches have a wide open unified sanctuary area which may house one or more altars (e.g., ↗Däbrä Sina and Betä Śəllase at ↗Lalibäla) or have a space of a size similar to the previous order, but without side sacristies (e.g., Betä Giyorgis at Lalibäla). Later, a table (or a shelf) in the north-east or south-east corner of the M. (called *ḫaddafe näfs*, referring to the post-communion prayer) partly took over the function of the *prothesis* sacristy. It is specially used for the ritual of the purification of the sacred vessels after communion. It could be also used for the keeping of the liturgical vessels, usually in a niche in the northern wall, but more and more in the ↗*ʿəqa bet*. In the course of time, the churches with side rooms gradually received additional (mobile) altars, which turned the side

rooms into as many additional M. This practice continued, sometimes applied to the newer hall-churches type and even to the churches where the seeming sacristies were actually meant to be additional sanctuaries from their inception, and therefore decorated with a ↗*Maiestas Domini* (e.g., ↗Gännätä Maryam) or had an additional altar cut in rock (e.g. Wəqro Maryam, Näbällät; ↗rock-hewn churches).

The window in the eastern wall of the M. marks the East and lets the light enter the inside of the M., expressing the idea of "the Sun of righteousness" (Mal 3:20), that is Christ (Lk 1:78-79), coming from the East at the sunrise, the normal time of the Eucharistic service (cf. Mk 16:2). In such ancient churches as, e.g., ↗Ṣəraᶜ Abrəha wä-Aṣbəḥa, ↗Wəqro Qirqos or Betä Śəllase in Lalibäla, the window is replaced by a niche, corresponding to the Coptic *šarqīya* (Arab. lit. 'the Eastern').

The ceiling of the M. above the centrally located altar is either decorated with a ↗cross or covered by a half or a full cupola. When it is painted, the image is that of the *Maiestas Domini*.

Unlike the Coptic practice, which reserves one tablet for each altar and has several secondary altars, Ethiopia eventually favoured a single sanctuary with multiple *tabots*. The additional altar tablets (*däbbal tabotat*) are kept in the M. or, nowadays, the *ᶜəqa bet* and used only at the feast days of the saints to whom they are dedicated, following the custom of the Copts. Like the Antiochene Churches, the Ethiopian tradition practices the synchronised or parallel celebration of the Eucharistic liturgy for a single assembly, i.e. different groups of clergy directed by the leading celebrants standing at the central altar, consecrate simultaneously their own bread and wine. Such a celebration takes place on feast days in many ancient, and even more so in many modern large city churches equipped with several altars and manned by numerous clergy.

↗Qəddase

Src.: BeckHuntAlm 99; ROBERT BEYLOT, *Testamentum Domini éthiopien*, Louvain 1984, 19ff. (text) = 157f. (tr.); RENÉ-GEORGES COQUIN (tr.), *Les Canons d'Hippolyte*, Paris 1966 (PO 31/2), 399ff.; DAE III, esp. 47f.; DillmLex 467; DTWDic 402; EOTC (ed.), **የኢትዮጵያ፡ ኦርቶዶክስ፡ ተዋሕዶ፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ እምነት፡ ሥርዓተ፡ አምልኮትና፡ የውጭ፡ ግንኙነት** (*Yäʾityopya ortodoks täwaḥədo betä krəstiyan əmnät śəᶜatä amləkotənna yäwəṣṣ gənəñunnät*, 'The Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church: Faith, Order of Worship and Ecumenical Relations'), Addis Abäba ²1996, 60f.; MARCEL GRIAULE, "Règles de l'Église (Documents éthiopiens)", *JA* 221, 1932, 1-42; PAULOS TZADUA (tr.), *The Fetha Nagast*. **ፍትሐ፡ ነገሥት**. *The Law of the Kings*, Addis Ababa 1968, 12; *liqä kahənat* KƎNFÄ GÄBRƎʾEL ALTAYÄ – *qäsis* GETAČČÄW DÄĞÄNE, **ሥርዓተ፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን** (*Śəᶜatä betä krəstiyan*, 'The Order of the Church'), Addis Abäba 1998 A.M. [2006 A.D.], 47f.; ROGER SCHNEIDER, "Nouveaux témoins du texte éthiopien des *Règles de l'Église*", *JA* 276, 1988, 71-96.

Lit.: EWA BALICKA-WITAKOWSKA, "The Iconographic Programme of the Sanctuary Area in the Church of Gännätä Maryam near Lalibala", in: *PICEA* 7, 119–37; ALFRED J. BUTLER, *The Ancient Coptic Churches of Egypt*, 2 vols., Oxford 1884 [repr. 1970, 2004]; EMMANUEL FRITSCH – MICHAEL GERVERS, "*Pastophoria* and Altars: Interaction in Ethiopian Liturgy and Church Architecture", *Aethiopica* 10, 2007, 7–50 (Lit.); EMMANUEL FRITSCH, "The Churches of Lalibäla (Ethiopia) Witnesses of Liturgical Changes", *Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata* 2007; GerKir [Eng]; PETER GROSSMAN, "Architectural Elements of Churches", in: *CE* vol. 1, 194–225; ID., *Christliche Architektur in Ägypten*, Leiden 2002 (Handbuch der Orientalistik 1.62), s. index; CLAUDE LEPAGE, "Les monuments rupestres de Degum en Éthiopie", *Cahiers Archéologiques* 22, 1972, 167–200; ID., "L'église rupestre de Berakit", *AE* 9, 1972, 147–88; KIRSTEN STOFFREGEN-PEDERSEN, *Les Éthiopiens*, Tournhout 1990, 107ff.

Ill.: SANDRO ANGELINI, *Monumenti del Lago Tana*, ed. by PIERVALERIANO ANGELINI, 2006; CLAIRE BOSC-TIESSÉ – ANAÏS WION, *Peintures sacrées d'Éthiopie: Collection Dakar–Djibouti*, Saint-Maur-des-Fossés 2005; LINO BIANCHI BARRIVIERA, "Le chiese in roccia di Lalibelà e di altri luoghi del Lasta", *RSE* 18, 1962, 5–76, pls.; *ibid.* 19, 1963, 5–118; DAVID BUXTON, "The Rock-Hewn and Other Medieval Churches of Tigré Province, Ethiopia", *Archaeologia* 103, 1971, 33–110; MARIO DI SALVO et al., *Churches of Ethiopia: the Monastery of Nārgā Sellāse*, Milano 1999, 120 (ill.); ALESSANDRO AUGUSTO MONTI DELLA CORTE, *Lalibala: le chiese ipogee e monolitiche e gli altri monumenti medievali del Lasta*, Rome 1940; RUTH PLANT, *Architecture of the Tigre, Ethiopia*, Worcester 1985; WILHELM STAUDE, "Étude sur la décoration picturale des églises Abba Antonios de Gondar et Dabra Sina de Gorgora", *AE* 3, 1959, 185–235; ANAÏS WION, "Un nouvel ensemble de peintures murales du premier style gondarien: le monastère de Qoma Fasilidas", *AE* 17, 2001, 277–306.

Emmanuel Fritsch

Mäqet

One of the traditional ↗Amhara areas, M. (**መቄት**, or Mäkät, locally also Mäčet) is a district in north Wällo neighbouring on ↗Angot and ↗Šädäho in Lasta – the latter being often seen as one historical region with M. To the west, the ↗Čäčaho ravine forms a natural border of M. with ↗Gayənt in Bägemdər. Lying mainly in the *wäyna däga* ecological zone, M., with ↗Wadla to the south, consists of an immense highland plain stretching east-west and the lower parts below the river valley escarpments to the north (M.) and south (Wadla) of the central plain.

According to the tradition, the area was Christianized by the 14th-cent. disciple of *abunä* ↗Bäṣälotä Mikaʾel, ↗Aron of Däbrä Daret ("the

Thaumaturge"). The foundation of the rock church of Däbrä Abunä Aron a few miles northwest of Gorägorä is ascribed to this saint. The church density in southern M. is particularly remarkable.

Gorägorä (or Gärägära), located at the border between M. and Wädla (today the capital of Lasta), was the site of a camp of *aṣe* ↗Susənyos where he stayed in 1623 after defeating *aṣe* Yaᶜəqob. The traditional title of M.'s governors was *Mäqet azmač*.

In 1930s–40s M. was a subdivision of Lasta, alongside with Wadla and ↗Dälanta; by 1974 the *awraǧǧa* of Lasta consisted of the *wäräda* of M. and that of Lasta. Today M. is a *wäräda* within the North Wällo zone.

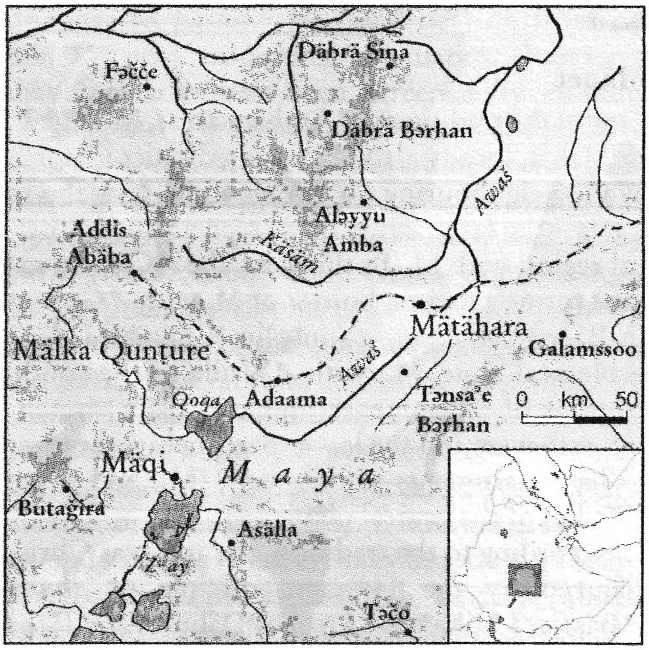
Src.: BTafA 383, s. index; PerChron vol. 1, 246 (text); SVEIN EGE, *The CSA Census Maps: Maps of North Wälo, South Wälo and North Shäwa ...*, Trondheim 2002, 10, 22, 62; ID., *North Wälo 1:100,000. Topographic and Administrative Map of North Wälo Zone, Amhara Region, Ethiopia*, Trondheim 2002, 11f., 15.

Lit.: DONALD CRUMMEY, "Çäçäho and the Politics of the Northern Wällo–Bägémder Border", *JES* 13, 1975, 1–10, here 2; HuntGeogr 85, 174f., 245; ROGER SAUTER, "Où en est notre connaissance des églises rupestres d'Éthiopie", *AE* 5, 1963, 235–92, here 272; TadTChurch 87ff., 193f.; STEPHEN WRIGHT, "Notes on some Cave Churches in the Province of Wallo", *AE* 2, 7–13, here 8f.

Evgenia Sokolinskaia

Mäqi

M. (መቂ, also Meqi, Orom. Maqii, Ital. Mácchi; 8° 09' N, 38° 49' E) is a modern town northwest of Lake ↗Zᵂay in the former ↗Arsi region in the Dugda Bora *wäräda* (Məsraq Šäwa zone, Oromiyaa *kəllәl*). It is situated in the historical ↗Dämbäl Mäqi area, on the main road from Moǧo to Šašämäne.



The Italians, who occupied this region during their stay in Ethiopia, built a major camp near the river Mäqi (Maqii) in 1929 A.M. [1936/37 A.D.], which they called M.-Bridge (Ponte Mácchi). Consequently the camp became a market-town (M.-Kamsi), which got its name from the river Mäqi (cf. also Guida 555).

Today M. is a booming town in a rich agricultural region. Most of its ca. 35,000 inhabitants are ↗Oromo but there is also a remarkable number of ↗Amhara and ↗Gurage, especially ↗Soddo (CSA 1996:234; CSA 2004).

Src.: interview with *grazmač* Säbsäbe Rago, ca. 70 years old, former mayor of Mäqi; CENTRAL STATISTICAL AUTHORITY, *The 1994 Population and Housing Census of Ethiopia: Results for Oromia Region*, vol. 1, part 1: *Statistical Report*, Addis Ababa 1996, 234; CSA 2004; *Guida* 555.

Ronny Meyer

Mäqqʷamiya

M. (Amh. መቋሚያ, from *qomä* or a derived verb [*täqʷamä*] 'to stand, be erect') is a prayer staff made of wood or metal with a head of ivory, wood or metal (iron, copper, silver or gold). It is unknown when the M. came to be. It has been attributed to St. Yared though without definitive evidence.

The M. is used by priests and cantors (*mäzämməran*, notably by ↗*däbtära*) to accompany Ethiopian Orthodox Church rituals and in the context of ↗*aqʷaqʷam*, and acts as a physical support for them during long ceremonies. The M. of cantors is a liturgical object, preserved in the ↗*ᶜəqa bet* and it should be distinguished from simple wood sticks, also called M., used by elderly people. It is also a symbol of office or authority. The M. is also used by the Fälaša (↗Betä Ǝsraᵓel) in their liturgical ritual practices. There are at least four main types of M.: (1) a Y-shaped stick; (2) a stick topped by a ring (*ḫəṣən*); (3) a cross-shaped M. used by hermits (*mäsqäl täsällaṭi*); (4) a T-shaped M. for *aqʷaqʷam*. The headpiece would represent the head of a lamb, a symbol of Christ, evoking the overall shape of the ↗Cross.

Musically, M. is an idiophone that punctuates a phrase and sections articulated by the vocal chanting and/or accompanies the ritual dances. Individual musical formulae are identified by name and performed with movements specific to the M. At the appropriate time the instrument is

Silver head of a *mäqqʷamiya*; 20th cent., church of St. George, Ruba Kʷəsa, Tämben; photo 2002, courtesy of Michael Gervers

also used with ↗*ṣänaṣəl* and ↗*käbäro*, where one person usually holds the *ṣänaṣəl* in the right hand and the M. in the left.

Among the various *aqʷaqʷam* movement patterns the M. is most actively employed to accompany the chant and dance in ↗*zəmmame*. Cantors move it in front of them in different directions and strike the ground on specific syllables of the liturgical text. Another way to describe this movement is through the imagery it conveys. According to church tradition the up-down movement of the M. symbolizes the Passion when Jesus was carrying the cross. In other *aqʷaqʷam* manners (*qum ṣänaṣəl*, *märägd*, *ṣəfat*), when *ṣänaṣəl* and *käbäro* are played, the M. serves only as a physical support for the cantors. In *wäräb* and *č̣äbč̣äbbo*, cantors rest it on their shoulder when going through the *qəne maḫlet* (space in the church devoted to the cantors; s. ↗Church buildings).

M. is the only instrument allowed at services during ↗Lent, without the *ṣänaṣəl* and *käbäro*. The M. takes the place of the *ṣänaṣəl* in the *märägd*: it is moved and played as if it were a systrum.

There are four different schools of *aqʷaqʷam* chant. Vocal execution of chanting from the *täkle* (or *täkkälä*) school is well known by its characteristic nasal timbre, the movements with M. in this school are more frequent and encompass a greater spatial area (Damon 2005:20). The style has been ascribed to *aläqa* ↗Gäbrä Ḥanna.

↗Instruments, musical; ↗Music; ↗Qəddase

Src.: *ʿAqʷaqʷam: Ethiopian Orthodox Christian Church: Music and Dance of Heaven*, CD recording by ANNE DAMON, Maison des Cultures du Monde, Collection Terrains, inédit, W 260121, Paris 2005; KaneDic 809.

Lit.: *liqä ṭäbbäbt* AKLILU-BERHAN WELDE-KIRKOS, *Saint Yared*, tr. by ASHENAFI KEBEDE, Addis Ababa 1968 (*Muzika* 1), 10; HabUff 256–62; HENOK WÄLDÄ MIKAʾEL (ed.), *የጾመ: ድጓ: ቅንዋት: በጎንደር: ዝማሜ* (*Yäṣomä dəggʷa qənnəwat bägondär zəmmame*, 'The Passion Chant of the Lent *Dəggʷa* in *Zəmmame* of Gondär'), Addis Abäba 1999; CYNTHIA TSE KIMBERLIN, "Music of Ethiopia", in: ELIZABETH MAY (ed.), *Musics of Many Cultures: an Introduction*, Berkeley, CA 1980, 234–52; MINISTRY OF EDUCATION, PUBLICATIONS AND FOREIGN LANGUAGES PRESS DEPARTMENT (ed.), *Music, Dance and Drama*, Addis Ababa 1968 (Patterns of Progress 9), 23, 28f.; MICHAEL POWNE, *Ethiopian Music. An Introduction: a Survey of Ecclesiastical and Secular Ethiopian Music*, London – New York – Toronto 1968, 114f.; KAY KAUFMAN SHELEMAY, *Music, Ritual, and Falasha History*, East Lansing, MI 1986 (Ethiopian Series Monograph 17), 188f.; EAD. – PETER JEFFERY, *Ethiopian Christian Liturgical Chant: an Anthology*, Madison, WI 1994, 4; TESFAYE LEMMA, *Ethiopian Musical Instruments*, Addis Ababa 1975, 39; TITO LEPISA, "The Three Modes and the Signs of the Songs in the Ethiopian Liturgy", in: *PICES* 3, vol. 2, 162–87.

Cynthia Tse Kimberlin

Maqrīzī, al-

M. (المقريزى, Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbdalqādir b. Muḥammad al-Maqrīzī, b. 1364, Cairo, d. 1442, Cairo) was an Egyptian historian and prolific author. Having received a thorough education, he held a number of administrative, scholarly and teaching positions in Cairo and Damascus, but eventually gave up his public career and devoted himself to scholarship. His numerous works deal with the history and geography of ↗Egypt and other Arab countries.

One of his many books, the *Ilmām bi-aḫbār man bi-arḍ al-Ḥabaša min mulūk al-Islām* (Maq-Ilmam), is entirely devoted to Ethiopia, while two others, the *Kitāb al-Mawāʿiẓ* (al-Maqrīzī 1853) and the *Kitāb as-Sulūk li-maʿrifat duwal al-mulūk* (al-Maqrīzī 1936, 1941; tr. Quatremère 1837–44), contain references to this country. M. got his information in ↗Mecca in 1435–36.

The *Ilmām* consists of three chapters of unequal length concerning: 1) the land of *al-Ḥabaša* (↗Abyssinia); 2) the land of ↗Zaylaʿ; 3) the history of the ↗Wälašmaʿ dynasty, including the wars between ↗Ifat and Christian Ethiopia (ca. 1275–1550). They are followed by short notes on: "the southern part of the earth, which is [the

land of] the black" (based on information mainly borrowed from ↗Ibn Saᶜīd or provided by travellers): the towns of Ġāna and Barīsā, Kawkaw, Safāla az-Zanǧ, Barbarā, Zaġāwa, Dunqula (↗Dongola), Ǧarmī, Maqdišu (↗Mogadishu s. EAE vol. 5), Zaylaᶜ, ↗Hadiyya and Kānem. Though occasionally biased and mistaken, the *Ilmām* is important as supplement and counterpart to the Ethiopian sources (cp. TadTChurch 119–55). M.'s only remark on religious matters is that the ↗Melkites are persecuted by the ↗Jacobites and have to feign Jacobitism to avoid persecution.

In the first chapter, the *ḥaṭī* (↗*Aṣe*) is said to rule over 99 governors (Arab. *malik*). *Ḥaṭī* Daʾūd (↗Dawit II) b. Sayf Arᶜad died in 812 [1409/10], and was succeeded by his son Tādrus (Tewodros), who died soon afterwards. His successor was Isḥāq (↗Yəsḥaq) b. Daʾūd b. Sayf Arᶜad (r. 1414–29), also called Abram (Ibrāhīm). During his reign, Circassian military slaves from Egypt (↗Mamlūks) established workshops for making coats of mail, swords and other weapons. An exiled Egyptian *mamlūk*, called aṭ-Ṭabunġā Mufriq, reorganized Isḥāq's army and taught the Ethiopians to make Greek fire. A Copt Faḫraddawla reorganized the system of tax collection, introduced royal dresses and gave the *ḥaṭī* a cross in his right hand. Isḥāq wrote letters to the Franks (*al-Ifranǧ*), proposing them to fight the Muslims together, and was therefore struck by God's wrath, dying in *Ḏū l-qaᶜda* 833 H. [July 1429 A.D.]. When ↗Ǧamāladdīn III b. Saᶜdaddīn "was ruling over Amḥara", he had Ethiopians deported to the Ḥiǧāz, India, Egypt, Syria and Rūm (Anatolia?). Isḥāq's son and successor Andarāws (Ǝndrəyas?) died after four months, his brother Ḥarbanāy (Ḥəzbä Nañ?) b. Daʾūd b. Sayf Arᶜad in *Ramaḍān* 834 H. [May 1430 A.D.], and the latter's successor Salmūn b. Isḥāq soon afterwards. In 839 H. [1435/36 A.D.] the *ḥaṭī* died of plague.

According to the *Ilmām*, Zaylaᶜ, for the greater part uninhabited, consists of seven principalities: Awfāt (Ifat), Dawārū (↗Däwaro), Arābabnī (↗Arabäbni), Hadīya (Hadiyya), Šarḫā, Bālī (↗Bale) and Dāra (↗Dära), each with its own "king", but all ruled by the *ḥaṭī* to whom they pay tribute. Zaylaᶜ is also called Ǧabart (cp. ↗Gäbärti).

The *Kitāb al-Mawāᶜiẓ*, commonly known as *Ḫiṭaṭ*, contains a passage on the ↗Beğa (cf. also Heuglin 1861) and the legend of the ↗Nile waters stopped by the king of Ethiopia. Describing the expansion of ↗Islam among the Beğa (al-Maqrīzī ed. Wiet 1911:315–19), M. quotes the late 10th-cent. ↗Ibn Sulaym al-Aswānī. According to him the Beğa were divided into many tribes, who changed their matrilineal system into a patrilineal one under influence of Islam (ibid. 310–19). The ↗Kunama were called Badēn or Bazān by the Ethiopians, and Bāza by the Sudanese (ibid. 310, 315).

Quoting Ǧirǧis al-Makīn b. al-ᶜAmīd (↗Giyorgis Wäldä ᶜAmid) almost verbatim, M. writes, once again, that exceptional low tides of the Nile, resulting in famine in Egypt, were attributed to the interference of the Abyssinians with the sources of the river (al-Maqrīzī ed. Wiet 1913–22:470; cp. van Donzel 2000:304ff.).

Also in the *Kitāb as-Sulūk* M. gives some information on Ethiopia: e.g., he remarks that the title *ḥaṭī* can be compared with ↗*ḫalīfa* (al-Maqrīzī 1936:615), and mentions the arrival of the ambassadors of the king of Abyssinia in Cairo in 726 H. [1326 A.D.] (Id. 1941:270).

↗Historiography

Src.: AḤMAD B. ᶜALĪ B. ᶜABDALQĀDIR B. MUḤAMMAD AL-MAQRĪZĪ, *Kitāb al-Mawāᶜiẓ wal-iᶜtibār fi ḏikr al-ḫiṭaṭ wal-āṯār* ('The Book of Warnings and Considerations: Mentioning the Districts and Monuments [of Egypt]'), Būlāq 1853 [with index by AḤMAD ᶜABDALMAĞĪD HARĪDĪ, 3 vols., Cairo 1983–84, esp. vol. 1, 155]; repr. Beyrut ca. 1970; ID., *Kitāb al-Mawāᶜiẓ wal-iᶜtibār fi ḏikr al-ḫiṭaṭ wal-āṯār*, ed. by GASTON WIET, vol. 1, Le Caire 1911; vol. 2, Le Caire 1913–22; vol. 3, Le Cairo 1922 (Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire); ID., *Kitāb as-Sulūk li-maᶜrifat duwal al-mulūk* ('The Guide Book to the Knowledge of the Dynasties of the Kings'), vol. 1, part 2, Cairo 1936, 615; vol. 2, part 1, Cairo 1941, 270; ID., *Histoire des sultans Mamlouks de l'Égypte*, tr. by ETIENNE MARC QUATREMÈRE, 2 vols., Paris 1837–44; ID., *Histoire de l'Égypte*, tr., ed. by EDGAR BLOCHET, Paris 1908 (Extrait de la Revue de l'Orient Latin 6–9); URBAIN BOURIANT – PAUL CASANOVA, *Description topographique et historique de l'Égypte*, 6 vols., Paris 1893–1920 (Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire); MaqIlmam; MaqIlmam² [Engl. tr. by GEORGE WYNN BRERETON HUNTINGFORD, SOAS library, London].

Lit.: CARL BROCKELMANN, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*, vol. 2, Berlin 1902, 38–41, and *Zweiter Supplementband*, Leiden 1938, 36–39; ENRICO CERULLI, "Documenti arabi per la storia dell'Etiopia", *MRALm* ser. 6ª, 4, 1931, 39–101 [repr. in: *CerIslam* 136–206]; ID., "Il sultanato dello Scioa nel secolo XIII secondo un nuovo documento storico", *RSE* 1, 1, 1941, 5–42 [repr. in: *CerIslam* 207–43]; ID., "L'Etiopia medievale in alcuni brani di scrittori arabi", *RSE* 3, 1943, 272–94 [repr. in: *CerIslam* 257–80]; IGNAZIO GUIDI, "Sul testo del Ilmâm d'al-Maqrîzî", in: *Centenario della nascita di Michele Amari*, vol. 2, Palermo 1910, 387–94; THEODORE VON HEUGLIN (ed.), "Ein arabischer Schriftsteller über die Bedja-Länder", in: BRUNO HASSENSTEIN

– AUGUST PETERMANN (eds.), *Ost-Afrika zwischen Chartum und dem Rothen Meere bis Suakin und Massaua: eine vornehmlich zum Verfolg der v. Heuglin'schen Expedition bestimmte Karte*, Gotha 1861, 14–16; LOUIS LANGLÈS, in: *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Impériale*, vol. 6, Paris 1799, 380; FRANZ ROSENTHAL, *A History of Muslim Historiography*, Leiden ²1968, 478f.; ID., "Al-Maḳrīzī", in: *EI²* vol. 6, 193–94; TadTChurch 119–55, esp. 149 n. 3; EMERI JOHANNES VAN DONZEL, "Badr al-Jamālī, the Copts in Egypt and the Muslims in Ethiopia", in: IAN RICHARD NETTON (ed.), *Studies in Honour of Clifford Edmund Bosworth*, vol. 1: *Hunter of the East: Arabic and Semitic Studies*, Leiden – Boston, MA – Köln 2000, 297–309, here 304ff.; FERDINAND WÜSTENFELD, *Macrizi's Geschichte der Copten*, Göttingen 1845.

Emeri van Donzel

Mäqśäftä ḥassätat

The M.ḥ. (መቅሠፍተ፡ ሐሰታት, 'Flagellation of the lies') is a Catholic treatise. Written in Gəᶜəz by the Jesuit father António ↗Fernandes and revised by Father Luis de ↗Azevedo, it was published at the Colégio de São Paulo Novo in Goa in 1642. Conceived as a response to the ↗*Mäzgäbä haymanot*, the work covers 240 folia divided in 64 chapters, aiming at refuting the positions of the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox Church from a Catholic point of view. Written probably at ↗Gorgora in the 1620s (BecRASO XI, 484), its origins may be found in an earlier pro-Catholic treatise planned around 1610 jointly with Pedro ↗Paez and Lorenzo Romano (BecRASO XI, 203).

Most of the M.ḥ. deals with Christological and theological issues as well as sacramental practices that were at the core of the Catholic-Ethiopian debate during the 17th cent. A considerable part, thus, is dedicated to refuting "Monophysite" ↗Christology and the first seven chapters reinforce the Catholic claim that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Son as well as from the Father. The origin of individual souls is also discussed and one chapter is dedicated to the exaltation of ecclesiastical chastity and the need for the regular Ethiopian clergy to abandon marriage.

To justify his positions, the author relies not only on the N.T., but also on the Councils of the Church and the works of the Church fathers, including the Ethiopic ↗*Haymanotä abäw*. He also introduces some of the Catholic saints of the early and late Middle Ages, authoritative figures, not previously cited in Ethiopian religious literature, such as St. Augustine, St. Thomas Aquinas and St. Bonaventure. A copy of the M.ḥ. is available at the Biblioteca Nacional, Lisbon.

↗Jesuits; ↗Monophysitism

Src.: BecRASO XI, 203, 484; ANTÓNIO FERNANDES, *Magseph assetat idest Flagellum mendaciorum: contra libellum aethiopicum falso nomine dictum: Masgueb Haymanot, idest Fidei Thesaurus ...*, Goa 1642.

Lit.: FRANCISCO MARIA ESTEVES PEREIRA, *Notice sur le Magseph Assetat (Mäqśäfət hassətat) du P. Antonio Fernandes*, tr. by RENÉ BASSET, Alger 1886; AUGUSTIN DE BACKER – ALOYS DE BACKER, *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus*, new ed. by CARLOS SOMMERVOGEL, Héverlé-Louvain 1960, vol. 3, 646–48.

Leonardo Cohen

Mar

M. (ማር, also ማሪ, *mari*) is an Ethiopic honorific title used mostly in the ↗Gəᶜəz literature and applied to some ↗saints and martyrs (↗Hagiography; ↗Martyrdom). The word is of Syriac origin (*mār*[*y*]*ā*, 'lord'; *mār*[*ī*], 'my lord', cp. Payne Smith 1903:298) and was taken over into Gəᶜəz via Arabic. Thus, saints and martyrs who are called M. – in their ↗*Sənkəssar* commemorations, other hagiographic works etc. – are mostly of non-Ethiopian (but not always of Syrian) origin. Usually they are the most revered and/or popular ones: e.g., ↗Ephrem the Syrian; ↗George of Lydda, ↗Isaac of Nineveh, ↗Jacob of Serug, Behnam (written as Marbəḥnam, Marməḥnam, Marhamnam etc., also separately: M. Bəḥnam/Məḥnam, 14 *Taḫśaś*, s. BudSaint 374–77). Among those called M. are also personalities less known in Ethiopia, e.g., Jacob "the Egyptian" (18 *Mäskäräm*, BudSaint 67–72); in a few cases, the title attested in the Egyptian tradition was dropped in the Ethiopian.

On the whole, the latter tradition was very strict in bestowing this title, considering it very honouring, and there was almost no inflation in its employment. Occasionally, this term was applied as an adjective to the most venerated saints like *abunä* ↗Täklä Haymanot (use of it is only known from a 15th-cent. version of his Vita, ms. Paris, BN éth. 342; in later Täklä Haymanot's hagiography, the term is completely missing).

The best known case is that of *aṣe* ↗Gälawdewos, killed in the battle with ↗Nūr b. Muǧāhid in 1559 and regarded as martyr by the Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church (27 *Mäggabit*, s. BudSaint 746; cp. DombrChr 178). In his Chronicle (written after his death), which is similar in style to an eulogy, and was probably for reading on the commemoration day, Gälawdewos is indeed called M.; in the Chronicle of his brother and successor *aṣe* ↗Minas this Emperor, however, is also called M., due not to his particular

religious prestige, but rather to a literary feature pairing him with Gälawdewos.

Src.: BudSaint esp. 67–72, 374–77, 746; ConzGal passim, esp. 1 (text) = 121 (tr.) and n. 1; DillmLex 163; DombrChr 178; FRANCISCO MARIA ESTEVES PEREIRA, ዜና፡ ሚናስ: *Historia de Minás, ʾAdemās Sagad, rei de Ethiopia*, Lisboa 1888 [extract from: *Boletim da Sociedade de Geographia de Lisboa* sér. 7, 12, 1887, 743–827], passim, esp. 17 (text) = 37 (tr.) and n. 2; LesCDic 356; KrLebD 32 (text) = 36 (tr.) and n. 163; KWKDic 606; J. PAYNE SMITH, *A Compendious Syriac Dictionary*, Oxford 1903 [repr. 1957], 298.

Denis Nosnitsin

Mar, Jakub Adol ↗Mayer, Adolf

Mar Yəsḥaq ↗Isaac of Nineveh

Märäb

The M. (መረብ) is the main border river separating the central Eritrean highlands from Ethiopia. This seasonal river has its source near ↗Dəbarwa in the ↗Ḥamasen highlands, Eritrea, north of Ǝmba Takara, and then flows southwards. In its upper course it forms a historical boundary between the former Eritrean provinces of ↗Säraye and ↗Akkälä Guzay. The M. turns west, flowing through a huge and steep valley. Here it forms a state boundary, along the old provincial boundary between Säraye and the historical ↗ʿAdwa *awraǧǧa* in ↗Təgray. When, further northwest, the M. leaves the highlands, it drains away in the ↗Kunama lowlands, flowing only underground, but soon reappears. In the lowlands it changes its name and is now known as ↗Gaš (in Təgre, or Ḫur al-Qāš in Sudanese Arabic) or Sona (in Kunama). ↗Munzinger was the first to describe the hydrological link between the two rivers in the mid-19th cent. The highest flow of the M. river appears in July to September; in exceptional cases an arm of the river joined the ↗Atbara, a tributary of the Nile.

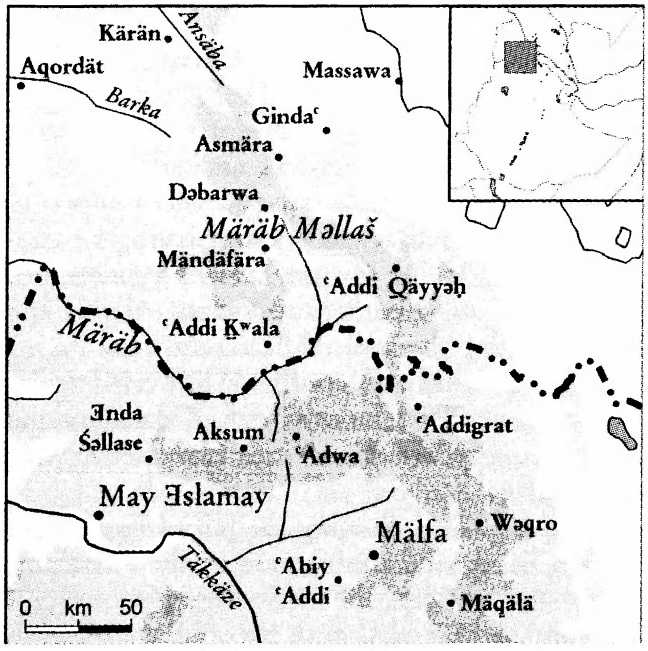
The arid Hazəmo grazing lands (*bäräḳa*), crossed by the upper M., have long been an object of contention between kinship groups of Säraye and Akkälä Guzay (Conti Rossini 1906; KilHDic 247), especially of Sāho pastoralists and Təgrəññña farmers from Šəmäzana. In the past, the middle course of the M. served, together with its most important tributary ↗Bäläsa, as the border between the territories of *baḥri nägaśi* and ↗*təgre mäkʷännən* (Bruce 1791). It was consolidated. as a provincial border in the mid-18th cent. when *baḥri nägaśi* ↗Boḵru Sälomon was endowed with the government of the ↗Märäb Məllaš, after the partition of the ↗Bambollo Məllaš of ↗ʿAndä Haymanot (KolTrad III, A20).

The M. valley in the middle course of the river has long been only under loose political control, the next more important settlements being far; it served therefore as an area of retreat for rebellious chiefs and ↗*šəfta*, such as *däǧǧazmač* ↗Kaśa Golǧa, when he rebelled against *däǧǧazmač* Kaśa Mərčа, the later *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV, both at that time being pretenders for the throne. In order to establish control over the area, Təgrayan and other rulers settled military colonies in the area of ↗Gundät, located in that valley (starting from the 17th cent. approximately, s. KilHDic 234).

In November 1875 the M. valley became the scene for one of the most decisive battles in the ↗Ethio–Egyptian war, the battle of Gundät at the M. In October the Egyptian army had occupied Ḥamasen and Säraye up to the M., fortifying the village of Gʷədda Guddi in the Gundät district and then planned to attack Təgray itself. However, the Egyptian army found itself in a very difficult position in the M. valley and was virtually annihilated by the Ethiopian army under *aṣe* Yoḥannəs IV (Chaîne 1913:8f.; ZewYohan).

Today's state boundary at the M. is the result of the rapid annexation of the

A bridge across the Märäb south of its source, in Eritrea; photo ca. 1890, from RubInd 84/85, fig. 14



whole province of Märäb Məllaš by the Italians during the negotiations with *aṣe* Mənilək II in 1889. As a result, the M. was recognized *de facto*, and much later *de jure*, by the Ethiopian ruler as the boundary of the Italian Colonia Eritrea: The "M.-Bäläsa-May Muna-line" was formally settled in the Italo–Ethiopian Addis Abäba agreement of 10 July 1900 (Hertslet 1967; Hamilton 1973; ↗Boundaries; ↗Treaties).

In 1952 the M. again acquired great significance as a political symbol, when the ↗Ethiopian–Eritrean Federation was established. Shortly thereafter, on 4 October, *aṣe* Ḫaylä Śəllase I symbolically crossed the M. on the Rama – 'Addi K"ala road and officially inaugurated the Federation here on the M. bridge by declaring the boundary at the M. abolished (Rampone 1953:59–65), while the M. still was legally a boundary until the annexation of Eritrea in 1962. During the last Ethio–Eritrean war (1998–2000) a battle at the M. valley below 'Addi K"ala, even if this boundary was undisputed, demanded a high number of lives in 1999. The M. bridge had been destroyed during that war.

Src.: AbbGeogr; JAMES BRUCE, *Reisen in das Innere von Africa, nach Abyssinien an die Quellen des Nils*, Leipzig 1791 (tr. of BruNile), 203f.; KolTrad passim; CSA, *Statistical Abstract of Ethiopia 1967/68*, Addis Ababa 1968.
Lit.: MARIUS CHAÎNE, "Histoire du Règne de Iohannes IV Roi d'Ethiopie (1868–1889)", *RevSem* 21, 1913, 8f.; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Poemetto lirico tigrai per la battaglia di Addi Cheletò", in: CARL BEZOLD (ed.), *Orientalische Studien, Theodor Nöldecke zum 70. Geburtstag*, Gießen 1906, 925–39; ID., *Italia ed Etiopia*, Rome 1935; ErlAlula; *Guida* 238f.; DAVID HAMILTON, "Schedule of International Agreements Relating to the Boundaries of Ethiopia", *EthObs* 16, 2, 1973, 58–69; EDWARD HERTSLETT, *The Map of Africa by Treaty ...*, vol. 2: *Abyssinia and Great Britain and France*, London 1967; KilHDic 234, 247, 299; MunSt; TEKESTE NEGASH, *Italian Colonialism in Eritrea, 1882–1941*, Uppsala 1987 (Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis. Studia Historica Upsaliensia 148); PankHist I; RUFILLO PERINI, *Di qua dal Marèb* (*Marèb-mellàsc*), Firenze 1905; OSCAR RAMPONE, *Il Mareb era un confine*, Asmara 1953; RubInd 84/85 (ill.), passim; ZewYohan passim.

Wolbert Smidt

Märäb Məllaš

The M.M. (መረብ፡ ምላሽ, '[Province] beyond the Märäb', also Märäb Mällaš, Märäb Məllasi) was the name of a province north of the Märäb river, i.e. today's Eritrean highlands (↗*Käbäsa*) with their dependencies. The M.M. largely corresponded to the former greater territory governed by the ↗*baḥər nägaš* (*baḥri nägaśi*), the Mədri Baḥri ('Land of the Sea', i.e. the coast). In the formal sense the M.M. comprised the historical provinces of ↗Ḥamasen and ↗Säraye, both unified under the petty dynasty of the 'Ad Däggiyat of ↗Ṣə'azzäga in Ḥamasen. The province of ↗Akkälä Guzay (not lying beyond the Märäb) was originally not included.

The term follows an older pattern in Ethiopian administrative traditions (↗Administrative division). Territories, given by the Ethiopian ruler to their governors, were sometimes not defined on the basis of a historical unity or ethnically, but following geographical landmarks – especially rivers, but also other landmarks – and in that case the term *məllaš* was added to describe the approximate location of the territory. This was the case of the great 17th cent. northern province of the ↗Bambollo Məllaš, the smaller one of Aloha Məllaš, etc. The administrative unit 'Aqäb ('highland') Šire Məllaši appears in the tax records of *aṣe* Tewodros II, i.e. the area of the Šire highlands (Pankhurst 1978:39). Such administrative units could disappear again quite quickly, following the up- or downgrading of governors or due to other administrative concerns.

The exact date of the establishment of the M.M. is not known. It might have appeared in the 17th cent., but perhaps also occasionally before. In that period the "province of Təgray" was reported to consist of two segments, one governed by the ↗*təgre mäk"ännən* with twelve provincial governors, the other by the *baḥər nägaš* also with twelve provincial governors under him, which would correspond to the later M.M. (Barradas 1996:1ff.). The latter half-province beyond the Märäb also appears as "Marebo" in a Portuguese source of the

17th cent., which corresponds to the territory of the M.M. (ibid. 3) The Märäb was consolidated as a provincial boundary in the mid-18th cent. when *baḥri nägaśi* ↗Boḵru Sälomon got the government of the M.M., after the partition of the older Bambollo Məllaš of ↗ᶜAndä Haymanot (KolTrad III, A20). In the tax records of *aṣe* Tewodros II the M.M. is listed as one of the northern provinces paying tribute (along with Wälqayt and other northern territories of Təgrəññña speakers not being part of ↗Təgray proper). In some documents the M.M. is simply appearing as "Ḥamasen", as its centre was located in that province (BTafY 75), the M.M. as a matter of fact corresponding mainly to Ḥamasen with its dependencies.

The M.M. acquired a most prominent position in Ethiopian politics in the period of *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV, when it was defended against Egyptian expansionism (↗Egyptian–Ethiopian war 1875–76) and later lost to Italian colonialism. In spite of the lost battles 1875/76 Egypt claimed sovereignity over the M.M. (ZerYoh 75, 77). The head of the local ↗Hazzäga family, *ləǧ* ↗Wäldä Mikaʾel Sälomon (later *ras*), however, co-operated with the Egyptians before, starting from the ↗Guraᶜ campaign, and in July 1876 killed his rival ↗Ḫaylu Täwäldä Mädḫən "Ḥabal" of Ṣäᶜazzäga at the battle of ↗Wäkki Dəbba, who was an ally of the Emperor. On 9 October 1876, Yoḥannəs appointed his trusted general (and the architect of the Guraᶜ victory) *šaläqa* ↗Alula Ǝngəda as a governor over the whole M.M. region and promoted him *ras* (ErlAlula² 13). He shortly thereafter even also received Akkälä Guzay, which was thus integrated into the governorate of the M.M. It was the first time in many centuries that an outsider was put over the leading local families.

However, a year after the appointment of Alula, when he travelled back across the Märäb to help *aṣe* Yoḥannəs inside Ethiopia (to face his opponent, *nəguś* Mənilək of Šäwa), *ras* Wäldä Mikaʾel, with Egyptian backing, regained control of the M.M. in April 1877, which he kept until September 1878. He regularly took control of the M.M., and then again retreated when new governors appointed by *aṣe* Yoḥannəs arrived. In December 1878 Wäldä Mikaʾel submitted to *aṣe* Yoḥannəs, was confirmed *ras* in an effort to appease him, and remained the governor of M.M. under Alula.

Finally, in December 1879, Alula imprisoned *ras* Wäldä Mikaʾel, and convinced Yoḥannəs to jail him in Təgray. After thus eliminating the last local hereditary chief of Ḥamasen, Alula went on to impose his central government. He experimented with land reform aimed at establishing his followers from Təgray (often originating from Tämben) as Ḥamasen's new elite while he continued an offensive against the Egyptians, raiding their military posts and trying to capture Bogos (↗Bilin: History). The Egyptians, for their part, retaliated by supporting ↗*šəftas* and by fomenting the anti-Alula resentment among the locals. Amid this conflict Alula tried to renew commercial relations with ↗Massawa and cultivated good relations with Ḥamasen's Muslim traders.

In June 1884, following the fall of Egypt into British hands and the success of the ↗Mahdist revolt in the Sudan, the Ethio–Egyptian struggle over the M.M. ended with the ↗Hewett Treaty. It was agreed that the Ethiopians would assist in the rescue of the Egyptian garrisons in Eastern Sudan – besieged by the expanding Mahdīya – in return for the surrender of Bogos to Alula's government, and for Ethiopia to have free port access in Massawa "under British protection".

In late 1884, recognizing these new opportunities, Alula moved his capital in M.M. from ᶜAddi Täḵlay to the small trade centre of ↗Asmära. It was, theoretically, better positioned for developing the commercial route to Massawa, but soon the entire picture changed.

In February 1885, in spite of the fresh British commitment, the Italians landed in Massawa and started their encroachment inland. Meanwhile the Mahdists, led in Eastern Sudan by their *amīr* ↗ᶜUṯmān b. Abī Bakr Diqna, began penetrating down to ↗Kärän and influencing Muslim tribes nearer to the coast (notably the ↗Ḥabab). Thus a second stage in the struggle over the M.M. started. As Alula solidified his hold in the highlands, the Muslims on the coast and in the west were caught between the Ethiopians, the Italians and the Sudanese. The more drastic developments affecting locals occurred in the west. On 23 September 1885 *ras* Alula collided with the Mahdist force of ᶜUṯmān Diqna at ↗Kufit, half-way between Kärän and Kassala. After his overwhelming victory, Alula tried to reach Kassala to rescue the Egyptians there and expand his control. But as the Italian forces were already gathering on the coast, Alula had to abandon this year-long effort. Frustrated and mistrustful of the local tribes, Alula permitted his men to massacre many of the ↗Nara tribesmen in November 1886. He also

embittered the Beni ᶜAmər, even though some of them, as followers of the *Mīrġanī*, had helped him against the Mahdists.

The M.M., however, would eventually be lost to the Italians. In the late 1880s Italy was successful in using the wish for autonomy of local M.M. leaders (especially in Ḥamasen [such as ↗Ḥadgä Anbäsa and several others], but also in Akkälä Guzay [s. ↗Bahta Ḥagos]), the weakness of *aṣe* Yoḥannəs IV and finally the decision of *aṣe* Mənilək II, his successor in 1889, to accept the partition of the north, first recognizing the Italian possessions in the lowlands, and in 1900 up to the Märäb. This might have been due to a pragmatic approach, considering a partitioned north being too weak to challenge his power and also hoping to win a European partner into his plans to build up a modern Ethiopia under his control, with European support.

The weakening of *ras* Alula, M.M.'s governor, was an important factor in this development. Torn between the Italian encroachment and the Mahdists' threat, Alula had to face his enemies in Yoḥannəs's court, as well as local *šəftas* who collaborated with the Italians. On 26 January 1887 Alula ambushed and massacred an Italian battalion at ↗Dogᶜali, an act which resulted in a renewed Italian military effort together with Yoḥannəs's growing mistrust of Alula's judgment. In January 1888 an Italian military unit was entrenched around Säḥaṭi facing Yoḥannəs's forces. The Ethiopians could not assault the Italians' modern defence and failed to entice them into the open. After exhausting its supplies, the Ethiopian imperial army retreated in late March 1888 beyond the Märäb. Alula was left in Asmära but was soon summoned by an angry Yoḥannəs to help him against Mənilək and the Mahdists. In August 1889, with the help of some Ethiopian and local collaborators, notably *fitawrari* ↗Däbbäb Arᵓaya, the Italians entered Asmära without firing a single shot. They soon reached the Märäb and on 1 January 1890 proclaimed their Colonia Eritrea.

In local Eritrean discourse the term M.M. is still known, but used as a geographical term only, meaning the highlands (↗*Käbäsa*). In Ethiopian tradition it is often identified with Eritrea, even if the in fact considerably larger Eritrean territory does not fully correspond to that of the M.M.

Src.: MANOEL BARRADAS, *Tractatus Tres Historico-Geographici (1634)*, tr. by ELIZABET FILLEUL, ed. by RICHARD PANKHURST, Wiesbaden 1996 (AeF 43), 1ff.; KolTrad; RICHARD PANKHURST (ed.), *Tax Records and Inventories of Emperor Téwodros of Ethiopia (1855–1868)*, London 1978, 166; RUFFILLO PERINI, *Di qua dal Marèb (Marèb-Mellasc')*, Firenze 1905, 1, 35f., 47, 51.

Lit.: CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, *Italia ed Etiopia*, Roma 1935; ErlAlula² (Lit.); GÄBRÄ IYÄSUS ABAY, መሰረት፡ ዓሌት፡ ህዝቢ፡ መረብ፡ ምላሽ (*Mäsärät ᶜalet həzbi märäb məllaš*, 'The Origins of the People of Märäb Məllaš'), Asmära 1961; PETER MALCOLM HOLT, *The Mahdist State in the Sudan 1881–1898: a Study of its Origins, Development and Overthrow*, Oxford 1970; KilHDic 299; STEPHEN LONGRIGG, *A Short History of Eritrea*, Oxford 1945, 9; PankHist I; RubInd; TEKESTE NEGASH, *Italian Colonialism in Eritrea, 1882–1941*, Uppsala 1987 (Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis. Studia Historica Upsaliensia 148); ZewYohan 60ff., 69, 75, 77, 81.

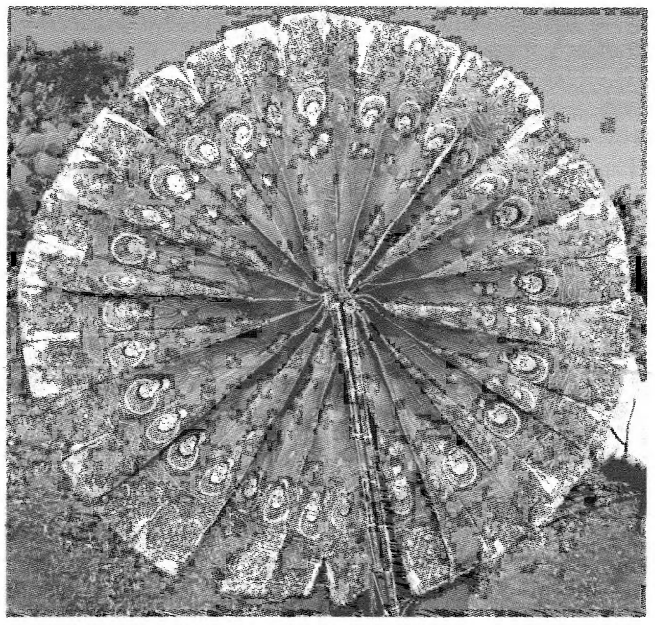
Haggai Erlich – Wolbert Smidt

Maräqo ↗Libido

Märäwəḥ

M. (መረውሕ, also *märäwaḥ*, *märwaḥt*, *märawaḥt*, cp. Syr. *marrūḥā*, *marrūḥātā*, Arab. *mirwaḥ*, *mirwaḥa*) is a liturgical fan, Gr. *rhipidion*, *rhipisterion*, *hexapterygon*, Lat. *flabellum*, *ventilabrum*. It was originally used to wave insects away from the eucharistic bread as already noted in the ↗*Didəsqəlya* (Metzger 1987, VIII, 12:3). This practical function was gradually discontinued and, through the influence of biblical texts, the fan became associated with the cherubs (↗Angels) guarding the ↗Ark of the Covenant and with the seraphs and tetramorphs worshipping the enthroned God (Ex 37:7–9; 1 Kgs 6:23–28; Ezek 10:4ff.; 41:18–20). This symbolism also reflected in church rituals: the deacons holding fans flanked the altar during the reading of the eucharistic prayers and angled them towards the celebrant when the *Tersanctus* (Is 6:3; Rev 4:8) was pronounced. It was also visualized in the fans design: their decoration included the depiction of high ranking angelic figures and related to them many-eyed peacock feathers – a sign of vigilance (Ezek 10:12). The fans were common to both Eastern and Western liturgies but once disappeared from the latter already in the 14th cent.

The role of M. in Ethiopian church ceremonies is obscure. It seems that it disappeared from the liturgy (↗*Qəddase*) long ago, because the few examples still preserved in Ethiopia are not correctly identified by the priests. The M. is not mentioned in classic works on Ethiopian liturgy with the exception of ↗Täklä Maryam Sämharay (Tekle-Mariam Semheray 1936:10), who states that when a mass is celebrated according to the rules prescribed in the *Apostolic Canons*, i.e. with seven assistants, the sixth of them carries a fan. However, his description of the item agrees rath-



Liturgical fan, front side; 15th cent., Däbrä Ṣəyon, Gärᶜalta; photo 2005, courtesy of Michael Gervers

er with the liturgical whisk – *č̣əra,* which at one instance (17th cent.?) replaced the fan.

Nine Ethiopian M. are presently known. Eight are made of parchment folded like a *concertina* and originally fastened between two wooden slats with a shaft. They are decorated on one side by ↗paintings. In most cases, one holy figure, identified by an inscription, is painted on each fold while an ornamented horizontal band filled with interlaces and stylized leafy ornament runs along the top and bottom of the whole stripe of parchment.

Two M. belonging to the ↗Ṭana Qirqos church (74 x 16 and 45 x 7 cm) and dated of the turn of the 15th and 16th cent. are similarly composed (the bigger of 29 sections, the smaller of 40): in the centre (and at the top when the fan is unfolded) appears St. ↗Mary *Orans,* flanked by the archangels, seraphs, cherubs, patriarchs, prophets, other biblical figures, apostles and saints.

A very similar and high quality piece dating from the same time (62 x 10 cm and 38 sections) has recently been acquired by the Walters Art Gallery (inv. nr. 36.9).

The fourth example, in ↗Däbrä Ṣəyon in Gärᶜalta, Təgray, is a huge piece of (possibly camel) skin (43 sections, when opened makes a circle 131 cm in diameter), spread between two wooden boards (48 x 12 cm) and fastened on a 50 cm long shaft. Iconographically it is connected with the previous three. According to a local tradition, this fan was executed during ↗Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob's time, which is not impossible from the stylistic point of view.

To the same group belongs the M. kept in the ↗Däbrä Sälam Mikaᵓel church, which presently contains 21 badly damaged sections (63 x 10 cm each) and some loose pieces of parchment. The repertory of figures also includes two disciples of Paul: Philemon and Titus.

The deteriorated M. that was recently discovered in the church Ǝnda Abbate Wäldä Yoḥannəs near Sənqaṭa, Təgray, and on stylistic grounds dated to the second half of the 15th cent. is made of two strips of parchment sewn together (58 sections, 49 x 10 cm each), one end still fastened to a wooden board. The decoration consists of an ornamental band along the upper border of the parchment and two rows of figures. In the upper row the centrally-placed Celestial Liturgy is depicted (↗*Maiestas Domini* and the 24 Heavenly Priests [Rev 4:4–5]). Their partly discernible names (Akaᵓel, Fanuᵓel, Anuᵓel, Dartoᵓel, Zäraᵓel, Suraᵓel, Rufaᵓel, Gäbrəᵓel, Uraᵓel) seem to originate from a Coptic tradition. In the lower row appears the Entry into Jerusalem with eleven apostles and two golden crosses; in the remaining sections Suraᵓel and Kärubᵓel are represented at the far left and on the extreme right Titus, Philemon, Clemens and Timothy.

The church owns another M. (100 cm in diameter, shaft 27 cm) ordered 20 years ago from an artist from the Amhara region. He partly copied the old piece adding some scenes not appropriate for a M.: the Carrying of the Cross, the Crucifixion and five miracles of Jesus.

One more M., kept in ↗Däbrä Ḥayq Ǝsṭifanos and partly damaged (39 sections are preserved), is presently displayed on the church wall. The compositional principles of the decoration are the same: between two horizontal borders a procession of angels and saints meet in the centre, occupied by the Ancient of Days (Dan 7:9–10, 13–14; Rev 4:4). Thanks to their attributes (crosses and censers), the 24 Heavenly Priests can be identified while six bearded figures holding palm branches and crosses most probably represent the apostles and belong to the Entry into Jerusalem which is not preserved. There are also seven angels armed with swords. The M. is tentatively dated to the turn of the 16th and 17th cent.

An exceptional M. made of wood was photographed in the early 1930s in Addis Abäba at occasion of the ↗*Mäsqäl* festival. It belonged most probably to the church of St. George (Wencker-Wildberg 1935).

Src.: René Basset (tr.), *Les Apocryphes éthiopiens*, vol. 5: *Les prières de la Vierge à Bartos et au Golgotha*, Paris

1895, 21; GABRIEL KHOURI-SARKIS, "Le Livre de Guide de Yahya ibn Jarir", *L'Orient Syrien* 12, 1967, 328; MARCEL METZGER (ed., tr.), *Les Constitutions Apostoliques*, vol. 3, Paris 1987 (Sources Chrétiennes 336), 178f.; TEKLE-MARIAM SEMHERAY SELIM, *Règles spéciales de la messe éthiopienne*, Rome 1936, 10.

Lit.: AfrZion 94f., nos. 7 and 7bis; EWA BALICKA-WITAKOWSKA, "The Liturgical Fan and Some Recently Discovered Ethiopian Examples", *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* 57, 2, 2004, 19–46; JOSEPH BRAUN, *Das christliche Altargerät*, München 1932, 645f.; DEBORAH HOROWITZ (ed.), *Ethiopian Art: the Walters Museum*, Baltimore, MD 2001, 114f.; OTTO JÄGER, "Ethiopian Manuscript Paintings", *EthObs* 4, 1960, 354–91, here 363; HENRI LECLERCQ, "Flabellum", in: FERNAND CABROL (ed.), *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, vol. 5, 2, Paris 1907–53, 1619–20; JULES LEROY, *Ethiopian Painting in the Late Middle Ages and under the Gondar Dynasty*, London 1967, 47; WOLFGANG FRITZ VOLBACH (ed.), *Koptische Kunst: Christentum am Nil. 3 Mai bis 15 August 1963, Villa Hügel, Essen*, [Exhibition Catalogue], Essen 1963, no. 552; KLAUS WESSEL, "Flabellum", in: ID. – MARCEL RESTLE (eds.), *Reallexikon zur byzantinischen Kunst*, vol. 2, Stuttgart 1967, 550–55.

Ill.: HELEN C. EVANS (ed.), *Byzantium: Faith and Power (1261–1577)* [Exhibition Catalogue, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York], New York 2004, nos. 187A, 187B, 188, 190, 191; OTTO JÄGER, *Aethiopische Miniaturen*, Berlin 1957, pl. 4; CANDICE MILLARD – GEORGE STEINMETZ, "Keepers of the Faith", *National Geographic* 200, 11, July 2001, 122–23; MARLEA MUNDELL MANGO, *Silver from Early Byzantium: the Kaper Koraon and Related Treasures*, Baltimore, MD 1986, nos. 31, 32; FRIEDRICH WENCKLER-WILDBERG, *Abessinien*, Berlin 1935, figs. 88, 90.

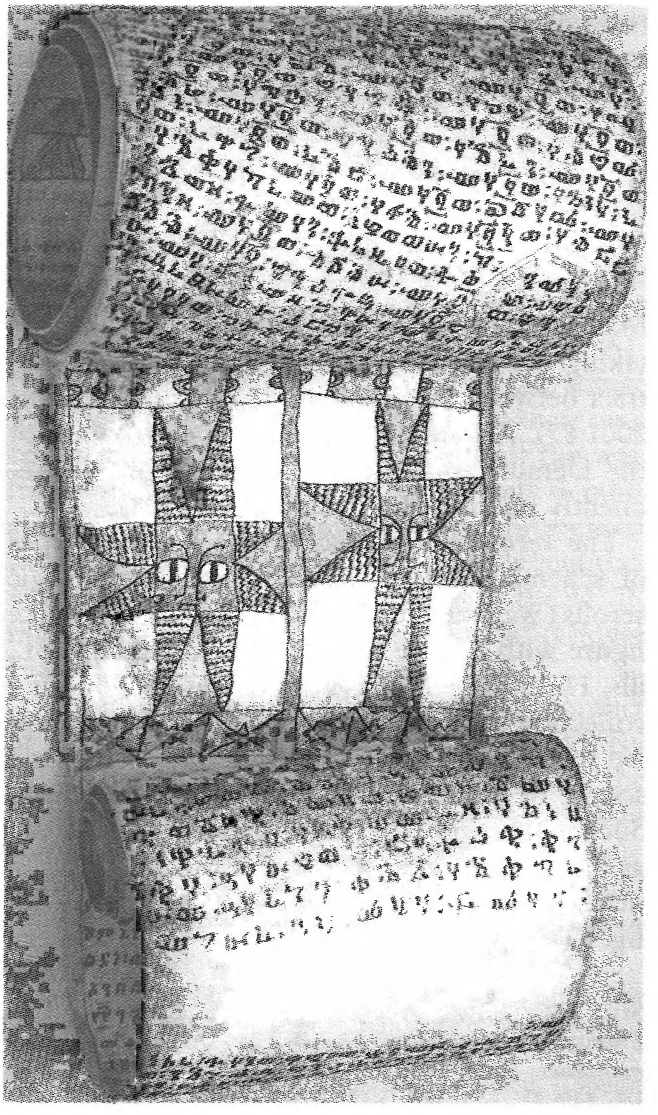
Ewa Balicka-Witakowska

Mär^{ə}awi Krəstos ↗Ṣä^{ʿ}ada Ǝmba

Märbäbtä Sälomon

The M.S. (**መርበብተ ሰሎሞን**, 'Solomon's net') is the designation for a magic text containing a collection of incantations for conjuring up demons and pictures, usually put together in a ↗magic scroll of varying length.

The traditions in which ↗Solomon was considered as the lord and master of demons by reason of his famous knowledge and wisdom were widespread in Judaism and Christendom of the Late Antiquity (cp. the ↗*Zena Ayhud*); their traces appear in the most important Ethiopian text dealing with the biblical King, the ↗*Kəbrä nägäśt*, describing the power of Solomon's wisdom in subduing the demons in order to put them to work for building the Temple (BezKebr ch. 25; Jankowski 1987:295, 360, ill. 212). In the ↗magic literature the role of Solomon is featured in the M.S. and the **መጽሔተ ሰሎሞን** (*Mäṣḥetä Sälomon*, 'The Mirror of Solomon'); the **ማኅተመ ሰሎሞን** (*Maḫtämä Sälomon*, 'The Seal of Solomon') is mentioned in some magic prayers (Burtea 2001:86f.).



The "Seal of Solomon", on a magic scroll written on both sides; 19th/20th cent., St. Petersburg, Peter the Great Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography, no. 4055–10, from Chernetsov 2004, fig. 19

The core of the M.S. constitutes the story of Solomon defeating the king of the ↗demons who is forced to give away information on his magic work (*gäbr*) through which the demons harmed mankind. The title refers most probably to the net the biblical King extended over the demons like over fish in the sea, described in the introduction to some versions of the M.S. (Euringer 1928:93). Another version mentions, instead of the net, the magic names (cp. ↗*Asmat*) of Solomon and supports Löfgren's assumption that the title M.S. refers to the magic formula used by Solomon to make inoffensive the demons, **ሎፍሐም፡ መሐፍሎን፡ ንምሎስ፡ ሰሎሞን** (*lofḥam mäḥaflon nəmlos Sälomon*). The magic properties of these four words are underlined by the fact that, if one would take into consideration only the consonants, they can be read in both di-

rections and in consequence can be put together in a magic square (cp. Löfgren 1962:117):

ሰ	ሎ	ሞ	ን
ሎ	ፍ	ሐ	ሞ
ሞ	ሐ	ፍ	ሎ
ን	ሞ	ሎ	ሰ

Magic squares are used as additions to magic texts taking the role of a seal put on a kind of contract between Solomon and the demons (Burtea 2001:87). An amulet entitled "The Drowner of the Demons and the Net of Solomon" is frequently published in Ethiopia (1997/98).

The term M.S. is also used for a few types of schematic image found in Ethiopian magic scrolls (Wagner 1967:725 and ills. 9-10; cross-like figure with a "face" in the centre, s. ibid. 725f., ills. 11-13; fig.). M.S. is also the designation for a collection of seals and characters which is recopied from generation to generation and serve as a source of models for the makers of the scrolls. Such collections of magic paintings preserved as a book are wide spread and can be found in many monasteries (s. Mercier 1976:235, 1997:42, fig. 33).

↗Magic

Src.: RENÉ BASSET (tr.), *Les apocryphes éthiopiens. VII. Enseignements de Jésus-Christ à ses disciples et prières magiques*, Paris 1896, 25–30; BezKebr ch. 25; EMML III, 429; IV, 175, 588; V, 143; SEBASTIAN EURINGER (ed., tr.), "Das Netz Salomons. Ein äthiopischer Zaubertext", *ZSem* 6, 1928, 76–100, 178–99, 300–14 and 7, 1929, 68–85; GrébGriaule II, 76; GréTisVat I, 370, 376, 381f., 507, 692, 699; HamSixBerl 236, 258f.; OSCAR LÖFGREN, "Äthiopische Wandamulette", *Orientalia Suecana* 11, 1962, 95–120; SixBay 127f., 145f., 162, 164; SixTana III, 320, 322, 335, 339, 349, 357, 367–70, 373, 375f., 389, 392, 396, 399f., 437; StrANL 177f., 312.

Lit.: BOGDAN BURTEA, *Zwei äthiopische Zauberrollen*, Aachen 2001 (Semitica et Semitohamitica Berolinensia 1), (Lit.); SEVIR CHERNETSOV, "Tri magičeskih sjužeta po materialam efiopskih rukopisnyh amuletov iz sobranija MAE" ('Tree Magic Plots after the Materials of the Handwritten Amulets from the Collection of the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography'), *Africana. Afrikanskij etnografičeskij sbornik* 10, 1975, 208–18; ID., "Ethiopian 'Magic Scrolls' from the MAE Collection", *Manuscripta Orientalia* 10, 4, 2004, 40–68, here 58–62, fig. 19, pls. 2–3 (ill.); SEBASTIAN EURINGER, "Der Spiegel Salomons. Ein abessinisches Amulett", *ZDMG* 91, 1937, 162–74; ALICE JANKOWSKI, *Die Königin von Saba und Salomo*, Hamburg 1987, 295, 360, ill. 212; DÉBORAH LIFSZYC, "Amulettes éthiopiennes", *Minotaure* 1, 2, 1933, 71–74; መስጠመ፡ አጋንንት፡ ወመርበብተ፡ ሰሎሞን። ክታብ (*Mäsṭämä aganənt wämärbäbtä Sälomon. Kətab*, 'The Drowner of the Demons and the Net of Solomon. The Amulet'), n.p. 1990 A.M. [1997/98 A.D.]; JACQUES MERCIER, "Les plus anciens rouleaux protecteurs éthiopiens", *AE* 10, 1976, 227–38; ID., *Ethiopian Magic Scrolls*, New York – Scranton, PA 1979; ID., *Art that Heals: the Image as Medicine in Ethiopia*, München – New York 1997; MAXIME RODINSON, "Comment un roi israélite est devenu un magicien universel", in: JACQUES MERCIER (ed.), *Le Roi Salomon et les maîtres du regard: Art et médicine en Éthiopie*, Paris 1992, 132–35; STEFAN STRELCYN (ed., tr.), *Prières magiques éthiopiennes pour délier les charmes (maftéhe šéray)*, Varsovie 1955 (= Rocznik Orientalistyczny 18); PABLO A. TORIJANO, *Solomon the Esoteric King. From King to Magus, Development of a Tradition*, Leiden – Boston, MD – Köln 2002; EWALD WAGNER, "Die Illustrationen der äthiopischen Zauberrollen der Sammlung Littmann", in: WILHELM HOENERBACH (ed.), *Der Orient in der Forschung. Festschrift für Otto Spies zum 5. April 1966*, Wiesbaden 1967, 706–32, here 724–30.

Bogdan Burtea

Marcus, Harold Golden

M. (b. 8 April 1936, Worcester MA, d. 15 January 2003, Okemos, Michigan) was a prominent American scholar of Ethiopian and North-east African studies.

M. earned his B.A. from Clark University and his Ph.D. from Boston University in 1964. During his long academic career he held appointments at Michigan State University, Howard University, and Haile Selassie I University (later ↗Addis Ababa University) and visiting appointments at Osaka Gaidai University and the University of Khartoum.

From his position of 35 years as Professor of History and African Studies at Michigan State University M. was the founding editor of the journal *Northeast African Studies* (*NEASt*) and of *H-Africa*, the pioneering internet site for African studies. During the period of the ↗Provisional Military Administrative Council M. played a decisive role in keeping Ethiopian studies alive in the ↗United States. He organized several conferences on Northeast African studies and ↗Ethiopian studies in Michigan; in 1993 he convened the 12th ↗International Conference of Ethiopian Studies and edited its proceedings (PICES 12).

M. is known for his biographies of *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II (*The Life and Times of Emperor Menilek II of Ethiopia*, 1975) and *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase (*Haile Sellassie I: The Formative Years, 1892–1936*, 1987). He was also author of several other monographs, including *A History of Ethiopia* (1994) and *Ethiopia, Great Britain, and the United States 1941–1974* (1983). Shortly before his death, he completed the final manuscript of

A Man Out of Time: the Political Biography of Haile Sellassie I, 1892–1975.

Src.: HAROLD GOLDEN MARCUS, *The Life and Times of Emperor Menilek II of Ethiopia*, Oxford 1975; ID., *Haile Sellassie I: The Formative Years, 1892–1936*, Berkeley, CA 1987; ID., *A History of Ethiopia*, Berkeley, CA 1994; ID., *Ethiopia, Great Britain, and the United States 1941–1974*, Berkeley, CA 1983.

Lit.: BAIRU TAFLA, "In Memoriam Harold Golden Marcus (–2003)", *Aethiopica* 6, 2003, 215–19 (Lit.); MARK LAWRENCE KORNBLUH, "In Memory of Harold Golden Marcus", *H-Net, Michigan State University*, 5 May 2003; MELVIN E. PAGE, "Harold G. Marcus, 1936–2003", *H-Africa*, 25 January 2003.

James McCann

Marda-Pass

The M.-P. is located 147 km east-south-east of ↗Dərre Dawa, and 11 km west of ↗Ğiğğiga. The pass, which rises to an elevation of 2,000 m A.S.L. (Guida 438), was of strategic importance during the Ethiopian liberation campaign of 1941. British forces – sweeping northwards from Kenya via Italian Somaliland, and supported by others which had just landed at Berbera in British Somaliland – captured the Ogaden settlement of Ğiğğiga on 17 March 1941. Their objective was to advance on Harär and Addis Abäba. However, the troops were held up at the M.-P., the first defended position they encountered that they could not outflank; it was the only route through the hills that the British military vehicles could take.

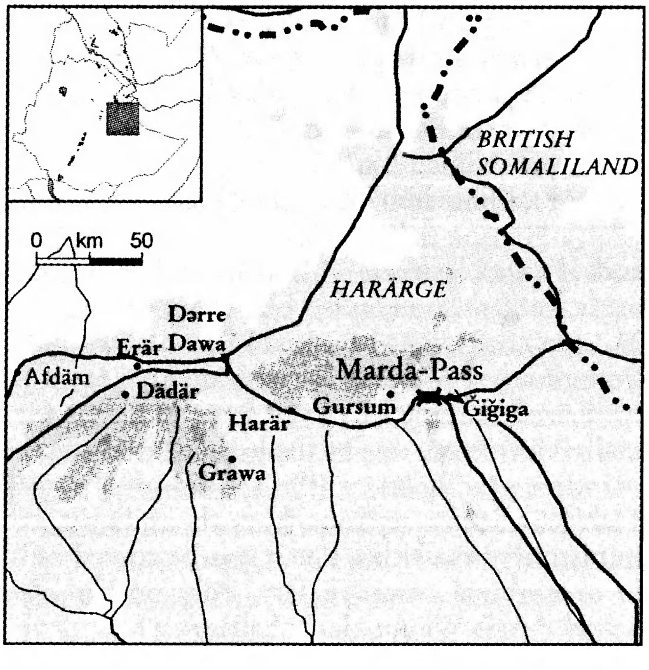
Resistance at the boulder-strewn pass was based on six hills, named by the British from left to right as: Saddle Hill, Observation Hill, Marda's Left Breast, Marda's Right Breast, Camel Saddle and, centre rear, Marda's Behind (s. Orpen 1981:231). Realising their predicament, the British decided on a powerful frontal attack, like the one they had launched at Kärän, on the northern front, five weeks earlier (↗Kärän, battle of). They chose to attack at lunch time on 21 March 1941, whilst the Italians were either hungry or eating. The British force – composed mainly of Nigerian infantry and supported by South African artillery and aircraft – had the advantage because the enemy, long isolated from their own country, had been forced to retreat all the way from Jubaland, and were by then largely demoralized. They fought hard, however, throughout the afternoon, but were defeated after nightfall when many deserted. With the fall of the M.-P., the British advance "seemed irresistible" (Glover 1987:133).

In another war, the Ethio-Somalian conflict of 1977–78, the M.-P. again played a role. By September 1977 the M.-P. was controlled by the Somali army. When the Ethiopia-Soviet-Cuban troops started their counteroffensive in early 1978, they by-passed the M.-P. and then could re-capture Ğiğğiga, which was a turning-point in the war (Bereket Habte Selassie 1980:120ff.).

Src.: *Guida* 438; HIS MAJESTY'S STATIONERY OFFICE, *The Abyssinian Campaigns: the Official Story of the Conquest of Italian East Africa*, London 1942, 92–95.

Lit.: CAREL BIRKBY, *It's a Long Way to Addis*, London 1942, 205f.; MICHAEL GLOVER, *An Improvised War: the Abyssinian Campaign of 1940–1941*, London 1987, 129ff.; MockWar 366f.; NEIL ORPEN, *East African and Abyssinian Campaigns*, Cape Town 1981, 228–32.

Richard Pankhurst



Mardassaa Ğootee

Fitawrari M.Ğ. (b. 1893, Gidaamii, d. 1929, Ankobär) was the son of *mooti* Didima of Leeqaa (later *däğğazmač* ↗Ğootee Tulluu) and thus the grandson of *mooti* Tulluu Gudda of Qälləm. He was brought to Addis Abäba together with his brothers by *ras* ↗Gobäna and went to the same class at Mənilək II Secondary School as *däğğazmač* Täfäri Makʷännən (later *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Səllase I) and *ləğ* ↗Iyasu Mikaʾel.

When his father was imprisoned, M.Ğ. and Ğootee's brother *fitawrari* Amaya Tulluu, then Governor of Sayyoo *awrağğa* (capital ↗Dambi Dolloo), went to Sudan hoping for the intercession of the British government in Khartoum in Ğootee's case. Tradition has it that after three

years M.Ǧ. went to London and returned with a letter from King George (Terrefe Woldetsadik 1968:84f.). He was briefly imprisoned for refusing to hand the letter to the *əndärase ras* ↗Täsämma Nadäw and not directly to Mənilək. Ǧootee was released, though it is not clear whether immediately or only after Mənilək's death the same year.

The tension between M.Ǧ. and Täfäri had started already during school-time when, according to tradition, M.Ǧ. once hurt Täfäri during a game of ↗*gugs* at Ǧan Meda. The animosity increased after the fall of *ləǧ* Iyasu in 1916. Ǧootee, Iyasu's father-in-law, publicly criticized *ətege* Zawditu's ascension to the throne and *ras* Täfäri's rise to power. M.Ǧ. in his turn openly disapproved of the (in his view, false) accusations that Iyasu had converted to Islam. Eventually, M.Ǧ. headed an open rebellion forcing *ras* Täfäri to dismiss the twelve ministers he had appointed. He also blackmailed the Metropolitan by threatening his life to release the rebels from the anathema.

When M.Ǧ. was appointed governor of his father's realm in western Wälläga, he withheld the payment of taxes claiming that *ras* Bərru Mənilək, who had been ruling Qälləm since his father's incarceration, had so impoverished the land that people were not able to pay.

Finally in 1920, M.Ǧ. claimed a freedom for a slave in *ras* Täfäri's court. When the plea was refused, M.Ǧ. threatened to report the matter to the ↗League of Nations which made the abolition of ↗slavery a condition of accepting Ethiopian membership. For this "act of treason" – or, according to other sources, due to the accusations made up by Ǧootee's enemies that M.Ǧ. had been importing ↗fire-arms from Sudan (Terrefe Woldetsadik 1968:85), M.Ǧ. was arrested and imprisoned in Ankobär where he stayed until his death. Because he collapsed after ingesting ↗*koso*, which had been sent to him from Addis Abäba, rumours suggested that he was poisoned. M.Ǧ. was still in chains even after he passed away, and prison officials only dared to open them by the order of *ras* Täfäri.

Lit.: BAHRU ZEWDE, *Dejasmach Jote Tulu (1855–1918)*, Essay, Department of History, Haile Selassie I University, Addis Ababa 1970; TASISA EBBA, የመርዶሳ፡ ጆቴ፡ ሰንሰለት (*Yämärdässa Ǧote sänsälät*, 'Märdässa Ǧote's Chain'), Addis Abäba 1974 A.M. [1981/82 A.D.]; KTMast; TERREFE WOLDETSADIK, "The Unification of Ethiopia (1880–1935), Wälläga", *JES* 6, 1, 1968, 73–86, here 84f.; WANGIELU ELIAS, *Folio of Family Records*, Addis Ababa 2001.

Paulos Milkias

Märəd azmač

M.a. (መርድ፡ አዝማች, also *märᵓəd/märᶜəd azmač*, old: መርድ፡ አዝማቲ, *märəd azmati*) is an old Ethiopian title of the rulers of ↗Šäwa. Amh. ↗*azmač* (lit. 'the one who leads a raid, military expedition') appears in a few of the military titles. Differently from the military titles like *däğğazmač*, *grazmač* and *qäññazmač*, the title M.a. appeared much later. Formerly, the governor of the province of Šäwa had the title ↗*ṣäḥafe lam*. The first Šäwan ruler of the local dynasty (cp. *abeto* ↗Yaᶜəqob) bearing this title seems to have been Səbəste (↗Səbəstyanos). Shortly after the death of his father *abeto* ↗Nägaśi Krəstos, probably in 1703, he proclaimed that he bestowed the title upon himself by his own authority (BTafA 505f.; AWTarik 40). The title was inherited by Səbəste's son ↗Abbəyye who defeated, reportedly, the generals of *aṣe* ↗Iyasu II dispatched to subdue him (this episode is not reported in the royal chronicles; s. EgeClass 25; BTafA 430f.; AWTarik 41f.). Then, the title of the Šäwan lords – and their hereditary right to rule – was recognized by the monarch. In addition, there is at least one tradition reporting that it was Abbəyye to receive the title of M. from Iyasu II (CecZeila I, 239).

The word *märəd* in M.a. is an Amharization of the Gəᶜəz *märᶜəd*, 'terrible, terrifying', and is known also as a personal ↗name. Originally, the title M.a. referred to the military prowess of the Šäwan rulers, constantly preoccupied with the fighting against the ↗Oromo. Cerulli (1941:16) assumes that Girāmgazᵓi, the name of a 13th-cent. Šäwan *sulṭān* from the ↗Maḫzūmī dynasty ("terrificus dominus"), may be an early equivalent and the historic parallel to M.a. However, there seems to be no mentions of the title in the sources referring to the period prior to the early 18th cent.

Less than one century after Abbəyye, ↗Wäsän Sägäd proclaimed himself ↗*ras* and strictly prohibited calling him M.a. (AWTarik 47; BTafA 526f.). His son Śahlä Śəllase styled himself ↗*ras* and ↗*nəguś*, yet *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II appointed Śahlä Śəllase's son Ḫaylä Mikaᵓel with the title of M.a., in an attempt to control Šäwa. During the time of *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II (who doesn't seem to have used the title M.a.) and later, M.a. was formally elevated to one of the highest titles for the *mäsafənt-*↗aristocracy (the second after *nəguś*, MahZekr 641f.), separate from the military, administrative etc. titles, but it was bestowed only in exceptional cases (in fact, only on the *alga wäraš* ↗Asfa Wäsän Ḫaylä Śəllase).

Src.: AWTarik 40, 41f., 47 (text) = 78f., 82f., 99 (tr.); BTafA 430f., 505f., 526f., 944; CecZeila I, 239; ENRICO CERULLI, "Il sultanato dello Scioa nel secolo XIII secondo un nuovo documento storico", *RSE* 1, 1, 1941, 5–42, here 7 (text) = 11 (tr.), 16 [repr. in: *CerIslam* 207–43]; GueCopMen 61, n. 5, s. index; GuiVoc 68; LesCDic 459; MasMis vol. 10, 190; MahZekr 641f.

Lit.: ABBEBE KIFLEYESUS, *Tradition and Transformation: the Argobba of Ethiopia*, Wiesbaden 2006 (AeF 66), s. index; AbPrince 146; EgeClass 25, s. index (Lit.).

Denis Nosnitsin

Märəd Ḫaylu

Ras M.Ḫ. (መርድ፡ ኃይሉ; b. 1772, d. 20 July 1799) was the son of *ras* ↗Ḫaylu Yosedeq of Goğğam (by Məskäb), and, through him, grandson of ↗Wälättä Rufaʾel and great-grandson of Empress *ətege* ↗Bərhan Mogäsa (Məntəwwab). He had two brothers, Dənqitu and Trengo, and one son, Gʷalu, from his wife *wäyzäro* Ḫirut (CRNuov 368).

M.Ḫ.'s career was brief, but significant, and lasted throughout the 1790s; he died at the age of 27. He succeeded his father as ruler of Goğğam in either June or early July 1795, and in May 1796 he placed a son of *aṣe* ↗Täklä Haymanot II on the throne with the regnal name ↗Sälomon II. Sälomon, in turn, appointed M.Ḫ. ↗*ras* and ↗*bitwäddäd*. In the early months of 1798, however, M.Ḫ. deposed Sälomon and restored ↗Täklä Giyorgis I to the throne. M.Ḫ. died in battle at Wägära, and was buried in the tomb of his "mother", Məntəwwab, at ↗Qʷəsqʷam, Gondär.

Src.: BlunChr 157f., 163–68, 171–74, 180ff., 194 (text) = 428, 430, 435, 437–42, 446f., 449, 458, 460ff., 480 (tr.); CRNuov 368.

Donald Crummey

Märəd Mängäša

Major General M.M. (መርድ፡ መንገሻ; b. 1912, d. 1966) was a Šäwan-Goğğami aristocrat, distantly related to Emperor ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I's family. During the occupation of Ethiopia (1936–41), M.M. fought against the Italians with ᶜAbiy Abbäbä (1918–74). After the Liberation, he became aide-de-camp to the Emperor (1942–47). During 1948–56, M.M. served as Commander of the Army's 2nd Division. After a tour as governor of ↗Bägemdər (1956–57), he returned to the military as Deputy Minister of Defence (1957–59). In 1959 M.M. became Army Chief of Staff, a position that enabled him to play a significant role in suppressing the unsuccessful ↗Coup d'état of 1960 against Ḫaylä Śəllase. The Coup plotters sought to arrest M.M. and Brigadier General Asfa Ayena, Deputy Chief of Staff of the Air Force, but they eluded capture and established a command post at the 1st Army Division headquarters for the forces loyal to the Emperor. M.M. also reaffirmed the loyalty of the Army and Air Force to Ḫaylä Śəllase, who subsequently named him Minister of Defence (1961), a position he held until his death.

Lit.: ClapHS 196f.; ERNEST W. LEFEVRE, *Spear and Scepter: Army, Police, and Politics in Tropical Africa*, Washington, DC 1970, 147.

Thomas P. Ofcansky

Marəyye Gugsa

Ras M.G. (ማርዬ፡ ጉግሳ; d. 1831) was the son, and a successor, of *ras* ↗Gugsa Märsa of the ↗Yäğğu Wärräsek dynasty. His brother, ↗Yəmam, preceded him in office.

M.G. was initially appointed to rule Goğğam, but his violent and oppressive nature led to his removal (CRNuov 367). Yəmam appointed M.G. to rule the lands of *däğğazmač* ↗Maru; however, his rule was marked by violence. When Yəmam died, January 1828, M.G. was elected to succeed him. His reign was characterized by military campaigns, which culminated in the battle of Däbrä ᶜAbbay, February 1831, in which his principal foe was *däğğazmač* ↗Säbagadis Wäldu of Təgray. M. died in battle (CRNuov 376).

Src.: CRNuov 16f., 19, 25–29, 31f. (text) = 367ff., 372–76 (tr.); CRReal 837, 844, 852f. (text) = 898, 903f., 906–10 (tr.); BlunChr 198 (text) = 485 (tr.); SAMUEL GOBAT, *Journal of a Three Years' Residence in Abyssinia in Furtherance of the Objects of the Church Missionary Society*, London 1834, 18, 125, 137, 147, 153, 167, 172, 178, 207, 232, 235.

Lit.: AbPrince 34–37, 42; RubInd 66f.

Donald Crummey

Margherita, lake ↗Abbayya

Märḥa ᶜəwwur

M.ᶜə. (መርሐ፡ ዕዉር, 'Guide of the Blind One') is one of the titles frequently used for the lengthy collected treatises also known as the ↗*Baḥrä ḥassab* and offering instructions for calendaric calculations on the basis of the Ethiopian ↗computus, predominantly to define dates of moveable ↗feasts of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church.

Specifically, since the end of the 19th cent., M.ᶜə. became the title primarily associated with the shorter text in Amharic, most probably composed in 1896 by *däbtära* ↗Kəflä Giyorgis, published the same year, without translation, by Ignazio ↗Guidi. At least one later copy of the

Amharic M.ᶜə. seems to exist in a manuscript preserved in ↗Däbrä Maryam at Lake Ṭana.

The Amharic M.ᶜə. is a text of ten chapters, in which the author assembled what he found of interest in the computus and in biblical chronology, in order to make accessible to a wider public what was traditionally only known to the *mämhəran* and transferred through oral tradition. Kəflä Giyorgis ascribes the original authorship of the text to the Patriarch Demetrius, claiming that his Coptic treatise was translated into Gəᶜəz, whence he translated it into Amharic; it seems, however, that the text published by Guidi is a relatively free compilation based on the *Baḥrä ḥassab* tradition.

Another peculiar use of the term M.ᶜə. may be to distinguish between the ecclesiastic computus for moveable feasts called *Baḥrä ḥassab* and a simple calendar called M.ᶜə. (Mauro da Leonessa 1934:55f.); this distinction is, however, not strictly followed, and the two terms in these contexts are usually used interchangeably.

↗Calendars

Src.: EMML, s. index; HamTana II, 101, Ṭānāsee 81 = Dabra Māryām 23; MAURO DA LEONESSA (ed., tr.), "Un trattato sul calendario redatto al tempo di re 'Amda Ṣyon I", *RSE* 3, 1943, 302–26; IGNAZIO GUIDI (ed.), "Il 'Marḥa 'ewûr'", *RRALm* ser. 5ª, 5, 1896, 363–85; SixTana, s. index.

Lit.: MARIUS CHAÎNE, *La chronologie des temps chrétiens de l'Égypte et de l'Éthiopie*, Paris 1925; GETAČČÄW ḪAYLE, ባሕረ፡ ሐሳብ። የዘመን፡ ቈጠራ፡ ቅርሳችን፡ ከታሪክ፡ ማስታወሻ፡ ጋራ (*Baḥrä Ḥassab. Yäzämän qʷäṭära qərsaččən kätarik mastawäša gara*, '*Baḥrä Ḥassab*. Our Heritage of Reckoning Time, with Notes of History'), Collegeville, MN 2000; MAURO DA LEONESSA, *Dissertazioni cronologiche. Cronologia e calendario etiopico*, Tivoli 1934, 55f.; OTTO NEUGEBAUER, *Ethiopic Astronomy and Computus*, Wien 1979 (Sitzungsberichte der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse 347), 165f.; LANFRANCO RICCI, [review of Getaččäw Ḫayle 2000/01], *RSE* nuova ser. 1, 1, 2002, 156–58, esp. 157f.

Bogdan Burtea – Evgenia Sokolinskaia

Märḥa Krəstos

M.K. (መርሐ፡ ክርስቶስ, b. ca. 1408, d. 19 January 1497 [24 *Ṭərr* 1489 A.M.]) was the ninth abbot (cp. ↗*əṣṣäge*) of ↗Däbrä Libanos of Šäwa. According to his Acts (a valuable early 16th-cent. source, ed. Kur 1972), he was born in ᶜƎnaräqan (and baptized Yəmrəḥannä Krəstos) in the district of ↗Wäğ, to Ḫaylä Krəstos and Bärbara, on 13 *Näḥase* (the feast of Däbrä Tabor). His parents "bequeathed" him to St. ↗Mary, but did not recall their promise until the child reminded them. He was entrusted as disciple to the priest Tomas (a spiritual son of the son of ↗Tewodros, the fifth abbot of Däbrä Libanos), consecrated deacon by metropolitan *abunä* ↗Bärtälomewos and ordained priest by *abunä* ↗Gäbrəʾel. Against the will of his family, he left the worldly life and came to Däbrä Libanos of Šäwa where he received the monastic habit (and name M.K.) from ↗Yoḥannəs Käma. In the monastery, M.K. distinguished himself and was appointed *liqä ardəʾət* ('head of the novices'). Probably several years after the death of abbot ↗Ǝndrəyas in detention, M.K. was appointed head of Däbrä Libanos (17 August 1463 [24 *Näḥase* 1489 A.D.], s. Kur 1972: vi) and given significant prerogatives (including the office of ↗*nəburä əd*) by *aṣe* ↗Zärʾa Yaᶜəqob himself (Kur 1972:42ff., 49).

The Acts report about M.K.'s activities in ↗Mugär, destruction of "pagan cults" and a clash with a certain Ǝsṭifanos (unlikely the 15th-cent. leader of the ↗Stephanites) and his followers at Däbrä Sänkwaᶜ (Kur 1972:52ff.). During the tenure of M.K., the position of the monastery improved. With the permission of Zärʾa Yaᶜəqob, M.K. translated to Däbrä Libanos the relics of Ǝndrəyas (Kur 1972:44f.). Under *aṣe* ↗Bäʾədä Maryam, the translation of *abunä* ↗Filəppos, the third abbot, took place (ibid. 90, 91f.). These "relocations" bear witness to the increasing importance of Däbrä Libanos and the favour of the monarch.

M.K. remained very loyal to Bäʾədä Maryam. In ca. 1471, he accompanied the monarch in a dangerous campaign agains ↗Dobaʾa, where, according to the Acts, he worked a miracle in the decisive battle (Kur 1972:63f.; cp. PerrZarY 133). The monarch and the abbot expressed mutual sympathy also at other occassions (PerrZarY 147, 178f., 181f.). During the vacancy of the metropolitan see of Ethiopia after the death of *abunä* Gäbrəʾel (1458), the majority of the ecclesiastics convoked by Bäʾədä Maryam at a council in 1477 opted for instituting an Ethiopian metropolitan (cp. ↗*Pappas*) and, thus, for the independence from the ↗Coptic Church. The Emperor, however, being supported by M.K.'s veto, opted for the metropolitan of Alexandria to maintain the Apostolic Succession (Kur 1972:83–86).

Upon his ascension to the throne, *aṣe* Ǝskəndər, together with the new metropolitan(s) *abba* ↗Yəsḥaq and *abba* ↗Marqos, visited Däbrä Libanos and clearly acknowledged M.K. as head "of all the churches in Ethiopia" (Kur 1972:88f.; cp. Proverbio – Fiaccadori 2004:680f.). The rela-

tionship between M.K. and Ǝskəndər remained good, and the latter continued the practice of placing new monasteries and churches under the administration of Däbrä Libanos (DerDom 340f.). It was possibly during M.K.'s tenure that the translation of *abunä* ↗Täklä Haymanot's relics "in golden sarcophagus" was performed by *aṣe* ↗Naᶜod (Kur 1972:90; cp. Nosnitsin 2003:144 n. 27). Naᶜod is reported to have bitterly mourned the death of M.K. (Kur 1972:114), and he established M.K.'s *täzkar* as that of *abunä* ↗Täklä Haymanot.

Written under *əṣṣäge* Ṗeṭros, soon after the death of M.K., his Acts and Miracles fit well into the literary tradition of Däbrä Libanos's ↗hagiography, and are represented so far by valuable ms. Cerulli Etiopico 247, fols. 55r–172v (Cerulli 2004:193f., no. 247) and ms. of Schøyen Collection, fols. 63a–176b (Mercier 2000:64f.), the latter apparently a rare remnant the monastery's library before the Muslim wars of the 16th cent.

Src.: ENRICO CERULLI, "Gli abbati di Dabra Libānos capi del monachesimo etiopico, secondo la 'lista rimata' (sec. XIV–XVIII)", *Orientalia* nova ser. 13, 1944, 137–82, here 145–49; STANISLAS KUR, *Actes de Marḥa Krestos*, Louvain 1972 (CSCO 330, 331 [SAe 62, 63]); DELIO VANIA PROVERBIO – GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, "Un nuovo testimone etiopico della Rivelazione di Pietro a Clemente: il ms. 121 del Monumento Nazionale di Casamari (Veroli)", *RANLm* ser. 9ª, 15, 2004 [2005], 665–77, here 680f., 687f.; JACQUES MERCIER, *L'arche éthiopienne: art chrétienne d'Éthiopie*, Paris 2000, 64f.; PerrZarY 130–33, 147, 153f., 178f., 181f.; OSVALDO RAINERI, *Atti di Habta Māryām († 1497) e di Iyāsu († 1508), santi monaci etiopici*, Roma 1990 (OrChrA 235), s. index; ID. (ed.), *Inventario dei manoscritti Cerulli etiopici*, Città del Vaticano (Studi e testi 420), 193f., no. 247.

Lit.: DerDom 192–204, 340f., s. index; KapMon, s. index; KinBibl 83, no. 105; DENIS NOSNITSIN, "Mäṣḥafä fəlsätu lä-abunä Täklä Haymanot: a Short Study", *Aethiopica* 6, 2003, 137–67; TadTChurch, s. index; SALVATORE TEDESCHI, "Marḥa Krestos", in: *EncSan* 431–34.

Stanisław Kur

Märḥabete

M. (መርሐቤቴ) is a region in north-eastern ↗Šäwa. M. proper (or Kora, consisting of Lay Bet and Tačč Bet) is the region between the ↗Ğämma and the ↗Wänčət rivers (for location s. Mäkanä Sälam). The name M. is also used to refer to a larger area which includes territories north of the Wänčət.

While most of Šäwa was conquered by the ↗Oromo in the 16th cent., Christian communities remained quite strong both in M. proper and in ↗Midda. There were persistent links with the empire, and the Christian regeneration took place well before the better-known case of the dynasty of ↗Nägaśi Krəstos Wärädä Qal from ↗Mänz. *Aṣe* ↗Susənyos campaigned in the area and appointed a governor about 1605 (BTafA 291). ↗Iyasu I marched through M. in 1696. By then most of M. proper had already been reconquered, a fact well documented by the pattern of church foundation (Stitz 1975:13). It is likely that this reconquest was largely undertaken by local chiefs, but the history of the M. dynasty is little known. Several sources refer to the appointment of *ras* ↗Dəmeṭros as governor in this region about 1700. In other contexts, Wäldu appears as the key figure in the M. dynasty.

The success of the Nägaśi dynasty in the early 18th cent. soon eclipsed that of M. Early in his reign, ↗Asfa Wäsän conquered all the independent Christian principalities in northern Šäwa, including M. in 1777. For the next hundred years, there was a special link between M. and the Šäwan dynasty. ↗Wäsän Sägäd was *abägaz* of M. under his father, and he continued the expansion into Midda and Wärrämo (BTafA 527). Later his eldest son, Bäkruye, held the same position. When *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II invaded Šäwa in 1855, Säyfu Śəllase was *abägaz* of M. (CecZeila vol. 1, 252), and M. later became a principal base for his resistance against Tewodros.

Soon after the future *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II escaped to Šäwa, he campaigned in M. and conquered the stronghold of Tamo from the soldiers of Tewodros (GueCopMen 117). The natural fortresses of Tamo and Kollaš often played a part in Šäwan politics in the succeeding years. However, after ↗Darge Śahlä Śəllase received the governorship of M. in 1877 (GueCopMen 139), the area was brought under firm control. *Ras* Darge continued the policy of expansion and conquered ↗Därra.

M. remained as a rather stable administrative unit for most of the 20th cent. In the late 1960s, it was an *awraǧǧa* subdivided into three *wärädas*,Kora (M. proper), Midda and Därra. Under the *Därg*, Kora was divided into Lay Bet and Tačč Bet, Midda was divided into Midda and Biṭa Bilo, while Därra was divided into Därra and Wärämo Waǧətu. In the 1991 administrative reforms, Biṭa Bilo was merged with Ğämma *wäräda* in South Wällo, while Därra was transferred to Oromiyaa *kəlləl*.

Src.: GueCopMen 117, 139, s. index; BTafA 291, 527, s. index; CecZeila vol. 1, 252.

Lit.: VOLKER STITZ, "Distribution and Foundation of Churches in Ethiopia", *JES* 13, 1, 1975, 11–36.

Svein Ege

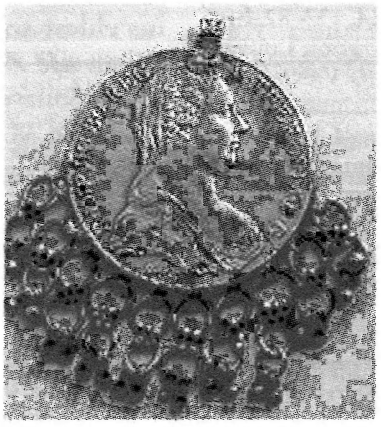
Maria Theresa Thaler

The M. (Amh. ሴት፡ ብር *set bərr*, or አንስት፡ ብር *anəst bərr*, 'woman['s] silver', ማሪ፡ ቴሬዛ፡ ብር *mari tereza bərr*) is a silver thaler bearing the effigy of Empress Maria Theresa of Austria. It was coined starting from 1741, standardized in 1750/51 (from 1772/73 bearing the effigy known from all later coins), and used as the legal currency in Ethiopia until 1945, when it was demonetized. Until 5 September 1947 it was still possible to exchange it in banks. More than one quarter of the world-wide production of M. was exported to Ethiopia (most of this after 1935).

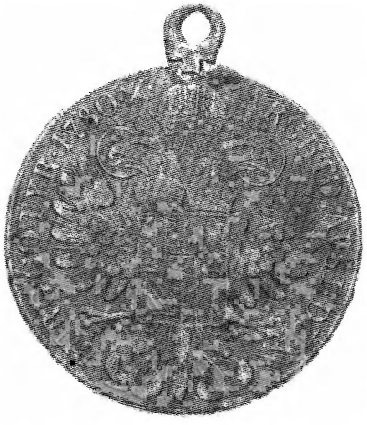
The technical characteristics of the M. are the main reason for its success with Arab merchants starting from the 18th cent. They first introduced it in Ethiopia in the second half of the 18th cent. (PankEcon 468); the traveller ↗Niebuhr reports its use at Red Sea ports already in 1762 (Peetz – Raudnitz 1998:93, 96). The M. came into wider circulation, however, only in the course of the 19th cent. In the mid-19th cent. it was the dominating coin in the Red Sea, known as the *riyāl kabīr* (von Neimans 1857:436). Its weight (28,06 gr.) and fineness (83,3 %), stability, the excellent alloy, the resistance to wear and the complexity of the imprint guaranteed the authenticity of the coin.

After the death of the Austrian Empress in 1780, minting of the coins bearing her effigy and the date of 1780 was maintained only for export, mainly into the Near East. Therefore it was named *Levantiner* (from Levante, i.e. Near East). The obverse shows the generous bust of the Empress, her head covered with a diadem and a transparent widow's veil; the reverse side, the two-headed eagle of the House of Habsbourg bearing the arms of Hungary, Bohemia, Burgundy and Austria.

Struck first in Günzburg, then in various other Habsburgian mints, the M. were traded via Augsburg, Livorno, Genoa, Trieste and Marseille to the ↗Middle East and Africa. A reason why the M. was accepted in Ethiopia, was that it was "minted abroad", as *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV mentioned in a letter of 1885/86 after he had sent 37,000 M. to fund the Ethiopian monastery in Jerusalem; he also underlined that it was the only currency accepted in Ethiopia (BTafY 182f.). The origin from Austria was understood as a guarantee for stability and a prerequisite that it could be used in international commerce. It was because of this that the monarch showed surprise when he learnt that the M. considerably lost value when used abroad (ibid.). The British ↗Napier expedition (1867–68) and Italian military expeditions (↗Italian war 1895–96) in Ethiopia were decisively enhancing the massive import of the M. to Ethiopia. This together with the fall of the world market price of silver caused a substantial depreciation at the end of the 19th cent. Traded between 4.85 and 5 Fr in 1890, it fell to 2.60 as observed by the French traveller ↗Duchesne-Fournet in 1901. By the end of the 19th cent. the M. had become the only dominating currency even in remote regions of Ethiopia, in some regions replacing other currencies (e.g., in Harär the M. was called "piastre", as it supplanted the Egyptian currency, s. Schindler 1913:48); the newly introduced Mənilək thaler or ↗*bərr* (Amh. lit. 'silver', *yäwänd bərr*, 'man's silver') of 1894, modelled on the M., could not establish itself in local trade (↗Currency: Modern currency).



Maria Theresa Thaler with suspension loop (as coins were worn on necklaces) and silver decoration; courtesy of the author



Maria Theresa Thaler, reverse; courtesy of Wolfgang Hahn

The small coins of the M. were not introduced to Ethiopia. This opened an opportunity to the new small coins of the Mənilək thaler, which were minted from 1894 to 1936, to take their place in the petty trade. Later in the 1930s *aṣe* Ḫaylä Śəllase I issued small nickel coins with his effigy, which were used as small coins of the M., which remained the official currency of Ethiopia. Also the newly introduced banknotes, starting from 1915, referred to the M. (Hahn 2007a:146).

The M. contributed to a considerable change in the Ethiopian traditional economy. Saving had virtually been impossible

with the former economic system (cp. ↗*Amole*); the M., however, allowed saving, thus wealth accumulation (Pankhurst 1979–80). To be accepted by merchants, the M. had to be rather new and the points of the diadem had to be clearly seen (if one was missing, the coin was depreciated or even not accepted). A certain coin with a variant in the veil, perceived as defective by Ethiopians, was called, according to d'Abbadie (s. Pankhurst 1970:80), *maṣäḍo*.

In Eritrea, Italy unsuccessfully attempted to introduce the ↗Tallero Eritreo in 1890, which was supposed to replace the M. and modelled on it (Hans 1950:29ff.). After World War I, however, Italy was finally successful in introducing the Lira as the dominating currency in her colony (in around 1922, s. Hans 1950:32). In Italian Somaliland Italy tried to replace the M. by an Italian Rupee in 1910, but only in 1925 the Italian currency system effectively replaced the M. there (Hans 1950:32). Trade between the colonies and Ethiopia, however, was still quasi-exclusively based on the M.

On 9 July 1935, in an agreement with Austria Italy gained the monopoly concession of minting the M. in Rome. Having become an instrument of the East African conquest by ↗Mussolini, the M. was soon abusively minted in Paris, London and Brussels in order to break the Italian monopoly (Flandrin 1997:206-09). England minted them also, for strategic purposes, in Bombay.

In 1936 the Lira was introduced by the Italians as a second currency in Ethiopia (July 1936: 1 M. = 5 Lire, November 1936: 1 M. = 8.5 Lire, March 1937: 1 M. = 10.5 Lire, July 1937: 13.5 Lire; s. Hans 1950:36). In March 1938 Italy demonetized the M., the Eastafrican Lira becoming the only official currency in ↗Africa Orientale Italiana. This measure, however, was largely a failure. M. were smuggled into Ethiopia in large quantities (Hans 1950:38), staying the only currency accepted by the population. It was then also used in the framework of Ethiopian resistance against the occupant. By June 1940, when Italy entered into the war, the M. had again become the main currency of Ethiopia (June 1940: 1 M. = up to 30 Lire, s. Hans 1950:38f.). The British Military Administration of Ethiopia, established in April 1941 after Italy's defeat, therefore decided to accept the M. as an Ethiopian currency, now used parallelly to the East African Shilling. This was the case also still after Great Britain recognized Ethiopia as a state again in January 1942. One M. then corresponded to 2 ½ East African Shilling (Hans 1950:43).

The Shilling, however, gained predominance over the M., e.g. the Bank of Ethiopia using exclusively the Shilling. This was the basis for the monetary reform of 1945, when the new Ethiopian Dollar (called *bərr*, 'silver', after the M.) was introduced by the Proclamation dated 29 May 1945, substituting all other currencies. From now on the M. could be purchased by the State Bank on the basis of its silver value only, but any contracts and debts based on the M. currency were to be converted into the Ethiopian Dollar 1:1 (one Ethiopian Dollar corresponded to two East African Shilling). The renunciation of the silver currency was a condition for Ethiopia becoming a signatory of the 1944 International Monetary Convention of Bretton Woods (Hans 1950:43f.). The first Ethiopian silver cents (*santim*) were produced in Philadelphia out of melted M. The term "Thaler" was rendered "dollar" in English, which is the reason why the Ethiopian currency *bərr* was also called "Ethiopian Dollar" in the time of Ḫaylä Śəllase I.

Beside trading purposes, the M. was mainly used for making silver ↗jewellery. The M. was the "silver mine" of Ethiopians, owing to the lack of silver mines in Ethiopia itself. It is safe to assume that it was only with the rise of the M. that silver jewellery became wide spread in Ethiopia. Many observers noted that the coins were melted down in the crucible of silversmiths alloying the silver with nickel and copper to obtain a larger quantity of metal; a way for them to be paid for their own work. The fineness of silver ingots is subsequently very variable depending on court, or self-employed silversmiths.

The coin itself was and is still used as jewellery: with a suspension loop and sometimes mounted with small bells, it is worn by Muslim and Christian women as a pendant. As such, the diadem and the nine pearl brooch have to be in relief. This was also a means of saving, as it could easily be re-converted into money. M. coins are also cut in the shape of a cross (*yäləbb mäsqäl*, 'cross of the heart') to be hung on a ↗*matäb* with a earpick and a ring (*qälläbät*; cp. Hahn 2007).

The M. was also used as a unit of weight (Measurements, s. EAE vol. 5)). The double eagle motif on the coin seems to have been taken over into local iconography – it appeared in Ethiopian church painting in the 19th cent. (Rohlfs 1883:352).

Src.: BTafY 182f.; JEAN DUCHESNE-FOURNET, *Mission en Ethiopie,* vol. 1, Paris 1901, 253; [CLAUS SCHINDLER], "Handel der Provinz Harrar (Abessinien). (Bericht des Kaiserlichen Vizekonsulats in Harrar.)", *Berichte über Handel und Industrie* 20, Heft 2, 2 August 1913, 45–48; KaneDic 876; MANSFIELD PARKYNS, *Life in Abyssinia*, London 1868, ch. 23; GEORGES REVOIL, *Voyages au Cap des Aromates*, Paris 1880, 275; GERHARD ROHLFS, *Meine Mission nach Abessinien*, Berlin 1883, 352.
Lit.: PHILIPPE FLANDRIN, *Les thalers d'argent: Histoire d'une monnaie commune*, Paris 1997, 206–09; WOLFGANG HAHN, "Äthiopische Kreuze aus österreichischen Talern", *Money Trend* 39, 9, 2007a, 144–47; ID., "The Maria Theresa Dollar – a Historical Link Between Austria and Ethiopia", in: RUDOLF AGSTNER (ed.), *The Austrian-Ethiopian Millenium Reader*, Addis Ababa 2007b (Austrian Embassy Addis Abeba Occasional Paper 3/2007), 112–32; JOSEPH HANS, *Zwei Jahrhunderte Maria-Theresien-Thaler 1751–1951*, Klagenfurt 1950; AKINOBU KURODA, "The Maria Theresa Dollar in the Early Twentieth-Century Red Sea Region: a Complementary Interface between Multiple Markets", *Financial History Review* 14, 1, 2007, 89–110; FRANZ LEYPOLD, *Der Maria-Theresien Thaler 1780: Levantethaler,* Wiener-Neustadt 1976; RICHARD FREIHERR VON NEIMANS, "Das rothe Meer und die Küstenländer im Jahre 1857 in handelspolitischer Beziehung", *ZDMG* 12, 1858, 391–441; PankEcon 468; RICHARD PANKHURST, "The Maria Theresa Dollar in Pre-war Ethiopia", *JES* 1, 1, 1963, 8–26; ID., "The Perpetuation of the Maria Theresa Thaler and Currency Problems in Italian-occupied Ethiopia", *JES* 8–2, 1970, 89ff.; ID., "The Advent of the Maria Theresa Dollar in Ethiopia, its Effects on Taxation and Wealth Accumulation, and Other Economic, Political and Cultural Implications", *NEASt* 1,4, 1979–80, 1–17; CARL PEEZ – JOSEF RAUDNITZ, *Maria-Theresien-Thaler*, ed. by WERNER BIERMANN, Münster 1998; CLARA SEMPLE, *A Silver Legend: the Story of the Maria Theresa Thaler*, Manchester 2005.

Catherine Vanderhaeghe – Red.

Märigeta

M. (መሪጌታ, also *märi geta*, from Amh. *märi* 'leader' and *geta* 'master', pl. *märigetoccˇ*) is an office and title within the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church given to a learned ↗*däbtära*. The office can only be claimed by someone who has completed a full course of traditional ↗education. The M. is the leading church cantor and in a way the conductor, as he assigns who should present a ↗*qəne* piece, and decides which are the ↗hymns to sing, to what extent, and which mode to use in that particular singing on a particular occasion.

The M. usually runs the ↗*qəne bet* or ↗*zema bet* of his own at the ↗*däbr* where he serves or at his own living quarters. He teaches liturgical music and singing and dancing modes (↗*Aqʷaqʷam*). He also administers the ↗*gäṭär* chapels. For smaller churches M. is often identical with ↗*aläqa*. In larger churches, the office of M. is conferred by an *aläqa* to the one who is qualified.

The Gəᶜəz term መራሒ *märaḥi* for the head of the liturgical choir (along with ተመራሒ *tämäraḥi*, the singer following the lead, s. HabUff 380) has been long in use. It appears, for example, in its plural form *märaḥəyan* in the chronicle of ↗Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob (DillmZarY 20): the church choir leaders were among the ecclesiastics appointed by the newly crowned Emperor in the church of ↗Aksum Ṣəyon.

Historically, the choir would be subdivided in the choir of the right and the choir of the left (of the *qəne maḫlet*), in accordance with the general subdivision of the court (↗*Kätäma*), headed by the *gra geta* and *qäññ geta*, respectively, who assist the *liqä märaḥt* (↗*Liq*). The two former terms are attested at least since the 15th-cent., e.g., in a document describing the court order of Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob (Kropp 2005b:133 and n. 58). Several 16th-cent. documents from the reign of Ləbnä Dəngəl (CRAxum nos. 30f., 35, 41–45) and Śärṣä Dəngəl (CRAxum nos. 54, 58), included with the so-called *Mäṣḥafä ↗Aksum*, contain numerous references to the church officials with the functions of *gra geta* and *qäññ geta* (sometimes mentioned in the more ancient forms *yägra geta* and *zäqäññ geta*).

It is not clear when the title *liqä märaḥt* got substituted by M. In any case, a list of ecclesiastics of the Mädḫane ᶜAläm church of ᶜAdwa of the time of ↗Säbagadis (ca. 1820) mentions M. Awsabyos, assisted by *gra geta* Zäwäli and *qäññ geta* Wäldä Mikaᵓel (CRAxum no. 85).

The prominent poet and playwright ↗Yoftahe Nəguśe was a M. (*qäññ geta*).

↗Churches and Church administration

Src.: CRAxum nos. 30f., 35, 41–45, 54, 58, 60f., 85; DillmZarY 20; GueCopMen 217; MANFRED KROPP, "Asylrecht und Pfründe für die zukünftige Residenz: Die Zeugenfassung der Privilegurkunde des Ras Wube für die Marienkirche von Däräsge aus dem Condaghe der Hs. BM Or 481, fol. 3v", in: PHILIP S. ALEXANDER et al. (eds.), *Studia Semitica: the Journal of Semitic Studies Jubilee Volume*, Manchester 2005a (JSS Suppl. 16), 193–206; ID., "«Antiquae restitutio legis». Zur Alimentation des Hofklerus und einer Zeugenliste als imago imperii und notitia dignitatum in einer Urkunde des Kaisers Zärᵓa Yaᶜqob im Condaghe der Hs. BM Or. 481, fol. 154", in: DENIS NOSNITSIN (ed.), *Varia Aethiopica. In Memory of Sevir B. Chernetsov (1943–2005)*, St. Petersburg 2005b (= Scrinium 1), 115–47; THMDic 83.
Lit.: CHRISTINE CHAILLOT, *The Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Church Tradition*, Paris 2002, 111–14; HabUff 380; FRIEDRICH HEYER, *Die Kirche Äthiopiens: Eine Bestandaufnahme*, Berlin – New York 1971 (Theologische Bibliothek Töpelmann 22), 111, 132; MahZekr.

Evgenia Sokolinskaia

Marinoni, Luigi

Bishop M. (b. 5 February 1882, Clusone, Bergamo, d. 5 August 1970, Milan) was Apostolic Vicar of Eritrea. In 1895 he joined the Seraphic Seminary of the Franciscan ↗Capuchins in Sovere (Bergamo), and in 1897 he entered the Capuchin order at Lovere, assuming the name Fr. Giovanni Grisostomo (Giangrisostomo) da Clusone. After the noviciate, he continued his religious education in the Capuchin house of Cremona, where Camillo Carrara, the future Vicar Apostolic of Eritrea (1911–24), was one of the directors. In 1906, he was ordained priest.

General minister of the Capuchins of the Lombard Province since 1935, on 27 July 1936, M. was nominated titular bishop of Pisita and Apostolic Vicar of Eritrea, and on 7 December he arrived in ↗Asmära with a group of missionaries. From 1937 to 1940, he was active in building churches, schools, missionary outstations and hospitals, and striving to increase the number of missionaries (in 1939, there were 60 Franciscan Friars and 252 nuns, the latter from two different congregations, working in the Vicariate of Eritrea). Most of his efforts were directed towards the Italians. He took some interest in the "meticci", i.e. people of mixed race, as well as, although to a lesser extent, in the indigenous population, especially in the abandoned children issue.

With the outbreak of the war, on 1 April 1941, M. was part of a delegation of the Colonial Government that met with the British General William ↗Platt, 3 km outside Asmära, to negotiate Italian surrender. Although the Catholic mission did not suffer excessive material damages from the war, its activities were severely restricted. M.'s apostolic ministry was limited to Asmära, while the outstations were shut down and the missionaries were restricted to the capital. The situation was rendered even more difficult by rampant banditry (↗*šəfta*), which M. condemned using both the pulpit and diplomatic channels. With the ↗British Military Administration in Eritrea he was respectful, but outspoken. He often confronted ↗Longrigg's military approach, and sought his help to uphold the independence of the Church. He also had a good relationship with Longrigg's successor, Brigadier ↗McCarthy, but also stood against the dismantling of various industries.

In May 1946, M. flew to Italy via Cairo and remained there until 20 September. From 1946 to 1951, he managed to give fresh impetus to the apostolic ministry of the Vicariate. He is said to have contributed to the inclusion of the fundamental principles safeguarding religious freedom into the Eritrean Constitution (22 May 1952; ↗Ethiopian–Eritrean Federation). The work of reviving missionary outstations, especially in the ↗Kunama areas, gathered momentum. M. frequently visited the ↗Gaš-Barka region and spent a considerable amount of energy repairing and building churches and other premises for social and pastoral activities. On 12 August 1961, he resigned from his service as Vicar Apostolic, and was appointed titular archbishop of Amorium; on 15 September he left Eritrea for Milan, where he spent the rest of his life.

Src.: Archives, Provincial Curia, Provincia Lombarda di San Carlo, Milano; *A Mons. Giangrisostomo Luigi Marinoni vescovo titolare di Pisita e vicario apostolico dell'Eritrea nel giorno di sua consacrazione episcopale nel tempio del S. Cuore in Milano 23 agosto 1936*, Milano 1936; *Giubileo sacerdotale: Sua Eccellenza Rev.ma Monsignor Luigi Marinoni, Vescovo Titolare di Pisita, Vicario Apostolico dell'Eritrea: Milano 1906–28 ottobre – Asmara 1956*, [Asmära] 1956; Fr. G. LUIGI MARINONI, *Ali dell'amore: Opera Assistenza Infanzia Abbandonata Africana*, Asmara 1956.

Lit.: METODIO DA NEMBRO, *La Missione dei Minori Cappuccini in Eritrea (1894–1952)*, Roma 1953, 156; ID., *Un Apostolo dell'Eritrea*, Milano 1972, 105; GIUSEPPE MOJOLI, *La Chiesa in Etiopia: note e ricordi di un nunzio*, Roma 1973, passim; GIUSEPPE PUGLISI, *Chi è? dell'Eritrea: dizionario biografico. Con una cronologia*, Asmara 1952.

Tedros Abraha

Maritime Code

The M.C. of Ethiopia was enacted on 5 May 1960, and came into force on 11 September 1960. It contains a variety of rules pertaining from ↗commercial law regarding the trade across the sea to security law, regulations concerning rights and duties of members of the merchant fleet. Therefore the M.C. has to be seen in connection with the Commercial Code. It was drafted by Jean ↗Escarra, a French law professor and president of the Commission of Reform of the French Commercial Code, who, together with Alfred Jauffret, another French expert, was also the drafter of the Commercial Code.

The Maritime Proclamation No. 137, on which the M.C. was based, was published in the ↗*Nägarit Gazeṭa* of 23 September 1953, thus from the beginning of the ↗Ethiopian-Eritrean Federation. The second preamble to that proclamation describes the necessity of the law by pointing at the importance of the defence of the Empire and the coast including the territorial waters and the

ships. The content of that proclamation was later transferred to the M.C. with a few changes only. The M.C. incorporated virtually no indigenous legal concepts (Aberra Jembere 2000).

The M.C. regulates the following issues: rules with regard to registration, transfers, protective measures, help at seas, international conventions, limitation of liability of ship owners, chartering-transport, marine loans-Marine lien Mortgage, collisions, average-contribution, taxes-dues, and foreign currency. Ships and accessories are declared to be property. Special rules deal with the limitation of state authority: the territorial waters of the state are defined as extending from the extremity of sea-board at maximum annual high tide of the Ethiopian (i.e. Eritrean) continental coast and of the coasts of Ethiopian islands, in parallel line on the entire sea-board, and to an outward distance of twelve nautical miles. Another section deals with the rights to use the territorial waters: the rights to transport persons or goods and the right to engage in fishing towing or salvage within the territorial waters are reserved to Ethiopian merchant ships and vessels and to such foreign ships and vessels as may be accorded these rights for limited periods.

After the secession of Eritrea in 1993, the two ports, ↗ᶜAsäb and ↗Massawa, were taken over by Eritrea so that Ethiopia had no own ports and no own merchant fleet. The fact that Ethiopia has nowadays no coastline and no territorial waters might have resulted in making the M.C. obsolete for Ethiopia.

Src.: "Maritime Proclamation no. 137", *Nägarit Gazeṭa*, 23 September 1953.
Lit.: ABERRA JEMBERE, *An Introduction to the Legal History of Ethiopia 1434–1974*, Münster 2000; NATHAN MAREIN, *The Ethiopian Empire – Federation and Laws*, Rotterdam 1955.

Heinrich Scholler

Märkato ↗Addis Kätäma

Markham, Clemens ↗Napier expedition

Marle ↗Arbore

Märqorewos

According to the account preserved in his ↗*gädl*, the monk M. (ሞርቆሬዎስ; fl. 14th–15th cent.) was the founder of the Eritrean monastery of ↗Däbrä Dəmaḥ, in the Däqqi Täsfa district of the Säraye province, north of ᶜArräza.

Oral and written sources concord that M. was a native of ↗Wämbärta. Several sources see M. as the brother of ↗Absadi of ↗Däbrä Maryam (by the same parents, Tomas and Sälome), probably because both are reported to have received the habit from the hands of ↗Ewosṭatewos of Däbrä Ṣärabi before 1338, when *aṣe* ↗ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon decreed the expulsion of the latter monastic leader from the country. M. should have received his habit in Däbrä Šəmana, a monastery in Ḥənṭalo (↗Anṭalo) or in Səbᶜa (where also ↗Buruk Amlak received habit from Absadi). Possibly M. then accompanied his spiritual father in his journey as far as to ↗Armenia, he then returned and established his own community in Däbrä Dəmaḥ ca. 1340–50.

The main missionary activities of M. as described in his Vita were the conversion of Gize Mədər, near the river Mädbära, and the attempt to spread the Christian faith among the ↗Agäw of the Abärgälle region. After a period of crisis, due to the political and theological clash between the *däqiqä Ewosṭatewos* (↗Ewosṭateans) and the Ethiopian authorities, in the first place the Emperor and the Metropolitan, M.'s monastery started to play an important role as a stronghold of the Christian state under *aṣe* ↗Dawit II. The Emperor should have heard about the saint's fame ca. 1390 and later visited Däbrä Dəmaḥ after a successful campaign against the Egyptian *sulṭān* in ↗Sinnār, richly endowing the monastery with land (↗*Gʷəlt*).

Like ↗Däbrä Bizän, the "fortress" of Ḥamasen controlling the way to the Red Sea, Däbrä Dəmaḥ marked the north-western boundaries, looking at the Eritreo–Sudanese lowlands inhabited by the ↗Beğa, ↗Nara and ↗Kunama. M. died ca. 1420, after having chosen a certain Gabər Ḫer as his successor.

The *Gädlä Märqorewos* was probably composed in the 17th cent.; the known recension can be tentatively dated back to the time of *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs I (1667–82). At least three manuscripts of the Vita are preserved at Däbrä Dəmaḥ. Other manuscripts are believed to exist, however, there is no copy of this rich and important hagiographic document in European libraries. The text edited by Conti Rossini in 1904 is full of lacunae, since the manuscript it depends upon (borrowed from Däbrä Dəmaḥ) was seriously damaged by fire. A new edition of the complete text can be considered an important desideratum in the studies of Gəᶜəz ↗philology.

Src.: CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, *Vitae sanctorum indigenarum*, I. *Acta Marqorewos*, Louvain 1904 (CSCO 33, 34

[SAe 16, 17]); HuntLand 80–83; HuntGeogr 109; KinBibl 83, no. 106; GIANFRANCESCO LUSINI, "Per una storia delle tradizioni monastiche eritree: le genealogie spirituali dell'ordine di Ewostatewos di Däbrä Ṣarabi", in: UGO ZANETTI – ENZO LUCCHESI (eds.), *Aegyptus Christiana Mélanges d'hagiographie égyptienne et orientale dédiés à la mémoire du P. Paul Devos Bollandiste*, Genève 2004 (Cahiers d'Orientalisme 25), 249–72.
Lit.: BauEr III, 37–40; ALESSANDRO BAUSI – GIANFRANCESCO LUSINI, "Appunti in margine a una nuova ricerca sui conventi eritrei", *RSE* 36, 1992 [1994], 5–36, here 18ff.; GIANFRANCESCO LUSINI, "Scritture documentarie etiopiche (Dabra Deḫuḫān e Dabra Ṣegē, Sarā'ē, Eritrea)", *ibid.* 42, 1998 [1999], 5–55, here 13f.; LusStud 110ff. (Lit.).

Gianfrancesco Lusini

Märqorewos

Abunä M. (**ማርቆሬዎስ**, or Märqoryos, baptismal name Gäbrä ʾEgziʾabəḥer; b. 8 March 1896, Ṣäᶜada Krəstiyan, Eritrea, d. 4 September 1975, Gobba), a prominent ecclesiastic and bishop, was born in Eritrea to *ato* Wäldä Maryam and *wäyzäro* Wälättä Mädḫən. He completed the first stage of church education (↗*Nəbab bet*) at the monastery of ↗Däbrä Dəmaḥ, and was ordained priest by the metropolitan *abunä* ↗Peṭros. After completing the study of the ↗*zema* and liturgy (↗*Qəddase bet*) at the monastery of ↗Däbrä Abbay he started teaching liturgy at Däbrä Dəmaḥ, while studying the monastic canons and writings (*Mäṣaḥəftä mänäkʷäsat*). He received the monastic habit from the then abbot *mämhər* Aṣmä Giyorgis and continued church education by learning the New Testament commentary (↗*Andəmta*), the *Fətḥa nägäśt*, the patristic literature etc. (↗*Mäṣḥaf bet*) in Bägemdər and Səmen.

M. was in Gondär at the time of the Italian invasion of 1935; reportedly, he was wounded during a bombardment. In 1941, after the Liberation, M. was summoned to Addis Abäba by *əčč̣äge* Gäbrä Giyorgis (later *abunä* ↗Basəlyos) and appointed ↗*liqä kahənat* of the Harär diocese and ↗*aläqa* of the churches of Ṭəmqätä Baḥər Qəddus Mikaʾel and Abunä Täklä Haymanot. After years of active service in the Harär area, he was again summoned to the capital and ordained bishop (↗*Eppisqoppos*) of the Bale diocese on 25 July 1960.

In Bale M. founded many churches, including the Mädḫane ᶜAläm church in ↗Gobba where he also established his headquarters. M. was buried in Gobba Mädḫane ᶜAläm.

Lit.: *diyaqon* MÄRŠA ALLÄḴÄÑÑ, **ዜና፡ ቅዳሳት፡ ኢትዮጵያ ውያን** (*Zena pappasat ityopyawəyan*, 'The Narrative of Ethiopian Patriarchs'), Addis Abäba 1997 A.M. [2004 A.D.], 183ff.

Mersha Alehegne

Märqorewos Afrəngawi

↗Brancaleone, Nicolò

Marqos

Abunä M. (**ማርቆስ**, b. Egypt, d. 1529–30, Ethiopia) was a metropolitan of the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox Church during 1520–26, upon the death of *abunä* ↗Yaᶜəqob. M. belonged to a group of Egyptian clerics who arrived in Ethiopia in 1481 with *abunä* ↗Yəsḥaq. The sources about them, and the interlinked role of *abunä* Yaᶜəqob, coadjutor and then successor of Yəsḥaq (d. before 1497), are various and somehow contradictory (for a thorough discussion, with new evidence, cp. Fiaccadori 2004).

↗Alvares only refers to Yaᶜəqob as the extremely old *abun* to whom M. would have immediately succeeded (BeckHuntAlvar 357). Yet, with reference to events of the year 1495, the Vita of ↗Märḥa Krəstos, while designating Yaᶜəqob as "bishop" (↗*Eppisqoppos*), explicitly refers to M. as "metropolitan" (↗*Ṗappas*) on his arrival (Kur 1972:88), and repeats this title when reporting that he was present at the translation of the relics of *abunä* ↗Täklä Haymanot (Kur 1972:90, cp. 104). This piece of information might well reflect the official point of view held by the court of *aṣe* ↗Naᶜod (with whom M. seems to have been in excellent terms). Similarly, according to the Vita of *abunä* ↗ᶜƎzra of ↗Gundä Gunde, M. came next to Yəsḥaq upon the latter's death (Caquot 1961:81f., 88). The two Vitas should rather be compared with (and balanced by) the more authoritative Arabic documents issued by the Alexandrian Patriarch John XIII between 1497 and 1508, where M. is always a simple *usquf*, 'bishop' (Fiaccadori 2004:683ff.) – in which capacity, as an auxiliary metropolitan, he did have the authority to consecrate clergy. In fact, Yəsḥaq was formally succeeded by Yaᶜəqob, and only later by M., who had meanwhile (possibly in 1508, if not already in 1497) become a coadiutor of Yaᶜəqob (ibid. 686ff.).

During Alvares's sojourn in Ethiopia, M. was thus the metropolitan – which provides a terminus for his coming to office. As he was a friend of the Portuguese, he appears throughout the latter's account. Among other things, Alvares credits M. with possession of land in ↗Angot, as well as, strikingly enough for European beholders, with the ↗ordination of 2,537 priests at once (BeckHuntAlvar 235, 349ff., 382). Among those whom M. consecrated during his tenure were *əčč̣äge* ↗ᶜƎnbaqom and the abbot of Gundä

Gunde *abunä* ↗Isayəyyas, in 1497 (Ferenc 1976:245). Alvares claimed that M. was sympathetic to Catholic faith: even more so when "he was alone" (BeckHuntAlvar 349).

M. resided in Ethiopia for almost 50 years and, as a senior cleric familiar with the country and the royal court, played a major role in the political events of his period, including the placing of eleven-year old ↗Ləbnä Dəngəl on the throne following the death of his father Naᶜod (BeckHuntAlvar 243). The Portuguese João ↗Bermudez claimed that M. consecrated him as his successor before dying (Bermudez 1875:1), although the metropolitan did not have the authority to do so. M. was succeeded by ↗Yosab only in 1539.

Src.: BeckHuntAlvar 106, 120, 235, 243, 262, 265, 348–51, 359, 361, 367, 382, 443; JOÃO BERMUDEZ, *Breve relacão de embaixada que o patriacha João Bermudez ...*, Lisboa 1875, 1; ANDRÉ CAQUOT, "Les Actes d'Ezrā de Gunda-Gundē", *AE* 4, 1961, 69–127, here 81f., 88 (text) = 106f., 115f. (tr.); ALEKSANDER FERENC, "Les Actes d'Isaie de Gunda-Gunde", *ibid.* 10 1976, 243–94, here 245 (text) = 270 (tr.); STANISLAS KUR (ed., tr.), *Actes de Marḥa Krestos*, Louvain 1972 (CSCO 330, 331 [SAe 62, 63]), 88, 90, 104 (text) = 80, 82, 94f. (tr.).

Lit.: GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, "Sul ms. Parigi, B.n.F., d'Abb. 78 (C.R. 38) e i metropoliti Yesḥaq, Yāᶜqob e Mārqos d'Etiopia (sec. XV-XVI)", *RRALm* ser. 9ª, 15, 2004 [2005], 679–90 (Lit.), here 683–88; MHAlex II, 41–49 (Lit.); TedEthPrel II, 1016–17 (Lit.).

Steven Kaplan – Gianfranco Fiaccadori

Marqos II

Abunä M. II (ማርቆስ; d. between 1582 and 1588) was a metropolitan of the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox Church. Information concerning him is scarce. It is known that, after *abunä* ↗Yosab's death, *aṣe* ↗Śärṣä Dəngəl asked the Coptic patriarch John XIV to send a new metropolitan. M. was appointed in the eighth year of Śärṣä Dəngəl's reign (1570). According to the latter's chronicle, the arrival of M. in 1576 coincided with the military triumph of the Emperor over ↗Muḥammad b. Naṣīr b. ᶜUṯmān and the ↗Oromo in Wag and Dämbəya (the date is also proved by ms. BN 60, 100, in Chaîne 1925).

M. was included in the manifesto published in 1624 by *aṣe* ↗Susənyos. In it, the Emperor, who had recently converted to Catholicism, leveled a number of accusations against the previous Coptic Metropolitans (M., ↗Krəstodolu I, ↗Peṭros and Səmᶜon), such as having had concubines, stealing other people's property, breaking the commandments, unjustly excommunicating emperors and inciting violence against them.

There is no documentation concerning the precise date of M.'s dismissal. According to later information, Śärṣä Dəngəl stripped M. of his episcopal dignity, confiscated his property and exiled him to the island of ↗Däq, where he eventually died. His successor was Krəstodolu I.

Src.: IGNAZIO GUIDI, "Le liste dei metropoliti d'Abissinia", *Bessarione*, ser 1ª, 6, 1899, 1–16, here 5, 10f.; CRHist 68; BecRASO VI, 399f.; BALTHAZAR TELLEZ, *Historia geral de Ethiopia a alta*, Coimbra 1660, 372; ZotBNat 106; IOB LUDOLF, *Ad suam Historiam Aethiopicam antehac editam Commentarius*, Frankfurt am Main 1691, 510.

Lit.: MARIUS CHAÎNE, *La chronologie des temps chrétiens de l'Égypte et de l'Éthiopie*, Paris 1925, vol. 2, 269; MHAlex [I], 43 and II, 4, 63f., 85; TedEthPrel II, 1019–20.

Leonardo Cohen

Marqos III

Abunä M. III (ማርቆስ; d. ca. 1647/48), considered the 96th Coptic metropolitan of Ethiopia (↗*Paṗpas*), was the successor of *abunä* ↗Səmᶜon and the first metropolitan after *aṣe* ↗Susənyos's abdication and the restoration of the Alexandrian faith.

During the short gap between Səmᶜon and M. (1632–35), an impostor named Rəzəqla (from Rizq Allāh, according to BegCron 48f.), tried to seize his chance. He managed to consecrate altars (↗*tabot*) and ordain deacons and priests, before being accused of fraudulence (BassÉt 285; letter of Heyling quoted by Ludolf 1691:554).

M., from the monastery of St. Anthony (Dayr Anbā Anṭūniyūs) was consecrated in Cairo in 1634 by the Coptic Patriarch Matthew III (1631–46) and travelled to Ethiopia in the company of Peter ↗Heyling. M. arrived at the royal court in the fourth year of *aṣe* ↗Fasilädäs's reign and settled in ↗Gondär (DombrChr 198; BassÉt 287; BegCron 51).

There is little information about M.'s activities during the 12–14 years he was in charge. According to the Vita of ↗Wälättä Peṭros, he met the saint as early as 1636, and comforted her, afraid of her own success, sustaining the legitimacy of her vocation. M. also left two legal documents (rare example of charters directly produced by a Coptic metropolitan), the two first land charters of ↗Qoma Fasilädäs. These *waqf* in Arabic are dated 1641/42 and bear M.'s seal. They testify to the foundation of the monastery, its link with the mother monastery of Däbrä Sämuna and the first land donation. They mention neither Fasilädäs nor any Ethiopian ecclesiastical authority, since the Queen Mother ↗Wäld Säᶜala, who had founded the monastery, did not recognize

Fasilädäs's royal authority, nor, presumably, that of the ↗ *əṣṣäge*. The desire to gain the metropolitan's support might have induced her younger son and Fasilädäs's brother *abeto* ↗ Gälawdewos to kill, in 1628, the heads of Däbrä Sämuna, a formerly dynamic centre of Catholicism (s. Almeida in BecRASO VII, 405).

According to the Yemenite ambassador ↗ Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-Ḥaymī, present in Gondär in 1648–49, shortly before his arrival, *abunä* M., considered too rich and powerful by the royal court and the *əṣṣäge*, had been dismissed and arrested under a pretext; he was subsequently exiled to an island on Lake Ṭana. The trial acts were written in Arabic to inform the Coptic patriarch in Alexandria of the situation. Al-Ḥaymī also reported of the arrest, trial, exile and death of Gälawdewos, indicating that the two cases were interconnected (DonHaySirat 179–83, 187–91). According to a report sent by Torquato Parisiani, a Jesuit present in the Red Sea area from 1645 to 1647, to Alfonso ↗ Mendes, M. disclosed Gälawdewos's plot to Fasilädäs, afraid that the latter's brother could restore the Catholic faith. Mendes, writing from ↗ Goa and relying on Parisiani's report as well as on two letters from Bernardo ↗ Nogueira, his former secretary who had remained in Ethiopia, described with great delight the luxurious and decadent life of M. As this *topos* served well his rhetoric against the Alexandrian faith, the statement cannot be considered trustworthy (cf. Wion 2004:266ff.). In any case, the Jesuits confirmed that both M. and *abeto* Gälawdewos challenged royal power, and were at some point connected. Both were thus arrested and exiled, if not killed, in 1647/48.

Some versions of the "short chronicles" report that in 1650 two metropolitans came from Egypt: one, Yoḥannəs, on the request of *abeto* Gälawdewos, the other, ↗ Mikaʾel, requested by Fasilädäs. The former was not accepted and exiled to Särka, the latter became the next metropolitan.

Src.: mss. Qoma Fasilädäs no. H2 IV 701 (*Täʾammərä Maryam*), no. H2 IV 666 (*Näbiyat, Sirak, Fälasfa*); BassÉt [II] 285, 287; BecRASO IX, 374–77, 379–84, 428f. and XIII, 283–87, 336f.; BegCron 48f., 51; DombrChr 198 (tr.); DonHaySirat 64f., 179–91; IGNAZIO GUIDI, "Le liste dei metropoliti d'Abissinia", *Bessarione* 6, 1899–1900, 1–17, here 11f.; MICHEL LE QUIEN, *Oriens Christianus, in quatuor Patriarchatus digestus, quo exhibentur Ecclesiae, Patriarchae caeterique Preasules totius Orientis*, vol. 2, Paris 1740, 658; HIOB LUDOLF, *Ad suam historiam Aethiopicam antehoc editam Commentarius*, Francofurti ad Moenum 1691, 551, 554; LANFRANCO RICCI (ed., tr.), *Vita di Walatta Pietros*, Louvain 1970 (CSCO 316, 317 [SAe 61, 62]), 69f. (text).

Lit.: DonMurad 99, 187, 228; MANFRED KROPP, "Ein äthiopischer Text zu Peter Heyling: Ein bisher unbeachtetes Fragment einer Chronik des Fasiladas", in: *PICES* 7, 243–54, here 246, 251; ID., "Gab es eine große Chronik des Kaisers Fasilädäs von Äthiopien?", *OrChr* 70, 1986, 188–91; EMERI J. VAN DONZEL, "King Fasilädäs, Abunä Marqos and Abéto Galawdéwos", in: *SegBodLes* 419–29; MHAlex II, 75f., 79, 81–87, 151ff.; ANAÏS WION, "*Aux confins le feu, au centre le Paradis*", *Qoma Fasilädäs, un monastère royal dans l'Ethiopie du 17ème siècle*, Ph.D. thesis, Université de Paris 1–Sorbonne, 2003; EAD., "Why King Fasilädäs Killed his Brother? Sharing Power amongst the Royal Family and Religious Choices in Mid-17th C. Ethiopia", *Journal of Early Modern History* 8, 3–4, 2004, 259–93.

Anaïs Wion

Marqos IV

Abunä M. IV (ማርቆስ; d. 5 July 1716) arrived in Ethiopia in September 1689 (DombrChr 216, 266). *Aṣe* ↗ Iyasu I sent for him because he was dissatisfied with *abunä* ↗ Sinoda, the metropolitan who served during his father *aṣe* ↗ Yoḥannəs I's reign. The Emperor disapproved of Sinoda's role in the Christological controversies concerning ↗ *Qəbat* (GuiIohan 143f.). While Sinoda himself vouched for M.'s credentials, the Ethiopian court had to wait three years before they received a letter from the Alexandrian Patriarch, Yoḥannəs XVI, that formally deposed Sinoda and confirmed M. as Metropolitan (DombrChr 218; GuiIohan 175). No explanation exists for the extraordinary gap between M.'s initial consecration in Alexandria and Sinoda's eventual deposition.

As Metropolitan, M. partook in the consecration of the church of ↗ Däbrä Bərhan Śəllase, Iyasu's most important foundation in 1694. He supported the decisions of the councils concerned with ↗ Christology, held in 1697, 1699 and 1704, with anathemas against proponents of ↗ *Qəbat* (BassÉt 160, 172; GuiIohan 199f., 214–17).

M. is rarely mentioned in chronicles written after the death of Iyasu. A foundation document of the church of ↗ Ḥamärä Noḫ, the work of *aṣe* ↗ Tewoflos, notes his continued support until his death (BritLib Orient. 508, fol. 278r). M. died at the beginning of *aṣe* ↗ Dawit III's reign and was buried at Ğända in Dämbəya, the burial place of a number of Gondärine metropolitans.

Src.: BritLib Orient. 508, fol. 278r; GuiIohan 143f., 170, 176, 199f., 204f., 214–17, 242 (text) = 137f., 162f., 168, 189f., 194, 202–05, 227f. (tr.); IGNAZIO GUIDI, "Le liste dei metropoliti d'Abissinia", *Bessarione* 6, 1899–1900, 1–17, here 12f.; DombrChr 216, 218, 266; BassÉt 151f., 160, 172, 185.
Lit.: CrumLand 84f., 88, 92; TedEthPrel II, 1025–28; MHAlex II, 100, 108–21.

Donald Crummey

Marqos

Abunä M. (ማርቆስ; b. 3 December 1884, Säsaḥ, Akkälä Guzay, d. 16 November 1960, Dängolo Taḥtay) was the first Eritrean bishop of the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church (EOTC), and an active protagonist of the political developments of his time. He was the son of *ato* Täsfazgi (Täsfa Ǝgziʾ) and *wäyzäro* Wärqu, and was baptized with the name Gäbrä Amlak at Däqqi Aṭros in ↗Karnäššəm. He received traditional education at ↗Däbrä Kol. He then joined the monastery of ↗Däbrä Bizän, and became monk in 1907. M. was ordained priest by *abunä* ↗Ṗeṭros in ᶜAddi Abun (ᶜAdwa) on 28 June 1919. Upon his return to Däbrä Bizän, M. received the community's permission to return to Däbrä Kol for further studies; whilst he was there he learnt ↗*qəne*. He studied different aspects of liturgy at ↗ᶜAddi K̲ʷala and completed his education at Däbrä ᶜAbbay in Ǝndärta where he obtained the degree of the teacher of the *mäzgäbä qəddase* ('the treasury of liturgy'); he started teaching immediately on his return to Däbrä Bizän.

In 1923 he was elected abbot of Däbrä Gännät, a monastery subordinate to Däbrä Bizän. In 1930, M. accompanied the abbot of Däbrä Bizän, *mämhər* ᶜAmdä Maryam, to the coronation of *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I. When ᶜAmdä Maryam died suddenly in ↗Addis Abäba, M. succeeded him as the abbot of Däbrä Bizän in 1932.

M.'s tenure was remarkable, as he tried to introduce innovations intended to ease the harshness of monastic life. He installed a coal-operated mill, bought a number of houses for the monastery in Asmära and Mändäfära to create a constant source of income for the community, and often travelled for preaching, particularly to ↗Massawa. In 1933 he travelled to ↗Egypt with a number of candidates for the priesthood, who were ordained as deacons and priests at his request.

On 27 November 1937, when the Italian colonial government in Ethiopia, with the aim of creating an autocephalous Ethiopian Orthodox Church, appointed *abunä* Abrəham Patriarch and nominated six Ethiopian bishops (↗*Ep-pisqoppos*), M. was made bishop of Eritrea and Təgray. The Alexandrian Holy Synod was dismayed by this unprecedented step and invited *abunä* Abrəham to Egypt to explain the situation. He never responded, and on 28 December 1937 the Coptic Holy Synod excommunicated him and his followers declaring the consecrations in Ethiopia null and void without the intervention of the See of Mark. The excommunication was lifted by the Coptic Synod on 26 June 1942.

In the bilateral discussions concerning the status of the EOTC in the aftermath of the Liberation, M. was a vocal advocate for the EOTC's absolute autonomy from the See of Alexandria. In 1945 M. expressed his disapproval of the Coptic Church which had not assisted his flock during the Italian occupation. Because he had accepted the ordination of Abrəham, seen as a puppet of Rodolfo ↗Graziani, many considered M. a collaborator of the Italians. In fact, however, M. always opposed ↗colonialism, both Italian (which expropriated some church land and was otherwise known for its negative attitude towards Orthodox Christians and favouring Muslims) and British (which never restored the EOTC's land possessions).

Together with ↗Tädla Bayru and ↗Dəmeṭros Gäbrä Maryam, M. became a staunch supporter of the ↗*Maḫbär fəqri hagär* party that sought the unity of Eritrea and Ethiopia. This position found expression in his many speeches (e.g, his homily written for the feast of ↗*Ṭəmqät* in 1942). A number of oral and unofficial written sources indicate that M. and his clergy went as far as excommunicating Orthodox Christians who would not adhere to the unification of Eritrea and Ethiopia.

M. was close to the Imperial court and initially had some influence on Ḫaylä Śəllase. He is believed to have convinced the Emperor to free jailed members of the clergy as well as such prominent personalities as *ras* ↗Śəyyum Mängäša. After the election of *abunä* ↗Basəlyos as head of the EOTC in 1951, M.'s power was reduced and he lost his authority over Təgray.

Late in his life, M.'s support for the union with Ethiopia softened to a muted ambiguity. He died in a car accident, and rumours of foul play concerning his death still persist.

Lit.: ALÄMSÄGGÄD TÄSFAY, አይንፈላለ 1941–1950 (*Aynəffälalä 1941–1950*, 'We shall not be Separated 1941–50'), Asmara 2001; PAOLO BORRUSO, *L'ultimo impero cristiano. Politica e religione nell'Etiopia contemporanea (1916–1974)*, Milano 2002; RICHARD GREENFIELD, *Ethiopia: a New Political History*, London 1965; CESARE MARONGIU BUONAIUTI, *Politica e religioni nel colonialismo italiano (1882–1941)*, Varese 1982; PIER GIACOMO MAGRI, *La politica estera etiopica e la questione eritrea e somala (1941–60)*, Roma 1980; E. SYLVIA PANKHURST - RICHARD PANKHURST, *Ethiopia and Eritrea. The Last Phase of the Reunion Struggle 1941-1952*, Woodford Green 1953; GERALD KENNEDY NICHOLAS TREVASKIS, *Eritrea: a Colony in Transition: 1941–52*, London 1960; YOLANDE MARA, *The Church of Ethiopia: the National Church in the Making*, Asmara 1972; ZRErtra.

Tedros Abraha

Marriage

In Ethiopia, as elsewhere in the world, M. is one of the cornerstones of social organization. Given the multi-ethnic nature of Ethiopian society, it is clear that that marital practices vary widely from group to group and region to region. Marital practices also can be shown to have varied considerably over time, particularly in areas where migration and ↗conversion to Christianity and Islam have taken place. When these objective conditions are coupled with the vast differences that exist with regard to the depth and quality of the available historical and ethnographic material, it becomes clear that it is impossible to provide a comprehensive or exhaustive survey of M. throughout Ethiopia. This article seeks, through a presentation of representative examples, to explore some of the most important themes connected to M.: rules governing acceptable M. (age, exogamy), betrothal, gifts and exchanges, types of M., the M. ceremony itself and divorce.

As a rule, traditional M. is not viewed as an arrangement between two individuals, but rather as a central part of a larger social system of links between families, lineages, villages, clans etc. This is reflected in virtually all aspects of the M. process, which involve not only the bride and groom, but also parents, friends, neighbours and other kin. M. are an important rite of passage. In some cases, the M. is also the rite for the transition of the individual to adulthood (↗Initiation), whilst in other cases additional rites proceed M. and perform this function.

Endogamy and exogamy

In all societies M. is governed by a set of rules that determine what is considered an acceptable match. Three points regarding such rules must be stressed. Firstly, customs enforced by community consensus, rather than legislation predominate in traditional societies. Secondly such rules are treated more seriously in the case of the first M., which are arranged and largely controlled by kinfolk more than subsequent unions. Thirdly, modernization and internal migration, particularly ↗urbanization have weakened the ability of traditional societies to enforce these rules.

Most groups prefer M. within their own ethnic or religious group. In cases of interfaith M. in Ethiopia, it is the woman who usually accepts the religion of her husband. There are rules of exclusion that limit potential spouses to members of certain clans or forbid M. within certain degrees of ↗kinship. Among several groups, including Christian Amhara and Təgrəñña-speakers, Soddo and Betä Ǝsraʾel, M. between persons who have a common ancestor in the sixth generation or less is proscribed as incestuous (ShGurage 31; cp. ↗Genealogy). These restrictions often extend not only to biological kin but also to affines, and such non-biological kin as adopted or foster children, and god-parents. Among the Gurage a man cannot take a wife from his mother's lineage or clan. Nor can he marry his half-sisters, their daughters or half-sisters of either parent. It is, however, common for two brothers to marry two sisters.

Among the Maale a man does not marry a woman from his own clan or from a clan with which he shares a ritual link. He can, however, marry a woman from his mother's clan as long as the woman is not related by kinship to his mother. The Konso prohibit M. within the same patrilineage and it is discouraged with close kin as reckoned through one's mother. A man cannot marry his wife's sister (except in the case of levirate M.), nor can two brothers marry two sisters. A man cannot marry a woman in the same age-grade as his father as she is considered to be like his mother. Among the Oromo M. can only take place between members of different moieties, although the ↗*qaalluu* are exempted from this rule and marry their "sisters", i.e. women of their moiety. Among the Đaasanač it is forbidden to marry within the same moiety, clan, or sub-clan. Among the ↗Somali, M. rarely takes place between those who already live in close daily contact, which requires mutual dependence. However, M. between members of neighbouring groups is common. The ↗ᶜAfar are one of the groups in Ethiopia among which patrilateral cross-cousin M. is the preferred form of M. Even among the ᶜAfar, however, usually only one wife (and here generally the first) is a cousin. Another group, the Saho, practice patrilineal as well as matrilineal cross-cousin M.

The wife of a ↗Konso priest is not allowed to marry again if she is widowed or divorced. Among both Christians and Betä Ǝsraʾel priests are allowed to marry prior to assuming office, but they cannot marry once they have been consecrated. Among the ↗Kəmant, only the priests marry in religious ceremonies, they can remarry if widowed only with permission from the high priest (*wämbär*).

In Christian Ethiopia attempts appear to have been made to arrange M.'s between children

Amhara couple wearing wedding crowns; from Farago 1935:188d

of families of the same social standing: nobles, priests and peasants. At the highest levels of society, M. was often used as a political device to create or strengthen alliances between important ruling families, even when this violated Church law and established custom. Moreover, M. endowments could be used as a device to limit the dispersal of property, particularly land, through inheritance.

Throughout Ethiopia it is common to reject M. with members of despised occupations (s. ↗Marginalized people in EAE vol. 5) such as tanners, smith, potters, slaves etc. Parents can often present lengthy genealogies to prove that their families do not descent from slaves or craftsmen. The Maale do not marry the *meni*, whose men are tanners and whose women are potters, even though these craftsmen speak Maale and follow the same customs. Freeman reports that in the Gamo Highlands *mana* (potters) and *degala* (smith and tanners) follow essentially the same M. rules and rituals as farmers, although both are more likely to marry outside their area. While smiths and tanners will marry each other, they will not marry potters and "most farmers would be horrified at the thought of marrying a Degala" (Freeman 2003:189). This is similar to the reality among the ↗Sidaama, among whom *awačo* (smiths and tanners) marry among themselves, but do not marry either other Sidaama or Hadičo (tanners). The tanners are endogamous, although in towns "if a woman has beauty and money, they do not bother about other things such as her social backgrounds [...] what matters is only love and property" (Haileyesus Seba 2003:232). Urban residents also show a much greater tendency to marry outside their ethnic group.

Betrothal

In traditional Ethiopia M. were rarely contracted on the basis of individual preference or romantic attachments. Parents and other kin play a crucial role in arranging and negotiating M. between their children and kinsfolk.

It is useful to distinguish between the age of betrothal, the age of ceremony, and the age of actual establishment of a marital unit. Among the Oromo, Konso and other groups with age-grade systems the timing of M. is intimately linked to the ↗*gadaa* system. Men are not allowed to marry until they reach the appropriate grade in the cycle.

Among the Đaasanač betrothals are arranged before the girl has reached puberty and may precede the M. by several years. They usually reflect the interest of the parents on both sides and often do not result in M. as these interests may change or the couple themselves may develop other preferences. Among the Đaasanač, most men only marry after the death of their fathers. Among the Betä Ǝsraʾel, betrothals often lasted two or three years.

Gifts

Throughout Ethiopia as elsewhere in the world M. is usually accompanied by the exchange of ↗gifts at various stages in the M. process. Broadly speaking these can be divided between dowry and bridewealth: the former consisting of gifts made by the bride's family to that of the groom, the latter of gifts made by the groom's kin to that of the bride.

Among the Boorana Oromo the prospective groom brings gifts such as tobacco, coffee and *čat* to a girl and her kinsmen for an extended period of months and even years. Bridewealth payments of cattle are, however, a crucial part of the M. process. Indeed, this does not come to

its conclusion with the taking of the bride, but rather with the payment of the final obligations.

Bridewealth was common among the Kəmant in the past. More recently, however, the families of both the bride and groom make contribution.

Among the ᶜAfar, the previously mentioned cross-cousin M., is generally not accompanied by anything more than token payments since the arrangement is concluded within the same family. Bridewealth also plays only a minor role among the Gurage. The importance of bridewealth among the Konso increased during the second half of the 20th cent., apparently due to Amhara influence. The custom of giving gifts to the bride's relatives among the Maale also appears to only have taken root in the 20th cent., as part of their integration into the money economy of Ethiopia.

Among the Đaasanač the transfer of bridewealth (in heads of livestock) takes place over many years and reflects a long and gradual process of bestowing rights over the bride to her husband and evolving relations with his affines. So gradual is the process that it is not unusual for one or the other partner to die before the complete transfer has taken place.

Types of marriage

In addition to the variations from culture to culture with regard to marital practices, there are often several types of M. within any given society. While these are not necessarily valued equally, all are considered to be legitimate.

Although it is generally agreed that the Amhara and the Təgrəññа-speakers recognize several different forms of legitimate M., observers are unanimous in reporting that M. as a sacrament (↗Matrimony) performed within the church, known as ቊርባን (*qʷərban*, 'Eucharist', because the ↗Eucharist is administered after the wedding ceremony) or ተክሊል (*täklil*, 'coronation', because the couple wear ↗crowns on their heads; cp. *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*täklil*), was rare compared to the various other options. Among the comparatively few who choose this option are priests and their spouses. It is also found among elderly couples, who have been married in another form of ceremony and celebrate a church wedding when they realize that they will not divorce or re-marry.

The religious (መንፈሳዊ, *mänfäsawi*, 'spiritual') M. is the only one which the Church acknowledges. It is compatible with a civil marriage concluded for administrative purposes.

Sämanya (ሰማንያ, 'eighty') is M. by a civil contract, and is the generally preferred form. Although it is in accord with the law of the Church, and the agreement between the families may be followed by a religious ceremony, an official Church ceremony whether Orthodox or other is rare. The term *Sämanya* refers to Eve who, according to an Ethiopian tradition, was given to Adam on the 80th day of her creation (a tradition possibly related to the *Book of* ↗*Jubilees* 3:11–14; whilst, in fact, this text refers to childbearing, not marriage). This explanation, together with the priest's (unlawful if frequent) blessing, provides this celebration with a Christian veneer. Buxton (1970:83) speaks of the "80 Bond", referring to "80 dollars — the price of a life". In modern society, this wedding is known as ቀለበት (*qäläbät*, lit. 'the ring') and may be performed in the town hall or city council. In itself, the latter may well be associated with Church M., particularly when official documents are needed.

M. on contract (ግርድና, *gərdənna*, lit. 'service'; or ደሞዝ, *dämoz*, lit. 'salary', also sometimes ቅጥር, *qəṭər*, lit. '[hiring for a] price') involves the payment of a monthly or annual salary to the wife by the husband. This form of M., generally considered to be of lower status than the previous two, is widespread in Ethiopia. Under this arrangement, a man and woman live together for a certain period under the terms of a contract. The woman is paid a certain amount, in cash or in product, such as coffee. It is a M. form associated with urban populations and traders and warriors far from home. Today it is in decline, because many consider it to be more like prostitution than M.

M. by capture (ጥልፍ, *ṭəlf*) is practiced by several groups in Ethiopia, often by those members of the population who do not have the means to pay dowry or bridewealth. (In some cases it is a prelude to some of the forms of M. described above.) However, among some groups it is a common form of M. regardless of the economic circumstances of the parties involved. Among the ↗Dokko M. by kidnapping known as *dafa*, although rare today, was still common during the 1970's. In most cases, the kidnapping was largely symbolic and M. took place with the agreement of the girl's father. Among the Käfa this form of M. known as *šoǧo* was traditional, but by the second half of the 20th cent. it was only practiced by the poor. The Đaasanač distinguish between two types of capture (1) *fargoginte* in which the girl has consented to elope with the man of her

choice, but her family has refused him; (2) *hay sare* when a young man, who is a relative stranger, captures a girl he has not courted previously. Among many groups including the Somali, M. by capture has become highly ritualized so that even couples who have parental consent "flee" from their families as part of the M. ceremony. Marriage by capture continues to be widespread in some parts of Ethiopia, e.g. southern central highlands.

Many groups in Ethiopia practice levirate (leviratic) M. in which, when a man dies, his widow becomes the wife and his children the responsibility of a close male relative, usually his brother. Levirate M. as practiced by Ethiopian Christians in the 16th and 17th cent. was harshly criticized by the Jesuits, who viewed such arrangements as scandalous. Among the Oromo this form of M. is known a *dala* inheritance. According to Cerulli (quoted in TrIslam 231), the acceptance of Islam has weakened this custom as it is applied in cases where Oromo custom is observed, but not when the M. has been contracted before a *šayḫ*. Among the Somali, this form of M. is called *dumal*; if a Somali man has no living brothers, a nephew or other kinsmen would be expected to accept the role. If a married woman dies, her clan or clan segment provide a substitute, normally a sister in accordance with the institution of *hisigan*. Among the Đaasanač sexually desirable and fertile widows can pass to the brothers of the deceased; however, this being a matter of mutual consent, either of the parties can cancel the relationship by a simple ritual. Among the Gurage, both levirate and sororate M. are practiced, but are not required by custom or enforced by sanction. A man may marry his brother's widow in order to head a second household and a previously unmarried woman may marry her sister's husband to acquire a family. Among the Konso, a sonless widow may be expected to bear a child with one of her husband's brother's, but if there is a surviving son no such expectation exists.

Polygamy is practiced among numerous groups in Ethiopia although religious and economic considerations limit the actual number of cases. In the 1960s, Hallpike (1972:67) found that about 10 % of Konso men could afford a second wife. During the same period, Shack reported (ShGurage 106) that, although polygynous M. remained an important value among the Gurage, it was increasingly difficult to maintain because of land shortage.

Ceremonies (s. also ↗Wedding)

M. ceremonies in Ethiopia, like most other feasts, have yet to be properly analyzed. In addition to the purpose of joining the couple in M., they also symbolize such values as family, masculinity, fertility and community.

In a church wedding the couple receive communion under a large cloth, which symbolizes that they are one body through holy matrimony. After a feast at the bride's family's home, the couple travel to the groom's. After two days they visit the bride's home, and after another two days both families gather at the groom's house.

Parkyns (1966:259–68) offers a detailed description of a "civil" wedding in the 19th-cent. Təgray including the feasting and dancing which take place separately at the bride and groom's houses prior to the ceremony. Only in the morning does the groom, accompanied by his friends and attendants, travel, in a procession with horses, mules, weapons and much finery, to the bride's residence (*ənda g^{w}al*, cp. ↗*ʒnda*). Additional feasting and (war) dances take place. The bride and groom are seated in the middle, while their respective families and friends remain separate. Gifts are given to the groom. The bride is accompanied back to her new husband's village by his friends, who promise to serve and protect her in her new surroundings. Indeed, one or more of them (Tgn. *ʿarki rəʾsi*, 'chief friend') remain with the couple during their first night together. A few days after the wedding, the bride and groom go on a procession throughout the neighbourhood and are (more or less voluntarily) given wedding gifts.

The high costs of M. ceremonies, due to serving food and drinks during several days of celebrations to all invitees, have long been an object of discussions all over the region. Local elder assemblies even changed local law traditions in order to reduce costs (for Akkälä Guzay cp. ↗Adgəna Tägäläba).

It is interesting to see that many of these same elements including the rivalry, competition and ritualized aggression described by Parkyns survive in Ethiopia today, even in the difficult conditions of resettlement in the late 20th cent. (Pankhurst 1992:197–20). Many ethnic groups, e.g., the Təgre in Eritrea, still practice today the public exhibition of bloody spots on a white sheet after the first night of the couple.

A common feature of M. among the Gurage is a song duel, in which the close friends of the bride and those of the groom compete in singing

the praises of their clan through both traditional and impromptu verses. The groom's side eventually emerges victorious and carries the bride to his village and to the M. feast. The bride and her party remain secluded behind a screen during the entire feast, which often lasts several days. Even after it is over, the wife remains secluded from her husband for an extended period, said to last from several months to a year. Only after this period, the M. is consummated.

Among the Konso there is no M. ritual but merely a wedding feast, which takes place at the home of the groom's father. Only a few friends accompany the bride. Her family does not attend, perhaps as a ceremonial expression of hostility (Hallpike 1972:113).

Among the Kəmant, civil M. (*senaw*), which is performed for everybody but priests, has no religious components. The groom travels to the bride's homestead accompanied by his kin and eight fictive siblings (*mize*), whom he has chosen. The oldest *mize* acts as an advisor to the groom, while the youngest serves food and drink to the bride at the wedding. The M. ceremony takes place in the house of the bride's parents, where a previously agreed upon oral contract is read. Feasting then takes place, although the bride does not appear in public. The groom may sing songs of war in return for which he is given payments which may be vestiges of an earlier custom of bridewealth. On the next day, the bride is carried to the groom's homestead by one of the *mize*. Songs of war and bravery are sung. All the *mize* vow to treat the bride and groom as kin.

Among the Betä Ǝsraʾel, all the neighbours and relatives travel to the groom's village where a coloured thread (usually red and white) is tied around his forehead. He and his attendants then travel to the bride's village, where they spend the night. The ceremony takes place under a covering in the presence of a priest and the families of both the bride and groom. One of his attendants is instructed to protect and instruct the new bride. Later in the day, they bring the bride back to his village. If it is discovered that she is not a virgin, he removes the thread from his forehead and the M. is annulled. Feasting and celebration of a wedding can often last over a week.

Divorce

Many authors have commented on the instability of M. in Ethiopia (BeckHuntAlvar 107f.; Bauer 1977:127–31; Parkyns 1966:268; Hallpike 1972:116; Stauder 1972:7; Pankhurst 1992:263, no. 1–3). This appears to be due to a combination of cultural and historical circumstances. M. may often end in divorce because the couple themselves often have little say in the choice of spouses. On the other hand, later M. may be fragile bonds, because there is little family involvement and hence little pressure to maintain the union. Contract M. are by their very nature limited-term affairs intended to survive only for a set period. In addition to these structural factors, illness and sterility also appear to have had a major impact. In modern time, labour migration of men became an increasingly important factor.

Src.: MANSFIELD PARKYNS, *Life in Abyssinia*, London 1966, 255–68; BeckHuntAlvar 106ff.; HuntGal 34–39.

Lit.: URI ALMAGOR, *Pastoral Partners: Affinity and Bond Partnership among the Dassanetch of South-West Ethiopia*, Manchester 1978, 152–226; AsmGada 18–49; BAIRU TAFLA, "Marriage as a Political Device: an Appraisal of a Socio-political Aspect of the Mənilək Period 1889–1916", *JES* 10, 1, 1972, 13–21; DAN FRANZ BAUER, *Household and Society in Ethiopia*, East Lansing, MI 1977, 112–32; CerPeople 74f.; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Consuetudini giuridiche del Seraé", *RSE* 7 (supplement), 1948, 27–81; DONALD DONHAM, *Work and Power in Maale, Ethiopia*, Ann Arbor, MI 1975, 79–86, 93–97, 108–11; LADISLAS FARAGO, *Abyssinia on the Eve*, London 1935, 188d (ill.); DENA FREEMAN, *Initiating Change in Highland Ethiopia*, Cambridge 2001, 60–66; EAD., "Gamo", in: EAD. – ALULA PANKHURST (eds.), *Peripheral People: the Excluded Minorities of Ethiopia*, London 2003, 178–98; FREDERICK C. GAMST, *The Qemant: a Pagan-Hebraic Peasantry of Ethiopia*, New York 1969, 110; ROBERT GIEL – JOHANNES NICOLAAS VAN LUIJK, "Patterns of Marriage in a Roadside Town in South-western Ethiopia", *JES* 6, 2, 1968, 61–69; ID., "On the Significance of a Broken Home in Ethiopia", *British Journal of Psychiatry* 114, 1968, 957; HAILE MICHAEL MISGINNA, "Betrothal and Marriage Customs in Endarta", *University College of Addis Ababa, Ethnological Society Bulletin* 8, 1958, 49–61; HAILEYESUS SEBA, "Sidama", in: Freeman – Pankhurst op. cit. 2006, 221–39; CHRISTOPHER HALLPIKE, *The Konso: a Study of the Values of a Kushitic People*, Oxford 1972, 87–120; BONNIE HOLCOMB, "Oromo Marriage in Wallaga Province, Ethiopia", *JES* 2, 1, 1973, 107–42; LewPeople 110ff., 138, 169f.; ALULA PANKHURST, *Resettlement and Famine in Ethiopia: the Villagers' Experience*, Manchester – New York, 1992, 95–98, 196–201, 242–47; HELEN PANKHURST, *Gender, Development and Identity: an Ethiopian Study*, London – Atlantic Highlands, NJ 1992, 102–26; RUFFILO PERINI, *Di qua del Mareb*, Firenze 1905; GEORGES SAVARD, "Cross-Cousin Marriage among the Patrilineal Afar", in: *PICES* 3, 89–98; ShGurage 86–91, 110–14, 119–28; WILLIAM SHACK, *The Central Ethiopians: Amhara, Tigriña and Related Peoples*, London 1974 (Ethnographic Survey of Africa North-Eastern Africa 4); JACK STAUDER, *The Majangir: Ecology and Society of a Southwest Ethiopian People*, Cambridge 1971, 6f., 94–103; *abba* TEKESTEBRAHAN GABRAMEDIN, "Il matrimonio consuetudinario in Etiopia: suoi aspetti giuridici, suo valore", in: *PICES* 3, vol. 2, 333–47; TrIslam.

Steven Kaplan

Märsəᶜe Ḫazän Wäldä Qirqos

Blatta M. (መርስዔ፡ ኀዘን፡ ወልደ፡ ቂርቆስ, b. 26 March 1899, Ǧirru district, northern Šäwa, d. 29 October 1978, Addis Abäba) was a traditional scholar and a politician. His father, *aläqa* Wäldä Qirqos, was a teacher of ↗*Dəggʷa* in the monastery of ↗Däbrä Libanos of Šäwa and at ↗Ǝnṭoṭṭo Maryam. M. started his traditional church ↗education before the age of five, and by 1919 had completed the study of ↗*qəne* and exegesis (↗*Andəmta*) of N.T. as well as the writings of the Church Fathers (*Liqawənt*) and the ↗*Fəṯḥa nägäśt*.

In 1920, M. was appointed secretary to the committee for preparing and publishing biblical and patristic Gəᶜəz texts – a work initiated and personally supervised by *ras* Täfäri Makʷännən (↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I). M. was engaged in the translation, and/or commentary on, the ↗*Arägawi mänfäsawi*, Sirach, Ecclesiastes and the Minor Prophets (s. Cowley 1974:174; Sergew Hable-Sellassie 1980:88). He was also assigned to the ↗Bərhanənna Sälam printing press; for a short period he served as an assistant editor of the newspaper ↗*Bərhanənna Sälam*.

In April 1925 the Täfäri Makʷännən School was established, and M. became its Gəᶜəz and Amharic teacher. Then, he composed the first Amharic school grammar (1926/27) which remained a standard textbook in Ethiopian elementary and secondary schools until 1975.

In 1930 M. moved to ↗Ǧiǧiga as Director of the newly opened Ras Makʷännən School. At that time, he was appointed a member of the Boundary Commission formed to demarcate the boundary between British Somaliland and Ethiopia during 1931–34 (cf. ↗Boundaries). He was at ↗Wälwäl during the incident of 1934 and kept record of it (s. mff. EMML 3750, 3755–63).

Märsəᶜe Ḫazän Wäldä Qirqos; photo courtesy of the IES

After the Liberation, M. held several important governmental positions, such as Judge of the High Court (1941–44), Head of the Imperial Record and Archive Office (1944–54), and Vice Minister of Justice (1949–57). As the chairman of the drafting committee of Ethiopian codes, he was charged with the difficult task of creating the new law codes (↗Civil code, ↗Criminal code). From 1958 to 1970 M. served in the Parliament, first as Registrar, then Vice President and finally Acting President of the Upper House. From 1971 to 1974 he was adviser to the Antiquities Administration.

As an eminent religious scholar, M. was appointed chairman of the Amharic Bible Revision Committee (1947–60), which published a new Amharic translation of the ↗Bible (the so-called "Imperial Bible") in 1961.

In 1948 M. and *abunä* ↗Tewoflos headed the Ethiopian delegation at the founding assembly of the World Council of Churches (WCC) in Amsterdam. M. also played an important role in the negotiations between ↗Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church and the Coptic Church resulting in the complete autonomy of the former.

M. was a member of the Board of Education and Fine Arts founded in 1947, and, from 1973, of the Academy of Amharic Language (↗Ethiopian Language Academy). M. was also a member of a committee established to collect materials for the biography of Ḫaylä Śəllase I. In 1974 M. retired.

M. translated several works into Amharic, including the *History* by ↗Herodotus (from English; 1947–52). His personal notes contain valuable information on Ethiopian history from the reign of *aṣe* Mənilək II onwards (s. Sergew Hable-Selassie 1980:90f., 93); most of them (a three-volume reminiscences and his autobiography) are currently being prepared by M.'s son Amha for publication. M. contributed to a number of significant books: he wrote an introduction to *Zəkrä nägär* by ↗Maḫtämä Śəllase Wäldä Mäsqäl (MahZekr ሸ–ቀ [preface]), and a preface to the Amharic text of ↗Gäbrä Śəllase Wäldä Arägay's Chronicle of Mənilək II (GSMen). He also contributed to Marcos Daoud's translation of the Ethiopian liturgy (Daoud 1954). For his ca. 30 publications (Sergew Hable Sellassie 1988:90–93), M. won the 1971 Ḫaylä Śəllase I Award for Amharic Literature.

M. was buried at Yäkka Abbo Church in Addis Abäba.

Src.: PIERRE COMBA, *Inventaire des livres amhariques figurant dans la collection éthiopienne à la bibliothèque de*

l'University College d'Addis Ababa. Avril 1959, Addis Ababa 1961, 5ff.; MARCOS DAOUD (tr.), *The Liturgy of the Ethiopian Church*, revised by *blatta* MARSIE HAZEN, Addis Ababa 1954; EMML IX, 128ff., 132–35 [nos. 3750, 3755–63]; GSMen; MahZekr ሸ–ቀ [preface]; MÄRSƎ^{c}E ḪAZÄN WÄLDÄ QIRQOS, *ያማርኛ፡ ሰዋስው* (*Yamarəñña säwasəw*, 'Amharic Grammar'), Addis Abäba 1919 A.M. [1926/27 A.D.]; ID., *ዐውደ፡ መዋዕል* (*^{c}Awdä mäwa^{c}əl*, 'The Circle of the Days'), Addis Abäba 1939 A.M. [1946/47 A.D.]; ID., *ግርማዊ፡ ንጉሠ፡ ነገሥት፡ ቀዳማዊ፡ ኃይለ፡ ሥላሴ፡ ጎንደርን፡ የመጎብኘታቸው፡ ታሪክ፡ ፲፱፻፴፱ መስከረም ፳፫ – ጥቅምት ፯* (*Gərmawi nəguśa nägäśt qädamawi Ḫaylä Śəllase Gondärən yämägobəñätaččäw tarik 1939 Mäskäräm 23 – Ṭəqəmt 7*, 'History of the Great Emperor Ḫaylä Śəllase I's Visit to Gondär, 23 *Mäskäräm* – 7 *Ṭəqəmt* 1939'), Addis Abäba 1939 A.M. [1946/47 A.D.]; ID. (tr.), *የጥንት፡ ታሪክ፡ ሄሮዶቱስ፡ እንደጻፈው፡ ትርጉም* (*Yäṭənt tarik Herodotus əndäṣafäw tərgum*, 'The Translation of Ancient History as Written by Herodotus'), 4 vols., Addis Abäba 1947–52; ID., *የመጀመርያው፡ ኢትዮጵያዊ፡ ፓትርያርክ* (*Yämäğämäryaw ityopyawi patrəyark*, 'The First Ethiopian Patriarch'), Addis Abäba 1956 A.M. [1963/64 A.D.]; ID., *የዘመን፡ ታሪክ፡ ትዝታዬ – በዳግማዊ፡ ምኒልክ፡ ዘመነ፡ መንግሥት* (*Yäzämän tarik təzzətaye – bädagmawi Mənilək zämänä mängəśt*, 'My Memories of the History of the Time – During the Reign of Mənilək II'), Addis Abäba 1994 A.M. [2001/02 A.D.]; *Haile Selassie I Prize Trust* (*10th Anniversary Publication*), Addis Ababa 1973.

Lit.: ROGER COWLEY, "Old Testament Introduction in the Andemta Commentary Tradition", *JES* 12, 1, 1974, 133–75; ID., "Mämhər Esdros and his Interpretations", in: *PICES* 6, 41–69, here 57; MolLit 36, 265; SYLVIA PANKHURST, *Ethiopia. A Cultural History*, Essex 1955, 581, 588; GÉRARD PRUNIER, "Mers'e Hazen Wolde Qirqos", in: MERS^{c}É HAZEN WOLDE QIRQOS, *Of What I Saw and Heard: the Last Years of Emperor Menelik II & the Brief Rule of Iyassu*, tr. by HAILU HABTU, Addis Ababa 2004, I–IV; SERGEW HABLE-SELLASSIE, "Two Leading Ethiopian Writers", *JSS* 25, 1, 1980, 85–93, here 88–93 (Lit.).

Asfaw Damte

Märso Ḫaylä Maryam

Däğğazmač M. (*መርሶ፡ ኃይለ፡ ማርያም*) was the son of *däğğazmač* ↗Ḫaylä Maryam of Səmen, who was married to a daughter of *ras* ↗Gugsa Märsa of the Wärräsek dynasty. He was also a half-brother of *däğğazmač* ↗Wəbe, with whom he had an extended rivalry.

Though M. did not hold an important position in Ethiopian politics, he did have a significant role during the 1830s and 1840s, with various appointments in Tämben and Goğğam. M.'s first notable appointment occurred in ca. 1830 when he was briefly appointed as ruler of Səmen. In the aftermath of the battle of Däbrä Tabor, 1842, the victorious *ras* ↗Ali Alula initially reappointed him ruler of Səmen, but then sided with Wəbe and removed M. from this position. The following year he briefly claimed to be ruler of Goğğam, and then early in 1847 M. reconciled with his half-brother, Wəbe, joining him in his struggle against *ras* Ali. The latter captured and imprisoned M., but he escaped in 1851 and took refuge in the ↗Ǝčč̣äge Bet quarter in Gondär. Early in 1853 M. made peace with Ali, and was appointed ruler of Bägemdər, but his claim to this office was short-lived because Ali was soon defeated by Kaśa Ḫaylu (later ↗Tewodros II) at the battle of ↗Ayšal in June 1853.

Src.: CRNuov 376, 381f., 390, 400, 403f., 406.

Lit.: AbPrince 33, 109f. 112, 119f., 123f.; RubInd 94f.

Donald Crummey

Martin, Charles ↗Wärqənäh Ešäte Martin

Martini, Ferdinando

M. (b. 30 July 1841, Florence, d. 20 April 1928, Monsummano, Lucca [today Monsummano Terme, Pistoia]) was a journalist, writer and political figure. He first visited the Colonia ↗Eritrea in April 1891, as Vice-President of the Royal Commission of Inquiry that had the task of investigating both civil and military Italian officers charged with abuses of power and slaughters and, *inter alia*, to assess the economic viability of the colony. Subsequently, M.'s anti-colonialism shifted to adopt the raison d'être of the colony and its benefits for ↗Italy. Following the defeat of ↗^{c}Adwa, he was appointed the first civil governor of post-war Eritrea on 30 November 1897, a role in which he had to reassess the expansionist policy previously promoted by Francesco Crispi and the military governors in Eritrea.

M.'s aim was to maintain Eritrea's integrity in a peaceful environment, challenging the post-^{c}Adwa anti-colonial trend. He partially demobilized the colony while diffusing local resistance in the plateau, stirred up by banditry and socio-political unrest. M. promoted an organic rule for the colony, granting the separation between the prominent civil rule and the military sphere. Since 1898, he reorganized the administrative space, transferring the capital from ↗Massawa to ↗Asmära, and dividing Eritrea into districts administered in collaboration with the local ruling élite, appointed by the colonial state.

Facing a limited public annual fixed subsidy and the lack of private financial support, which perceived Eritrea as a resource-poor country, M. worked to promote the colony as a raw material source for Italy and as a staging post in regional trade. He engaged experts for surveys of poten-

Governor Martini during a journey of inspection in Beni ᶜAmər territory, Eritrea, with Beni ᶜAmər *šayḫs*; from Schoenfeld 1904:26

tial riches and impulsed research. Aware of the natives' hostility towards land dispossession in favour of Italian peasants, M. shelved the policy of white settlement and opted for a capital-intensive agricultural policy, mainly in the north-west lowland, inducing the local farmers to work as share-croppers; 11 % of the cultivable land was confiscated in the highland, where M. hoped to increase the agricultural output through the natives' partnership. Faced with the outburst of a cattle-plague epidemic, M. tried to protect cattle-breeding – which played a prominent part in Eritrea's economy – by founding a sero-vaccinogenous institute. In order to revitalize the limited budget of the colony, M. promoted surveys for the exploration of mineral resources, but with scarce results. His project of making the country a depot for transit trade had more success, since during his governorship the import-export from Ethiopia sharply increased. To enforce Eritrea's economic interests he fostered peaceful relations with the neighbouring countries, especially imperial Ethiopia; he also gave impulse to the transportation network of the colony, extending the railway and roads systems to the Ethiopian and Sudanese borders.

M.'s intense diplomatic activity, sponsoring a series of border agreements and treaties signed with the neighbouring countries – Ethiopia, Anglo–Egyptian Sudan and Djibouti – enabled the definition of Eritrea's boundaries between 1898 and 1908. In May 1900, after three years of diplomatic negotiations and a financial compensation of 5 million lire, the Ethiopian government agreed on a common boundary running along the watershed of the rivers Märäb, Bäläsa, and Muna. The climax of this diplomacy was M.'s tour to Addis Abäba, where he met *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II and signed a bilateral commercial treaty. He succeeded in establishing a stable colonial administration, in spite of the scanty budgets. M. resigned on 25 March 1907.

Despite some attempts to reinterpret it as an economic doctrine for the exploitation of Eritrea (Yemane Mesghenna 1988:130ff.), M.'s policy seems to have rather been that of pragmatic leadership. His governorship is often depicted as paternalistic and racist, because of his distrust towards indigenous peoples; these, considered unfit for emancipation, were denied access to western education – which was only granted in missionary schools, – a policy which at the time was justified with the need to prevent and contain resistance to colonial rule. During M.'s governorship, the consolidation of Italian rule and the peaceful coexistence between Italian colons and natives were only achieved by a severe legislation towards the latter group.

M. also devoted special attention to the promotion of Eritrea in Italian public opinion. He played a prominent role in the formation of a national colonial ideology, through a skilful propagandistic use of the press and colonial exhibitions. He organized the first colonial congress held in Asmära in 1905, to celebrate the successful consolidation of colonial Eritrea. In 1913–14, M. was appointed minister of the Colonies in the Italian government. He issued various personal accounts on his experiences in Eritrea, some of which have enjoyed wider public acceptance (Martini 1891).

M.'s rich library including the Gəᶜəz and Arabic manuscripts he collected during his stay in Eritrea was acquired by the Forteguerriana library in Pistoia (Santoli 1932; cp. Lusini 2002). His villa in Monsummano houses a public cultural centre.

Src.: CAMERA DEI DEPUTATI, *Relazione sulla Colonia Eritrea del R. Commissario civile straordinario on. Ferdinando Martini* (*anni 1898–1899*), Roma 1901; (*anni 1900 e 1901*), Roma 1906; (*anni 1902–1907*), Roma 1913; GIANFRANCESCO LUSINI, "I codici etiopici del fondo Martini nella Biblioteca Forteguerriana di Pistoia", *Aethiopica* 5, 2002, 156–76; FERDINANDO MARTINI, *Nell'Affrica Italiana. Impressioni e ricordi*, Milano 1891, [10]1935; ID., *Cose Affricane. Da Saati ad Abba Carima. Discorsi e scritti*, Milano 1896; ID., *Il diario eritreo*, 4 vols., Firenze 1942–43; ID., *Convegno in Addis Abeba del Commissario civile dell'Eritrea* (*on. Martini*) *coll'Imperatore d'Etiopia*, Roma 1906.

Lit.: ALBERTO ACQUARONE, *Dopo Adua: politica e amministrazione coloniale*, ed. by LUDOVICA DE COURTEN, Roma 1989; MARIA ELISABETTA CALZINI, "Il 'pensiero' coloniale di Ferdinando Martini attraverso le lettere

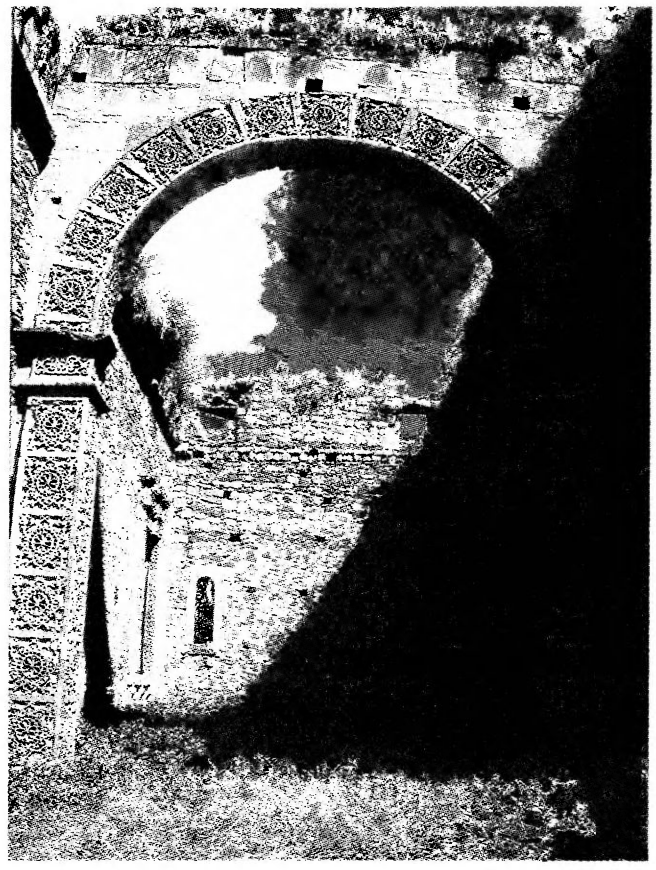
inedite", *Studi Piacentini* 12, 1992, 81–101; GIAN PAOLO CALCHI NOVATI, "Studi e politica ai convegni coloniali del primo e del secondo dopoguerra", in: *Fonti e problemi della politica coloniale italiana. Atti del convegno Taormina–Messina, 23–29 ottobre 1989,* Roma 1996, vol. 1, 165–95; FEDERICA GUAZZINI, *Le ragioni di un confine coloniale. Eritrea 1898–1908,* Torino 1999; MARIO ISNENGHI, "Il sogno africano", in: ANGELO DEL BOCA (ed.), *Le guerre coloniali del fascismo,* Roma – Bari 1991, 49–72; NICOLA LABANCA, "Ferdinando Martini in Eritrea (1897–1907). Per un riesame di un mito del colonialismo italiano", *Farestoria* 10, 17, 1991, 26–42; MARCO LENCI, *Eritrea e Yemen. Tensioni italo-turche nel Mar Rosso 1885–1911,* Milano 1990, 1–83; ID., "Gli Habab d'Eritrea e il governatorato di Ferdinando Martini. Dalla defezione alla sottomissione", *Africa* 54, 3, 1999, 349–78; LUCIANO MONZALI, *L'Etiopia nella politica estera italiana, 1896–1915,* Parma 1996, 125–283; MASSIMO ROMANDINI, "Ferdinando Martini e la crisi tigrina del 1898–1899", *Africa* 35, 1, 1980, 125–32; ID., "Le comunicazioni stradali, ferroviarie e marittime dell'Eritrea durante il governatorato Martini (1897–1907)", *ibid.* 38, 1, 1983, 94–104; ID., "Commissariati e residenze in Eritrea durante il governatorato Martini", *ibid.* 40, 4, 1985, 663–67; ID.,"Politica musulmana in Eritrea durante il governorato Martini", *Islam* 3, 1984, 127–31; ID., "Personaggi musulmani nelle pagine di F. Martini", *ibid.* 4, 1985, 57–62; ID., "Ferdinando Martini ad Addis Abeba (15 giugno – 28 luglio 1906)", *Miscellanea di Storia delle Esplorazioni* 9, 1984, 201–43; ID., "Le convenzioni di frontiera tra Eritrea e Sudan anglo-egiziano durante il governatorato Martini in Eritrea", *QSE* 6–7, 1985–86, 38–73; ID., "Il problema dei tributi durante l'amministrazione Martini in Eritrea, 1897–1907", *Studi Piacentini* 4, 1988, 115–31; ID., "Il dopo-Adua di Ferdinando Martini, governatore civile in Eritrea (1897–1907)", *ibid.* 20, 1996, 177–204; QUINTO SANTOLI, *Biblioteca Forteguerriana di Pistoia,* Pistoia 1932, 39-44; EMIL DAGOBERT SCHOENFELD, *Erythräa und der ägyptische Sudan: Auf Grund eigener Forschung an Ort und Stelle dargestellt,* Berlin 1904, 26 (ill.); PIER GIORGIO SOLINAS, "Coscienza coloniale e affari indigeni. L'Africa italiana da Ferdinando Martini a Giacomo De Martino", *La ricerca folklorica* 18, 1988, 41–47; IRMA TADDIA, *L'Eritrea Colonia, 1890–1952. Personaggi, strutture, uomini del colonialismo,* Milano 1986, s. index; TEKESTE NEGASH, *Italian Colonialism in Eritrea, 1882–1941: Policies, praxis and impact,* Uppsala 1987, 37–48, 97–99; YEMANE MESGHENNA, *Italian Colonialism: a Case Study of Eritrea, 1869–1934. Motive, Praxis and Results,* Lund 1988, 130–63; MASSIMO ZACCARIA, "L'Eritrea in mostra. Ferdinando Martini e le esposizioni coloniali 1903–1909", *Africa* 57, 4, 2002, 512–45; ID., "L'oro dell'Eritrea, 1897–1914", *ibid.* 60, 1, 2005, 65–110.

Federica Guazzini

Märṭulä Maryam

M.M. (**መርጡለ፡ ማርያም**) is a church and a monastery in eastern ↗Goğğam, in the historical district called Ǝnnäbəse ("Nebessê" in the sources of the ↗Jesuits), at the top of a hill in a little town by the same name (for location s. Mäkanä Sälam).

M.M. is mentioned in the hagiography of the kings ↗Abrəha and Aṣbəḥa (possibly dating back to the 14th cent., s. Marrassini in MiscAethKur 168, 197 and n. 23). It is impossible to draw further conclusions without additional archaeological or literary evidence as to when exactly the church was founded and whether it is as ancient as the tradition assumes (s. also the local tradition in Cerulli 1933:108f).



Main arch of the central nave in the ruined Jesuit church at Märṭulä Maryam, 1628–1632; photo 1997, courtesy of the author

In any case, Bä'ədä Maryam's wife queen ↗Ǝleni founded a royal monastery at M.M. between 1490 and 1522 (BeckHuntAlvar 459), hence its other name, Däbrä Ǝleni Märṭulä Maryam (GuiIyas 17 [text]). Ǝleni assigned M.M. to the monastic "house" of ↗Ewoṣṭateans (Derat – Pennec 1997:23ff.; GuiIohan 70ff. [text]) and was later buried there (BeckHuntAlvar 459). The abbot of the monastery bears the title of **ርእሰ፡ ርኡሳን**, *rə'əsä rə'usan* (↗*Ras*) as is attested from the 17th cent. (GuiIohan 70ff. [text]).

The old church was decorated with carved stones and was noted for its ornamentation (some can still be seen in a hole north-west of the present church; s. also Heintze 1937, fig. 15) and its wealth, especially its golden altars (BeckHuntAlvar 459; Almeida in BecRASO V, 250ff.; cp. ↗*tabot*). It was destroyed by the troops of ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī ("Grañ") in 1535/36 (FotiCr 97) and, supposedly, for a sec-

ond time by the ↗Oromo (Almeida in Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, Goana 39, II, doc 5Ad, fol. 429v).

In 1626, *aṣe* ↗Susənyos, seeking to control the growing power of the governor of Goğğam, his brother *ras* ↗Śəᶜəlä Krəstos, by placing the Jesuit mission in Goğğam under his direct control, offered this ruined but still prestigious site to the ↗Jesuits (Almeida ibid.; BecRASO VI, 494f.; Derat – Pennec 1997:25, 29f., 32 n. 52). A new church was built under the direction of the Italian father Bruno Bruni. He was assisted by brother João Martines who had previously worked at ↗Gorgora (Almeida in BecRASO XII, 257f., 269f.; Pennec 2003:178f.). The building, decorated with fine carvings (s. ill.), remained unfinished when the Jesuits were expelled from Ethiopia in 1633. *Aṣe* ↗Fasilädäs then gave the place to his niece Ǝleni (BecRASO VII, 324). In 1684, setting on one of his first military campaigns, *aṣe* ↗Iyasu I promised to restore the church and endowed it with ↗*gʷəlt*-lands (GuiIohan 70ff., 78 [text]; Pennec – Toubkis 2004:255).

The present circular church is decorated with murals in the Second Gondärine style of ↗painting from ca. mid-18th cent. The monastery houses an important library with illuminated manuscripts and a register of land transactions (in a manuscript with the twelve "minor Prophets" [*däqiqä näbiyat*], s. Habtamu Mengistie 2004:134f.). A large collection of liturgical and precious goods – crowns, clothes, paintings on wood etc. – is kept in the *ᶜəqa bet* (s., e.g., Chojnacki 2000).

Src.: Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, Goana 39 II, doc 5Ad, fol. 429v; GuiIohan 70ff., 78 (text) = 72ff., 78 (tr.); GuiIyas 17 (text) = 17 (tr.); BeckHuntAlvar 459; BecRASO V, 250ff.; VI, 494f.; VII, 324; XII, 257f., 269f.; ENRICO CERULLI, "L'Etiopia del secolo XV in nuovi documenti storici", *Africa Italiana* 5, 1933, 57–112, here 107–12 [v. Arte italiana nelle sculture di Marṭula Māryām]; FotiCr 97; CHARLES THEODORE BEKE, "A Description of the Ruins of the Church of Mertula Mariam in Abessinia", *Archaeologia* 32, 1847, 38–57; GUGLIELMO HEINTZE, *La basilica sul Nilo Azzurro della imperatrice Elena, 1500*, Milano 1937, fig. 15; PAOLO MARRASSINI, "Il *Gadla Abreha waAṣbeḥa*. Indicazioni preliminari", in: *MiscAethKur* 159–79.

Lit.: STEPHEN BELL, "The Ruins of Mertola-Maryam", *PICES* 8, vol. 1, 125–29; MARIE-LAURE DERAT – HERVÉ PENNEC, "Les églises et monastères royaux d'Éthiopie (XVᵉ–XVIᵉ et XVIIᵉ siècles): permanences et ruptures d'une stratégie royale", in: *PICES* 13, vol. 1, 17–34, here esp. 23ff., 29f., 32 (Lit.); STANISŁAW CHOJNACKI, "The Discovery of a 15th-Century Painting and the Brancaleon Enigma", *RSE* 43, 1999 [2000], 15–42; CrumLand 87; HABTAMU MENGISTIE, *Lord, Zèga and Peasant: a Study of Property and Agrarian Relations in Rural Eastern Gojjam*, Addis Ababa 2004, 134f.; PAUL B. HENZE, "The Monastery of Mertule Maryam in Gojjam. A Major Medieval Ethiopian Architectural Monument", in: PIOTR O. SCHOLZ (ed.), *Äthiopien gestern und heute. Akten der 1. Tagung des Orbis Æthiopicus Gesellschaft ...*, Warszawa 1999 (NÆ IV/V), 520–50; ID., "The Monastery of Märṭulä Maryam: Questions and Speculations about its Architecture and Ornamentation", in: *PICEA* 5, 49–58 [s. also pl. 3, "Introduction"]; HERVÉ PENNEC, *Des Jésuites au Royaume du Prêtre Jean (Éthiopie)*, Paris 2003, 146, 173, 178f.; ID. – DIMITRI TOUBKIS, "Reflections on the Notions of «Empire» and «Kingdom» in Seventeenth-Century Ethiopia: Royal Power and Local Power", *Journal of Early Modern History* 8, 3–4, 2004, 229–58, esp. 255.

Claire Bosc-Tiessé

Martyrdom

Christian martyrdom

The notion of M. (Gəᶜəz **ስምዕ**, *səmᶜ*, Gr. μαρτύριον, Lat. *martyrium*), developed by the early Church with reference to those who gave their own life for the Christian faith, seems to have been first established by the late 2nd cent., when a difference (still vague, though, in the 3rd cent.) was also set between "red" and "white" (or bloodless) M., namely, between martyrs (Gr. μάρτυρες, Gəᶜəz **ሰማዕታት**, *sämaᶜətat*), who proved their faith by shedding their blood, and confessors (Gr. ὁμολογηταί, Gəᶜəz **እለ፡ አምኑ**, *əllä amnu*, **ዘይትአመኑ**, *zäyəᵓammänu*), who suffered exile and imprisonment, but not death, for their beliefs (Delehaye 1921). In its traditional meaning, M. is also a term for a story of a martyr or a group of martyrs (Lat. *passio*, 'passion', lit. 'sufferings'): a particular genre of ↗hagiography – in its earliest and simplest form, a letter to a Christian community – that emphasizes the saint's questioning by the authorities (Roman, Persian, Arab), his or her ordeal and execution (s. Ronchey 1990:33–44, 133–49).

The notion of M., if not of the relevant literary genre, forms an integral part of the Christian identity of Ethiopia as well, albeit in a quite different social and political framework. As a matter of fact, after the acceptance of Alexandrian Christianity as the state religion by the local rulers and the subsequent evangelization of the country, there were no state-organized persecutions of Christians in the Aksumite empire (↗Aksum).

In keeping with the original idea of the martyrs as "witnesses" (cp. Gr. μαρτυρεῖν, 'testify, bear witness') of Jesus Christ, up to accepting death punishment for his sake, is the meaning of the Gəᶜəz word for 'martyr(dom)', *səm(a)ᶜ(ət)*, derived from the verb *sämᶜa*, 'to hear', but also 'to witness' (DillmLex 338f.; LesCDic 501f.; but

cp. Peeters 1920:58f., on which Conti Rossini 1945:219 n. 1).

The accounts of the M. of Christians in the Roman empire certainly reached Aksumite Ethiopia already in pre-Christian time, and influenced to a certain extent the self-consciousness of the nascent Christian community. Very deeply felt, however, was the 6th-cent. episode of the M. of the people of ↗Nağrān in South Arabia (commemorated in Ethiopia on 20 *Gənbot*): they were fully vindicated by King ↗Kaleb ƎllƏ Aṣbəḥa, and the story immediately earned a prominent place in Ethiopian tradition. Later, under the ↗Solomonic dynasty, the idea of M. (sacrifice for the religious cause) became less important for Ethiopian Orthodox Christianity, which was marked both by a vital and militant spirit of active expansion and evangelization and by a constant threat by the Islamic states of the south.

Martyrdom of St. George of Lydda: beheading with "hanging crowns" (left), cutting into pieces (right); Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek Frankfurt am Main, ms. O. Rüpp. IV, 1, fols. 12v, 13v; from Hammerschmidt - Jäger 1968, figs. 66f.

The universally venerated early Christian martyrs were among the first ↗saints of Aksumite Ethiopia. This is indicated by their hagiographies, a few of which were translated from Greek as early as in the Aksumite period, and then included into the major collection of Acts translated mostly from Arabic, the ↗*Gädlä sämaᶜətat*: e.g., the Acts or Martyrdoms of Philea bishop of Thmouis (17 *Ṭəqəmt*, ColSyn VII, 90f.; Bausi 2002), Cyprian and Justina (21 *Mäskäräm*, ColSyn VI, 454–57; Goodspeed 1903), and Arsenofis (19 *Säne*, GuiSyn I, 638-41). Peter, Bishop of Alexandria, is known in Ethiopian tradition as the *täfṣametä sämaᶜət*, 'the last martyr' (29 *Ḫədar*, ColSyn VIII, 392–97; Getatchew Haile 1980). The Acts of Mark the Evangelist (30 *Miyazya*, ColSyn XII, 592–95; Getatchew Haile 1981; s. Bausi 2002:16; Lusini in PICES 15; cp. Fiaccadori 2004:141f., 157) were probably the first martyrdom of an Apostle translated in Aksumite times, while the stories of other Apostles were gradually transmitted via Arabic, and eventually collected in the *Gädlä* ↗*ḥawaryat*. Some of them, like those of Peter (and Paul) (5 *Ḥamle*, GuiSyn II, 232–41, 241–52), Bartholomew (1 *Mäskäräm*, ColSyn VI, 330f.), and, in particular, Thomas (20 *Gənbot*, ColSyn XIII, 331–37), became especially popular, the latter two being connected with ↗India.

Many other hagiographies passed, via Arabic, from Egypt to Ethiopia, where they enjoyed great fortunes. A well-known figure, whose M. then was highly appreciated, is indeed ↗John the Baptist (2 *Mäskäräm*; ColSyn VI, 338ff.). The popularity of the cult of St. Stephen Protomartyr (*Ǝsṭifanosqədmä sämaᶜət*, Acts 6:11) is indicated by the dedication of the monastery of ↗Däbrä Ḥayq ƎsṭifanosƏ, in existence since the 13th cent. Likewise, a church (Betä Giyorgis) in the ↗Lalibäla-complex, part of which may even predate the 12th cent., was originally consecrated to St. ↗George of Lydda (*rəʾəsä sämaᶜət*, 'the head of the martyrs').

The veneration of many more martyrs is attested, in the 13th–early 14th cent., by writings in their honour in the *Gädlä sämaᶜətat* and similar collections, as well as, from ca. 1400 onwards, also in the Ethiopic ↗*Sənkəssar*. Like in Byzantium and the Christian East, the military (and apotropaic) appearance of a number of "military saints", almost all of whom underwent M. (like ↗Gälawdewos [Claudius of Antioch], ↗Menas, ↗Susənyos), was prevailing over their M. in church decoration programmes and other pictorial representations (↗Equestrian saints); the elaborated M. scenes emerged somewhat later, involving the depiction of characteristic elements of a martyr's death (e.g., different kinds of beating and frightening tortures).

Ethiopian tradition was rather strict in styling as martyrs those who died a violent death owing to their faith. There are only scant ex-

amples of locally venerated "martyrs" loosing their lives by the hostile actions of non-Christians. The "Righteous" of Bäräknaha or Mäṭära (↗*Ṣadəqan*), a group of early anonymous hermits of non-Ethiopian origin (19 *Ṭəqəmt*, ColSyn VII, 108), preferred starvation to death, as they were abused by the revolting "pagan" people of ↗Bur. Thus, they became the "protomartyrs of Ethiopia" (SerHist 126; Chaillot 2002:136).

In a few more cases, as already in the eastern and western medieval milieus, the concept of M. (or martyrlike attitude and glory) was extended to other types of ↗holy men: e.g., to religious leaders and their followers both suffering and/or dying as a result of persecutions by Christian rulers (cp. *abunä* ↗Əsṭifanos and the ↗Stephanites). This had, however, a clearly limited impact.

The Byzantine and Christian Oriental tradition of the "neo-martyrs" (s. Rigo 1998 and, in particular, MacCoull 2000:58f. and n. 4) was also known in Ethiopia at least through the Vitae, translated from Arabic, of such Egyptian saints as Anthony (Rawḥ al-Qurašī, d. 847; ed. Peeters 1912, on which Guidi 1922:28–31; cp. Braida – Pelissetti 2001), and ↗George the New (Ǧirǧis al-Muḥāzim, d. 978). Likewise, for the Ethiopian Church, "martyrs" could also be those who died at the hands of the Muslims, or in wars against them: in particular, the victims of the ↗*ǧihād* of *imām* ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī ("Grañ") and the subsequent clashes between Islam and the Christian Kingdom. For the Vita of *əčč̣äge* ↗Yoḥannəs of Däbrä Libanos of Šäwa, M. was undergone by all Christians who, together with *aṣe* ↗Gälawdewos, died in the 1559 battle against ↗Nūr b. Muǧāhid (RicEnbYoh IV, 192; cp. 27 *Mäggabit*, ColSyn VI, 426-29). In fact, *aṣe* Gälawdewos himself is called "martyr" (cp. DombrChr 178), a definition possibly suggested in his own Chronicle, where he "[passed away] like Claudius of Antioch, his companion according to the name" (ConzGal 102). On extolling his Emperor, the author also refers to the M. of *əčč̣äge* Yoḥannəs who, "for the sake of obtaining the martyr's reward" (*bäʾəntä näsiʾo ʿəśetä säma*^{c}*ət*), volunteered to follow Gälawdewos who defiantly went to face death with a much smaller army than that of the Muslims (ConzGal 105). Praising *əčč̣äge* Yoḥannəs and other ecclesiastics who had likewise joined the Emperor, the author openly states that, unlike the soldiers, they wanted to "face the axe like meek lambs because of the love to God", and therefore "received the crown (of M.)", the "shedding of their blood" being "glorious before the Lord" (ConzGal 106f.).

With a few such exceptions as *aṣe* ↗Iyasu I, who was a "martyr" on account of his tragic death, the category of M. remained substantially a closed one (cp. Habtä Maryam Wärqənäh 1970/71:132). In recent times, on the wave of religious nationalism, the Ethiopian Church has been commemorating the victims of the ↗Graziani massacre with a National Martyrs' Day (19 *Yäkkatit*), the martyrs *abunä* ↗Ṗeṭros and *abunä* Mikaʾel, both killed during the Italian occupation (22 *Ḥamle* and 24 *Ḫədar*, resp.), and *abunä* ↗Tewoflos, killed by the *Därg* (4 *Ḥamle*; cp. Chaillot 2002:136).

Since the 17th cent., a Catholic M. formed in Ethiopia, the most illustrious representative of which are the Jesuit Yaʿəqob Alessandri (a half-breed of Venetian ancestry), slaughtered by *däğğazmač* ↗Täklä Giyorgis during the 1628 Təgray revolt; the Capuchins Agatange de ↗Vendôme and Cassien de Nantes, sentenced to death by *aṣe* ↗Fasilädäs and *abunä* ↗Marqos (cp. ↗Heyling) at Gondär in 1638 (and beatified in 1905); the Jesuits Bruno Bruni and Louis Cardeira (the last of the eight Jesuit martyrs), put to death at a market place of ↗Tämben in 1640; and the Franciscans Liberatus ↗Weiss, with his fellows Samuele Marzorati and Michele Pio Fasoli, killed at Gondär, under ↗Dawit III, in 1716 (and beatified in 1988).

Src.: ERNEST ALFRED WALLIS BUDGE (ed.), *መጽሐፈ፡ ገድለ፡ ሐዋርያት*, *The Contendings of the Apostles* (*Maṣḥafa Gadla Ḥawâryât*), London 1899 [repr. Amsterdam 1976]; ID. (tr.), *The Contendings of the Apostles: Translated from the Ethiopic Manuscripts in the British Museum*, London – Oxford ^{2}1935 [repr. Amsterdam 1976]; EMANUELA BRAIDA (tr.) – CHIARA PELISSETTI (ed.), *Storia di Rawḥ al-Qurašī. Un discendente di Maometto che scelse di divenire cristiano*, Torino 2001; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "La Passione del martire Arsenofis e dei suoi compagni nella versione etiopica", *Orientalia* nova ser. 3, 1938, 193–214, 319–32; ColSyn VI, 330f. [= BudSaint 2ff.]; 338ff. [= ibid. 9f.]; 426-29 [= ibid. 745f.]; 454–57 [= ibid. 76ff.]; VII, 90f. [= ibid. 159f.]; 108 [= ibid. 170]; VIII, 392–97 [= ibid. 300–03]; XII, 592–95 [= ibid. 845ff.]; XIII, 331–37; [= ibid. 933–36]; ConzGal 102, 105ff.; DillmLex 338f.; GETATCHEW HAILE, "The Martyrdom of St. Peter Archbishop of Alexandria (EMML 1763, ff. 79^{r}–80^{v})", *ABoll* 98, 1980, 85–92; ID., "A New Ethiopic Version of the Acts of St. Mark (EMML 1763, fols. 224^{r}–227^{r})", *ibid.* 99, 1981, 117–34; EDGAR J. GOODSPEED, "The Martyrdom of Cyprian and Justa", *The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* 19, 1903, 65–82; IGNAZIO GUIDI (ed., tr.), *Il "Fetha Negest", o "Legislazione dei Re", codice ecclesiastico e civile di Abissinia*, Napoli 1897, Roma 1899, 137–41 (text) = 198–203 (tr.); LesCDic 501f.; LESLIE S. B. MACCOULL, "Notes on the Martyrdom of John of Phanijoit (BHO

519)", *Medieval Encounters* 6, 1–3, 2000, 58-79, here 58f. and n. 4; PAUL PEETERS, "S. Antoine le néomartyr", *ABoll* 31, 1912, 410–50; ID., "L'autobiographie de S. Antoine le néo-martyr", *ibid.* 33, 1914, 52–63; OSVALDO RAINERI, "Passione di Atanasio di Clysma (Vat. et. 264)", *OrChrPer* 67, 2001, 143–56; RicEnbYoh IV, 192.

Lit.: ALESSANDRO BAUSI, *La versione etiopica degli* Acta Phileae *nel* Gadla samā'tat, Napoli 2002 (Annali IUO. Supplemento 92); ID., [review of Raineri 1999], *Aethiopica* 5, 2002, 276–82 (Lit.); BrakKirche 126f.; CHRISTINE CHAILLOT, *The Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Church Tradition*, Paris 2002, 136; HIPPOLYTE DELEHAYE, "Martyr et confesseur", *ABoll* 39, 1921, 20–49; GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, "Sembrouthes 'gran re' (*DAE* IV 3 = *RIÉth* 275). Per la storia del primo ellenismo aksumita", *La Parola del Passato* 59, 2004 [2005], 103–57, here 141f., 157; GIANDOMENICO DA MILANO, *Fiori Latino-Etiopi. Appunti biografici di meticci cattolici del secolo XVI–XVII*, Asmara 1928, 7–62; IGNAZIO GUIDI, "Contributi alla storia letteraria di Abissinia", *RANLmor* ser. 5ª, 31 1922, 65–94 and 185–218, here 28–31 [II. "S. Antonio Neomartire"]; *liqä śəlṭanat* HABTÄ MARYAM WÄRQƎNÄH, **የኢትዮጵያ ፡ ኦርቶዶክስ፡ ተዋሕዶ፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ እምነትና፡ ትምህርት** (*Yä'ityopya ortodoks täwaḥədo betä krəstiyan əmnätənna təmhərt*, 'Faith and Teaching of the Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church'), Addis Abäba 1963 A.M. [1970/71 A.D.], 132; ERNST HAMMERSCHMIDT – OTTO JÄGER, *Illuminierte äthiopische Handschriften*, Wiesbaden (VOHD XV), 93f., figs. 66, 67 (ills.); PHILIPPE LUISIER, [review of Raineri 1999], *OrChrPer* 66, 2000, 195–99; GIANFRANCESCO LUSINI, "Ethiopia in the 4th Century: the Apocryphal *Acts of Mark* between Alexandria and Axum", in: *PICES* 15, 604–10; ANTONIO RIGO, "O martiri gloriosi di Cristo apparsi di recente ...", in: SEBASTIANO GENTILE (ed.), *Oriente cristiano e santità. Figure e storie di santi tra Bisanzio e l'Occidente*, Roma 1998, 15–34; CHARLES PIETRI, "Les origines du culte des martyres (d'après un ouvrage récent)", *Rivista di Archeologia cristiana* 60, 1984, 293–319 (Lit.); SILVIA RONCHEY, *Indagini sul Martirio di San Policarpo. Critica storica e fortuna agiografica di un caso giudiziario in Asia Minore*, Roma 1990 (Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo. Nuovi studi storici 6), 33–44, 133–49, passim; SerHist 126.

Denis Nosnitsin – Gianfranco Fiaccadori

Islamic martyrdom

According to the ↗Qurʾān (2:154; 3:157, 169 etc.) those who are slain "in the way of God" (*fī sabīl Allāh*) will expect a special reward in the life to come. Many prophetic traditions (*ḥadīṯ*) describe the bliss awaiting the martyrs (Arab. *šahīd*, pl. *šuhadāʾ*, 'martyr [lit.: witness]', *šahāda* 'M.'). The Muslim legal schools differ in the questions as to who is a martyr and how he is to be rewarded. Normally, the martyrs are divided into three groups:

1) Martyrs who are killed in "battle against the unbelievers" (↗*Ġihād*), or died of their wounds immediately afterwards (*šuhadāʾ al-maʿraka*). They are considered as "martyrs both in this world and in the next". In this world they are given a special burial without washing and in their blood-stained clothes (a proof of their M. at the Day of Judgement). Some hold that there should be no prayers at their tombs, either because they are still alive (their souls residing in the claws of green birds near God's throne, till the Day of Resurrection, when they will be returned to their bodies and live in Paradise), or because their sins have already been forgiven. In the next world they will be granted all kinds of delights. The martyrs' freshly spilled blood is considered ritually clean.

2) "Martyrs of the second world only". They include: (a) persons who die later as a result of their battlefield wounds; (b) persons who die fighting against rebels (a point of discussion is whether a rebel should be considered a Muslim or an unbeliever; in the latter case, the martyr should be included in the first group); (c) persons who die through diseases, specially the plague (*ṭāʿūn*); (d) according to some sources, those who die because of love while remaining chaste; (e) persons who die in the "greater *ǧihād*", i.e. while fighting against their own appetitive soul. They are buried like common people, but rewarded in Paradise like martyrs.

3) "Martyrs of this world only". Every good action is reckoned as such by God only if it is done with the intention (*nīya*). In the case of *ǧihād* this means that the warrior must have the intention to spread ↗Islam, but not to partake in the spoils or to win the pleasures of Paradise. Since only God knows the intentions, on earth all people killed in *ǧihād* are treated alike, but in the other world those who did not have the right intention will not be rewarded as martyrs.

In Ethiopia the notion of all three kinds of martyrs must have existed; Muslim historical sources, however, do not make the differences but indiscriminately refer to *šuhadāʾ*. Almost every source mentions martyrs, as does, e.g., the ↗*Fatḥ madīnat Harar* which describes events from the 13th cent. until the battle of ↗Č̣ällänqo of 1887. Most of those called martyrs fell during wars against the Christians: e.g., the *sulṭāns* ↗Ḥaqqaddīn b. Aḥmad Ḥarb Arʿad in 1386, ↗Saʿdaddīn Abū l-Barakāt in 1415, ↗Aḥmad Badlāy in 1445, many individuals and groups of people in the wars of *imām* ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī ("Grañ"), the last ↗Walašmaʿ *sulṭān* Ḥabīb in 1559, fighting ↗Ḥamälmal. Many others died fighting the heathen, especially the ↗Oromo, e.g. ↗Muḥammad Gāsā b. Ibrāhīm I

in 1583, Awraʿī Saʿīd b. Ǧōmārī ʿUṯmān and others in 1590 (cf. CerIslam 177 [text], 184 [tr.]; Wagner 1979:667). They, whithout doubt, belong to the *šuhadāʾ al-maʿraka*. Often, their reward is described. About the 5,000 Muslims who fell in the battle of ↗Šəmbəra Kʷäre in 1529 the *Futūḥ al-Ḥabaša* says: "God sealed their lives with M., allowed them to enter the gardens of bliss, provided them with the sweets of life and the black-eyed houris, and showered on them His all-embracing grace", then quoting Qurʾān 9:21–22 (BassHist 64). To incite the warriors to battle, the same pleasures are also promised in advance. The jurist (*faqīh*) Abū Bakr Aršūnā encourages the soldiers: "Paradise is already adorned and Hell is locked. The angels look (upon you) and the black-eyed houris beautified themselves (for you). Rejoice for the eternal life!" (BassHist 59). The quotations show that the Ethiopian Muslims expected to enter Paradise immediately after death and that the conception of the souls awaiting the Last Day in the birds' claws, was not known to them.

The second group of martyrs is represented by *šayḫ* Mīkāʿīl b. Dağna who is called martyr, though he died only two days after his leg was hit by a spear (BassHist 152). On the other hand, two prisoners of war who were afterwards executed by the Christian emperor, got only the eulogy: "May God have mercy with them!" (ibid. 128).

There are at least two cases where the title *šahīd* is given to persons who were killed fighting against (rebellious) Muslims. The first one was ↗Ǧamāladdīn b. Saʿdaddīn who was killed by his envious cousin in 1432 (CerIslam 138 [text] = 145 [tr.]; MaqIlmam 8 [tr.]). Cerulli (CerIslam 145, n. 29) assumes that the cousin might have acted in secret agreement with the Christians. The second person was the *imām garād* Aboñ b. Adaš who died while fighting the Walašmaʿ *sulṭān* ↗Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad b. Āzar (BassHist 6). From the dynastic point of view, Aboñ was the rebel, but ʿArabfaqīh, the author of the *Futūḥ al-Ḥabaša*, favoured the religious party of the *imāms* so that, for him, Aboñ was a martyr.

During their stay in ↗Təgray in 1533, many of Aḥmad Grañ's soldiers died through plague (BassHist 338). Though several victims are personally enumerated, none of them is called martyr. Also ↗Nūr b. Muǧāhid, one of the most venerated rulers of Harär, who fell victim to the plague in 1568 (CerIslam 152 [text] = 159 [tr.]), does not get the title *šahīd*. That means that the extension of M. to those killed by plague, was not usual in Ethiopia.

The existence of "martyrs of love" in Ethiopia is not mentioned in the historical sources. The same may be true for the fighters of the "greater *ǧihād*"; however, one may interprete the expression 'our brethren the martyrs' (*iḫwānunā š-šuhadāʾ*; WagFath 27) which refers to the holy men who entered Harär together with ↗Abādir ʿUmar ar-Riḍā in 1216, in the sense that holy men always fight their souls and as a consequence, should be considered martyrs (not all of Abādir's companions died in *ǧihād*).

In practice, the third group, the "martyrs of this world only", might have been the most numerous. In the sources there are many passages like: "Let us attack the king [i.e. the *nəguś*]! We will get only one of two good things, either victory with remuneration and booty or M. on the way of God and Paradise through the grace of God" (BassHist 21, cf. also 42, 61). Only once is the term *nīya* mentioned in relation to Aḥmad Grañ and 70 people from Mahra, who are said to have had the intention of holy war (*nīyat al-ǧihād*; BassHist 97).

In modern Harär, the martyrs of ↗Č̣ällänqo still play an important role in defining the identity of its people. Just after the battle, their deaths as martyrs were attested to at the *qāḍī* by the testimony of integer witnesses (CerIslam 388). Today, several symbols are reminiscent of the martyrs of Č̣ällänqo: On occasion of his marriage the bridegroom gets from his father-in-law a shawl, named *sati baqla* (lit. 'seven hundred') to remind him of the 700 newly wed men who were slain in the battle. The red earthen floor (*qēḫ afar*) in the traditional Harari house is a symbol for the blood shed at Č̣ällänqo. In the flag of the Harari National League the red stripe across the top also represents the blood shed at Č̣ällänqo, and the black at the bottom, the death (Gibb 1997:383).

Src.: BassHist 6, 21, 42, 59, 61, 64, 97, 128, 152, 338 (text) = 15, 47, 96, 122f., 124, 130, 170f., 206, 239, 449 (tr.); MaqIlmam²; ENRICO CERULLI, "Documenti arabi per la storia dell'Etiopia", *MRALm* ser. 6ª, 4, 1931, 39–101 [repr. in: *CerIslam* 136–206]; ID., "La fine dell'emirato di Harar in nuovi documenti storici", *Annali IUO* nuova ser. 14, 1964, 75–82 [*ibid.* 383–91]; WagFath 27 (text) = 28 (tr.); EWALD WAGNER, "Neues Material zur Ausa-Chronik", in: ULRICH HAARMANN – PETER BACHMANN (eds.), *Die islamische Welt zwischen Mittelalter und Neuzeit. Festschrift für Hans Robert Roemer zum 65. Geburtstag*, Beirut 1979 (Beiruter Texte und Studien 22), 657–73.

Lit.: ETAN KOHLBERG, "Shahīd", in: *EI²* vol. 9, 203–07; CAMILLA GIBB, "Constructing the Past and Present in Harar", in: *PICES* 13, vol. 2, 378–90.

Ewald Wagner

Maru

Däğğazmač M. (ማሩ; d. 17 *Ṭəqəmt* 1820 A.M. [27 October 1827 A.D.]) was a leading figure in the politics of central Ethiopia during the first three decades of the 19th cent., ruling for ca. 25 years until his death on the battlefield. He succeeded his uncle, *qäññazmač* Käbte, as ruler of ↗Dämbəya. M.'s base was established in Fänğa, the site of his most important church foundation, Fänğa Maryam, which he richly endowed with land (Ill/IES, X.25–XI.4). M. is most noted for expanding his domain from Dämbəya to ↗Qʷara and ↗Mätämma to the west and south-west. At one point, after seizing Wägära and Bäläsa, he controlled all the approaches to Gondär. This domain, known simply as Yämaru Qämmäs (or ↗Maru Qämmäs), formed the power base from which ↗Tewodros II, Ethiopia's first modern emperor, was to emerge.

M.'s early career was marked by an allegiance to *ras* ↗Gugsa, who ruled central Ethiopia from ↗Däbrä Tabor. On Gugsa's orders M. attacked and captured *däğğazmač* ↗Wäldä Rufaʾel, and then campaigned in Wällo and Yäğğu with his overlord. During this period, *ras* ↗Wäldä Śəllase of Təgray invaded Səmen and installed a vassal in Armačəho, which in turn, provoked M. to invade Armačəho and install his own vassal. In the ecclesiastical conflicts during the 1820s, M. participated in a doctrinal council in Gondär, and despite a direct appeal from *abunä* Qerəllos, sided with Qerəllos's rival, *əčč̣äge* Wäldä Yona, a proponent of ↗*Śost lədät*.

In June 1825 Gugsa died, and, after a power struggle, was eventually succeeded by ↗Yəmam, his son. During the struggle for succession, M. supported one of Yəmam's adversaries, but was not adversely affected by this situation. In 1826 *däğğazmač* ↗Ḫaylä Maryam, ruler of Səmen, died in a battle against Yəmam, and Yəmam consigned ↗Wəbe Ḫaylä Maryam, his son, into M.'s custody. In marrying M.'s daughter, Yäwarq Wəha, Wəbe became M.'s son-in-law (M. had married a daughter of *ras* Gugsa, and some years later *ras* Ali, successor to Gugsa and Yəmam, married a daughter of Yäwärq Wəha [CRNuov 378]). Upon M.'s request, Wəbe was released and assumed his father's position as ruler of Səmen. He then refused to submit to Yəmam, who subsequently sent M. to discipline his son-in-law. Together, Yəmam and M. defeated Wəbe and M. was rewarded with a significant addition to Yämaru Qämmäs, land north of Gondär, running from the Bälägäz to the Angäräb including Wälqayt.

The defeat in battle permanently set Wəbe at odds with his father-in-law. As Wəbe gradually gained favour with Yəmam, problems soon arose between M. and his overlord, and Yəmam ordered M. to return the lands he had previously received from Wəbe. On M.'s refusal, Yemam invaded Dämbəya, killing many people and scattering others. These developments also brought about an alliance between M. and ↗Goššu of Goğğam, which in turn led to a battle at Koso Bär, Amadamit, a mountainous area in west-central Goğğam, some distance south of Lake Ṭana. The Goğğam nobles eventually abandoned M. and joined Yəmam's forces. Knowing the battle was futile, M. defiantly swore that he would not be captured, but would rather die on horseback. He was subsequently shot, killed and buried at Wäšära (CRReal 903).

According to one chronicler, M. seemed invincible until his death. Yearly he raided the land of the Arabs, the Takrīr (↗Tukrīr) and the *Arämani* (the western lands that bordered the Sudan) and enslaved "Šanqəlla". His success in these raids caused many from all over Ethiopia to join his ranks (CRNuov 372). He was eventually succeeded by ↗Kənfu, the son of his niece, Wälättä Täkle (RubTew 21). It was in Kənfu's household that Kaśa Ḫaylu, future Tewodros, grew up, he was known at that time as Kaśa Maru (RubTew 29). There is a list of *gʷəlt* lands that M. distributed in BritLib Orient. 604, fol. 17v.

Src.: CRNuov 360, 363f., 366, 368, 370ff.; CRReal 903, 888f., 891, 900–03; mf. Ill/IES X.25–XI.4.
Lit.: AbPrince 32ff.; CrumLand 153f.; RubTew 20f., 26n, 27, 29n.

Donald Crummey

Maru Qämmäs

M.Q. (ማሩ ቀመስ, or *Yämaru Qämmäs*, lit. 'what Maru tasted') were the lands, which *däğğazmač* ↗Maru accumulated as his personal rule, and which became, after his death in 1827, the object of competition between a variety of successors, most notably ↗Kənfu, who controlled the patrimony from 1831 to his death in 1839, and ↗Mänän, mother of *ras* ↗Ali Alula of the ↗Wärräsek, who was in control from 1839. The lands consisted of Dämbəya, where Maru had his principal residence at Fänğa, Agäwmədər, Qʷara, Mätämma, and, at one time or another, Wägära and Bälässa. Kaśa Ḫaylu (future ↗Tewodros II) was brought up in the house of Maru by Kənfu and was a contender

for the rule of M.Q. His victory over Mänän in 1847 gave him control of M.Q., a base from which he successfully waged the campaign, which led him to the throne in 1855.

Src.: CRReal 25–63, 884–907; CRNuov passim.
Lit.: RubTew 19–25.

Donald Crummey

Mary

The Blessed Virgin M. (Eth. ማርያም, Maryam; ancient var. ማርያ, Marya), the mother of Jesus Christ, is the most venerated saint in ↗Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church (EOTC).

The main sources on the life of M. are the Gospels. Her name first appears in the genealogy of Jesus (Mt 1:16) where the latter is described as a descendant of Abraham and David through Joseph, the would-be husband of Mary (s. also Lk 1:26). The assumption that not only Joseph (who was not Jesus's biological father) but also M. was a descendant of David finds no corroboration in the N.T. Only Lk 1:26–2:51 gives detailed information on M.'s life, but her origin remains obscure, the only information being that Elizabeth, the mother of ↗John the Baptist, was M.'s relative (according to one version of the hagiographical story of M., Elizabeth was Joachim's sister and thus the Virgin's aunt). In any case, in the N.T. M. rather seems to be of modest origin (cp. her prayer in Lk 1:48). The Ethiopian tradition, however, gives her the epithet *wälättä Dawit* (ወለተ፡ ዳዊት, 'the daughter of David'). The ↗*andəmta* commentary and the traditional scholars (*liqawənt*) say that Eleazar begat Matthan (Matyan; Mt 1:15) and Qəsran, the father of Joachim (Iyyaqem), the father of Mary. According to the introductory exhortation to the Miracles of Mary (*Täʾammərä Maryam* 1968/69:4f.), M. was not only a descendant of David on her father's side but also of Aaron on her mother's side (s. also Lk 1:5).

While the Gospels offer little information on the life of M., the important secondary sources in the Ethiopian tradition are such apocryphal texts as the story of M.'s nativity (*Mäṣḥafä ↗ləddäta lämaryam*), the story of her life (↗*Nägärä Maryam*), Dormition and Assumption (*Mäṣḥafä ↗ʿəräfta lämaryam*, *Mäṣḥafä ↗ʿərgäta lämaryam*). The *Mäṣḥafä ləddäta lämaryam* tells how M.'s parents, Anne and Joachim, were, like Abraham and Sarah, childless in old age. They prayed, promising to give their child to serve in the Temple, and their prayers were heard. M. was conceived (the feast of *Śənsäta*, celebrated by the EOTC on 7 *Näḥase*) and born (*Lədäta*, on 1 *Gənbot*). She was presented to the Temple at the age of three (*Bäʾata*, on 3 *Taḫśaś*) and stayed there until the age of twelve. When the time came for M.'s first menstruation she was given to Joseph, who was old and had no wife. Joseph agreed to guard her, but left on a lengthy trip, during which time M. conceived (feast on 29 *Mäggabit*). Joseph was about to leave her when it was revealed to him in a dream that the child was from the Holy Spirit. Nine months later Mary gave birth to Jesus (cp. ↗*Lədät*). This story makes it clear that M.'s marriage was never consummated, and the Church teaching emphasizes that M. remained a virgin even after she gave birth to Jesus.

The important dates of M.'s later life, all feasts in the EOTC (*Täʾammərä Maryam* 1968/69:13–17), are the Flight to Egypt (*Səddät*, 24 *Gənbot*, being, in fact, one of the Six Minor feasts of Our Lord), and the entrance in Qusquam, Upper Egypt (*Däbrä Qʷəsqʷam*, 6 *Ḫədar*). Church tradition teaches that Mary generally followed Jesus in his missionary activities, being present at the wedding in Cana of Galilee (Jn 2:1–5) and when he was crucified. She was with the disciples in Jerusalem until they were dispersed to preach the Gospel. The Gospels do not refer to the time or circumstances of her death. According to the tradition followed by the Copts and Ethiopians, the Dormition of M. – her natural death – took place on 21 *Ṭərr* (↗*ʿƎräfta*) and her body was assumed to heaven on 16 *Näḥase* (↗*Fəlsäta*). Her "Covenant of Mercy" with Jesus (↗*Kidanä məḥrät*) is celebrated on 16 *Yäkkatit*. Other feasts celebrated in honour of M. refer to such posthumous events as the Building and Consecration of her first church at Philippi (*Ḥənṣätä betä krəstiyan bäsəma* and *Qəddase beta*, 20 and 21 *Säne*, resp.), entry of her icon at Saidanaya (*Ṣedenya*, 10 *Mäskäräm*), and the day designated by Bishop Hildefosus of Toledo (*Bäʿalä Däqsəyos*, 22 *Taḫśaś*).

Src.: ERNEST ALFRED THOMPSON WALLIS BUDGE, *Legends of Our Lady Mary, the Perpetual Virgin, and Her Mother Ḥannâ*, London ²1933; ID., *One Hundred and Ten Miracles of Our Lady Mary*, London 1933; ተአምረ፡ ማርያም፡ በግዕዝ፡ እና፡ በአማርኛ (*Täʾammərä Maryam. Bägəʿəz ənna bäʾamarəñña*, 'The Miracles of Mary. In Gəʿəz and in Amharic'), Addis Abäba 1961 A.M. [1968/69 A.D.].

Getatchew Haile

Mariology

M.'s place in the theology of the Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church (EOTC) is reflected in the frequent epithets of the Virgin, such as

ወላዲተ፡ አምላክ (*wäladitä amlak*, 'the Begetter of God'), ድንግል፡ በክልኤ (*dəngəl bäkəl'e*, 'Virgin in two ways') and others. In the spiritual sense she is also called the "sister of the Angels", "daughter of the Prophets" and "mother of the Apostles".

The basic belief is reflected in the symbol of faith of the EOTC, i.e. the Confession of the Faith of the Apostles (*Amäknəyo zäḥawaryat*): *wänäś'a śəga əm'əgzə'ətənä Maryam qəddəst dəngəl zä'ənbälä zär'a bə'əsi* ... 'and took flesh from our Lady Mary, the Holy Virgin, without the seed of man ...' (MQ, *Śər'atä qəddase*, IV, §§ 32–45, here § 37; cp. Aymro Wondmagegnehu – Motovu 1970:43, MD 63f.). The Hail Mary formula of the EOTC (*Täfäśśəḥi o-Maryam mələ'tä ṣägga* ...) is equivalent to the Ave Maria of Catholics (Aymro Wondmagegnehu – Motovu 1970:106f.; cp. MD 50f.).

Some other important liturgical, theological and even Church law texts contain Mariological formulas, mostly focusing on the mistery of Incarnation and Christ's being true God and becoming man in all aspects, through the womb (*maḥṣän*, *kärś*) of M., "a daughter of flesh" (*wälättä śəga*, s. Priess 2006:95ff.).

Mariology is closely connected to the ↗Christology of the EOTC, as is best demonstrated, e.g., by the *Anaphora of St. Mary*, where one finds, alongside with the mention of the Incarnation of Christ in the womb of M., an extensive discussion on God and on the equality of the Three Divine Persons (MD 136–40, §§ 45–78).

M. is called *wäladitä amlak* because God was begotten by the Virgin in flesh as her own son; she was therefore not simply the "Mother of Christ [-the-man]" (Χριστοτόκος, *Christotókos*, lit. 'Giver of birth to Christ') or the "God-receiving" (Θεοδόχος, *Theodóchos*) but the "Begetter of God" (Θεοτόκος, *Theotókos*, lit. 'Giver of birth to God'), as accepted at the Council of ↗Ephesus in 431 in response to the heresy of ↗Nestorius (and adopted by the Ethiopians with the bulk of Cyrillian literature in Aksumite times; ↗*Qerəllos*). In the course of time, rich terminology has developed in Ethiopic literature on the basis of this idea, which describes M. as *wäladitä fäṭari*, 'Begetter of the Creator'; *wäladitä bərhan*, 'Begetter of Light'; *əmmä əgzi'abəḥer*, 'Mother of God', *əmmä bərhan*, 'Mother of Light', etc. (Hayoz 1956:51–54).

M. is *dəngəl*, i.e. 'Virgin' (or *dəngəl fəṣṣəmt*, 'Perfect Virgin'), but is frequently also called by the honorary title *dəngəl bäkəl'e* ('double Virgin', or 'Virgin in two respects', MD 33) which is usually understood, figuratively, as Virgin "in body and in spirit" (Agostinos 1970:378f.; Getatchew Haile 1992:64, 68 n. 14; MD 33 n. 1). The eternal virginity of M. is primarily understood by the EOTC, like by other Christian traditions, as her virginity "before, during and after" the birth of Jesus (cp. already the 15th cent. ↗*Ra'əyä tä'ammər*, Getatchew Haile 1992:82f.; Habtä Maryam Wärqənäh 1970/71:139). The references to Joseph as *bə'əsiha* ('her husband') in the early (Aksumite?) translation of Mt 1:16, 19 had already been altered in the 13th-cent. Gospels' version into *fäḫariha* ('her betrothed', s. Zuurmond 2001:17, 36f., 302f.), possibly to underline the fact that the marriage was never consummated. There was even an attempt to make *fäḫariha* a synonym of *'aqqabiha*, 'her guard'. 15th-cent. *abba* ↗Giyorgis of Sägla refutes heretics (here called *Anṭidiqomaryaṭos*, i.e. Antidicomarianites) who maintained (as did, e.g., ↗Arius) that M. lost her virginity after the birth of Christ, due to her following union with Joseph (but Giyorgis was probably unaware of figurative interpretation of the "double virginity", YaqMist I, 150f., 210–13).

With deep affection, Ethiopian tradition describes M., the Mother of God and the Virgin, as 'chosen' (*ḫərit*), 'blessed' (*bərəkt*), 'saint' (*qəddəst*), 'the purest among the pure ones' (*nəṣəḥt əmnəṣuḥan*), 'joyful' (*fəśśəḥt*) etc., pondering on M. as an impeccable human being, blessed by all sort of spiritual perfection and beauty and the ideal of a Christian lady (cp. GrohHymn 63f.). Moreover she is the "Unburnt Bush", or *'əśä paṭos*, of Ex 2:23–4:18, and therefore 'the tree of life' (*'əśä ḥəywät*) and 'the tree of Paradise' (*'əśä gännät*).

Emphasizing M.'s purity and virginity, the Ethiopian tradition clearly stated that M. was free from any sin. This can be understood as some equivalent of the Catholic doctrine of the immaculate conception (Agostinos 1970:375ff.), without however implying the Western teaching about the "original sin", which is not found in Ethiopia. The EOTC rather followed the belief as proclaimed in the Anaphora of Cyriacus of Behnesa, "O Virgin, thou wast not conceived through the lust, but in lawful marriage wast thou born from Hannah and Eliakim ..." (MD 135). His Homily on the feast of M.'s Assumption (↗*Fəlsäta*) also refers to the human nature of M. who "... was born like all men" (cp. Bombeck 2003:330 [text]). A homily proclaims "The Holy Spirit has (already) sanctified and purified M. in her mother's womb in a sanctification and purity that cannot be told" (Getatchew Haile 1992:40f.,

cf. 82-89). However, having declared recently that M. "is free from the original sin derived from the descendants of Adam, clean from any sins of the flesh or soul" (EOTC 1996:51), the EOTC has formally adopted a formula completely in accordance with that of the Latin Church.

As mother of Christ, the King, M. is the Queen (*nəgəśt*) of the Heaven or Heavenly Church (Krüger – Kannen 1954:243), and the Lady (*əgzi᾽ət*; her believers are *agbərt*, 'servants'). As Queen, her place is on the right of her Son's throne (ibid.). She is below the Creator, but above all the creatures, and should be praised accordingly (Habtä Maryam Wärqənäh 1970/71:141).

As mother of God who bore Christ, M. is the Temple of the O.T. where God was present, but due to the Covenant of Mercy (↗*Kidanä Məḥrät*) she also symbolizes the new relationship between God and mankind and the new Church of the N.T. M. can also be compared with the (Tent of the) Tabernacle, in which the Tablets of Law were preserved, and the ↗Ark of the Covenant, or with the Holy of Holies (i.e. ↗*mäqdäs*; an important idea, cp. BTafY 46f., 85). In as much as ↗Zion is the Church and the dwelling of God, M. is the image of the Church, of Zion and of Jerusalem as well (cp. Ps 131/32:13; Is 2:3; cp. GrohHymn 199ff.). As M. begot Christ, she played role in the foundation of the Church and the Holy ↗Eucharist.

M. is identified with the "[White] Pearl" (*Baḥrəy*) that, according to the *Life of Ḥanna*, existed in Adam and, untainted by his transgression, descended to Joachim and the womb of his wife (Budge 1933:4ff.; cp. Böll 1998:130, n. 194; Hayoz 1956:19). M. is thus *sä᾽aritä märgäm*, 'abolisher of curse', i.e., abolisher of the original sin (cp. ms. EMML 5944, fol. 128v).

In prayers, M. usually is called and approached directly, since it is believed that she is the most powerful intermediary between God and the faithful, and every plea to God first reaches M. If she accepts it, she further intercedes to God. The EOTC believes in the great strength of M.'s intercession (Habtä Maryam Wärqənäh 1970/71:131f.). This belief roots in the Covenant of the Mercy, which presents the parallel to the O.T. "pacts" and elevates M. to the most powerful among the ↗saints. M.'s ↗*kidan* is the most long-standing and powerful (*Tä᾽ammərä Maryam* 1968/69:61), and open to all faithful (becoming "servants of M."; ibid. 6f.).

M.'s role as donator and source of grace is revealed in her miracles. She can comply with each kind of the plea of the faithful, concerning both body and soul. The faithful can count on her intercession in obtaining the mercy of God on Judgement Day, as is reported in the numerous stories of the *Tä᾽ammərä Maryam*, and in saving them from the infernal punishment (as is notably described in the apocryphal *Apocalypse of* ↗*Mary*). According to the *Tä᾽ammərä Maryam* (1968/69:59), replying to M.'s plea for salvation of the souls of her believers, Christ is reported to have said: *akkonu täsäbba᾽ku bä᾽əntäzə*, 'Have I not become man for the sake of this?' M. even accompanies the souls of the deceased to Paradise (hence her role in the funeral rite, ↗*Mäṣḥafä gənzät*).

M.'s coming, and her miracles, were announced in the O.T. along with the birth of Christ (Habtä Maryam Wärqənäh 1970/71:135-38). Moreover, M. existed before the Creation of the world (*əgzi᾽ətənä Maryam näbärät əmqədmä ᶜaläm bäḥəllina amlak*, 'Our Lady Mary existed before the world in the consciousness of God', s. *Tä᾽ammərä Maryam* 1968/69:3), and the world itself was created for M.'s sake (ibid. 4). In many cases she came before Christ, whose name became Wäldä Maryam ('the son of M.). Christ's body was even understood to be the body of Mary which he took from her (hence the epithet ቤዛዊተ፡ ዓለም (*bezawitä ᶜaläm*, 'Redeemer of the World').

The status of the Virgin is thought to have been raised immensely in the 15th cent., during the reign of *aṣe* ↗Zär᾽a Yaᶜəqob. It is also commonly believed that Zär᾽a Yaᶜəqob's reign also witnessed the emergence of several Mariological "heresies" and heated Mariological discussions. A number of "dissident" groups did not accept "excessive" elements of Zär᾽a Yaᶜəqob's worship of M. Members of the community of ↗Gundä Gunde, or the ↗Stephanites, rejected prostration (*səgdät*) before the images of M. (the earliest independent attestation of this practice dates into 1453, s. BauEr I, 48f. n. 113) or while her name is called, arguing that it is fitting only for the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit. The "dissidents" were persecuted by the Emperor who labelled them *śəärä Maryam* (lit. 'enemy of M.', Eth. equivalent for the Antidicomarianites) or ↗*Ayhud*. Some clerics did not accept the idea that the *Kidanä məḥrät* offered a way of "justification" for criminals (cp. ↗Zämika᾽el), or did not recognize the *Tä᾽ammərä Maryam* (Getatchew Haile 1991:3, 82f.). However, the resistance concerning the cult of M. was mostly initiated by small groups of educated ecclesiastics and had little impact on the Church as a whole and on the religious life of the faithful. By the

end of the 15th cent., under *aṣe* ↗Naᶜod, whose deep devotion to M. is well attested, the Stephanites seem to have mildened their position and accepted the prostration to M. (Caquot 1961:80f., 106f.; cp. Getatchew Haile 1983:100ff.). The easing of the controversy was also due to the distinction introduced between two terms: *amläkä* ('worship as God', reserved for the Godhead) vs. *sägädä* ('prostrate oneself, worship').

Some discords concerning the veneration of M. existed also in the 16th–18th cent., but they were not among the major issues debated by the competing theological schools of the Gondärine time. The question of the extreme worship of M. was raised again at the Council of ↗Boru Meda in 1878 by the adherents of the *Śost lədät* doctrine, though, according to the source, as a secondary issue, after the main questions had been solved (GueCopMen 155). The council condemned the formula proposed by the theologians of Šäwa: *latti yədällu kəbr wäsəbḥat wäməslä wälda amləko wäsägid* ('for her [M.] honour and glory is due, and, together with her Son, veneration and worship'), favouring that supported by the school of Təgray: *latti yədällu kəbr wäsəbḥat wäläwälda amləko wäsägid* ('for her [M.] honour and glory is due, and for her Son veneration and worship') (Algermissen 1988:50b; Getatchew Haile 1983:111 n. 88, 1992:63; cp. Agostinos 1970:399ff., who considers the condemned formula a result of a confusion of vocabulary, and thus not a true heresy). However, M. can be adressed to in the same language and manner as Christ, *əsäggəd läʾab wäwäld wämänfäs qəddus … əsäggəd läʾəgzaʾətənä Maryam dəngəl wäladitä amlak …* 'I prostrate myself to the ground (in adoration) before the Father, the Son, the Holy Spirit … I prostrate myself to the ground before Our Lady Mary, Virgin, Begetter of God …' (*Mäṣḥafä ṣälot* 1953/54:9ff.).

Src.: BauEr I, 48f. n. 113; BTafY 46f., 85; VERENA BÖLL, *Unsere Herrin Maria. Die traditionelle äthiopische Exegese der Marienanaphora des Cyriacus von Behnesa*, Wiesbaden 1998 (AeF 48), 239-42, passim; STEFAN BOMBECK (ed.), *Die Geschichte der heiligen Maria in einer alten äthiopischen Handschrift*, Bottrop 2003; ERNEST ALFRED WALLIS BUDGE, *The Legends of Our Lady Mary, the Perpetual Virgin, and her Mother Ḥannâ*, London 1933; ANDRÉ CAQUOT, "Les actes d'ᶜEzrā de Gunda-Gundē", *AE* 4, 1961, 69–121; MARCOS DAOUD (tr.) – MARSIE HAZEN (ed.), *The Liturgy of the Ethiopian Church*, Cairo ²1959 [= MD]; EMML 5944 [not catalogued]; መጽሐፈ፡ ቅዳሴ (*Mäṣḥafä qəddase*, 'The Book of the Hallowing [Missal]'), ed. by TÄSFA GÄBRÄ ŚƎLLASE, Addis Abäba 1962 A.M. [1969/70 A.D.] [= MQ]; መጽሐፈ፡ ጸሎት (*Mäṣḥafä ṣälot*, 'The Book of Prayers'), Addis Abäba 1946 A.M. [1953/54 A.D.]; ተአምረ፡ ማርያም፡ በግዕዝ፡ ና፡ በአማርኛ (*Täʾammərä Maryam. Bägᶜəz ənna bäʾamarəñña*, 'The Miracles of Mary. In Gəᶜəz and in Amharic'), Addis Abäba 1961 A.M. [1968/69 A.D.]; GABRÉ JESUS HAILÙ, "Pactum misericordiae secundum litteraturam aethiopicam", *Marianum* 15, 1953, 46–55; GueCopMen 155 [= GSMen 92]; ROCHUS ZUURMOND, *Novum Testamentum Aethiopice*, III: *The Gospel of Matthew*, Harrassowitz 2001 (AeF 55); YaqMist I, 150f., 210ff.

Lit.: KONRAD ALGERMISSEN, "Äthiopien", in: REMIGIUS BÄUMER – LEO SCHEFFCZYK (eds.), *Marienlexikon*, vol. 1, St. Ottilien 1988, 49a–52b; AGOSTINOS DA HEBÒ, "Gli Etiopi e la Madonna: aspetti dogmatici e devozionali", *Marianum* 32, 1, 1970, 369–403; AYMRO WONDMAGEGNEHU – JOACHIM MOTOVU, *The Ethiopian Orthodox Church*, Addis Abäba 1970, 10–85; *liqä śəlṭanat* HABTÄ MARYAM WÄRQƎNÄH, የኢትዮጵያ፡ ኦርቶዶክስ፡ ተዋሕዶ፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ እምነትና፡ ትምህርት (*Yäʾityopya ortodoks täwaḥədo betä krəstiyan əmnätənna təmhərt*, 'The Faith and the Teaching of the Ethiopian Täwəhedo Orthodox Church'), Addis Ababa 1963 A.M. [1970/71 A.D.], 135–42; GETATCHEW HAILE, *The Epistle of Humanity of Emperor Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob (Ṭomarä təsbaʾt)*, Lovanii 1991 (CSCO 522, 523 [SAe 95, 96]); ID., *The Mariology of Emperor Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob of Ethiopia*, Roma 1992 (OrChrA 242); ID., "The Cause of the Ǝsṭifanosites: a Fundamentalist Sect in the Church of Ethiopia", *Paideuma* 29, 1983, 93–119; GrohHymn, s. index; P. JOACHIM STEPHAN M.S.F., *Einige Mariensymbole des alten Testamentes in der äthiopischen Liturgie. Excerpta ex dissertatione ad lauream*, Città del Vaticano 1957; CHRYSOSTOME HAYOZ, *Portrait de Marie: complainte de la Vierge. Deux poésies mariales éthiopiennes inédites*, Fribourg 1956; PAUL KRÜGER – HANS KANNEN, "Maria und die Ecclesia in der Liturgie der Armenier, der Kopten und Äthiopier", *Ostkirchlishe Studien* 7, 1954, 184–196, 233–52; PATRIARCHATE OF THE ETHIOPIAN ORTHODOX TÄWAḤƎDO CHURCH [= EOTC], *The Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahido Church: Faith, Order of Worship and Ecumenical Relations*, Addis Abäba 1996; MAIJA PRIESS, *Die äthiopische Chrysostomos-Anaphora*, Harrassowitz 2006 (AeF 68), 95ff.; OSVALDO RAINERI, *La spiritualità etiopica*, Roma 1996, 32ff.; STEFAN STRELCYN, "L'Action de grâce de N.-D. Marie' et l'anaphore de N.D. Marie' dite *Mäᶜaza qəddase* dans la liturgie éthiopienne", *JSS* 24, 1979, 241–49.

Getatchew Haile – Denis Nosnitsin

Church and popular veneration of St. Mary

Church veneration

The importance of the Marian veneration in Ethiopia since the early (Aksumite) period appears to be confirmed by the dedication of the main sanctuary of the country, ↗Aksum Ṣəyon, which seems to be old and original. The Betä Maryam church of the ↗Lalibäla complex is dedicated to M. as well.

During the Liturgy (↗*Qəddase*), starting to read the Pauline epistle, the deacon exclaims: "Whoever who does not love our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ and does not believe in his birth from holy M. of twofold virginity, the Ark [*tabot*] of the Holy Spirit, until his coming again, as Paul said, 'let him be cursed' [*wəguz - ἀνάθεμα*]" (MQ, *Śərᶜatä qəddase*, III, § 136, 28 =

MD 44). This is an "enlarged quotation" from 1 Cor 16:22, into which the mention of the birth of Jesus and the "double virginity" of M. described as "the Ark of the Holy Spirit" are inserted. It may be taken as characteristic of the EOTC devotion to M. The veneration of M. is, first of all, a Christological affirmation, since M.'s virginity is the sign of Jesus's being conceived from the Holy Spirit, and, consequently, of his being God.

Over the centuries, the Marian cult in Ethiopia underwent an extraordinary development, particularly from the 15th cent. onwards. The translation of the *Miracles of Mary* (↗*Tä'ammərä Maryam*) during the reign of *aṣe* ↗Dawit II, and the later uncommon piety of *aṣe* ↗Zär'a Ya'əqob, the author of numerous Marian treatises and the initiator of the series of 33 ↗feasts of the Virgin (cp. PerZarY 75), have secured for M. an exceptional position, up to the point where the reading of the *Tä'ammərä Maryam* in church is obligatory. There were even attempts to offer M. the cult equal to that of her Son, until the final resolution at the Council of ↗Boru Meda in 1878 (Algermissen 1988:50b; Getatchew Haile 1992:63).

The 33 feasts of the Virgin M. once introduced by *aṣe* Zär'a Ya'əqob remained in force. In practice, only five of them are widely celebrated (one of them, ↗*Fəlsäta,* prevails over Sunday; cp. ↗Sabbath), nine more are still largely followed (s. EAE II, 671b). The monthly calendar dedicates five days of each month to M.: the 1st, the 3rd, the 16th, the 20th and the 21st (s. EAE vol. 2, 672a). Among the five main feasts, one should underscore the feast of ↗*Kidanä Məḥrät* (16 *Yäkkatit*), which is specific to Ethiopia; it expresses the highest point of veneration which the Christians of Ethiopia give to their saintly patroness, in whom they trust in a quite particular manner (EOTC 1996:54).

A popular tradition reports that Christ himself has given Ethiopia to his Mother, making her the appointed protector of the country (Nollet 1949:366; Agostinos 1970:383, 387; Aymro Wondmagegnehu – Motovu 1970:106, 108). This role of M. is repeatedly underscored during the Liturgy (MQ 28, *Śər'atä qəddase,* §§ 128, 176 = MD 43, 50; Aymro Wondmagegnehu – Motovu 1970:107).

The vocabulary employed in the liturgical prayers also demonstrates sufficient honour rendered to M. (cf. Nollet 1949:370–79, 395–411; Agostinos 1970 passim; Stoffregen-Pedersen 1990:75–84; Algermissen 1988:49b–50b). Four Marian ↗Anaphoras are known, although only one of them appears in the official book of common prayer of the EOTC. Even if one puts aside the very popular ↗*Wəddase Maryam*, which originates in Coptic tradition, and many other prayers (s. below), one can mention several Marian texts of the Liturgy. E.g., after the reading of the *Acts of the* ↗*Apostles*, the priest says "Rejoice, O thou of whom we ask healing, O holy, full of honour, ever-virgin, God-bearer, mother of Christ, offer up our prayer on high to thy beloved Son that he may forgive us our sins. ...." (MQ 30f., *Śər'atä qəddase*, III, §§ 155–59 = MD 48). This often quoted prayer is, in fact, translated from Coptic, where it occurs just before the "Canon of the Creed" and the Creed itself, both in the Horologion, at Matins, and in the Offering of the incense (s., resp., Burmester 1967:101, l. 5 and 38, l. 5, with the full English version given at Appendix 28, p. 338; the Gə'əz version is found e.g. in *Mäṣḥafä sä'atat* 1952:48f.).

On the other hand, the Anaphora of St. Mary contains several comparisons, such as "O Virgin, when there abode in thy womb the fire of the Godhead, whose face is fire, whose clothes are fire, whose covering is fire, how did it not burn thee?" (MQ 88, *Anaphora of St. Mary*, § 80 = MD 141). While M. is constantly adressed to as an interceder to obtain from God the remission of the sins, the latter text refers, as usual, to the basic miracle of Incarnation, referring again M. to her role as Mother of God. Here, the connection between Mariology and Christology shows once more. The same is true, e.g., for another passage where, alongside with the mention of the Incarnation of Christ in the womb of M., an extensive discussion on God and on the equality of the Three Divine Persons is found (MQ 85–88, *Anaphora of St. Mary*, §§ 45–78 = MD 136–40). The omnipresence of M. in the prayers is also apparent in the fact that the Hail Mary is recited during the Liturgy immediately before the Lections, and each time after Pater Noster.

Popular veneration

One has to acknowledge that in spite of the theological accuracy of the EOTC, the popular worship sometimes tends to exaggerate M.'s cult, in Ethiopia as well as in other countries of the Christian world, and that in the liturgical texts one can find passages that can be accepted only under condition of their interpretation in general or figurative sense (cf. Agostinos 1970:384f., 392f., 398ff.).

In everyday life, the devotion of people to M. appears in concrete and visible signs. Thus,

many personal ↗names include the component Maryam or Dəngəl: Habtä Maryam ('gift of M.'), Ḫaylä Maryam ('power of M.'), Ṣəge Maryam ('flower of M.'), Wäldä or Wälättä Maryam ('son' or 'daughter of M.'), Fəqurä Dəngəl ('the beloved of the Virgin'), Säblä Dəngəl ('corn-ear of the Virgin') etc. This list can be continued almost endlessly.

One who has read the *Tä'ammərä Maryam* is not surprised to hear the beggars asking for the alms "in the name of M." (*səlä Maryam*), sometimes after having mentioned many other, less important saints. The number of churches dedicated to M. is very large and includes various names, such as *Ṣəyon*, 'Zion', names of her feasts (e.g. *Lədäta*, Nativity), *Kidanä Məḥrät*, etc. One can claim without exaggeration that almost all churches that are not dedicated to M. possess at least one ↗*tabot* in her name. Going to a church dedicated to the Virgin, especially on one of her numerous feasts, is a very common act of devotion to M.; an even more appreciated custom is to make a ↗pilgrimage to a sanctuary dedicated to her: in Aksum (↗Aksum Ṣəyon), in Lalibäla (Betä Maryam), in ↗Amba Gəšän, near Däse (where the church of the Virgin was built prior to the arrival of the relic of the Cross), and also in ↗Bərbər Maryam, in Gamo Gofa.

The general great personal devotion of the believers is a remarkable feature: many of them daily recite the *Wəddase Maryam*, the Pater Noster together with the Hail Mary and other compositions (↗prayers, ↗*mälkə'* etc.) addressed to M. The liturgical manuscripts frequently use red ink to write the names of both Jesus and M. each time they occur in the text. Those who do not prostrate before the image of M. are frequently considered to be "heretics", and are referred to by the historical label *śärä Maryam* ('enemy of M.', Agostinos 1970:396; the term can be used today, e.g., in reference to the Protestant missionaries). Recently, the EOTC has decidedly reasserted the importance of worship of M., in this connection recalling various points of the doctrine (EOTC 1996:51–55).

Another feature of the veneration of M. are the omnipresent Marian icons (cp. Heldman in PICES 7). M.'s personal presence is felt through her images, which are treated as if divine power resided in them (in reference to the icon of Saidanaya, cp. Getatchew Haile 1992:171). Those who can afford it may even build within their homes a special niche for adoration, called (*yä*)*śə'əl bet*, lit. 'icon house', accomodating the devotional image of the Madonna and Child.

Through the early expansion of Christian Ethiopia as well as by diffusion, the veneration of M., which became very popular, also found its way into the partially Christianity-inspired folk religions (↗Religions, traditional) of southern and south-western Ethiopia. In a ↗Gurage praise song dedicated to "Maryam" (documented in Shack – Habte Mariam Marcos 1974:21, 60f.) she is depicted as creator of life and death. According to the old Gurage belief "Maryam" was considered the "sister of Virgin M." and often confused with the female spirit ↗*Däm^{w}am^{w}it*. Likewise, the ↗Basketto deity of fertility *Qačaarunde*, female counterpart or "mother" of *Ṣosii*, the male high-god, sometimes was equated with M. (VSAe I, 217). Similarly, the female deity of Oromo religion, ↗*Ateetee*, was related to M. (Orom. *Maram*; VSAe II, 548). Examples for the veneration of M. in a mainly non-Christian environment could also be found in the South-west, e.g., in Käfa, where an ancient church dedicated to M. was ↗Andarača Maryam. However, it was rededicated to the ↗*eqo* cult by ↗Kaye Šeročo (Lange 1982:163, 165, 298, 304, 308, 323).

Src.: ERNEST ALFRED WALLIS BUDGE, *The Legends of Our Lady Mary, the Perpetual Virgin, and her Mother Ḥannâ*, London 1933, XXV–XLIX; OSWALD HUGH E. KHS-BURMESTER, *The Egyptian or Coptic Church. A Detailed Description of Her Liturgical Services and the Rites and Ceremonies Observed in the Administration of Her Sacraments*, Le Caire 1967 (Publications de la Société d'Archéologie Copte. Textes et Documents 10); MARCOS DAOUD (tr.) – MARSIE HAZEN (ed.), *The Liturgy of the Ethiopian Church*, Cairo ²1959 [= MD]; መጽሐፈ፡ ቅዳሴ (*Mäṣḥafä qəddase*, 'The Book of the Hallowing [Missal]'), ed. by TÄSFA GÄBRÄ ŚƎLLASE, Addis Abäba 1988 A.M. [1995/96 A.D.] [= MQ]; መጽሐፈ፡ ሰዓታት (*Mäṣḥafä sä'atat*,'The Book of the Hours'), Roma 1952, 48f.; PerZarY 75.

Lit.: AGOSTINOS DA HEBÒ, "Gli Etiopi e la Madonna: aspetti dogmatici e devozionali", *Marianum* 32, 1, 1970, 369–403; KONRAD ALGERMISSEN, "Äthiopien", in: REMIGIUS BÄUMER – LEO SCHEFFCZYK (eds.), *Marienlexikon*, vol. 1, St. Ottilien 1988, 49a–52b; AYMRO WONDMAGEGNEHU – JOACHIM MOTOVU, *The Ethiopian Orthodox Church*, Addis Abäba 1970; EMMANUEL FRITSCH, *The Liturgical Year of the Ethiopian Church*, Addis Ababa 2001 (Ethiopian Review of Cultures, Special Issue IX–X); GETATCHEW HAILE, *The Mariology of Emperor Zär'a Ya'əqob of Ethiopia*, Roma 1992 (OrChrA 242); MARILYN E. HELDMAN, "The Role of the Devotional Image in Emperor Zar'a Yā'qob's Cult of Mary", in: *PICES 7*, 131–42; FRIEDRICH HEYER, *Die Kirche Äthiopiens: eine Bestandsaufnahme*, Berlin – New York 1971 (Theologische Bibliothek Töpelmann 22), 90–98; GÜNTER LANCZKOWSKI, "Zur äthiopischen Madonnenverehrung", *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 4, 4 (= 66), 1954–1955, 25–38; GIOVANNI MIGLIORATI, "Il culto di Maria in Etio-

Nativity of St. Mary; ms. *Täʾammärä Iyäsus*, fol. 17v, 20th cent., Däbrä Gännät Qəddəst Maryam, Tämben; photo 2002, courtesy of Michael Gervers

pia", in: *MiscAethKur* 181–202; GENEVIÈVE NOLLET, "Le Culte de Marie en Éthiopie", in: HUBERT DU MANOIR (ed.), *Maria: Études sur la Sainte Vierge*, vol. 1, Paris 1949, 363–413; MARC-ANTOINE VAN DEN OUDENRIJN, "La dévotion mariale dans l'Église d'Éthiopie", in: *Hommage aux catholiques suisses*, Fribourg 1954, 117–32; KIRSTEN STOFFREGEN-PEDERSEN, *Les Éthiopiens*, Turnhout 1990; PATRIARCHATE OF THE ETHIOPIAN ORTHODOX TÄWAḤƎDO CHURCH [= EOTC], *The Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahido Church: Faith, Order of Worship and Ecumenical Relations*, Addis Abäba 1996, 51–55; WILLIAM A. SHACK – HABTE MARIAM MARCOS, *Gods and Heros. Oral traditions of the Gurage of Ethiopia*, Oxford 1974, 21, 60f.; VSAe I, 217; II, 548.

Ugo Zanetti

Marian literature

One of the constituent elements of the veneration of M. in Ethiopia has been the ↗Gəʿəz literature of the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church (EOTC).

The nucleus of the Marian literature was adopted from the ↗Coptic Orthodox Church of Alexandria. Among Marian works translated into Gəʿəz, e.g., a Homily of Proclus of Cyzicus included in the ↗*Qerəllos* should be mentioned (s. Weischer 1979:64–87), which was directed against the teaching of ↗Nestorius, but which, logically, contained passages which became basic for the Ethiopian Mariology (ibid. 65). There are some other works devoted to M., mostly homilies (cp. ↗*Dərsan*), that are ascribed to early Christian authors, e.g., ↗Cyriacus of Behnesa, ↗Cyriacus of Jerusalem, John the Evangelist, Basil of Caesaria (↗Basil the Great), Theophilus of Alexandria (s. Conti Rossini 1912), Timotheus of Alexandria, and ↗Jacob of Serug on Annunciation (Uhlig 1999). Excerpts from a Homily of ↗John Chrysostom on Annunciation as well as from a Homily of ↗Ephrem the Syrian on M. are found in the ↗*Haymanotä abäw*. These texts, however, are attested mostly in recent manuscripts (cp. mss. BritLib Orient. 604, 692, 744 [WrBriMus nos. 216, 256, 325]) and turn out to be translations from Arabic in most of the cases. The authenticity of most of them has not been proven yet. In the celebrated 14th-cent. ms. EMML 1763 a few Marian texts are attested (no. 25 is the same Homily of Proclus; cp. nos. 19, 20, 23, 34, 73, 81f.; cp. 14th-cent. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Or. fol. 117, nos. 1, 13f., 18f., 23 [DillmBerl no. 66]).

The growth of the Marian literature in Gəʿəz, initially enriched by translations from Arabic, becomes clearly visible from the 14th cent. *Abunä* ↗Sälama II "the Translator" is credited with the translation of the ↗*Laḥa Maryam* and the poetic Marian office ↗*Wəddase Maryam* (s. van Lantschoot in PICES 1, 401), for which an Amharic commentary was later elaborated by an anonymous Ethiopian scholar and became popular, being recited in churches and at residences of the notables during the 15-days fast preceding the feast of M.'s Assumption (↗*Fəlsäta*). As to the Ethiopian works, homilies ascribed to ↗Rətuʿa Haymanot could have been composed as early as in the second half of the 14th cent. (ms. BN Abbadie 80 [CRAbb no. 133], fol. 120; cp. orient. quart. 1166 [HamSixBerl no. 149], no. 2; Orient. 786 [WrBriMus no. 343], no. 2).

The amount of the Marian literature was further enhanced by the cycle of the mostly translated (but with a few original Ethiopian compositions) apocryphal works about M.'s life: in addition to the *Laḥa Maryam*, these were such texts as the narrative on M.'s conception and nativity (*Zena śənsäta wälədäta läʾəgziʾətənä Maryam*; Budge 1933a:122-42); the accounts of her Nativity (*Mäṣḥafä* ↗*lədäta*), her Dormition and Assumption (*Mäṣḥafä* ↗*ʿəräfta lämaryam* and *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*ʿərgäta lämaryam*, resp.), and the *Apocalypse of* ↗*Mary*. Some details appear in the apocryphal ↗*Täʾammärä Iyäsus*. Later, a few more texts, such as the narratives about the Holy Family's flight to Egypt, known as the *Nägärä Maryam* (translated

probably in the 15th cent., RicLett 834; e.g., mss. BritLib Orient. 602 [WriBriMus no. 212], EMML 2044, 3157), were added.

The Life of M.'s mother Ḥanna (Budge 1933a:1-53) was probably translated in the 14th cent.; the peculiar idea of "[the White] Pearl" (*Baḥrəy*), elaborated in it (Budge 1933a:4ff.), appears in a number of other works of Gəʿəz literature (Beylot 1972), including the ↗*Kəbrä nägäśt* (BezKebr 82ff., 133 [text]). All these works greatly expanded the otherwise modest dossier on M.'s life and enriched the theological thinking of the Ethiopians.

The readings for most (though not all) Marian feasts were already included in the early (ca. 1400) version of the ↗*Sənkəssar*: 7 *Näḥase* (BudSaint 1196f.), 16 *Näḥase* (ibid. 1222ff., *Fəlsäta*), 10 *Mäskäräm* (ibid. 34ff.), 6 *Ḫədar* (ibid. 211f.), 3 *Taḫśaś* (ibid. 315ff.), 28-29 *Taḫśaś* (↗*Lədät*, ibid. 418-25), 21 *Ṭərr* (ibid. 523-27), 16 *Yäkkatit* (ibid. 635-38), 1 *Gənbot* (ibid. 848f., *Lədäta*), 8 *Säne* (ibid. 977f.).

By the time of *aṣe* ↗Dawit II, the writings devoted to M. started to build in mss. (sometimes lavishly illuminated) extensive compendiums containing Marian texts only, focusing on different phases of the Virgin's life and/or her celebrations. Probably one of the earliest known examples of such a cycle is the Homiliary preserved in the church of Betlehem (Gayənt). Dated probably to 1400-10 (AfrZion 92), the manuscript contains, in its first part, 16 texts, starting from the *Mäṣḥafä lədäta lämaryam* (Bombeck 2003:2-23 [text]) up to the Homily on M. by a certain John the Bishop of Ethiopia (*Yoḥannəs ṗappas zäʾityoṗya*; probably identical to "*abba* Yoḥannəs" in ms. Orient. 616), on M.'s birth and childhood, the Nativity of Christ and the Exile of the Holy Family, and ending with her Assumption (Bombeck 2003:426-47). Similar collections are found in a number of other mss., both ancient and recent: probably 15th-cent. Ṭānāsee 45 = Kebrān 45 (HamTana I, 189); 18th-cent. Orient. 604, Orient. 606 (WriBriMus no. 217) and Orient. 605 (no. 214), Ṭānāsee 72 = Dabra Māryām 14; Abbadie 158 (CRAbb no. 56); EMML 2461 embraces over 90 texts (cp. Budge 1933a:lxii-lxiv). The beginning of the translation of the ↗*Täʾammərä Maryam* falls upon the time of Dawit II (the Betlehem ms. contains 15 miracles, s. Bombeck 2003:540–76).

Many texts reflect the Cyrillian doctrine of M. as the Θεοτόκος. Thus, the *Kəbrä nägäśt* refers to the exalted status of M. as *wäladitä amlak* (BezKebr 133). Besides, one can assume the existance of Mariological discords in the early 15th cent. and even earlier. Refuting the doctrine of ↗Nestorius and, possibly, addressing unnamed opponents, *abba* ↗Giyorgis of Sägla in his ↗*Mäṣḥafä məśtir* describes some "heretics" as those who call M. "the Begetter of the Saviour", and not "the Begetter of God" (YaqMist I, 84) and refutes some other of their views.

The reign of *aṣe* ↗Zärʾa Yaʿəqob, who used his authority to establish M.'s status akin to that of a goddess ("since there is no one more honourable than she, after God"; CRRicBerhan II, 44), had a great impact on the veneration of M., as he incorporated it into his state-building program, making the Marian feasts compulsory (Budge 1933b:xlvi–xlix).

There are many historical attestations of Zärʾa Yaʿəqob's deep and sincere personal devotion to M. Elevating her position, the Emperor established a special relationship between the Virgin and his subjects. The concept of the ↗*Kidanä Məḥrät* gained new popularity, and new texts entitled *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*kidanä məḥrät* appeared. One of them (of ↗Ṭana Qirqos) stressed the relationship between M. and the Solomonic kings (s. Conti Rossini 1910). Elsewhere, Zärʾa Yaʿəqob described his visionary experience, when he entrusted his Kingdom to M. as tithe, or ↗*ʿaśrat* (Getatchew Haile 1992:154f.), an idea which was later elaborated in the peculiar tract *Dərsanä kidanä məḥrät* (EMML 1860).

Zärʾa Yaʿəqob believed that it was M. herself who miraculously assisted him in many decisive moments. He believed it was M. who helped him to defeat ↗Aḥmad Badlāy (CerMaria 89, 95f.) as well as to foil mutinies and rebellions (the rebels being the "enemies of God and his Mother Mary"; Getatchew Haile 1992:157). The *Täʾammərä Maryam* became one of the most influential works of Gəʿəz literature, and its reading during church services became nearly as important as reading from the Bible. The *Mäṣḥafä śərʿat* (lit. 'Book of the Regulation'; Budge 1933b:xlvi-liv), or so-called the Canon of Muʿallaqa (the church in al-Fusṭāṭ at Old Cairo) was to be read before the *Täʾammərä Maryam* as admonition (cp. also Getatchew Haile 1992:63). Still today, the clergy enjoy reading the texts and interpreting them them in the vernacular language for the faithful.

Extensively promoting writings about M.'s supernatural powers, Zärʾa Yaʿəqob and the clergy of his royal camp (*kahənatä däbtära*) translated, revised, composed and disseminated texts dedicated to the adoration of M. A new *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*säʿatat*, composed by *abba* Giyorgis of Sägla,

more pronounced in respect to the veneration of M., substituted the translated *Mäṣḥafä säᶜatat zägəbṣ* (Getatchew Haile 1983:111 and n. 88). The introduction of the *Arganonä Wəddase*, as parallel of the *Wəddase Maryam*, both having become the main poetic works of the Marian literature, falls in the same period.

The polemics between Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob and different "heretical" groups (e.g., the ↗Stephanites) also found their way into the contemporary Mariological literature. The *Täᵓammərä Maryam* enhanced the most important aspects of M.'s sainthood, her unlimited capacity of performing miracles (CerMaria 94-122; Getatchew Haile 1992:149-57). The polemics with those who did not fully accept the *Kidanä məḥrät*'s power to "pardon" criminals found reflection, e.g., in the third tract of *Raᵓəyä Täᵓammər* (Getatchew Haile 1983:99; 1992:122-27; cp. ↗Zämikaᵓel).

Aṣe ↗Naᶜod continued the tradition of extreme veneration of M. He established additional feasts – monthly commemorations of M.'s Nativity, Assumption, and Transition, – and brief entries were additionally included in the *Sənkəssar* (e.g., the 21st day of each month, s. BudSaint 78 [*Mäskäräm*], 180 [*Təqəmt*], 266 [*Ḫədar*], 393 [*Taḫśaś*], 522 [*Ṭərr*], 642 [*Yäkkatit*], 721 [*Mäggabit*], 817 [*Miyazya*], 917 [*Gənbot*], 1020 [*Säne*], 1138 [*Ḥamle*], 1235 [*Näḥase*]). Naᶜod is also credited with authoring several Mariological literary texts and hymns (cp. Turaev 1904).

The expansion of the *Täᵓammərä Maryam* is indicative of the popularity and strength of the veneration of M. A luxurious manuscript of the *Täᵓammərä Maryam*, completed in the beginning of the 16th cent., contains 150 miracles (Cerulli 1957); one of the largest collections from the Gondärine time (1719) includes 316 stories (ms. Orient. 643 [WriBriMus no. 41]; cp. ms. EMML 1606); the "standard collection" of the miracles, compiled in the 17th cent., includes only 33 miracles. Another feature demonstrating the spread of the Marian works is the composition of the Ethiopic ↗Psalter, which includes, in addition to ↗*Mäḥaləyä näbiyat*, extensive poetic compositions devoted to M. (found already in the 15th-cent. Psalter mss.; this practice is still applied for the church editions of the Psalter).

The EOTC acquired four ↗anaphoras dedicated to M. The most commonly used one (*Gʷäsᶜa ləbbəyä qalä śännayä*) is ascribed to Cyriacus of Behnesa, and was composed or translated probably in 1382-1424 (s. Böll 1998:16; cp. Hammerschmidt 1987:17). The second anaphora of M. is ascribed to the 15th-cent. *abba* Giyorgis of Sägla (Hammerschmidt 1987:34). Two other, lesser known anaphoras date to an unknown period (Hammerschmidt 1987:25f.; cp. EMML 1159). Several Marian passages are included in the liturgy, e.g., in the preparation part ("M. is the incense, and the incense is He, because he who was in her womb is more fragrant than all chosen incense", MQ 31, *Śərᶜatä qəddase*, III, § 161 = MD 48).

While the most important period for the Ethiopian Marian literature in prose was 14th-16th cent., the hymnody devoted to M., intended for liturgical purpose and personal devotion, kept thriving in later centuries, especially in the Gondärine culture (which left a rich heritage of M. artistic representations). Earlier works of Marian literature, several new texts devoted to M. and linked to different aspects of her veneration also appeared. Though in many cases recent and probably secondary compositions, they deserve systematic studies.

A substantial number of Marian accounts was adopted into the *Täᵓammərä Maryam* (notably, devoted to different Marian churches, starting from ↗Däbrä Məṭmaq). Among the other works worth mentioning are, e.g., a Homily on M. and ↗Zion (in a large Mariological collection, EMML 2044, 37.18); the *Mäṣḥafä ↗aḫbəro*; anonymous homilies for M.'s Nativity, 1 *Gənbot* (EMML 3998) and or her story for 21 *Ḫədar* (EMML 3580, in the *Dərsanä Maryam*). The title ↗*Dərsanä Maryam* appears in relation with some separate texts as well as with a compendium made of different Marian works (cp. EMML 3998).

Numerous supplications and esp. ↗prayers to M. are known: *Naᶜabbəyaki o əmmä bərhan* (mss. EMML 64, 138); *Tämaḥṣänku oᵓəgziᵓətəyä Maryam* (EMML 353, 983); *Obəṣəᵓət zäᵓalbəki rəsḥat* (ibid.); *O əgziᵓətəyä Maryam bäqəddəsənnaki qäddəsäni* (EMML 1338); cp. Marian prayers in Lifchitz 1940:236ff.; 17th-cent. EMML 658; widespread apocryphal prayer "in the wilderness of Edamya" from the *Nägärä Maryam* (EMML 543), "prayer of M. on Bartos" and "prayer of M. on Golgota" (Basset 1895; Conti Rossini 1896). M.'s genealogy is found in EMML 1534, 17th-cent. 1837. Marian prayers are sometimes included into collections of magic *asmat* (EMML 1664); there are even collectios of the *asmat* of M. herself (EMML 426, 2121).

M. is a frequent character in hagiographical works (which extensively draws upon the Marian literature) and episodes of her life inspired many local traditions (like the flight of the Holy Fam-

ily reaching Ethiopia). Portions of Marian literature became elements of the faithfuls' everyday life: they start their day by reciting the opening prayer in which they invoke the three names of the persons in the Trinity and renounce Satan, and recite the Pater Noster, the Hail Mary, the Magnificat (*Ṣälotä Maryam*), the Nicene Creed, and a number of Marian hymns.

Src.: RENÉ BASSET (tr.), *Apocryphes éthiopiens. V: Les Prières de la Vierge à Bartos et au Golgotha*, Paris 1895; BezKebr 82ff., 133; VERENA BÖLL, *Unsere Herrin Maria: Die traditionelle äthiopische Exegese der Marienanaphora des Cyriacus von Behnesa*, Wiesbaden 1998 (AeF 48); STEFAN BOMBECK (ed.), *Die Geschichte der heiligen Maria in einer alten äthiopischen Handschrift*, Bottrop 2003; ERNEST ALFRED WALLIS BUDGE, *The Miracles of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and the Life of Ḥannâ (Saint Anne) ...*, London 1900; ID., *Legends of Our Lady Mary the Perpetual Virgin and her Mother Ḥannâ*, London 1933a, xx-lxix; ID., *One Hundred and Ten Miracles of Our Lady Mary*, London ²1933b, xxvii-xxxvi; CerMaria; CRRicBerhan II, 44 (text) = 26 (tr.); ENRICO CERULLI, "L'Etiopia del secolo XV in nuovi documenti storici", *Africa Italiana* 5, 1933, 57–112, here 82f. (text) = 90f. (tr.); MARIUS CHAÎNE, *Apocrypha de B. Maria Virgine*, Louvain 1961–62 (CSCO 39, 40 [SAe 22, 23]); CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "La redazione etiopica della preghiera della Vergine fra i Parti", *RRALm* ser. 5ª, 6, 1896, 457–79; ID., "Il discorso su monte Coscam attribuito a Teofilo d'Alessandria nella versione etiopica", *ibid.* 21, 1912, 395–471; CRAbb; DillmBerl; EMML; GETATCHEW HAILE (ed., tr.), *The Epistle of Humanity of Emperor Zärʾa Yaʿəqob (Ṭomarä təsbaʾt)*, Lovanii 1991 (CSCO 522, 523 [SAe 95, 96]), 3, 82f. (text); ID., "A Hymn to the Blessed Virgin", *Worship* (Collegeville, MN) 65, 5, 1991b, 445–50; HamSixBerl; HamTana I; ARNOLD VAN LANTSCHOOT, "Abbā Salāmā, métropolite d'Éthiopie (1348–1388) et son rôle de traducteur", in: *PICES* 1, 397–401; DÉBORAH LIFCHITZ, *Textes éthiopiens magico-religieux*, Paris 1940, 236ff.; MARCOS DAOUD (tr.) – MARSIE HAZEN (ed.), *The Liturgy of the Ethiopian Church*, Cairo ²1959 [= MD]; መጽሐፈ፡ ጸሎት (*Mäṣḥafä ṣälot*, 'The Book of Prayers'), Addis Abäba 1946 A.M. [1953/54 A.D.]; መጽሐፈ፡ ቅዳሴ፡ በግዕዝ፡ና፡ በአማርኛ (*Mäṣḥafä qəddase. Bägəʿəz ənna bäʾamarəñña*, 'The Book of Liturgy [Missal]. In Gəʿəz and Amharic'), Addis Abäba 1962 A.M. [1969/70 A.D.]; BORIS TURAEV (ed., tr.), ሥላሴ፡ ዘንጉሥ፡ ናአድ። *Virši tsarja Naoda* (*'Śəllase zänəguś Naʾod*. The Poems by King Naʿod'), St. Petersburg 1904 (Pamjatniki efiopskoj pismennosti 2); SIEGBERT UHLIG, "Dərsan des Yaʿəqob von Sərug für den vierten Sonntag im Monat Tahsas", *Aethiopica* 2, 1999, 7–52; BERND MANUEL WEISCHER (ed., tr.), *Qērellos IV 2: Traktate des Epiphanios von Zypern und des Proklos von Kyzikos*, Wiesbaden 1979 (AeF 6); KURT WENDT (ed., tr.), *Das Maṣḥafa Milād (Liber Nativitatis) und Maṣḥafa Sellāsē (Liber Trinitatis) des Kaisers Zarʾa Yāʿqob*, Louvain 1962 (CSCO 221–22, 235–36 [SAe 41, 44]); WrBriMus; YaqMist I, 150f., 210ff., 212f. (text) = 90f., 127f., 127f. (tr.).

Lit.: AfrZion 92; ROBERT BEYLOT, "Le thème de la perle dans quelques textes éthiopiens", *Bulletin de l'Association Guillaume Budé* ser. 4, 1, 1972, 71-87; ID., "Langue et littérature éthiopiennes", in: MICHELINE ALBERT et al. (eds.), *Christianismes orientaux. Introduction à l'étude des langues et des littératures*, Paris 1993, 220–60; CerLett, s. index; ENRICO CERULLI, "Il codice della Staatsbibliothek di Berlino del Libro etiopico die Miracoli di Maria", *RSO* 32, 1957, 377–96; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Il Convento di Tsana in Abissinia e le sue laudi alla Vergine", *RRALm* ser. 5ª, 19, 1910, 582–621; GETATCHEW HAILE, "The Cause of the Ǝsṭifanosites: a Fundamentalist Sect in the Church of Ethiopia", *Paideuma* 29, 1983, 93–119; ID., *The Mariology of Emperor Zärʾa Yaʿəqob of Ethiopia*, Roma 1992 (OrChrA 218); ERNST HAMMERSCHMIDT, *Studies in the Ethiopic Anaphoras*, Stuttgart 1987 (AeF 25), 17, 25f.; GuiSLett, s. index; CHRYSOSTOME HAYOZ, *Portrait de Marie: complainte de la Vierge. Deux poésies mariales éthiopiennes inédites*, Fribourg 1956; FR. S. MUELLER, S.J., "Die Unbefleckte Empfängnis der Heiligen Jungfrau im Bekenntnis der koptischen und äthiopischen Kirche", *OrChr* 35, 1938, 157–92; OSVALDO RAINERI, *La spiritualità etiopica*, Roma 1996, 32ff.; RicLett 834; TadTChurch; TADDESSE TAMRAT, "Some Notes on the Fifteenth Century Stephanite 'Heresy' in the Ethiopian Church", *RSE* 22, 1966, 103–15.

Getatchew Haile – Denis Nosnitsin

Hymns to the Virgin Mary

Gəʿəz literature boasts a large collection of ↗hymns extolling the Virgin M. It is difficult to list them all exhaustively (ChRep alone registers 71 compositions; cp. GrohHymn 29–36). Thematically, they can be classified into: hymns that celebrate M. as the mother of God; hymns that evoke M. standing under the Cross; and hymns on her flight to Egypt, with all the sufferings endured.

Only a few of these works can be tentatively dated. The surge in translation and composition of Marian ↗anaphoras and hymns took place during the 15th cent. Besides, the religious controversies of the 14th–15th cent. stimulated the composition of a number of the Marian hymns. Still part of the EOTC's liturgy, they are found in such liturgical books as the *Mäzgäbä* ↗*dəggʷa*, ↗*Məʿəraf*, ↗*Mäwaśəʾət* and ↗*Zəmmare* (s. GrohHymn 26ff.). The Gondärine time was another formative period in the development of Ethiopian spiritual poetry devoted to Mary.

The following works are considered the most famous:

- ↗*Akkonu bəʾəsi*, each verse of which makes an allusion to a miracle of M. (according to the "standard collection" of the ↗*Täʾammərä Maryam* composed of 33 miracles; GrohHymn 322–82);
- ↗*Anqäṣä bərhan*, traditionally attributed to the 6th-cent. St. ↗Yared (cf. VelMe I, 159f.);
- ↗*Arganonä Maryam* (or *Arganonä wəddase*), one of the most precious Marian works, produced during the period of *aṣe* ↗Zärʾa Yaʿəqob, with readings for each day of the week (Leander 1922; Daniel Assefa 2003);
- ↗*Ǝgziʾabəḥer nägśä*, a collection of hymns composed in honour of the saints, including M.;
- ↗*ʿƎnzira səbḥat* (also *Arganonä wəddase*), a well-known composition with a verse for each letter of the alphabet;
- ↗*Maḫletä ṣəge*, one of the most beautiful pieces of Ethiopic literature, ascribed by a tradition to a certain *abba*

Ṣəge Dəngəl, but fitting with the style of the 15th-cent. *abba* ↗Giyorgis of Sägla (Fessehatzion Andemariam 1994; for the edition s. GrohHymn 67–353);

↗*Mälkəʾ*, which celebrate M. by listing and praising each part of her body as the centre of divine gifts. Some of these have titles of their own; some go under the generic title of *Mälkəʾa Maryam* and can be identified only by their *incipits*; a few Marian *mälkəʾat* are included into the collection ↗*Mälkəʾa gubaʿe* (cp., e.g., the *mälkəʾ* published by Hayoz 1956:28–125). Those with a specific title are:

Mälkəʾa anqäṣä bərhan, 'Image[s] of the Gate of Light' (ChRep no. 241; MG no. 44), an adaptation of the Marian office of the *Anqäṣä bərhan*;

Mälkəʾa bäʾata, 'Image of Her Presentation [in the Temple]' (Aklilä Bərhan Wäldä Qirqos 1952/53:87; Raineri 1989:107);

Mälkəʾa Edom, 'Image of Edom' (ChRep no. 302; MG no. 38; Raineri 1989:107), ascribed by a tradition to *aṣe* ↗Ləbnä Dəngəl (Getatchew Haile in PICES 10, 373);

Mälkəʾa fəlsäta, 'Image of Her Assumption' (ChRep no. 213; MG no. 40; Raineri 1989:107), ascribed to *aṣe* ↗Zärʾa Yaʿəqob (Getatchew Haile in PICES 10, 373);

Mälkəʾa kidanä məḥrät, 'Image of the Covenant of Mercy' (ChRep no. 360; MG no. 42; DillmChr 136–46; Raineri 1989:93–98) of *abba* Zämäläkot (Getatchew Haile in PICES 10, 373);

Mälkəʾa lədäta, 'Image of Her Birth' (ChRep no. 23; Aklilä Bərhan Wäldä Qirqos 1952/53:87; Raineri 1989:108);

↗*Mälkəʾa Maryam* [2], 'Image of M.' (ChRep no. 220; MG no. 45), ascribed to *aṣe* ↗Bäʾədä Maryam (Getatchew Haile in PICES 10, 373) or to *aṣe* ↗Naʿod;

Mälkəʾa Qʷəsqʷam, 'Image of Qʷəsqʷam' (MG no. 41; Aklilä Bərhan Wäldä Qirqos 1952/53:88; Raineri 1989:107);

Mälkəʾa səʿəl, 'Image of the Icon [of M.]' (ChRep nos. 32, 368);

Mälkəʾa ṣəge, 'Image of the Flower' (ChRep no. 397; Aklilä Bərhan Wäldä Qirqos 1952/53:88; Raineri 1989:107; presumably a poetic adaptation of the *Maḫletä ṣəge*);

Mälkəʾa Ṣəyon, 'Image of Zion' (Aklilä Bərhan Wäldä Qirqos 1952/53:88; Raineri 1989:107);

Mälkəʾa wəddase Maryam, 'Image of the Praise of M.' (ChRep nos. 398 [Monday], 326 [Tuesday], 383 [Wednesday], 385 [Thursday], 290 [Friday], 319 [Saturday], 299 [Sunday]; MG no. 43; Raineri 1989:107), a poetic adaptation of the Marian office ↗*Wəddase Maryam*.

Other hymns include:

↗*Mäzmurä dəngəl*, with each of its 151 parts meant to elaborate the corresponding Psalms of David (↗Psalter);

Sälamta ('Salutations'), a collection of short *sälam*-hymns addressed to M., by different authors and dating from different periods (GuiSLett 81);

↗*Säqoqawä dəngəl* (ChRep no. 268; Hayoz 1956:135–235; Aklilä Bərhan Wäldä Qirqos 1952/53:85), often sung during the fast of Qʷəsqʷam and on Good Friday and traditionally ascribed to a certain *qolla šum* Yoḥannəs (Getatchew Haile in PICES 10, 373), but possibly translated into Gəʿəz from an Arabic *Vorlage* (ed. by Hayoz 1956:118–226);

↗*Səbḥatä fəqur* belonging to the ↗*Säʿatat* and sung every day in the monasteries, and dating from the 15th cent.;

Wəddase əmqalä näbiyat ('Praise from the Words of the Prophets'), a poetical re-elaboration of the messianic prophecies sung every morning during the period that precedes the Nativity of Christ (↗*Lədät*);

Wəddase Maryam, a long composition with a section for each day of the week, traditionally attributed to St. ↗Ephrem the Syrian (VelME I 159f.);

↗*Ḫoḫətä bərhan*, a composition of both prose and poetry.

All ↗*Qəne*-hymns improvised during Marian feasts are devoted to M.

There are a few Marian hymns in Amharic, one of the earliest probably being the ↗*Məśṭira ṣəgeyat*.

In addition, there is a number of compositions that can be partly considered Marian hymns: *Məntänu aʿassəyäkki* ('How can I Reward you?') is a short invocation to M. attested in the *Säʿatat* and belonging to the *Täfäśśəḥi* ... (*zäzäwätər*) sung every day (Mogäs ʿƎqubä Giyorgis 1966/67:145–51). The author, *abba* Giyorgis, meditates on M.'s love and mercy: "I would not exist even for one hour if She had not forgiven my sins ...". Another hymn that shows M.'s eternal love for mankind is the ↗*O rəḫrəḫtä ḫəllina* (ChRep no. 368; Roman 1922–23), which is the incipit to *Mälkəʾa śəʿəl*, 'Image of the Icon [of M.]'. The composition is ascribed to *aṣe* ↗Gälawdewos (Getatchew Haile in PICES 10, 373) and belongs to the ↗*Säʿatat* (Mogäs ʿƎqubä Giyorgis 1966/67:182–87). Some hymns are devoted to the motive "lamentation of M." (van den Oudenrijn in PICES 1). There are also many short Marian hymns, such as *O əgziʾətəyä* ... (GrohHymn 33), *Ǝsebbəḥ ṣäggaki* ... (ibid. 31) etc., attested in many manuscripts.

Src.: ChRep; CHRYSOSTOME HAYOZ, *Portrait de Marie: complainte de la Vierge. Deux poésies mariales éthiopiennes inédites*, Fribourg 1956 (Lit.); *nəburä əd* DƎMEṬROS GÄBRÄ MARYAM – *məkəttəl afä nəgus* ṬƎBÄBU BÄYYÄNÄ (eds.), ቅዳሴያተ፡ ማርያም፡ [ጉሥዓ – መዓዛ፡ ቅዳሴ] (*Qəddaseyatä Maryam* [*gʷäśʿa – mäʿaza qəddase*], 'The Anaphoras of Mary [*eructavit – the Pleasant of Consecration*']), Asmära 1959 A.M. [1967/68 A.D.], 6f.; DillmChr 136–46 [Effigies Mariae]; SEBASTIAN EURINGER, "Das Hohelied des 'Bundes der Erbarmung'. Aus dem Äthiopischen übersetzt und erklärt", *OrChr* 35, 1–2, 1938, 71–107, 192–213; *ibid.* 36, 1–2, 1941, 68–73; GrohHymn (Lit.); CHRISTOPHER LASH, "'Gate of Light': an Ethiopian Hymn to the Blessed Virgin", *Eastern Churches Review* 4, 1972, 36–46; *ibid.* 5, 1973, 143–56; PONTUS LEANDER (ed.), *ʾArgānōna Ueddāsē*, Leipzig 1922; መልክአ፡ ጉባኤ (*Mälkəʾa gubaʾe*, 'The Collection of *Mälkəʾ*'), ed. by TÄSFA GÄBRÄ ƎLLASE, Addis Abäba 1959 A.M. [1966/67 A.D.] [= MG]; *liqä mäzämməran* MOGÄS ʿƎQUBÄ GIYORGIS (ed.), መጽሐፈ፡ ሰዓታት (*Mäṣḥafä säʿatat*, 'Book of the Hours'), Asmära 1959 A.M. [1966/67 A.D.]; ID., መድበል፡ ዘማኅሌት (*Mädbäl zämaḫlet*, 'The Collection of Canticles'), Asmära 1980 A.M. [1987 A.D.]; መዝሙረ፡ ድንግል (*Mäzmurä dəngəl*, 'Psalter of the Virgin), Addis Abäba 1967 A.M. [1974/75 A.D.]; MARC-ANTOINE VAN DEN OUDENRIJN, "ሰላም፡ ለጥንተ፡ ላሕኪ። Ein aethiopisches Stabat Mater", in: *PICES* 1, 297–322; A. ROMAN, "Une hymne du Nagara Māryām", *ROC* 23, 1922–23, 416–26.

Lit.: *liqä ṭäbbäbt* AKLILÄ BƎRHAN WÄLDÄ QIRQOS, ሊቀ ጠበብት ዕርቃ ልቡና (*Märḥa ləbbuna*, 'The Guide of the Conscience'), Addis Abäba 1945 A.M. [1952/53 A.D.], 85, 87f.; DANIEL ASSEFA, "Les références bibliques dans l'Arganone Weddasé", Transversalités 85, 2003, 75–87; FESSEHATZION ANDEMARIAM, *Mariology in the "Mahleta Sege": Abba Giyorgis Gassicca's "Hymn of the Flower"*, M.A. thesis, Università Pontificia Salesiana, Roma 1994; GETATCHEW HAILE, "Builders of Churches and Authors of Hymns. Makers of History in the Ethiopian Church", in: *PICES* 10, vol. 1, 369–75, here 373; ID., *The Mariology of Emperor Zär'a Yaʿəqob of Ethiopia*, Rome 1992 (OrChrA 242); SILVAIN GRÉBAUT, "Note sur la poésie éthiopienne", *ROC* 14, 1909, 90–98; GuiSLett 81; HabUff, s. index; GENEVIÈVE NOLLET, "Le culte de Marie en Ethiopie", in: D'HUBERT DU MANOIR (ed.), *Maria. Etudes sur la Sainte Vierge*, Paris 1949, vol. 1, 363–413, here 395–413; OSVALDO RAINERI, "L'inno mariano etiopico 'Beṣeʿet anti' (Beata sei) del 'Sebḥata Fequr' (Celebrazione del diletto)", *OrChrP* 52, 1986, 421–31; ID., "L'Effigie di Maria 'Patto di Misericordia'. Note per un 'Mariale Aethiopicum'", *Ephemerides Liturgicae* 103, 1989, 92–109, here 93–98, 107f.; VelME I, n. 159f.

Habtemichael Kidane

Mary in Ethiopian art

Pictures of M. appear in devotional images, i.e. icons, and within narrative paintings which illustrate events in the life of Christ and in apocryphal tales of her life. Among the oldest extant paintings in Ethiopia is a painting of Gabriel's Annunciation to M. (Lk 1:26–35) on the vaulted ceiling of the church of Betä Maryam at ↗Lalibäla, dating to the late 12th or early 13th cent. The symbolism of the placement of this painting, which depicts the moment of Christ's Incarnation, above the entrance to the sanctuary (↗*Mäqdäs*) was carefully calculated, because the sanctuary is where the Eucharistic bread is transformed into the body of Christ during the celebration of the liturgy. Iconic portraits of M. enthroned holding the Christ Child in her lap and flanked by Archangels Gabriel and Michael are among the mural paintings that decorate the rock-hewn monastery church of ↗Qorqor Maryam in central Təgray (↗Gärʿalta) and the church of St. Michael at ↗Waša Mikaʾel, Angot. These mural portraits, which date to the late 13th cent., are similar in iconography but differ in style (Mercier 2004:38f., 52f.). However, aside from representations of M. in scenes of the life of Christ, her image does not play a major role in Ethiopian painting until the 15th cent.

During the 1440s, *aṣe* ↗Zär'a Yaʿəqob introduced to the Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church a cult of M. as Intercessor, which included a mandatory ritual of the veneration of her icon, i.e. a portrait painted on a portable wooden panel, during the celebration of the liturgy (Heldman 1994:165–68). Zär'a Yaʿəqob's devotion to M. was undoubtedly inspired by that of his father *aṣe* ↗Dawit II, during whose reign a collection of pious tales known as the ↗*Täʾammərä Maryam* was translated from Arabic into Gəʿəz (Getatchew Haile 1983b; Heldman 2005:137). Within a manuscript of the *Täʾammərä Maryam* copied and illuminated before 1400 for Dawit II at his palace scriptorium (currently at Amba Gəšän) are full-page miniatures painted with portraits of the Virgin and the Christ Child enthroned before whom Dawit prays (Mercier 2004:36f.; Heldman 2007). The iconographic model of this representation of the Virgin and Child is a Late Byzantine icon in the type of the *Hodegetria* (Heldman 1994:117, fig. 69).

Zär'a Yaʿəqob's introduction of a mandatory ritual of the veneration of a portrait of M. in the form of a portable panel-painting created an immediate demand for the production of icons of the Virgin and Child, because most churches did not own a portable panel painting of the Virgin. Prior to this time the religious art of the Ethiopian Church took the form of murals on the walls of churches and painted miniatures within ↗manuscripts.

In order to support the production of Marian icons, *aṣe* Zär'a Yaʿəqob brought a gifted monastic painter named ↗Fəre Ṣəyon to the court and encouraged the development of iconographic schemes that served as visual interpretations of the Emperor's Mariological homilies (Getatchew Haile 1992). The iconography of portraits of the Virgin and Child underwent important changes at this time; models derived from Byzantine art were replaced by models from 15th-cent. Italian painting (Heldman 1994:115–38). Icons of the Virgin and Child produced by Fəre Ṣəyon and his circle are generally diptychs or triptychs, the multiple panels of which provide an expanded area upon which to paint iconographic schemes developed in collaboration with theologians at the royal court (Heldman 1994:198; Getatchew Haile 1983a:311f.). In these icons, a portrait of the Virgin and Child is juxtaposed with portraits of the twelve ↗Apostles or with the twelve Apostles and O.T. ↗prophets, to which may be added several popular equestrian saints, such as George, Theodore, Mercurius, Claudius, and/or Victor (↗Equestrian saints), as well as a few Ethiopian monastic ↗saints. Within the context of Zär'a Yaʿəqob's theology, the scheme of M. and the Christ Child with the Twelve Apostles

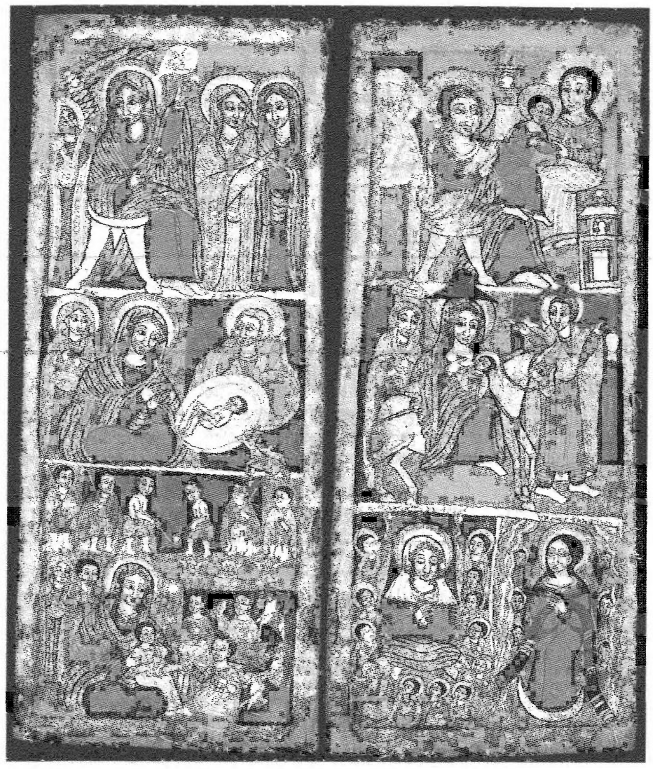


Fig. 1: Wings of a triptych ca. 1630–1700; photo by Franko Khoury; photo courtesy of the National Museum of African Art, the Smithsonian Institution (no. 98–3–3)

not only glorifies the Virgin M., but also symbolizes the Orthodox Church, free of improper teaching and practice (Heldman 1994:172–75).

Icons of the Virgin and Child not only took the form of painted rectangular wooden panels, which are understandably most common, but also assumed more unusual forms. Metal processional ↗crosses and wooden benedictional crosses were created with a broad cruciform central panel in order to accommodate an incised portrait of the Virgin and Child flanked by Archangels and accompanying saints (AfrZion nos. 78, 79, 86, 114; Mercier 2000:73, 76; Horowitz 2001:84, 86). More unusual are Marian icons in the form of enlarged liturgical fans (AfrZion no. 7; Horowitz 2001:114; Mercier 2004:82f., 120f.), which seem to have lost favour after the end of the 15th cent.

The introduction of secondary scenes of the Crucifixion (*səqlät*) and Resurrection (*tənśaʾe*) with the raising of Adam and Eve is typical of iconographic schemes of Marian icons produced later in the 15th cent. This change is probably due to the influence of the introduction of the monthly commemoration of the Crucifixion (*Täzkarä Mädḫən*, or *Mädḫane ʿAläm*, on the 27th day of each month) at the instigation of the mid-15th-cent. monk ↗Mäbaʾa Ṣəyon (AfrZion no. 85, p. 187). From this time onward, icons that feature a portrait of the Virgin and Child in the central panel usually include representations of Christ's Crucifixion and the Resurrection in subsidiary positions. An early 16th-cent. triptych exemplifies this development (s. fig. 1). The central panel, divided into two registers, shows a half-length figure of the Virgin and Child above saints and/or Apostles and two unnamed equestrian saints. On the two wings, in addition to the Raising of Adam and Eve and the Crucifixion, saints, and St. George and another holy rider.

During the early 16th cent. several Ethiopian clerics, acting as agents for *aṣe* ↗Ləbnä Dəngəl, returned from a period of study abroad with Italo–Cretan icons of the Virgin and Child. With the reception of these icons at the royal court, a new way of thinking about icons of the Virgin M. developed. Several of these Italo–Cretan icons were perceived to be miracle-working icons painted by St. Luke and thus they acquired an inherent, awe-inspiring sanctity. This new sensibility toward certain icons of the Virgin was inspired in part by the tale of the miraculous icon of the Virgin painted by St. Luke at Saydanya near Damascus, a tale translated from Arabic into Gəʿəz in the early 16th cent. (Heldman 2005).

Developments in style and iconography of images of the Virgin produced later in the 16th cent. are difficult to follow, because works of art produced during this period are difficult to identify or date. A period of destruction, disruption, and threat to the patrimony and artistic traditions of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church began in 1527 and did not abate until 1632. The causes were the Muslim wars of ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī, an influx of migrating ↗Oromo peoples, and the arrival in the late 16th cent. of Portuguese Jesuit missionaries whose attempts to replace the Ethiopian Orthodox Christianity with Roman ↗Catholicism almost precipitated a civil war. The century of chaotic disruption and change came to an end in 1635 with the expulsion of the ↗Jesuits and the establishment of a new capital at ↗Gondär, which became a permanent capital and artistic centre of the Empire, thanks to the dedicated patronage of the court. Iconographic schemes of the Marian icon developed in the 15th cent. were not lost, and, as the production of religious art revived at Gondär, these iconographic programs reappear in painted diptychs and triptychs (Chojnacki 2000, nos. 135, 184).

During the course of the 17th–18th cent. Ethiopian painters, supported by ruling elite class at Gondär, developed new styles of painting, and,

inspired by European prints introduced by the Jesuits, created schemes of narrative painting for illuminated manuscripts. Narrative imagery was also introduced to devotional images and even to programs of monumental painting.

One of the most interesting developments in narrative painting was the invention of a cycle of narrative images for manuscripts of the *Tä'ammərä Maryam* produced at Gondär during the second half of the 17th cent. for the private devotions of courtly patrons. The number of pious tales in such manuscripts was usually limited to 32. Each miracle is followed by a full-page (sometimes two-page) illustration of the story, composed of successive events of the narrative. The various episodes depicted in the composition are usually accompanied by identifying inscriptions. Thus, after reading a miraculous tale, the reader is able to meditate upon the lesson of the story while studying the miniature (AfrZion no. 12). E.g., the miniature that follows the miracle of "how Our Lady M. gave a thirsty dog a drink of water from her shoe" in a late 17th-cent. manuscript in the collection of the Chicago Art Institute presents a unified design (s. fig. 2), composed of three elements that represent three different events of the story. A large figure of Our Lady M. giving the dog a drink of water dominates the composition, below and to the right are four young women with their water jugs who have denied the dog a drink (Budge 1923:112). At the bottom of the illustration is the thirsty dog at the edge of the well. In this miniature, the sequence of events is to be read from the bottom to the top of the picture.

Following the development of narrative illustrations in illuminated manuscripts, narrative imagery was introduced to the devotional image, creating a "narrative icon," which removes the painted panel from its original function as a painted portrait that receives the prayer and veneration of the faithful. Marian narrative icons with scenes of the Infancy of Christ and episodes of the life of the Virgin achieved a degree of popularity during the 17th cent. Each of the two panels of a late-17th-cent. diptych in the collection of the Smithsonian Institution's National Museum of African Art is divided into three registers, in which are depicted major events in the life of Our Lady M. commemorated in her annual liturgical feasts. On the left panel are the Annunciation, the Visitation, the Nativity, and the Adoration of the ↗Magi; on the right panel are the Presentation of Christ in the Temple, the Flight of the Holy Family to ↗Egypt, M.'s Dormition (↗*ʿƎräfta*),

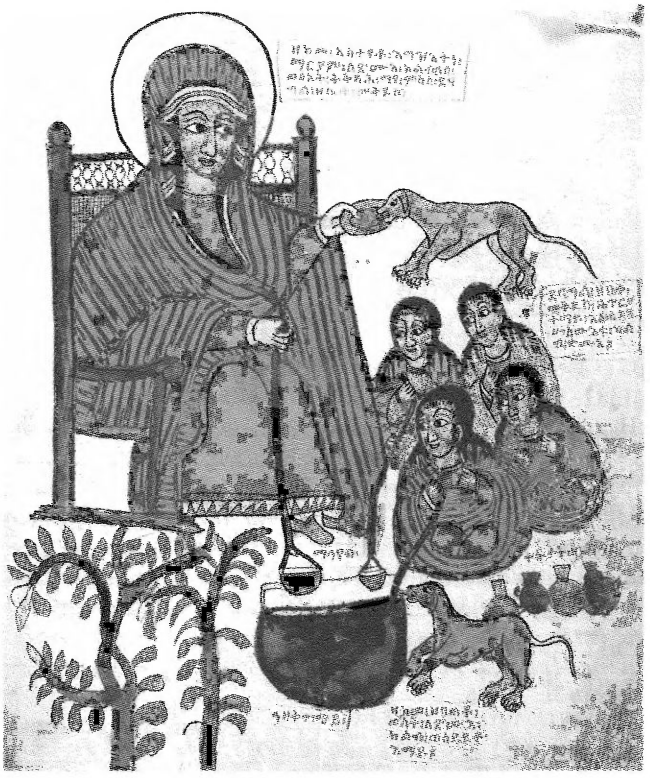


Fig. 2: Illumination showing Mary (Miracle 32: The story of the thirsty dog), from the *Tä'ammərä Maryam*, fol. 139r, Gondär, late 17th cent.; Ada Turnbull Hertle and Marian and Samuel Klasstorner Endowments (2002.4), photo courtesy of The Art Institute of Chicago

and her Assumption (↗*Fəlsäta*; VelMe II, 23–26). The narrative icon, like the miniatures in manuscripts of the *Tä'ammərä Maryam*, invites private contemplation of events in the life of Our Lady Mary as a form of religious devotion. Illustrated manuscripts of the *Tä'ammərä Maryam* often include a full-page miniature of Our Lady M. and Jesus Christ standing with joined hands, a symbolic composition known as the ↗*Kidanä məḥrät* (Berzock 2002, pl. 4). From illuminated manuscripts, this composition was introduced to icons (AfrZion no. 11; Chojnacki 2000, nos. 218, 234) and to iconographic schemes of mural decoration (Di Salvo 1999, pls. 148f.; Bosc-Tiessé – Wion 2005:70, 89). From the 15th cent. onward, the figure of M. occupied an ever more important position in Ethiopian art.

Ills.: AfrZion nos. 7, 11, 12, 78, 79, 85, 86, 114; KATHLEEN BICKFORD BERZOCK, *The Miracles of Mary: a Seventeenth-Century Manuscript*, Chicago, IL 2002, pl. 4; CLAIRE BOSC-TIESSÉ – ANAÏS WION, *Peintures sacrées d'Éthiopie: Collection de la Mission Dakar–Djibouti*, St-Maur-des-Fossés 2005, 70, 89; ERNEST ALFRED WALLIS BUDGE, *One Hundred and Ten Miracles of Our Lady Mary*, London 1923, 112; STANISŁAW CHOJNACKI, *Ethiopian Icons: Catalogue of the Collection of the Institute of Ethiopian Studies Addis Ababa University*, Milano 2000, nos. 135, 184, 218, 234; MARIO DI SALVO, *Churches of Ethiopia: the Monastery of Närgä Śellāsē*, Milano 1999, pls. 148f.; MARILYN E. HELD-

MAN, *The Marian Icons of the Painter Frē Ṣeyon: a Study in Fifteenth-Century Ethiopian Art, Patronage, and Spirituality*, Wiesbaden 1994 (Orientalia Biblica et Christiana 6), 117 fig. 69, 165–68, 172–75, 198; DEBORAH HOROWITZ (ed.), *Ethiopian Art: the Walters Art Museum*, Baltimore, MD 2001, 84, 86, 114; JACQUES MERCIER, *L'Arche éthiopienne. Art chrétien d'Éthiopie*, Paris 2000, 36–39, 52f., 73, 76; ID., *Vierges d'Éthiopie*, Montpellier 2004, 36–39, 52f., 82ff., 120f.
Lit.: GUY ANNEQUIN, "L'illustration des Taʾamra Maryam de 1630 à 1730: quelques remarques sur le premier style de Gondar", *AE* 9, 1972, 193–226; GETATCHEW HAILE, "The Life of Abunä Yoṣtinos", *AnBoll* 101, 3–4, 1983a, 311–25; ID., "Documents on the History of Aṣé Dawit (1382–1423)", *JES* 16, 1983b, 25–35; ID. (ed., tr.), *The Mariology of Emperor Zärʾa Yaʿəqob of Ethiopia*, Roma 1992 (OrChrA 242); MARILYN E. HELDMAN, "St. Luke as Painter: Post-Byzantine Icons in Early-Sixteenth-Century Ethiopia", *Gesta* 44, 2, 2005, 125–48; EAD., "Metropolitan Bishops as Agents of Artistic Interaction between Egypt and Ethiopia during the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries", in: COLUM HOURIHANE (ed.), *Interactions: Artistic Interchange between the Eastern and Western Worlds in the Medieval Period*, University Park, PA 2007, 84–105; VelMe II, 23–26.

Marilyn Heldman

Mary, Apocalypse of

In Ethiopic tradition, the M.a. (Gəʿəz ራእየ፡ [እግዝእትነ፡]ማርያም, *Raʾəyä [əgzəʾətənä] Maryam*, 'The Vison of [our Lady] Mary') is a composition different from the texts by the same title in Greek, Armenian, Georgian, Syriac or Arabic (s. CANT no. 330). It is presented as a Discourse (↗*Dərsan*) of John son of Zebedee, the contents of which he received from St. ↗Mary. Raised by a cloud to the "third heaven" and guided by Jesus, she saw the vicissitudes of the just and wicked souls, their judgements, and their respective rewards and punishments. On Mary's request, Jesus granted the damned a relief from their tortures from Friday evening until Monday morning (Chaîne 1909:80).

The main source of the M.a. was the Greek Apocalypse of ↗Paul (late 4th cent.; CANT no. 325), in which early Christian imagery of the other world was collected. This was translated into Arabic, and from this version into Ethiopic. Renamed as M.a. and adequately edited (references to Paul were replaced by those to Mary) it was developed with numerous biblical quotations. New visions were added, e.g., that of the Muslims being punished for not believing in Jesus or the Trinity (Chaîne 1909:78). The two day weekly respite for sinners and the insistence of Jesus on equality of the First Sabbath to Sunday (Chaîne 1909:79) suggest the 14th–15th cent. as the date of redaction of the M.a., as the issue was the object of controversies (with the ↗Ewosṭateans) at the time (Piovanelli 1993:37). The M.a. was the main source of the Apocalypse of ↗Baruch, traces of the M.a. are also found in the ↗*Ləfafä ṣədq* (similar texts are also in the ↗*Dərsanä Mikaʾel*, cp. Bausi 1999:153f.).

The text is widely diffused; the known copies do not predate the early 18th cent. (e.g., BritLib orient. 605, 648). By the mid-19th cent., M.a. had been translated into Amharic (published by Täsfa Gäbrä Śəllase in 1967/68). The Amharic version has been copied more frequently than the original beginning with the late 19th cent. (Orient. oct. 1004, 1288; EMML 256, 1346 etc.). The M.a. is usually bound in one manuscript with other homiletic or liturgical texts, often equally devoted to the Virgin. It is included, together with the *Nägärä Maryam* and other Marian hymns, in the homiliary known as the ↗*Dərsanä Maryam* (e.g., EMML 4279, 4355). Separate visions (referred to as *Raʾəyä täʾammər*) are frequently incorporated into ↗*Täʾammərä Maryam* manuscripts (EMML 2524, 2563, 2573, 2710, 2740, 2758, 2774 etc.).

The text included in the 19th-cent. homiletic ms. Martini etiop. 2 [Lusini no. 5] (fols. 111r–162r) is illustrated by 25 miniatures. The first illumination (fol. 117r) shows ↗*Maiestas Domini* above angels carrying the souls of the just to ↗Paradise (publ. in Sàntoli 1932:41). The rest represents scenes from

Apocalypse of Mary, ms. Biblioteca Forteguerriana di Pistoia Martini etiop. 2 [Lusini 5], 19th cent., fol. 161v: Mary watching the damned; Jesus grants the damned two-day relief on her request; photo by Alessandro Gori, 2007, courtesy of the Biblioteca Forteguerriana di Pistoia

the afterworld seen by Mary alternating with images of the ↗*Kidanä Məḥrät* iconographic type. The final illumination (fol. 163r) has, beside St. Mary and Jesus, the figure of the donor, possibly ↗Mənilək II's mother ʾIğğəgayyähu, for whom the manuscript was copied.

Src.: mss. BritLib Add. 1622, Orient 605, 625, 648, 650; BN Abb. 214 (CRAbb 135), et. 55, 146 (ZotBNat 59, 241); EMML 256, 1346, 1649, 1707, 1967, 1974, 2631, 3962, 4279, 4355, 4551, 4702, 4721, 4730, 4735; Berlin Orient oct. 1004, 1007, 1282 (HamSixBerl Hs. 20, 23, 54); ራእየ፡ ማርያም (*Raʾəyä Maryam*, 'Vision of Mary'), [Amh.] ed. by TÄSFA GÄBRÄ ŚƎLLASE, Addis Abäba 1960 A.M. [1967/68 A.D.]; CANT nos. 330, 325; MARIUS CHAÎNE (ed., tr.), *Apocrypha de B. Maria Virgine*, Romae 1909 (CSCO 39, 40 [SAe 22, 23]), 53–80 (text) = 45–68 (tr.) ["Apocalypsis seu Visio Mariae Virginis"], esp. 78ff. = 66ff.; MARIO ERBETTA (tr.), *Gli apocrifi del Nuovo Testamento*, vol. 3, Torino 1981, 455–70; GIANFRANCESCO LUSINI, "I codici etiopici del fondo Martini nella Biblioteca Forteguerriana di Pistoia", *Aethiopica* 5, 2002, 156–76, here 175 [ms. Martini etiop. n. 5 (= Zanutto n. 2), fols. 111r–162r]; QUINTO SÀNTOLI, *Biblioteca Forteguerriana di Pistoia*, Pistoia 1932, 41.

Lit.: ALESSANDRO BAUSI, "A First Evaluation of the 'Arabic Version of the Apocalypse of Paul'", in: SAMIR KHALIL SAMIR (ed.), *Actes du 5ᵉ Congrès International d'études arabes chrétiennes (Lund, août 1996)*, Kaslik 1999 (= *Parole de l'Orient* 24, 1999), 131–64, here 153f.; RICHARD BAUKHAM, *The Fate of the Dead: Studies on the Jewish and Christian Apocalypses*, Leiden 1998 (Supplements to Novum Testamentum 93), 333-62 ("The Four Apocalypses of the Virgin Mary"), here 338ff.; PIERLUIGI PIOVANELLI, "Les origines de L'Apocalypse de Paul reconsidérées", *Apocrypha* 4, 1993, 25–64, esp. 35ff.

Witold Witakowski – Evgenia Sokolinskaia

Mary Magdalene

According to the N.T. account, M.M. (Eth. ማርያም፡ መግደላዊት, Maryam Mägdälawit) was a woman possessed by the demons and healed by Jesus (Mk 16:9, Lk 8:2). She became his follower and disciple, witnessed his death (Mt 27:56, Mk 15:40, Jn 19:25) and was present at his burial (Mt 27:61, Mk 15:47). M.M. returned to the sepulchre together with other women carrying the spices (Mt 28:1, Mk 16:1, Lk 24:10, Jn 20:1) and was the first person to which Christ appeared after the resurrection (Mk 16:9, Jn 20:11–18).

M.M. has been venerated as saint by the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥədo) Church and commemorated in the ↗*Sənkəssar* on 6 *Näḥase* (BudSaint 1195f.) or 28 *Ḥamle* (ColSyn VII, 494–97), though the commemoration is omitted in the contemporary church standard edition. The text of the commemoration note (the same text for both days) follows the Gospels but adds an account on M.M.'s mission after the Resurrection and describes her role as a deaconess and teacher, in accordance with a tradition reflected in some apocrypha and texts of the early Church Fathers. Her presence at the Crucifixion confirmed by the Evangelists inspired the Gəᶜəz work entitled *The Story of the Passion Revealed to Three Women Sarah, Salome and Mary Magdalene* (ms. Paris, BN Éth. 591, fol. 20v). It was treated as a magic text certainly in connection to Mk 16:19 and Lk 8:2 who mention seven devils expelled from her by Jesus.

It seems that M.M. cult was particularly spread in Təgray province where a group of churches were dedicated to her, e.g., in Amba Dära, Aṣbidära, in Mänguda, ↗Gärᶜalta, both rock-cut, and in ↗ʾƎnda Maryam Mägdälawit near Aksum.

The earliest pictorial reference to M.M. in Ethiopia is the scene *Noli me tangere* on the wall-painting dated to the end of the 12th cent. in the ↗Yəmrəḥannä Krəstos church. The same scene appears a century later in the church of ↗Gännätä Maryam. As one of the myrrophores M.M. is depicted in the 14th and 15th cent. illuminated Gospel books, for instance in the ms. Paris, BN Éth. 32, fol. 8r. A variant of the scene shows her together with two Apostles (e.g., Gospels from Maryam Mägdälawit in Amba Dära, fol. 18r, ↗Kəbran ʾƎsṭifanos, fol. 19v, ↗Däq, Arsima, fol. 7v) which reflects the account of Jn 20:17–18, telling that it was M.M. who announced the news about the Resurrection to the Apostles (which gained her the epithet of *apostola apostolorum*).

From the end of the 15th cent., M.M. appears frequently in the ↗Crucifixions, the earliest examples being the miniatures originating from the ↗Gundä Gunde scriptorium (e.g. mss. C3–IV–6, fol. 17v–18r; C3–IV–7, fol. 96r; a fragment of a Gospel Book, Munich, Staatliches Museum für Völkerkunde, no. 86–307 644), but also in the large assemblies of the saints willingly painted by the ↗Stephanite artists (e.g. fragment of the ↗*Gädlä sämaᶜətat*, presently in the Museum of *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV in ↗Mäqälä). The Crucifixions based in the European models which from the beginning of the 16th cent., appear on the painting on wood, often show M.M. either standing behind St. ↗Mary or kneeling at the foot of the cross (IES nos. 3992, 4126, 4325). She is also included in the multi-figural scenes of the Passion (Crucifixion, Deposition from the Cross, Lamentation and *Noli me tangere*) illustrating the manuscripts with long Christological cycles produced in the style of the so-called First Gondär school of ↗painting, for instance ms. BritLib Orient. 641 (fols. 237r, 240r, 252r, 257r). Based on the European models they also

Apostle John(?), Mary Magdalene, Mary of Perfumes, Yoḥanna and Salome, detail of the Crucfixion, fol. 17r, Gospel Book, early 16th cent., church of Täklä Haymanot at Guya, Tämben; photo 2002, courtesy of Michael Gervers

included the scene with M.M. kneeling in front of Jesus, i.e. portraying her according to the tradition of the Western Church, in which she is conflated with Mary of Bethany (Lk 10:39–42, Jn 11:1–5, 17–32, 12:3) and with the sinful woman "who loved greatly and was forgiven much" (Lk 7:37–50). The latter figure is commemorated in the *Sənkəssar* on 6 *Yäkkatit* as a repentant harlot who washed Jesus feet with her tears and dried them with her hair. The ↗*Tä'ammərä Iyäsus* contains the longer version of this story and develops the topic on the heavenly origin of perfumed oils, which the woman used to anoint Jesus (cp. Grébaut 1918–19; mss. EMML 2710, fol. 126r; 3420, fol. 125r; CerLett 226f.). Ethiopian art, particularly prior to the 16th cent., distinguishes her clearly from M.M. labelling her figure with the inscription *Maryam əntä ᶜəfrät*, 'Mary of the perfume' (e.g., Gospels in the Church of Täklä Haymanot, Guya, Tämben, fol. 17r). From the late 19th cent., the scene is also included in the Christological cycle in the churches with ↗*mäqdäs* extensively decorated with the wall-paintings (e.g., ↗Č̣äläqot Śəllase).

M.M. is seldom portrayed outside the context of biblical narrative scenes. An example could be found in triptych IES 6618 where she is presented with her head bowed against her hand, again a reminiscence of the European iconography which pictured M.M. as the symbol of penitence.

Src.: BudSaint 597f., 1195f.; ColSyn VII, 494–97; EMML VII, 112, no. 2710, fol. 126r; VIII, 254, no. 3420, fol. 125r; StrGriaule 176, ms. Éthiopien 591 (Griaule 283), fol. 20v; WrBrMus 48f., no. 80 [ms. Orient. 641], fols. 237r, 240r, 252r, 257r.

Lit.: EWA BALICKA-WITAKOWSKA, "The Iconography of the Deposition in Ethiopian Painting", in: *PICEA* 1, 15–22, 139–44; EAD. – MICHAEL GERVERS, "The Church of Yəmrəḥannä Krəstos and its Wall Paintings: a Preliminary Report", *Africana Bulletin* 49, 2001, 9–48, here 31f., fig. 12A; CerLett 226f.; STANISŁAW CHOJNACKI, *Ethiopian Icons: Catalogue of the Collection of the Institute of Ethiopian Studies Addis Ababa University*, Milano 2000, 142, 156f., 173, 205, 369–65, 377ff., 400f., 428; SYLVAIN GRÉBAUT, "La legende d'un parfum de Marie Madelaine", *ROC* 21, 1918–19, 100–03; SUSAN HASKINS, *Mary Magdalen: Myth and Metaphor*, London 1993; CLAUDE LEPAGE, "Reconstruction d'un cycle protobyzantin à partir des miniatures de deux manuscrits éthiopiens du XIVe siècle", *Cahiers archéologiques* 35, 1987, 159–96, here 174–79, figs. 20, 21; RUTH PLANT, *Architecture of the Tigre, Ethiopia*, Worcester 1985, 66, 123; BENT JUEL-JENSEN – GEOFFREY ROWELL (eds.), *Rock-Hewn Churches of Eastern Tigray: Oxford Expedition to Ethiopia 1974*, Oxford 1975, 21, 66, 80 figs. 8–13, 92, 109; VICTOR SAXER, "Les Saintes Marie-Madeleine et Marie de Béthanie dans la tradition liturgique et homilétique orientale", *Revue des sciences religieuses* 32, 1, 1958, 1–37.

Ill.: GIRMA FISSEHA (ed.), *Äthiopien: Christentum zwischen Orient und Afrika*, München 2002, 74f.; JACQUES MERCIER (ed.), *L'Arche Éthiopienne: Art chrétien d'Ethiopie. 27 septembre 2000–7 janvier 2001, Paris, Pavillon des Arts*, Paris 2001, 90; JULES LEROY, *Ethiopian Painting in the Late Middle Ages and under the Gondar Dynasty*, London 1967, pl. 34; ID. – STEPHEN WRIGHT – OTTO JÄGER, *Éthiopie: Manuscrit à peinture*, Paris 1961, (UNESCO World Art series 15), pls. 20, 26.

Ewa Balicka-Witakowska

Marya

The M. (ማርያ) is a ↗Təgre-speaking ethnic group inhabiting north-western ↗Sänḥit in the ᶜAnsäba valley, Eritrea. In 1952 their number was estimated at 25,000 (TrIslam 167).

Several traditions on the origins of the M. have been recorded. M.'s descent is usually traced to a certain Zed, of the Banū Hāšim clan of Qurayš of ↗Mecca (to which belonged the Prophet Muḥammad), who crossed the Red Sea from Arabia and landed in the Buri peninsula. Zed begot Mayray or Maryay (the founder of M.), as well as Mänsäᶜay, Ḥazotay and Torᶜay. Thus, Zed is regarded as the common ancestor of M. and of other groups in Eritrea such as the Təgre-speaking ↗Mänsaᶜ and the Säho-speaking ↗Ḥazo and Torᶜa (Conti Rossini 1901:7, 31f.; PollEr 169). Another version ties the founder of the M. group to the other Qurayš clan of Banū ᶜUmayya, who reached the African shores of the Red Sea after the fall of the ᶜUmayyad caliphate in the mid-8th cent. A.D. (MuhTarih 281f.).

According to traditions, two of the four brothers, Mänsäᶜay and Mayray, migrated inland together, in search of grazing land, but at some

point parted company when Mayray settled on the Ǝrota plateau in east-central ↗Barka. The kinship groups who migrated to the area were able to subjugate local communities, including groups originating on the highland plateau, and incorporate them into a socially stratified group.

At some point the M. – whose "land" (*ḥagär*) was crossed by ↗Ewosṭatewos in ca. 1338 (Turaiev 1905:73, 77) – split into two sub-groups which came to live in well-defined areas on separate *rora* plateaus: the more numerous and wealthy "Black M." (*M. ṣällam*) in east-central Barka, the "Red M." (*M. qäyaḥ*) to the east. The splitting must have occured at an early date, since "the two M." are mentioned in an edict by *aṣe* ↗Zär'a Ya'əqob (ca. 1456; s. Conti Rossini 1923:453f.; cf. TrIslam 167). Both groups practice agro-pastoralism. The territories inhabited by the Black M. are lower in altitude, rather hot, with abundant water, enabling them to keep camels and many goats. The Red M. live in a region more elevated, colder and with little water, which enables them to have sheep and goats. Both groups balance pastoralism with small scale land cultivation. In the 1930s, it was estimated that there were 16,650 Black M. and 8,440 Red M. (PollEr 179). There is a slight dialectal difference between the Black and Red M. The former's Təgre is closer to that spoken by the Beni ʿAmər and the Ḥabab, while the Təgre spoken by the Red M. seems closer to Mänsa' dialect.

The social structure of the M. is characterized by a division between ↗*təgre* (serfs, vassals) and ↗*šəmagälle* ("aristocratic" class), thus resembling the social organization of Mänsa' and ↗Bilin. Each sub-group is independent, with its own hereditary chief, called ↗*šum*, and is further divided into kinship groups under hereditary heads. Those who trace direct descent to the founding ancestor constitute the *šəmagälle* class, who own the land and provide chiefs and headmen. The *təgre*, whose duty is to care for the animals and cultivate the land, are the descendants of aboriginal inhabitants who, at some point, came under the patronage of the M. In the past, the obligations of the *təgre* serfs towards the aristocratic class were strictly regulated, and included all sorts of offerings (butter, milk, animals), both periodically and on specific occasions (PollEr 182f.). Under the Italian colonial rule and later on, the rigid distinction between the classes was transformed and made more flexible, up to the abolition and reduction of some duties of offerings (ibid. 185). According to oral data collected in 2007, the Black and Red M. share the same institutions, coming under one *šum*, who is a Black M. and who now resides in Kärän.

Local M. traditions claim that the group had been Muslim from the beginning. Yet, evidence such as the ruins of churches scattered about M.-inhabited areas, suggests that the M. had been Christians who converted to Islam in the first half of the 19th cent. It seems that the ↗ʿAd Šek (with the ↗Ḥərgigo-based ↗Nā'ibs) were instrumental in converting the *təgre* class while the *Ḫatmīya* ↗Islamic brotherhood led the *šəmagälle* class to adopt Islam. This influenced and transformed social practices especially in the realm of family. Women were also granted more rights, deriving from their newly defined juridical status as Muslims (Guérinot 1917–18:55f.; PollEr 185f.).

In the early part of the Eritrean nationalist struggle, the M. were associated with the ↗Eritrean Liberation Front (E.L.F.), but their leaders, notably Muḥammad ʿUmar ʿAbdallāh (Abū Ṭayāra) and ʿUmar Damir, challenged Beni ʿAmər dominance, and eventually joined the E.L.F.-P.L.F. (People's Liberation Front) under the leadership of ↗ʿUṯmān Ṣāliḥ Sabī. Ethiopian reprisals and heavy fighting since the late 1960s led many M. to flee as refugees to Sudan.

In the period of the struggle for independence, the front line between E.P.L.F. (↗Eritrean People's Liberation Front) and Ethiopian-controlled areas passed between the Black and Red M. areas influencing the development of those communities in several arenas. The former came under the liberation movement, strongly mobilized in the Eritrean struggle, and found itself somewhat geographically isolated (cut from communications with Kärän, Aqordät or Asmära), while the latter lived under the Ethiopian administration, even if with very limited military presence. In the last decade of the struggle (1981-91), the Black M. benefited greatly from E.P.L.F. infrastructure in education (ca. ten schools opened in Black M. region), as well as various social and health services. The Eritrean struggle for independence thus temporarily separated the Black and Red M. both physically but also politically and socially. Since Eritrea's independence, many M. have returned to the country, some settling in different regions such as Gaš, Kärän or Asmära (KilHDic 301; Pool 2001:65f.; oral data).

Src.: oral data collected by the author in 2007; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Tradizioni storiche dei Mensa", *Giornale della Società asiatica italiana* 14, 1901, 41–99; LitPEA vol. 2, 336f., vol. 4, A, 485ff.; BORIS TURAIEV (ed.), *Monu-*

menta Aethiopiae hagiologica, vol 3: *Vita et Miracula Eustathii, ad fidem codd. Or. 704 et Or. 705 Musei Britannici edita*, Petropoli 1905, 73, 77; ID. (tr.), *Vitae sanctorum indigenarum*, I. *Acta s. Eustathii*, Parisiis 1906 [repr. Louvain 1961 (CSCO 32 [SAe 15]), 37, 40.

Lit.: ALESSANDRO DINUCCI, "Considerazioni sulla politica indigena del primo colonialismo italiano in Eritrea: il caso dei Maria", *Africana* 6, 2000, 85-93; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, *Principî di diritto consuetudinario dell'Eritrea*, Roma 1916, 704–19 ["I Maria"]; ID., "Aethiopica", *RSO* 9, 1923, 365-468; here 453f.; A. GUÉRINOT, "L'Islam et l'Abyssinie", *Revue du Monde Musulman* 34, 1917–18, 53–57; KilHDic 301; MuhTarih 271–76; MunSt 222–71; NadEr 37ff.; PöllEr 169–72, 177–86; DAVID POOL, *From Guerillas to Government: the Eritrean People's Liberation Front*, Oxford 2001; 18, 30, 51, 65f.; TrIslam 167f.

Jonathan Miran

Maryam Dəngəlat

The site of M.D. (ማርያም፡ ድንግላት), Ḥaramat, Təgray, includes four churches, two dedicated to St. Mary and two to St. George (for location s. Mädäbay). St. Mary gives her name to an abandoned rock-cut structure dating probably from the late 14th or early 15th-cent. and to the relatively modern, square, active church built directly below it. The dedication to St. George is borne by a late 15th-cent. built church and by a newly constructed round building.

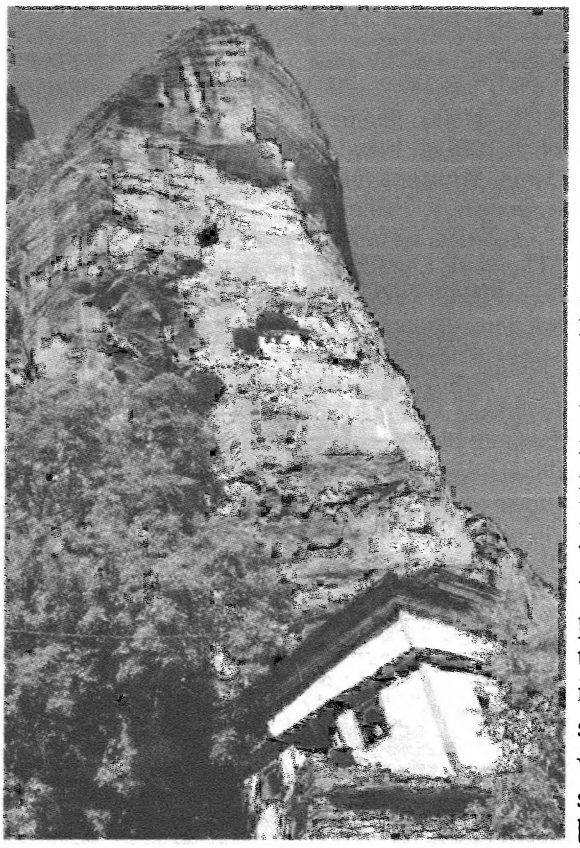
The rock-cut M.D. is excavated in the southern exposure of a 100 m-high sheer escarpment about 35 m above the ground. It is small (8.7 x 5.2 m, including the 1.8 x 2.4 m sanctuary), and oriented. Originally, it would appear to have been constructed as a basilica, but successive rockslides demolished first the south aisle (the outline of which is visible from the exterior), and then the means of access. Today, the church consists of a nave separated from a north aisle by a single, triple-armed pillar which "supports" lintels rather than arches. The ceilings are flat, relatively low and undecorated. Entry may once have been through the fissure on the west side by a combination of steps and passages. After the first rock-slide, the exposed south side was closed off by a crudely constructed rubble wall, through which entry is provided by a wood-framed portal at the west end. The round-headed projecting transversals at each corner of this frame bear a central incised boss and closely resemble those supporting the sanctuary doors of the monastery of ↗Gundä Gunde. This association points to a date in the second half of the 15th cent. for the construction of the surrounding wall. Light enters through a little quatre-lobed, cruciform window in the eastern wall of the sanctuary (also found at Gundä Gunde), and through three windows with wooden frames and shutters in the constructed south wall. A significant wooden scaffold was apparently once attached to the cliff face. When another rock-slide destroyed this scaffolding, the church was abandoned, according to oral tradition perhaps during the reign of *ras* ↗Wäldä Śəllase, or around the last quarter of the 19th cent.

M.D. may have been one of the churches mentioned in passing by ↗Alvares in the early 1520s (BeckHuntAlvar 167–71), after which time there is no evidence of foreign visitors until 1970–74. In December 2002 the author entered the church, by means of a rope, and was able to confirm that it contained no moveable objects of value. He found, however, that the interior walls had once been extensively covered with paintings on cloth displaying a rich iconographical programme in the style of the First Gondär school of ↗painting. Everything from the north and west walls had been previously removed, leaving only the raised front foot of a white horse, which once would have borne an equestrian saint, at the east end of the north wall, and the spotted head and paws of a leopard from a representation of ↗Gäbrä Mänfäs Qəddus on an engaged pillar in the west wall. Also removed were a painting of God in Majesty from the sanctuary and a large rectangular piece bearing, in two registers, the images of ten saints (seven of whom can be identified as ↗Mädḫaninä Ǝgziᵓ of Däbrä Bänkʷäl, ↗Samuᵓel of Waldəbba, ↗Yoḥannəs of Gʷənanqe [?], ↗Tadewos of Tämben [i.e. of Täᵓamina], Sinoda of Däbrä Səmmuna, ↗Samuᵓel of Däbrä Halleluya, ↗Yafqərännä Ǝgziᵓ [?] and ↗Anbäs [?]); both of these paintings had been seen in "the priest's house" in the early 1970s (Juel-Jensen – Rowell 85, pl. 87–91). By 2004, they had either disappeared, or been entirely obliterated. Still distinguishable on two other cloths produced from the *ᶜəqa bet*, however, were the figure of Gäbrä Mänfäs Qəddus from the west wall of the church, and two of the 24 Heavenly Priests, probably from the east wall of the sanctuary.

What remains on the south and east walls, in the sanctuary and on the sole surviving pillar, is preserved in an entirely pristine state, including, on the south wall, the Annunciation; Mary and Child between the archangels Michael and Gabriel; St. George the dragon killer with Pasiqrates and Birutawit; saints Julitta and Qirqos; on the north wall of the sanctuary, Joachim and Anna carrying the child Mary to the Temple; around the sanctuary,

17 of the 24 Priests; on the exterior walls of the sanctuary, St. Victor on horseback and St. Raphael; on the eastern engaged pillar, ↗ᶜAbiyä Ǝgziᵓ; on the free-standing pillar, ↗Ǝsṭifanos, ↗Abäkäräzun, *abba* ↗Sälama Käśate Bərhan, ↗Libanos, Mercury and ↗Minas on horseback, ↗Täklä Haymanot and ↗Ewosṭatewos.

Local tradition attributes the foundation of the church to the 4th-cent. *abba* ↗Sälama (Frumentius), but a monolithic altar in the centre of the sanctuary and the absence of *pastophoria*, or service rooms, point to fashions current in Ethiopian architecture during the 14th–15th cent. Reference is made, in a ↗*Sənkəssar* copy kept at the church, to a donation of land by ↗Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob which may have been a foundation gift.



The two St. Mary churches of Dəngəlat, the upper (old) rock cut and the lower built; photo 2002, courtesy of the author

Work on M.D. probably began sometime in the late 14th or first half of the 15th cent. The initial rock-slide which carried away the south side may have occurred while work was in progress, or shortly after it was completed, whereupon the south, rubble wall, penetrated by a portal whose framework matches that of Gundä Gunde, was soon built to render the structure useable.

An engraving with eight apostles and the monograms *IHS* and *MAR*, dated "Roma 1589", is stuck to the west side of the pillar below the figure of Ewosṭatewos; and another by Alittenio Gatti, "Roma 1590" to the east side of the window frame in the south wall. Both are examples of Jesuit art and probably reached Ethiopia in the early 17th cent.

The church of St. George stands at the foot of the cliff into which M.D. is excavated, immediately south of the modern round building. It is a roughly constructed square, divided into a vestibule (5.5 x 2.6 m) and sanctuary (5.7 x 2.5 m) in the style of what is now the sanctuary at Gundä Gunde. The unstuccoed walls are made of a double thickness of irregularly "squared" flat split stones inter-layered in debased "Axumite" style with two to three levels of horizontal wooden courses and round ended transversals. 30–60 cm below the flat roof, a string course of slate deflects rain water from the walls below. The west entrance is a double portal, also reminiscent of Gundä Gunde, with round-headed projecting wooden transversals at top left, centre and right only. Similar transversals are used in the north doorway, but not in its southern counterpart. Light enters the church through windows on either side of the western portal, and the sanctuary through a central window in the east wall. North and south windows in the east wall and another in the sanctuary's south wall have been blocked. All windows, doors and frames are wooden. A wall serving to enclose a narrow "atrium" was added to the western end at a later date.

The interior was built as a single open space divided east/west into nave and bays by two sets of uprights supporting the wooden cross-beamed ceiling. Probably during the Gondärine period a thin stuccoed wall was built across the entire width of the church in order to enclose the sanctuary, which is now accessed through a single, central doorway. The result is two poorly proportioned units, narrow on the east/west axis and wide on the north/south axis. The altar consists of an earth-stuccoed base with a small, square storage opening on the east side, topped by an open wooden frame. Undoubtedly a construction of the second half of the 15th cent., the church was possibly built hurriedly when the rock slide demolished the south side of M.D.

The *ᶜəqa bet* beside the active church contains a number of ecclesiastical objects, apparently brought down from the upper church at some undetermined time. These include a silver "Lalibäla"-type cross bearing the engraved figure of Christ, a 16th-cent. triptych in Limoges enamel (23 x 34 cm) with Gəᶜəz inscriptions, a mid-19th-cent. elaborately decorated Greek *epitaphion* (75 x 120 cm), and, among other mss., a handsomely tooled red leather-covered Synaxary in

two volumes studded with up to twelve silver rosettes on both front and back.

Src.: BeckHuntAlvar 167–71.

Lit.: EWA BALICKA-WITAKOWSKA, "Is Näwa Bäg'u an Ethiopian Cross", in: *PICES* 8, vol. 1, 105–24, here 107, fig. XVI; EMMANUEL FRITSCH (C.S.Sp.) – MICHAEL GERVERS, "*Pastophoria* and Altars: Interaction in Ethiopian Liturgy and Church Architecture", *Aethiopica* 10, 2007, 7–51, here 36; MICHAEL GERVERS, "The Rock-Cut Church of Maryam Dəngəlat (Haramat, Təgray)", in: *PICES* 15, 435–45; ID., "Two Late Sixteenth-Century Roman Engravings from the Rock-cut Church of Maryam Dengelat (Haramat, Tigray)", in: *PICEA* 7, 159–70; GIGAR TESFAYE, "Reconnaissance de Trois Eglises Antérieures à 1314", *JES* 12, 1974, 57–66 (esp. 62–66, 74 pl. VIIb); JEAN GIRE – ROGER SCHNEIDER, "Étude des églises rupestres du Tigré: premiers résultats de la mission 1970", *Documents pour servir à l'histoire des civilisations éthiopiennes* 1, 1970, 73–79, here 79; BENT JUEL-JENSEN – GEOFFREY ROWELL (eds.), *Rock-Hewn Churches of Eastern Tigray: an Account of the Oxford University Expedition to Ethiopia, 1974*, Oxford 1975, 24f., 85f., plans 12f., figs. 38–41, 66, 87–91; RUTH PLANT, "Greek Altar Cloth and Other Objects at Maryam Dengeleat (Edage Hamus Woreda, Agame Awraga, Tigre Province, Ethiopia)", *Abba Salama* 10, 1979, 157–62; ROGER SAUTER, "Eglises rupestres au Tigré", *AE* 10, 1976, 157–75, here 162 no. 1013.

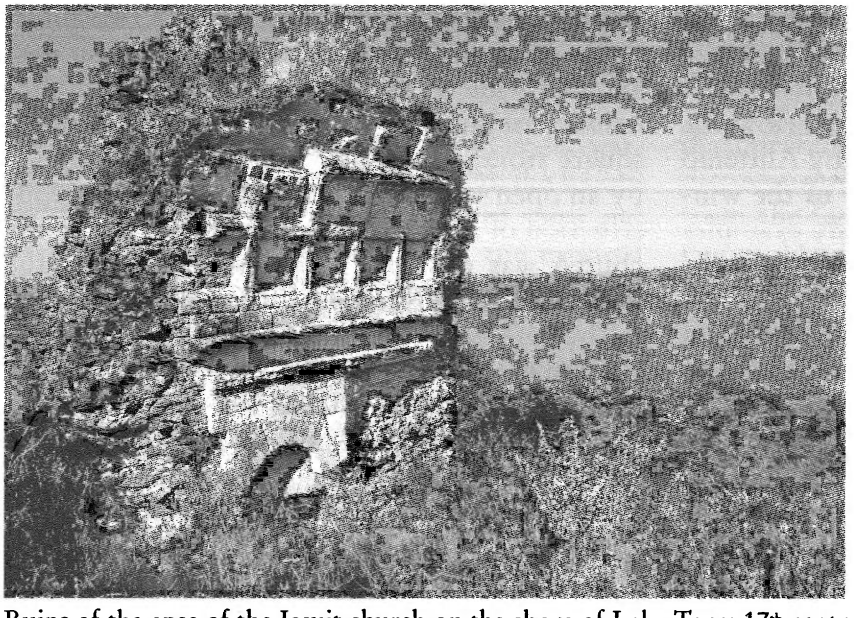
Michael Gervers

Maryam Gəmb

M.G. (**ማርያም፡ ግምብ**, 'Mary's castle') was a Jesuit church. It was built at the residence of "New ↗Gorgora" on the north shore of Lake ↗Ṭana (for location s. Mändabba) by Brother João Martins (also Martínez). Dedicated to the Virgin Mary and consecrated on 25 November 1627, it was apparently modelled on the sanctuary that Pedro ↗Paez had built in 1618–21 at nearby "Old Gorgora". Paez's church included a bell tower and a roof with a parapet, features Martins may have incorporated into his church but for which little evidence exists today.

The church was constructed of brown basalt and lime mortar covered inside and out with small blocks of white stone, which may have come from a nearby quarry used earlier by Paez (BecRASO XI, 414). It was of Portuguese design modified by Indian influence, and consisted of a single-storey nave without aisles or bays but with a rectangular apse at its south-eastern end, both covered by coffered vaulting. Upper nave walls featured large blind windows framed by heavy scroll molding separated from each other by plain pilasters; lower walls contained a series of niches, one or more of them doorways, crowned by inverted scallop-shell lintels. The altar and its frontal arch were decorated with rosette and foliate plaques; the coffers of the vaults contained stylized crosses and sunbursts. A narrow staircase in the south-west nave wall led to the roof, which afforded magnificent views of Lake Ṭana and its shores.

Attached to the church on the southwest was a walled courtyard. Several external rooms extended from its southwest wall between corner bastions. Unlike the church, courtyard walls were left in the rough, although doors and windows were decorated with white stone arches. The courtyard may have served as a seminary for training young Ethiopians; the church, however, was certainly intended to impress Ethiopians and to encourage conversions from Orthodoxy to ↗Catholicism.



Ruins of the apse of the Jesuit church on the shore of Lake Ṭana; 17th cent.; photo 2006, courtesy of Michael Gervers

After expulsion of the Jesuits in the early 1630s, the courtyard was used for Orthodox worship until the era of *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II. The Orthodox church, also dedicated to the Virgin, further ensured that the site would henceforth be known as M.G. Today, the Jesuit church is a near total ruin. The most recent collapse occurred in 1995, leaving only the walls of the courtyard intact.

Src.: BecRASO II, 194, 496f.; VI 233f., 345f., 494; VII, 7ff.; VIII, 189ff.; XI, 406f., 414–17; XII, 258, 268ff.; *Guida* 367; PerChron 289 (text) = 223 (tr.); interview with *mämhər* WÄLDÄ TƎNSA'E GÄBRÄ ƎGZI'ABƎḪER (c. 75 years), Gorgora, 1973.

Lit.: FRANCIS ANFRAY, "Les monuments gondariens des XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles:

une vue d'ensemble", in: *PICES* 8, vol. 1, 9–43, here 15f.; SANDRO ANGELINI, *Ethiopia: the Historic Route. A Work-Plan for the Development of the Sites and Monuments*, Paris 1971, Annexes 4 and 7 (with map and plan); GUY ANNEQUIN, "Le lac Tana et ses îles: Trésors méconnus d'une thébaïde à l'abandon", *Les dossiers de l'Archéologie* 8, 1975, 81–115, here 83, 87; LAVERLE BERRY, "Ethiopian and Jesuit Monumental Stone Architecture in the Lake Tana Basin: a Preliminary Assessment", in: *PICEA* 5, 16–30; ChTana 206–10; GIOTTO DAINELLI, *La regione del lago Tana*, Milano 1939, 100–04; JOHN JEREMY HESPELER-BOULTBEE, *A Story in Stones, Portugal's Influence on Culture and Architecture in the Highlands of Ethiopia 1493-1634*, British Columbia 2006; JULES LEROY, *L'Éthiopie: Archéologie et culture*, Bruges 1973, 234ff.; ALESSANDRO AUGUSTO MONTI DELLA CORTE, "La Chiesa Portoghese di Gorgorà sul Tana", *Gli Annali dell'Africa Italiana*, anno I, 2, 1938, 631–39; HERVÈ PENNEC, *Des Jésuites au Royaume du Prêtre Jean (Éthiopie): Stratégies, rencontres, et tentatives d'implantation, 1495–1633*, Paris 2003, 172 (table), 204–12 (with maps).

LaVerle Berry

Maryam Nazre(t) ↗Nazret

Maryam səbbəḥt

M.s. (**ማርያም፡ ስብሕት**, 'Glorious [is] Mary') is a ↗hymn in Gəᶜəz praizing St. ↗Mary. It is attested in several manuscripts (e.g., ms. EMML 2810, fol. 40a and 58a; 2901, fol. 63b; Vat. aeth. 18), but there is no critical edition so far. It is assumed that the M.s. (like such other Marian hymns as ↗*Bəṣəᶜət anti*) belongs to the ↗*Səbḥatä fəqur*, which is part of the *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*Säᶜatat*.

The style of the M.s is similar to the other hymns to Mary. It is composed of rhyming stanzas (s. GrohHymn 28), which implies a special reciting mode. The priest chants the hymn, and the choir answers by **ሰላም፡ ለኪ** (*sälam läki*, 'Greeting to you [Mary]'; s. GrohHymn 32, 40), an exclamation often inserted in readings of Marian texts and symbolizing Mary's presence during the celebration.

The author of the M.s. is unknown, but eventually there could be a connection to the ↗ᶜƎnzira səbḥat, whose authorship is ascribed to *abba* ↗Giyorgis of Sägla / Gasəčča (s. Getatchew Haile 1982:68 and 1983:55). The hymn could thus be dated into the 15th cent.

↗*Mälkəʾ*; ↗*Mälkəʾa Maryam*

Src.: ChRep; EMML; GrohHymn 28, 32, 40; ARNOLD VAN LANTSCHOOT, "Inventaire sommaire des mss vaticans éthiopiens 251–99", in: *Collectanea vaticana in honorem Anselmi M. Card. Albareda a Bibliotheca apostolica edita*, Città del Vaticano 1962 (Studi e Testi 219), 454–512; *liqä mäzämmərän* MOGÄS ᶜƎQUBÄ GIYORGIS (ed.), **መጽሐፈ፡ ሰዓታት** (*Mäṣḥafä säᶜatat*, 'Book of the Hours'), Asmära 1969; ID., **መድበል፡ ዘማኅሌት** (*Mädbäl zämaḫlet*, 'The Collection of Canticles'), Asmära 1980 A.M. [1977 A.D.].

Lit.: GETATCHEW HAILE, *The Different Collections of Nägs Hymns in Ethiopic Literature and their Contributions*, Erlangen 1983 (Oikonomia 19), 55; ID., "On the Writings of Abba Giyorgis Säglawi from Two Unedited Miracles of Mary", *OrChrP* 48, 1982, 65–91; RicLett; VelMe I, n. 159f.

Verena Böll

Maryam Śəna

Ǝtege M.Ś. (**ማርያም፡ ሥና**, lit. 'St. Mary is her adornment'; d. 16/17 April 1607) was the wife of *aṣe* ↗Śärṣä Dəngəl (CRHist 126) and was probably crowned as queen with the regnal name Mäläk Mogäsa (derived from her husband's throne name Mäläk Sägäd). She came from an important family from Šire (Paez in BecRASO II, 164).

M.Ś. did not bear sons to Śärṣä Dəngəl, and his successor *aṣe* ↗Yaᶜəqob was his son by Ḥarägo (BegChron 41; Perruchon 1896:361), his mistress of allegedly ↗Betä Ǝsraʾel descent (Almeida in BecRASO VI, 41, 395). The royal couple did, however, have daughters: *wäyzäro* Amätä Maryam (or Amätä Mikaʾel, the mother of a Čəhra prince), *wäyzäro* Krəstosawit (the mother of the "Wägdo princes"), *wäyzäro* Wälättä Giyorgis, and *wäyzäro* Ḥamälmal (BegCron 40; FotiCr 109). Through the marriages of M.Ś.'s daughters, numerous alliances were made with powerful people in the kingdom. Wälättä Giyorgis, e.g., married *ras* ↗Atnatewos (Almeida in BecRASO VI, 395) or *ras* Zäśəllase (BegCron 40). However, another version of the "short chronicle" claims that it was Ḥamälmal who married Zäśəllase (Foti 1941:109). ↗Kəflä Waḥid, too, was M.Ś.'s son-in-law (Paez in BecRASO III, 209).

After Śärṣä Dəngəl's death, M.Ś. continued to rule in co-regency with *ras* Atnatewos. According to the missionaries' reports, the co-regency lasted seven years (BecRASO II, 133, 176, 415; III, 209; VI, 43, 395, and a hint in the "short chronicles", s. FotiCr 109; Perruchon 1896:361). The power had to be also shared with Kəflä Waḥid and Zäśəllase.

While Śärṣä Dəngəl was alive, M.Ś. had a residence of her own in Wäqen, Wägära (CRHist 126). Upon his death, she moved the royal residence from ↗Gubaʾe to Qoga, and stayed there until her death (Paez in BecRASO III, 209, 266). M.Ś. was buried, by order of *aṣe* ↗Susənyos, in the church of ↗Maḫdärä Maryam of Gərarya, Bägemdər (BegCron 40; CrumLand 58f.) that she had commissioned (PerChron 77). One ver-

sion of the "short chronicles" mentions that her daughters were later buried at the same place (FotiCr 109).

Src.: BecRASO II, 133, 164, 176, 415; III, 209, 266; VI, 41, 43, 395; BegCron 40f.; CRHist 126 (tr.); FotiCr 109; PerChron vol. 2, 77 (tr.); JULES PERRUCHON, "Notes pour l'histoire d'Ethiopie. Le règne de Sarṣa Dengel ou Malak Sagad (1563–1597)", *RevSem* 4, 1896, 177–85, 273–78.

Lit.: CrumLand 58f.; MERID WOLDE AREGAY, *Southern Ethiopia and the Christian Kingdom, 1508–1708*, Ph.D. thesis, University of London 1971.

Dimitri Toubkis

Maryam Ṣəyon ↗Aksum Ṣəyon

Mäšäša Säyfu

M.S. (መሸሻ ሰይፉ; b. ca. 1847, d. 16 December 1887, Finfinnee) was son of ↗Säyfu Śahlä Śəllase and thus a cousin of ↗Mənilək II who was the son of Säyfu's younger brother ↗Ḫaylä Mälakot of Šäwa. M.S. was considered by many to have a better claim to the throne than Mənilək, mainly because Säyfu had continued fighting the appointees of *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II, while Mənilək was in prison and therefore hindered from doing so, and probably because his mother was of nobler blood. His descent made M.S. instrumental in several conspiracies.

In the early 1870s, M.S. was the governor of ↗Märḥabete with the title of *däğğazmač*, leading frequent fights on behalf or on the side of his cousin. Thus, in 1875 he led an expedition against the Muslims of ↗Dära, and in early 1877, together with ↗Gobäna Dači, he led a military expedition against *ras* Adal (↗Täklä Haymanot) of Goğğam. Later the same year Mənilək's consort ↗Bafäna, who wanted to see one of her sons on the Šäwan and imperial throne, decided to use M.S., whom she had married to one of her daughters, in her dynastic plans. She had him forcibly divorced, robbing him of his lands and made Mənilək imprison him at Aṭronsä Maryam and then Fəqre Gəmb based on her accusation of treason.

Whilst Mənilək was fighting the army of *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV, his uncle ↗Ḫaylä Mika'el Śahlä Śəllase set himself up as the ruler of Šäwa, and Bafäna made her husband send her as his representative to his army at ↗Ləčče. Using Mənilək's seal, she took over control over his troops, had all the royal valuables and arms brought to the *amba* of Tammo and had M.S. brought to her. She promised him his lands and her daughter back for his help but as soon as they safely reached Tammo she put him back in chains. The soldiers, who were in favour of M.S., set him free and arrested Bafäna instead.

When Mənilək returned to Šäwa in June he attempted an attack on Tammo. Six months later, with the mediation of M.S.'s friend and teacher ↗Massaja, an agreement was reached. In December 1877 M.S. left the fortress; his soldiers were amnestied and his lands and title of *däğğazmač* returned to him.

Bafäna's lands were confiscated and, for a short time, she was banished from the court. However, she was back at court taking care of her daughter ↗Zäwditu by the time Yoḥannəs entered Šäwa in January 1878.

When the ↗Gullallee revolt broke out in 1878, it was M.S. who led Mənilək's army to suppress it. Two years later, however, Mənilək, afraid of his cousin's popularity, re-imprisoned M.S., who was first taken to ↗Tädbabä Maryam in Sayənt and then to the royal prison at ↗Ənnäwari. After Mənilək started war against *nəguś* Täklä Haymanot in 1882, Yoḥannəs liberated M.S.

In 1886 Yoḥannəs forced a reconciliation between Mənilək and M.S. who once again was reinstalled as the governor of Märḥabete. He also had the area of Ənṭoṭṭo in his charge, i.e. of the future Addis Abäba. He died of smallpox the following year and was buried at ↗Ənṭoṭṭo Maryam.

Src.: JULES BORELLI, *Éthiopie méridionale; journal de mon voyage aux pays Amhara, Oromo et Sidama, septembre 1885 à novembre 1888*, Paris 1890, 109, 296; BTafA 343, 650–69, 677, 699, 723, 743, 747, 785, 946; CecZeila vol. 1, 269–73, 439, 496; SEVIR ČERNETSOV, "Kniga povestvovanija o vejzaro Bafane Valda Mikael, pervoj žene Menelika II" ('The Book of the Narration about *wäyzäro* Bafäna, the First Wife of Mənilək II'), *Hristianskij Vostok* 1 [7], 1999, 236–86, esp. 268f. nn. 359f.; GueCopMen 96 n. 5, 123 n. 4, 126 and n. 1, 133 and n. 7, 135–39, 142 n. 13, 150 and n. 5, 163ff., 184ff., 326ff., 476; MasMis vol. 10, 11 (= MasMis² vol. 5, esp. 362–67, vol. 6, 84, 135ff.).

Lit.: HAROLD G. MARCUS, *The Life and Times of Menelik II*, Oxford 1975 (repr. 1995), 17, 48f., 51ff., 70, 84; HENRI DE MONFREID, *Ménélik tel qu'il fut*, Paris 1954, 143; CHRIS PROUTY, *Empress Taytu and Menilek II, Ethiopia 1883–1910*, London – Trenton, NJ 1986, 19ff.

Kirsten Stoffregen Pedersen – Red.

Mäšäša Tädla

Däğğazmač M.T. (መሸሻ ተድላ) was the uncle of *wag šum* Gobäze (later *aṣe* ↗Täklä Giyorgis II, r. 1868–72). He was his nephew's representative in his dealings with the British expeditionary force (↗Napier expedition) that came to Ethiopia in 1868 to gain the release of the British captives imprisoned by *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II. M.T. was del-

egated to assist the British in ↗Lasta and ↗Wag on their way to ↗Mäqdäla. At the conclusion of the battle of Mäqdäla, the British invited M.T. to take control of the fortress, but he refused because it would have required too large an army from the emerging emperor. Sources are not clear concerning M.T.'s later fate.

Src.: TREVENEN JAMES HOLLAND – HENRY MONTAGUE HOZIER, *Record of the Expedition to Abyssinia*, London 1870, vol. 2, 76; CLEMENTS MARKHAM, *A History of the Abyssinian Expedition*, London 1869, 366.

Lit.: RubInd 268, 274; WUDU TAFETE KASSU, *A Political History of Wag and Lasta, C. 1543–1919*, M.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1995, 130f.

Wudu Tafete Kassu

Mäšäša Tewodros

Ras M.T. (መሸሻ፡ ቴዎድሮስ; b. ca. 1845, d. 1910) was a son of *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II. He grew up at ↗Mäqdäla, together with the future *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II who had been confined at Tewodros's fortress since 1855. As a youth, he was appointed governor of ↗Dämbəya with the title of *däğğazmač*. He was nominally in charge from 1861 till the fall of his father in 1868.

After the British invasion M.T. had to flee, finding refuge in Amara Sayənt. He lived there in disgrace until *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV gave him back the governorship of ↗Qʷara. In 1889 newly crowned Mənilək II re-appointed M.T. governor of Dämbəya and granted him the title of ↗*ras* – a sign of gratitude for the latter's childhood friendship and possible help during Mənilək's escape from Mäqdäla back in 1865. The position, however, was once again nominal, as, reportedly, M.T. was little more than a prisoner of the court in 1897.

In 1910 M.T. brought his young son Kasa (b. ca. 1898) to the court of *ras* ↗Wäldä Giyorgis Abboye in Bägemdər. Upon M.T.'s death his son succeeded him as the governor of ↗Ənfraz. In 1913 Wäldä Giyorgis promoted Kasa to the rank of ↗*fitawrari* and let him accompany him on his campaign in Təgray in 1914.

Src.: *äläqa* AYYÄHU GÄBRÄ MARYAM, ልጅ፡ ካሳ፡ መሸሻ፡ ቴዎድሮስ፡ የሕይወት፡ ታሪክ (*Ləğ Kasa Mäšäša Tewodros yäḥəywät tarik*, 'The Biography of *Ləğ* Kasa Mäšäša Tewodros'), ms. 23 *Ṭərr* 1942 [31 January 1950]; FusTeod 48 (text) = 117 (tr.); LUIGI FUSELLA, "Le lettere del dabtarā Assaggākhāñ" [II], *RSE* 13, 1954, 20–30, here 24; ALBERT EDWARD WILFRED GLEICHEN, *With the Mission to Menelik*, London 1898, 129; GueCopMen 206 n. 6, 262; MonVidTeo 32 (text) = 40 (tr.) [= H. WELD BLUNDELL (tr.), "History of King Theodore", *African Affairs* 6, 21, 1906, 12–42, here 15]; GERHARD ROHLFS, *Meine Mission nach Abessinien* ..., Leipzig 1883, 259; ZanLitTheod 45.

Lit.: BTafA 946; RICHARD CAULK, "Armies as Predators: Soldiers and Peasants in Ethiopia c. 1850–1935", *IJAHS* 11, 3, 1978, 457–93, here 476, 483, 486.

Evgenia Sokolinskaia

Mäšäša Wärqe

M.W. (መሸሻ፡ ወርቁ; b. ca. 1849, d. ca. 1917) was an important political figure. Born to *afä nəguś* Wärqe, he began his career at the court of *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II at ↗Mäqdäla. There he met British prisoners from whom he learnt their language as well as notions of writing. M.W. was among those who helped future *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II to escape from captivity at Mäqdäla, on which occasion Mənilək allegedly swore that he would make him *ras*, if he himself ascends the throne. M.W. also managed to flee from Mäqdäla and join Mənilək in Šäwa, together with *bäğərond* Kənfu, his colleague at the court of Tewodros. Kənfu's wife tried to follow him with their eleven-months old son, but being found on their way, they were imprisoned and executed. M.W. first found refuge with the governor of ↗Wärrä Himäno, Muḥammad Hamza, in whose house Tewodros's soldiers found him and killed the governor. M.W. managed to escape with his soldiers, but many of these perished when they had to descend a steep slope (MonVidTheo 66).

Later M.W. served at *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV's court. Described by Paul Mérab as a great favourite of the Emperor, he was in charge of ceremonies and received important personalities on visit at the court. One of them was ↗Massaja, who describes M.W. as a "mysterious plotter", a strong supporter of the ↗*Karra* doctrine and one who tried to boycott his meeting with the Emperor (MasMis² vol. 6, 29ff.). He also participated in the battle of ↗Mätämma in 1889, where Yoḥannəs lost his life.

In early March 1890, Mənilək II nominated M.W. governor of the regions of ᶜAdwa and Aksum up to the Eritrean border. On 16 May 1890, *ras* ↗Mängäša Yoḥannəs, M.W., Counts Augusto Antonelli and Augusto ↗Salimbeni met in ᶜAdwa. Mängäša accepted the installation of M.W. in ᶜAdwa, and both parties agreed to execute article XIII of the ↗Italo-Ethiopian Treaty of Friendship and Commerce (Wəċale), which laid down the reciprocal surrender of rebels who might cross the border.

M.W. and *ras* Mängäša remained faithful to the Emperor. However, *ras* ↗Alula Əngəda met Mercatelli in the spring of 1891 and told him that

Mäšäša Wärqe during his 1907 diplomatic mission to Germany; photo from von der Ropp 1961, frontispiece

Mənilək had placed M.W. as an instigator between him and the Italians. Due to the break of relations between Italy and Mənilək and of Däbbäb Arᵓaya's mutiny against Mängäša, the latter could not visit Mənilək in Šäwa. In late April, M.W., in his turn, left Mäqdäla for Šäwa with Mängäša's permission. At the battle of ↗ᶜAdwa, in 1896, M.W. fought on the side of Mənilək.

In spite of M.W.'s faithfulness, he was not made a *ras* and instead saw several younger people and rivals being honoured with higher titles, while he himself remained a *däğğazmač*. As a consequence, he joined a conspiracy lead by *fitawrari* Gʷəlləlat and *aläqa* Admasu against Mənilək, planning either to throw him down a precipice or else to stab him in the warm baths of ↗Finfinnee. The plan was, however, discovered and the responsibles were condemned to death, However, after demands by *ras* ↗Darge Śahlä Śəllase and others, Mənilək graciated them. M.W. was confided to *ras* ↗Wäldä Giyorgis and after some time became again a devoted and influent general of him. Henceforth, he was entrusted several times with the leadership of delegations to foreign states.

In 1905, together with *ato* ↗Ḫaylä Maryam Śärabyon, he was part of a delegation to ↗Jerusalem to prove Ethiopian ownership of the monastery ↗Dayr as-Sulṭān. The two separated at Port Said, M.W. going to Jerusalem and Ḫaylä Maryam, who spoke French, continuing on his way to Constantinople under whose authority Jerusalem had been since 1516. Ethiopian efforts went on until 1908 but the project was thwarted by Mənilək's death. M.W. was also sent as leader of the first Ethiopian delegation to ↗Germany in 1907 and ↗Austria.

Src.: BTafA 727, 741, 789, 925, 956; GueCopMen 158 n. 7, 183, 284 n. 2, 288 n. 7, 322, 326 n. 7, 327 n. 2, 4, 328 n. 2 and fig., 350, 367 n. 7, 10, 526 n. 2; MasMis² vol. 6, 29ff.; PAUL MÉRAB, *Impressions d'Ethiopie (l'Abyssinie sous Ménélik II)*, 2 vols., Paris 1921–29; MonVidTheo 53f. (text) = 65f. (tr.).

Lit.: ErlAlula²; HAROLD G. MARCUS, *The Life and Times of Menelik II: Ethiopia 1844–1913*, Oxford 1975, 121, 123, 144f.; PIERRE PETRIDES, *La Présence Ethiopienne à Jérusalem, son statut juridique et ses droits sur le monastère de Dar-es-Sultan*, Addis Ababa 1961; KIRSTEN STOFFREGEN PEDERSEN, *The History of the Ethiopian Community in the Holy Land from the Time of Emperor Tewodros II till 1974*, Jerusalem 1983; FRIEDRICH VON DER ROPP, *Zwischen Gestern und Morgen*, Stuttgart 1961, frontispiece (ill.).

Kirsten Stoffregen Pedersen

Mäsfən ↗Aristocracy

Mäsfən

Ras M. (መስፍን) was a powerful late 19th/early 20th-cent. lord of ↗Damot.

M. was a son-in-law of *nəguś* ↗Täklä Haymanot of Goğğam. He married *wäyzäro* Nəgəśt, Täklä Haymanot's daughter by his legal wife *wäyzäro* Laqäčč, ca. 1900, and had three children by her (he divorced her later; s. Girma Getahun 1991:505; Prouty 1986:235). Laqäčč hoped that with *ras* M. on her side she could compete in the military struggle for political succession to her husband. She even wrote to *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II claiming the *nəguś* had wished her to rule with his children after his death (Bairu Tafla 1973:44). Her claims, however, were not taken seriously.

Two of Täklä Haymanot's rebellious sons, ↗Bäzzabbəh and Bäläw, were in Addis Abäba when the news of their father's death arrived. Mənilək postponed the problem of succession in Goğğam, meanwhile lopping off portions in the south and north-west to reward appointees who could keep an eye on the province. He then named the third son of Täklä Haymanot, Śəyyum (later ↗Ḫaylu Täklä Haymanot), to central Goğğam. Śəyyum was summoned to Addis

Abäba on the anniversary of Täklä Haymanot's death in January 1902 and was required to bring with him some cohorts of his father in chains – M. was among these.

Śəyyum told the Emperor that he had letters written by M. and others proving that they contemplated treason. Mənilək, however, found the letters to have been forged by Śəyyum himself and consigned him to *däğğazmač* ↗Täsämma in Illubabor whilst appointing his half-brother, Bäzzabbəh, to govern central Goğğam with the title of *ras* (Prouty 1986:223). *Ras* M. seems to have quarrelled again with *däğğazmač* Śəyyum after the latter had been reinstated by Mənilək in his power.

Src.: GIRMA GETAHUN (ed., tr.), *The Goğğam Chronicle by* aläqa *Täklä Iyäsus Waqğera*, Ph.D. thesis, SOAS University of London 1991, 505.

Lit.: CHRIS PROUTY, *Empress Taytu and Menilek II, Ethiopia 1883–1910*, London – Trenton, NJ 1986, 235; BAIRU TAFLA, "Two of the Last Provincial Kings of Ethiopia", *JES* 11, 1, 1973, 29–55.

Tsega Endalew

Mäsfən Səläši

M.S. (**መስፍን፡ ስለሺ**; b. ca. 1902, Addisge, d. 1974, Addis Abäba) was a Šäwan nobleman from the Addisge family, related to the ruling house of Šäwa. He rose to prominence during the ↗Italian war of 1935–36 and the subsequent occupation.

After receiving church education, M.S. started his career as a soldier, joining the first modern ↗imperial bodyguard battalion in 1934. Soon he became second in-command with the rank of ↗*šaläqa*. In that capacity he fought at the battle of ↗May Čäw (31 March 1936). After defeat, M.S. returned to Addis Abäba, guarding *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I.

Soon he left for Ğərru in northern Šäwa, where he formed a rebel formation. Joining forces with his cousin, *däğğazmač* ↗Abärra Kaśa, M.S. participated in the July 1936 failed attempt to liberate Addis Abäba. With other Šäwan patriots, M.S. tried, unsuccessfully, to create a co-ordinating body of the ↗resistance struggle. As a patriot leader, M.S. operated in Sälale, Märḥabete, Tägulät, Wälläga and Goğğam. In March 1938 he participated at the heavily-fought battle of Fageta in which Goğğam patriots scored a remarkable victory. The first chapter of his career of liberation fighter ended in June 1938 when he crossed the border to the Sudan, together with Abärra Kaśa's widow ↗Käbbädäčč Śəyyum and several other patriots.

In exile, M.S. actively promoted the Ethiopian struggle for liberation. He established connection with Ḫaylä Śəllase in Great Britain, shuttled between Cairo and Khartoum and helped strengthen the patriot-exile alliance by entering Goğğam with a radio and arms as imperial messenger along with such foreign anti-fascist agents as Paul Langrois. Here and elsewhere he encouraged the patriots promising the entry of Ḫaylä Śəllase and the Liberation of Ethiopia soon.

In 1940, when General Platt asked patriot leaders in the north-west to ally with Britain against Italy, and invited the patriots to find means of taking arms from the Sudan frontier to the interior, M.S. escorted a mule caravan of *däğğazmač* ↗Mängäša Ğämbäre and *däğğazmač* ↗Nägaš Bäzzabbəh to ↗Qadarif to fetch arms and ammunition. He re-entered Ethiopia accompanying the Emperor in 1941 and played an active role in the war of liberation.

Subsequently, M.S. played leadership role in a series of raids in which he captured Gore and liberated south-western Ethiopia from enemy occupation.

In the post-liberation period, M.S. worked in various capacities: governor of ↗Illubabor (1942–46), and of ↗Käfa (1946–55), Minister of Interior (1955–57) and governor of Šäwa (1957–74).

M.S. was a strong defender of the imperial regime and a trustee of Ḫaylä Śəllase I who awarded him several medals and promoted him from *fitawrari* to *däğğazmač* and then to *ras*, and also gave him the rank of a nominal lieutenant general.

Following the outbreak of the ↗Revolution in 1974, M.S. was put in custody and then killed in the *Därg*'s summary execution of government officials in November 1974.

Src.: Public Record Office, London: CAB 44/81, "Ethiopian Personalities", 1935; GÄBRÄWÄLD ƎNGƎDAWÄRQ, **ማይጨው** (*Mayčäw*), Addis Abäba 1947 A.M. [1954/55 A.D.], 113; TADDÄSÄ ZÄWÄLDE, **ቀሪን፡ ገረመው፡ የአርበኞች፡ ታሪክ** (*Qärin gärrämäw: yä'arbäññočč tarik*, 'Those Who Survived were Amazed: a History of the Patriots'), Addis Abäba 1960 A.M [1967/68 A.D.], 360; KTMast 225, 227, 241–44, 431; HSLife [Amh.] vol. 2, 154–66; ḪƎYWÄT HƎDARU, **ያቺ፡ ቀን፡ ተረሳች** (*Yačči qän tärässačč*, 'Is that Day Forgotten?'), Addis Abäba 1967 A.M. [1974/75 A.D.], 249.

Lit.: RICHARD GREENFIELD, *Ethiopia: a New Political History*, New York 1965, 170, 242f., 252, 264, 352; Mock-War 157, 183, 192, 231f., 259, 265f., 381, 395; ClapHS 197; ABÄBÄCH AFÄWÄRQ, *A Biography of Däjjazmach Abära Kassa 1906–1936*, B.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1973; SELTENE SEYOUM, *A History of Resistance in Gojjam, Ethiopia: 1936–1941*, Ph.D. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1999.

Seltene Seyoum

Mäṣḥaf bet

The M.b. (**መጽሐፍ፡ ቤት**, Amh. lit. 'house of the book') is the last degree of the traditional church ↗education in the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church (EOTC). The previous stages are the ↗*nəbab bet*, the ↗*qəddase bet*, the ↗*zema bet* and the ↗*qəne bet*. In the M.b. the students focus on ↗theology and, particularly, ↗exegesis.

According to the Ethiopian belief, the traditional exegesis (↗*Andəmta*) was brought together with the Bible by the companions of ↗Mənilək I. It was considerably reformed during the Gondärine period by a blind teacher by name of ʿƎzra. Since then, there exist two types of M.b., or the schools of exegesis: **ላይ፡ ቤት** (*lay bet*, 'upper house'), with a very long way of interpreting; and **ታች፡ ቤት** (*tačč bet*, 'lower house'), the shorter way interpretation, introduced by ʿƎzra. The latter is by far the wider spread type nowadays.

The curriculum is known as *arat(u) gubaʾeyat* (lit. 'four collections') since it is organized around four main disciplines (*gubaʾe*), everything being transmitted from the master to the pupils orally (*bäqal*). One *gubaʾe* usually takes four years of arduous work, meaning 16 years are necessary for the whole course.

The four *gubaʾe* are:
(1) interpretation of *Bəluy kidan* (↗Old Testament); the teacher of this discipline is called *mäggabe bəluy*;
(2) interpretation of *Ḥaddis kidan* (↗New Testament); the teacher is *mäggabe ḥaddis*;
(3) interpretation of the *Liqawənt* (Church Fathers, i.e. Patristics), namely such books as ↗*Qerəllos*, treatises of ↗John Chrysostom (*Dərsan* and *Tägśaṣ*), ↗Basil of Caesarea, ↗Gregory of Naziance, ↗Gregory of Nyssa, the ↗*Haymanotä abäw*, as well as texts regarding the ecclesiastical legislation and Christian life, including Church ritual, ecclesiastical ↗law (the ↗*Senodos*, the ↗*Didəsqəlya*, the ↗*Fäws mänfäsawi*, etc.);
(4) interpretation of the three *Mäṣaḥəftä mänäkosat* (cp. ↗Monastic literature).

Sometimes calendric calculations (↗computus, and primarily ↗*Baḥrä ḥassab*, ↗*Märḥa ʿəwwur*, ↗*Abušakər*) are also included in the curriculum, in which case (1) and (2) are counted together as one field.

The honorary epithet for a person who has mastered all the *gubaʾe* and is able to teach them is **አራት፡ ዐይና** (*arat ʿayna*, lit. 'four-eyed'). The one who teaches only one *gubaʾe* is called *and ʿayna* ('one-eyed'). The first known *arat ʿayna* was the blind ʿƎzra of Gondär. Other famous teachers (↗*Mämhər*) were *arat ʿayna* Goššu of Goğğam (cp. ↗Moṭa Giyorgis), *arat ʿayna* Kəfle and *arat ʿayna* Mutare Gäbrä Maryam. In 1975, *arat ʿayna aläqa* Ayyälä ʿAlämu of Gondär, was awarded a *Honoris Causa* doctorate from the Ḫaylä Śəllase I University of Addis Abäba. The advanced teachers can be also referred to as *fəṣṣum liq* (the perfect or the most knowledgeable scholar) or as *mäṣḥaf bet* (in this case, 'library') since they are seen as the Library for the depth and width of their knowledge.

Src.: ADMASU ĞÄMBÄRE, **መጽሐፈ፡ ቅኔ (ዝክረ፡ ሊቃውንት)** (*Mäṣḥafä qəne [zəkrä liqawənt]*, 'The Book of the *Qəne* [the Memory of the Church Scholars]'), Addis Abäba 1963 A.M [1971/72 A.D.]; AKLILÄ BƎRHAN WÄLDÄ QIRQOS, **መርሐ፡ ልቡና** (*Märḥa ləbbuna*, 'The Guide of the Consciousness'), Addis Abäba 1946 A.M. [1953/54 A.D.]; HabTent 212–17; *mämhər* YƎHEYYƎS WÄRQE, **ንባብ፡ ወትርጓሜ፡ ዘቅኔያት። አዕማደ፡ ምስጢራት** (*Nəbab wätərgʷame zäqəneyat. Aʿəmadä məṣṭirat*, 'Reading and Interpretation of the *Qəne*. The Pillars of Mysteries'), Addis Abäba 1960 A.M. [1968/69 A.D.].

Lit.: ALEMAYYEHU MOGES, "Language Teaching and Curricula in Traditional Education of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church", *Ethiopian Journal of Education* 6, 1, 1973, 87–114; CHRISTINE CHAILLOT, *The Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Church Tradition: a Brief Introduction to its Life and Spirituality*, Paris 2002, 83–100; ROGER WENMAN COWLEY, "Old Testament Introduction in the *Andəmta* Commentary Tradition", *JES* 12, 1974, 133–74; ID., "New Testament Introduction in the *Andəmta* Commentary Tradition", *Ostkirchliche Studien* 26, 1977, 144–92; ID., "Patristic Introduction in the Ethiopian *Andəmta* Commentary Tradition", *ibid.* 29, 1980, 39–49; JEAN DORESSE, *La vie quotidienne des éthiopiens Chrétiens aux XVII et XVIII siècles*, Hachette 1972; HAILE GABRIEL DAGNE, "The Ethiopian Orthodox Church School System", in: *The Church of Ethiopia: a Panorama of History and Spiritual Life*, Addis Ababa ²1997, 81–97; IMBAQOM KALEWOLD, *Traditional Ethiopian Church Education*, tr. by MENGHESTU LEMMA, New York 1970; KAY KAUFMAN SHELEMAY, "The Musician and Transmission of religious Tradition: the Multiple Roles of the Ethiopian Däbtära", *Journal of Religion in Africa* 22, 3, 1992, 242–60; *mäggabe məṣṭir* MÄBRAHƎTU MÄBAʾ, **መሠረተ፡ እምነት፡ ኦርቶዶክስ፡ ተዋሕዶ፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን** (*Mäsärätä əmnät ortodoks täwaḥədo betä krəstiyan*, 'The Fundamental Faith of the Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church'), Aśmära 1998 A.M. [2005/06 A.D.]; BERNARD VÉLAT, "Un grand dignitaire de l'Église Éthiopienne, l'Abuna", *Les Cahiers Coptes* 4, 1953, 13–20.

Habtemichael Kidane

Mäṣḥafä N.N. ↗N.N.: Mäṣḥafä N.N.

Mäśiḥ ↗Gäbrä Mäśiḥ

Mäsinqo

The M. (**መሲንቆ**, also **መስንቆ**, *mäsənqo*, **ማሲንቆ**, *masinqo*, **ማስንቆ**, *masənqo*, Ǝnzata jargon: *tinkab*)

is a single stringed, bowed, spike fiddle (lute) with a square or diamond shaped sound box (s. Fig. 2). The actual origin of M. is unknown (for various hypotheses cf. Ashenafi Kebede 1971:148f.). Plucked and bowed lutes are found in the Middle East (e.g., Persian spiked fiddle *rubāb*, Arabian bowed fiddle *rabāb*), as well as in Islamized regions of Africa. Except for possessing two strings, the *rabāb* of North Africa is almost identical in construction and function with the M. (for types of African lutes similar to M. cf., e.g. Malm 1967:40; Ismail 1970).

M. are found mainly in southern Eritrea and northern and central Ethiopia. The principal practitioners are the ↗Amhara, ↗Oromo, and ↗Təgrəññа ethnic groups. The M. is almost entirely a secular instrument, very popular and relatively easy to find in performance. A professional M. player is called ↗*azmari* (↗Ǝnzata). Primarily a solo tradition, the music is most commonly performed by a male *azmari* as an accompaniment for his singing. M. can be usually heard in ↗*täğğ bet* or *azmari bet*, but also at private parties, such as holiday, wedding, or organizational celebrations.

Fig. 1. A *mäsinqo* player at a wedding in Gondär; photo 1982, courtesy of Michael Gervers

The instrument is usually made to order and not mass produced. Goatskin parchment is used to cover the sound box frame and laced with prepared gut string. The bow and spike strings are made of horsehair. The spike, divided into four parts – head, collar, peg area, and spike proper – and the rest of the instrument are made of wood. Wood selection is dependent upon function, structural stability, aesthetic value, etc. *Wanza* (*Cordia Africana*) is preferred for the spike, although *koso* (*Hagenia Abyssinica*) can also be used. *Wäyra* (olive wood, *Olea Africana*) is the most desirable choice for the peg and bridge, but *ṭəd* (↗juniper, *Juniperus Procera*), *koso*, and *ṭəqur ənčät* (*Pygeum Africannum*) are also used. When *baḥr zaf* (↗*Eucalyptus Globulus*) was plentiful, it was used for tourist quality M., but not desired by *azmari*.

The greatest physical distinction found among M. is sound box size, and the shape and decoration of the spike head. The Təgrəññа prefer the largest, the Amhara the medium size, and Oromo the smallest sound box. The spike head decorative motif can help identify individual makers.

The player uses two positions in performance. In the standing position the M. is carried by a leather strap while in the second sitting position the M. rests with the sound box clamped firmly between the knees. In each case the peg is placed under the left armpit and the heel of the left hand is placed against the spike while the fingers are put to the strings in the order necessary to obtain the desired pitch. The M. bow string makes contact with the spike string five to six centimeters above the bridge area. Pitch range of the M. can be expanded through the use of harmonic overtones which are produced when the fingers touch lightly on the string.

The M. bridge approximates an upside-down "V" shape, cut from a small fork of an olive tree and trimmed. The bridge can be found in two positions. One is the upright position, with one leg on the membrane and the other resting on the sound box frame with the legs facing toward the player. The bridge acts as a lever for the string and transmits the vibration to the resonating membrane at a single point where the sound box frame acts as the fulcrum. The second position finds the bridge almost lying down with both legs placed on the membrane. Sound is transmitted to the membrane at two points, hence cutting the total vibration distance into half that obtained in position one. Position one results in a clear, full tone while position two results in a muted sound.

The bow and spike strings may wear out within two weeks if the M. is played daily, or after three months if the M. is played infrequently. The M. sound is affected by the string length, number of

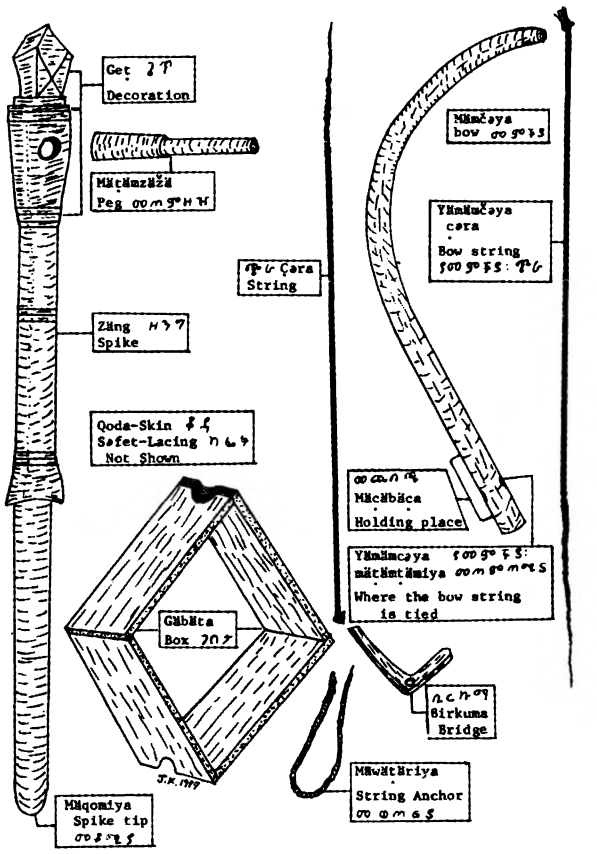


Fig. 2. Schematic drawing of a *mäsinqo*; by Jerome Kimberlin, courtesy of the author

horsehairs and their quality. White hair is finer, produces a more delicate tone, and is preferred by the better players. Black hair is coarser, produces a more strident tone, lasts longer, and is more commonly used. A new bow contains about 125 to 135 black hairs and more for white hair. Hairs of both colours can be mixed in the bow and/or spike string, or a black bow string may be paired with a white spike string. Rosin from the tree sap called *muṭṭa* is used on the bow hair to give it better traction.

M. text and melodies are passed on orally. Sometimes an *azmari* would compose new music and text, but mostly he learns songs heard from other *azmaris*, or on radio, television etc., occasionally composing new text for an existing melody.

The term M. is mentioned already by Alvares (BeckHuntAlvar 517) as "instruments with chord, square like harps", called "*David moçanquo*, which means the harp of David". It is not clear which string instrument he referred to. Interestingly, the Gəᶜəz word M. is mostly used in the Ethiopian Bible as a term for lyre (Hebrew *kinnōr*, Gr. κιθάρα, κινύρα; cp. ↗*Kərar*), but also for harp (Hebrew *nebel*, Gr. ὄργανον). Likewise, the ↗Beğa term *masinkoob* (variant *basinkoob*), etymologically related to M., denotes an instrument similar to the *kərar* (Wedekind 2005:151, 130f.).

↗Instruments, musical; ↗Music

Src.: BeckHuntAlvar 517; DillmLex 369; KaneDic 216.
Lit.: ASHENAFI KEBEDE, *The Music of Ethiopia: its Development and Cultural Setting*, Ph.D. thesis, Wesleyan University 1971, 150ff.; ID., *Roots of Black Music: the Vocal, Instrumental, and Dance Heritage of Africa and Black America*, Englewood Cliffs, NJ 1982, 79; MAHI ISMAIL, "Musical Traditions in the Sudan", Report prepared at request of UNESCO for Meeting on Musical Traditions in Africa, Yaounde, Cameroon, 23–27 February, 1970; CYNTHIA MEI-LING KIMBERLIN, *Masinqo and the Nature of Qəññət*, University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Michigan 1976; EAD., "The Music of Ethiopia", in: ELIZABETH E. MAY (ed.), *Musics of Many Cultures: an Introduction*, Berkeley, CA 1980, 232–52, here 238f., 249f.; EAD. – JEROME KIMBERLIN, "The Morphology of Ethiopia's Bowed Spiked Fiddle", *Selected Reports in Ethnomusicology* 5, 1984, 249–62; EAD., "Ornaments and their Classification as a Determinant of Musical Ability and Style", in: JACQUELINE COGDELL DJEDJE – WILLIAM G. CARTER (eds.), *African Musicology: Current Trends: a Festschrift presented to J.H. Kwabena Nketia*, Atlanta, GA 1989, 265–305; WILLIAM MALM, *Music Cultures of the Pacific, the Near East, and Asia*, Englewood Cliffs, NJ 1967; MICHAEL POWNE, *Ethiopian Music. An Introduction: a Survey of Ecclesiastical and Secular Ethiopian Music*, London – New York – Toronto 1968, 39–43; MonVidMus [repr. in *AE* 19, 2003, 149–88, here 164f.]; TIMKEHET TEFERRA, "The Future of the Masinqo in Ethiopia", 2000 (unpublished); TSEGAYE DEBALKE, "Ethiopian Music and Musical Instrument", *Ethiopian Herald*, 5 November 1967; KLAUS WEDEKIND, "Contrastive Analyses of a Beja Song", *Journal of Eritrean Studies* 4, no. 1–2, May/December 2005, 132–66, here 139f., 151, 164, n. 8.
Discography: ASHENAFI KEBEDE, *The Music of Ethiopia: Azmari Music of the Amharas*, 1969, 1–7 [disc commentary]; CYNTHIA TSE KIMBERLIN, Ethiopia III: three Chordophone Traditions, Paris 1986 [stereo disc with notes, song texts, transcriptions, and photographs (by JEROME KIMBERLIN); reissued as CD, Ethiopia: three Chordophone Traditions, 1996].

Cynthia Tse Kimberlin

Mäskäräm ↗Calendar, Christian

Maškov, Viktor

Viktor Fedorovič M. (Mashkov) was an officer of the Imperial Russian Guards who played an important role in establishing Russian–Ethiopian relationships at the end of 19th cent.

It is unclear how M. developed interest in Ethiopia. In any case, by 1887 he was rallying support for his project of establishing ↗Russia's political and spiritual influence in Ethiopia and of forming a kind of alliance between the two countries, in both official and broad public (Pan-Slav) circles (cp. ↗Uspenskij). M. considered the time, even though critical for Ethiopian inde-

pendence, propitious for such a move, which he thought would greatly strengthen the position of Russia on the international scene, in particular in its competition with Great Britain.

By December 1888 M. succeeded. His first reconnoitring journey to Ethiopia was considered private, but promoted and financed by the Ministry of War, and approved by Tsar Alexander III. Apparently, M. was not linked to the undertaking of ↗Ashinov (cp. Caulk 2002:183f.) from whom he explicitly took distance (though in his initial plans he indended to join Ashinov).

In February 1889 M. landed in ↗Obock, in French Somaliland. Ashinov's colony "New Moscow" had been removed shortly before, yet the French governor ↗Lagarde assisted M. and helped to organize a caravan, probably trying to improve the French image after Ashinov's incident. Together with his companion, Sladko Zlatychanin from Montenegro, M. reached ↗Harär, where he stayed till May, waiting in vain for additional money and credentials he had requested from the Russian government. With the money borrowed from the local Orthodox Greeks, M. gathered a small caravan and headed to ↗Ǝnṭoṭṭo, but was detained in ↗Ankobär by the authorities of *nəguś* ↗Mənilək [II] since he had neither credentials, nor a permission to enter the country. However, Mənilək, who proclaimed himself *nəguśä nägäśt* in May 1889, invited M. to come to Ǝnṭoṭṭo in August. He received M. very warmly, granted him several personal audiences and presented him with rich gifts and a letter addressed to Alexander III (Hrenkov 1988:136f.). M. returned to St. Petersburg in December 1889, and his report on the results of the mission was, on the whole, favourably accepted by the government and the press (ibid. 137–43), even if some officials of the Ministry of War judged that he went beyond the non-official frames of the mission. The government decided in favour of another expedition. Planned as a non-official enterprise yet again sponsored by the Russian Ministries of War and of Foreign Affairs as well as by the Holy Synod and the Russian Geographical Society, it considerably superseded the first one by the scale, budget and importance of the tasks (political, scientific and religious). M. was appointed its head and entrusted with delivering the official response to Mənilək. Two ecclesiastics, priest Tikhon and deacon Grigorij, were attached to the mission to investigate the prospects of the "religious alliance" between the Russian and Ethiopian Churches.

On 12 June 1891 M. reached Obock. While two caravans were formed, Grigorij got ill; Tikhon, fearing for his colleague's and for his own health, decided to return back. On 27 June the expedition started and on 28 July reached Harär where M. was welcomed by the governor *ras* ↗Mäkʷännən Wäldä Mikaʾel. After ca. 1.5 months in Harär (being one of a few Europeans who witnessed the horror of ↗*Kəfu qän*), M. went via ↗Čärčär to Ǝnṭoṭṭo. He arrived on 18 October and was cordially received by Mənilək, whom, in his turn, M. impressed by sumptuous gifts.

In November 1891 M. fell gravely ill, and he was transferred to Ankobär, for better climate. He spent there two months exploring the region, visited the monastery of ↗Däbrä Libanos and became a close friend of *abunä* ↗Ṗeṭros. M. was also collecting information on the activities of other Europeans in Ethiopia, above all the Italians and the English (who sceptically watched the Russian involvement, discerning the true character of the mission).

On 18 March 1892, M. returned to Ǝnṭoṭṭo to have his last audience with the Emperor. Mənilək handed him a new letter to Alexander III, in which he asked the Russian Tsar for help in solving the conflict with ↗Italy and for military assistance. In Harär, M. received a letter and presents for Crown Prince Nikolaj from *ras* Mäkʷännən. He was also asked to take two Ethiopian boys, sons of Mäkʷännən's courtier, to Russia for education.

M. arrived at St. Petersburg on 7 August 1892. In the Ministry of War, he was blamed for overexpenditure and disregarding the instructions, and scrupulously questioned on the purported "cruelty" and some other episodes of the expedition. However, M.'s report was highly evaluated in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The mission was considered successful, even though not all its tasks were fulfilled, and the virtual gains were less considerable as expected. The mission was not immediately followed by more serious moves of the Russian government, which was waiting for the outcome of the Italo–Ethiopian crisis. However, official contacts organized by M. paved the way for further steps, including the establishment of the diplomatic relations in 1898.

M.'s application for a third expedition to Ethiopia was declined, and he was soon overshadowed by more successful personalities (like ↗Leontiev). Consequently, M. retired from the military service, entered the Ministry of Foreign

Affairs, and in October 1894 was appointed a secretary of the Russian Consulate in Baghdad.

Src.: ANDREI HRENKOV, *Rossijsko–efiopskie otnošenija v XIX – načale XX v.* ('Russian–Ethiopian Relations in the 19th – Beginning of the 20th Cent.'), Moscow 1999, 13–18, 87–99 [nos. 15f.], 114f. [no. 22], 119–31 [nos. 24–27], 135–63 [nos. 29–40]; V. FJODOROV [= VIKTOR MAŠKOV], *Abissinia: Istoriko-geografičeskij očerk s kartoju Abissinii* ... ('Abyssinia. Historic-geographical Survey with a Map of Abyssinia ...'), [St. Petersburg] 1889; VIKTOR MAŠKOV, "Putešestvie v stranu černyh hristian v 1891–1892 gg." ('Journey to the Land of Black Christians in the Years 1891–92'), *Novoe vrem'a* 6069, 18 January 1893, 2; *ibid.* 6076, 27 January 1893, 2–3; *ibid.* 6095, 16 February 1893, 2–3; no. 6102, 23 February 1893, 2–3; no. 6131, 1893, 2–3 [Italian tr. by OTTAVIO CEROTTI, "Il secondo viaggio in Abissinia del Mashkov (1891–1892)", *Bollettino della Società geografica italiana*, ser. 3ª, 7, 1894, 841–86].

Lit.: RICHARD CAULK, *"Between the Jaws of Hyenas": a Diplomatic History of Ethiopia (1876–1896)*, ed. by BAHRU ZEWDE, Wiesbaden 2002 (AeF 60), s. index; CZESŁAW JEŚMAN, *The Russians in Ethiopia: an Essay in Futility*, London 1958, 80–83; ANDREY W. HRENKOV, "Maškov v Efiopii (meždu podvigom i avantjuroj)" ('Mashkov in Ethiopia [between an Exploit and an Adventure]'), *Voprosy Istorii* [2] 1999, 123–37 (Lit.); EVGENIJ V. MOROZOV, *Vnešnjaja politika Efiopii i rossijsko-efiopskie otnošenija v kontse XIX - načale XX vv.* ('External Policy of Ethiopia and Russian-Ethiopian Relations in the End of the 19th – Beginning of the 20th Cent.'), Sankt-Peterburg 2007, 72-82; EDWARD THOMAS WILSON, *Russia and Black Africa before World War II*, New York 1947, 39–47 (Lit.).

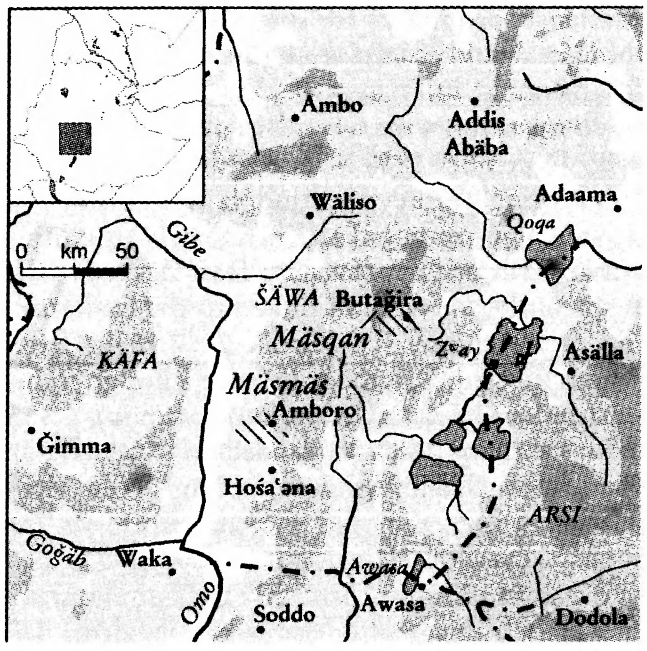
Andrey Khrenkov – Red.

Mäsmäs

M. (መስመስ, Mäsmäsa, Masmas) is a small group formerly speaking a West-↗Gurage dialect. Today they are linguistically and, for the most part, culturally assimilated to the surrounding ↗Hadiyya groups of Leemo and Baadoogo. The main settlement area of the M. is situated around Boošoana, i.e. west of Wačč̣aamo (↗Hossäyna) in the Kontäb (today Miišaa) *wäräda* of ↗Kämbata *awraǧǧa* (today Hadiyya zone). Presently it comprises about five to seven *qäbäles*, Amboro-Goynana, Ollawaam-Goonamo and Aṣṭee-Qarqar being the historically most prominent. Small groups of M. are spread over the whole Hadiyya area and ↗Ǝndägañ.

Traditionally the M. cultivate a mix of various crops (including *ənsät*) and breed cattle. The slopes of the Gibe valley are used as seasonal grazing grounds. The walled M. settlement of ↗Amboro formerly played an important role as a market-place, especially known for its trade with iron and iron implements.

The M. claim to be one of seven groups (M., Ǝndägañ, ↗Ǝnär, ↗Dubamo, ↗Yäm and



↗Donga) which migrated to the south with seven *tabotat* from "the North" or "Gondär" respectively. The early ancestors of the ↗Kambaata and M. are referred to as brothers (Braukämper 1983:32). A clan "Mäsmäsa" still exists among the Kambaata. The *tabot* of Mika'el (Gibe Mika'el) is said to have been brought to the region by the ancestors Ǝndaale and Danbe. It was kept first in Ana and later, on the Seečč Duuna hill of Wačč̣aamo. Today the *tabot* is in the M. village of Lenčičč̣o.

M. elders speak of "nine houses" of M. linking by this genealogical concept different clans in Hadiyya, ↗Allaaba, Ǝndägañ, ↗Ǝnnämor, ↗Wälaytta, ↗Ǧimma and Yäm (↗Interethnic clan-relations).

The immigration of the Hadiyya, first of the Sooro and, since the mid-19th cent., of the Leemo, separated the M. territory from that of the Gurage groups of Ǝndägañ and Ǝnär with which they had close cultural and linguistic links. For the M. the Leemo became strong allies against the Sooro, who had imposed tributes on the M. At the beginning of the 19th cent. the Leemo pushed the Sooro to the south of the Gibe tributary Gombora. The alliance of M. and Leemo developed into strong ties of intermarriage (s. BrHad 55, 202f., 213).

Besides the ancient Orthodox Christian faith of the M., a nowadays nearly vanished, syncretistic folk-religion (like in Ǝndägañ, sometimes referred to as *anṭoqoṭora*; cp. Bustorf 2005:14ff.) developed. It contains elements resembling *zar* and patterns of a Christianity-influenced Gurage religion. The spirit mediums of *Kidanmančč̣o* and *Sa'amär dam* had a central role.

Src.: notes of an interview with Matewos Manade (Amboro) by Solomoon Daiimoo (Addis Ababa) in 2005.
Lit.: BrHad, 166, 202f., 211, 213; BrKam 21, 32, 42, 55; DIRK BUSTORF, "Some Notes on the Traditional Religious System of the Ǝndägañ Gurage", in: DENIS NOSNITSIN et al. (eds.), *Varia Aethiopica: in Memory of Sevir B. Chernetsov (1943–2005)*, Saint-Petersburg 2005 (= Scrinium 1), 12–34; ROBERT HETZRON, *The Gunnän-Gurage Languages*, Napoli 1977, 4; BURKHARDT PETER, *Kulturelle Identität und religiöses Bekenntnis: Synkretismus bei den Hadiyya Südäthiopiens*, Mainz 1999, 130–38; MICHAEL BRYAN AHLAND, *Language Death in Mesmes: a Sociolinguistic and Historical-comparative Examination of a Disappearing Language*, M.A. thesis, University of Texas, Arlington, TX 2004.

Dirk Bustorf

Masnoy

The M. (Amh. መስኖይ, Arab. مسنوى) is a poem in Old ↗Harari that is preserved in at least four *ʿağamī* manuscripts (i.e. in Arabic script) from the 18th and 19th cent. Two of them are now in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France (together under the signature Ms. Harari 1; cf. Cohen 1931:249, 328ff.), the other two in the Biblioteca Nazionale dei Lincei in Rome (together under the signature 129 Fondo Conti Rossini, s. StrANL 322). One of the two manuscripts in Rome bears the date 1294 H. [1877 A.D.] in its colophon. By collating the four witnesses, it appears that the Old Harari M. contained ca. 300 lines. Shorter versions of the Old Harari M. have been published by ʿAbdulmuhaymin ʿAbdunnasir (1988 A.M., containing 167 lines) and Maḥammad Ibrāhim Suleymān (1997, containing 169 lines) in Ethiopic script.

Paulitschke (1888b:517), who was given in ↗Harär two of the above *ʿağamī* manuscripts of the M., claimed it to be "a collection of poetic compositions, folk songs, praise songs, poems to be sung on special events [...] like weddings, circumcisions etc.". Cohen (1931:328–54) followed him in considering the M. a collection of texts – portions of which he translated under the title *Chants de noce*, i.e., "Wedding songs". One of his informants stated that "at the time of the wedding these poems are sung in honour of the bride by elders gathering to this purpose" (ibid. 332). Yet all the written versions of the M. bear no division into different sections, and are clearly a continuous text. Also the Harari who are acquainted with the Old Harari M. regard it as a single poem. Paulitschke and Cohen were probably misled by the fact that individual portions of it were performed during different events.

No complete philological edition of the Old Harari M. has been published yet, but on the basis of its known witnesses and of its two shorter published versions it appears that this poem opens and closes with sequences of mainly religious verses, and is addressed to a young Harari bride, depicting her relationships with her family, her friends, and the saints of Harär, and praising her skill in house and handicrafts, as well as her moral and physical qualities. Also the glory of Harär and the beauty of its region are exalted with lofty words. The loveliness, rectitude and honesty of the bride are thus a metaphor of the values of the city of Harär. Indeed, the name of the M. itself derives from Harari *masnu*, 'watered field or garden', a metaphor of beauty and excellence.

At the end of the 19th and during the 20th cent., manuscripts of the M. became increasingly scarce, and elders had to perform it relying only on their memories. It thus happened that only portions of the Old Harari M. survived in the oral repertoires of Harär, but even these were extensively changed by oral transmission, with several lines added from other sources, possibly other oral wedding songs and even the later *Kitāb al-faqar* ('The Book of Songs') by *kabīr* ʿUmar ʿAbdōš (↗Harari literature).

Interestingly, the M. came to be sung mainly by women, not by male elders, and eventually gave its name to a genre of wedding songs (*masnoy faqar*) now performed by female singers during wedding ceremonies (s. Sartori in preparation). The main themes of the contemporary wedding songs are still quite similar to the Old Harari M.

↗Poetry; ↗Wedding

Src.: ʿABDULMUHAYMIN ʿABDUNNASIR, ሐረር፡ ጌይ፡ ፈቀር (*Harar gēy faqar*, 'Songs of Harar'), Harär 1988 A.M. [1995 A.D.]; MAḤAMMAD IBRĀHIM SULEYMĀN, ቀጠብቲ፡ ሙዳይ (*Qaṭabti mudāy*, 'Basket of Remembrance'), Addis Ababa 1997 A.D.; StrANL 322, no. 129.
Lit.: GIORGIO BANTI, "Remarks about the Orthography of the Earliest *ʿajamī* Texts in Harari", in: MICHELE BERNARDINI – NATALIA TORNESELLO (eds.), *Scritti in onore di Giovanni M. D'Erme*, vol. 1, Naples 2005, 75–102; MARCEL COHEN, *Études d'éthiopien méridional*, Paris 1931, 328–54; ABDURAHMAN GARAD – EWALD WAGNER, "Harari-Verse und Sprüche", in: *KayeLes* vol. 1, 491–515; PHILIPP PAULITSCHKE, *Beiträge zur Ethnographie und Anthropologie der Somâl, Galla und Hararî*, Leipzig ²1888a; ID., *Harar: Forschungsreise nach den Somâl- und Galla-Ländern Ost-Afrikas*, Leipzig 1888b; ILARIA SARTORI, *Gey fäqär, il canto della città. Repertori vocali femminili nella comunità islamica di Harar*, Ph.D. thesis, Università di Roma "La Sapienza", in preparation; WagHand 102ff. (nos. 114, 115).

Giorgio Banti

Mäsob ↗Basketry

Mašolle ↗Dullay

Mašolle ↗Konsoid

Masongo ↗Maǧaŋgir

Mäsqäl

The ↗Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥədo) Church recognizes two observances of M. (መስቀል), or the Feast of the ↗Cross, both of which are celebrated in commemoration of the discovery of the True Cross by Empress Helena, mother of Emperor Constantine. The better known of these observances is the "(Exaltation of the) Cross", falling on 17 *Mäskäräm* [27 September]), an old Christian feast the meaning of which is said to have changed during the reign of *aṣe* ↗Dawit II, who received a fragment of the True Cross from the Coptic Patriarch (↗Relics: Relics of the True Cross in Ethiopia). The eight-day festivities of M., 10 to 17 *Mäskäräm*, commemorate the coming to Ethiopia of that fragment of the Cross, which is said to have entered the Ethiopian territory on 10 *Mäskäräm* (Caquot 1955:91, 94; Raineri 1999:363f., 384f.). The arrival of the Cross at ↗Amba Gəšän is celebrated on 21 *Mäskäräm*, on which day the big feast takes place there (Heyer 1971:169); the office is then drawn from the 17 *Mäskäräm* services, with a few other specific hymns (*nägś*, *mälkəʾ*), the *qəne* always being an immediate creation.

The other feast, the "(Finding of the True) Cross", falls on 10 *Mäggabit* [16 March] but is of little consequence in the liturgical ↗calendar. This date has become *Yaṣe mäsqäl*, a civil feast also called *Aṣege*, in which *-ge* stands for ↗Gäbrä Mäsqäl as typifying all kings. On this occasion, until 1974, the monarch was offered flowers while being told: *täqäṣṣäl ṣəge ḫaṣe ge*, 'be crowned with flowers, Emperor..!' (the priests going to the royal reception used to sing: "Crowned with flowers [*täqäṣṣälä ṣəge*], o Emperor..!"). Such celebration was revived by Patriarch *abunä* ↗Tewoflos and was meant to honour both emperor and patriarch. Abandoned during the regime of Mängəśtu Ḫaylä Maryam, it was taken up again by Patriarch *abunä* Ṗawlos to honour the head of the Church. Before or after Mass (according to the day of the week), flowers are offered by saying: *täqäṣṣäl ṣəge, o Patrəyark* ('Be crowned with flowers, o Patriarch..!'); *qəne* are executed, etc. This feast, known as *Täqäṣṣäl ṣəge*, may also be called *Gubaʾe Qana*, i.e. 'Meeting of Cana'.

Both M. are considered "minor" feasts (Fritsch 2001:61). Yet, the *Mäskäräm* M. is admittedly one of the most popular celebrations of the Ethiopian Church, being equated to the major feasts of the Lord, and celebrated everywhere in similar conditions – in part, at least, on account of its manifold meanings (Pollera 1926:295, 308–14). Beyond its stated commemorative role, it is also linked to the agricultural cycle, social divisions, military prowess, and political power.

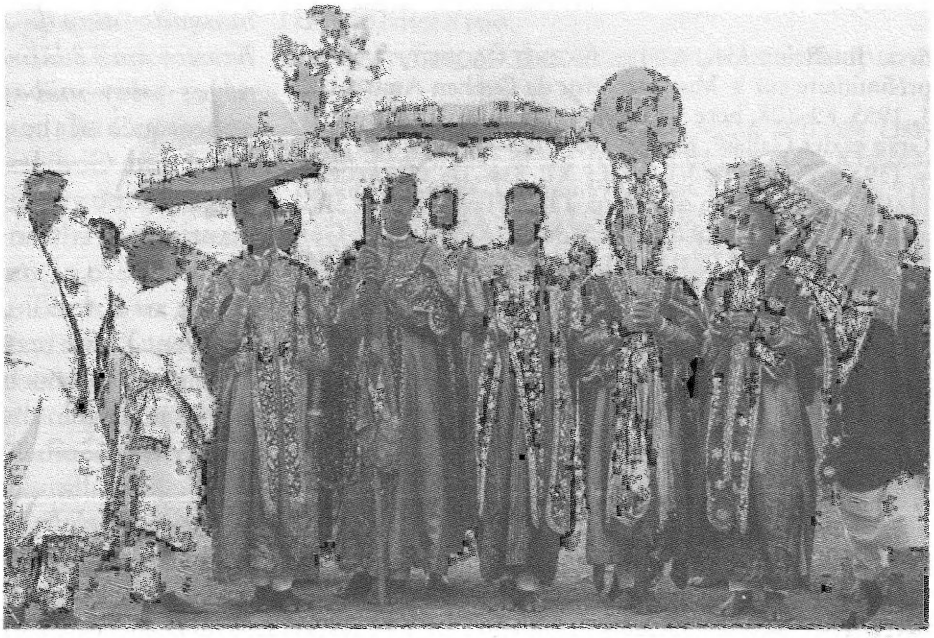
This M. falls in fact close to the end of the rainy season, and is locally (e.g., by the ↗Gamo) often understood as marking the end of *kərämt* and agricultural work and the beginning of the year's cycle. Although not formally the beginning of the ↗New Year, it is often treated as such.

In some local milieux, M. is preceded by many days of mock warfare between young people of both sexes, the girls armed with gourds full of filthy liquids and the boys with thorns and thistles. When opposing parties encounter each other, they ritualistically exchange insults, often using obscene language. The boys prick the girls with their thorns and the girls respond by throwing the liquid.

On the eve of M., people bring torches of twigs to make a bonfire (↗*Dämära*). According to traditions, this commemorates an act of Helena herself by which she either found the Cross or announced her success. In reality, there might be rather a pre-Christian Ethiopian element in this practice. Ullendorff (UllBibl 114) suggests early Judaic influences. An interesting background, in this connection, is transparent in the Jewish "Festival of Bringing of Wood", known from both the 2nd-cent. B.C. Qumranic *Temple Scroll* (XXIII, 3) and Flavius Josephus (*Bell.* II, 425): a late summer or early autumn feast whose symbolism was based on the yearly collection of the wooden fire for burning the sacrifices in the Temple.

During M., however, men carrying torches run into houses poking into all the corners, crying "all bad things, go out, and good ones, come in!" According to other traditions, they say, "turn out the spinach [or cabbage: *gomän*] and bring the porridge".

Large processions from different parishes come and join together to set the bonfire ablaze. There are also ritual fights between the different parishes (Parkyns 1854:285). Yellow wild flowers (M. flowers) are cut and fastened to M. poles that are



Clerics with processional crosses and umbrellas during the *Mäsqäl* feast, Addis Abäba; photo ca. 1930, from the collection of Johannes Bohnenberger

brought by each family to a central clearing where a huge bonfire is built. Priests chant. Oxen or sheep are led three times around a bonfire in honour of the Trinity and are then slaughtered. Each status group circles the poles three times in honour of the Trinity: local lords, clergy, lesser nobility, peasantry, women and finally children. In pre-revolutionary times, the emperor used to participate accompanied by leading ecclesiastics and nobles. Some people take a smouldering stick from the fire and light their hearths with it, bringing home the blessing of the cross. Others take torches and proceed to the closest stream or river, where they bathe.

People use ashes and charcoal from the bonfire, make a paste with butter, and smear it on their foreheads in the shape of a cross.

M. was often the time for a display of soldiers, who came to town for the feast (GuiIohan 223). Since the 19th cent., the outset of the M. was marked by the discharge of firearms. Harris reports in some detail the "Annual Review" he witnessed, and notes: "From eight to ten thousand cavalry were present in the field, and the spectacle, which lasted from nine in the morning until five in the afternoon, was exceedingly wide and impressive" (HarAeth vol. 2, 85). M. was also an occasion for noble men to announce their "Horse ↗names", and host large feasts, cheered by ↗*azmari* who sing in their praise. Young men recite war chants (↗*Fukkära*). Even small boys may try to prove their bravery by burning scars on their arms with torches.

Not all ecclesiastical officials were pleased with these displays. According to a number of sources, in the time of *aṣe* ↗Zärʾa Yaʿəqob, *abunä* ↗Täklä Ḥawaryat saw M. being celebrated "at the court of the king, the soldiers playing (mounted) on horses (and) fighting (each other) with rocks, bones and stick(s), and many souls dying". The saint condemned this as a pagan behaviour (Getatchew Haile in EtRicci 97f.; cf. Caquot 1957:130).

M. appears to have had a peculiar significance for Church-State relations. In the royal chronicles, special note is often taken of the emperor's location and actions on M. (PerZarY 114; GuiIohan 89, 194, 223). Traditionally, with the succession of the reigns, regional rulers were expected to come to pay homage to the emperor. Those who did not could be viewed as being in rebellion (Garretson 2000:180). In 1908, the ailing *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II chose M. to make one of his increasingly rare public appearances in an attempt to reassure the attendance (ibid. 21). In 1916, M. saw the crisis over *ləǧ* ↗Iyasu's succession to Mənilək, when the former was accused of having converted to ↗Islam. In 1935, M. was one of the last public events before the Italian invasion of the country. Even during the subsequent colonial occupation, M. was often the occasion of political promotions, traditional honours and banquets (↗*Gəbər*) for Ethiopian religious and civil leaders.

In southern Ethiopia, festivities are celebrated around the time of M., which, while not clearly Christian, contain elements of the M. holiday. Among the Gurage, an obviously related holiday called *Mäsgär* marks the end of the rainy season (ShGurage 174). The Gonga observe *Maśqarro* at this time (Lange 1982:46). Research is needed to determine whether these are Christianized versions of pre-existent feasts or local versions of the Christian celebration.

In the first decade of the 21st cent., M. continues to be observed throughout Ethiopia, Eritrea and the Ethiopian diaspora, with large public gatherings in Washington, Seattle, Los Angeles, Boston and Toronto, to name just a few.

↗Feasts

Src.: BudSaint 59f., 684ff.; ANDRÉ CAQUOT, "Aperçu préliminaire sur le Mashafa Tefut de Gechen Amba", *AE* 1, 1955, 89–108, here 91, 94; ID., "Histoire amharique de Grãn et des Gallas", *ibid.* 2, 1957, 123–46, here 130 (text) = 139 (tr.); ColSyn VI, 425f.; XI, 334–37; GETATCHEW HAILE, "Martyrdom of Abunä Täklä Ḥawarəyat of Shoa and the Translation of his Relics", in: *EtRicci* 93–113; Gui-Iohan 89, 194, 223 (text) = 90, 205, 237 (tr.); HarAeth vol. 2, 74–87; MANSFIELD PARKYNS, *Life in Abyssinia; Being Notes Collected during Three Years' Residence and Travels in that Country*, vol. 2, New York 1854, 72.

Lit.: CHRISTINE CHAILLOT, *The Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Tradition*, Paris 2002, 116f.; JEAN-BAPTISTE COULBEAUX, *Mission d'Abyssinie*, Paris 1901, 20 (ill.); EMMANUEL FRITSCH, *The Liturgical Year of the Ethiopian Church*, Addis Ababa 2001 (Ethiopian Review of Cultures Special Issue IX–X), 61, 109–13; PETER P. GARRETSON, *A History of Addis Ababa from its Foundation in 1886 to 1910*, Wiesbaden 2000 (AeF 49), 21, 180; FRIEDRICH HEYER, *Die Kirche Äthiopiens: eine Bestandsaufnahme*, Berlin – New York 1971 (Theologische Bibliothek Töpelmann 22), 169, s. index; WERNER J. LANGE, *History of the Southern Gonga (Southwestern Ethiopia)*, Wiesbaden 1982 (SKK 61), 46; LevWax 62; PankSoc 191ff.; ALBERTO POLLERA, *Lo Stato etiopico e la sua Chiesa*, Roma – Milano 1926, 295, 308–14; OSVALDO RAINERI, "I doni della Serenissima al re Davide I d'Etiopia (ms. Raineri 43 della Vaticana)", *OrChrP* 65, 1999, 363–448, here 363f., 384f.; CALVIN EARL SHENK, *The Development of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church and its Relationship with the Ethiopian Government from 1930–1970*, Ph.D thesis, New York University 1972, 155–59; ShGurage 174; UllBibl 114.

Steven Kaplan

Mäsqäl: Legend of the Finding of the Holy Cross

The *Legend of the Finding of the Cross* (L.F.C.) developed in ↗Jerusalem in the middle of the 4th cent. in connection with the pilgrim traffic that was then gathering momentum. The legend is widely spread across the whole Christian world, but enjoyed special popularity in the Orient, where it occurs in a variety of languages: Greek, Syriac, Arabic, Gəʿəz, Armenian, Georgian and even Hebrew.

The standard version attributes the finding of the cross to the mother of Emperor Constantine (306–37), Helena, who travelled to Jerusalem where she learned from a Jew (usually called Judas) that it was buried under a heap of earth. She had it removed, but found three crosses. In a miraculous way, it was eventually revealed which of them was Jesus's: namely, the one that, in contact with a dead person, brought him or her back to life. Judas, who converted to Christianity changing his name into Cyriac (Gr. Κυριακός, 'The Lord's one'), eventually became bishop of Jerusalem.

There exist several Gəʿəz versions of the L.F.C. One of them is entitled *Nägärä astärʾayot mäsqälu ʿabiy läʾəgziʾənä wäʾamlakənä Iyäsus Krəstos amä 8 läḫədar bämäwaʿəlä Qʷästanṭinos nəguś ʿabiy mähaymən ḫer* ('The Story of the appearance of the great, life-giving Cross of our Lord and God Jesus Christ on 8 *Ḫədar* in the epoch of the great, believing and good king Constantin'). It is transmitted either in the ↗*Gädlä sämaʿətat*, e.g., ms. BritLib Orient. 691 (15th cent.), or autonomously, e.g., BN Abb. 92 (15th–16th cent.). The text in the homiliary EMML 1766 (14th cent.) seems to belong to a different redaction than that in the two previous mss. (published Guerrier – Grébaut 1925-26).

The *Story* has a composite structure. It features Empress Helena (Eth. *Ǝleni*) finding the Cross with the help of Judas, later called Cyriacus (Eth. *Yəhuda Kirakos*). Another narration of the same legend follows, an abbreviation of the Protonike Legend (known from the Syriac ↗Abgar-Addai Legend), in which it is again Helena who takes the place of the legendary wife of Emperor Claudius. This is followed by a treatise on the Cross (containing inter alia the vision of Constantine before the battle with Maxentius at the Milvian Bridge), divided in two parts by the insertion of an abbreviated version of the L.F.C.

The *Story* has a sequel in the "Acts and Martyrdom of Bishop Cyriacus" (*Gädl wäsəmʿ zäkirakos ṗappas*), which is also transmitted in the *Gädlä sämaʿətat*. Judas, who helped Helena find the Cross, became a Christian, but died as martyr, together with his mother, during the reign of Julian the Apostate (361–63).

8 *Ḫədar* [14 November] is the day on which, according to the ↗*Sənkəssar*, "the Cross appeared to Constantine" (ColSyn VIII, 272–73; BudSaint 222). Thus, the "Story of the appearance of the Cross" was read in commemoration of that event, which also shows why it was given the present title.

Still another version, a shorter one, can be found in the ↗*Täʾammərä Maryam*. It tells the Story of Theodoxia (Eth. *Täwdoksəya*) or, according to other manuscripts, Theodosia (Eth. *Täwdosəya*), the daughter of Empress Helena, who prayed to the Holy Virgin that she might see the grave of Jesus in Jerusalem, and the Holy Cross. Eventually, Jesus appeared to her and told her to go to the Holy City together with her brother, Emperor Constantine, in order to find the Cross. Once she had found the Cross, her name would be changed into that of her mother. In this way, the person who finds the Cross is

still a Helena. Such legend is apparently derived from the 7th-cent. Coptic legend on Eudoxia and her finding of Jesus' sepulchre. Since no translation of that into Gəʿəz is known, the Coptic tradition probably reached Ethiopia in oral form. The earliest Gəʿəz manuscripts containing it are from the 16th cent., whereas the *Täʾammärä Maryam* were translated already in the 15th cent. – the redaction of the Story of Theodoxia therefore dates to ca. 1500 A.D.

The finding of the Cross is also mentioned several times in the ↗*Sənkəssar*: for instance in the reading for 16 *Mäskäräm* [23 September], on which the construction of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre is commemorated. In this passage it is bishop Macarius, and not Judas, who helps Helena to find the Cross (ColSyn VI, 418–21; BudSaint 55ff.) on 17 *Mäskäräm* [24 September], i.e. the ↗*Mäsqäl* Festival (ColSyn VI, 426f. and BudSaint 59f., resp.). Here Helena is told to have forced the Jews to remove the heap of rubbish amassed over the period of 200 years that buried the Cross. This story is repeated in the reading for 10 *Mäggabit* [16 March] (ColSyn XI, 334–37; BudSaint 684ff.).

The ↗Heraclius legend is also tracable in the reading for 9 *Gənbot* [14 May] commemorating Helena, who is said to be a native of Edessa. She discovers the Cross with the help of bishop Macarius (ColSyn XII, 228–31). Though the Cross has the titulus, the queen wishes to see a miracle, which takes place when a dead man is touched with the Cross.

There are also other, shorter mentions of the finding of the Cross in the *Sənkəssar*: on the day of the commemoration of Helena, 18 *Mäskäräm* [25 September] (ColSyn VI, 436); on the feast of St. Cyriacus, who informed Helena as to where the Cross was to be found, 5 *Ṭəqəmt* [12 October] (ColSyn VII, 18–21), on the day of the commemoration of Constantine, who is said to have sent his mother to search for the Cross, 28 *Mäggabit* [3 April] (ColSyn VI, 432f.).

There is one more text that includes the L.F.C., unpublished and known only from a description of the unique manuscript in which it is preserved (BritLib Orient. 698, s. WrBritMus 181). Here the L.F.C. is embedded in a totally fictitious history of the Roman empire, the rulers of which are called by such names as Inʾidän, Alʾadäd, Agdər and Yayas. In due course, Helena becomes the empress, whereas Constantine appears as her successor, being the eldest of her 29 sons. Helena goes in search of the Cross, and Cyriacus plays his role here too.

For relics of the True Cross in Ethiopia s. ↗Relics.

Src.: HANS JAN WILLEM DRIJVERS – JAN WILLEM DRIJVERS, *The Finding of the True Cross: The Judas Kyriakos Legend in Syriac*, Lovanii 1997 (CSCO 565, Subsidia 93); LOUIS GUERRIER – SYLVAIN GRÉBAUT (ed., tr.), "Récit de la manifestation de la Croix", *ROC* 25, 1925–26, 276–308; IGNAZIO GUIDI (ed.), "Textes orientaux inédits du martyre de Judas Cyriaque évêque de Jérusalem: texte éthiopien", *ibid.* 11, 1906, 337–51; WITOLD WITAKOWSKI (ed., tr.), "Theodoxia and her Finding of the Holy Cross: an Ethiopic Version of the Legend of the *Finding of the Holy Cross* in the *Miracles of Mary*", in: *MiscAethKur* 253–69; ColSyn VI–VIII, XI, XIII; BudSaint; WrBriMus.

Lit.: GrafLit, I, 244; JAN WILLEM DRIJVERS, *Helena Augusta: the Mother of Constantine the Great and the Legend of her Finding of the True Cross*, Leiden 1992; STEFAN BORGEHAMMAR, *How the Holy Cross was Found: from Event to Medieval Legend*, Stockholm 1991 (Bibliotheca Theologiae practicae: Kyrkovetenskapliga studier 47); WITOLD WITAKOWSKI, "Ethiopic and Hebrew Versions of the *Legend of the Finding of the Holy Cross*", in: *Studia Patristica XXXV. Papers Presented at the 13th International Conference on Patristic Studies, Oxford 1999*, Leuven 2001, 527–35.

Witold Witakowski

Mäsqäl: Legend of the wood of the Cross

The story about the origin of the wood of the Holy Cross, as also known in Ethiopia, draws on Oriental legends that can be recognized in the literature on Adam, Seth, Saul, ↗Alexander the Great, Solomon and Sheba (↗Makədda), the tales on the latter three being particularly interwoven. It appears in several variants, but the basic story of the Ethiopian version recounts that, on the occasion of Alexander's aerial journey to Paradise, a branch or trunk of the Tree of Life, often identified with the fig tree, was torn out by his fabulous mount (half-horse half-eagle) and dropped over ↗Jerusalem. After a failed attempt to use it for Solomon's Temple, the piece of wood was long forgotten, but revealed its supernatural power by healing the deformed leg of the Queen of Sheba when she arrived to visit the king. It was later put into water (the Jordan river or a pool), where it performed miracles. It was adorned with silver coins by Solomon and the Queen of Sheba, a custom that was kept by 28 further rulers. At the time of the Passion of Christ, the beam was used for his cross, and the coins to pay Judas's betrayal.

The different elements of this legend were present in Ethiopian literature from at least the 15th cent. onward (*Mäṣḥafä ↗məṣtirä sämay wämədr*, *Gädlä ↗Addam, Zena Ǝskəndər*, s. ↗Alexander). The legend, initially not included

in the ↗*Kəbrä nägäśt*, was, however, inserted into the 19th-cent. folkloric version of the latter's story (Jankowsky 1987). In most cases, it is written in Amharic, but there are also Gəᶜəz versions, usually ascribed to ↗Severos of Ašmunayn (e.g., EMML 2063, fol. 80v). The story circulated either as a separate text or inserted into collections of popular historical works (e.g., ms. in the collection of H. Krenz, Berlin).

Src.: ERNEST ALFRED THOMPSON WALLIS BUDGE (tr.), *The Alexander Book in Ethiopia*, London 1933, XVIII, 246f.; SOLOMON CESAR MALAN (tr.), *The Book of Adam and Eve, also called the Conflict of Adam and Eve with Satan*, London 1882, 39–45; JULES PERRUCHON [– IGNAZIO GUIDI] (ed., tr.), *Le Livre des Mystères du Ciel et de la Terre*, Paris 1903 (PO I, 1), 87; ALESSANDRO BAUSI (ed., tr.), ቀሌምንጦስ. *Il Qalēmentos etiopico. La rivelazione di Pietro a Clemente*, Napoli 1992 (StAfEt 2), 137 [Lib. 6, ch. 3 and 5]; EMML VI, 125 , no. 2063, fol. 80v; ALICE JANKOWSKI, *Die Königin von Saba und Salomo: Die amharische Version der Handschrift Berlin Hs. or. 3542*, Hamburg 1987.

Lit.: ANDRÉ CAQUOT, "La reine de Saba et le bois de la Croix selon une tradition éthiopienne", *AE* 1, 1955, 137–47; ENRICO CERULLI, "La Regina di Saba e la tradizione dei Trenta Denari in un testo catalano del secolo XV", *RRALm* ser. 8ª, 22, 1968, 117–35; SEVIR B. CHERNETSOV, "The Aerial Flight of Alexander the Great in Ethiopian Painting and Literature", *OrChr* 83, 1999, 177–86; CRStor 256; ERNST HAMMERSCHMIDT – OTTO JÄGER, *Illuminierte Äthiopische Handschriften*, Wiesbaden 1968, 164–75, fig. 91; J.L. HERR, "La Reine de Saba et le bois de la Croix", *Revue archéologique* 12, 1914, 1–31; DAVID A. HUBBARD, *The Literary Sources of the Kebra Nagast*, Ph.D. thesis, University of St. Andrews 1957, 306f.; THOMAS LEIPER KANE, "An Amharic Version of the Origin of the Cross", *BSOAS* 44, 2, 1981, 213–29; FABRIZIO A. PENNACCHIETTI, "The Queen of Sheba, the Glass Floor and the Floating Tree-Trunk", *Henoch* 22, 2–3, 2000, 223–45; ID., "Legends of the Queen of Sheba", in: ST. JOHN SIMPSON (ed.), *Queen of Sheba: Treasures from Ancient Yemen*, London 2002, 31–50, here 36ff.; EDWARD ULLENDORFF, "The Queen of Sheba in Ethiopian Tradition", in: JAMES B. PRITCHARD (ed.), *Solomon and Sheba*, London 1974, 104–14, here 112f.

Ewa Balicka-Witakowska

Mäsqäl Bezanä ↗Däbrä Täᵓamina

Mäsqäl Kəbra

M.K. (መስቀል፡ ክብራ, lit. 'The Cross is her glory', fl. late 12th-early 13th cent.) was the wife of king ↗Lalibäla. According to the land donations of this king, preserved in the "Golden Gospel" of ↗Däbrä Libanos of Šəmäzana, she bore the title of *bäᶜaltä biḥat* ('Lady of Biḥat'; CRDLib 187, 190f.). The same title is documented for a queen of *aṣe* ↗ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon I – Bəlen Säba – in a land donation registered in the same Gospel book (ibid. 203). In the contracted form of ↗*bäᶜalteḥat*, this title later became a honorific designation for imperial spouses generally (Kropp 2005:132f.). It seems that M.K. was the only queen linked to the reign of Lalibäla, unlike the so-called Solomonic kings who had sometimes three queens.

M.K. is commemorated as a saint in the Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church (on 5 and on 27 or 28 *Ḥamle*, GuiSyn II, 255, 240; BudSaint 1075, 1167; Kur 1972:403). Her Vita is only known through a single manuscript (VatLib Cerulli Et. 178) partly translated by Kur (1972). It is a late compilation (not dated), containing fragments of the hagiographies of Lalibäla and his nephew and successor, ↗Näᵓakkʷəto Läᵓab. Two miracles of M.K. seem to have been composed by a priest of Wärwär named Täklä Maryam, probably the compiler of the hagiographic work. In a donation for the ↗*täzkar* of M.K. and ↗Naᶜod Mogäsa preserved in a Gospel book from Betä Mädḫane ᶜAläm (ms. EMML 6907 fol. 112v), a ↗*liqä kahənat* of Wärwär named Täklä Maryam is mentioned. This indicates that the Vita of M.K. was probably compiled after the mid-16th cent.

The Vita provides little information on M.K. The text contains no mention of her regional or family origins, nor of the end of her life or her death. The compilation only begins with M.K.'s marriage to Lalibäla during his exile. During her husband's stay in ↗Jerusalem, she remained in the desert seeing what Lalibäla saw (a local tradition of Maryam ↗Nazret claims that M.K. was waiting for Lalibäla there; according to the 19th-cent. *Zena Lalibäla* she was waiting in the ↗Mädäbay area). The narrative becomes more fragmented after Lalibäla's accession to the throne; for this period, the compiler uses extracts from the Acts of Näᵓakkʷəto Läᵓab. The queen is said to have first influenced her husband to abdicate in favour of his nephew, but then, 18 months later, when Näᵓakkʷəto Läᵓab's soldiers took a peasant's only cow, to have requested Lalibäla to remove his nephew from the throne.

Other sources support the assumption that M.K. played a major role during the reign of her husband. According to the *History of the Patriarchs of Alexandria*, she was responsible for the fall of metropolitan ↗Mikaᵓel II, who had to return to Egypt after four years in Ethiopia. According to Mikaᵓel, M.K. forced him to consecrate her own brother Ḫayrūn bishop "of the city of the king" (SawHist² vol. 3, part 2, 186f. [tr.]). The latter behaved like a metropolitan and tried to kill Mikaᵓel, who fled to Egypt. Ques-

tioned by the Alexandrian patriarch, Lalibäla gave another version of the facts: Mikaʾel killed a priest from his close circle, accusing him of stealing the palace's treasure, and therefore had to be removed (ibid. 188). Whatever the truth, M.K. had her brother consecrated.

M.K. gave birth to two sons, ↗Yətbaräk and Atyab or Anab, both mentioned in the *History of the Patriarchs* (SawHist² vol. 3, part 2, 193 [tr.], Atyab/Anab possibly identifiable with Näʾakkʷəto Läʾab, s. Tedeschi 1990:338).

The queen is also credited with the building of some churches at ↗Lalibäla, and her great devotion to her royal husband is evidenced by the engraved *mänabərtä* ↗*tabot* discovered in these churches. Notes of donation for her *täzkar* in manuscripts preserved there demonstrate that her cult was celebrated at Lalibäla (EMML 6907, fol. 112v, 158r; EMML 6948 fol. 1v).

Src.: BudSaint 1075, 1167f.; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI (ed., tr.), "Gli Atti di Re Naʾakueto La-ʾAb", in: *Scritti dedicati alla memoria di Francesco Gallina*, Roma 1943 (= *Annali IUO* nuova ser. 2), 105–232; CRDLib; EMML mss. 6907, 6948; GIGAR TESFAYE – JACQUELINE PIRENNE, "Inscriptions sur bois de trois églises de Lalibala", *JES* 17, 1984, 107–26; GuiSyn II 255, 440; MANFRED KROPP, "«Antiquae restitutio legis». Zur Alimentation des Hofklerus und einer Zeugenliste als imago imperii und notitia dignitatum in einer Urkunde des Kaisers Zärʾa Yaʿqob im Condaghe der Hs. BM Or. 481, fol. 154", in: DENIS NOSNITSIN (ed.), *Varia Aethiopica. In Memory of Sevir B. Chernetsov (1943–2005)*, St. Petersburg 2005 (= *Scrinium* 1), 115–47; STANISŁAW KUR, "Édition d'un manuscrit de la Bibliothèque vaticane: Cerulli 178 (Actes de la reine Masqal Kebra)", *MRALm* ser. 8, 16 [7], 1972, 383–426; JULES PERRUCHON, *Vie de Lalibala, roi d'Éthiopie*, Paris 1892; ID., "Notes pour l'histoire d'Éthiopie. Extrait de la vie d'abba Jean, 74ᵉ patriarche d'Alexandrie, relatif à l'Abyssinie", *RevSem* 6, 1898, 267–71, 366–72; *ibid.* 8, 1899, 76–88; SawHist² vol. 3, part 2, 109–15 (text) = 184–93 (tr.); STEFAN STRELCYN, "Quelques inscriptions éthiopiennes sur des 'mänabert' des églises de Lalibäla et de sa région", *BiOr* 36, 1979, 137–56.

Lit.: TadTChurch; BELAYNESH MICHAEL, "Mäsqäl-Kəbra", in: *DicEthBio* 112; CRStor 309; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Pergamene di Debra Dammo", *RSO* 19, 1941, 45–57, here 54 n. 2; SALVATORE TEDESCHI, "Note sul re etiopico Naʾakweto Laʾab", *Quaderni utinensi* 8 [15/16], 1990 [1996], 335–43.

Stanisław Kur – Marie-Laure Derat

Mäsqan

Mäsqan language

M. (common self- and external designation; also written as Masqan, Maskan, Meskan, Mascan, Məsqan, rarely referred to as Gogot or Urib) is spoken by approximately 25,000 people (Gordon 2005:117) in a small area in the former M.–Maräqo district near Butağira (for location s. Mäsmäs). The term M. reputedly derives from Amh. *mäsqäl*, 'cross'. Most of the M. speakers are bi- or multilingual (cf. Getu Shikur 1989; interview with Hassän Dälkero 2001). Easily available written texts in M. are two folktales published by Hetzron (1977:184–96); there is no comprehensive grammar of M. (a study on the verb in M. was published by Leslau 2004).

Hetzron (1968:156, 1972:119) considers M. as a genetic sub-branch on its own within the West ↗Gurage group of South ↗Ethio-Semitic, while Leslau (1969) classifies M. together with Gogot and Muḫər as a sub-branch of West Gurage. M. together with Muḫər, Soddo, Gogot and the West Gurage languages form a typological unit known as Gunnän-Gurage (cf. Hetzron 1977:3f.).

The consonantal system of M. is as follows (Leslau 1979, vol. 1, xxiii): labials *b*, *bʷ*, *f*, *fʷ*, *m*, *mʷ*, *w*; alveolars *t*, *d*, *ṭ*, *n*, *s*, *z*, *l*, *r*; alveopalatals *š*, *ž*, *č*, *ǧ*, *ç̌*, *ñ*, *y*; velars *k*, *kʷ*, *kʸ*, *g*, *gʷ*, *gʸ*, *x*, *xʷ*, *xʸ*, *q*, *qʷ*, *qʸ*; glottal *h*. The phonemic status of the alveolar ejective *ṣ* and the glottal stop *ʾ* is unclear. M. has seven vowels: *ä*, *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u* and *ə*, whereby *ə* also serves as epenthetic vowel (Leslau 1979, vol. 3, xvi; Hetzron 1977:34). The gemination of consonants is phonemic (ibid. 39). The liquids *l*, *r* and *n* in M., as in many other Gunnän-Gurage languages, may merge into a single archiphoneme (cf. Leslau 1979, vol. 3, xlvii ff.; 2004:135; Hetzron 1977:40). There are root-consonant alternations in verbal paradigms (cf. Hetzron 1977:49f.) that do not regularly apply to all verbs. The geminated liquids *nn* and *ññ* may become *r* or *y* respectively in a non-geminated position: *qäññä* (remain:PV-3ms), 'he remained' vs. *yəqäy* (remain:IV-3ms) 'he remains'. Root initial palatals are depalatalized in the jussive or the negative perfective, like *ç̌* ~ *ṭ* in *ç̌äññä-čč* (give birth:PV-3fs), 'she gave birth' vs. *an-ṭäññä-čč* (Neg-give birth:PV-3fs), 'she did not give birth'. In verbs with root final palatals, the palatalization is lost in the perfective 3rd pers. pl. and in the imperfective 2nd pers. pl. and 3rd pers. pl.: *fäǧǧä* (accomplish:PV-3ms), 'he accomplished' vs. *fäddo* (accomplish:PV-3mp), 'they accomplished' (s. Leslau 2004:133; Voigt 2006).

There is no morphological plural marking on nouns, plural is expressed by agreement on verbs (Hetzron 1972:59). Only a few kinship terms form their plural by reduplication ('brother' *gobbe* [sg.] vs. *gobbabit* [pl.]; 'sister' *ʾättämm* [sg.]

vs. *ʾättämmamʷit* [pl.]), by ablaut ('female child' *gäräd* [sg.] vs. *gəred* [pl.]) or by supplementary lexical items ('woman' *məšt* [sg.] vs. *ənšətta* [pl.]). Adjectives are usually not distinguished morphologically from nouns. Some adjectives may form their plural by reduplication of a syllable ('tall' *gälläf* [sg.] vs. *gälalläf* [pl.]) or of the whole word ('good' *fäyya* [sg.] vs. *fäyya-fäyya* [pl.]).

The definite article is the suffix *-i* (Hetzron 1977:56). Subject and direct object seem to be distinguished only by word order: *käbbädä mammo qäṭṭärä*, 'Käbbädä killed Mammo', or *mammo käbbädä qäṭṭärä*, 'Mammo killed Käbbädä'. Genitive and dative are expressed by the prefix *yä-* (*yä-bet wäsäkkət*, 'house-building'; *yä-mädhanitənnät*, 'for medicine'), the locative, ablative and instrumental by the prefix *bä-* (*bä-bet-ota*, 'in/from his house'; *bä-qälläṭ*, 'with a spear'). The prefix *tä-* expresses comitative (cf. ibid. 54) or the allative (*tä-bet-otani*, 'towards his house'). Positional relations can be further modified by postponed elements: *bä-nəq-i bet ʾiftlift*, 'in front of the small house'; *bä-bet-ota wusəṭṭ*, 'in his house'. The similative is expressed by the suffix *-häma*.

Leslau (2004:2) divides triradical simplex verbs into four types: A (*säbbärä* 'to break'), B (*bettänä* 'to disperse'), C (*qattärä* 'to attach'), D (*qoffärä* 'to dig'). Derivation includes reduplication of the second radical in combination with the insertion of the vowel *a* between the reduplicated radical (iterative, frequentative: *kəfaffätä* 'open repeatedly' < *käffätä* 'open'), and the prefixation of *tä-*, *a-* or *at-* to simplex or reduplicated stems which may also involve ablaut phenomena, like *tä-* (passive: *täkeffätä* 'to be opened' < *käffätä* 'to open'; medial: *täsäbbärä* 'break (intr.)' < *säbbärä* 'break (tr.)' or reciprocal: *tänkakkäsä* 'bite each other' < *näkkäsä* 'bite'), *a-* (direct causative: *aqämmäsä* 'make to taste' < *qämmäsä* 'taste'), *at-* (indirect causative, factitive: *atkeffälä* 'order/make someone to pay' < *käffälä* 'pay'; Getu Shikur 1989:34ff.).

The verb occurs in three basic paradigms: perfective, imperfective and jussive/imperative. The imperfective in M. may refer to a present or future action/event (Hetzron 1972:60f.). Unlike in most other South Ethio-Semitic languages, the bare main clause verb represents a finite verb form: *məšt-i ləbas tə-sef* (woman-the clothes 3fs-sew: IPV), 'The woman sews/will sew clothes'. Leslau (1982, 2004:10) distinguishes between three base forms for the jussive of triradical verbs belonging to type A: *yäqtän* ('let him be thin'), *yäṭbəṭ* ('let him seize') and *yäwəqṭ* ('let him crush'), whereby the position of *ə* in the latter two can be considered phonologically conditioned.

M. distinguishes female and male gender in the 2nd and 3rd pers. by agreement markers on the verb (Hetzron 1977:77ff.) only with nouns denoting humans; all other nouns are referred to by the 3rd masc. sg.: *ʾäram-i ʾäga yə-säč* (cow-the water 3ms-drink:IPV), 'The cow is drinking water'. Direct objects are referred to by two different suffix sets on the verb (light and heavy; ibid. 68f.). M. marks converbs by the morpheme *-m* suffixed to verbs in perfective, imperfective, or jussive paradigm. A special form of the verb, the impersonal, is used when the subject is unspecific (ibid. 81ff.).

The negative marker for the 3rd pers. masc. sg. and 3rd pers. pl. in the imperfective and jussive is *ʾe-*: *ʾe-säbər*, 'he will not break'; *ʾe-sbər*, 'he should not break' (Leslau 2004:8, 12). All other persons use the negative marker *ʾa(n)-*, assimilating to the subject agreement prefix: *ʾattəsäbər* (< **ʾan-tə-säbər*), 'she/you (2nd pers. masc. sg.) will not break'. In the perfective aspect the negative marker is *ʾan-*: *an-säbär-hä*, 'you (2nd pers. masc. sg.) did not break'. While affirmative type A verbs in the perfective aspect geminate the second radical, negative type A verbs do not (*qäṭṭärä*, 'he killed' vs. *an-qäṭärä*, 'he did not kill').

The personal pronouns are: *əyya* 'I', *ahä* 'you (masc. sg.)', *äši* 'you (fem. sg.)', *huti* 'he', *hiti* 'she', *inna* 'we', *ahu* 'you (masc. pl.)', *ahma* 'you (fem. pl.)', *hənno* 'they (masc.)', *hənnäma* 'they (fem.)' (Hetzron 1977:58).

Demonstrative pronouns do not distinguish gender. The pronoun *zi* refers to near, and *za* to far entities: *zi säb*, 'this man', *za məšt*, 'that woman'. An optional prefix *nä-* may indicate plural on the demonstrative pronoun: *näzi məštənäma*, 'These are women'.

The present tense copula – except for the 3rd pers. sg. – is *-n*, followed by subject agreement markers (Hetzron 1977:106). For the 3rd pers. masc. sg. the copula is *-w*, but for the 3rd pers. fem. sg. *-(y)a*: *huti näggade-w* (he trader-COP:3ms), 'He is a trader'. The negative copula is expressed by the negated verb *hänä*, 'to be', in the perfective: *hiti näggade ʾan-hän-äčč* (she trader NEG-be:PV-she), 'She is not a trader'.

Question words are either basic pronouns (*mʷa* 'who', *mäčča* 'when') or compound forms (*mə-qar* 'what', *yä-mʷa* 'whose', *yä-nqar* 'why', *bə-mən* 'how', *b-ettey* 'where').

The basic word order is Subject–Object–Verb. Genitives, relative clauses and adjectives precede the head noun.

The ten-word list is as follows: *ʾatt* or *quna* 'one', *hoyt* 'two', *sost* 'three', *ʾäga* 'water', *ʾəsat* 'fire', *ċet* 'sun', *ṭännaqa* 'moon', *däm* 'blood', *ʾallämät* 'tongue', *sən* 'tooth'.

Src.: interview with Fantaye Alämayyähu (M. second language speaker), 42 years old, from Butağira, 2001; Hassän Dälkero (M. native speaker), ca. 60 years old, from Butağira, 2001; Mohammäd Amman (M. native speaker), 30 years old, from Butağira, 2001; RAYMOND G. GORDON (ed.), *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*, Dallas, TX ¹⁵2005, 117.

Lit.: ABDULJEBBAR AWOL, *The Phonology of Mask'an*, Senior Essay, Addis Ababa University 1988; M. LIONEL BENDER, "The Languages of Ethiopia: a New Lexicostatistic Classification and Some Problems of Diffusion", *Anthropological Linguistics* 13, 5, 1971, 165–288, here 235; MARCEL COHEN, *Études d'éthiopien méridional*, Paris 1931; GETU SHIKUR, *Verb Morphology of Mask'an*, Senior Essay, Addis Ababa University 1989; ROBERT HETZRON, *Ethiopian Semitic: Studies in Classification*, Manchester 1972 (JSS Monograph 2); ID., *The Gunnän-Gurage Languages*, Napoli 1977 (Ricerche IUO 12); WOLF LESLAU, "Toward a Classification of the Gurage Dialects", *JSS* 14, 1969, 96–109 [repr. in: ID., *Gurage Studies: Collected Articles*, Wiesbaden 1992, 246–59]; ID., *Etymological Dictionary of Gurage (Ethiopic)*, 3 vols., Wiesbaden 1979, vol. 1, 751–830, vol. 3, XV–XCII ["Outline of Gurage Phonology"]; ID., "The Jussive in the Gurage Dialects of Muher and Masqan", *ZDMG* 132, 1, 1982, 85–97; ID., *The Verb in Mäsqan as Compared with Other Gurage Dialects*, Wiesbaden 2004 (AeF 63); FRANÇOIS MARIE CASIMIR MONDON-VIDAILHET, *La langue harari et les dialectes éthiopiens du Gouraghé*, Paris 1902, 72–119; RAINER VOIGT, "Das Verb in Mäsqan", *Aethiopica* 9, 2006, 164–79.

Ronny Meyer

Mäsqan ethnography

The ↗Gurage group of M. inhabits an area bordered by the ↗Libido in the east, ↗Səlṭi and Wuriro in the south, the ↗Əža and ↗Muḫər in the west and the ↗Dobbi in the north. M. country formed part of the ↗Ḥayqočč-Butağira *awraǧǧa* of Čäbo-Gurage and today is administered by the M. *wäräda* (formerly Mäsqan and Maräqo *wäräda*) of Gurage zone. The administrative centre is ↗Butağira which is also inhabited by Səlṭi. Some M. live in Kämbata, Allaaba, Sidamo and Dämbäl Mäqi as well as in Addis Abäba. The name M. is derived according to oral tradition from Mäsqälä Iyäsus, the church of the old M. settlement of Bidära.

The M. practice a mixed farming system and breed cattle. The country of the M. is fertile and the climate is convenient for a high variety of crops; grain and ↗*ənsät* are cultivated as well as tropical fruits and ↗*čat* for the markets in Addis Abäba and elsewhere. Many M. migrated to the capital for seasonal or permanent labour.

The M. are organized into eight territorial subunits: Ənnat Mäsqan, Aborat, Wərib, Gide(yi), Mikaʾelo, Yäṭäqär, Yäṭäbon and Goyiban, which form the *Səmmut sänga Mäsqan* (lit., 'eight oxen of M.', i.e. the 'eight districts of M.'). Dənbäru Alämu et al. (1994/95.:32f.) lists also Amobor, Dirama, Färägäzañ, but these are clans, not *sänga*. Genealogical narratives trace the M. back to basically four ancestral sources: (1) northerners led by *azmač* Səbḥat, who are said to have migrated into the Gurage region in the 14th cent., (2) *aṣe* ↗Zärʾa Yaᶜəqob, claimed as an ancestor of the early inhabitants of the region (cp. Bustorf 2006:31f.) and (3) different leaders of the *ǧihād* of ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī, some of which are also referred to as ancestors by some Səlṭi, ↗Wäläne and ↗Soddo subgroups. Since the Oromo migration of the 16th cent. also (4) Oromo intermingled with the people of M.

The core groups of M. originally inhabited the edge of the Gurage highland neighbouring the Muḫər by whom they were dominated. Till the second half of the 19th cent., these M. were mainly Christians, but a great part of them was converted to Islam during the *ǧihād* of ↗Ḥasän Ənǧamo and the following years. Their church of Umburr Mikaʾel was destroyed by the Muslim troops.

About 1880 an alliance of Muslim M. led by *azmač* Lante was formed in order to fight against the Libido who controlled the main part of the lowland (around later Butağira) which today is M. territory. The Libido, who also had to deal with the strong impact of Dobbi, Səlṭi and Azärnät-Bärbäre into their sphere, lost ground and the M. expanded from the highly populated highlands.

The integration of the M. territory into the Ethiopian empire took place shortly after the defeat of Ḥasän Ənǧamo in 1888. Led by Fəśśəḫa Ulgiičču and allied in a *gogot* ('military alliance') with Libido, Dobbi and Səlṭi, the M. tried to prevent *ras* ↗Gobäna Dači from conquering the area, but were defeated. In the following period M. country had a strategic role for Šäwa because important trade routes from the newly occupied provinces of Arsi, Sidamo and the Kämbata *awraǧǧa* crossed the region. The market of Mäsqan Oddo was one of the most important slave markets for the area.

Two important religious figures contributed considerably to the deepening of Islam among

the M. as well as to their formation as a genuine and unified ethnic entity: the 19th-cent. Islamic preacher "*šayḫ* Wälle" (named after his land of origin, Wällo) and the famous *šayḫ* ᶜIsa of ↗Qatbäre in the 20th cent. They both stayed among the M. for many years, founded centres of Islamic devotion and for the Muslim majority became focuses of identification until today.

Src.: interviews with Šure Tərfe, Arat Bär-Mukäre, Səlṭi, 12 November 2004; Sani Muhammad, Mäsqan Qoto, January 2005; *šayḫ* Salman *šayḫ* Faris, Inseno, Mäsqan, January 2005; *abägaz* Badru *abägaz* Mahmud, Bidära, Mäsqan, December 2004.

Lit.: HERMANN BAUMANN (ed.), *Die Völker Afrikas und ihre traditionellen Kulturen*, Teil 2: *Nordost-Afrika*, Wiesbaden 1979 (Studien zur Kulturkunde 35), 93; BrHad 175, 185, 189, 195, 197, 223; DIRK BUSTORF, "*Aṣe* Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqobs Kinder: Spuren der Vorbevölkerung von Səlṭe-Land", *Aethiopica* 9, 2006, 23–48, here 31f.; DƎNBÄRU ALÄMU et al., ጎጎት፤ የጉራጌ፡ ብሔረሰብ፡ ታሪክ፡ ባህልና፡ ቋንቋ (*Gogot. Yägurage bəḫeräsäb tarik, bahələnna qʷanqʷa*, 'Gogot, the History, Culture and Language of the Gurage People'), Wälqiṭe 1987 A.M. (1994/95 A.D.), 31–42.

Dirk Bustorf

Mass ↗Qəddase

Massaja, Guglielmo

M. (also Massaia, birth name Lorenzo Antonio; b. 9 or 8? June 1809, Piovà d'Asti [since 1940 Piovà Massaia], Piedmont, d. 6 August 1889, San Giorgio a Cremano, Naples), a Catholic bishop and cardinal, was a ↗Capuchin missionary active in Ethiopia during the second half of the 19th cent.

M. joined the Capuchin order in 1826, and was ordained priest in 1832. Appointed lector in theology shortly afterwards, his skills and fame brought him to be the confessor of Prince Vittorio Emanuele, later king of ↗Italy. In 1846, he was consecrated bishop, and sent to Ethiopia as the head of the Apostolic Vicariate of the Galla (↗Oromo), newly established by the ↗Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide. During his first, unsuccessful attempt to reach his destination from ↗Massawa, he consecrated Giustino De ↗Jacobis (7 January 1849), but was expelled from Təgray shortly after. He moved then to Aden, founding there a Capuchin Mission, to become later the Apostolic Vicariate of Arabia. A second attempt at reaching the "country of the Galla", made after an exploration of the Red Sea coast and the Arabian Gulf, met a similar fate.

It was only in 1852, after a brief European interlude, that M. eventually set foot in Oromo land. The following eleven years saw him promoting a nucleus of native clergy and the establishing missionary centres in Asändabo-Guduru (Wälläga), ↗Lagamara-Ǧimma, ↗Limmu-Ǝnnarya, Čala and Anfillo-↗Geeraa, as well as in several other places of ↗Käfa. This period of M.'s mission is characterized by an extensive geographical, ethnographic and linguistic exploration of the territory. His commitment to people's development included education, medicine (M. would be locally known as *Padre del Fantatà*, 'Father of smallpox') and liberation of the slaves. In 1863, on his way to Europe, he was arrested by ↗Tewodros II, but released shortly thereafter.

Among his major accomplishments during his three years in Europe were the compilation of a catechism in Oromiffa, the publication of an Amharic and Oromo grammar (1867) and the establishment of the ↗Collège des Gallas in Marseille. Back in Ethiopia in 1868, on his way to the Oromo via ↗Šäwa and southern Danakil, M. was asked by the then king of Šäwa ↗Mənilək to remain with him as his own adviser and mentor. His Šäwan period was marked by the foundation of the missions of Fəqre Gəmb and ↗Finfinnee (future Addis Abäba), the support to a Šäwan Embassy to Vittorio Emanuele II (1872) in Naples (s. ↗Italy; cp. ↗Lèon des Avanchers), and a contribution to the success of the Italian Geographic Expedition, received by Mənilək in Ləčče in 1876 (↗Ləṭ Maräfiya). After sign-

Cardinal Guglielmo Massaja; from de Salviac 1900:48-49

ing the Treaty of friendship and commerce with and Šäwa, the Italian government appointed him "plenipotentiary minister" there. In 1879, upon request of ↗Yoḥannəs IV, "*abunä* Messias" – as M. was known in Ethiopia – was expelled from the country by Mənilək. He had then to commit himself to to Yoḥannəs, who forced him to undertake a troublesome journey through Sinnār.

Eventually back to Italy, M. was created cardinal of the title of San Vitale by Leo XIII on 10 November 1884, and spent his final years in Frascati writing his memories. This work (MasMis), published in 1885–95 (new ed. 1984), won rapid popularity. To date, it still remains a vivid and clever description of one of the longest missionary experiences ever, having inspired generations of Catholic missionaries, as well as having become an invaluable historical and ethnographical source for 19th-cent. Ethiopia. His rich collection of handwork and ethnographical objects were made into a museum in 1909, in the Capuchin convent of Frascati (Museo Etiopico "G. Massaia"). In 1914 a process for his beatification was initiated. His work in Ethiopia was later taken over by the ↗Missionari della Consolata.

Italian literature in the Fascist period has portrayed M. as a forerunner of colonial expansion (a propagandistic film, *Abuna Messias*, was produced in 1939), but a closer study of both primary sources and contemporary Italian history disproves such an allegation (Tedeschi 1990).

↗Catholicism

Src.: GUGLIELMO MASSAJA, *Lectiones grammaticales pro missionariis, qui addiscere volunt linguam Amharicam, seu vulgarem Abyssiniae, nec non et linguam Oromonicam, seu populorum Galla nuncupatorum*, Paris 1867; ID., *Lettere e scritti minori*, ed. by ANTONINO ROSSO, 5 vols., Roma 1978; MasMis [= MasMis²]; Osvaldo Raineri, "Guglielmo Massaja, «Lettere e scritti minori»: indice dei nomi e delle materie", *OrChrPer* 72, 2006, 91–144.

Lit.: ENRICO CERULLI, "Massaja, Guglielmo", in: *Enciclopedia Italiana*, vol. 22, Roma 1934, 512; ETTORE COZZANI, *Vita di Guglielmo Massaia*, 2 vols., Firenze 1943 (I grandi Italiani d'Africa 4); ANSELMO DALBESIO, *Guglielmo Massaja, bibliografia-iconografia (1846–1967)*, Torino 1973; LORENZO GENTILE, *L'apostolo dei Galla, o Vita del cappuccino Cardinal Guglielmo Massaia della Piovà*, Asti 1907; METODIO DA NEMBRO, O.F.M. Cap., *La Missione dei Minori Cappuccini in Eritrea (1894–1952)*, Romae 1953 (Bibliotheca Seraphico-Capuccina XIII), s. index; ANTONINO ROSSO, *Gli scritti del Card. G. Massaja*, Roma 1979; SALVATORE TEDESCHI, "Un'analisi storica per respingere giudizi errati: Guglielmo Massaja e il colonialismo italiano", *Rivista di studi politici internazionali* 57, 3, 1990, 433–42; FRANCESCO VALORI, *Guglielmo Massaia*, Torino – Milano 1957.

Tewelde Beyene

Massawa

M. (Tgn., Tgr. ምጽዋዕ, Məṣəwwaᶜ, Amh. ምፅዋ Məṣəwwa; 15° 36' 33 N, 39° 27' 52 E) is the most important port of ↗Eritrea and the largest deep-water port of the ↗Red Sea. It is the administrative centre of the *zoba* Səmenawi Qäyyəḥ Baḥri ('Northern Red Sea Province'), formerly of ↗Sämhar *awraǧǧa* (for location s. Mändäfära).

Folk etymology explains the name M. through Tgn. *məṣəwwaᶜ* ('call, shout over a longer distance'), the island Baṣəᶜ (ባጽዕ, the historical centre) being in shouting distance from the coast. The European name forms (M., Ital. Massaua, etc.) derive from the Arabic name (Maṣawwaᶜ/ Muṣuwwaᶜ; cp. Turk. Massava).

Eritreans mostly refer to the entire town as Baṣəᶜ (Tgn., Tgr. of M. and Mänsaᶜ; cp. Beni ᶜAmər Tgr.: Baṭəᶜ, Beğa: Báḍəᶜ; cp. ↗Bāḍiᶜ of medieval Arabic sources), the island then called *wəšṭi Baṣəᶜ* ('inner M.'). The first mention of the port in medieval European sources might be Marino Sanuto's 1321 map after Pietro Vesconte (1311), with a Red Sea port "Nece" (or "Neze", respectively; probably known through Arab. sources, *b* being easily confused for *n*).

The historical M. lies on the islands Baṣəᶜ (with the historical centre) and Ṭəwalät (Arab. Ṭawālūt, Ital. Tawlud), connected with each other and with the coast by dams. The small presently uninhabited nearby island Šayḫ Saᶜīd Ǧazīra (Ital. Isola Verde) was once allegedly a trading place or depot. The mainland satellites ↗Ǝmkullu, ↗Ḥəṭumlo and ↗Ǝmbärämi are now administratively included into the city, so are the more recent mainland city quarters ᶜƎdaga Bəᶜray, Ḵutmiyya and Amatäre, and the two adjacent peninsulas Gärar and ᶜAbdälqadər (named so after the famous Sufi *šayḫ* ᶜAbdalqādir al-Gīlānī) to the north. ↗Ḥərgigo, a south-western suburb which houses the electric plant of M., is still independent.

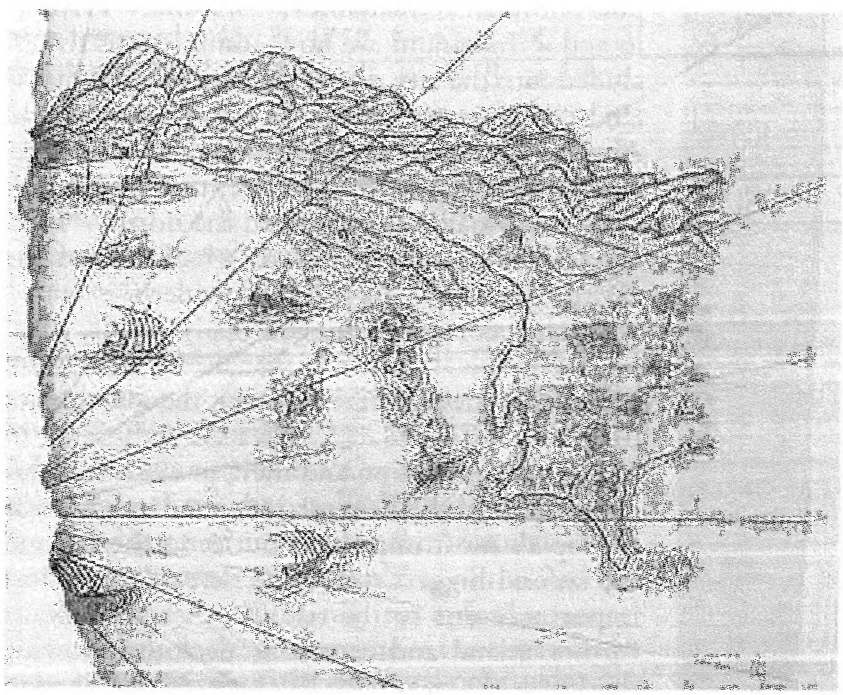
M. and its region changed many hands, passing from the ↗Dahlak sultanate to Ethiopian, then Portuguese influence, from the ↗Ottoman empire to ↗Egypt (↗Massawa Governorate), to Italian administration and then, in 1962, to Ethiopia. Up until the Eritrean independence M. was Ethiopia's most important outlet to the sea and the second biggest town of Eritrea. It later lost importance due to the rise of other settlements further inland and economic decline following the 1998–2000 war with Ethiopia. M. is linked to Asmära by a 115 km mountain road, constructed during the Italian period.

History

M. seems to have emerged as a port after the decline of ↗Adulis, some time between the 8th and the 10th cent. There is a possibility that it was already used as a port earlier, if the 7th cent. place name Baṣaᶜ in an Arabic source refers to M.; it may have been under Muslim domination already then (CRStor 212). It is sure, however, that in the 8th cent. the nearby Dahlak peninsula was dominated by Arabs (ibid. 213). The coast of M. was then controlled by ↗Beğa (or the legendary "Rom", s. CRStor 276). With the rise of the Dahlak sultanate in the 11th cent., M. became the main link between the Muslim-dominated Red Sea coast and the Christian highlands. Local tradition reports about the *šum baḥri* (*śəyyumä baḥər*), an independent ruler of Dahlak and the coastlands, who controlled trade routes between M. and the Christian highlands. He may have originally been a prefect appointed by the Aksumites. When Dahlak became independent, its *sulṭān* was continued to be called *śəyyumä baḥər* by Abyssinians (CRStor 300).

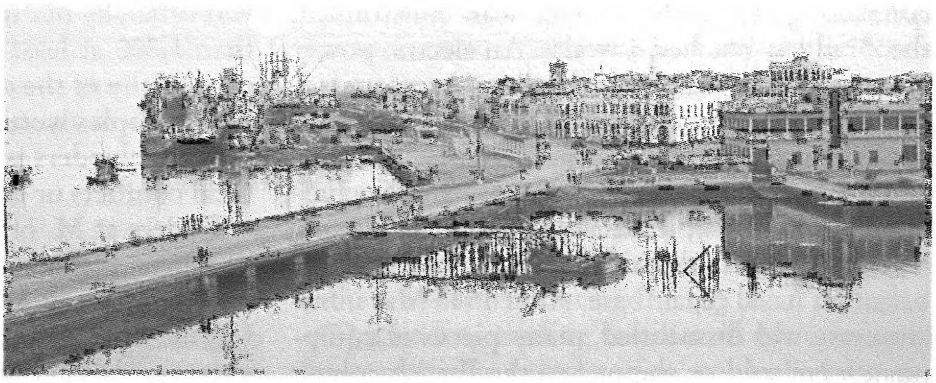
From the 14th cent. onward, M. attracted increased interest of highland rulers. In times of consolidation of power, Ethiopian rulers expanded their sphere of influence up to M., in competition with the ruler of Dahlak. War songs of *aṣe* Yəsḥaq mention campaigns to M. (TadTChurch 261), where he submitted the deputy of Dahlak at M. (van Donzel in EI², 642). *Aṣe* Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob, after having established his control over the nearby highlands, seems to have reached M. in the mid-15th cent. and fortified Gärar opposite of it, according to a chronicle of ᶜAddi Nəᵓammən (TadTChurch 261; KolTrad III, A25, A32). It is also reported that both M. and Dahlak were pillaged in 1464/65, and "the *qāḍī*" died (very probably the powerful chief-justice of M.; ibid.). M. only irregularly paid tribute to rulers of the adjacent highlands, such as the ↗*baḥər nägaš* or the governor of Təgray, but also remained linked with the ruler of Dahlak, who himself was a vassal of the *sulṭān* in Aden (van Donzel in EI², 642 [Lit.]).

In the early 16th cent., the Portuguese started to control trade in the Indian Ocean, taking over Dahlak in 1520 and briefly occupying M. (the report, however, that M. was formally given by the Ethiopian ruler to the Portuguese in that year, is not confirmed by sources; cp. van Donzel in EI², 642; BeckHuntAlvar II, 479ff.; CrawItin 90, 159). They started to use M. as a port and transformed a mosque into a church (BeckHuntAlvar I, 58); following this episode the Dahlak ruler *sulṭān* Aḥmad b. Ismāᶜīl (d. 1540) joined the war of ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī and re-established his control over the coast. His successor resided at M. It was there that the Portuguese troops who came to help Gälawdewos in the war against Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī landed (cp. Christovão da ↗Gama) in 1541. In 1557, in the course of the Ottoman competition with Portugal for the Red Sea, Sultan Süleyman the Great's commander ↗Özdemir *pasha* occupied M., which was fortified. The Ottomans moved the seat of the new Ottoman province, ↗Ḥabeš *eyaleti*, from Sawākin to M. ↗Mosques were built in M. and surroundings. A few decades later the Ottoman expansion came to a halt, and M. was put under a governor residing in ↗Arabia (at Jeddah), with only a deputy surveying taxation at M. In the city administration, the *qāḍī* of the *šarīᶜa* court occupied a central position, as documented starting from the 16th cent.; in the 19th cent. his jurisdiction extended even over wide areas from the ↗Ḥabab in the north to the northern ᶜAfar coast (Miran 2004:253ff.). The coast was put under local families,



Massawa on an early Portuguese Portolan map, the "Tavoa do Porto de Maçva"; from de Albuquerque 1991:107

the ↗Bäläw of ↗Ḥərgigo becoming the autonomous rulers of the Sämhar, the coastal strip, under Ottoman suzerainty, assuming the Ottoman title of ↗*nāʾib*. Ḥərgigo rulers controlled the only water supply for M. until the 1870s, they were therefore often involved in M.'s administration and received Ottoman rents.



Massawa port and the old city on Baṣəʿ island; photo early 1960s, courtesy of Mike Metras

Ottoman interest in M. revived in the early 19th cent., when in 1809 a Turkish governor was appointed, and in 1813–23 an Egyptian one. From then on Ottoman governors were appointed regularly, and the *nāʾibs* lost a part of their influence. In 1846 M. was leased to the Egyptian ruler Muḥammad ʿAlī, followed by a rebellion of the *nāʾib*, who was submitted by force in 1847; M. was under Egyptian control until 1848. In 1865/66 the Ottoman Porte ceded Ḥabeš (with the ports of ↗Sawākin and M.) to Egypt, who quickly built up a dynamic and military aggressive Massawa Governorate (later the core of the Governorate-General of the Eastern Sudan and the Red Sea Coasts).

Starting from the 1840s, European powers, seeking protection of their economic (and political) interests, established vice-consulates at M.: ↗France in 1841, then the ↗United Kingdom, later, albeit briefly, ↗Austria. The French and British vice-consuls actively intervened in local trade and politics, e.g., by fighting against slave trade (↗Slavery), or by engaging themselves in protection of border peoples (e.g., the ↗Bilin). Missions (↗Lazarists, ↗Swedish Protestant Mission) established themselves in M. They could not convert anyone in the city but used it as their base. Their schools were visited by a few local children and, particularly, freed slaves, many of them Oromo (e.g., ↗Onesimos Näsib).

During the Egyptian Governorate, the first buildings were erected on Ṭəwalät island, which became the administrative centre. A water pipeline was constructed, as well as dams to connect the islands and the coast, a telegraph line and ↗postal service were established, even banking became possible. ↗Ḥanafism was revived at that time, and the 16th-cent. (or earlier) *Ḥanafī* mosque renovated.

The revival of international engagement in the region coincided with that of the Christian Ethiopian state. While *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II did not actively claim M., it became an important issue of *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV's foreign policy. In his negotiations with ↗Gordon, he claimed M. (or, alternatively, another port south of M.) as Ethiopian property "stolen by the Muslims". After the ↗Egyptian–Ethiopian war of 1875–76, Yoḥannəs put M. under a virtual siege, forbidding any trade with the "Turks". At the same time, Ethiopian outlaws such as ↗Däbbäb Arʾaya, present in the Egyptian territory around M. in the 1880s, endangered Ethiopian caravans heading to M. This and the problems with the ↗Mahdists motivated Great Britain to offer free access to M. "under British protection" in the 1884 ↗Hewett Treaty. M. was then, however, taken over by Italy with British consent. Italian troops, commanded by the naval officer Caimmi, occupied the port in February 1885. After first armed clashes in the coastal plains near the highlands (↗Dogʿali) in 1887, Yoḥannəs IV camped near M. with a huge army. He had to leave, however, without taking an action due to the lack of provision, and Italy continued its expansion.

M. was the capital of the Colonia ↗Eritrea from the colony's proclamation in 1890 until 1897 when Asmära took over. M. was the centre of the Zona di Massaua, then of the Commissariato Regionale di Massaua. The port's development accelerated. Commercial and administrative buildings and docks were erected, forts were built in the suburbs. By 1893 M. had 16,400 inhabitants (including 2,200 Italians).

Large parts of the city were completely reshaped after the 1921 earthquake. The Italians also had a Catholic St. Mary church constructed at that time.

The period of the ↗Africa Orientale Italiana brought further changes. The 115-km road to Asmära was improved, and an aerial cableway

connecting M. with Asmära was constructed; the ↗railway reached Ṭəwalät. An electric power plant was built, so were fuel depots, a cement factory, new living quarters, a base for the ↗navy at the ᶜAbdälqadər Peninsula, and a military airport. In 1938 M. had 15,000 civilian inhabitants (including 4,000 Italians), thousands of soldiers passing through. After the British victory of 1941, M. became a naval repair base. After 1945 M.'s infrastructure was dismantled, many pieces of equipment were sold or shipped to the British colony of ↗India (KilHDic 304; Pankhurst 1952).

Under the ↗Ethiopian-Eritrean Federation (1952–62), M. again developed as a naval base, with American help. Qəddəsti Maryam Orthodox church and a mosque were built. A part of M.'s population, unlike in other Muslim areas of Eritrea, supported Eritrea's union with Ethiopia in the light of trade possibilities (and historical experience). However, Ethiopian interference in local administration as well as the rising dominance of Christians led to different manifestations of protest, including docker strikes in 1954. M. was under ↗Eritrean Liberation Front's siege in 1977/78, whereupon it became a major Ethiopian garrison.

After the battle of ↗Afᶜabät the ↗Eritrean People's Liberation Front (E.P.L.F.) had most of Eritrea in control, and in February 1990 it occupied M. in a surprise attack (*sərrəḥit fänqəl*, 'Operation Fänqəl', s. KaneTDic 669). The *Därg* forces had to give M. up, their bombing having destroyed more than 80 % of the town. It was the last important battle before the Ethiopian troops surrendered to the E.P.L.F. at Asmära in May 1991. In 1994, the Port's Administration was moved to M. from Asmära, the fuel depot and cement factory were repaired and new projects in the fishing industry (mainly for export) developed.

Trade

Until the mid-19th cent. M. was among the most important markets for slaves at the southern Red Sea coast, along with Sawākin, ↗Tağūra and ↗Zaylaᶜ (s. Austen in PICES 5b, 446f.). Slave traders, mostly from the Sudanese border regions (e.g., ↗Funǧ until the 18th cent., the ↗Rašāʾida in the Barka lowlands in the mid-19th cent.) or northern Sudan, transported their captives to M. for the great demand from the Arabian peninsula, Egypt, and India. One caravan could comprise 500 or more slaves (as reported in 1873, s. ibid.); the annual mean number of slaves traded in M. was officially 600 in 1839–40, but probably more than 1,000 at least from the 18th to the mid-19th cent. Many of the captives were Oromo, but also other peoples were represented, including Ethiopian highlanders who had been captured during local conflicts or cross-border raids.

Traders at M. offered both local and imported products, including such ancient goods as ↗ivory, ↗gold, ↗salt and ↗incense, and also victuals for the Red Sea ports. Export products of M. mentioned in the earliest sources, and still in the 1950s, were fish (including shark fins for export to ↗China), mother of pearl, tortoise shell, sea cucumber (purchased by Japanese companies for export to China; Leuenberger 1955:186). Pearl was fished near the M. coast, especially in the Dahlak archipelago – probably an ancient practice; the knowledge of specific places in the sea was transmitted as a secret through generations (ibid. 185). Goods reached M. from the most remote regions, for which a 11th- to 12th-cent. Buddha-like statuette of the Far East found at Ṭəwalät is an example (Conti Rossini 1928, fig. 67, n. 222).

M.'s foreign trade was largely operated by merchants with Ottoman background, mainly Arabs, but also Greeks, Armenians etc. Their trading networks, dominated by merchants from Cairo, Jeddah, Mecca and Aden, linked M. with the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean (Tuchscherer 2002). Already in the early 16th cent. ships from India (Gujarat) are mentioned, but the presence of Indians was reduced in the 18th cent. (van Donzel in EI², 642). But again the 19th cent. many international traders resident in M. were Indians (↗Banyan), mainly Hindu and Jain, who transported everything available on the Indian market to M., often acquiring considerable wealth during the years. Products offered by them were especially textiles, spices, but also metal work and imported items like German Solingen knives, Italian glass, weapons etc. The Indians normally stayed for half a year and then went back to India with the monsoon, to return again in the following year. The Indian merchants of the city were mainly originating from Gujarat, but also Kerala. Their influence in the mid-19th cent. on the administration of M. was considerable; the "harbourmaster", responsible for the administration of the harbour, including taxation, was an Indian (in the 1860s Mohamed Hindi; s. Munzinger 1869:188). The Indian traders, however, were deprived from their access to the markets starting from the late 19th cent. by the competing Italians.

During the Italian period an important salt industry was developed at M.'s coast, which still flourishes today. Great salines at the Gärar peninsula, at the M. bay, deliver salt to the world market.

Population

The dominating group are Muslim ↗Təgre (the Məṣəwwaᶜin [Arab. Maṣawwiᶜīn, *šaᶜab* Maṣawwaᶜ]) of mixed Arabic and Təgre origins (but also Sāho and ᶜAfar), with a strong urban and cosmopolitan identity. They are marked by strong Arabic influences (Miran 2004:281). The urban inhabitants of M. and its suburbs Ǝmkullu, Ḥəṭumlo and Ḥərgigo were called *Säb mədun* (Tgr. 'people of the cities'), in differentiation from other Təgre subgroups (LitPEA vol. 1, 283 = vol. 2, 340). In addition to the city population, there were also always *Säb bar* ('People of the countryside') migrating to M. Agro-pastoralists and pastoralists from the Təgre Ḥabab, ↗Mänsaᶜ, Mäsḥalit, ↗ᶜAd Šek etc., the Arab Rašāʾida, and the Sāho ↗Asaorta used to migrate to the M. area during the dry season; starting from the Italian period many of them settled permanently. The temporary population used to include traders, mostly highlanders but also Indians, some of whom also remained in M. Today the city has a large share of Christian ↗Təgrəñña-speaking population.

M. is an important local centre for Islam (s. ↗Islam: History of Islam in Eritrea). The important ↗mosques include the early Ottoman Ḥanafī *masǧid*, the allegedly 13th-cent. Šāfiᶜī *masǧid*, and the Šayḫ Ḥammālī mosque. Famous Islamic teachers and local chiefs were buried in shrines at M. and its suburbs, esp. Ǝmbärämi and Ḥəṭumlo. The 16th-cent. grave of *šayḫ* ad-Darbuš in the old city is an important, but now endangered monument. ↗Islamic brotherhoods present in M. include the *Ḫatmīya*, *Šāḏilīya* and *Qādirīya* (Miran 2005).

The names for M. and its parts are used in personal onomastics (↗Names). Male names include Bāṣəᶜāy (lit. 'one from Baṣəᶜ', meaning 'rich like someone from M.'), Baynani (lit. '↗Banyan', i.e. Indian [from M.]), Tərki, Tərkay ('Turk [from M.]'); female names Ṭəwalät (one of the M. islands), and Madayin ('region of M.'; [the region around M. was also called Mudun, Arab. 'cities']; s. LitPEA II 165, 185f.).

19th-cent. travellers report on the great number of languages spoken at M., Arabic being a *lingua franca*, but also ↗Amharic serving as such (cp. Afevork 1908). Təgre was and still is the dominating language, and Təgrəñña is very present. In the 19th cent. traders spoke Arabic, Hindi, Urdu, all the languages of the highlands, and even ↗Hausa. There were Oromo and ᶜAfar and other minor migrant groups; government officials mainly used Arabic, Turkish, French, English and even German during the Egyptian period.

The leading trading families of M. originated from virtually every region controlled by the Ottomans (Yemen, Saudi Arabia, Kurdistan), and even farther regions (India, Pakistan, Afghanistan), but also from adjacent areas (from the ↗*käbäsa* highlands or diverse Təgre groups). Also Bäläw families from Ḥərgigo, were they controlled the water supply for M., belong to the old inhabitants of M. Until the 19th cent. Ḥərgigo received a rent from the M. authorities for the protection of M. This gave them a position through which they could exercise some influence on M.

Local tradition reports that a part of the population of Ḥərgigo (e.g., the Tgr. group ᶜAd Bušnaq) descends from a 16th/17th-cent. Albanese and Bosniak contingent of the Ottoman army (Leuenberger 1955:188; Schimper 1852:238), stationed here for the protection of the Ottoman province (*eyalet*) of Ḥabeš.

Several important families of M., virtually "patricians", controlled administrative posts and trade during generations. M. is the only city in Eritrea, where family names are regularly used; old families often adopted names which were pointing to their origins (e.g., Kurdī, Turkī, Maġribī, Hindī, Qašmīrī, Bāḥubayš from the Yemen; from the environs: ᶜAdūlāy, Dankalī, Karanī, Sūmālī) or important titles inherited within the family (e.g., Afandī from Turkish *efendi*, Kantibay from the Ḥabab *käntebay*, Kakiya from the Turkish administrative title *kahya*, similar to the ↗Nāʾib family in Ḥərgigo; s. Miran 2004:308–14).

The population of M. increased greatly during the Ethiopian federation period, from 21,300 inhabitants in 1962 to ca. 60,000 in the mid-1980s (including refugees from the highlands and food aid migrants). In 2004 M. was the fifth in size, with 36,400 inhabitants.

Src.: G[EBRE] J[ESUS] AFEVORK, *Guide du voyageur en Abyssinie*, Rome 1908; BeckHuntAlvar I, 58, II, 479ff.; BTafY 81, passim; CrawItin 90, 159; WILLIAM FOSTER (tr.), *The Red Sea and Adjacent Countries at the Close of the Seventeenth Century*, London 1949; ARTURO ISSEL, *Viaggio nel Mar Rosso e tra i Bogos*, Milano 1885; ALBERT KAMMERER

(tr.), *Routier de Dom Joam de Castro, l'exploration de la Mer Rouge par les Portugais en 1541*, Paris 1936; KolTrad III, A25, A32; LitPEA vol. 1 283, vol. 2, 165, 185f., 340; MINISTERO DELLE COLONIE, *Ferrovia Massaua–Asmara*, Roma 1914; WERNER MUNZINGER, "Les contrées limitrophes de l'Habesch du coté du nord-est", *Nouvelles Annales des Voyages* 6, ser. 4, 2, 1858, 5–55; ID., "Narrative of a Journey through the Afar Country", *The Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London* 39, 1869, 188–232; MunSt 114–42; DENIS DE RIVOYRE, *Mer Rouge et Abyssinie*, Paris 1880; WILHELM SCHIMPER, "Berichte aus und über Abyssinien", *Sitzungsberichte der philosophisch-historischen Classe der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften Wien* 8, 1852, 227–39; LIONEL CASSON (ed., tr.), *The Periplus Maris Erythraei*, Princeton 1989.

Lit.: ABDU ALI HABIB, *History of Massawa: from Early Nineteenth Century to the Coming of the Italians*, B.A. thesis, Department of History, Haile Sellassie I University, Addis Ababa 1973; AbRSea; RALPH A. AUSTEN, "The Islamic Red Sea Slave Trade: an Effort at Quantification", in: *PICES* 5b, 443–67; CHARLES RALPH BOXER, *The Portuguese Seaborne Empire*, London 1969; *Guida*, s. index; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, *La Guerra turco-abissina del 1578*, Roma 1923; CRStor; EMERI VAN DONZEL, "Maṣawwaᶜ", in: *EI²*, vol. 6, 641–44; DouinIsm III; "Massaua Coloniale", *L'Esplorazione Coloniale* 4, 1889, 2–20, 34–51; ErlAlula² 16–36, 88–97; FRANCESCO GALLINA, "I Portughezi a Massaua nei secoli XVI, XVII", *Bollettino della Società Geografica Italiana* ser. 3ª, 3, 1890; CARLO GIGLIO, *L'Italia in Africa. Serie storica*, vol. 1: *Etiopia – Mar Rosso*, I: (*1857–1885*), Roma 1949, II: *Documenti* (*1859–1882*), Roma 1959, III: *Documenti* (*1883–1885*), Roma 1959; KaneTDic 669; KilHDic 301–07, 180, 252; HANS LEUENBERGER, *Äthiopien*, Zürich 1955, 185–88; GEORGES MALÉCOT, "Le Consulat de France à Massaoua", in: *Perspectives nouvelles sur le passé de l'Afrique noire et de Madagascar, mélanges offerts à Hubert Deschamps*, Paris 1974 (Publications de la Sorbonne, série études 7), 135–47; JONATHAN MIRAN, *Facing the Land, Facing the Sea: Commercial Transformation and Urban Dynamics in the Red Sea Port of Massawa, 1840s–1900s*, Ph.D. thesis, Michigan State University 2004; ID., "A Historical Overview of Islam in Eritrea", *Die Welt des Islams* 45, 2, 2005, 177–215; ID., "Massawa", in: *WenDAE* I, 279; MorDicAfar 108; MuhTarih; DOUGLAS NEWBOLD, "The Crusaders in the Red Sea and the Sudan", *SNR* 26, 1945, 213–28; DANTE ODORIZZI, *Il Commissari,ato Regionale di Massaua al 1° Gennaio 1910*, Asmara 1911; RICHARD PANKHURST, "The Trade of the Gulf of Aden Ports of Africa in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries", *JES* 3, 1, 1965, 36–81; ID., "Some Notes on the Historical and Economic Geography of the Meṣewa Area (1520–1885)", *ibid.* 13, 1, 1975, 49–91; PankHist II; SYLVIA PANKHURST, *Eritrea on the Eve – the Past and Future of Italy's 'First-born' Colony and Ethiopia's Ancient Sea Province*, London 1952; RubInd, s. index; DAVID H. SHINN – THOMAS P. OFCANSKY, *Historical Dictionary of Ethiopia, New Edition*, Lanham – Toronto – Oxford 2004, 272f.; TadTChurch index; GHADA HASHEMI TALHAMI, "Massawa under Khedive Isma'il", in: *PICES* 5b, 481–93; ID., *Suakin and Massawa under Egyptian Rule 1865–1885*, Washington, DC 1979; MICHEL TUCHSCHERER, "Trade Relations Between the Arabian and African Coasts in the 16th and 17th centuries", Paper held at the Conference Red Sea Trade and Travel, British Museum, London, 6 October 2002; ZewYohan, s. index.

Wolbert Smidt

Architecture in Massawa

M.'s ↗architecture is complex. Chronologically, it can be roughly subdivided into four periods: pre-1885 (Ottoman and Egyptian); 1885–1935 (Colonia Eritrea); 1935–41 (Africa Coloniale Italiana) and post-1941.

M.'s oldest buildings are situated on Baṣəᶜ island. Their distinct features are owed to Ottoman influence and reflect Arabian architecture in and around the Red Sea region. They are built in coral block, a material that does not corrode in the highly salty environment and thus requires relatively little maintenance. Ottomans used lumps of unworked coral block bound with lime mortar. Egyptians cut regular blocks from larger pieces of coral using them as bricks. Supporting wooden beams were laid horizontally at regular intervals.

Few buildings from the Ottoman period still exist, e.g., the allegedly 15th-cent. Šayḫ Ḥanafī mosque. Most of the predominantly single-storey constructions date from the Egyptian period. The most eminent building from this time is the former Governor's Palace, built by the order of ↗Munzinger in 1872–74. The two-storey palace is square in plan and topped with a large dome, whose axis provided the central co-ordinate of the first maps of Eritrea – drawn to a scale of 1:50,000. It later was used as seat of the Italian administration, called "Palazzo del Governo", and afterwards as ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase's residence; it is now still known as the ↗*Gəbbi*.

After the destructive series of earthquakes in August 1921, many buildings were designed and built by the Italians. Although most old buildings had to be rebuilt (or repaired), the Italians made a conscious effort to retain their scale and physical characteristics, as with the old Grand Mosque, ↗Ğāmiᶜ al-Ḫulafāᵓ ar-Rāšidīn. They also kept the layout of the city's streets. The irregular pattern of narrow, dense alleyways is as much a part of M.'s character today as the buildings are. New post-1921 buildings were constructed in reinforced concrete, and often faced with coral block or cement plaster. They usually have more than one storey. On Baṣəᶜ, buildings appeared mostly in the districts facing the port, to stylistically complement and respect the existing ones. On Ṭəwalät, another style was adopted, the character being more European.

Between the mid-1930s and early 1940s, Italians built larger structures, often of three and four storeys, in a modern style similar to that of contemporary ↗Asmära architecture, but with more

respect for traditional forms, reflected in such details as arches, colonnades and verandas. Reinforced concrete was the most common material. Unsuited to the climatic conditions in M., it has suffered severe damage from salt. Most buildings from this period are located on Baṣəᶜ's south side.

A few buildings were constructed after the Italian period, most of them on Ṭəwalät. Some attempts to reconstruct war-damaged old buildings on Baṣəᶜ have resulted in their replacement. Thus, a passenger terminal and port administration building took place of buildings from the Turkish period.

The old city on Baṣəᶜ is today considered national heritage. Restauration programmes in the 1990s, co-funded by the World Bank, have helped to partially rebuild the city.

Src.: ENNIO QUIRINO MARIO ALAMANNI, *La colonia Eritrea e i suoi commerci*, Torino 1891; FRANCIS ANFRAY – ANNE SAURAT (eds.), *Massawa et la mer Rouge. Histoire et culture* (exhibition catalogue), Massawa 2002; ACHILLE BIZZONI, *L'Eritrea – nel passato e nel presente*, Milano 1897; ROSALIA PIANAVIA VIVALDI, *Tre anni in Eritrea*, Milano 1901; MARIO DEI GASLINI, *L'Italia sul Mar Rosso*, Milano 1938; FERDINANDO MARTINI, *Nell'Africa Italiana: impressioni e ricordi*, Milano 1935; RENATO PAOLI, *Nella colonia Eritrea: studi e viaggi*, Milano 1908.

Lit.: EDWARD ELLSBERG, *Under the Red Sea Sun*, New York 1946; ALBERT KAMMERER, *La Mer Rouge, l'Abyssinie et l'Arabie depuis l'Antiquité*, Le Caire 1935; ID., *La Mer Rouge, l'Abyssinie et l'Arabie*, Cairo 1952; NAIGZY GEBREMEDHIN – EDWARD DENISON – MEBRAHTU ABRAHAM – GUANG YU REN, *Massawa, a Guide to the Built Environment*, Asmara 2005; PAOLO REVIGLIO, "Ricordi e riflessioni sui terremoti di Massaua", *Sestante* 1, 2, July–December 1965, 87–91; FRANCESCO SIRAVO, *Preservation and Presentation of the Cultural Heritage – Asmara and Massawa, UNESCO Technical report*, Paris 1995.

Edward Denison

Massawa Governorate

The M.G. (Arab. *mudīrīyat* al-Muṣuwwaᶜ, also *muḥāfaẓat* al-Musuwwaᶜ; Turk. Massava *muḥāfızlığı*) formally succeeded the Ottoman ↗Ḥabeš *eyaleti* in 1869, as a new administrative unit annexed to the Egyptian Sudan, with ↗Massawa as its capital. Before, the *muḥāfızlıq* Massava was an administrative unit within Ḥabeš. The M.G. was shaped within the framework of imperialist Egyptian expansion. Later, it became the strategic and legal basis for the foundation of the Italian Colonia ↗Eritrea in 1890.

The Governorate 1865–69

Ḥabeš was transferred to the Egyptian dynasty of ↗Ismāᶜīl *bāšā* in 1865 (and then to ↗Egypt itself in 1866), Egypt taking possession of it on 30 May 1866. During the first years, M.G., as an administrative unit within Ḥabeš, comprised only the port of Massawa with Ḥərgigo (Däḫono), Ǝmkullu and Ḥəṭəmlo, with the coastal strip up to Ḥaffalé (↗Amfilla) in the south, together with the ↗Dahlak archipelago, and in the north extending up to Tokar (Talhami 1979:76); vassals or dependencies of M.G. were then the ↗Mänsaᶜ, the ↗Ḥabab, the Buri Peninsula (with the Dankál) and, in theory, the ↗Ṣänᶜadäglä of the northern edge of ↗Akkälä Guzay (who in fact remained fully autonomous).

Ottoman claims had often included the whole ᶜAfar coast up to the ↗Bāb al-Mandab, but without involving any concrete action (except in 1860, when the governor of Massawa, Purto *efendi*, on the order of the Ottoman Porte took control of the coast: instead of demanding tribute, his deputy Aḥmad Arᵓay of Ḥərgigo gave gifts to the ᶜAfar chiefs, who then agreed to plant the Ottoman flag up to the salt plain in the ᶜAfar Depression and along the coast, excluding ↗Baylūl which belonged to the ↗Awsa sultanate; s. Munzinger 1869:214).

The Egyptian government ensured that the old theoretical claims were further put into effect. The port of ᶜIddi (↗ᶜƎdd), claimed by the French due to an old contract, was purchased by Ismāᶜīl *bāšā* and formally included into M.G. (ibid.). In 1866 the Ḥərgigo chief Aḥmad Arᵓay of the ↗Nāᵓib family was declared Egyptian chief of the whole ᶜAfar coast under the governor at Massawa (however, he died in the same year of cholera; s. ibid.:215). Small Egyptian garrisons were established along the coast, e.g., at ↗Iṯāfálo near the salt plain of the Buri peninsula (ibid. 215, 229), collecting taxes on ↗salt production. Also litigations concerning ᶜAfar were decided within M.G. territory, e.g., at the "Turkish" court of Ḥaffalé (ibid. 213f).

In 1867 the British-Indian army (↗Napier expedition) established their first headquarters within the M.G. at ↗Zula Bay, with the permission of the Egyptian government; when leaving in 1868, their small railway and other installations went into the possession of the M.G.

The Sudano-Egyptian Governorate 1869–75

In 1869 M.G. was formed as a unit within the newly founded general-governorate of the "Eastern Sudan". It thus formally became part of the Egyptian Sudan, in contravention of Ottoman rules, which perceived Ḥabeš as separate from the Sudan. After another re-shaping of administrative borders in 1871, the Eastern Sudan was split again into separate provinces.

The M.G. slowly took more and more direct control of its territories. Tensions and conflicts between the *nāʾib* and the Egyptians mounted as they attempted to modify their control of the coasts and hinterlands from a form of indirect rule to a more direct and centralized method of governing, e.g. by taking over tribute collection from the *nāʾib*. This process led to the diminishing of the political power of the *nāʾibs*, who had until then been the traditional power brokers in the area.

The first serious expansion of M.G. took place in 1872, when the energetic governor of M.G., Werner ↗Munzinger *bey*, after secret negotiations with local *šayḫs*, annexed the adjacent Bogos highlands (↗Bilin history). Until this time, these had been only theoretically claimed by the Egyptian ↗Taka province in the Sudan, but had in fact a loose tribute-relationship with the Ethiopian-appointed governor of Ḥamasen. In 1873 the ᶜAfar of the coast (Dankáli) declared their vassalship, so that, at least theoretically, the whole coastal strip up to the still independent sultanate of ↗Raḥayta in the south were included in the province. This was followed by the annexation of the ↗salt plains of the ᶜAfar Depression (Tgn. Ṭənṭal), together with the lakes Afḍera and ᶜAssal (in today's Eritrean–Ethiopian border region). However, when the governor ↗Arakel *bey* Dabroyan made a reconnoitring expedition into these plains in 1874 (↗Expeditions), from where the Ethiopian salt caravans regularly started, he did not establish a permanent post. From Bogos, the Governorate included adjacent ↗Təgre areas up to the Kunama (including ↗Kufit). Historical tradition of the ↗ᶜAd Šek confirms that in the period of Munzinger this Təgre group also accepted the jurisdiction of M.G. (Höfner 1961:196f.); also the chiefs (*käntebay*) of the Ḥabab received their investiture from Munzinger *bāšā* (d'Avray 1996:96, 98). The setting up of M.G.'s borders was often done quite arbitrarily (e.g., by the intelligence officer ↗Haggenmacher). Starting from 1872 the M.G. was governed together with the ↗Sawākin Governorate (Talhami 1979:76, 263), from 1873 under the new Egyptian Governorate-General of the Red Sea Coasts and the Eastern Sudan (s. ↗Ottoman Empire).

The ↗Egyptian–Ethiopian war of 1875–76 was practically prepared in the M.G.; in October 1875 both Ḥamasen and Säraye were occupied, and the appointment of an Egyptian interim-governor prepared. The Egyptian troops, however, had to retreat in mid-November after the defeat of ↗Gundät. Afterwards, a local chief in Akkälä Guzay declared his alliance with Egypt (↗*Baḫər nägaś*), and Egypt established a fort in ↗Guraᶜ; but this led to another dramatic defeat. De facto, most of M.G.'s new dependencies on the highlands were then lost.

The Governorate until 1885

The expansion of M.G. thus came to a halt in 1876, even if, until the late 1870s neighbouring Ḥamasen had an Egyptian counter-governor: *däggiyat* ↗Wäldä Mikaʾel Sälomon declared himself and his province subject to Egypt in early 1876; this rebellion against *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV was followed by his replacement by a rival, while Egypt raised him in rank, making him a *ras*. For several years, he continued to claim the government of Ḥamasen, almost every year taking it by force and retreating again to his main power base, Bogos and Ḥalḥal, which had been allocated to him by Egypt. In the same year 1876 Egypt re-appointed *nāʾib* ↗Muḥammad ᶜAbdarraḥīm governor of Ḥərgigo, in recognition of his services to the M.G.

M.G. served as a retreat area for rebels from the Ethiopian state, such as the claimant to the throne ↗Däbbäb Arʾaya. They were the principal actors of the "cold war" with Ethiopia, raiding especially Ethiopian caravans. The economic boom, evident since the 1860s, came to a halt; a number of cotton plantation projects and other manufacture enterprises (such as ↗euphorbia manufacture) in the M.G. were abandoned. M.G. thus could not generate any durable income for Egypt. In the years 1881–83 the expenditure exceeded the revenue. After Great Britain took control of the Egyptian government in 1882, discussions started within the British government if M.G. should be returned to the Porte (ZewYohan 160f.). M.G. was soon cut off from Egypt. This was due to the rise of the Mahdīya state (↗Mahdists) in the centre of the (former) Egyptian Sudan, after the fall of al-Ubayyiḍ of January 1883. The Anglophone governor of M.G. was then involved in a new peace initiative with Ethiopia, leading to the ↗Hewett treaty (1884); he signed it in the name of Egypt, assuring Ethiopia free access to the port "under British protection". British analysts, however, predicted that any further involvement in M.G. would finally lead renewed conflict with expanding Ethiopia, which was reclaiming its lost territories. Consequently Italy, already es-

tablished in another territory claimed by Egypt (↗Colonia di Assab), was allowed to declare the M.G. their protectorate in 1885, in place of the British.

M.G. was first administered by a joint Egyptian-Italian administration, but at the end of the year, was replaced by an Italian one, while keeping the Egyptian name of the governorate (↗Eritrea: administrative division). Unofficially, the area was now also called "Abissinia Eritrea" ('Erythraean Abyssinia', i.e. the Red Sea regions of Abyssinia, s. Smidt 2006). Despite Egyptian protests, this protectorate became a colonial administration in 1890, when the "Colonia Eritrea" was proclaimed. Nevertheless in 1893, however, the "Massava *muḥāfiẓlığı*" is listed – wrongly – as an Ottoman province, one of two *muḥāfiẓlıq* of the Egyptian Sudan, the other one being Sevvakin (Cevad 1895/96:760; ↗Sawākin).

The Italians took over a number of Egyptian institutions established in the M.G., among them the native court, acting on the basis of local laws, especially the *Ḥanafī* legal code introduced by the Egyptians (the court's President becoming a former Egyptian official, ↗ᶜAbdallāh *bey* al-Ġūl).

Administration and governors of M.G.

Information on the administrative structure of M.G. can only rarely be found in European literature (as travellers generally ignored administrative divisions), and not at all in Ethiopian texts, which did not recognize this administrative unit; the only source is the Egyptian archives (cp. DouinIsm III).

The chief of civil and military administration was the governor (*wālī*), assisted at times by a chief officer (*muḥāfiẓ*). Notable governors were:

ᶜAbdallāh Ḫalīl *efendi* (from Kurdistan, February–October 1865); Ḥasan *bey* Rifᶜat (1866–67); ᶜAbdalqādir (1867); ᶜAllāʾaddīn *bāšā* Ṣiddīq (1871); Werner Munzinger *bāšā* (1871–73, after that governor-general of the new Governorate-General of the Red Sea Littoral and the Eastern Sudan, s. ↗Ottoman Empire); Arakel *bey* Dabroyan (also Abroyan, b. Triest, Austrian Empire, from Armenian-Austrian parents, 1873–75); Muḥammad Rātib *bāšā* (1875–77); Uṯmān Rifki *bāšā* (1877); ᶜAlāʾaddīn bey (1877) Ḫuršīd *bey* Pertev (1882); ↗Muḥammad Muḫtār *bāšā* (1883–84); Col. Alexander Macomb Mason *bey* (an American, Egyptian officer, 1884); Admiral William Hewett (the only British administrator appointed by the Anglo–Egyptian government, in interim, 1884); ᶜIzzet *bey* (1884–85, with the deputy governor Marcopoli *bey*, an Italophone Maltese); Saletta Tancredi (February–November 1885, April–November 1887); Carlo Gené (December 1885–April 1887).

Src.: WILLIAM MCENTYRE DYE, *Moslem Egypt and Christian Abyssinia*, New York 1880; MARIA HÖFNER, "Überlieferungen bei Tigrē-Stämmen (I), ᶜAd Šēk", *AE* 4, 1961, 181–203; WERNER MUNZINGER, "Narrative of a Journey through the Afar Country", *The Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London* 39, 1869, 188–232.

Lit.: ANTHONY D'AVRAY, *Lords of the Red Sea: the History of a Red Sea Society from the Sixteenth to the Nineteenth Centuries*, Wiesbaden 1996 (AeF 45), 69-72, 77-90, 96-98; ABDU ALI HABIB, *History of Massawa: from Early Nineteenth Century to the Coming of the Italians*, B.A. thesis, Department of History, Haile Sellassie I University, Addis Ababa 1973; ALI CEVAD, *Memâlik-i Osmaniye tarih ve coğrafiya lugatı, Kısm-ı evvel: Lugat-ı coğrafiya* ('Historical and Geographical Wordbook of the Ottoman Countries, First Part: Geographical Wordbook'), Dersaadet (Istanbul) 1313 H. [1895/96 A.D.], 760; DouinIsm III, s. index; ErDizBio 2; ErlAlula² 16–36, 88–97; DANTE ODORIZZI, *Il Commissariato Regionale di Massaua al 1° Gennaio 1910*, Asmara 1911; ŠAWQĪ ᶜAṬĀʾALLĀH AL-ĠAMĀL, *Siyāsat Miṣr fī l-Baḥr al-Aḥmar fī n-niṣf aṯ-ṯānī min al-qarn at-tāsiᶜ ᶜašar* ('Egypt's Policy in the Red Sea in the Second Half of the 19th Century'), Cairo 1974; WOLBERT G. C. SMIDT, "Discussing Ethnohistory: The Blin between Periphery and International Politics in the 19th Century", *Chroniques yéménites* 14, 2006, 131–44; GHADA HASHEM TALHAMI, *Suakin and Massawa under Egyptian Rule, 1865–1885*, Washington, D.C. 1979; ŸƎSḤAQ GÄBRÄ YÄSUS, **ገማግም፡ ባሕረ፡ ኤርትራ፡ ካብ፡ ሰብ ኦ፡ ጱንት፡ ክሳዕ፡ ልውላን፡ ሕርጊጎ** (*Gämagəm baḥrä Erətra kab säbʾa Punt kəsaᶜ laᶜulan Ḥərgigo*, 'The Coast of Eritrea from the People of Punt till the Nobility of Ḥərgigo'), Asmära 1998; ZewYohan 160f., s. index.

Wolbert Smidt

Mästägabəʾ

M. (**መስተጋብእ**, lit. 'collection, compilation', from Gəᶜəz *astägabʾa*, 'collect, gather') is a type of ↗hymn built on the basis of the ↗Psalter, common in the hymnody of the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church. It is also used as one of the "school hymns", i.e. a hymn for the study of the hymnody. The authorship of M. is traditionally ascribed to St. ↗Yared.

The M. hymns are actually versicles from the Psalter, apart from the very last entry, which, in the Divine office of ↗*Məᶜəraf*, ends in the lines *Adḫanä ḫəzbo bäḫaylä mäsqälu/əsmä bərhan śäräqä* ('He saved his people by the power of his cross/because light has come out') (VelMe I, 46; HabTent 58).

Every day of the week two sets of M. are employed, the first sung in ↗*gəᶜəz* and the second in ↗*ᶜəzəl* mode (a few are sung in *araray* mode); thus, there are twelve sets of the M.-hymns (VelMe II, 219f.). Selections from M. are sung every morning from Monday to Saturday during ↗Lent (cp. ↗*Ṣomä dəggʷa*).

There are offices which provide a place for the insertion of specific selections from M., such as the ↗*Səbḥatä nägh* (VelMe II, 138, 399), for Wednesday and Thursday for the period of fasting in the *Məʿəraf*. However, most categories of devotional and liturgical compositions make abundant use of the Psalter without borrowing specific selections from M.

Src.: አምስቱ፡ ጸዋትው፡ ዜማዎች (*Amməstu ṣäwatəwä zemawočč*, 'The Five Categories of Chants'), Addis Abäba 1972 A.M. [1979/80 A.D.], 179-246; DillmLex 1168, 1173; LesCDic 177; *liqä kahənat* ṬƎʿUMÄ LƎSSAN KASA, ያሬድና፡ ዜማው (*Yaredənna zemaw*, 'Yared and his Chant'), Addis Abäba 1981 A.M. [1988/89 A.D.]; VelMe I, 34–46, 138, 140a, 140–46a, 399, II, 34–46, esp. 219ff.

Lit.: HabTent 58.

Ezra Gebremedhin

Mästawät

Wäyzäro M. (መስፍንት, or Mästayät; b. ca. 1830, d. ca. 1885) is usually referred to as the "queen" of ↗Wällo in the 1860s, a status which does not reflect the reality of her power at that time. The background to her ascendancy is, as yet, not well known. After her husband, *imām* Libän Amäde (II) of ↗Wärrä Himäno, died in 1857 in the course of a revolt against ↗Tewodros II, she acted as a regent for her son Amäde Libän (later known as Abba Waṭäw), who was then five years old. M. continued the rebellion. After controlling much of Wärrä Himäno, she captured the stronghold of ↗Mäqdäla and sided with the ↗Napier expedition against Tewodros in 1868. At the same time, M. also fought against (and sometimes allied herself with) *wag šum* Gobäze Gäbrä Mädḫən of Lasta (the later *aṣe* ↗Täklä Giyorgis II) who had been claiming Mäqdäla as well as the adjoining territories. This rivalry continued after Tewodros's death, when Gobäze attempted to take over the imperial crown.

M. was described as a fierce warrior and a charismatic leader. The fact that a woman could accomplish such martial achievements was quite exceptional at that time in this region, but not unique. Indeed, the same historical conditions produced another female member of the ↗Mammädočč dynasty of Wärrä Himäno in the person of ↗Wärqitu, the widow of Ali Abba Bulla, who was the rival uncle of M.'s husband. M. and Wärqitu became rivals who each strove to unify the armies of Wällo. M. was dominant until the death of Tewodros, but in the following years Wärqitu was favoured by ↗Mənilək of Šäwa for having helped him to escape from Mäqdäla.

The "queen" Mästawät with her eldest son Ali (later *imām*) and an attendant; photo 1868, courtesy of the Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, Köln

When ↗Yoḥannəs IV and Mənilək divided up Wällo in 1878, M. and Abba Waṭäw were put at a disadvantage. They lost their authority over Wärrä Himäno and, under the authority of Mənilək received governorship over the territories of ↗Boräna and ↗Wärrä Illu, that yielded lesser amounts of tribute. M. did not convert to Christianity (unlike her son who was obliged to do so at Boru Meda, receiving the name Ḫaylä Maryam), but she did remain loyal to Mənilək, even after her son's death in 1880. She contributed troops to the king of Šäwa in the campaign of ↗Əmbabo in 1882.

Src.: FusTeo 49 (text) = 118 (tr.); MonVidTheo 64 (text) = 78 (tr.); GueCopMen 119, 176; HENRY BLANC, *A Narrative of Captivity in Abyssinia, with Some Account of the Late Emperor Theodore, his Country and People*, London 1868, 295–300; CLEMENS R. MARKHAM, *A History of the Abyssinian Expedition*, London 1869, 368ff.

Lit.: FEKADU BEGNA, *A Tentative History of Wallo: 1855–1908*, B.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1972; CHRIS PROUTY – EUGENE ROSENFELD, *Historical Dictionary of Ethiopia*, London 1981, s. index.

Éloi Ficquet

Mäṣṭəmä Aganənt ↗Demons

Mäṭaʿ ↗Libanos

Matäb

The M. (ማተብ, from Gəᶜəz *maᶜətäb*, 'seal, sign of the cross', *ᶜatäbä* 'to seal'), an emblem of Christianity in Ethiopia, is a blue (sometimes black) silk cord tied around the neck of a child during the ↗baptism ceremony. The cord may also be red, blue and white, the three colours sometimes interpreted in popular belief as symbolizing the trinity. This cord may be replaced later by a thick blue silk or cotton cord. Ethiopian legend tells that ↗Jacob of Serug had introduced the cord when he baptized a great number of children (Heyer 1971:59).

Every Orthodox Christian is expected to wear M. In the Christian highlands, a person without a M. may even be regarded with suspicion and believed to be a Muslim or another non-believer. During the ↗Napier expedition of 1867/68 several British officers wore a M. in order to facilitate negotiations with Ethiopian notables, demonstrating that they were Christians like them.

Women may later append various elements on the M., though a simple cord is already considered a fully valuable M. The possible pendants include a cross (የልብ፡ መስቀል, *yäləbb mäsqäl;* ↗Crosses), an earpick (ኩክ፡ ማውጫ, *kuk mawčča*), and a ring (ቀለበት, *qäläbät*). They can be freely combined, none of them being essential. The number of the units and the nature of their material (brass, silver, gold, wood) depends on the wealth of the wearer.

As a simple Greek pattern or a true masterpiece of smithery, the cross appears in numerous variations. There are even examples of crosses with a lower stem shaped into a spoon. The rupture of the suspension loop involves the casting and the shaping of a new jewel by a silversmith, often identical to the original one. Most crosses are recent, but there also are ancient excavated specimen.

The second element, the earpick with a carefully decorated handle, also has a symbolic meaning. By purifying the ear, it makes it possible to hear better and to understand the word of God. The discovery of an earpick at ↗Näfas Mäwčča in Aksum on the same level as 35 Aksumite coins of the 6th–7th cent. Christian kings shows that it was already in use at that time.

The third element, the *qäläbät*, during adulthood replaces the glass blue beads which protect the child from the evil eye (↗*Buda*). The ring and the anklet of silver beads (አልቦ, *albo*) appear among presents received by the bride, which denotes her new status of becoming a woman. In Təgray, a fine silver chain may be rolled around the M., whereas in Wällo and Gondär, one prefers to place some tubular silver beads on the cord.

Young woman wearing a *matäb* around her neck, with her child wearing the *matäb* with a cross, near Baḥər Dar; photo 2000, courtesy of Jürgen Beil

Src.: JAMES THEODORE BENT, *The Sacred City of the Ethiopians being a Record of Travel and Research in Abyssinia in 1893*, London 1893; DillmLex 958f.; KaneDic 249, 688, 1448; THÉOPHILE LEFÈBVRE, *Voyage en Abyssinie exécuté pendant les années 1839–1843*, Paris 1845–48, vol. 3.

Lit.: HENRI DE CONTENSON, "Les fouilles à Axoum en 1957. Rapport prélimiaire", *AE* 3, 1959, 25–42, here 31; JEAN DUCHESNE-FOURNET, *Mission en Ethiopie*, Paris 1904, vol. 2; FRIEDRICH HEYER, *Die Kirche Äthiopiens: Eine Bestandsaufnahme*, Berlin – New York 1971, 59f., 221, 240 (Lit.); TADDESE TAMRAT, "The Mateb", *Ethnological Society Bulletin* 9, 1959, 38–42.

Catherine Vanderhaeghe

Mätähara

M. (መተሀራ, Orom. Mata Haaraa; 948 m A.S.L.) was, originally, a station on the Addis Abäba–Djibouti Railway near lake Beseka at the foot of the ↗Fäntale volcano (for location s. Mäqi). In 1965 the Dutch firm Handelsvereniging Amsterdam which has, since 1951, run the "Wonji Sugar Estate" (↗Wänği) and factory; this was established on 11,000 ha of irrigable land between the railway

and the course of the Awaš river in order to set up the "Methara Sugar Estate" and factory.

The Karrayyuu (↗Baarentuu) pastoralists, who had been expelled from the Awaš National Park, were forced by the military to leave. A small town started to grow between the Addis Abäba–Harär road and the railway station to house the workers of the plantation. M. is a main stopping place on the Addis Abäba–Djibouti asphalted road. Hotels for lorry drivers, and garages, shops and public services are now to be found there, as well as a Catholic Mission.

According to the 1984 census this small town of the Yärär and Käräyu *awraǧǧa* in the Šäwa region only had 2,226 inhabitants. The population grew to 11,934 inhabitants in 1998 and reached 20,366 in 2004. Today, it is the administrative centre of the Fäntale *wäräda* in the Məsraq Šäwa zone of the Oromiyaa *kəllәl*.

This town is now endangered by the rise of the level of the Beseka lake. This lake is fed by deep thermal springs which show increased activity since the eruption of the Fäntale volcano in 2005.

Src.: CSA 1984; CSA 1998; CSA 2004; EMAtlas; ETHIOPIAN CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, *Directory of Agriculture. Commercial Farms and Agri-Business Firms 1973–1974*, Addis Ababa 1973; ETHIOPIAN TOURIST ORGANIZATION, *Awash National Park, 1:100,000*, Addis Ababa [before 1972].

Lit.: AYALEW GEBRE, *Pastoralism under Pressure. Land Alienation and Pastoral Transformations among the Karrayu of Eastern Ethiopia, 1941 to Present*, Maastricht 2001, 193; GasEth 50, 160, 164; ALAIN GASCON, "Addis Abäba–Djibouti: le chemin de fer qui a fait la Grande Éthiopie – Fin du chemin de fer, fin de la Grande Éthiopie?", in: JEAN-LOUIS CHALÉARD – CHANTAL CHANSON-JABEUR – CHANTAL BÉRANGER, *Le chemin de fer en Afrique*, Paris 2006, 35–54; *Guida* 425; MesfGeogr 116; FRANÇOIS PIGUET, *Des nomades entre villes et les sables. Sédentarisation dans la Corne de l'Afrique*, Paris – Genève 1998, 91.

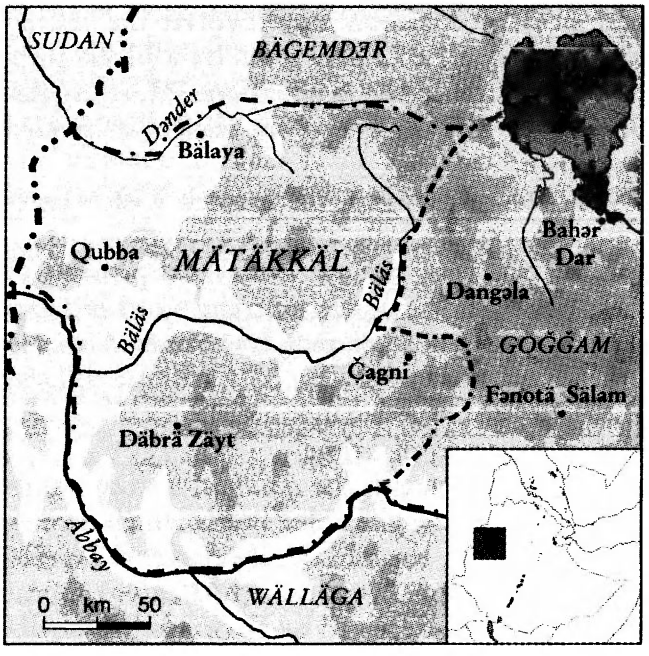
Alain Gascon

Mätäkkäl

M. (መተከል, also መተኸል, Mätäkkəl, መቸከል, Mäčäkkäl) is a region between the plateau of ↗Goǧǧam and present-day Sudan. A giant basin with mountainous scarps on the north and east, its boundaries are the Dənder river in the north and the ↗Abbay in the south and west. The ↗Bälәs River divides M. in half. Rivers and "island" plateaus, such as Bälya in the centre, help define M.'s six regions (later *wärädas* within M. *awraǧǧa*): Gubba (north-west; s. ↗Qubba), Dangura (north), Mandura (centre), Di Baṭi (or Dəbaṭi) and Gʷangʷa (south-east), and Wänbära (or Wämbära, south-west).

The most ancient and widespread of M.'s inhabitants are the ↗Gumuz (also Gumis, Ganza, etc.), who call themselves Begga ('black') but who are known to the Agäw and Amhara as ↗*Šanqəlla*. Before the 14th cent. they lived as far east as the central Goǧǧam plateau, but the Gumuz have retreated under pressure from the Agäw (cp. ↗Agäw Mədər) and today are most numerous in south-east M. west of the Dura river, where they practise their traditional culture and religion. Those living in Gubba are Muslims and, until the late 19th cent., they lived in a chiefdom loosely tied by commercial and dynastic ties to the ↗Funǧ of Sudan. After 1880, Gubba, under its chief Abū Šōk, fell increasingly under Ethiopian influence as the highlanders extended their control westward toward Sudan. The ↗Šinašša (↗Gonga) live in Di Baṭi, Wänbära, and Dangura. A little known people, they were producers of ↗ziveth, and later became clients of the Oromo. Beginning in the 18th cent., the Oromo crossed the Abbay and settled in the Wänbära highlands, driving the Šinašša and Gumuz into lower elevations. Their attempts to advance farther north were rebuffed by the Agäw. Two small groups, the ↗Kunfäl and ↗Kəmant, live in north-east Dangura.

Hot and forested, M. was long famed for cotton, ivory, slaves, and alluvial, ↗gold mined from tributaries of the lower Abbay. As a consequence, the Gumuz have long traded — and quarrelled — with their neighbours, especially the Agäw. The ancient Aksumites may have ob-



tained their gold from this region. From the reign of *aṣe* ↗Särṣä Dəngəl onward, successive Ethiopian rulers raided the Gumuz of M. in search of cattle, gold, and slaves, and they hunted in M. *Aṣe* ↗Iyasu I entrusted Gumuz affairs, including tribute collection, to the Čəḥway family of the M. Agäw clan, whose name at some point came to designate the western lowlands. The name M. is said to refer to the eponymous founder of one of the seven Agäw clans.

In 1898 *nəguś* ↗Täklä Haymanot of Goǧǧam annexed M., including the Gubba chiefdom, and introduced Christianity to the Oromo but not to the Gumuz. Until at least the 1930s, the Gumuz continued to pay tribute in gold and slaves to Ethiopia through the Čəḥway governors at Bälya who, nonetheless, organized hunting and slaving expeditions in Gumuz lands for the benefit of highlanders. Slaving, some of it carried out by the Gubba chief, Ḥamdän, son of Abū Šōk, in response to demands for tribute, decimated the Gumuz. Some fled north-west into Sudan or south across the Abbay; others resisted the hunters, slavers and, as late as the 1960s, the tribute-collectors. In 1985 highland peasants were resettled in the upper Bäläs basin, mostly on Gumuz land. Today, M. and its capital, ↗Čagni, are part of the Beni Šangul/Gumuz National Regional State.

Src.: BassÉt 134, 136, 137f. (tr.); CHARLES TILSTONE BEKE, "Abyssinia – Being a Continuation of Routes in that Country", *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society* 14, 1844, 1–76, here 6–10, 38f.; BruNile vol. 2, 431f., 562, vol. 3, 259, 736f.; ChTana 65–82, 326ff., 342–70; CRHist 113–17 (text) = 129–33 (tr.); GuiIohan 14f., 46, 114f., 142, 171–74, 176ff., 225f. (text) = 14f., 47, 117f., 149, 179–82, 185f., 239f. (tr.).

Lit.: ABDUSSAMAD H. AHMAD, "Hunting in Gojjam: the Case of Matakal, 1901–1932", in: *PICES* 8, vol. 1, 237–44; ID., "The Gumuz of the Lowlands of Western Gojjam: The Frontier in History, 1900–1935", *Africa* (Roma) 50, 1, 1995, 53–67; LIONEL MARVIN BENDER, *The Ethiopian Nilo-Saharans*, Addis Ababa 1975, 61f.; DESSALEGN RAHMATO, "Some Notes on Settlement and Resettlement in Mettekel Awraja (Gojjam Province)", in: *PICES* 9, vol. 1, 116–34; PETER P. GARRETSON, "*Manjil* Ḥamdān Abū Shōk (1898–1938) and the Administration of Gubba," in: *PICES* 5a, 197–210; WENDY JAMES, "Lifelines: Exchange Marriage Among the Gumuz", in: DONALD DONHAM – WENDY JAMES (eds.), *The Southern Marches of Ethiopia: Essays in History and Social Anthropology*, Cambridge 1986, 119–29; TADDESSE TAMRAT, "Processes of Ethnic Interaction and Integration in Ethiopian History: The Case of the Agäw", *JAH* 29, 1988, 5–18, esp. 11; ID., "Nilo-Saharan Interactions with Neighbouring Highlanders: the Case of the Gumuz of Gojjam and Wallaga", in: *Proceedings of the Workshop on Famine Experience and Resettlement in Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 1988, 7–21; TSEGA ENDALEW, "Conflict Resolution Through Cultural Tolerance: an Analysis of the *Miču* Institution in Mätäkkäl", in: *PICES* 14, vol. 1, 512–37; ID., *Inter-Ethnic Relations on a Frontier: Mätäkkäl (Ethiopia), 1898–1991*, Ph.D. thesis, Hamburg University 2006.

LaVerle Berry

Mätäkko

M. (ሙትኮ, d. ca. 1836/37, Angoläla) was an officer of *nəguś* ↗Śahlä Śəllase of ↗Šäwa appointed by the latter *abägaz* of the Oromo (AWTarik 106). A son of a certain Borǧa (ibid. 197), he achieved a high-ranking position through his outstanding military talent and valour (HarAeth vol. 2, 101, 105; cp. Darkwah 1975:30). M. won several skirmishes at the southern borders of Šäwa, and was merciless towards his Oromo opponents. However, he was a hot-tempered and easily made enemies, who resented his success (AWTarik 107).

M. lost Śahlä Śəllase's favour when he asked the king for his daughter Bälläṭəšaččäw's hand for his son Ǧarato. This was a double affront, since, according to tradition, only those belonging to the ruling dynasty's lineage were allowed to propose such a request directly to the king; the worthy people, yet of lower extraction, could ask for this only indirectly, through elders (AWTarik 107). First Śahlä Śəllase agreed, and even accepted the bride gifts from M., but later, against his feelings but following the will of his wife Bäzzabbəš (who found a pretext in the "impure" descent of M.), he refused. Finally, he had to imprison M. (AWTarik 108f.; with the help of the ↗*wälasma*, HarAeth vol. 2, 113).

With the help of one of his female slaves M. escaped and sought asylum in the church of a certain *aläqa* Aśrat, whom M. also asked to reconcile him with Śahlä Śəllase. The Emperor forgave M., and he spent several untroubled months at the court (HarAeth vol. 2, 141; AWTarik 109f.). However, M. was planning a rebellion. As he failed to find allies, he intended to kill Śahlä Śəllase. M. and his son arrived at ↗Angoläla, the capital of Šäwa. But Ǧarato got afraid and betrayed his father, revealing to Śahlä Śəllase the planned murder. M. was lured into a trap; he killed Śahlä Śəllase's servant *šaläqa* Gəfawässän but was wounded by *ato* Ṭanqäññä. When M. collapsed in front of the palace, an angry mob beat him to death (AWTarik 110, 112; HarAeth vol. 2, 143f.; BTafA 541).

European travellers (such as ↗Harris) present M.'s story in a different way. After M.'s escape from prison he is said to have fled, with several matchlock men, to an Oromo king Wädaǧǧe Girma (who was killed, according to AWTarik

1113f., by M.'s brother Ḫaylu), and was able to raise an Oromo army (HarAeth vol. 2, 114f.; Darkwah 1975:30; LevWax 36). They headed to Čerqos (the church where *aläqa* Aśrat served) and in a fierce battle it was destroyed (HarAeth vol. 2, 101, 128ff., 132), M. losing his life. Some traditions also report of the destruction of Angoläla (Darkwah 1975:30).

An independent evidence of M.'s position and rank at the Šawän court is his unique image in the prayer book of Śahlä Śəllase (EMML 2097, fol. 105v; CrumLand 130).

Src.: AWTarik 106–14 [ch. 13]; CrumLand 130; EMML VI, 190, no. 2097, fol. 105v; HarAeth vol. 2, 101, 105, 113ff., 141, 143f.

Lit.: AbPrince; BTafA 541 (Lit.); KOFI DARKWAH, *Shewa, Menilek and the Ethiopian Empire 1813–1889*, London 1975; LevWax 36.

Sophia Dege

Mätämma

M. (መተማ, also Mätämma Yoḥannəs, Arab.: al-Matamma, 12° 58' N, 36° 12' E, 685 m A.S.L.) is an Ethiopian city, directly situated at the border with the ↗Sudan, in the Səmen Gondär Zone, Amhara Regional State. The more important city on the other side of the border is called al-Qallābāt, administratively part of the province of Kassala; they are separated by a dry riverbed, the Ḫur Abnakbāra. Historically both were one settlement, originally situated in the semi-independent ↗Qallābāt sultanate. In local language usage both cities are often still regarded as one, whilst Ethiopians tend to call the whole city on both sides of the border M., and Sudanese call it Qallābāt. This article focuses on the historical city of M., extending over today's state boundary.

The political history of M. is marked by the competing claims of both the ↗Egyptians and Ethiopian monarchs. This trading post was originally founded by Arabophone Ǧaᶜalīyīn traders and called al-Matamma after the homonymous city near Šandī (Robinson 1926–27:47). The new M. lay on a trade route connecting ↗Gondär with the Northern Sudan. During the reign of *aṣe* Iyasu II, before the mid-18th cent., M. became a quickly growing trading centre, attracting traders from different areas, including highland Ethiopians, Oromo, Sudanese (Furi from Darfur; ↗Tukrīr) and even West Africans. Traders paid taxes to both the Funǧ sultanate and to the rulers in Ethiopia.

Traders and envoys from the Sudan and Egypt passed through M., as did foreign travellers, if they did not choose the Red Sea route via ↗Massawa. The historical route from M. to Gondär (corresponding to today's vehicle-access road) passed through ↗Wähni, known in the 19th-cent. travel reports as the first "Abyssinian" settlement on the highlands, and ↗Azäzo. All possible goods exchanged between Northern Africa and Ethiopia were traded in M., such as ↗ivory, ↗gold, ↗zibeth, ↗mules, ↗horses, ↗incense and slaves (↗Slavery); these were exchanged by the Ethiopians against cotton, gun powder, weaponry (sword blades, guns), bottles and glass, metal products etc. (Robinson 1926–27:47).

In the early 19th cent. M. was controlled by *däğğazmač* ↗Maru, who regularly raided M. and its surroundings. In the 1830s, the *šayḫ* of the Furi ("Tukrīr") of M., Merri, was killed by *däğğazmač* ↗Kənfu Ḫaylu, as he had not accepted Kənfu's overlordship (Parkyns 1853:356f.). In 1848 Kənfu's younger half-brother *däğğazmač* Kaśa of Qʷara (↗Tewodros II) attacked the Egyptian garrison at M. and looted the rich market, and from here went on to attack ↗Sinnār. Later in the year, however, the Egyptians repelled another attack by him at M. (Marcus 1994:61). In the early 1860s *šayḫ* Ǧoma of the Tukrīr accepted to pay tributes to both Egypt and Ethiopia.

In that period *aṣe* Tewodros II established a customs post there (Schweinfurth 1873), but in 1873 expansionist Egypt occupied the entire M. After the ↗Egyptian-Ethiopian war of 1875–76, however, *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV re-established control of the Ethiopian side of M., which was again lost in March 1885 to the Mahdīya state (↗Mahdists; cp. Holt 1958). In a battle near M. in January 1887 *nəguś* ↗Täklä Haymanot of Goğğam with his ca. 30,000 soldiers defeated the approximately 6,000 *anṣār* (followers of the Mahdī) led by *amīr* Aḥmad Wad Arbab at M., who was killed there. This defeat, however, was answered by a massive counterattack by about 60,000 *anṣār* in the spring of 1887 (including the garrison of M.), under the new commander-in-chief ↗Abū ᶜAnǧa Ḥamdān, who retook M. and then further invaded Ethiopia, including Gondär. In the final months of 1887 M. was fortified by Abū ᶜAnǧa (Churchill 1899; TrIslam 124).

After the defeat of *nəguś* Täklä Haymanot in January 1888 about 8,000 Ethiopians were enslaved and brought to M., including the *nəguś*'s daughter Məntəwwab (Marcus 1995:101). In reply, *aṣe* Yoḥannəs IV, leaving the "Eritrean" front in the north, marched to M. with an army

of over 100,000 in February 1889. He attacked the Mahdist forces, of about 60,000 to 70,000, led by Zakī Tummāl (Abū ᶜAnǧa's lieutenant, Abū ᶜAnǧa having died of a disease at M.), in the battle of M. on 9 March. At the end of the battle, during which the *zaribā* of the Mahdists was destroyed and great parts of their army annihilated, *aṣe* Yoḥannəs was mortally wounded. The dying ruler declared his son *ras* ↗Mängäša his successor, and Mängäša was crowned with his father's crown, still on the battlefield (Marcus 1995:111f.). The corpse of Yoḥannəs was captured from the retreating troops, his head severed and sent to Umm Durmān, the Mahdists' capital, as a sign of the Mahdists' triumph.

Subsequent Ethiopian rulers managed to keep control of the Ethiopian side of M. The Sudanese part of M. was taken in 1898 from the Mahdīya state by Anglo-British forces and integrated into the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. The customs post at M. remained an important source of revenue for Ethiopian leaders until the 1930s (BZHist 99).

M. was the major slave market at the Ethio–Sudanese border until the late 19th cent. According to some estimates about 10,000 to 20,000 slaves were traded through M. every year in the course of the 19th cent. (Pankhurst 1968:84; Schweinfurth 1873 reports that the Ethiopian customs officer at M. spoke of 18,000 slaves per year, while earlier sources speak of 2,000–3,000). Slaves were brought there both by highland Ethiopians and northern Sudanese. From M., slaves were normally brought to the Sudan, Egypt and other countries; some of them were resold, e.g., on the slave market of ↗Khartoum.

As a reaction to the slave trade, the Protestant ↗St. Chrischona-Pilgermission established a missionary station at M., called St. Paul, being the last station of the "Apostles' Street" linking Egypt with Ethiopia. Missionaries established a school, teaching freed slave children (mainly Oromo) there, but were completely unsuccessful in their efforts to create converts among the adult population. The station was given up in the 1870s following the breakdown of the Protestant mission in Ethiopia. The slave market was officially closed by *aṣe* Yoḥannəs IV in about 1881, but it continued in secret.

M. hosts people of different ethnic backgrounds. Around M. there are important ↗Gumuz settlements, with a Gumuz village belonging to M. itself; they cultivate durrah and cotton. The Gumuz in this region speak a dialect called M. ("Metemma"). Until the 19th cent. M. was dominated by Furi from Darfur, who had their own *šayḫ*; the Furi dominated the Sudanese part of M. into the 1930s (Guida 363). Arabs and highland Ethiopians also settled there mainly as traders and formed their own communities. M. suffered greatly in the great famine of 1888/89 (↗*Kəfu qän*), which struck the Sudan and Ethiopia; its population was reduced by nine-tenths and M. became a hamlet. Starting in the late 19th cent. Ethiopian M. attracted more and more highlanders; today they dominate the city.

During the Italian occupation (↗Africa Orientale Italiana) M. was made a *residenza* (administrative centre). The number of inhabitants of Ethiopian M. was estimated at ca. 3,000 in 1938, with 12,000 inhabitants in Qallābāt on the Sudanese side (Guida 363). During the resettlement programme under the *Därg* regime, over 6,000 peasants were resettled from the Gondär highlands to M.; this programme, however, failed. In 2005 there were over 5,000 inhabitants in M. on the Ethiopian side. M. has an airport and is connected by a modern road to ↗Qadarif and Port Sudan.

Src.: HENRY BLANC, "From Metemma to Damot, along the Western Shores of the Tana Sea", *Royal Geographical Society Journal* 39, 1869, 36–50; *Guida* 363; THEODOR VON HEUGLIN, *Reise nach Abessinien, den Gala-Ländern etc. 1861–1862*, Jena 1868, 227f.; MANSFIELD PARKYNS, *Life in Abyssinia*, vol. 2, London 1853, 356f.; GEORG SCHWEINFURTH, *The Heart of Africa: Three Years' Travels and Adventures in the Unexplored Regions of Central Africa, from 1868 to 1871*, London 1873.

Lit.: ABDUSSAMAD H. AHMED, "Ethio-Sudanese Matamma-Galabat from Market Place to Battle Field (ca. 1830–1889)", paper presented at the 15th *ICES*, Hamburg 2003; BZHist 99; WINSTON SPENCER CHURCHILL, *The River War, An Account of the Reconquest of the Sudan*, London 1899, passim; DouinIsm III, passim; LUIGI FUSELLA, "Abissinia e Metemma in uno scritto du bělāttā Ḫěruy", *RSE* 3, 2, 1943, 200–13; ḪƎRUY WÄLDÄ ŚƎLLASE, *ኢትዮጵያና፡ መተማ፡ የአፄ፡ ዮሐንስ፡ ታሪክ፡ ባጭሩ* (*Ityopyanna Mätämma yä'aṣe Yoḥannəs tarik baṭṭ'əru*, 'Ethiopia and Mätämma. A Short History of *aṣe* Yoḥannəs'), Addis Abäba 1910 A.M. [1917/18 A.D.]; PETER M. HOLT, *The Mahdist State in the Sudan, 1881–1898*, Oxford 1958; ID. – MARTIN W. DALY, *A History of the Sudan*, Boulder 1979, 85–113; HAROLD G. MARCUS, *Life and Times of Menelik II, Ethiopia 1844–1913*, Lawrenceville, NJ 1995, 101; PankEcon 84; ARTHUR E. ROBINSON, "The Tekruri Sheikhs of Gallabat (S. E. Sudan)", *Journal of the Royal African Society* 26, 101, October 1926–27, 47–53; RubInd 227, 243; DAVID H. SHINN – THOMAS P. OFCANSKY, *Historical Dictionary of Ethiopia, New Edition*, Lanham – Toronto – Oxford 2004, 283f.; TrIslam 125, 128, 137, 222.

Wolbert Smidt

Mäṭära

M. (መጠራ, locally also known as Bäläw Qäläw) is an important archaeological site in Eritrea, ca. 136 km south-east of Asmära, 1 km south of ↗Sänᶜafe. It is surrounded to the east and south by mountains rising to 3,000 m A.S.L. and by the Sänᶜafe escarpment rocks to the north. As archaeological research has shown, the ancient town was already inhabited during the ↗pre-Aksumite period and flourished, with interruptions, till the end of the ↗Aksumite period. ↗Hagiography and local tradition have M. as one end of a secret passage from ↗Aksum taken by King ↗Kaleb and his army while campaigning against ↗Bur.

Until recently, apart from some slightly rising hillocks covered in broken stones, strewn with potsherds, occasionally stirred by a farmer's plough, the only monument likely to attract a traveller's attention was a ↗stela lying on the ground and broken into two (DAE measured its total height at 5.68 m); in the 1920s road-menders removed it and re-erected it at the edge of the road crossing the site. At its top, a ↗moon crescent is found under a disc (ø 12 cm). This emblem perhaps symbolizes the deity ↗ᶜAstär. The four-line Gəᶜəz ↗inscription (RIÉ 223), carved in the trachytic stone at eye-level, has been dated palaeographically to the 3rd cent. A.D. A subject of many studies (e.g., DAE IV, no. 34; Conti Rossini 1896; Drewes 1962:67; Ullendorff 1951; recently Kropp 2005), the inscription indicates that the stela is a memorial, testifying to the presence of a Semitic-speaking population in the area, probably the ↗Agᶜazi.

Mäṭära during the excavations of Francis Anfray; photo 1960s, courtesy of Mike Metras

During the 1960s, excavations of the Ethiopian Archaeological Institute revealed the substructures of several buildings that could be identified as élite residences and churches, surrounded on all sides by ordinary houses, and constructed in stone with loam mortar.

The main houses (four have been unearthed) present an architectural plan typical of the Aksumite period: a central quadrangular building accessed by massive stairs and surrounded by dependencies. The main building stands high on a tiered substructure, whose sides, like the external walls of the complex, present an alternation of protruding and receding parts. Timber was integrated into the construction, namely for beams and opening frames. In the foundations, stone piles supported wooden poles upon which the ground floor was laid.

The ordinary houses are characterized by a rudimentary structure. Some 30 of them stand side-to-side on both sides of a lane in the north-western sector of the site.

A type of dwelling of intermediary character – between the élite residences and the commoners' houses – is also found. These three architectural forms reflect the different social strata.

The churches (two in the urban areas) are identical in style to the other buildings. The basilica plan was adopted for the central part (↗Church buildings). The first church, measuring 15 x 10 m, was built on a burial vault (↗Graves). The second, measuring 23.4 x 13.5 m, sheltered a baptistery in the axis of the central nave, to the east.

The ensemble of the unearthed ruins in part of the site provides an actual outline of a town layout of ca. 6th–7th cent. A.D. that was not surrounded by defensive walls, since no trace of the latter has been found.

Under the ruins dating to the last occupation of the site, levels of earlier cultures – Aksumite and pre-Aksumite – have been revealed. Some of the deeper levels (reaching at least in one place to a depth of 5 m) have yielded ↗pottery evidence allowing one to date their age bacb to ca. 10th–8th

cent. B.C. (on the basis of stratigraphic observations and comparative studies). In the Gʷal (also Amba, ʒmba) Saʾim hill, immediately to the south of the M. site, ten pre-Aksumite rock-cut graves have been discovered.

Various objects were collected during the excavations in several areas: numerous pottery items of different shapes and functions, decorated with engravings, sometimes painted or modelled, vases decorated with painted or stamped Christian crosses, amphorae of Mediterranean provenance and blue-glazed vases imported from or via the Indian Ocean, glass phials, grinding stones, and 161 coins (↗Coinage) with the effigies of eight Aksumite emperors, from ↗Afilas to ↗Armaḥ (many with ↗Ioel).

The gold objects, including 14 Roman coins from the time of the Antonines, each provided with a loop to be suspended to a necklace, deserve special mention; so does the 41 cm-high bronze lamp in Hellenistic style, with a stand in the shape of a palm tree surmounted by a leaping ibex chased by a dog.

Numerous inscriptions dating to various epochs, in stone or in potsherds, contribute to the bulk of epigraphic, philological, historical and religious information yielded by the site (RIÉ I, nos. 224–27, 315–84). Two small schist plaques (RIÉ I, nos. 181–82) found in the grass nearby are of particular value since they document an archaic form of Gəᶜəz (2nd cent. A.D.; s. Ricci in KayeLes).

In the 1st cent. A.D. the Red Sea ↗trade intensified, and the economic exchanges between the Mediterranean and the African coasts rose considerably. ↗Adulis was then at the crossroads of land and sea traffic that supported the development of markets between that place and Aksum. These market towns thrived on the edge of the highlands, profiting from their geographical situation. Written in the 1st cent., the ↗*Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* echoes this situation when it mentions trading centres in the hinterland. It points out in particular a "city of the interior" which was "the first trading post for ↗ivory". The Greek text gives the name ↗Coloë to the town. Whilst some have thought that it corresponds to the archaeological site of ↗Qoḥayto, M. is also be a possible candidate for the identification of this place (cp. Kobishchanov 1979) – in any case, it was a similar trading centre.

The settlement at M. declined and disappeared in the course of the 7th cent.; it was never re-occupied.

Src.: LIONEL CASSON (ed., tr.), *The Periplus Maris Erythraei*, Princeton 1989, 53; DAE II, 60f.; IV, 61f., no. 34; ABRAHAM JOHANNES DREWES – ROGER SCHNEIDER, "Documents épigraphiques de l'Éthiopie", [I] *AE* 7, 1967, 89–106, [II] *ibid.* 8, 1970, 57–72, [III] *ibid.* 9, 1972, 87–102; GEORGE WYNN BRERETON HUNTINGFORD (ed., tr.), *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea, by an Unknown Author; with Some Extracts from Agatharkides' "On the Erythrean Sea"*, London 1980, 20; RIÉ I, 45f., 55ff., 137–46, nos. 55–68; 221–27, nos. 181–82; 318–21, nos. 223–27; 399, no. 290; 413, no. 308; 422–76, nos. 315–84 (Lit.); ROGER SCHNEIDER, "Documents épigraphiques de l'Éthiopie – IV", *AE* 9, 1972, 103–14.
Lit.: FRANCIS ANFRAY, "Première campagne de fouilles à Matara", *AE* 5, 1963, 87–166; ID. – GUY ANNEQUIN, "Matara. Deuxième, troisième et quatrième campagnes de fouilles", *ibid.* 6, 1965, 49–86; FRANCIS ANFRAY, "Matara", *ibid.* 7, 1967, 33–88; ID., "La poterie de Matara", *RSE* 22, 1968, 5–74; ID., "Deux villes axoumites: Adoulis et Matara", in: *PICES* 4, vol. 1, 753–60; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "L'iscrizione dell'obelisco presso Matarà", *RRALm* ser. 5ª, 5, 1896, 250–53; CRStor 21, 240; ABRAHAM JOHANNES DREWES, *Inscriptions de l'Éthiopie antique*, Leiden 1962, 67f.; ID., "Noms propres dans les documents épigraphiques de l'Éthiopie", *Semitica* 48, 1998, 127–43; YURI KOBISHCHANOV, *Axum*, University Park, PA 1979, 57, 141, 170f., 177, 185, 187; MANFRED KROPP, "Die Stele von Matara", in: *WenDAE* I, 321–28; LANFRANCO RICCI, "Iscrizioni paleoetiopiche", in: *KayeLes* vol. 2, 1291–311; ROGER SCHNEIDER, "Quelques inscriptions céramiques de Maṭarā", *RSE* 22, 1968, 20–21; SerHist 87; EDWARD ULLENDORFF, *Exploration and Study of Abyssinia*, Asmara 1945, 75–80; ID., "The Obelisk of Maṭara", *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 1951, 26–32; STEFFEN WENIG, "Matara, der erste archäologische Platz, den die DAE in der Colonia Eritrea aufsuchte", in: *WenDAE* I, 314–19.

Francis Anfray

Maṭarīya

M. (مطرية, Gəᶜəz: መጣርያ, Mäṭarəya) is a place of pilgrimage in ↗Egypt ca. 10 km to the northeast of Cairo where the Holy Family is said to have halted during their flight from Herod's persecution. Pilgrims, Christian and Muslim alike, venerate a sycamore tree under which the Holy Family is said to have rested, and a well and a balsam plantation, both miraculously produced by Jesus. According to the apocryphal Arabic Gospel of the Infancy of our Saviour (ed. Schneider 1995), probably from the 12th cent. (when M. was a recently emerged settlement), St. ↗Mary washed her son's shirt in the well created by Jesus and the sweat of the child coming into the water led to the growth of the balsam.

Another version is found in a homily ascribed to a Bishop Zacharias from Saḫā: Jesus had broken Joseph's staff in small pieces, planted the pieces in the desert and watered them from his well. The latter version was adopted by the ↗*Sənkəssar* (24 *Gənbot*).

One more, very brief, version of the story made its way into the Ethiopic ↗*Tä'ammərä Maryam* (CerMaria 27, 32; Budge 1923:145f.).

Abū l-Makārim (↗Abū Ṣāliḥ) reported that Greek, Frank, Ethiopian and Nubian envoys used to go to M. after having visited the Egyptian capital (s. Zanetti 1993:36). There, after taking a bath in the holy well, they would celebrate the Eucharist.

On 1 June 2000 Pope Shenouda III of Alexandria, the Rector of the Azhar University and the Prime Minister Atef Ebeid met in M. to celebrate the 2000th anniversary of the Holy Family's stay in M. A new garden was planted and an artifical well was created in the location of Jesus's wonders. A splendid mosque was erected in honour of the Holy Family outside the garden.

Src.: ERNEST ALFRED THOMPSON WALLIS BUDGE, *One Hundred and Ten Miracles of Our Lady Mary*, London 1923, 145f.; BudSaint 923-27; CerMaria 27, 32; ColSyn XIII, 316ff.; GERHARD SCHNEIDER (ed., tr.), *Apokryphe Kindheitsevangelien*, Freiburg et al. 1995 (Fontes Christiani 18), 183 ("Arabisches Kindheitsevangelium 24).

Lit.: JEAN PIERRE ALBERT, *Odeurs de sainteté. La mythologie chrétienne des aromates* (Recherches d'histoire et de sciences sociales 42), Paris 1990, 131–55; LOTHAR STÖRK, "Die Wunder des Gartens von Matariya", in preparation; UGO ZANETTI, "Matarieh, la Sainte Famille et les baumiers", *AnBoll* 111, 1993, 21–68.

Lothar Störk

Mateus

M. (d. 23 May 1520, "Jangargara", Däbrä Bizän) was an agent of *ətege* ↗Əleni. His origins are subject to speculation. In some sources he appears as a wise man knowing several languages and with a respectable position within Əleni's court, in others he is an ↗Armenian merchant whose real name was Abraham, or even a Muslim born in Cairo (Góis 1540:12, 16, 23; BeckHuntAlvar 2f.; Barreto 1988:46). M. himself referred to his being related to the then *abun* (↗Marqos; Sousa 1790:91).

M. was appointed envoy by Əleni to be sent to ↗Portugal to propose a military alliance with Ethiopia, in order to check the progress of the Muslim armies (Barreto 1988:45f.). To achieve this purpose he went, together with a young Ethiopian nobleman called Ya^{c}əqob (Jacome in the sources), to Goa on a Muslim ship, but in 1512 was arrested at Chaul by the local Muslim authorities. These, however, fearing the wrath of Alfonso de ↗Albuquerque, handed him over to the governor, who welcomed M. and accepted him as an ambassador of the "Queen of Ethiopia". Thence, Albuquerque dispatched him to Portugal, where in February 1514 he was received with honour by King Dom ↗Manoel I. In Lisbon M. handed a letter from Əleni to the king and a fragment of the holy cross – later brought to Pope Clement VIII by Dom ↗João III. M. answered a number of questions about his country, including those by Manoel's chronicler, Damião de ↗Góis, who later wrote a brief account of his journey (Góis 1532) and frequently met Duarte Galvão.

On April 1515, he left Lisbon with the embassy of Duarte Galvão, former ambassador to France and Germany and designated ambassador to Ethiopia. In 1517, they headed for Ethiopia with a fleet lead by governor Lopo Soares de Albergaria. Near Caraman island there ensued severe disagreements between Lopo Soares, Galvão and M. The first invited M. to debark in the ↗Dahlak islands, which he refused considering the hostility of the local Muslim population. In a letter to Manoel I, the Armenian also accused the governor of having tried to kill him (Sousa 1790:94). Galvão having died on the Kamaran island, the embassy was postponed for a few years. It was Lopo Soares's successor, Diogo Lopes de Sequeira, who took M. home, together with the new Portuguese embassy headed by Dom Rodrigo de ↗Lima. On 13 February 1520, they sailed from Goa and on 9 April reached ↗Massawa, where M. was treated by the locals with great respect.

M. led the Portuguese inland and instead of following the usual itinerary to ↗Dəbarwa made them divert to ↗Däbrä Bizän, where he alleged to have properties. During a halt at the monastery of "St. Michael at Dise", he wrote letters to Əleni and to the "Patriarch" (i.e. *abunä* ↗Marqos) to inform them of the Portuguese arrival. Soon afterward, M. fell ill and died at "Jangargara", a village belonging to Däbrä Bizän. He was buried in the later monastery and, as he had ordered, his possessions were given to Əleni.

Src.: BeckHuntAlvar 2ff., 39, 42, 49–73, 87, 91f., 283ff., 307, 343, 496f.; LUÍS FILIPE BARRETO (ed.), *Por Mar e Terra. Viagens de Bartolomeu Dias e Pero da Covilhã*, Lisboa 1988, 23–52; JOÃO DE BARROS, *Ásia*, ed. by ANTÓNIO BAIÃO – F. LINDLEY CINTRA, vol. 2: *Segunda Década*, Lisboa 1974, book 7, ch. 6, 338–40; vol. 3: *Terceira Década*, Lisboa 1988, book 3, ch. 10, 79ff., book 4, ch. 1, 84ff; BruNile vol. 2, 130–36; DAMIÃO DE GÓIS, *Legatio Magni Indorum imperatoris Presbyteri Ioannis ad Emanuelem Lusitaniae regem ...*, Antwerp 1532 [new ed. ELIZABETH B. BLACKBURN, "The Legacy of 'Prester John'", *Moreana* 4, 1967, 37–98]; ID., *Fides, religio, moresque sub imperio Pretiosi Ioannis ...*, Lovanii 1540, 12, 16; JOÃO DE SOUSA

(ed., tr.), *Documentos arabicos para a história portugueza* ..., Lisboa 1790 (facsimile Lisboa 2004), 89–97.
Lit.: JEAN AUBIN, "L'ambassade du Prêtre Jean à D. Manuel", *Mare Luso-Indicum* 3, 1976, 1–56; GIRMA BESHAH – MERID WOLDE AREGAY, *The Question of the Union of the Churches in Luso-Ethiopian Relations (1500–1632)*, Lisbon 1964, 24–31; RICHARD PANKHURST, "The History of Ethiopian-Armenian Relations", *Revue des Etudes Arméniens* 12, 1977, 273–345.

Leonardo Cohen

Matewos

Abunä M. (ማቴዎስ; b. ca. 1843, Banī Ḫālid, Asyūṭ, Egypt, d. December 1926) was Bishop of Šäwa between 1881–89 and Metropolitan between 1889–1926. M. went to Ethiopia from the monastery of St. Pachomius in 1881, being one of the four bishops requested by *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV. He was accompanied by *abunä* ↗Peṭros IV, who was bishop of Təgre and the metropolitan, ↗Luqas, designated bishop of Goğğam and Marqos, who was to become the bishop of Bägemdər and Səmen but died soon after his arrival.

M. was appointed bishop of Šäwa, where he developed close ties with *nəguś* Mənilək (later *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II). In April 1883, he officiated over Mənilək's communion marriage to Ṭaytu at Ankobär. When Mənilək became emperor, in a highly unusual move, he received permission from the Coptic Patriarch Cyril to replace Peṭros IV as Metropolitan (↗*Paṗpas*) with his ally M. He also repartitioned the ecclesiastical lands adding further parts of Šäwa as well as other lands to M.'s holdings. M. crowned Mənilək as emperor on November 3, 1889 in a ceremony at ↗Ənṭoṭṭo. Two days later, he also crowned Ṭaytu as empress (↗*ətege*).

M.'s permanent residence was in the capital of Addis Abäba. He accompanied the imperial troops on the ↗ᶜAdwa campaign in 1895–96, carrying with him a *tabot* dedicated to Mary.

In 1902, M. journeyed to Cairo, ↗Jerusalem, Constantinople, and St. Petersburg. This made him the first sitting Metropolitan to leave Ethiopia. Although some sources claim his trip was to visit relatives, others believe it was an apparent attempt to resolve the problem of ↗Dayr as-Sulṭān. (He was later accused of having sided with the Copts in the dispute and having sold property in Jerusalem for the benefit of the Coptic Church.)

In 1906 when Mənilək introduced public schools in Ethiopia, M. sought to retain church control for ↗education. To this end, he recruited a number of Egyptian Copts as teachers, preferring them to Catholic or Protestant educated Ethiopians.

M.'s influence became even greater after Mənilək's stroke in 1909. In May of that year M., in accordance with Mənilək's wishes, supported *ləğ* ↗Iyasu's succession to the throne and threatened to excommunicate anyone who challenged his legitimacy. However, because of *ləğ* Iyasu's perceived pro-Muslim position, M. was later compelled to withdraw his support. Initially M. resisted the pressure from various sources to excommunicate *ləğ* Iyasu, and tried to mediate the political tensions. Finally, however, on the day of *Mäsqäl* 1916, following the public intervention of *əčč̌äge* ↗Wäldä Giyorgis, *ləğ* ↗Iyasus's reign came to an end. M. officially crowned ↗Zäwditu empress in February 1917.

In 1923 he left Ethiopia yet again, travelling to Egypt, apparently for health reasons. He returned after a few months. In 1923–24, he stood at the head of a Church council that excommunicated *aläqa* ↗Wäldä Maryam, one of the foremost representatives of the ↗*Säggа* theological position. In 1926, M.'s power was limited: on the constitution approved for the Church (16 August), the *əčč̌äge* received more power and a Holy Synod was established, attached to the court of *ras* Täfäri (↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I), which had committees designed to "assist" M.

He died of pneumonia. Despite attempts on the Coptic Patriarch to appoint an Ethiopian as Metropolitan, he was succeeded in 1929 by *abunä* ↗Qərəllos, an Egyptian.

Abunä Matewos; photo early 20th cent., courtesy of Peter the Great Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography of the Russian Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg (no. 2097–233)

M. spent an unusually long time in Ethiopia, learned both Amharic and Gəᶜəz and was deeply involved in the politics of his time. His activities, longevity and accumulation of wealth all made him one of the most influential figures to ever hold the position of the Metropolitan. He played a significant role in nearly all the major events of his long period in office, including the conquest of southern Ethiopia and the Christianization of its elites, the establishment of Addis Abäba and the victory over the Italians at ᶜAdwa. After Mənilək II's death, M. was involved in the succession struggles of the time.

However, his prominence also highlighted the need for the Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church to be led by a local cleric. Several of the issues which arose during his reign made him vulnerable to the charge that his primary loyalty was to his Egyptian roots than to his Ethiopian subjects.

Src.: GueCopMen vol. 1, 190ff., 268–72, 276ff., 303–06; vol. 2, 440ff., 501, 530, 540ff., 622, 629, ill. pl. 16; BTafY 153; GebMollyas 306, 309, 311, 327, 337, 339, 355–60, 381, 411, 416, 428–32, 449–57, 463, 492–95 (tr.).

Lit.: RICHARD CAULK, *"Between the Jaws of Hyenas": a Diplomatic History of Ethiopia (1876–1896)*, Wiesbaden 2002 (AeF 60), s. index; HAGGAI ERLICH, *The Cross and the River: Egypt, Ethiopia, and the Nile*, Boulder, CO 2001, 75f., 97f.; HAILE MARIAM LAREBO, "The Ethiopian Orthodox Church and Politics in the Twentieth Century: Part II", *NEASt* 10, 1, 1988, 3–5; MahZekr; CHRIS PROUTY, *Empress Taytu and Menilek II: Ethiopia 1883–1910*, Trenton, NJ 1986, 24f., 66ff., 108ff., 241f., 330f., 339f., passim; TedEthPrel II, 1038ff.

Steven Kaplan

Mathew, David

M. (b. 1902, Lyme Regis, Dorset, d. 1975) was a Roman Catholic bishop and author. His father was Francis Mathew, a barrister and novelist. Following his service in the Royal Navy during World War I, M. attended Balliol College, Oxford, to study history, and subsequently to Besa College in Rome to be ordained. After serving as a parish priest and writing two books on European and British history, in 1938 he was ordained Titular Bishop of Aeliae (ᶜAdal) and in 1945 was chosen by the ↗Vatican as Apostolic Visitor to Ethiopia. This was facilitated by his cousin, Charles Mathew, a legal advisor to *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I.

In 1947 M. published his very personal account of this story, where he referred to *aṣe* ↗Tewodros as "a great ruler"; likened the *Jeunesse d'Ethiopie intelligentsia* of the ↗Mənilək II and Ḫaylä Śəllase period to the young Turks, and argued that their objective was to graft the ideas of the French Revolution of 1789 onto the Solomonic Throne. He also declared that a visit to post-World War I ↗Addis Abäba had left a "quite ineradicable impression" on him.

M. subsequently travelled to several British African colonies in the East and West. These visits inspired him to write the novel *The Mango on the Mango Tree* (1950), which features an imaginary 20th-cent. Ethiopian character called *ras* Mäkʷännən. He returned to Britain in 1955 as Vicar Apostolic, after which he was appointed to a Vatican committee on missions. Later he wrote several biographies of British monarchs and their courtiers.

Src.: DAVID MATHEW, *Ethiopia. The Study of a Polity 1540–1935*, London 1947; ID., *The Mango on the Mango Tree*, London 1950.

Lit.: *The Dictionary of National Biography* s.v.; obituary in *The Times*, 18 December 1975.

Richard Pankhurst

Mäṭqəᶜ

The M. (መጥቅዕ, from Gəᶜəz *bäᶜalä mäṭqəᶜ*, 'Feast of Trumpets', referring to the Jewish ↗New Year) gives the Ethiopian civil calendar date for the Jewish New Year's Day.

The knowledge of the Jewish feasts is essential for the calculation of Ethiopian ↗calendar dates. The calendar can only be determined when the dates for the Jewish New Year's Day and *Ṣomä Nänäwe* (the Christian holy day commemorating Jonah's prediction of Nineveh's destruction) are known.

The importance of the M. and the lunar epact (↗*Abäqte*) lies in the fact that they enable to determine all dates in the Jewish lunar calendar. The beginning of the Jewish year is fixed at the date of the new moon's appearance nearest the autumnal equinox (25 *Mäskäräm*). The M. dates are bounded to fall between 15 *Mäskäräm* and 13 *Ṭəqəmt*.

Since the Jewish lunar year of twelve lunar months (354 days) is eleven days shorter than the Ethiopic solar year, the sequence of the civil dates of the lunar New Years' days differs from year to year by subtracting 11 (days) – or adding 19 (= 30 days – 11 days) – in order to stay within the permitted period. Instead of this step-by-step operation one can also calculate using the *abäqte* number [lunar epact = 30 – date of M.],

which would thus alternatively increase by 11 or decrease by 19.

In order to provide the dates for a sequence of new moons, the numbers for M. and the lunar epact had to be repeated with a period of 19 years. Astronomically, the 11-day increment is based on a mean synodic month of exactly 29½ days, whereas the 235 months in 19 years require a slightly longer mean synodic month. Therefore, one had to introduce into every 19-year cycle a correction in which the lunar epact increases once by 12 instead of 11: the so-called *saltus lunae*, placed between the last and the first year of consecutive cycles.

In order to calculate the M. (or the lunar epact) it is sufficient to know the cycle number (c) of the year in the 19-year-cycle [M. ≡ (c–1) x 19 mod 30]. E.g., for the year of grace 470 the cycle number is 14. M. would thus equal 7: from 13 x 19 = 247 ≡ 7 (mod 30); the corresponding lunar epact number would be 30 – 7 = 23. The Jewish New Year in 470 A.M. falls on 7 *Ṭəqəmt*.

An example of the use of M. for the calculation of a moveable feast can be given by the ↗*Fasika*. The date of Jewish Passover can be easily found from M. according to the formula M + 190. Thus, *Fasika*, falling on the first Sunday after the Passover, should fall into the period between 25 *Mäggabit* and 23 *Miyazya*. From the ↗*ṭəntyon* number which designates the weekday for the Ethiopic New Year one can find out the weekday of M., and thus the weekday of Passover. For the same 470 year of grace, *ṭəntyon* equals 5 (i.e. Sunday). If 1 *Mäskäräm* is a Sunday, 7 *Ṭəqəmt* (36 days later) must be a Monday. Passover (M. + 190) falls on 17 *Miyazya* which is, accordingly, a Tuesday. The next Sunday (+ 5 days) should thus be 22 *Miyazya*.

All these elements can be found in calendric tables (532-year tables, or 19-year tables; see ↗computus), which facilitate the calculation of weekdays and moveable ↗feasts. Many such tables providing a list of interrelated calendric parameters for 532 years exist.

Src.: DillmLex 1224f.; WrBriMus 322f., no. 398 [Add. 24,995], fol. 21v; 122, no. 188 [Orient. 578].

Lit.: MARIUS CHAÎNE, *La chronologie des temps chrétiens de l'Égypte et de l'Éthiopie*, Paris 1925, here 103–09; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, *Tabelle comparative del calendario etiopico col calendario romano*, Roma 1948; MURAD KAMIL, "The Ethiopian Calendar", *Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts of the University of Egypt* 12, 1950, 91–113; MAURO DA LEONESSA, "Un trattato sul calendario redatto al tempo di re ʿAmda-Ṣəyon I", *RSE* 3, 1943, 302–26, here 303ff.; OTTO NEUGEBAUER, *Ethiopic Astronomy and Computus*, Wien 1979 (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philologisch-historische Klasse. Sitzungsberichte, Band 347), 28ff., 48–53, 187–92, 245f. (Lit.).

Ute Pietruschka

Matrimony

Whilst civil ↗marriage (ዓለማዊ, *ʿälämawi*, lit. 'secular') is possible in Ethiopia and Eritrea, religious (መንፈሳዊ, *mänfäsawi*, lit. 'spiritual') marriage is the only one which the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church (EOTC) acknowledges. This article is devoted to the sacrament of M. as administered by the Church (Gəʿəz ተክሊል, *täklil*, 'coronation' [cp. *aklil*, ↗Crowns] or [በ]ቍርባን, [*bä*]*qʷərban*, '[by] ↗Eucharist', since the crowning cannot be performed without the latter). For other rituals connected to the performance of marriage s. also ↗wedding.

The traditional marriage is widespread amongst Orthodox Christians. It is regarded as civil marriage. Many people believe that a person married according to the Church ↗law (ባለ፡ሕግ, *balä ḥəgg*, lit. 'master of the law') may never re-marry, but must embrace monastic life after the untimely death of his/her spouse. It is also believed that a married person may not receive Holy Communion unless his or her spouse also receives. Many people hold that to receive Holy Communion is unattainable since such an awesome sacrament deserves the utmost preparation and, in fact, is tantamount to dying. Because of such beliefs as well the fear that people have to be tempted beyond their strength, most people do not presume to marry according to Church law and prefer traditional civil marriage. Those who wish M. are mainly ↗deacons who want to be ordained priests, certain highly respected members of the community as well as a few fervent believers. However, there are many Christians married according to custom who have been living together, and they often desire to regularize their situation at a later stage of their life and rejoin the sacramental life of the Church. Guided by their spiritual father (↗*Näfs abbat*), they prepare this reintegration through confession and absolution. Then the rite for a Second Marriage is performed (s. below).

Foundations of marriage

Based on Mt 5:31–32, 19:3–9 and parallels; Eph 5:21–33, 1 Cor 7:1–40, Heb 13:4; Gen 1:27–28, 2:18–24 etc., the sacramental and disciplinary teaching of the Church is articulated by the

↗*Fəṭḥa nägäśt* and the order proposed by the ritual. Accordingly, M. is one of the seven sacraments (ምሥጢራት, *məśṭirat*, 'mysteries') of the Church. Its aims are procreation, coping with "the desires of the flesh", and mutual support, the specific sacramental dimension being brought about by the Eucharistic communion in conformity with the general trend of the ancient Churches' tradition. It is worth of noting, however, that what concerns M. is contained in ch. 24 of the *Fəṭḥa nägäśt*, i.e. in its secular part (ፍትሐ፡ ሥጋዊ, *fəṭḥa śägawi*, lit. 'Carnal Law', chs. 23–51) because M. has a most important relevance for the civil society, even if considered in a Christian perspective.

Main impediments to matrimony

a) Consanguinity (ዝምድና, *zəmdənna*) up to the 7th degree of relationship (M. is permitted from the 8th degree), the count being (cp. *Fəṭḥa nägäśt* 1965/66:304c–06c):

7) the initial ancestor (*gənd*);
6) the next ancestor (*mənʾawqälləh*);
5) the following ancestor (*məzlat*, *mənžälat*);
4) the great grand-parents (*qəmat*, *qədmä ayyat*);
3) the grand-parents (*ayyat*);
2) the parents (*abbat*, *ənnat*);
1) the persons involved.

These names are given by the *liqawənt* (scholars) of the ↗*mäṣḥaf bet* who allow M. between persons of the 7th degree of relationship (*Mäṣḥafä täklil* 1964:15; *Fəṭḥa nägäśt* 1965/66:306a, l. 18), although custom (*ləmmad*) allows it from the 8th degree only. While this agrees with the custom of several Ethiopian ethnic groups, it contrasts with the *Fəṭḥa nägäśt*, which says that, though the 4th degree is acceptable to the Copts and some others, the Melkites are in great trouble because they do not allow marriage even within the 7th degree (*Fəṭḥa nägäśt* 1969/70:213, § 844; Paulos Tzadua 1968:134f.). Thus, the Ethiopians quote the *Fəṭḥa nägäśt*, but do the same as the Melkites (*Mäṣḥafä täklil* 1964:15; Mälʾaku Asmamaw 2002:49, n. 50), possibly because of older customs. Nevertheless, the council on 8 September, 1668 A.D. supported the prohibition of marrying brother or sister-in-law (GuiIohan 9) and in around 1544 *aṣe* ↗Gälawdewos prescribed not to marry a kin before the 6th generation (CRAxum 72).

b) Affinity by spiritual relationship including being godfather or godmother of the partner (Paulos Tzadua 1968:135f.; cp. also GuiIohan 9) or participation in same confraternity (↗*Maḫbär*).

c) Lack of freedom or knowledge (Paulos Tzadua 1968:138, 142).

d) Being underage: the marital age of 20 years for a man and 12 for a woman (Paulos Tzadua 1968:140) has been changed by the Holy Synod to 18 years for a man and 15 years for a woman in 1943 (cp. *Mäṣḥafä täklil* 1964:15; Paulos Tzadua 1973:136f.).

e) Being not a (non-Chalcedonian) Orthodox Christian (Paulos Tzadua 1968:144, 1973:136).

Ritual

The ritual of M. is contained in the *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*täklil*. Only preceded by Chaîne's 1913 edition, today's standard ritual was first published in 1964, followed by a shorter text prepared with a pastoral mind by *liqä śəlṭanat* Häbtä Maryam Wärqənäh in the same year and reproduced later as ጸሎተ፡ ተክሊል (*Ṣälotä täklil*, 'Prayer of the Crowning'). The ritual of 1964, including 1) the Betrothal, 2) the M., 3) the Second Marriage, has been confirmed as standard by its re-appearance in the ritual published by the Patriarchate in 2001/02.

Although the Ethiopian ritual in its present form was translated in the 17th cent. (Beylot 1993:251f.), it largely corresponds to the ceremony described by the 15th-cent. Patriarch Gabriel V of Alexandria (Abdallah 1962:333f.) and even in our days by Burmester (1967:132) (for Alvares's description of how the metropolitan officiated at a marriage at the time of *aṣe* ↗Ləbnä Dəngəl s. BeckHuntAlvar 106f.). The rites are far older than the prayers, which go back to the late medieval period only. However, the order of certain prayers has been changed and passed over from the Betrothal to the Crowning, even within the Gəᶜəz documentation itself (e.g. Chaîne 1913 and Raes 1958 present texts that are closer to each other than Chaîne 1913 and *Mäṣḥafä täklil* 1964).

The ritual shows such elements not always very explicit or well preserved in the Coptic Church as, e.g., the 'Word of the covenant' (ቃል፡ ኪዳን, *Qal kidan*, or ቃለ፡መሐላ, *Qalä mäḫala*, 'Word of oath') at the beginning of the Betrothal, a feature which, in fact, may be relatively recent since the rings are not mentioned in the manuscripts (Raineri 1986:311; cf. Abdallah 1962, fol. 16v [tr.: 335]; an open matter in Burmester 1967:133). As in other Christian cultures, arranged marriages with the rings given to 5–6 year old children, some promised even before their birth, are documented even in recent times; the anointing of the groom and bride (Burmester 1967:138, n. 1); and

above all the reception of the Eucharist (Abdallah 1962, fol. 24v [tr. 340]), which implied that the M. ceremonies took place at an early hour in 15th-cent. Egypt, before the Eucharistic liturgy (Abdallah 1962, fol. 13v [tr. 333]; cf. Raes 1958:26), as in today's Ethiopia. M. is sealed with the Eucharist (*Fəṭḥa nägäśt* ch. 24, section 5; cf. Paulos Tzadua 1968:142) as required for the validity of the matrimonial bound, indissoluble in principle because the Eucharist causes the couple to participate in the union of Jesus Christ and the Church (hence the second name of M., *bäqʷərban*, and the sacramental status of M.). Today, the Ethiopian tradition alone strictly retains this position.

Service

The service of M. as fixed by the *Mäṣḥafä täklil* includes the following parts: 1) the Betrothal (**ሥርዓተ፡ ፍጎረት**, *Śərᶜatä fəḫrät*, lit. 'Rite of Betrothal' [this title is not found in the book]; *Mäṣḥafä täklil* 1964:28–55); 2) the M. (**ሥርዓተ፡ ምሥጢረ፡ ተክሊል**, *Śərᶜatä məśṭirä täklil*, lit. 'Rite of the Mystery [i.e. 'Sacrament'] of Crowning'; ibid. 56–133).

The two parts comprise the service of M. proper. They used to be completely distinct and may take place at different times and places. The Betrothal includes the free consent, the vows – a necessary condition for M. – and the exchange of the rings. The Rite of the Crowning is the solemn part of M., performed at church early before Sunday or another day's Mass, never on a fasting day. The latter includes: a) The anointing of the groom and bride in a rite particular to the tradition of Alexandria. Pre-Christian in origin, it includes a powerful reference to the protection, strength and sanctification of those who are associated with the sacerdotal, prophetic and kingly people of God through Baptism. b) The investing with priestly attire and above all the Crowning, performed for virgins only, refer to the dignity of the human being restored by Christ. c) The Eucharistic communion (the bride and groom's shoulders being wrapped with the one and same large garment, **መጐናጸፊያ**, *mäggʷänaṣäfiya*), immediately after the newly baptized of the day). d) A triple procession around the church, an exhortation and the final blessing of Mass conclude the celebration. In agreement with the other Eastern Churches, the minister of the sacrament is the bishop or the priest.

Outline of the Ethiopian Liturgy of M.:

I. The Service of Betrothal ("The Rite of the Rings")

The Vows:

1) Verification of the bridegroom and bride's consent; 2) The oath of the bridegroom; 3) The oath of the bride.

The Rings:

4) Preliminaries and Our Father.

As at Mass (*Qəddase*)

5) The Prayer of Thanksgiving and of Incense; 6) Readings (1 Cor 1:1–10; 1 Jn 4:18–21; Acts 21:12–14); 7) Trisagion and *Kidan*; 8) Prayer of the Gospel; 9) *Məsbak*: Ps 84(85):9b–10; 10) Gospel: Jn 1:1–17.

The Blessing of the Rings:

11) Prayer of the rings; 12) Blessing of the rings; 13) The Exchange of the Rings (the bridegroom to the bride and the bride to the bridegroom); 14) Prayer; 15) Exhortation; 16) Dismissal.

II. The Service of M. ("the Rite of the Crowning")

17) The sign of the cross; 18) Creed and *Aśärqot*; 19) Declaration of purpose; 20) Psalms, etc.; 21) The Absolution of the Son and Ps 50(51); 22) Invocation with people kneeling; 23) "Our Father"; 24) The incensing and the Prayer of Thanksgiving of St. Basil.

The Readings:

25) Eph 5:22–33; Pet 3:1–8; Acts 15:22–30; 26) *Məsbak*: Ps 18(19):7–8a; 27) Mt 19:1–10; 28) The Universal Prayers (as at Mass)

The Garments:

29) Two Prayers over the garments; 30) As they put on the garments.

The Anointing:

31) Blessing of the oil; 32) Anointing of the bridegroom and bride; 33) Prayer after the priest has anointed the bridegroom and bride.

The Crowns:

34) Two prayers over the crowns; 35) The priest sets the crowns upon the head of the bridegroom and the bride; 36) Conclusion.

Supplications:

37) Prayer of supplication; 38) Prayer upon the bridegroom, the bride and all the people; 39) "Prayer of Blessing" (as at Mass).

III. Mass is now celebrated in full, from the beginning

40) Together partaking in the Holy Communion; 41) Procession around the church and blessing for the bridal couple before the final blessing of Mass; 42) Exhortation, blessing and dismissal.

Remarriage

In addition to the service described above and in agreement with the other Oriental Churches, the Ethiopian tradition admits a second rite performed for the "widow[er]s" or "divorced" (Gəᶜəz: **መዓስባን**, *mäᶜassəban*, sg. *maᶜəssab*) called "Prayer of the Second Matrimony which is for the Penitent who have had their Marriage Dissolved" (included in *Mäṣḥafä täklil* 1964:134–79, **ጸሎተ፡ ሰብሳብ፡ ካልእ** ..., *Ṣälotä säbsab kalə* ...; cp. "The Service of Digamy" in Burmester 1967:143f.). The *Fəṭḥa nägäśt* (ch. 24, sections 5, 6; cf. Paulos Tzadua 1968:142–45, 148–54) per-

mits a second marriage (a third union is hardly possible) after the death of one's spouse or a divorce on grounds of adultery (Mt 5:31–32, 19:9) which automatically destroys the matrimonial bond. The innocent party is free to remarry with another person. The guilty spouse may come back to Church life through penance, specifically the penitential baptism of the *Mäṣḥafä ↗qedər* like the apostates, and then marry another person. If the innocent spouse and the guilty one wish to resume common life, they may do so on condition that both undergo the *Qedər*, for the innocent spouse, by wishing to continue to live with the guilty one, is considered as involved in his/her sin. Apostasy (including the case of one's spouse joining another Church) or the confirmed disappearance of one's spouse also allow for a second marriage. Although the *Fəṭḥa nägäśt* does, the Ethiopian Church does not accept a spouse's folly or leprosy as reasons to divorce. Included in the ritual published by the Roman Congregation for the Eastern Churches (1973/74:111–61), this ritual is, however, similar to the first marriage, minus the Crowning.

The Service for a Second Marriage is performed also for the people who, after many years of living together, want to seal their union. For this, husband and wife go together to the church. Close to the sanctuary (in the *qəddəst*), they attend the Eucharistic liturgy and receive the Eucharist and the *Täklil*. Thus they are sacramentally wed. From then on, they will receive communion on the major occasions of the liturgical year, observing the Eucharistic fast.

Outline of the Service for a Second Marriage:

1) Verification of the bridegroom and bride's consent and of the objections; 2) Absolution of the Father; 3) Ps 32(31), 51(50), 128(127), 25(24), 133(132); 4) "Our Father".

As at Mass (*Qəddase*):

5) Incensing; 6) Prayer of Thanksgiving.

The Readings:

7) 1 Tim 1:12–18; 1 Jn 1:4–10; Acts 17:23–31; 10) Trisagion and *Kidan*; 11) Prayer of the Gospel; 12) *Məsbak*: Ps 78(79):8; 13) Gospel reading: Lk 15:11–23; 14) The Universal Prayers (as at Mass); 15) Prayer upon the bridegroom and the bride; 16) Our Father; 17) Absolution of the Son; 18) Mass in full. Partaking in the Holy Communion.

This service is regarded as a concession to human weakness and is therefore penitential in character. The concept of sacramental M. applies in a unique way to the first union; however, the Church interprets the law in favour of those concerned out of compassion for her weaker members.

Matrimony of Clerics

The one who receives the deaconate (receiving also all minor orders at the same time) is free to choose between celibacy and marriage, therefore may marry after the ↗ordination. Deacons who wish to be ordained priests must first choose between becoming monks or getting married. Deacons and priests never marry again after the death of the spouse, and do not divorce. If their wives happen to divorce or die, priests become monks in order to continue to preach and celebrate the sacraments. A deacon whose wife died is also supposed to become a monk, especially if he wishes to be ordained priest. If a priest or a deacon decides to marry again, he is barred from ministering the sacraments and receiving holy communion; he may not teach or preach any more, although it happens that they continue to do so when there is a lack of capable clerics in a given area.

Src.: ALFONSO ABDALLAH (ed.), *L'ordinamento liturgico di Gabriele V, 88° Patriarca Copto (1409–1427)*, Cairo 1962; BeckHuntAlvar 106f.; MARIUS CHAÎNE (ed.), "Le Rituel éthiopien — Rituel de la confirmation et du mariage", *Bessarione* 29, 1913, 255–83; CRAxum 71 (text) = 86 (tr.); IGNAZIO GUIDI (ed., tr.), *Il "Fetha Negest" o "Legislazione dei Re" codice ecclesiastico e civile di Abissinia*, Napoli 1897, 1899, 152–79 (text) = 218–64 (tr.); GuiIohan 9 [text] = 8 [tr.]; ፍትሐ፡ ነገሥት፡ ንባብና፡ ትርጓሜው (*Fəṭḥa nägäśt nəbabənna tərgʷamew*, 'Law of the Kings, Text and Commentary'), Addis Abäba 1958 A.M. [1965/66 A.D.], 206–42; 1962 A.M. [1969/70 A.D.]; PATRIARCHATE OF THE ETHIOPIAN ORTHODOX TÄWAḤƎDO CHURCH (EOTC) (ed.), መጽሐፈ፡ ተክሊል (*Mäṣḥafä täklil*, 'The Book of Crowning'), Addis Abäba 1956 A.M. [1964 A.D.], ²1994 A.M. [2001/02 A.D.], 7–56; PAULOS TZADUA (tr.), *The Fetha Nagast*. ፍትሐ፡ ነገሥት. *The Law of the Kings*, Addis Ababa 1968, 130–55; ROMAN CONGREGATION FOR EASTERN CHURCHES (ed.), መጽሐፈ፡ ተክሊል፡ ዘሙእቱ፡ ሕገ፡ ሰብኣ (*Mäṣḥafä täklil zäwəʾətu ḥəggä säbsab*, 'The Book of Crowning, that is the Law of Matrimony'), Città del Vaticano 1966 A.M. [1973/74 A.D.], 111–61.

Lit.: ᶜASRAT GÄBRÄ MARYAM, ትምህርተ፡ መለኮት (*Təmhərtä mäläkot*, 'Catechism'), Addis Abäba ²1991 A.M. [1999 A.D.], 233ff.; AYMRO WONDMAGEGNEHU – JOACHIM MOTOVU, *The Ethiopian Orthodox Church*, Addis Ababa 1970, 109–12; ROBERT BEYLOT, "Langue et littérature éthiopiennes", in: MICHELINE ALBERT et al. (eds.), *Christianismes orientaux. Introduction à l'étude des langues et des littératures*, Paris 1993, 221–60, here 251f.; OSWALD HUGH EWART KHS-BURMESTER, *The Egyptian or Coptic Church: a Detailed Description of her Liturgical Services and the Rites ...*, Cairo 1967 (Publications de la Société d'Archéologie Copte 10), 128–44; EOTC (ed.), *The Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Church Faith, Order of Worship and Ecumenical Relations*, Addis Ababa 1988 A.M. [1995/96 A.D.], 39f. [Amh.], 42f. [Eng.]; KƎNFÄ GABRƎʾEL ALTAYYÄ, ሥርዓተ፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን (*Śərᶜatä betä krəstiyan*, 'The Order of the Church'), Addis Abäba 1993² A.M. [2000 A.D.], 106–37; MÄLʾAKU ASMAMAW, የፍቅር፡

ምሥጢር (*Yäfəqər məṣtir*, 'The Sacrament of Love'), Arlington, VA 1993 A.M. [2001 A.D.]); *abba* MÄLKÄ ṢEDEQ, **የኢትዮጵያ፡ ኦርቶዶክስ፡ ተዋሀዶ፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ እምነትና፡ ትምህርት** (*Yä'ityopya ortodoks täwahədo betä krəstiyan əmnätənna təmhərt*, 'The Faith and the Teaching of the Ethiopian Orthodox Täwahədo Church'), n.p. 1994 A.M. [2002 A.D.], 289–95; J. GH. VAN OVERSTRAETEN, N.D.S., "Le rite de l'onction des époux dans la liturgie copte du mariage", *Parole de l'Orient* 5, 1, 1974, 49–93; PAULOS TZADUA, "The Ancient Law of the Kings – the Fetha Nagast – in the Actual Practices of the Established Orthodox Church", *Kanon* 1, 1973, 112–45; ID., "Le diverse forme del matrimonio e il loro carattere dissolubile e indissolubile nella tradizione della chiesa d'etiopia", *QSE* 6–7, 1985–86, 5–30; ALPHONSE RAES, *Le mariage dans les Églises d'Orient*, Chevetogne 1958, 23–45; OSVALDO RAINERI (ed.), "Celebrazione del matrimonio nel rito etiopico", in: GIUSTINO FARNEDI (ed.), *La celebrazione cristiana del matrimonio* ..., Roma 1986 (Studia Anselmiana 93; Analecta Liturgica 11), 307–41.

Emmanuel Fritsch

Matte, Lucien

M. (b. 11 February 1907, Quebec, d. 25 September 1973, Quebec) joined the ↗Jesuits in 1930 and was ordained a priest in 1938. Besides his priestly studies, he held a M.A. in Bio-Chemistry and a Ph.D. in Education. M. served as Director of the Täfäri Mäkʷännən School in Addis Abäba from 1945 to 1950. Later, he served as the first President of the University College of Addis Abäba (↗Addis Ababa University), which he himself started and developed, until 1960. M. also created evening extension courses (Bərhane zare näw Institute) to cater to the needs of civil servants. In 1961, he became the first President of the Ḫaylä Śəllase I University. In the following year, he returned to Canada, where he served as rector of the University of Subdury until 1966. M. was an exceptional leader and administrator and a man with a dynamic, convincing personality.

Lit.: TESHOME G. WAGAW, *The Development of Higher Education and Social Change: an Ethiopian Experience*, East Lansing, MI 1990, 64ff.

Miguel Angel García

Matteucci, Pellegrino

M. (b. 10 [or 13] October 1850, Ravenna, d. 8 August 1881, London) was an Italian explorer.

After completing the secondary education in Bologna and Rome (1868), M. entered the medical faculty of Bologna University. Though he never completed his studies, his contemporaries believed that he was a doctor of medicine. Early in life he got interested in travels, following closely African reports of the Società Geografica Italiana. He received a diploma in Natural Sciences (1870) and learnt Arabic. In 1872 he started collaborating with the Società della Gioventù Cattolica and the journal *Ancora*. In 1873 he filed an application to the ↗Società Geografica Italiana asking to consider him for any of their next expeditions to Africa, but was declined.

Portrait of Pellegrino Matteucci; lithographic print from Bianchi 1884:26

In 1877 M. hoped that the explorer Sebastiano Martini Bernardi from the mission headed by Orazio ↗Antinori would take him along to Ethiopia, but Martini Bernardi took Antonio Cecchi instead. The same year, in Rome, M. met Romolo Gessi, explorer and close associate of Charles ↗Gordon, and on 1 October 1877 they started on the expedition to the "unknown" countries of the Oromo. They reached Khartoum and the Blue ↗Nile but local clashes prevented them from continuing further than Fadasi in Eastern Sudan.

In 1878 M. was appointed by the Società di Esplorazione Commerciale e Scientifica Africana in Milan to organize an expedition to Šäwa. In late 1879 M., with Gustavo ↗Bianchi and Pippo ↗Vigoni, arrived at Massawa, following an advice of Giacomo ↗Naretti. On 14 December they continued to ↗Däbrä Tabor where they were received by *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV who gave his consent for the exploratory mission. At Däbrä Tabor, M. also befriended *ras* ↗Alula Ǝngəda. He failed, however, to establish good relationships with ↗Mənilək of Šäwa. M. and companions travelled to ↗Moṭa on the ↗Abbay,

to ↗Däbrä Marqos and ↗Basso. In 1880 M. and Vigoni returned to Italy.

Back home, M. prepared a more ambitious expedition: to cross the African continent, from sea to sea. He had two travel companions: prince Giovanni Borghese who had sponsored the enterprise, and Alfonso Massari. The three left Italy on 5 February 1880, and arrived in Khartoum via Sawākin on 27 March. They continued to Kordofan, Darfur (from where Borghese had to return to Italy), the Wadai sultanate, Borno and Nupe. M. and Massari then sailed along the Niger reaching the Atlantic ocean on 3 July 1881, thus completing the first Italian cross-African expedition.

M. died one day after their arrival in London.

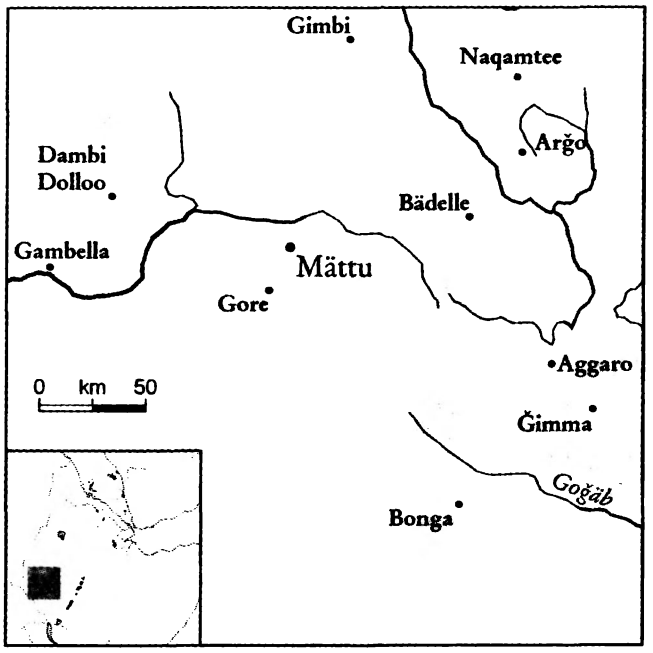
Src: *Scritti di Pellegrino Matteucci raccolti ed annotati*, Ravenna 1965, ed. by MARIO LONGHENA; PELLEGRINO MATTEUCCI, *La cremazione dei cadaveri combattuta nei suoi rapporti storici, chimici, sociali, giuridici e religiosi*, Bologna 1875; ID., *La spedizione italiana all'Africa Equatoriale*, Bologna 1875; ID., *Gli Akka e le razze africane*, Bologna 1877; ID., *Spedizione Gessi-Matteucci. Sudan e Gallas*, Milano 1879; ID., *In Abissinia*, Milano 1880.

Lit.: GUSTAVO BIANCHI, *Alla terra dei Galla*, Milano 1884, 26 (ill.); CESARE CASARI (ed.), *Viaggi africani di Pellegrino Matteucci*, Milano 1932; [ID.], *Medici italiani pionieri in Etiopia. Il Dott. Pellegrino Matteucci (1850–1881)*, Roma 1936; CARLO DELLA VALLE, *Omaggio a Pellegrino Matteucci (nel cinquantenario della sua morte) 1881–1931. I suoi tre viaggi in Africa*, Roma 1931; VITTORIO DI CESARE, *L'oro d'Africa. Tra Bologna e il Niger l'avventura di Pellegrino Matteucci (1850–1881)*, Bologna 1979 (Lit.); MARIO LONGHENA, *I viaggi di Pellegrino Matteucci in Africa*, Torino 1932; JADER MONTANARI, "Pellegrino Matteucci. Vita e viaggi africani", in: PIERO BALDINI – JADER MONTANARI, *Romolo Gessi e Pellegrino Matteucci pionieri dell'esplorazione africana*, Ravenna 1937, 23–39; MINISTERO DELLE COLONIE, UFFICIO STUDI E PROPAGANDA, *Voyageurs italiens en Afrique*, Roma 1931, 83f.; ANGELO UMILTÀ, *Gli Italiani in Africa con appendici monografiche su esploratori e personaggi che calcarono il suolo africano dal 1800 al 1943*, ed. by GIORGIO BARANI – MANLIO BONATI, Reggio Emilia 2004, 42, 153f., 191, 198, 256, 271, 277, 282, 286, 366, 369, 370, 604.

Manlio Bonati

Mättu

M. (መቱ, Orom. Mattuu) is a town in ↗Illubabor. Its development probably started as a small market town near a bridge crossing the River Sori, constructed in stone in the 1920s by the order of *ras* ↗Nadäw Abba Wällo (CerEt 59f.). In 1938 M. had 2,000 inhabitants. Until 1970 M. was only a secondary market where a few Greek merchants bought ↗coffee to sell it at the main market of ↗Gore (25,000 inhabitants in 1938) in order to be exported through ↗Gambella. When the road from ↗Buno Bädelle was completed,



coffee bags were transported to Addis Abäba either through ↗Naqamtee or through ↗Ğimma.

In the 1970s M. replaced Gore as a regional capital, although having a comparatively small population. From 1987 to 1991 it lost its administrative rank and Ğimma became the capital of the new Illubabor and Ğimma Region, M. becoming the capital of the Sor and Gäba *awraǧǧa* in ↗Illubabor administrative region. Since 1991 M. has been the capital of the M. *wäräda*, a subdivision of the Illubabor zone of the Oromiyaa.

The population of M. has increased quickly until the 1980s (12,491 inhabitants, 1984 census) but it slowed down until 1994 (19,298 inhabitants, 1994 census). Coffee production, trade and administration has given an impulse to its population growth. According to the estimations of the CSA the town had 25,967 inhabitants in 1999 and 32,958 inhabitants in 2004. The Sor waterfalls, one of the most dramatic falls in Ethiopia, can be visited in the vicinity of M.

Src.: CSA 2000; CerEt 59f.; *Guida*.

Alain Gascon

Matyas

The monk M. (ማትያስ, baptismal name Ṭəritä Ǝgzi᾽; 14th–15th cent.) is considered by several hagiographic sources to have been the founder of a monastic community at the Eritrean village of [ᶜ]Addəqe (or ᶜAd ᶜƎqe), ca. 16 km south-west of Asmära, in the Lamza district of the ↗Ḥamasen province, Eritrea.

M.'s place and date of birth are unknown. According to his Acts, after 1390/91 he entered,

following one of his elder brothers, the Eritrean monastery of ↗Däbrä Maryam of Qʷäḥayn (founded by ↗Absadi in 1374), then headed by the abbot Täwäldä Mädḫən. The latter, as well as his successor Fiqṭor, are said to have been very fond of M., who later established a daughter community in Lamza, building a church near ᶜAddəqe. M. spent his whole life there, dying probably on 13 *Säne* (the other date given at the beginning of the Vita, 21 *Gənbot*, is probably a contamination with another event) and was then buried in his church, which thereupon received the name of Däbrä Matyas.

M. (or Matyan) of ᶜAddəqe also appears in monastic ↗genealogies as a disciple of ↗Ewosṭatewos of Däbrä Ṣärabi.

M.'s hagiography mentions a land grant given by *aṣe* ↗Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob to the sanctuary of ᶜAddəqe (fol. 29r–v), including the territories of Šəbər Šəge and Dəgśana "in the land of Wäqrä".

M. of ᶜAddəqe can probably be identified with M. of Šəmagəlle, featuring in two episodes of the *Life* of ↗Filəppos of Däbrä Bizän as the latter's prosecutor. The conflict occurred between 1400, when a council was summoned by *aṣe* ↗Dawit II to settle the Ewosṭatean controversy, and 1406, the year of Filəppos's death. ᶜAddi Šəmagəlle is a village north-west of Asmära, not far from Säᶜda Zäga, Ḥamasen.

The *Gädlä Matyas* was probably composed between the end of the 16th and the beginning of the 17th cent. Only one manuscript is kept in Europe, ANLin (Fondo Conti Rossini) no. 84. The 20th-cent. notebook copy contains the complete hagiographic dossier of the saint: the actual Vita (↗*Gädl*, fols. 21r–29v) is followed by the Miracles (↗*Täᵓammər*, fols. 29v–33v, with numerous historical references to the events of the 16th-cent. wars of ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī [Grañ]) and a ↗*mälkəᵓ* devoted to the saint (fols. 33v–35v).

The colophon (fol. 35v; a short colophon is also found at the end of the Vita on fol. 29v) states that the copy was made in 1914 in ᶜAddi Lamza, by a *qäsis* named Fəśśəha Ṣəyon (probably on the request of the same Carlo Conti Rossini). The *incipit* (fol. 20r) additionally informs us that the scribe (probably the same Fəśśəha Ṣəyon) copied the text from a manuscript kept in the church of Šəmagəlle in Ḥamasen. This element supports the identification of M. with M. of Šəmagəlle, ᶜAddi Šəmagəlle being probably the birthplace of the monk, or the original village of his family, and ᶜAddəqe the place where he spent most of his monastic life and died.

The hagiographic dossier was published by Paolo Marrassini in 1983 with a translation and commentary. At least two more manuscripts of the *Gädlä Matyas* are believed to exist, one in the monastery of Däbrä Maryam.

Src.: CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Il Gadla Filpos e il Gadla Yoḥannes di Dabra Bizan", *RRALm* ser. 5ª, 8, 1901, 61–170, here 112, 120, 155, 163 n. 4, 166f. n. 4; CRAxum no. II.27; KinBibl 84, no. 113; GIANFRANCESCO LUSINI, "Per una storia delle tradizioni monastiche eritree: le genealogie spirituali dell'ordine di Ewostatewos di Däbrä Ṣarabi", in: UGO ZANETTI – ENZO LUCCHESI (eds.), *Aegyptus Christiana Mélanges d'agiographie égyptienne et orientale dédiés à la mémoire du P. Paul Devos Bollandiste*, Genève 2004 (Cahiers d'Orientalisme 25), 249–72; PAOLO MARRASSINI, "Il Gadla Matyas", *Egitto e Vicino Oriente* 6, 1983, 247–307 (Lit.); StrANL 216–20, no. 84 [II], here fols. 20r–35v.

Lit.: LusStud 124ff. (Lit.).

Gianfrancesco Lusini

Mauro da Leonessa

M. (b. as Vincenzo Nardi, 10 May 1883, Leonessa, Rieti, d. 1 January 1946, L'Aquila) was an Italian missionary and scholar. He joined the ↗Capuchins with the monastic name of Mauro da Leonessa, was ordained priest in 1905, and earned doctorates in philosophy and theology from the Gregorian University in Rome.

As an expert in Ethiopian issues, in 1913 he was sent to Eritrea and became superior of the missionary houses in ↗ᶜAsäb, ↗Massawa and ↗Mändäfära (ᶜAddi Wəgri), as well as general vicar of his order for Arabia and Eritrea (1913–21). In 1924, he was appointed vice rector of the Pontifical Ethiopian College in the Vatican City (↗Santo Stefano dei Mori), where he served for seven years, following, among other things, the construction of the new seat of the College in the Vatican Gardens (1929–30). He later moved to the monastery of San Lorenzo al Verano in Rome. From 1934 to 1942 he taught Ethiopian languages at the then Regio Istituto Orientale (↗Istituto Universitario Orientale) in Naples. At that time he, in line with the colonial policy of the ↗Africa Orientale Italiana, supported antislavery ideas. He spent the last year of his life at the Capuchin convent in L'Aquila.

M. published several works on Eritrean and Ethiopian history, canon ↗law (1932, 1937), ↗chronography (e.g., 1918, 1934, 1943) and ↗Təgrəñña grammar (1928). He also published a collection of letters of ↗Täklä Haymanot Täklä Ǝgziᵓ (tr. by abba Tämälso Bäᶜal Ḥalay, 1939).

For his study on *Santo Stefano Maggiore degli Abissini* (1929), he received both an award from the Accademia d'Italia and the "Star of Ethiopia" order from *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I (other important works in Src.).

Src.: MAURO DA LEONESSA, *Santo Stefano Maggiore degli Abissini e le relazioni romano-etiopiche*, Città del Vaticano 1929; ID., *Computo per il Calendario abissino confrontato col computo latino*, Asmara 1918; ID., *Grammatica analitica della lingua Tigray*, introduction by CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, Roma 1928 [cp. review by EUGEN MITTWOCH in *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute* 2, 1, 1929, 90–91]; ID., *Il Predicatore apostolico. Note storiche*, Frosinone 1929; ID., *Testi di diritto riguardanti gli Etiopi*, [Rome] 1932 (Sacra Congregazione Orientale. Codificazione canonica orientale VI); ID., *Dissertazioni cronologiche. Cronologia e calendario etiopico*, Tivoli 1934; ID., *Aethiopiae codex diplomatico-religiosus*, Romae 1937 (typewritten volume kept at Collegio S. Lorenzo da Brindisi of the Capuchins, Rome, 36–G–48); ID., *Storia, lingue, letteratura, religioni, missioni nell'Africa Orientale Italiana*, Novara 1938; ID., *Lettere di Abba Tecle-Haymanot di Adua*, 4 vols., Rome 1939; ID., "La versione etiopica dei canoni apocrifi del concilio di Nicea secondo i codici vaticani ed il fiorentino", *RSE* 2, 1942, 29–89; ID., "Un trattato sul calendario redatto al tempo di re ᶜAmda-Ṣyon I", *ibid.* 3, 1943, 302–26.

Lit.: ErDizBio 199; METODIO DA NEMBRO, *La missione dei Minori Cappuccini in Eritrea (1984–1952)*, Romae 1953 (Biblioteca Seraphico-Capuccina, Sectio historica XIII), 496; *Analecta Ordinis Fratrum Minorum Capuccinorum* 62, 1946, 105f. [obituary]; Fr. PIO DA ATELETA, *Annali dei Frati Minori Cappuccini degli Abruzzi* 11, 1945–47, 39–41 [obituary]; *Atti della Provincia dei Minori Cappuccini di Lombardia* 4, 1945, 288f. [obituary]; *Collectanea Franciscana* 16–17, 1946–47, 453f. [obituary]; *L'Osservatore Romano*, 11 gennaio 1946 [obituary]; GIUSEPPE CHIARETTI, *Mauro Nardi, missionario – glottologo – storico, 1883–1946*, Leonessa [1946]; *Lexicon Capuccinum. Prontuarium historico-bibliographicum Ordinis Fratrum Minorum Capuccinorum (1525–1950)*, Romae 1951, 1082f.; *Enciclopedia ecclesiastica*, vol. 6, Milano 1955, 611b–612a.

Osvaldo Raineri

Mäwäddəs

M. (**መወድስ**, Amh. lit. 'praise', from Amh./Gəᶜəz *wäddäsä*, 'to praise') is a long office performed every Sunday, except when such ↗feasts as the Nativity (↗*Lədät*), Epiphany (↗*Ṭəmqät*), Transfiguration or *Qana Zägälila* fall on Sunday. The M. is the longest office in the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church (other long services are ↗*Kəśtätä aryam* and ↗*Məhəlla*). It is followed by the Sunday ↗*Səbḥatä nägh* and the Mass (cp. ↗*Qəddase*).

According to the traditional Ethiopian scholars, the M. is conducted on Sundays in imitation of the ↗angels who praise God because they were created on that day, and was introduced by St. ↗Yared who is believed to have learnt the M. directly from the angels when in a state of ecstasy he was taken to heaven. What he brought back was considered to be suitable for the office of Sunday, the day specifically dedicated to the divine praise.

The Sunday office is a complicated rite, consisting of psalms (↗Psalter), mostly grouped in blocks of three, alternating with thanksgiving ↗prayers, ↗litanies, invocations, *kidan* prayers, ↗*qəne*, ↗*Dəggʷa* hymns and other liturgical elements (↗*Məsbak*, ↗*Arbaᶜət*, etc.). Some of the psalms are performed completely, some only partially. Those used in their integrity can be interrupted by an antiphon and followed by a *qəne*. The psalmic ternaries are sung by alternating choirs (except for the *məsbak*, interpreted by soloists).

Src.: DillmLex 930; **አምስቱ፡ ጸዋትዉ፡ ዜማዎች** (*Amməstu ṣäwatəwä zemawočč*, 'The Five Categories of Chants'), Addis Abäba 1976 A.M. [1983/84 A.D.], 129–62; *liqä mäzämməran* MOGÄS ᶜƎQUBÄ GIYORGIS (ed.), **መድበል፡ ዘማኅሌት** (*Mädbäl zämaḫlet*, 'The Collection of Canticles'), Aśmära 1960 A.M. [1967/68 A.D.], 267–70; VelMe I, 134–89, II, 338–97.

Lit.: HabTent 104f.; HabUff 274–80 (Lit.).

Habtemichael Kidane

Mäwäddəs

The term M. (**መወድስ**, 'praise') designates a type of ↗*qəne*-hymns that is employed during the celebration of the Sunday office. It is called M. because it celebrates the praise of God and of the saints, and not because the Sunday office is also called ↗*Mäwäddəs*.

M.-*qəne* consists of two strophes: the first is called *mäwäddəs*, the second is called *läᶜaläm* (lit. 'for the eternity'), and is sung in ↗*araray* mode.

The M. is a long composition, and it can be of two types. The first type has eight verses (*bet*, pl. *abyat*; here symbolizing eight books of the ↗Octateuch – [*Bəḥerä*] *Orit*); it is called *fətaḥ litä*, after the beginning of the first verse of Ps 42/43, with which this *qəne* is sung in *araray* mode. The second type is ↗*kʷəlləkəmu*, a longer composition of nine verses that receives its name from the beginning of the psalm it accompanies, Ps 46/47. Usually, the composition of the M. is given to experienced masters of *qəne*.

The M. can be composed on various occasions, and performed not only to praise God and saints, but also to rebuke, ridicule, or insult civil or religious authorities.

Src.: ADMASU ĞÄMBÄRE, መጽሐፈ፡ ቅኔ (ዝክረ፡ ሊቃውንት) (*Mäṣəḥafä qəne* [*zəkrä liqawənt*], 'Book of the *Qəne* [Memory of the Scholars]'), Addis Abäba 1963 A.M. [1970/71 A.D.]; TÄSFA GÄBRÄ SELLASE (ed.), ምዕራፍ፡ ዘደረሰ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ያሬድ፡ ኢትዮጵያዊ (*Məʿəraf zädäräsä qəddus Yared ityopəyawi*, '*Məʿəraf* Composed by St. Yared the Ethiopian'), Addis Abäba 1979 A.M. [1986/87 A.D.]; VelMe II.

Lit.: ENRICO CERULLI, "Di alcune varietà di inni della Chiesa Etiopica", *Orientalia* nova ser. 3, 1934, 294–305; CRAbb 236–46; *aläqa* ʿƎNBAQOM QALÄ WÄLD, ስለ፡ ቅኔ፡ ትምህርትና፡ ስለ፡ ጥቅሙ (*Səlä qəne təmhərtənna səlä ṭəqmu*, 'About the Teaching and the Importance of the Qəne'), in: *PICES* 3, vol. 2, 117–32; IGNAZIO GUIDI, "Di alcuni inni abissini", *RSO* 1, 1907, 217–20; ERIC GODET, "La métrique du qenē guèze", *Abbay* 12, 1983–84, 117–203, here 159f.; HabTent 178f.; HabUff 217; *mämhər* YƎḪEYYƎS WÄRQE, ንባብ፡ ወትርጓሜ፡ ዘቅኔያት፤ አዕማደ፡ ምሥጢራት (*Nəbab wätərgʷame zäqəneyat*: *aʿəmadä məśṭirat*, 'Reading and Interpretation of *Qəne*: the Pillars of Mysteries'), Addis Abäba 1960 A.M. [1967/68 A.D.].

Habtemichael Kidane

Mäwaśəʾət

M. (መዋሥእት, pl. of *mośaʾ*, 'antiphon', from the verb *wäśəʾa*, 'respond', cp. Gr. ἀντιφωνή, *antiphonē*, from ἀντιφωνέω, *antiphōnéō*, 'respond'), is the ancient antiphonary, i.e. the book containing choral portions (antiphons) of the prescribed form of the Liturgy. In the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church the M. is used on specific occasions only. Like many other liturgical books, it is attributed to St. ↗Yared, and it bears remarkable, though scarce, traces of the "classical antiquity" of Ethiopian liturgy (HabUff 110; ↗*Qəddase*).

What makes the M. book peculiar is that rather short non biblical texts, the antiphons, are here inserted between psalms and canticle verses; and every antiphonal portion of it has two segments, called *ənnat* (lit. 'mother') and ↗*məlṭan*, i.e. the main and ending parts, meant to symbolize Mary and her Son respectively.

The M. is sung by alternating choirs. From the point of view of liturgical practice, it is a vestige of the ancient "antiphonal Psalms", implying the entire performance of the biblical texts. Yet, over the centuries, the biblical texts intercalated in the M. have been reduced to a minimum. The structure of a M. is:

1) opening verse of a psalm or canticle with which the M. is associated (ውጣኔ፡ ዳዊት, *wəṭṭane Dawit*),
2) antiphon (M.),
3) final verse of the psalm (ፍጻሜ፡ ዳዊት, *fəṣṣame Dawit*),
4) antiphony (M.),
5) ስብሐት (*Səbḥat*, doxology, *Gloria Patris*),
6) ምልጣን (*Məlṭan*, M.'s final part).

There are M. for some 70 ↗feasts, when they are employed as part of the ↗*Səbḥatä nägh* and ↗*Kəśtätä aryam*. M. may be used also during the ↗funeral services (HabUff 108ff.). In this case, the M. is called ሰዋስወ፡ ነፍስ (*Säwasəwä näfs*, 'Ladder of the Soul') or መርሕ፡ ለመንግሥተ፡ ሰማያት (*Märḥ lämängəśtä sämayat*, 'Guide to the Kingdom of Heavens') because it is considered a prayer that accompanies or leads to God the soul of the deceased. During the seven stations from the latter's house to the cemetery, the cantors (*mäzämməran*) sing appropriate portions of the M. accompanied by the rhythms of sistrum (↗*Ṣänaṣəl*) and drum (↗*Käbäro*). The M. is sung especially when the dead persons are monks, nuns, priests and also lay men and women who led a spiritual life and regularly received the Eucharistic communion (called, therefore, *qʷärabyan*) and, especially, were united in ↗marriage until the end of their lives. In every celebration and at every station of funeral services, twelve portions of the M. are recommended in principle. There is no obligation to sing the whole M. The decision is left to the discretion of the *mäzämməran*, whether to perform it entirely or only in part – that is a ninth, a seventh or a fifth of it, as fitting for the different occasions. However, like in the case of funeral services, five parts at least are sung. According to the traditional scholars (*liqawənt*), the numbers twelve, nine, seven and five symbolize the twelve tribes of ↗Israel, the ↗Nine Saints, the week in which God, after having worked for six days, rested on the Seventh Day, and the stigmata of Christ, respectively. The *däbtära* traditionally specialize in M. skills in ↗Zuramba (Gayənt, Gondär), also because it is the place where St. ↗Yared is supposed to have taught and composed this book.

Mss. containing the M. are numerous. Among the most remarkable are, e.g., Paris, BN, Éthiopien 369 and, among the last catalogued, VatLib, Comboni B 11, 14, 17 (s. GrébGriaule III, 31–49; Raineri 2000:43f., 46f., 49f., resp.). Ms. Vat. Aeth. 4, of the 14th cent., fols. 11v–121r (GréTisVat I, 16) is probably the oldest one (Grébaut 1931). Equally old, or even older, is ms. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Pal. Or. 148 (= Aeth. 16), from ↗Jerusalem, with the unique *Mäwaśəʾət zaʾarsima*, 'Antiphons of Arsima' (i.e. the Armenian martyr Rhipsima or Hṙipʿsimē), on fol. 4r (Marrassini 1987:91, no. III; Cerulli 1964:36–39), copied immediately after a document of 1340/41 A.D. regarding the Ethiopian

community in the Holy Land (CerPal vol. 2, 380ff.; Lusini 1994:118f., arguing for a Jerusalemite origin of the text; but for the date of the ms. cp. Fiaccadori 1984–85:227f., 238).

Src.: አምስቱ፡ ጸዋትው፡ ዜማዎች (*Amməstu śäwatəwä zemawoč̌č̌*, 'The Five Categories of Chants'), Addis Abäba 1965 A.M. [1972/73 A.D.], 529–604; ENRICO CERULLI, "L'Oriente cristiano nell'unità delle sue tradizioni", in: *Atti del Convegno internazionale sul tema: L'Oriente cristiano nella storia della civiltà* (Roma 31 marzo – 3 aprile 1963, Firenze 4 aprile 1964), Roma 1964 (Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei. Problemi attuali di scienza e di cultura 62), 11–45, here 36–39 (ed., tr.) [= CerLett 193–229, here 213ff. (tr.)]; DillmLex 896; DTWDic 451; SYLVAIN GRÉBAUT, "Un recueil ancien de *Mawâše'et*", *Aethiops* 4, 1931, 1–6; GreTisVat I, 13–20, ms. Vat. Aeth. 4; GrébGriaule III, 31–49, ms. Éthiopien 369 (Griaule 66); KWKDic 394; PAOLO MARRASSINI, "I manoscritti etiopici della Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana di Firenze", [II], *RSE* 31, 1987 [1988], 69–121, here 90–97, ms. Pal. Or. 148 (= Aeth. 16); OSVALDO RAINERI, *Codices Comboniani Aethiopici*, Città del Vaticano 2000 (Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae codices manu scripti recensiti 47), here 43f., 46f., 49f., nos. 51, 54, 57; TÄSFA GÄBRÄ SƎLLASE (ed.), መዋሥእት፡ ዘደረሰ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ያሬድ፡ ኢትዮጵያዊ (*Mäwaśəʾət zädäräsä qəddus Yared ityopyawi*, 'The *Mäwaśəʿət* Composed by Saint Yared the Ethiopian'), Addis Abäba 1976 A.M. [1983/84 A.D.].

Lit.: GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, "Etiopia, Cipro e Armenia: la Vita di ʾÊwostʾâtêwos, santo abissino del secolo XIV (ii)", *Felix Ravenna* 127–30, 1984–85, 217–39, here 227f., 238; HabTent 104f.; HabUff 103–10 (Lit.); GIANFRANCESCO LUSINI, "Origine e significato della presenza di Alessandro Magno nella letteratura etiopica", *RSE* 38, 1994 [1996, pub. 1997], 95–118, here 113f.; BERNARD VELAT, "Le Mawāse'et et les livres de chant liturgique éthiopien", in: *Mémorial du cinquantenaire de l'École des Langues orientales anciennes de l'Institut Catholique de Paris*, Paris 1964, 159–70.

Habtemichael Kidane – Red.

Mawlid

M. (مولد; sometimes also *mawlūd*, pl. *mawālid*, here 'birthday') is the name by which the celebration of the birth of the Prophet ↗Muḥammad (on 12 *Rabīᶜ al-awwal*) is commonly known in the Islamic world. The term M. is also used to refer to the corresponding ↗feast, and to the texts (usually poetic) written in praise the Prophet and recited at pious gatherings organized for this and other important religious feasts and solemn occasions.

Mawlid celebrations

The earliest mention of a M. observance, in the form of a ↗pilgrimage to Muḥammad's house of birth in Mecca (*Mawlid an-Nabī*) dates back to the late 12th cent. In ↗Fāṭimid Cairo the M. of the Prophet as well as the birthdays of saints (*awliyāʾ*, sg. ↗*Walī*) and the reigning ↗*ḫalīfa* were celebrated by the court. According to the most diffused tradition in Sunnī ↗Islam, the first official public celebration of M. took place in Irbīl (Iraq) probably in 1207/08 by the will of the ruler of Northern Iraq, Ṣalāḥaddīn's brother-in-law al-Malik Muẓaffar[addīn] Gökbüri, who was inspired by *šayḫ* ᶜUmar b. Muḥammad al-Mullā.

The celebration of M. spread to and in Ethiopia as well as elsewhere in the Muslim world with the diffusion of the Ṣūfī ↗Islamic brotherhoods, which considered the festival an important tool of strengthening the devotion and spiritual awareness of the faithful in general, and of brotherhood members in particular.

M. was declared a public holiday by the *Därg* (↗Provisional Military Administrative Council) following a proclamation dated 12 September 1974 on the observance of national and religious holidays that institutionalized for the first time in the history of the country the celebration of the principal Islamic feasts. M. feasts are also held at other times both privately and by the community at large. This suggests that the term M. has come to acquire a wider, looser and more popular meaning in the Muslim parts of the country, as in the rest of the Muslim world.

There has been opposition in Islamic countries to the celebration of the M. but its supporters have succeeded in legitimating it as a *bidᶜa ḥasana* (good innovation), stressing some of its merits such as the feeding of the poor, the reading of the ↗Qurʾān and the recital of the M., and the festive mood that it engenders among the faithful. In the 1990s a minority of Ethiopian Muslim elites debated the permissibility of the M. but it has not affected the prevailing consensus that it is a legitimate and an important religious and social event in the Islamic calendar.

The celebration of the M. festival starts on the eve of the actual birthday (as in Islam the day starts at the sunset of the previous day) and is always connected with the pilgrimage to the shrines of local Muslim Ṣūfī saints.

Mawlid texts

Common features of the texts recited on the occasion of M. are the reference to the exceptional circumstances of the Prophet's birth, to his miracles (esp. *isrāʾ* and *miᶜrāǧ*) and to the mercy which the world obtained thanks to his mission. Refined mystical theology of prophetical eternal light (*nūr Muḥammad*) is also found in many of these texts. Besides the texts written particularly for the occasion and classified as M. proper, *madḥ*-texts are

frequently recited. On the other hand, M. texts can be also recited on other occasions.

Works of famous classical Arabic authors are very diffused in Ethiopia, e.g. *al-Kawākib ad-durrīya fi madḥ ḫayr al-barrīya* (also known as the *Burda*) and *al-Qaṣīda al-hamzīya fī l-madāʾiḥ an-nabawīya* (also called *Umm al-qurā fi madḥ ḫayr al-warā*) by Šarafaddīn Muḥammad b. Saʿīd b. Ḥammād b. Muḥsin al-Būṣīrī (1213–96/97), the *Mawlid ʿiqd al-ǧawāhir* by Ǧaʿfar b. Ḥasan b. ʿAbdalkarīm al-Ḥādim b. Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn al-Barzanǧī al-Madanī (1690–1765, popularly known as Barzanǧī), as well as works by ʿAbdarraḥīm Aḥmad al-Burāʿī (d. 1400) and Zaynaddīn Muḥammad ʿAbdarraʾūf al-Munāwī (1545–1622).

Local Muslim scholars have also composed a large number of poems, both in Arabic and in Amharic and other languages of Ethiopia (written down in Arabic script), in praise of M. Two examples are *šayḫ* Sayyid Ibrāhīm of Čale's (d. 1956) *Mawlūd ar-rāʾiq fī mawlid sayyid al-ḫalāʾiq* and *al-ḫāǧǧī* ↗Bušrā āy Muḥammad's *al-Lumʿa al-bahīya fī mawlid ḫayr al-barrīya* (cp. also ↗*Manẓūma*). Compositions of *taḫmīs* type are also very wide spread, when a new poem is created by adding four verses to a line taken from an original Arabic text.

↗Ḏikr

Lit.: H. FUCHS – [FREDERIK DE YONG], "Mawlid", in: *EI²*, vol. 6, 895–97; JAN KNAPPERT, "Mawlid in East Africa", *ibid.* 897; RENÉ BASSET, "Burda", in: *EI¹*, vol. 2, 796; ANNEMARIE SCHIMMEL, *And Muhammad is His Messenger: the Veneration of the Prophet in Islamic Piety*, Chapel Hill, NC 1985.

Hussein Ahmed

Mawlid in Harär

In ↗Harär, apart from the feast of *Nabi Mawlūd* (s. ↗*Mawlid*), the term M. (here: *mawlūd*) is also used, as elsewhere in the Muslim world, for texts speaking about the birth of the Prophet and various liturgical pieces used to commemorate this event. Locally, the same term also denotes the most diffused collection of sacred texts performed to celebrate *Nabi Mawlūd* as well as other Islamic ↗feasts and ↗weddings; every ritual based on the recital of this collection is also addressed as M.

↗Manuscripts containing different M. texts have been widespread in Harär since long; Drewes (1983) listed at least twelve manuscripts with M.-related texts (a ms. called *ʿUnwān aš-šaraf* containing the *Burda* and the *ʿUnwān aš-šarīf* among other M. texts, eight more texts devoted to the Prophet and frequently used in celebrations, and three unidentified M. mss.) in the 19th-cent. library of ↗Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbdaššakūr in Harär. The standard Harari M. collection (s. also ↗Harari literature) has also been printed several times. Most households own at least one copy; shrines and ↗*afōča* keep several printed or manuscript ones to be distributed to the participants during the ceremonies.

The M. collections include many texts of different types. The books reproducing the manuscripts of 1991 and 2000 both bear the title of the central liturgical text, *ʿUnwān aš-šarīf*, while there are other editions entitled (*Kitāb*) *Mawlid šaraf al-ʿālamīn*. Most of them display a similar liturgical sequence. While the Dərre Dawa edition (n.d.) contains only the main bulk of Arabic texts, without any interpolated Harari pieces, the more complete editions begin with two short poems, the opening invocation *Asīr an-nafs* and *Yā rabbi hayyiʾ lanā*. These are followed by several prayers, often including the *Muṣṭafā* by the Harari author *šayḫ* ↗Hāšim b. ʿAbdalʿazīz. The central M. texts, the *taḫmīs* of *Burda* and the *ʿUnwān* by *šayḫ* Abū l-Ḥasan Nūraddīn ʿAlī, as well as other Arabic and Harari texts varying from one collection to another, alternate with *zikri* hymns (↗*Ḏikr*) and formulas.

The specific performance depends on the occasion. The recitals for wedding ceremonies are performed on Sunday morning and usually last 3–4 hours, the rituals performed in shrines can last from ca. two hours to a full day or more. Not all the elements are used for shorter and less important ceremonies, whilst for bigger feasts M. can be recited in full, with additional liturgical components eventually incorporated.

Even if the principal locations for rituals involving the M. are the Muslim shrines and the congregational houses (Har. *Nabi gār*, 'House of the Prophet'), anyone can arrange a recital to celebrate a special event or a fulfilled vow, or when seeking protection; therefore, any house or compound can become the ritual space in which to hold a celebration.

In current practice, M. rituals are conducted by a *ḫaṭīb*, who reads his part and coordinates the collective recitation of the participants. There are different performance styles, depending on the *ḫaṭīb*'s individual approach as well as the customary options for each section. First, the Qurʾānic suras (e.g., the 36th and the 67th, *Yā-Sīn* and *Tabārak* or

al-Mulk) are recited in a strictly syllabic manner, with the voices realizing a simple melodic profile, usually based on two or three pitches, often generating significant forms of heterophony. Alternatively, the poems inserted in the liturgy, usually written in couplets, are performed in an antiphonal way: the participants spontaneously split in two groups that alternate in the chanting at the end of each line. Harari commonly refer to this way of performance as *burda*, probably because the homonymous poem by al-Būṣīrī is the most common (but not the only) text performed in this style. Sometimes the *burda* recitals are accompanied by percussion instruments (↗*käräbu* and ↗*käbäl*) in the style similar to that of *zikri* performances, only that in this case the participants do not dance; instead, they may stand and raise their hands in supplication, respecting the nature of the main passages of the ritual. Furthermore, the main text of the M. book is performed in a responsorial form between the soloist voice of the *ḫaṭīb* and the choral response of all the participants. The alternation of the soloist and choral parts is regulated by the written text, according to conventional signs (usually spots, or circles), which mark the end of each portion of text pertaining to the *ḫaṭīb* and, respectively, to the other participants. Finally, in correspondence with the Harari M. collection, a varying number of *zikri* hymns, different prayers and formulas are inserted throughout M. recitals. The *zikri* hymns are performed in a responsorial form by a soloist (the *ḫaṭīb* or any of the participants who may stand up and start singing) and the assembly, accompanied by *käräbu* and *käbäl*. The ritual is usually concluded with the sharing of a blessed meal. Other elements essential to the ceremonies involving M., as well as to most other Islamic feasts, are the consumption of large quantities of ↗*čāt*, ↗coffee and tea, as well as the burning of ↗incense.

Src.: *Kitāb Mawlid šaraf al-ʿālamīn*, n.p. n.d. [ca. 2006, mimeographed]; *Mawlid šaraf al-ʿālamīn*, Dərre Dawa n.d. [prior to 1997]; *šayḫ* ABŪ l-ḤASAN NŪRADDĪN ʿALĪ, *Kitāb ʿUnwān aš-šarīf bil-Mawlid aš-šarīf* ..., n.p. n.d. [after ms. of 1991/92]; *ibid.*, n.p. n.d. [after ms. of 2000] (both containing large collections of M. texts).

Lit.: GIORGIO BANTI, "Remarks about the Orthography of the Earliest ʿ*Ajamī* Texts in Harari", in: MICHELE BERNARDINI – NATALIA TORNESELLO (eds.), *Scritti in onore di Giovanni M. D'Erme*, vol. 1, Naples 2005, 75–102; ABRAHAM JOHANNES DREWES, "The Library of Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-Shakūr, Sulṭān of Harar, 1272–92/1856–75", in: ROBIN LEONARD BIDWELL – G. REX SMITH (eds.), *Arabian and Islamic Studies: Articles presented to R.B. Serjeant on the Occasion of his Retirement...*, London – New York 1983, 68–79; CAMILLA GIBB, *In the City of Saints: Religion, Politics and Gender in Harar, Ethiopia*, Ph.D. thesis, Oxford 1996; SIMONE TARSITANI, "*Zikri* rituals in Harar: a Musical Analysis", in: *PICES* 15, 478–84.

Simone Tarsitani

May

M. is the name of one of the largest groups of ↗Somali dialects. In the past it has also been referred to as "Jabárti", ↗Raḥanween, ↗Digil, and Central Somali. "Jabárti" (cp. ↗Ğäbärti) was a misnomer, as shown by Cerulli (1925:614ff.). Raḥanween and Digil are the names of the major M.-speaking tribal confederations. Central Somali was introduced by Saeed (1982) in an attempt to avoid tribal names in linguistics. The term M. became of general use with the dialectological studies of Lamberti (1985, 1986). In Somali M. is now commonly referred to as *Af-Maay* ('M. language') or *Af-Maymay* ('Maymay language'). The word *maay* is the M. interrogative 'what?', used as a shibboleth in order to distinguish the "language of those who say *maay* ('what?')" from the "language of those who say *maḥaa tiri* ('what did you say?')", i.e., the other two major groups of Somali dialects – Northern Somali and Benaadir – perceived as a single language.

M. is a continuum of several varieties spoken as their native language by over 500,000 pastoralists and agriculturalists in the interriverine area of Somalia from Wanle Weyn to the right bank of the Juba River (↗Ganaalee; s. the map for the main M.-speaking areas in Somalia). M. is also used as a language of wider communication by speakers of less widespread dialects of the region such as Garre, Ğiiddu, Dabarre, and Tunni. Lamberti (1986) distinguished five varieties of M. spoken within the boundaries of Somalia. M. is known to be spoken also in southern and eastern Ethiopia, but its real extension there is still unknown (a dialectological survey of the Somali and Somali-related dialects has not been carried out yet). Pockets of M. speakers exist in north-eastern Kenya too. M. was the most widely spoken language in the interriverine area of Somalia until the mid-20th cent., and was adopted by incoming communities as their new language. It deeply influenced the phonologies and lexicons of the less widespread dialects of the region. Common Somali has become however increasingly important during the last decades as the language of the administration, the media, and the school system. Even though M. is not easily understood by other Somalis, songs in M.

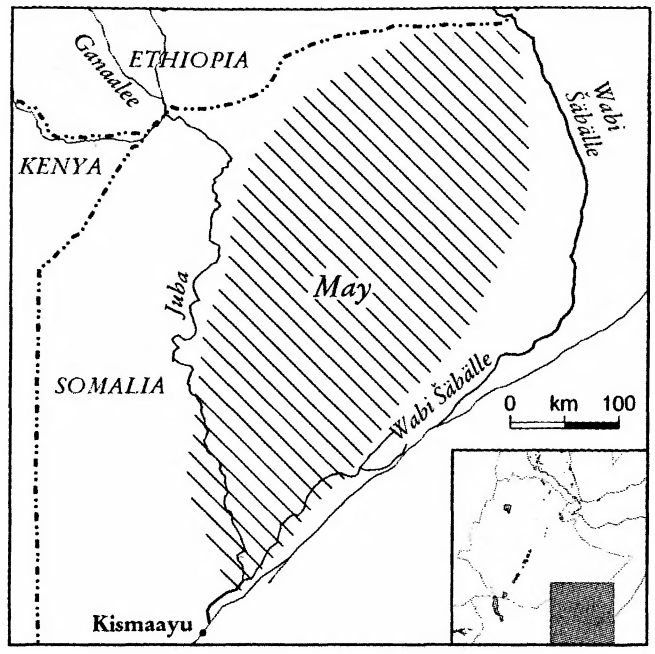
by popular singers have been circulating widely also in regions where M. is not spoken. M. was not used for literacy until the very end of the 20th cent; one of the earliest written texts is a collection of poems by *šeeḫ* Abdulle Isaaq, a famous religious poet (Eedan Mad Isaaq 1987).

Most varieties of M. have both a low-toned *ə* and a high-toned *ə́*, a palatal implosive *ƒ*, and an uvular implosive *ɠ*, as in *osbə́de* 'the salt', *anʃúuf* 'spittle', *ɠób* 'keep it!'. The retroflex plosive *ɖ* is frequently realized also as an implosive. The lack of the pharyngeals *ḥ* and ᶜ is also typical of M., e.g., *madə́* 'head', *magə́* 'name', *galáŋ* 'hand, forearm' vs. Northern Somali *madáḥ* (sp. *madax*), *mágaᶜ* (*magac*), *gaᶜán* (*gacan*), resp. The clusters *h+t* and *l+t* are simplified to *tt* and *ll*, as in *bátti*, 'she went out' (from *bah-*, 'go out') and *wéelli*, 'she did it' (from *weel-*). Final *-n* is always realized as a velar *-ŋ*, as in *šéeŋ* 'bring it!'.

Nominative and genitive cases are never marked by segmental morphemes, differently from Northern Somali. With vowel-final masculine nouns the 3rd pers. possessives are *-šéy* 'his', *-šé* 'her' and *-šóo* 'their', e.g., *gurbə́*, 'male adult camel' – *gurbə́šéy*, 'his male adult camel'. With consonant-final feminine nouns they are instead *-tíis* 'his', *-tíye* 'her' and *-tíyo* 'their', e.g., *sár* 'house' – *sártíis* 'his house'. The dative/benefactive preverbal particle is *iŋ*, as in *iŋ šéeg*, 'tell him!'. Some varieties of M. still have a prefix-conjugated past tense *yarré*, 'he said', *tarré*, 'you/she said', etc. The typically M. present progressive has the endings 1st pers. sg. *-é*, 2nd pers. sg. *-áasə*, 3rd pers. sg. masc. *-é*, etc., as in *aamé*, 'I eat / he eats'; its negative counterpart is *mə aamáw*, 'I do not eat / he does not eat', *mə aamáasə* 'you do not eat'. The jussive has *-oy* in the sg. and 1st pers. pl., but *-êeŋ* in the 2nd and 3rd pers. pl., e.g., *ha šéenoy* 'he should bring it', *iŋ šéentêeŋ* (negative 2nd pers. pl.) 'you should not bring it', 'do not bring it!'. High-toned *-óy* is the ending of the 2nd pers. sg. imperative of the middle verbs, like *goróy* 'know it!' (from *gorod-*).

M. shares with several other dialects of the interriverine area a cleft construction with an interrogative and a lengthened verbal form, e.g., *igáarkuŋ máy aaméy sóᵓ* 'this boy ate meat (lit. what this boy ate is meat)', with the lengthened form *aaméy* instead of *áami* 'he ate'.

The basic ten word list in the M. of Baidoa (from Saeed 1982) is: *ków* 'one', *lamə́* 'two', *siddə́* 'three', *dáb* 'fire', *biyə́* 'water', *ᵓirə́* 'sun', *bíl* 'moon', *ɖíig* 'blood', *anráb* 'tongue', *ilíg* 'tooth'.



Src.: ABULLAHI HAJI HASSAN (AW-SOOMOW) – AHMED MOHAMED ALI (YCAYCUROW), *Alif-Maay* ('Maay Alphabet'), Toronto 1994; EEDAN MAD ISAAQ, *Tusoow ii tilmaan* ('Example and Explanation'), Mogadishu 1987, ms.

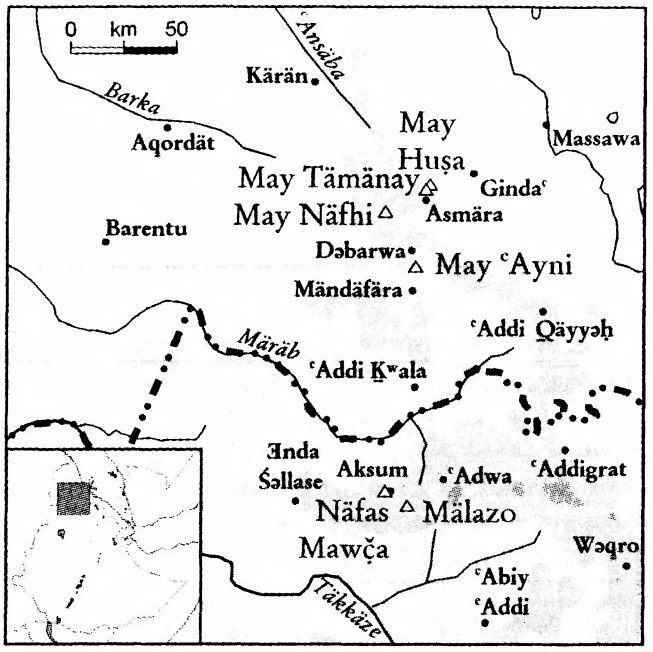
Lit.: ENRICO CERULLI [review of VON TILING 1921–22 and 1924–25], *Oriente Moderno* 5, 1925, 614–20; CHRISTOPHER EHRET – MOHAMED NUUH ALI, "Soomaali Classification", in: THOMAS LABAHN (ed.), *Proceedings of the Second International Congress of Somali Studies*, vol. 1, Hamburg 1984, 201–69; MARCELLO LAMBERTI, *Die Somali-Dialekte*, Hamburg 1985; ID., *Map of Somali Dialects in the Somali Democratic Republic*, Hamburg 1986; MARTINO MARIO MORENO, *Il somalo della Somalia*, Roma 1955; MARY PASTER, "Aspects of Maay phonology and morphology", *Studies in African Linguistics* 35, 2006, 73–120; LEO REINISCH, *Der Dschäbarti-Dialekt der Somalisprache*, Wien 1904 (= *Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, philosopisch-historische Klasse* 148); JOHN I. SAEED, "Central Somali – a Grammatical Outline", *Afroasiatic Linguistics* 8, 1982, 77–119; MARIA VON TILING, "Die Sprache der Jabárti", *Zeitschrift für Eingeborenen-Sprachen* 12, 1921–22, 17–52, 97–162; EAD., "Jabárti-Texte", *ibid.* 15, 1924–25, 50–64, 139–58.

Giorgio Banti

May ᶜAyni

M.ᶜA. (ማይ፡ ዓይኒ; 15° 1' N, 38° 53' 60" E, ca. 1,530 m A.S.L.) is a small town at the northern end of the Ḥazamo plain around the junction of the ᶜAddi Qäyyəḥ–Däqqämḥare roads in the ↗Akkälä Guzay *awrağğa* (Däbub zone in modern Eritrea).

A number of important ↗rock art (paintings and engravings) archaeological sites and various lithic tool surface scatter site areas are located along the ↗Märäb River within 15 km of M.ᶜA. The M.ᶜA. area, with its wide range of naturalistic and schematic depictions of livestock, human, and occasional wild animal figures, represents one of



the most dense and diverse concentrations of rock art in the Horn of Africa. The M.ᶜA. rock art sites include the Ṣəllum Bäᶜatti, Bäᶜatti Abba Qäysi, the Zäban ᶜOna Libanos shelter sites, the ᶜAddi Qänsa, Məsbar Gəbbi, Dəgum, ᶜAf Dəgum, ᶜAddi Anzäräfo, Bäᶜatti Məšul, Qar Sägla, May Qärni, Bäᶜatti Məbqʷal, Soqla, Qor Sähune, Mənṭoṭṭo, Ǝnda Abba Täkle, Lählay Fəččoqʷa, Amba Barya, Gäma, Ništo Qoḥo and Gobo ᶜAddi Ambar sites.

M.ᶜA. town was also the location of an important battle between the fighters of the ↗Eritrean People's Liberation Front and the *Därg* military forces during July of 1978. It was damaged during the 1998–2000 war between Eritrea and Ethiopia.

Lit.: GIULIO CALEGARI, *L'arte rupestre dell'Eritrea. Repertorio ragionato ed esegesi iconografica*, Milano 1999 (Memorie della Società Italiana di Scienze Naturali e del Museo Civico di Storia Naturale di Milano 29, 1); VINCENZO FRANCHINI, "Pitture rupestri a Sullum Baattì", *RSE* 10, 1951, 121–23; ID., "Pitture rupestri a Baᶜatti Sullum nel Deghien", *ibid.* 11, 1952, 42–48; ID., "Pitture rupestri e antichi resti architettonici dell'Acchelè Guzài", *ibid.* 17, 1961, 5–10; ID., "Stazioni litiche in Eritrea", *Bollettino dell'Istituto di Studi Etiopici* (Asmara) 1, 1953, 25–30; ID., "Altre pitture rupestri nell'Akkelè Guzay", *ibid.* 2, 1958, 1–12, 47–51; ID., "I graffiti rupestri di Edit", *ibid.* 3, 1964, 9–12; ID., "Nuovi ritrovamenti di pitture rupestri e graffiti in Eritrea", *RSE* 20, 1964, 97–102; ID., "Note su alcune stazioni d'arte rupestre in Eritrea", *QSE* 1, 1980, 47–53; PAOLO GRAZIOSI, "New Discoveries of Rock Paintings in Ethiopia", *Antiquity* 138, 1964, 91–99, 187–90.

Matthew C. Curtis

May Čʼäw

M.Č. (ማይ፡ ጨው, also Mayčʼäw), a town in southern Təgray, in imperial Ethiopia was the centre of Ǝnda Mäḫoni *wäräda*, Azäbo and Rayya *awrağğa* (today the capital of South Təgray Zone; for location s. Mäqälä). Near the town, there is a small river called by the same name (lit. 'the salt water'); the springs were known for their curing waters.

Historically, M.Č. was situated on the edge of the area populated by Təgrəññña speakers (↗Wäğğärat), surrounded on three sides by the ↗Azaboo-Oromo, who migrated there in 16th–17th cent. The name M.Č. first appears in the land charter issued by *aṣe* Täklä Giyorgis in ca. 1794–95 for the church of ↗Ǝnda Mikaʾel of ᶜAdwa, built by *däğğazmač* Wäldä Gäbrəʾel (HuntGeogr no. 69). In the 1860s, a church of *abunä* ↗Täklä Haymanot was built at M.Č. and was richly endowed and granted the right of ↗asylum by *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II while returning south after the battle of ᶜAdwa (GueCopMen 453). Thereafter, over a long period, the place remained inconspicuous, despite its being located on the strategic "royal road". A small urban centre was developing. In the 1910s–30s, the region was one of the restive areas. The governors of M.Č. tried to control the local Təgrəññña, Azaabo and Rayyaa, raided over the borders of Eritrea, and struggled among themselves for power in southern Təgray, particularly in the late 1920s (*däğğač* Abärra Tädla and his son *fitawrari* Yəgzaw; *däğğač* Abbäbä Damṭäw, *ras* ↗Gugsa Arʾaya and his brother *däğğač* Käbbädä).

The battle of May Čʼäw (March – April 1936)

M.Č. gained historical prominence due to the battle commonly known as the battle of M.Č., or of Lake ↗Ḥašəngä, one of the most decisive and dramatic events of the ↗Italian war 1935–36.

By March of 1936 the Ethiopian army was in a very difficult situation. As the result of repeated defeats in Tämben, Ǝndärta and Šire, the Imperial army suffered heavy losses and abandoned a large chunk of territory to the Italians. The political regime of *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I was increasingly unstable due to the unrest breaking out in different parts of the Empire. Ḫaylä Śəllase was in urgent need of a decisive action under his own leadership, to stabilize the government and change the progress of the war.

The rests of the Ethiopian forces in the North (of *ras* Śəyyum Mängäša, Kaśa Ḫaylu, Ǝmməru Ḫaylä Śəllase, Mulugeta Yəggäzu) were retreating to the south. On 17 March the vanguard of the Italians passed M.Č. and stopped some

25 km to the south of ↗Ambalage which had been deserted by the Ethiopians on 28 February. Marshal ↗Badoglio was in no hurry to carry out further assaults, intending rather to re-supply and re-organize the troops after the offensive operations in Təgray (the construction of a track road being one of the urgent tasks). Offensive operations were planned for April.

Ḫaylä Śəllase reached Koräm by 1 March. He was joined by his court, *abunä* ↗Peṭros and *əčč-čäge* Gäbrä Giyorgis Wäldä Ṣadəq, a number of notables and loyal troops, including his most effective troops, the ↗Imperial Bodyguard Corps. Other troops were also gathering at Koräm; Śəyyum Mängäša and Kaśa Ḫaylu reached there on 19 March. Despite the difficult situation, the Emperor and many of his supreme commanders cherished the idea of one more decisive battle and preventing the Italians from reaching Däse. On 20 March, the Emperor moved his headquarters to Aya (Hayo), into a cave on a mountain slope overlooking Lake Ašange. The Ethiopians numbered up to 40,000, with a few mortars and artillery pieces, but many machine guns and plenty of ammunition. The morale of the soldiers was boosted, since the Emperor, who took over the supreme military command, was going to lead them into battle.

The aim of fighting a decisive battle developed into a plan to carry out a surprise offensive operation. However, the right moment was missed; the Emperor did not follow the advice of Colonel Konovaloff, who, during his reconnoitring mission on 21 March, realized that the Italians had not yet fortified their positions. On 24 March, after the banquet and military council in the Emperor's headquarters, the attack was planned for 28–30 March, but later re-postponed by one day. Despite their defeats in the north, the Emperor appointed *ras* Kaśa Ḫaylu and *ras* Śəyyum Mängäša to play the leading role in the coming battle, overlooking some other outstanding commanders. In the meantime, the Azaabo and Rayyaa men arrived to pay homage to the Emperor; however, the Emperor's hope that they would rebel against the Italians was not realized.

From intercepted telegrams and other sources, the Italians learnt both the time and possible directions of the Ethiopian offensive. By 30 March, the 2nd Eritrean Division of General Dalmazzo occupied the centre, in front of M.Č.; the 1st Eritrean Division (General Pesenti) was in the east, extending its lines to Korabätta. On the other

The view of the town of May Čäw, along the Asmära–Addis Abäba road; photo 1998, courtesy of Heinz F. Berger

side, "Pusteria" Division of the *Alpini* (General Negri) held the front around Amba Bohora, with the Mäkan pass on its left flank. "Sabauda", "Assietta" and "3 Gennaio", divisions, and the 6th Group of Eritrean Battalions were in the rear, ready to support the units at the front.

The Italian troops left the pass of Mäkan free, and their position on the eastern side of Mäkan was a weak point: the 7th Eritrean Group of Battalions was in the second line while the 3rd Group (the 2nd Division) manned the first line, but the flanks were weak. Although there were only some 40,000 troops in the front lines, the Italian defence was deeply staggered, the entire force amounting to 125,000 troops with some 270 light tanks and tankettes and 210 artillery pieces. Dozens of war planes were to support the group from Mäqälä and other airfields.

The battle began on 31 March. The Ethiopians were divided into four groups: *ras* Kaśa Ḫaylu was in the centre, *ras* Śəyyum Mängäša on the right flank, *ras* Getaččäw Abatä on the left flank; the fourth group, in the second line, was led by the Emperor. At 5:45 the first shots fell, and some 25,000 Ethiopians (including the Imperial Body-

guards) headed towards the Italian lines. Effectively supported by artillery, some 15,000 struck the position of the 7th *Alpini* Regiment of "Pusteria" on the west side of Mäkan, and the Italians soon found themselves in a difficult situation.

At ca. 6:30 the Ethiopians attacked the right flank of the 3rd Group of Eritrean Battalions, held by the 10th Battalion. Despite the bravery and skills of the Ethiopians, and of the Imperial Bodyguards in particular, the attack collapsed under the deadly machine-gun fire. The Ethiopians resumed attacks between 7 and 8 (with heavy losses inflicted by the Italian airforce) and at 9 a.m. The 10th Battalion was in a desperate situation; the Imperial Bodyguards seized some trenches, but could move no further.

The Ethiopians attacked the positions of "Pusteria" around Amba Bohora again at ca. 10:00, but did not succeed. At 11, another attack made the situation of the 3rd Group critical, and General Dalmazzo had to send virtually all the troops at his disposal into the counter-attack. However, the Italian positions remained firm. By noon, the exhausted Ethiopians were retreating from the plain which was now littered with dead bodies. At ca. 4:30 p.m. one more desperate assault followed, at the junction between the 2nd and 1st Eritrean Corps. It was beaten back after an hour of fierce fighting (the Azaabo and Rayyaa attacked the Ethiopian flanks). At ca. 6:00 p.m., frustrated and giving up any hope for victory, Ḫaylä Śəllase ordered a full retreat. The battle of M.Č̣. was over. During one day, the Ethiopians lost ca. 5,000 (according to the Italian calculation, ca. 8,000) soldiers and a number of commanders.

On 1 April, tired and short of ammunition, the Italians were awaiting renewed full-scale assaults, of which, however, almost nothing came. On the next day, the Italians started a gradual advance, and Ḫaylä Śəllase was forced to order a retreat. It turned into a disaster: the services of the Red Cross were unavailable, the rest of the army, some 20,000 troops, marched with almost no supplies but burdened with the wounded, under attacks of the Azaabo and Rayya and the Italian airstrikes, gunning down the fugitives and spraying them with mustard gas in what was later called "the massacre of Lake Ašange".

After the battle of M.Č̣., the Imperial army crumbled and practically ceased to exist. On 8 April, Ḫaylä Śəllase issued a desperate "Order of Mobilisation"; but on 14 April the Prince ↗Asfa Wässän Ḫaylä Śəllase abandoned Däse, where Ḫaylä Śəllase had hoped to find additional troops. Now, he had to turn to Fəčče to escape the pursuit. From there, he drove to the capital with a few dignitaries and arrived at Addis Abäba on 29 April, a few days before he departed for Djibouti.

Even though the battle of M.Č̣. did not signify the end of the war for the Italians, it practically concluded the chain of dramatic developments and virtually sealed the fate of the Empire.

After the Liberation, the battle was commemorated in the name of a square in Addis Abäba, later renamed as Mexico Square.

Src.: CRAxum no. 69; HSLife 280–85; HuntGeogr no. 69; PIETRO BADOGLIO, *Der abessinische Krieg*, München 1937, 149–63; GÄBRÄ WÄLD ƎNGƎDA WÄRQ, ማይ፡ ጨው፡ የማይ፡ ጨው፡ ዘመቻና፡ የጉዞው፡ ታሪክ (*May Č̣äw. Yämay Č̣äw zämäčanna yägʷəzow tarik*, 'May Č̣äw. The Campaign of May Č̣äw and the History of the Journey [to the Front]', Addis Abäba ²1947 A.M. [1954/55 A.D.]; GueCopMen 453, s. index; CORRADO ZOLI, *Etiopia d'oggi*, Roma 1936, s. index.

Lit.: BZHist 156f.; ANGELO DEL BOCA, *The Ethiopian War 1935–1941*, Chicago, IL 1969, 161–85 (Lit.); NICOLA LABANCA, *Una Guerra per l'impero: memorie della campagna d'Etiopia 1935–1936*, Milano 2005; MockWar 110–19 (Lit.); LUIGI EMILIO LONGO, *La campagna italo-etiopica (1935–36)*, 2 vols., Roma 2005; MINALE ADUGNA, *Women and Warfare in Ethiopia: a Case Study for their Role during the Campaign of Adwa, 1895/96, and the Italo-Ethiopian War, 1935–41*, Addis Ababa 2001; RICHARD PANKHURST, "Le diverse versioni della testimonianza del colonnello Konovaloff sull'invasione fascista dell'Etiopia", *Studi piacentini* 17, 1, 1995, 157–99; ALBERTO SBACCI, *Legacy of Bitterness: Ethiopia and Fascist Italy, 1935–1941*, Lawrenceville, NJ – Asmara 1997.

Denis Nosnitsin

May Ǝslamay, battle of

M.Ǝ. (ማይ፡ እስላማይ) is a locality in westernmost ↗Təgray, on the banks of the ↗Täkkäze river (for location s. Märäb). It was also the site of one of the most decisive battles of the ↗*Zämänä mäsafənt*, which took place on 14 February 1831.

Having assumed power over Təgray in 1822, *däğğazmač* ↗Säbagadis Wäldu sought to end the political supremacy of the ↗Yäğğu lords. However, his efforts to forge a coalition remained unsuccessful, since, by 1830, he had lost his main ally, *däğğazmač* ↗Wəbe Ḫaylä Maryam of ↗Səmen, who sided with his principal enemy *ras* ↗Marəyye Gugsa of Bägemdər. Säbagadis replaced Wəbe with the his half-brother, *däğğazmač* ↗Märso Ḫaylä Maryam (CRNuov 36f.; AbbSéjour vol. 1, 187). Subsequently, *ras* Marəyye, in collaboration with Wəbe, launched a campaign in Təgray. Three Təgrayan vassals

of Säbagadis – his own sons-in-law *däğğazmač* Śahlu of Ḥaramat, Gäbrä Mikaʾel of Dära and Wädağ of Šire – are also said to have defected and conspired secretly with Marəyye and Wəbe against Säbagadis. The latter was advised to wait for the enemy to penetrate Təgray as far as ↗ᶜAddigrat, where his defending army would have had plenty of advantages, but apparently he did not take the advice, and the two rival forces clashed on the western edge of Təgray, near the site of M.Ǝ.

Säbagadis's forces under the command of his sons, Ḥagos, Wäldä Mikaʾel and Kaḥsay, awaited their adversaries at two different positions (Parkyns 1853, vol. 2, 115f.). Finally, Säbagadis faced the huge united Amhara–Oromo force under Marəyye, Wəbe and ↗Goššu Zäwde of Goğğam, with only half of his army, led by himself and Ḥagos. On 14 February 1831, the battle of M.Ǝ., also known as the battle of Däbrä Abbay or Daga Šeh, began. As Säbagadis had feared, the Təgrayan superiority in ↗fire-arms could not match the mastery of Oromo ↗cavalry, even though he had requested cavalry instructors from far-off Britain to train his horsemen. Despite the personal valour of Ḥagos and the death of *ras* Marəyye, the Təgrayans were overwhelmed, and most of them slaughtered.

During the battle, Säbagadis displayed unusually weak intelligence, poor generalship and an inferior grasp of the realities. The battle ended up with his capture and subsequent execution at the hands of the Oromo who thus revenged the death of their leader Marəyye. He was succeeded by his brother, ↗Dori Gugsa, who appointed Wəbe over Təgray as a reward for his loyalty, but perhaps also because of an earlier promise by Marəyye.

The demise of the two antagonists, Marəyye of the Yäğğu dynasty and Säbagadis upset the political equilibrium of the *Zämänä mäsafənt* in northern Ethiopia. Even after Wəbe gained Təgray from the Yäğğu lords, local power struggle scontinued in the aftermath of M.Ǝ.; Wəbe's uncertain hold over Təgray manifested itself alongside intermittent armed encounters with the Yäğğu overlords.

Src.: AbbSéjour vol. 1, 187; EDMOND COMBES – MAURICE TAMISIER, *Voyage en Abyssinie, dans le pays des Galla, de Choa et d'Ifat*, vol. 3, Paris 1838, 153; CRNuov 36f.; SAMUEL GOBAT, *Journal of a Three Years' Residence in Abyssinia*, London 1834, 289, 298; MANSFIELD PARKYNS, *Life in Abyssinia*, vol. 2, London 1853, 114–17; RubActa I, 29; EDUARD RÜPPEL, *Reise in Abyssinien*, Frankfurt am Main 1840, vol. 1, 273, vol. 2, 400; inteviews with *ato* Abraha ᶜAd ᶜUmar (ᶜAddigrat, age 78); *ləğ* Abräha Täsfay (ᶜAddigrat, age 73); *ato* Asgädom Bərru (ᶜAddigrat, age 76); *šäqqa* Bärhe Kaḥsay (ᶜAddigrat, age 79); *grazmač* Kidanä Maryam ᶜAläme (Ḥawzen, age 76); *ato* Rätta Lämläm (Mäqälä, age 66); *balambaras* Täfärra Dästa (Sənqäta, age 65); *aläqa* Täsfay Täwäldä Mädḫən (ᶜAddigrat, age 76).
Lit.: AbPrince 35f. (Lit.); RubInd 68f.; SHIFERAW BEKELE, "The State in the *Zamana Masafent* (1786–1853): an Essay in Reinterpretation", in: TADDESE BEYENE – RICHARD PANKHURST – SHIFERAW BEKELE (eds.), *Kasa and Kasa. Papers on the Lives, Times and Images of Téwodros II and Yohannes IV (1855–1889)*, Addis Ababa 1990, 25–68, here 28; TADDESSE GEBRE IGZIABHER, *Power Struggle during the Zamana Masafent, 1769–1855*, B.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1971, 26f.

Tsegay Berhe G. Libanos

May Gʷaggʷa ↗Fəremona

May Ḥuṣa

The M.Ḥ. (ማይ፡ ሐጹ) is a stream in Eritrea that gave name to an important archaeological area ca. 1.5 km north of ᶜAddi Abeto in the greater ↗Asmära area (*zoba* Maʾkäl) with at least 15 sites representative of the ancient ↗ᶜOna culture (for location s. May ᶜAyni).

The largest site, MH07, lies ca. 400 m east of the Asmära–Kärän road along the slope and top of an adjacent schist rock ridge. First documented by the National Museum of Eritrea in 1997, it was investigated in 1999–2000 by the Greater Asmara Regional Archaeological Survey Project (GARASP). As of 2000, the MH07 site had been shown to extend over 15 ha in area and to contain a large mound measuring more than 1 ha in area and nearly 4 m in height, with visible architectural features on the surface, including at least 16 exposed stone walls, a probable stone cistern, terraced platforms ascending a steep ridge, and numerous ᶜOna-type sherds and lithic artefact scatters.

During the test excavation by GARASP, one 2 x 3 m excavation unit excavated the deposit to sterile soil at a depth of 2.35 m. The test extended into what was apparently a room with adjoining 1.7 m high walls. Radiocarbon dating of charcoal from stratified contexts suggested occupation between the 9th and 4th cent. B.C. Several hearths, one possible food processing area, and a clay floor associated with multiple ceramic vessels were documented. Excavated ceramic and chipped stone artefacts include the full range of known types for the first-millennium-B.C. ᶜOna culture. Grinding stones, stone figurines including bulls' heads, stone beads, and a ceramic lip or ear plug were also recovered. The excavation produced abun-

dant faunal (cattle, goat/sheep) and carbonized archaeobotanical (barley, lentil, linseed) material.

Recently the area, inhabited by the ↗Ǝggäla Ḥämäs farmers, has been subject to gradual urbanization. During 2001 much of the site was destroyed by mechanized agricultural activity.

Lit.: MATTHEW CHAD CURTIS, "Ancient Interaction Across the Southern Red Sea: New Suggestions for Cultural Exchange and Complex Societies During the First Millennium BC", in: PAUL LUNDE – ALEXANDRA PORTER (eds.), *Trade and Travel in the Red Sea Region: Proceedings of the Red Sea Project I Held in the British Museum, October 2002*, Oxford 2004, 57–70; ID., *Archaeological Investigations in the Greater Asmara Area: a Regional Approach in the Central Highlands of Eritrea*, Ph.D. thesis, University of Florida 2005; PETER RIDGWAY SCHMIDT – MATTHEW CHAD CURTIS, "Urban Precursors in the Horn: Early 1st Millennium BC Communities in Eritrea", *Antiquity* 75, 290, 2001, 849–59, here 853ff; IID. – ZELALEM TEKA HAILE (eds.), *The Archaeology of Ancient Eritrea*, Trenton, NJ 2007, in preparation.

Matthew C. Curtis

May Kerwah

M.K. (**ማይ፡ ኬርዋህ**, also May Kärwah, May Kirwah) is a water course at ↗Aksum associated with St. ↗Yared, the founder of Ethiopian church music. According to the *Gädlä Yared* (Conti Rossini 1904:29) and the *Mäṣḥafä ↗Aksum* (CRAxum 5), the Virgin Mary commanded a certain *abba* Ḥəryaqos (Cyriacus of Behnesa), and the Syrian *abba* Labḥawi, to meet with Yared at the place called M.K., Aksum, to instruct him in the arts of liturgical music (the Syrians were conveyed there by means of a shining cloud). After doing this, they were returned to their homelands in the same manner. The exact location of this area is open to debate. The *Gädlä Yared* states that the stream was located to the east of the cathedral towards the house (tomb?) of ↗Gäbrä Mäsqäl. On the same issue, Alvares merely repeats the story of Yared's meeting, without providing a firm topographical identification (BeckHuntAlvar 523), whilst Monneret de Villard (1938:9) states that the stream fed into the May Šum reservoir. The name is not shown on the maps of the Deutsche Aksum-Expedition (DAE I, 33) but is identified as being in the vicinity of the pillar of Yared. This small structure, 30 cm in height, is to be found in a walled enclosure 100 m west of the gate of the old cathedral of ↗Aksum Ṣəyon near to Daᶜro ᶜEla (lit. 'place of the sycamore tree'). Referred to as the *məwradä qal* (lit. 'the place of descent of the voice'), the pillar allegedly commemorates the location of Yared's fateful meeting and is still used in ecclesiastical processions today (s. DAE II, 64f.). To the north of Aksum, on the way to ᶜAddi Ṣäḥafi, a small enclosed well is also said to commemorate the place of Yared's meeting.

Src.: BeckHuntAlvar 523; CRAxum 5 (text) = 5 (tr.); CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, *Vitae Sanctorum Antiquiorum* I: *Acta Yared et Pantalewon*, Louvain 1904 (CSCO 26, 27 [SAe 9, 10]), 29 (text); DAE I, 33; II, 64f.

Lit.: UGO MONNERET DE VILLARD, *Aksum: ricerce di topografia generale*, Rome 1938 (Analecta Orientalia 16), 9.

Niall Finneran

May Näfḥi

M.N. (**ማይ፡ ነፍሐ.**) is a river in Eritrea that has given its name to a natural water reservoir, ca. 20 km south-west of Asmära, which is the main source of water for the capital, providing the city and its environs with 45,000 m³ water daily (for location s. May ᶜAyni).

Recently, a college settlement has been developed around the reservoir, with the Natural Sciences faculty of ↗Asmära University, the M.N. Teachers Training College and the Eritrean Institute of Technology.

A nearby rock shelter, with a west-facing opening ca. 12 m above the water level, is an archaeological site important for its ↗rock art. Around the cave, as well as at the nearby site of ᶜAddi Gäbray, chert and quartz microliths, chiselling stone points, grindstones (30 x 15 x 7 cm) and iron slag as well as potsherds of thick red and brown ware have been found. Inside the cave, 15 engraved schematized human figures can be seen: three small ones on the left side of the

Anthropomorph rock engraving from May Näfḥi; photo courtesy of the author

semi-circular south-eastern wall, two groups of four figures each in the centre, and an incomplete group of four on the right. The varying size (e.g., 18 to 28 cm in the first group) possibly implies age differences while the variations in head design (flat or round shape) may indicate sex; thus, the groups possibly represent families. Fattovich (in PICES 8) pointed some similarities between petroglyphs found at similar sites around Asmära and Arabian rock art from between the third and first millennium B.C. If M.N. can be compared to the findings at ↗ʿAddi Ḳayyəḥ (slightly older), ↗May Tämänay and ↗Sämbäl, this site could also date to the ↗pre-Aksumite culture period.

Lit.: RODOLFO FATTOVICH, "Remarks on the Late Prehistory and Early History of Northern Ethiopia", in: *PICES* 8, 85–104.

S. Krishna Rao

May Tämänay

M.T. (ማይ፡ ተመናይ) is an archaeological site in the northern part of the Greater ↗Asmära area, uncovered during the rescue excavations in the late 1990s prior to infrastructural development in the conurbation (for location s. May ʿAyni). Investigated by Yosef Ləbsäqal, M.T. was earmarked for residential use. The material yielded from excavation appears to date to the 5th cent. B.C. and indicates an elite structure, perhaps a high-status grave. This material includes bronze metalwork (knives and jewellery) and high-quality ceramics. The site thus belongs chronologically to the very loosely defined ↗ʿOna culture of central Eritrea, a culture which appears to have a very distinctive local identity and which appears to be markedly different to the contemporary ↗pre-Aksumite sensu lato culture of eastern Təgray.

Lit.: PETER SCHMIDT – MATTHEW CURTIS, "Urban Precursors in the Horn: Early First-millennium BC Communities in Eritrea", *Antiquity* 75, 2001, 849–59; YOSEPH LIBSEQAL, "Rescue Excavations at Mai-Temenay", in: *AfrHorn* 427.

Niall Finneran

May Wäyni

M.W. (ማይ፡ ወይኒ, Tgn. lit. 'water of grapes') is a small village of sedentary agriculturalists, located in Däqqi Dəgna *wäräda* in highland Eritrea, Sägänäyti district, ↗Akkälä Guzay. M.W. is known in literature for the studies carried out there on its ↗land tenure and ↗kinship systems, which are typical of the socio-political organization of ↗Təgrəñña speakers.

The village, which in the early 1970s changed its name from May Ḥamaq (lit. 'bad water'), numbers ca. 300–400 inhabitants. They are organized into five agnatic lineages (*gäzawətti* 'houses', or ↗*ənda*), thus another name of the village, Arbəʿattä Wäddin Samuʾelən ('Four sons and Samuʾel'). The lineages play a role in the administration of village land and of other traditional institutions. By agnatic descent, the village is connected to the other villages in Däqqi Dəgna *wäräda* and the main village of ↗Dəgsa. The villagers trace their myth of origin back to Dəgna (the founding father of the Däqqi Dəgna) and further to Akkälä (the founding father of the province-level descent group). The church in the village is dedicated to St. Mary.

The predominant mode of production in the village is subsistence agriculture. Land rights are administered by the village, through the rules of *šəḥena* communal land tenure system (also called ↗*desa*). The *šəḥena* system grants usufruct rights in land through residence in the village. Each male adult with habitation rights (*tiša*), traced through agnatic descent, who established a separate household in the village will be entitled to an ideal share of the land (*gəbri*). No person can hold more than one *gəbri*, or belong to more than one community, or *šəḥena* unit. A *gəbri* is not indefinitely owned by a household. The household only holds the right of usufruct in the village land, represented by the *gəbri* which is a representative share of land given temporarily for a specific period of time, usually seven years. Thereafter the land is transferred back to the village for redistribution, and a new share of land will be allotted to the household.

Lit.: KJETIL TRONVOLL, *Mai Weini. A Highland Village in Eritrea: a Study of the People, their Livelihood, and Land Tenure during Times of Turbulence*, Lawrenceville, NJ 1998, 311.

Kjetil Tronvoll

Maya

The M. were a group of cattle-keeping pastoralists historically associated with the region of ↗Wäğ, to the south and west of the right bank of the upper ↗Awaš (for location s. Mäqi).

An ancient Cushitic-speaking "pagan" group, the M. inhabited the area on the eastern edge of the kingdom of ↗Damot, which was an old place of contention between the local non-Christian

rulers and the Christian monarchy of the ↗Zagʷe, possibly under the control of the Christian state by the late Aksumite period. In the 10th cent., the queen of the Banū l-Ham(u)wīya (↗Ǝsato) led a revolt against Christian control. Though several hypotheses have existed concerning the identity of her kingdom, the generally accepted view is that it was Damot. According to the 10th-cent. Arab writer ↗Ibn Ḥawqal, the revolt brought complete independence to her country. In any case, there can be hardly a connection with queen ↗Badīt bint Māyā ('Badīt daughter of Māyā') of an Arabic document from ↗Šäwa mostly relevant to the second half of the 13th cent. (Cerulli 1941:7, cp. 21f. [= CerIslam 298, cp. 243]): she died in 1063, and may rather identified with Tadīt b. Māyālāmā, a female ruler mentioned in two lists of Harärі *amīrs* that seem to provide her full patronymic (Wagner 1976:197).

It has been speculated that some of the stone monuments in the current ↗Soddo region of ↗Gurage may recall the ancient presence of the M., or their predecessors, in the area. Some of the monuments are inscribed with swords, but others have bows and arrows (Anfray in PICES 11, 5f.; Tournemire 2003:19, 93; cp. also ↗Ṭəya).

Although, according to the 10th-cent. Arab writer al-Masᶜūdī, Muslim residents in the "pagan" kingdoms were subject to control by the indigenous population, during the subsequent few centuries ↗Islam spread to Damot, Wäğ and M., along the trade routes leading from southern Ethiopia to the north and east.

In the early 14th cent., *aṣe* ↗ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon I pushed himself south of the Awaš in an effort to resubmit this area to the Christian kingdom. Among the Islamic rulers he confronted, his chronicle lists those of Zälän, Wärğəḥ and Gäbäl. Though the M. were not mentioned, they have sometimes been equated with one of those three – all traditional names of pastoralists in the region (TadTChurch 42f.; TrIslam 72).

During the 14th and 15th cent., as a part of Wäğ, the M. region was still predominately "pagan", under its own rulers, but was subject to the Christian monarchy that regularly drafted them into regiments to fight for the Ethiopian kingdom. The M. lived near the church founded on Mount ↗Zəqʷala, possibly in the 13th cent., by *abba* ↗Gäbrä Mänfäs Qəddus, but were still "polytheists" at the time of ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī's 16th-cent. campaigns (BassHist 212f.).

According to the 15th-cent. itineraries collected by ↗Zorzi, Wäğ remained an area "in which the inhabitants would have none but a queen to govern them", and M. was known as a part of that region, being listed on a map of 1454 as inhabited by "strong men" (CrawItin 14, 78, 161). In 1448/49, *aṣe* ↗Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob resettled some of the M. as a military colony (↗*Čäwa*) in Eritrea (TadTChurch 260; Conti Rossini 1903:182f., 244). For the next two centuries the M. were referred to mainly as a strong fighting force, poison arrows being among their main weapons. Besides their partial resettlement by Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob, scattered references to M. place names near Harär, in the ᶜAfar area, at Ǝbbənat in Bägemdər and Ačäfär near Lake Ṭana suggest they were employed by several kings as soldiers and established in military colonies. Usually they had good relations with the monarchy, but were apparently responsible for the death of *aṣe* ↗Ǝskəndər in 1494 (PerrEsk 358f.; BassÉt 96; Merid Wolde Aregay 1971:32, 83, 96).

The most detailed information on the M. is found in Šihābaddīn Aḥmad b. ᶜAbdalqādir's ↗*Futūḥ al-Ḥabaša* (s. also EAE I, 156, map). Although Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm instructed his troops not to provoke the M. by taking their cattle, his armies had already fought with a corps of 3,000 M. in the first years of the conflict. Šihābaddīn labels the M. as "infidels" and "polytheists", and describes their use of poisoned arrows. The M. were eventually defeated by a certain Farašaḥamdīn; their leader and a large part of the population was converted to ↗Islam (BassHist 361ff.). Farašaḥamdīn was appointed governor of their region, and from then on the M. fought on the Muslim side.

Notwithstanding the conquest and conversion, later on the M. sided again with the Christian kings, protecting the Wäğ region from Oromo incursions, as in a battle in 1573 (CRHist 52) – until ↗Śärṣä Dəngəl withdrew his troops from the south to Təgray in 1578. In his ↗*Zenahu lägalla* Baḥrəy describes how the *Birmağii luba* (↗*Gadaa*) of the Oromo created a new larger shield to protect themselves from M. arrows and were thus able to defeat them (BeckHuntAlm 120; MHasOr 35).

During the reign of ↗Susənyos, the M. served him as warriors. Susənyos brought the M. together from where they had been scattered over the previous decades, and granted them land for their cattle in the Ačäfär area of Goğğam, south-west of Lake Ṭana (PerChron vol. 1, 146f.). They con-

tinued to serve him throughout his reign, as they did later with Yoḥannəs I and Iyasu I (GuiIohan 40, 54, 61). Here the connection between the M. and the already mentioned Zälän, then also living in Lake Ṭana area, might be confirmed, although the chronicle of Susənyos refers to each of them as separate groups (PerChron vol. 1, 210). There is no specific information on the M. after the late 1600s.

Src.: ABŪ l-ḤASAN ʿALĪ B. AL-ḤUṢAYN AL-MASʿŪDĪ, *Les prairies d'or*, ed., tr. by CHARLES ADRIEN CASIMIR BARBIER DE MEYNARD – ABEL PAVET DE COURTEILLE, vol. 3, Paris 1865, 34; BassÉt II, 96; BassHist 41, 82f., 94, 108, 113f., 126, 141, 180, 191, 212f., 234, 340, 342, 345f., 353, 357, 361ff., 365, 367, 390f., 441 (tr.); BeckHuntAlm 120; ENRICO CERULLI, "Il sultanato dello Scioa nel secolo XIII secondo un nuovo documento storico", *RSE* 1, 1, 1941, 5–42, here 7 (text) = 10 (tr.), and 21f., 38 [repr. in: *CerIslam* 207–43, here 208 = 212, and 225f., 243]; CrawItin 14 [map], 66, 78–82, 95 [map], 133, 161, 177; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Gli atti di Abba Yonas", *RRALm* ser. 5ª, 12, 1903, 177–201, here 182f., 244; CRHist 51f. (tr.); GuiIohan 40, 54, 61 (tr.); HuntAmd 56f., 79f.; IBN ḤAWQAL ABŪ l-QĀSIM MUḤAMMAD, *Configuration de la terre*, tr., ed. by J.H. KRAMERS – GASTON WIET, Paris – Beyrouth 1964, vol. 1, 56; PerrAmdS 322f., 361f.; PerrEsk 358f.; PerChron vol. 1, 146f., 209ff., 232, 288, 329.

Lit.: FRANCIS ANFRAY, "Tiya et la mégalithisme d'Éthiopie", in: *PICES* 11, vol. 1, 1–8, here 5f.; BrHad 95, 106, map: 96; BudHist 228; CRStor 286; MERID WOLDE AREGAY, "Population Movements as a Possible Factor in the Christian-Muslim Conflict in Medieval Ethiopia", in: DEUTSCHE UNESCO KOMMISSION, *Symposium Leo Frobenius*, München 1974, 266–81; MHasOr 19, 34f.; JAMES QUIRIN, "Ethnic History in the Northwest: Who were the Zallan?", in: *PICES* 12, vol. 1, 868–79, here 869f.; SerHist 550f.; TadTChurch 38–53, 65, 81, 132–45, 260; TrIslam 72, n. 4; CLAUDE TOURNEMIRE, "Découvertes des stèles monolithiques dans le pays Guragué", *AE* 19, 2003, 83–117, here 93; EWALD WAGNER, "Die Chronologie der frühen muslimischen Herrscher in Äthiopien nach den Hahariner Emirslisten", in: BRIGITTA BENZING – OTTO BÖCHER – GÜNTER MAYER (eds.), *Wort und Wirklichkeit: Studien zur Afrikanistik und Orientalistik Eugen Ludwig Rapp zum 70. Geburtstag*, 1, Meisenheim 1976, 186–204, here 197.

James Quirin

Mayer, Adolf Jakob

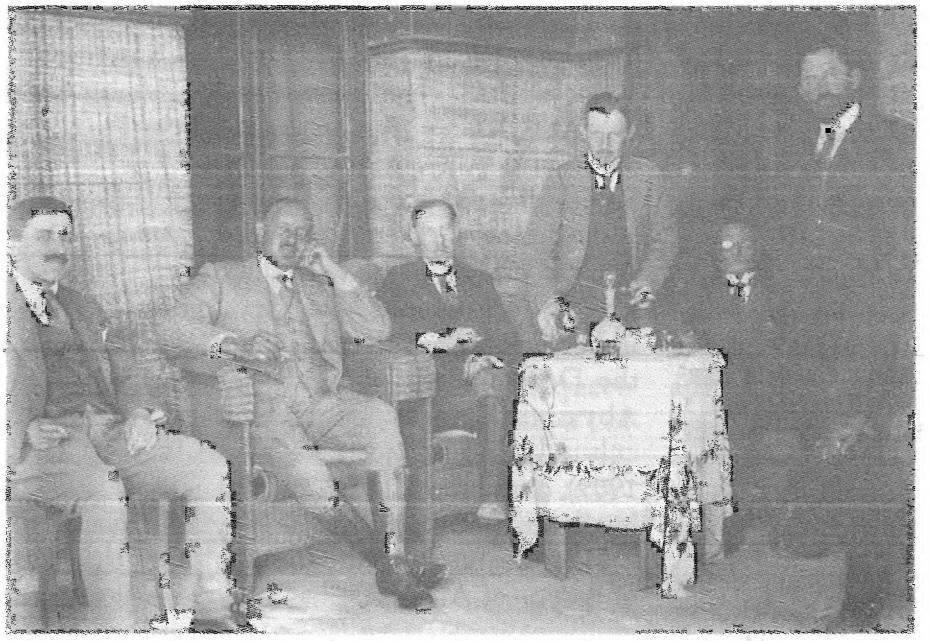
M. (b. 18 December 1881, Balli, Šäwa, d. 19 September 1952, Paris; Ethiopian name *ləǧ* Yaʿəqob Mar ያዕቆብ ማር, after name change in 1924 Jacob Adol Mar) was a confident of *ləǧ* ↗Iyasu, Ethiopian privy counsellor, diplomat and writer, of mixed Ethio-German descent.

He was the last of ten children of the missionary Johannes ↗Mayer and Sara Nəguśe from a family of local Oromo dignitaries of ↗Mäqdäla in Wällo. When the Oromo mission in Balli, led by his father, was closed down by order of *aṣe* Yoḥannəs IV in 1886, M. entered a school in Wilhelmsdorf, then known as Kirchheim-Teck, Germany. After four years work in Frankfurt am Main he departed for the Near East. In 1903 he decided to return to Ethiopia. He took several administrative posts under *aṣe* Mənilək II. Among others, he became the financial controller of the Emperor's treasury and participated in the unsuccessful creation of the "Bank for the Development of Trade and Agriculture in Abyssinia". He owned the largest German agricultural concession before World War I (Clarke 1999), consisting of 51,000 acres in the Awaš valley (later confiscated by *aṣe* Ḫaylä Śəllase I).

M. contributed to the foundation of the office of mayor of Addis Abäba, as a counsellor to the municipality starting from 1914, and to the organization of the postal and telegraph services. During World War I, he was close to the German Legation at Addis Abäba and seems, according to British and French reports, to have supported German activities to gain influence over *ləǧ* Iyasu after the death of *aṣe* Mənilək II. According to French diplomatic reports, his reform of the municipality failed in 1916, but he stayed on as a counsellor to the government. Later, after the enthronement of Empress Zäwditu, M. organized the imperial monopoly on alcohol production and prepared a reform of the constitution. Together with a Cypriote, Baldasare, he then also developed a plan to reform the Foreign Ministry, to the displeasure of foreign legations, who feared for their influence.

In 1923 he resigned from his functions due to conflicts with the regent *ras* Täfäri – the conflicts seemingly had their ground in M.'s relationship with *ləǧ* Iyasu – and departed for Brussels, Belgium. There he acted as Ethiopian consul until 1932. M. married a Belgian cinema actress in 1923, Hélène Smet, with whom he had two daughters, Desta [Dästa] and Menen [Mänän].

The last time M. stayed in Ethiopia was from 1933 to 1934. The German envoy had given him the task of elaborating a settlement scheme in which 20,000 Germans would migrate to Ethiopia as part of a coffee plantation project; the seal he used at that time showed the name *ləǧ* Ǝngəda Wärq zä Wällo (perhaps inherited from an ancestor?). In 1934 M., who was connected to the Ethiopian "Japanizers", promoted the establishment of a Japanese Legation at Addis Abäba (Clarke 1999). At the beginning of the Italian



Adolf Mayer (second from left), in the house of Lorenz Jensen, Addis Abäba; photo 25 December 1920, Nachlass Lorenz Jensen, Research Unit Ethiopian Studies, Asien-Afrika-Institut, Universität Hamburg

invasion of 1935 M. possessed the largest agricultural concession. He had 420,000 ha in the Awsa plains, to the west of the ↗Awaš river, between Gargori lake, the marshes of Gullibla and the plains below mount Gablaytu and Asboru. The Italian government conceded this territory to Maresciallo Enrico Caviglia, a former minister, who formed a society of exploitation with its seat in Rome together with M., the territory's owner. The society was called Società Agricola Industriale del Sangharra (S.A.I.S.), of which "Leg Jakub Adol Mar" (its vice-president and member of the administrative committee) held 59 %, Caviglia 8 %, and several other Italian share holders 7,5 % each.

At the end of the 1930s M. moved to Paris, where his daughters were educated in classical dancing. Inspired by their artistic career, which included the International Ballet London, M. wrote an exotic novel edited by Gabriel d'Aubarède: *Makéda, reine vierge*, which he published under the name "Prince Jacoub". In the preamble, M. introduces himself as an exiled prince charged by Empress Zäwditu to collect and re-edit the uncountable legends of the Queen of Sheba (↗Makəddа).

During the war, he helped to set up the German television in Paris under the direction of Kurt Hinzmann. Due to his collaboration with the Germans, he was imprisoned after 1944 for a number of years, during which period he wrote several manuscripts not yet published, e.g., *La danseuse d'or de Babylone et la croisière noire*. In 1997 his novel *Makéda ou la fabuleuse histoire de la reine de Saba* was published in France and then translated into several languages.

Src.: Papers of the Awaš concession, collection Makeda Ketcham, Paris; Prince JACOUB (Fr. ed. by GABRIEL D'AUBARÈDE), *Makéda, reine vierge, Roman de la reine de Saba*, Paris 1940 (Collection pour oublier la vie), ²1941; JAKOUB ADOL MAR, *Makéda ou la fabuleuse histoire de la reine de Saba*, ed. by MAKEDA KETCHAM, Paris 1997 (*Makéda ou la légendaire histoire de la reine de Saba*, 2nd and 3rd ed. 2001; in German *Makeda, Königin von Saba*, München 1999; in Spanish *Makeda o la fabulosa historia de la reina de Saba*, Madrid 1997, Barcelona ²2001, Madrid ³2002; in Ital. JAKUB ADOL MAR, *Makeda o la favolosa storia della Regina di Saba*, Formello 1998.

Lit.: BAIRU TAFLA, *Ethiopia and Germany, Cultural, Political and Economic Relations 1871–1936*, Stuttgart 1981 (AeF 5), 174; JAY CALVITT CLARKE, "Marriage Alliance: the Union of Two Imperiums, Japan and Ethiopia?", paper presented at the *Annual Meeting of the Association for Third World Studies*, San José, Costa Rica 1999; ROGER FALIGOT – RÉMI KAUFFER, *Le croissant et la croix gammée, Les secrets de l'alliance entre l'Islam et le nazisme de Hitler à nos jours*, Paris 1990, 131; THIERRY KUBLER – EMMANUEL LEMIEUX, *Cognacq-Jay, la télévision française sous l'occupation*, Paris 1990; WOLBERT SMIDT, *Ethiopia and Germany: 100 Years Diplomatic Relations*, Addis Ababa 2005, 34, 68, 118, 124.

Makeda Ketcham – Wolbert Smidt

Mayer, Johannes

M. (b. 30 September 1831, Lobenroth, Schanbach, Württemberg, d. 6 April 1893, Brumana, Syria) was a German Protestant missionary who founded the first ↗Oromo mission in Šäwa.

On completing his education at the ↗St. Chrischona Pilgermission near Basle, M. was sent in 1854 to ↗Jerusalem, and in May 1856, together with ↗Flad, ↗Bender and ↗Kienzlen, to Ethiopia as a craftsman and lay missionary in the services of the Pilgermission and of the Anglican bishop Samuel ↗Gobat.

On 4 August 1859, while in service at ↗Mäqdäla, M. married Sara (known previously as Wärqənäš), a daughter of the peasant and church attendant *č̣əqa šum* Nəguśe Yəmär Kätäma, of Tänta, Wärrä Himäno, nephew of a

local Muslim Oromo *šayḫ* and distantly related to the Wällo governor *imām* Muḥammad ᶜAlī (*nəguś* ↗Mikaʾel ᶜAli) from Tänta. Besides Amharic, M. learnt ↗Oromiffa and started working on an Oromo dictionary. From the beginning he tried repeatedly to establish an Oromo mission. *Aṣe* ↗Tewodros II, however, only allowed him to teach young freed Oromo slaves at his school. M. also worked on translations of German religious texts into Amharic, e.g., a theological book for children (1866) and "short stories", again for children (1883).

M. was among those imprisoned by Tewodros at Mäqdäla and, in 1868, following the military intervention led by ↗Napier, he was expelled by the British from Ethiopia with all the other missionaries. He then settled in Jerusalem, but as early as 1869 he returned to Ethiopia, together with Bender, both in the service of the Pilgermission. First he worked in ᶜAdwa, Təgray, building up a school there with Bender and leading a circle of bible readers. During this time, the Təgrayan ruler Kaśa (later *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV) also used his services to establish diplomatic contacts with the new German Reich through letters (RubInd 283). In 1871 M. accepted the invitation of *nəguś* Mənilək of Šäwa to settle in his kingdom; on his way M. was captured by *ras* Ali III Bərru of Yäğğu, who asked him to enter into his services. M. was only freed due to Mənilək's intervention. Near ↗Ankobär, M. founded schools with the assistance of the missionaries Johann Jakob Greiner (who became M.'s son-in-law in 1879) and Jacob Mayer. Here, M. wrote a short dictionary of Amharic, Oromo and "Gurage" (identified by Hetzron as ↗Soddo), containing also short grammatical explanations and the translation of a short extract of the Bible (Mt 2) into Soddo, then still unknown and unstudied. It was published in 1878 by ↗Krapf, and was the material used by ↗Praetorius in 1879 for a first analysis of Soddo.

In 1880 the *nəguś* gave M. the ↗*gʷəlt* of the Oromo border district Balli south-east of the Catholic missionary station ↗Finfinnee, near the Awaš, about one and a half day's journey away. There he founded a new school and missionary station, employing Greiner, *aläqa* Gobbaw (↗Gäbrä Ǝgziʾabəher Dästa) and the Oromo Gäbrä Mikaʾel (a former assistant of Krapf, for an Oromo ↗Bible translation) as teachers. M. served the king in translating a part of his diplomatic correspondence in the 1870s (RubActa III, 111ff., 310; RubInd 303). Following an order of *aṣe* Yoḥannəs IV, Mənilək II, however, had to close the missionary station in early 1886. M.'s diary, kept from 1869 to 1883, is a rich source for that period. M. then went back to Jerusalem, and in 1888 moved to Brumana near Beirut in Syria, residing at the missionary station headed by ↗Waldmeier. Here he worked on the correction of the Amharic Bible in the services of the London Bible Society.

M. had three daughters and seven sons (among them Adolf ↗Mayer), two of whom died as children. Two sons were educated at Schneller's school at Jerusalem, the three youngest sons continued their education at the St. Chrischona Pilgermission starting from 1893. The daughter Lydia (b. 1865) married the missionary Greiner on 7 January 1879 at Ankobär, and Hanna (b. 1862) became deaconess in Alexandria.

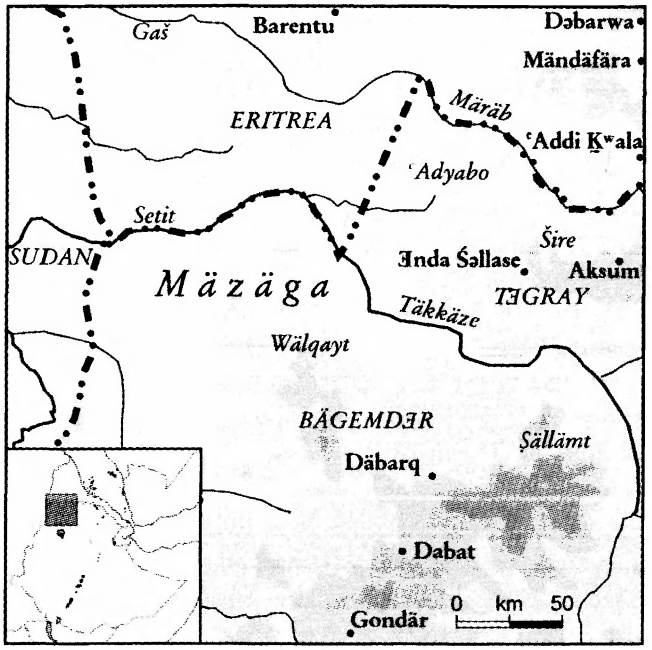
Src.: *Diary* of Johannes Mayer, written in ᶜAdwa, Ankobär, Ǝnṭoṭṭo and Balli, April 1869 to October 1883 (in the possession of Makeda Ketcham, Paris); archives of the St. Chrischona-Pilgermission; Privat-Archiv Spittler, Staatsarchiv Basel; RubActa III, s. index; JOHANNES MAYER (tr.), *Die Württembergische Kinderlehre und das Confirmations-Büchlein in's Amharische übersetzt.* **ለዘላለም፡ ደህንነት፡ በጥያቄና፡ በምላሽ፡ የሚያስተምር፡ መጽሐፍ፡ ለክርስቲያን፡ ልጆች**, ed. by LUDWIG KRAPF, Basel 1866; ID., *Kurze Wörter-Sammlung in Englisch, Deutsch, Amharisch, Gallanisch und Guraguesch*, ed. by LUDWIG KRAPF, Basel 1878; ID. (tr.), *Short-Stories for Young Abyssinians.* **ተናሽ፡ ታሪኮች፡ ለሐበሻ፡ ልጆች** (...), ed. by MARTIN FLAD, St. Chrischona 1883.

Lit.: ArEvang; CrumLand 116–20; ROBERT HETZRON, *The Gunnän-Gurage Languages*, Napoli 1977, 25; RubInd, s. index; WILHELM STEIGER [= Staiger], "Aus Syrien", *Der Glaubensbote und Mitteilungen aus der Pilgermission* 16, 6, 1893, 75–76 [obituary].

Wolbert Smidt

Mäzäga

M. (**መዘጋ**) in Amharic is the term designating the clayey and cracked black soil found at elevations of 500–800 m A.S.L. over a stratum of hard and impermeable rock, which helps to conserve the rain waters and makes the land fertile and suitable for cotton-growing, especially in the regions north of Lake Ṭana along the Ethio-Sudanese border. In Təgrəñña, M. is a toponym used to denote the historical district within the ↗Wälqayt region encompassed by the ↗Täkkäze-Setit, a wedge of land between Eritrea to the north and Sudan to the west. In its widest extended meaning, the term M. is used to refer to all lowlands between the highlands and the Täkkäze-Setit,



also in the regions of ↗Ṣällämt, ↗Adyabo and ↗Šire. A string of place-names from the Täkkäze to Qallābāt contains M. as element (s. BeckHuntAlm 239f.).

The first dwellers of M. in Wälqayt (Arab. Rās al-Fīl) were a branch of the ↗Balaw, a community of ↗Beğa origin and language, yet strongly Arabicized in its culture. What remains of them in M. are Islamic cemeteries and place-names such as Bälamba and ʿAddi Bäläw. According to oral traditions, the Christianization of the Wälqayt highlands began in the 15th cent. with *aṣe* ↗Bäʾədä Maryam, but in the lowlands of M. an Islamic Beğa sultanate resisted up to the second half of the 16th cent. The inhabitants of M. supported the forces of ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī ("Grañ") who spent the month of *Ramaḍān* of 941 H. [1535 A.D.] in M. João de ↗Barros mentions the region ("Magáza", ed. 1777:372) as the land of Queen ↗Gaʿəwa, which was famous for its rich gold ores. The full annexation of M. into the Christian state can be dated to 1557, when Gaʿəwa, sister of Makattar, the last *sulṭān*, was defeated by *baḥər nägaš* ↗Yəsḥaq. The region reappears in historical records in the 18th cent., when James ↗Bruce was apparently made governor of Rās al-Fīl (i.e. M.; s. BruNile).

Traditionally, the settlements of the Christian ↗Təgrəñña-speakers in M. Wälqayt had a seasonal character, according to the agricultural cycle. The land was shared as common property among the villagers (↗*Desa*), who were entitled to use it for a term of one year. Most of the manpower was supplied by peoples deported from the Eritrean lowlands (↗Gaš-Setit), and in some cases by the ↗Tukrīr, coming from Central Africa and occasionally settling in M. and Eritrea on the way to ↗Mecca during the *ḥağğ*.

Src.: JOÃO DE BARROS, *Da Ásia. Dos feitos que os Portuguêses fizeram no descobrimento e conquista dos mares e terras do Oriente*, vol. 5, Lisboa 1777, 372 (dec. III, livro IV, cap. I); BassHist 426–31, 453 (tr.), esp. 426 n. 2 (Lit.); BeckHuntAlm 11, 13ff., 239f. (Lit.); BruNile vol. 3, 407–15, vol. 4, 374–400; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "L'autobiografia di Pawlos, monaco abissino del secolo XVI", *RRALm* ser. 5ª, 27, 1918, 279–96, here 285f., 292; KaneDic 316; PAOLO MARRASSINI, "Il Gadla Mâtyâs", *Egitto e Vicino Oriente* 6, 1983, 247–307, here 268.

Lit.: MunSt 142; GIOVANNI ELLERO, "Il Uolcaìt", *RSE* 7, 1948, 89–112 [repr. in: *EllLusAnt* 109–31]; ID., "I Tacruri in Eritrea", *RSE* 6, 1947, 189–99, here 190 [repr. in: *EllLusAnt* 95–105, here 96].

Gianfrancesco Lusini

Mäzgäbä haymanot

M.h. (መዝገበ፡ ሃይማኖት, 'Treasure of Faith') is a Gəʿəz treatise on the Christian faith of the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church. The Gəʿəz term *mäzgäb*, 'treasure', when used to refer to texts as is in the present case, can mean 'document', 'irrefutable evidence'; thus, 'Document on Faith' can be suggested as an alternative translation of the title.

Several manuscripts of the M.h. are known; Cerulli used five of them for his edition, the oldest one being the 16th-cent. London, BritLib Orient. 565 (s. Cerulli 1960:VIII).

The work consists of an introduction and eight chapters (*anqäṣ*; five of them numbered). The author defines the aim of his writing as explaining "the unity of one divinity with the counting of three persons (and) the unity of humanity and divinity" (Cerulli 1960:3); he follows the style of the treatise on the Councils by ↗Severos of Ašmunayn (cp., e.g. ms. EMML 1399, fol. 2r–18v [EMML IV, 467]). The introduction reviews the first three ecumenical councils accepted by the non-Chalcedonian Churches, including the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, and the rejected fourth Council of ↗Chalcedon. In the Introduction, the author clearly states that he and his community believe in "three persons and one divinity", the Father being the begetter of the Son and the cause of the proceeding of the Holy Spirit. The Son is begotten and the Holy Spirit is proceeded (i.e. in conformity with the Nicene creed without the *filioque* clause). They are three in person, name and hypostases, but unified in authority, nature, divinity and dominion ("as man is three with his word and breath"; Cerulli 1960:3f.).

The chapters refute different heresies and discuss the nature of Jesus and Mary. Chapters one and two refute the heresy of ↗Nestorius. Chapter three refutes the position according to which it is God's likeness, not God himself, that appears to people (as during his appearing to Abraham as a man with two angels, at the River Jordan as a dove, and his descent upon the Apostles as fire). Chapter four denies that the Roman Church is greater than other Churches. Chapter five refutes the heresy according to which the children receive their souls from the souls of their parents, arguing instead that God sends the soul to the child on the 40th day after conception. The first unnumbered chapter lists the heresies with their refutations. The next one briefly provides the dates of events in the history of the Church. The last chapter deals with the human nature of Christ and Mary, maintaining that they do not suffer under their own nature. Offended, and in defence of Chalcedon, the Jesuits responded with a book entitled ↗*Mäqśäftä ḥassätat.*

Ms. EMML 1202 is the sole copy preserving a colophon (fol. 56v–57r), which recounts that the M.h. was composed by a certain Gäbrä Iyäsus in the third year of *aṣe* Gälawdewos's reign (i.e. 1542; other datings suggest that the text was composed between 1555 and 1559; s. Cerulli 1960:III). In the colophon, the author makes explicit reference to the biblical texts of the Old and New Testament and to such Ethiopic theological works as the ↗*Haymanotä abäw*, the *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*məśṭir* and the *Täwaśəʾo zänəguś Gälawdewos* (lit. 'Argument of the King ↗Gälawdewos', possibly the *Confessio Claudii*), which he uses to prove the orthodoxy of the ↗*Täwaḥədo* faith of the Ethiopian Church. The fact that the colophon comes after the first five chapters suggests that it marks the end of the original treatise, the unnumbered ones being later additions.

The author's statement in the introduction that God, or every member of the Trinity, has an image that "cannot be likened to a creature" – a position differing from what *aṣe* ↗Zärʾa Yaʿəqob maintained – led Cerulli to conclude that the M.h. is a document related to ↗Zämikaʾelites. The obvious veneration of St. Mary (called in the last unnumbered chapter *säʿaritä märgäm*, 'the abolisher of curse', i.e. of the original sin) seems to disprove this conclusion – not, however, if one agrees that the unnumbered chapters are later additions by another author.

↗Christology; ↗Ephesus; ↗Gəʿəz Literature

Src.: DillmLex 1066f.; EMML nos. 1202, 1399, 1568, 2082, 4003, 4875; 5594, 5672, 6843, 7009, 7321 [not catalogued]; HamTana I, 202, ms. Ṭānāsee 52 = Kebrān 52, fol. 36vb–41rb; ENRICO CERULLI, *Scritti teologici etiopici dei secoli XVI–XVII*, II: *La storia dei Quattro Concili ed altri opuscoli monofisiti*, Città del Vaticano 1960 (Studi e testi 204), 1–101.
Lit.: GuiSLett 74; RicLett 841.

Getatchew Haile

Mäzgäbä Śəllase

Abunä M.Ś. (መዝገበ፡ ሥላሴ) was a holy man and the head of ↗Gundä Gunde, one of the most important monasteries of northern Ethiopia, during the second half of the 17th–beginning of the 18th cent. According to the list of the "pastors of Gundä Gunde", M.Ś. (I) was a spiritual son of his predecessor *abunä* Samuʾel. M.Ś. died, possibly in 1703, after holding office for 53 years, and was followed by *abunä* ↗Habtä Śəllase II. That list also includes a late 18th-cent abbot of Gundä Gunde by the same name (M.Ś. II), whose personality remains obscure (Mordini 1953:56ff., cp. 59).

Despite his long tenure, which fell within the reigns of *aṣe* ↗Fasilädäs and ↗Iyasu I, only a few records concerning M.Ś. (I) are available. The main piece of evidence is his still unpublished Vita, the best-known testimony of which being an 18th-cent. manuscript kept at Gundä Gunde (Mordini 1953:50f. [and n. 14], no. 116). It was photographed by Father Emilio Ceccarini, the photos being kept in the Vatican Library (Ms. fotogr. 326–28, s. Raineri 2004:646) and in the House of the Comboni Mission in Addis Abäba (s. Raineri 1990:369, no. 16). The lavish illuminations of the same manuscript were photographed by Ewa Balicka-Witakowska for the "Mäzgäbä Səʾəlat: Treasury of Ethiopian Images" Internet database project.

The texts contained in the manuscript remain unexplored, but the miniatures most probably depict miraculous episodes of M.Ś.'s Vita. E.g., on fol. 8v, he is shown with *abunä* Samuʾel (the miniature was commissioned by a certain Wäldä Iyäsus, fol. 9r). On fol. 11r, accompanied by Habtä Śəllase II, M.Ś. meets the Angel of Death who came "in the month of *Säne*"; however, M.Ś. says that his death will not happen in the rainy season and requests the Angel to go and come back in *Ḫədar*. On fol. 12r, through his prayer M.Ś. makes a tree that was an obstacle for the construction of a church "prostrate" in front of him. On fol. 12v, M.Ś. parts a river's current, providing a safe way for Habtä Maryam and other disciples. On fol. 13r, M.Ś. is depicted with a supplicant named Wälättä Ṣəyon

Mäzgäbä Śəllase parting the river, fol. 12v; Mäzgäbä Śəllase and the donor Wälättä Ṣəyon, fol. 13r; ms. *Gädlä Mäzgäbä Śəllase*, 18th cent., Gundä Gunde; photo 2002, courtesy of Michael Gervers

(the ↗donor of the manuscript?). Finally, on fol. 13v, he is shown receiving his ↗*kidan* from Jesus Christ. On fol. 14v, two similar miniatures show M.Ś. saving a child from the fire.

The first series of these illuminations is a provincial product painted in the wake of the so-called first Gondärine style of the 1670–80s (cp. Leroy 1964:47). The last five miniatures, by a different artist, merge into the so-called second Gondärine style, and can be dated to the first half of the 18th cent., when the manuscript was possibly completed.

A few more manuscripts of the Vita have been reported as being kept elsewhere (s. KinBibl no. 114). At least one more image of "*abba* M.Ś." is included in the gallery of Gundä Gunde abbots, represented on a painted parchment dating from the 17th cent. (Yoḥannəs IV Museum, Mäqälä, s. Mercier 2001:146f.).

Src.: KinBibl 85, no. 114; ANTONIO MORDINI, "Il convento di Gunde Gundiè", *RSE* 12, 1953 [1954], 29–70, here 50f. [no. 14], 56ff.; OSVALDO RAINERI, "I manoscritti etiopici fotografati da p. Emilio Ceccarini (1912–1979)", *Quaderni utinensi* 8 [15–16], 1990 [1996], 367–74, here 369, no. 16; ID., "Aethiopica Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae", in: *Miscellanea Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae* XI, Città del Vaticano 2004 (Studi e testi 423), 637–52, here 646.

Lit.: JULES LEROY, *La pittura etiopica*, Milano 1964, 47; JACQUES MERCIER (ed.), *L'Arche éthiopienne: Art chrétien d'Ethiopie, 27 septembre 2000–7 janvier 2001, Pavillon des Arts*, Paris 2001, 146f. ["Rouleau aux abbés stéphanites"].

Denis Nosnitsin

Maẓhar, Aḥmed

M. *bey* (b. ca. 1870/75?, d. 13 January 1920, Djibouti) entered service in the *Terceme Odası* ('Translation Office') in Istanbul in June 1908 and rose to the position of the *Mühimme Müdiri* ('Director of the Department for State-Affairs'). In April 1912 a *Baş Şehbenderlik* ('Consulate-General') had been established at Harär, the leading Muslim city in Ethiopia, as the first Ottoman permanent diplomatic agency in this country (↗Ottoman Empire, relations with). After the death of the first Consul-General, Necib Hac *efendi*, M. was to follow him in April 1913. One of his activities there was to register all Ottoman citizens – a great part of whom were fugitives from Yemen – since it was the policy of the Ottoman Foreign Ministry to recognize the inhabitants of the *Ceziret ül-arab* ('Arab peninsula') as Ottoman citizens (they had previously been German protegés, cp. Lorenz ↗Jensen). This won him the opposition of both the local Ethiopian authorities and the British who claimed to be the protectors of the Muslims from Aden and ↗Ḥaḍramawt.

In November 1913 M. wrote a report on "Abyssinia and Ottoman Politics" (*Habeşistan ve Siyaset-i Osmaniyye*). He proposed organizing the Muslim community in Ethiopia, consolidating the rights of the Muslims and establishing their official co-operation with the *makām-ı hilāfet* (Department of the *şeyhülislam* or Chi-

ef Mufti), i.e. the Ottoman state agency which regulated the religious affairs of the Muslims by appointing religious personnel, supervizing the religious education and issuing juridical verdicts in the form of a *fatwā*. As practical measures he proposed sending teachers, preachers, muftis and even special functionaries – eventually in disguise as tradesmen. M. built up connections with esteemed Muslims. He also tried to win the good-will of the Ethiopian government by offering concessions on the question of the monastery of ↗Dayr as-Sulṭān. Already in March 1914 it had been decided to transfer the Consulate-General to Addis Abäba in order to extend the *hakk-ı kaza* (right of jurisdiction) to whole of Ethiopia, and M. moved to Addis Abäba in March 1915 (ErlEth 86).

After the outbreak of ↗World War I Ethiopia, though not directly involved, became a playground for Allied and Axis interests. M. had difficulties communicating with the Ottoman capital, as post-offices and telegraph lines were in the hand of the Allies, for which reason he became isolated. But things changed when he came into closer contact with the young ruler *ləǧ* ↗Iyasu. In March 1915 Iyasu travelled to Harär, where he was welcomed by M. and a group of Ottoman citizens. Iyasu accepted, according to Orhonlu (1974:172; s. also Holcomb – Ibassa 1990:158), a flag from them showing the formula *lā ilāha illallāh* in Arabic script against a green background, in the place of the cross-bearing lion of Ethiopia. He gave the Muslim community many gifts and visited the Great Mosque, thus winning their sympathy. M. was granted a personal audience by Iyasu, where they talked secretly about the Djibouti question. Concerning ↗Somalia M. proposed supporting *mullah sayyid* ↗Muḥammad ʿAbdallāh Ḥasan, and granting him the Ottoman title of *şeyh ül-meşāyih* ('*šayḫ* of the *šayḫ*s', i.e. head of *šayḫ*s).

Furthermore, after negotiations with the German ambassador in Istanbul, the Ottoman government consented to handing over territories along the Red Sea and Somali coasts to Ethiopia, this renewing old claims of sovereignty upon this region. Enver *paşa*, the Ottoman vice-commander in chief, agreed to these plans and gave M. authority to act accordingly. Later M. succeeded in inviting Iyasu to visit the Consulate-General and also got the opportunity to meet some ministers, thus propagating the Ottoman point of view and diminishing the Anglo-French influence. Politically, Iyasu began to incline to the Germans and to seek allegiance to the Ottomans. M. helped to intensify the connection between Iyasu and the *mullah* in Somalia, his intention being an autonomy for the Somalis within a victorious – as he then was convinced by the rare reports from Istanbul – Ottoman Empire, whereas Iyasu wanted the same, but within a renewed Ethiopia (ErlEth 88).

Aḥmed Maẓhar *bey* celebrating the birthday of Kaiser Wilhelm II at the German Legation; photo 1914, Nachlass Lorenz Jensen, Research Unit Ethiopian Studies, Asien-Afrika-Institut, Universität Hamburg

In May 1915, to show his goodwill, Iyasu promised to hand over a large parcel of land in Addis Abäba near the foreign legations to the Ottoman government. In 1916 he declared that the religious affairs of the Muslims in Ethiopia should be delegated to the Ottoman authority (a then popular misinterpretation of this, speaking about placing Ethiopia in religious dependence upon Turkey, is also reflected in the historiography, e.g. TrIslam 130f., cp. Greenfield 1965:138). He also sent M. an Ethiopian flag embroidered with a crescent and the Islamic formula of faith – one of twelve flags Iyasu presented to his confederate Muslim leaders (Orhonlu 1974:172, no. 41; TrIslam 131; Holcomb – Ibassa 1990:165). But finally, Iyasu's behaviour, his open sympathy towards Turkey and Islam, his close relations with M. (which depended not only on the young Em-

peror's affection towards Islam, but also on M.'s friendly and amiable character – quite in contrast to the harsh attitude of the British and French envoys), all this, together with the fear among the Allies and many Christians that he could inspire a *ǧihād* among the Muslims in Ethiopia and Somalia, united the opposition, and Iyasu was overthrown in September 1916 (↗Coup d'état 1916 in EAE vol. 2, 1081). This happened so suddenly that M. was not able to report directly to the Ottoman capital. This incident meant the end of Ottoman politics in Ethiopia. Early in 1917 the Consulate-General was deprived of any means of communication. M.'s further activities in the region are not documented. It has only been reported that he died in Djibouti (GueCopMen 627f.; Tepedelen 2007:765, 768). Researches by the Turkish embassy to find his grave, however, led to no results (Dikbaş 2007).

Lit.: BZHist 121f.; KADIR DIKBAŞ, "Necaşi'nin ülkesinde Osmanlı konsolosu", *Aksiyon Dergisi* 650, 21 May 2007; ErlAlula 83–91; ErlEth 83–91; RICHARD GREENFIELD, *Ethiopia: a New Political History*, London 1965, 137f.; GueCopMen 627f.; BONNIE K. HOLCOMB – SISAI IBASSA, *The Invention of Ethiopia*, Trenton, NJ 1990, 158, 165; CENGIZ ORHONLU, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun güney siyaseti, Habeş Eyaleti*, İstanbul 1974 (İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi yayınları 1856), 166–174; RICHARD PANKHURST, "Ethiopa and the European Powers, 3. Ethiopia after Menilek", *Addis Tribune*, 11 July 2003; WOLBERT SMIDT, "The Foreign Politics of Lij Iyasu in 1915/16 according to Newly Discovered Government Papers", paper presented at the 16th *ICES*, Trondheim 2007; KENAN TEPEDELEN, "A Forgotten Diplomatic Front of World War I: Ethiopia", *Belleten, Turkish Historical Society Review* 71, no. 261, August 2007, 757–68; TrIslam 130f.; ZerEth 490f.

Detlev Finke

Mäzmur Zädawit

Äläqa M.Z. (መዝሙር፡ ዘዳዊት, also known as Mäzmur Dawit; b. 1899 or 1904, Lemän Śəllase, Sälale *awräğğa*, Šäwa, d. 1983, Addis Abäba) was an Ethiopian painter. Among his works are the wall-paintings of Lemän Śəllase, Männagäša Maryam, and Meta Abbo churches in Šäwa. Further paintings are in the Maḫbärä Ḥawaryat Śəllase church (Asmära), in the church of *abunä* Samuᵓel in ↗Däbrä Abbay (Təgray), in the Qəddus Maryam church (Arsi), in the Gəšän Maryam (↗Amba Gəšän) and Däbrä Betel Śəllase churches (Wällo), and in the Hagärä Sälam Mädḫane ᶜAläm church (Sidamo). His paintings are also in different churches in Addis Abäba: in the Qäḳäne Mädḫane ᶜAläm, Lədätä Maryam, Yäkka Mikaᵓel, Yäkka Abbo, Golla Mikaᵓel, and in the ↗Qəddəst Śəllase Cathedral. M.Z. painted the portraits of Mənilək II, Ṭaytu and Zäwditu in the mausoleum of Mənilək in Addis Abäba, and the coronation scene of Ḫaylä Śəllase and Mänän in the former Parliament building in Addis Abäba. M. also drew several medals, court decorations, and assisted in designing Ethiopian bank notes in the second part of the reign of Ḫaylä Śəllase.

In 1964 M.Z. took part in a group exhibition in Yugoslavia. In 1975, M.Z. was invited by *abuna* Maṭewos to decorate the new Täklä Haymanot church in the monastary of Məskabä Qəddusan in Bethany near Jerusalem. He also stayed at the Ethiopian convent in Jericho and created a large painting of the Queen of Sheba (↗Makədda) visiting King Solomon, which now can be seen in the Chapel of the Four Living Creatures at ↗Dayr as-Sulṭān in Jerusalem, together with two other paintings by M.Z. (a Holy Trinity and a Theotokos).

Lit.: RICHARD PANKHURST, "Some Notes for a History of Ethiopian Secular Art", *EthObs* 10, 1, 1966, 5–80, here 19; KIRSTEN STOFFREGEN PEDERSEN, "Ethiopian Iconography in Jerusalem 1970–1990", in: *PICEA* 2, 141–44; TAYE TADESSE, አንዳንድ፡ የኢትዮጵያ፡ ሠዓሊዎች፡ አጭር፡ የሕይወት፡ ታሪክ፤ ፲፰፻፷፰–፲፱፻፱ ዓ.ም.፤ ክፍል፡ አንድ፤ *Short Biographies of Some Ethiopian Artists: 1869–1957: Part One*, Addis Ababa 1991, 18f.

Elisabeth Biasio

Mäzmurä Dawit ↗Psalter

Mäzmurä dəngəl

The M.d. (መዝሙረ፡ ድንግል, 'Psalter of the Virgin') is one of the longest Ethiopic hymnological compositions dedicated to St. ↗Mary. It consists of an opening prayer of 15 lines describing the Virgin's beauty, 150 short (mostly five-line) psalms corresponding to the Psalms of David (↗Psalter), 15 prayers corresponding to the 15 canticles of the ↗Prophets and five prayers inspired by the Song of Songs (↗Wisdom books). The opening psalm begins as follows: ነዓ፡ ኀቤየ፡ ዳዊት፡ ንጉሠ፡ እስራኤል / በዓለ፡ መዝሙር፡ ሠናይ፡ ወጥዑመ፡ ቃል (*Näᶜa ḫabeyä Dawit nəguśä Ǝsraᵓel / bäᶜalä mäzmur śännay wä-ṭəᶜumä qal* ..., 'Come to me, David, King of Israel, lord of the beautiful Psalter, and pleasant voice ...').

The M.d. psalms are always combined with those of the Psalter, each Marian strophe following the corresponding Psalm of David (cp. the ↗*Mäzmurä Krəstos*, with a similar pattern); sometimes M.d. psalms are inserted into

the Psalter manuscripts by a later hand (cp. ms. Ṭānāsee 56 = Kebrān 56). Other prayers of the collection are inserted after the canticles and the five sections of the Song of Songs, these biblical texts being routinely combined with the Psalter in Ethiopian manuscript tradition. The integrated M.d. Psalter is often divided according to the days of the week. In the manuscripts, the M.d. is usually followed by the ↗*Wəddase Maryam* and the ↗*Anqäṣä bərhan*.

Though the M.d. does not belong to the liturgy (↗*Qəddase*) in a strict sense, it was probably sung during the services because its manuscripts are occasionally provided with musical notations (↗*Məlәkkәt*). The frequent use of this text during church services is equally attested by added Amharic glosses.

The M.d. is an extraordinarily popular composition, as witnessed by numerous manuscripts. It is still not known exactly when the M.d. was written, but it should be probably dated to no earlier than the 14th cent.; the oldest extant Ethiopian mss. containing the psalms stem from the 16th–17th cent. (e.g., BritLib orient. 112, 113 [with a later Amharic version], 114; EMML 4608, 4625, 4759; BN d'Abb. 244 [CRAbb 105]; Berlin ms. orient. quart. 995). The efflorescence of poetry dedicated to Mary in Coptic literature, especially from the 13th cent. onward, may have sparked in Ethiopia a new wave of compositions in her honour.

Tradition ascribes the composition of the M.d. to a 15th-cent. disciple of Giyorgis of Sägla, ↗Mäzmurä Dəngəl, after whom that collection is believed to have been named (cp. Getatchew Haile in PICES 10, 369 and n. 7).

While a complete translation of the M.d. was published by Raineri (2005:133–87), a critical edition remains a desideratum.

↗Hymns

Src.: CRAbb 485f. [no. 105]; EMML I–X, nos. 74, 335, 708, 862, 940, 1055, 1386, 1400, 1276, 1983, 2027, 2092, 2106, 2281, 2344, 2356, 2476, 2559, 2602f., 2677, 2738, 2772, 2829, 2921, 3009, 3037, 3043, 3071, 3150, 4608, 4625, 4759 etc., s. index; GrébGriaule I, 1–11; GrohHymn; HamSixBerl ms. 115; HamTana I, 209 [Ṭānāsee 56 = Kebrān 56]; HamTana II, 146 [Ṭānāsee 103 = Rēmā 4]; LöfUpp 160; OSVALDO RAINERI, *Salmi etiopici di Cristo e della Vergine*, Roma 2005, 13, 133–87; StrBritLib 44; WrBriMus 72ff.; መዝሙረ: ድንግል (*Mäzmurä dəngəl*, 'Psalter of the Virgin'), Addis Abäba 1967 A.M. [1974/75 A.D.].

Lit.: GETATCHEW HAILE, "Builders of Churches and Authors of Hymns. Makers of History in the Ethiopian Church", in: *PICES* 10, 369–75, here 369 and n. 7; GuiSLett 68f., 80; RicLett 829.

Ute Pietruschka – Evgenia Sokolinskaia

Mäzmurä Dəngəl

M.D. (መዝሙረ: ድንግል) was a 15th-cent. monk in central Ethiopia. He is believed to have been a disciple of ↗Giyorgis of Sägla. It has been reported that his biography, the *Zena Mäzmurä Dəngəl*, is included in the manuscript of the Acts of Giyorgis of Sägla kept in the monastery of Däbrä Baḥrəy, Sayənt, Wällo (KinBibl 85, no. 115). He is sometimes credited with the authorship of a collection of hymns devoted to St. ↗Mary, ↗*Mäzmurä dəngəl*, possibly named after him (Getatchew Haile in PICES 10, 369 and n. 7).

Another monk by the same name lived, according to ms. EMML 2602, in Däbrä Libanos during the second half of the 17th cent., and died in 1699 A.M. [1706/7 A.D.].

Src.: EMML 2602; KinBibl 85, no. 115; OSVALDO RAINERI, *Salmi etiopici di Cristo e della Vergine*, Roma 2005, 13, 133–87.

Lit.: AmhCDic vol. 1, 303; GETATCHEW HAILE, "Builders of Churches and Authors of Hymns: Makers of History in the Ethiopian Church", in: *PICES* 10, 369–75; GuiSLett 68; OSVALDO RAINERI, "Mazmura Dengel", in: *EncSan* vol. 2, 475; RicLett 829.

Osvaldo Raineri

Mäzmurä fəśśuḥan ↗Ǝgziʾabəḥer nägśä

Mäzmurä Krəstos

Three compositions bearing the title M.K. (መዝሙረ: ክርስቶስ, 'Psalms of Christ') are known. One (M.K.[1]) is a lengthy compilation of ↗hymns traditionally believed to be written by a 15th-cent. monk Mäzmurä Krəstos (cp., probably, KinBibl 85, no. 116); the second (M.K.[2]) is a 16th-cent. work by *abba* ↗Baḥrəy; the third (M.K.[3]) was composed by *aläqa* ↗Tayyä Gäbrä Maryam in the 20th cent.

The M.K.[1] is the best known of the three compositions as it is often copied together with the *Mäzmurä Dawit* (lit. 'Psalms of David', i.e. ↗Psalter), being thus widely disseminated (and recently printed, s. *Mäzmurä Dawit* 1959/60; for Italian tr. s. Raineri 2005:16–74). Information on its author is scarce. In one of the psalms, he implies that he was 25 when he composed it (cp. ms. London, BritLib Orient. 534, fol. 149v). Tradition confirms that his name was Mäzmurä Krəstos (this may have inspired him to compose the work), that he flourished during the time of *aṣe* ↗Zärʾa Yaᶜəqob and was possibly related to ↗Giyorgis of Gasəčča (*Mäzmurä Dawit* 1959/60:VIII).

The M.K.[1] consists of 151 hymns that correspond to the 151 psalms of David, plus two additional hymns, one as an introduction and one as a conclusion. The hymns of the M.K.[1] are rarely found as a separate collection (a rare example is ms. BritLib Orient. 534, fols. 138r–49v). They were most probably meant to be combined with the Psalms of David from the very beginning: each M.K.[1] psalm being a commentary to a Psalter text they were also placed accordingly in the manuscript layout, M.K.[1] stanzas each following the corresponding Ps piece.

In his writing style, the author follows the ↗*ᶜarke* system, each hymn rhyming in five lines. Following the tradition established by ↗Athanasius of Alexandria of dividing the Psalter, he divided his psalms into five parts corresponding to the five senses: sight, hearing, smell, taste, and touch.

The M.K.[2] is an entirely different composition from the M.K.[1] At least four mss. are known to exist, London, BritLib Orient. 534 (WrBriMus 84); Berlin, Orient. Quart. 996 (HamSixTana 220ff.); EMML 3473 (EMML VIII, 286–89); and in New York, Library of Congress "Fanta 1", not yet catalogued. One may also add the fragment in EMML 2335, fols. 162v–63v (s. EMML VI, 384). The author has been recently identified as the same *abba* Baḥrəy as the one who authored the ↗*Zenahu lägalla* (s. Getaččäw Ḫayle 2002:36–47). Baḥrəy's name is explicitly stated in psalm 34 (s. EMML VIII, 288), further biographical details are provided in psalm 151, functioning as a colophon. The stated time of composition is that of *aṣe* ↗Śärṣä Dəngəl's killing of the *sulṭān* of ↗ᶜAdal, i.e. 1576/77 (cp. Cerulli 1931:60, n. 8f.).

The style of the M.K.[2] is unique, as stated in the introduction (BritLib Orient. 534, fol. 7r) and in the colophon (*ibid.* fol. 137r). The number of psalms, lines in psalms, number of words and letters in each line correspond to the number of psalms, lines, words and letters of the Psalter of David – so that the M.K.[2] could serve as a yardstick for the integrity of the Psalter copies. Unlike in the Ethiopic Psalter, however, the hymns in the M.K.[2] rhyme.

In his introduction, Baḥrəy lists his sources – 91 canonical and non-canonical books, including *Raʾəyä Elyas*, 'Vision of Elijah' and *Kalila wa-Dimna*, otherwise unknown in the ↗Gəᶜəz literature as we know it today. Cerulli (in PICES 2) suggested that the Indian fable about Kalilah and Dimnah was never translated into Gəᶜəz, and that the text Baḥrəy consulted must have been the Gəᶜəz version of ↗*Bärälam wäyəwasəf* that contains the same story; this opinion is not supported by Getatchew Haile (in PICES 5b).

The M.K.[3] was written by *aläqa* ↗Tayyä Gäbrä Maryam. The author's being heavily influenced by Protestantism may have been among the reasons why the work never circulated in the churches and monasteries. No manuscript copies are known apart from the original used for the printed book (Tayyä Gäbrä Maryam 1913; for the Italian tr. s. Raineri 2005:75–132).

In style, 150 hymns, meant, once again, to correspond to the Psalms of David, follow the *ᶜarke* tradition of five lines. The 151st psalm is not actually numbered and consists of four parts. The first two parts, of five and six lines, respectively, speak about David, and not about the author of the M.K.[3] The next two parts, of ten and twelve lines, respectively, have David's refrain እስመ፡ ለዓለም፡ ምሕረቱ ('For His mercy is forever') after each line (cf. Ps 135/36). The M.K.[3] also has 15 hymns that correspond to each of the 15 biblical canticles of the Ethiopic Psalter and 5 hymns corresponding to the five parts of the Song of Songs, arranged as in the Ethiopic Psalter. The M.K.[3] is concluded with 29 hymns, 26 of them of five lines (nos. 27 and 28 have ten lines and no. 29 twelve lines, including their refrain).

Src.: ENRICO CERULLI, "Documenti arabi per la storia dell'Etiopia", *MRALm* ser. 6ª, 4, 1931, 39–101 [repr. in: *CerIslam* 136–206]; EMML VI, 384, no. 2335; VIII, 286–89, no. 3473; GETAČČÄW ḪAYLE, የአባ፡ ባሕርይ፡ ድርሰቶች፡ ኦሮሞችን፡ ከሚመለከቱ፡ ሌሎች፡ ሰነዶች፡ ጋራ (*Yäʾabba Baḥrəy dərsätočč Oromočč̣an kämmimmäläkkätu leločč sänädočč gara*, 'The Works of *abba* Baḥrəy with Other Documents Concerning the Oromo'), Collegeville, MN 2002 (Lit.); HamSixTana 220ff., ms. Orient. Quart. 996; KinBibl 85, no. 116; OSVALDO RAINERI (tr.), *Salmi etiopici di* Cristo *e della* Vergine, Roma 2005, 75–132 (Lit.); *aläqa* TAYYÄ GÄBRÄ MARYAM, መዝሙረ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ ወመልክአ፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ወመልክአ፡ መድኃኔ፡ ዓለም (*Mäzmurä Krəstos wämälkəʾa Iyäsus wämälkəʾa Mädḫane ᶜAläm*, 'The Psalter of Christ, the Image of Jesus and the Image of the Saviour of the World'), Asmära 1913; መዝሙረ፡ ዳዊት፡ ምስለ፡ መዝሙረ፡ ክርስቶስ (*Mäzmurä Dawit məslä Mäzmurä Krəstos*, 'The Psalter of David together with the Psalter of Christ'), Addis Abäba 1952 A.M. [1959/60 A.D.]; WrBriMus 82ff., no. 128 [ms. Orient. 534].

Lit.: ENRICO CERULLI, "The 'Kalilah wa-Dimnah' and the Ethiopic 'Book of Barlaam and Josaphat' (British Museum MS. Or. 534)", in: *PICES* 2, 75–99; GETATCHEW HAILE, "The *Kalīlah wa-Dimnah* and the *Mazmura Krestos*", in: *PICES* 5b, 375–86.

Getatchew Haile

Mäzmurä Solomon ↗Wisdom books

Mazoya

M. ('guarding a house at night by going around it', in Čaha and Ǝža; in Ǝndägañ: *mazōyä*, Ǝnnämor: *mazōya* [Leslau 1979:82, 215, 343, 472]; or *qärat*, 'night watch', in Čaha and Ǝža [Leslau 1979:94, 483; cp. also Amh. *qərat*, 'guarding the cattle at night' and *qärrat*, 'kind of platform on poles on which a guard sits to shoo birds away from the crops' [KaneDic 734]; Harari *qēraḥa*, 'to guard, tend, watch, protect' [Leslau 1963:129]) is a traditional ↗Gurage institution concerned with ensuring security among community members. It is a system which involves each household taking turns to patrol, mainly at night, to assure security of neighbourhoods and properties. According to oral informants, before the incorporation of the Gurageland into the Ethiopian empire in the late 19th cent., M. was part of the traditional system of governance. It was essential to avert theft, to ensure social order and to protect people and farms from wild animals. Even after the government police system was introduced into the Gurage area, the *qärat* system continues operating to compensate for the inefficiency of the modern police. Moreover, its own virtues make it preferred to the modern system.

In the Gurage area police forces operate mainly in the few urban centres, while rural areas are served mainly by a group of men selected from among community members to guard their community with little or no special police or military training. In 1998, for instance, there were only two police stations (one in the *wäräda* town Ǝndəbər and the other in the small town of Gubre) and 28 policemen in the ↗Čaha *wäräda*. Even today, the police service is severely constrained by resource limitations. One problem is the lack of material resources for carrying out police activities. Because of lack of trained manpower and equipment at the *wäräda* level, complicated cases are handled with the help of the police force at the zonal level; they are sometimes left without being adequately investigated. Also due to limited financial resources at the *wäräda* level, the available police personnel cannot move to different places as frequently as necessary. At times people got services in the rural areas by paying for transportation and by providing per diem to members of the police assigned to handle their cases. The majority of people in the rural areas, however, cannot afford to pay for such services and thus remain out of the reach of the police service.

According to informants in different peasant associations in the Čaha *wäräda*, neighbours took their own initiatives to ensure security during the night, especially to protect high value crops such as ↗*ənsät* and ↗*č̣at*. It seems to be a norm of the Gurage to – collectively or individually – remain very alert to uncommon behaviour and unexpected situations in their *ğäfʷärä* ('village, settlement').

Src.: KaneDic 734; WOLF LESLAU, *Etymological Dictionary of Gurage (Ethiopic)*, vol. 1: *Individual Dictionaries*, Wiesbaden 1979, 94, 82, 215, 343, 472, 483.

Lit.: GETINET ASSEFA, *Indigenous Institutions and Local Development Initiatives, Cases from Gurage Area of Ethiopia*, M.A. thesis, School of Graduate Studies, Addis Ababa University 1999.

Getinet Assefa

Mäzraʾətä Krəstos

M.K. (መዝራእተ፡ ክርስቶስ, called Korno; fl. 17th cent.) was a Təgrayan monk credited with the foundation of the monastery bearing his name in the Ahsäʾa district of the ᶜAdwa *awraǧǧa*. Eleven mss. of his ↗*Gädl*, still unpublished, are reported to be kept in his monastery.

According to his hagiography, M.K. was a son of Läbase Krəstos, a commander of the militia of *aṣe* ↗Fasilädäs, and of *wäyzäro* Milaña, a relative of the holy nun ↗Wälättä Ṗeṭros. After having her son baptized by Sənä Krəstos, the abbot of Wärq Lädḥo, Milaña withdrew into a convent. In his youth M.K. was frequently at the court, where he was noticed by the king who offered him his daughter as a wife, but M.K. chose to take the monastic habit from Sənä Krəstos. Much to the dislike of his relatives he then settled in Däbrä Mäǧina, ↗Waldəbba, from where he made pilgrimages to various sanctuaries, among them those of Yared and the "Ṣadəqan" near ↗Aksum. He then lived on the Märäb, in Šəfaᶜ Säᶜat; twelve of the monks who accompanied him died of malaria. He is reported to have converted pagans at lake Abba Nazä.

With one of his disciples, he settled at May Qəṣabä. There he founded a monastic community, with a church dedicated to Kidanä Məḥrät. Later, he founded another community at Mayṣu and, finally, at Ahsäʾa which was richly endowed with land by Fasilädäs (cp. CRAxum [II] no. 62).

Fasilädäs's successor, ↗Yoḥannəs I sent a letter to M.K. asking him to bless the kingdom and granted him lands in Šire. According to the royal chronicles, in May 1679 M.K. (here: Mäzrate, nicknamed Kʷärne) reconciled the revolting *ras* ↗Fares and Zämaryam with the Emperor (DombrChr 211; GuiIohan 30f.), and the donation may have been a sign of gratitude. *Aṣe* ↗Iyasu I, before becoming a monk on the island of Məṣraḥa, donated M.K. the lands of Ambay Däqa.

Before his death M.K. appointed Askalä Maryam as his successor. He gave his last instructions to his disciples, had them bring an image of St.↗Mary and the Acts of St. ↗Kiros, and died at the age of 93 on Friday 29 *Gənbot*, i.e., most probably 5 June 1706, which would place the saint's birth date in 1613.

Giustino De ↗Jacobis, who visited an homonymous hermit on 30 November 1843, noted in his diary the names of the parents of the saint whose name the hermit bore as well as the favours the first M.K. enjoyed during Fasilädäs's reign (s. De Jacobis 2000:547). De Jacobis also mentions the monastery of "Abuna Metserata" four hours north-east of ᶜAdwa (ibid. 37) and lists the church of "Abun Mazratè" among the churches of ᶜAdwa and surroundings (ibid. 66).

Src.: CRAxum 48 (text) = 58 (tr.) [no. 62]; DombrChr 211; GuiIohan 26, 28–31; GIUSTINO DE JACOBIS, *Scritti*, I. *Diario*, Napoli 2000, 37, 66, 547; OSVALDO RAINERI, "Gli Atti di Mazrāᶜeta Krestos (MS "Raineri 136" della Vaticana)", *Miscellanea Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae* IX, Città del Vaticano 2002 (Studi e Testi 409), 305–74; ms. VatLib Raineri 136.

Lit.: ROGER COWLEY, "The Study of Geez Manuscripts in Tégre Province", *JES* 9, 1, 1971, 21–25, here 24; KinBibl 85, no. 117.

Osvaldo Raineri

Measurement s. vol. 5

Mecca

The town of M. (Arab. مكة, Makka, called *al-mukarrama*, 'the blessed', or *al-mušarrafa*, 'the illustrious'; 21° 27' N, 39° 49' E, ca. 270 m A.S.L.), lying about 72 km inland from the Red Sea port of Jeddah (Ǧidda) in present-day Saudi Arabia, is the holiest place in ↗Islam. It is one of the stopovers on the annual ↗pilgrimage (*ḥaǧǧ*) that every Muslim should perform at least once in his lifetime, if he has the economic and physical capability to do so. It is also the destination of the pious visit (ᶜ*umra*) that the faithful carry out whenever they can, especially during the month of ↗*Ramaḍān*. It is in M. that the sacred enclosure (Ḥaram; Masǧid al-Ḥaram) is located, which comprises the Kaᶜba, the holiest structure in Islam that defines the *qibla*, or the direction of the prayer, the Maqām Ibrāhīm, and the well of Zamzam. Ṣafā and Marwa, the two low mounds between which the *saᶜy* (holy run) takes place, are also among the holiest Islamic places in M.

The city of M. is today the capital of the Saudi Arabian province of the same name. Its population varies between 200,000 and 300,000 which increases by 1.5–2 million at the time of the principal *ḥaǧǧ*.

The history of the relations between M. and Ethiopia goes back well into the pre-Islamic period; it forms part of the history of the long-standing ties between the two shores of the Red Sea. Many traders from M. had connections with the African shore. Hāšim b. ᶜAbd Manāf, ↗Muḥammad's great-grandfather and the eponymous founder of the Banū Hāšim lineage, is said to have been the first to organize two seasonal trade caravans for the Qurayš tribe: the one which took place in winter was directed to al-Ḥabaša, where Hāšim paid homage to the ↗*naǧāšī* and offered him presents (Ibn Saᶜd n.d., vol. 1, 75).

Whether the so-called Aḥābīš – a group of probably scattered clans of apparently different origins, which at some point in pre-Islamic times allied itself with the Qurayš in M. and became the basis of their military force – was made up of people of Abyssinian origin has been a subject of debate. In support of this hypothesis, Lammens (1916, 1918:229, 1924:118f., 133, 329) affirmed that the Aḥābīš included a mix of Arabs and Abyssinians (or generally Blacks) and served as mercenaries of the Qurayš of M. However, research on Arabic sources (Watt 1953:154–57; Hamidullah 1956:434–47) has demonstrated the Arab descent of the Aḥābīš: the name should thus be interpreted as the plural of Uḥbūš or Uḥbūša meaning "companies or bodies of men, not all of one tribe" (Lane 1865:501; but s. Smith 1954:455 n. 6 and Beeston 1987).

In the year that, according to tradition, saw the birth of the Prophet Muḥammad, an Abyssinian expedition from Arabia was launched against the town. Its leader, ↗Abraha, whose campaign took actually place in 547 or 552, wanted to destroy the Kaᶜba and divert the flow of pilgrims to his newly built church in Ṣanᶜāʾ (s. Fiaccadori 2006a:67f. and nn. 118–23, with lit.). Muḥammad's grandfather ᶜAbdalmuṭṭalib attempted to negotiate but to no avail, and the Abyssinian

army marched to the town. Divine intervention saved the holy place and the invaders were compelled to flee (Ibn Saʿd n.d., vol. 1, 90ff.; Ibn Hišām 1987:64–69 and tr. Guillaume 1955:21–28; CRStor 189–92).

In 608 a carpenter by the name of Bāqūm participated in the restoration of the Kaʿba; according to some scholars, the name could be a distortion of the Ethiopian form ʿƎnbaqom. A later Islamic tradition additionally claims that Abyssinian timber was used in the works (s. bibliography in Fiaccadori 2006b:129f.).

Many Abyssinian slaves lived in M. Among them were the famous ↗Bilāl, who was freed by Abū Bakr and became the first *muʾaḏḏin* in the history of Islam, and Waḥšī b. Ḥarb who, whilst a pagan in the Qurayš army, fought in the battle of Uḥud (625) killing Ḥamza b. ʿAbdalmuṭṭalib, Muḥammad's uncle. After converting to Islam, he took part in the battle of ʿAqrabāʾ (634) and killed Musaylima al-Kaḏḏāb, "the enemy of Islam", – with the same spear he had used against Ḥamza (Sayyid b. Muḥammad Ṣādiq 2001:251–57; 266ff.).

Abyssinian concubines and wives were always highly appreciated in M. as in the whole Arabian Peninsula since pre-Islamic times. Many inhabitants of the town had Ethiopian mothers, and their yellowish complexion was noticed as one of their distinctive physical characteristics by the 19th-cent. Swiss traveller Burckhardt (1829:182–87; s. Lewis 1990:90f.).

At least two Abyssinian freedmen (Anasa and Ṣāliḥ Šuqrān) took part in the battle against the Qurayš at Badr in 624 (Watt 1956:344); according to a tradition preserved by aṭ-Ṭabarānī in the *Muʿǧam aṣ-ṣaǧīr* and quoted by as-Suyūṭī in his *Asbāb an-nuzūl* (n.d. 291), 40 Abyssinians fought on the Muslim side in the battle of Uḥud the following year.

In July (or, according to other sources, May) 630, some Abyssinians threatened the Meccan port of Šuʿayba from the sea. The Prophet sent an expedition against them: 300 men under the command of ʿAlqama b. Muǧazziz al-Mudliǧī caught up with the intruders, wading through the sea until they reached an island. At that point, the Abyssinians fled (al-Wāqidī 1966:983; Ibn Saʿd n.d., vol. 2, 163; al-Fāsī 1998:409f.; s. also Sprenger 1861:430).

In 702 Abyssinian pirates allegedly sacked Ǧidda, which had replaced Šuʿayba as the port of M., once again. As a reaction, the Muslims extended their control to the African coast of the Red Sea, sacking and destroying the Aksumite port ↗Adulis (Wüstenfeld 1859:44; s. also TrIslam 46f. n. 6; Cuoq 1981:36 n. 48).

With the expansion of Islam beyond the Arabian Peninsula, M. remained the most powerful point of attraction in the entire Islamic world. Flocks of pilgrims never ceased to come to the town, not only during the *ḥaǧǧ* but all year round. Many settled more or less permanently in M. to benefit from the knowledge of the learned men living in the town. A person staying in M., at least for a short time (*nazīl Makka*), has always been considered as honourable, and pilgrims from Ethiopia/Eritrea were no exception.

Little information is available on Ethiopian pilgrims to M.; only for the modern period do we have some data. Some time before 1934, during his stay in M., *al-ḥāǧǧ* Yūsif of ↗Ǧimma was initiated into the Tiǧānīya *ṭarīqa* (↗Islamic brotherhoods) by the famous West African *ḫalīfa* Alfa Hāšim, and brought Tiǧānī mysticism back to Ǧimma (TrIslam 246).

Most recently, in September 2005, *šayḫ al-ḥāǧǧ* ↗Muḥammad Walī of Wällo died in M. where he had been teaching at Umm al-Qurā University; he was buried at the cemetery of Muʿallā next to the tomb of Ḫadīǧa, Muḥammad's wife.

We know that pilgrims from West Africa passed through Ethiopia and Sudan on their way to or back from M., some of them settling on the borders with Sudan and in Eritrea (↗Fellata; ↗Tukrīr).

Learned and ↗holy men from M. visited Ethiopia on various occasions. Some of them are said to have settled there founding new lineages (s., e.g., TrIslam 170).

Among itinerant traders, we may mention ʿAbdallāh b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Ḥimyarī al-Yamanī (d. 807 H. [1404/5 A.D.]). A *nazīl Makka* and a merchant of Yemeni origin, he stayed for seven years in Ethiopia (al-Fāsī 1998:318f.).

In July 1621, during the reign of *amīr* Ṣabraddīn b. Adam, two *šarīfs*, *sayyid* Aḥmad b. al-Hādī and *sayyid* Ṣāliḥ, came from M. to ↗Harär. They were following an order received from the Prophet in a dream to restore the tombs of *šayḫ* Saʿd and *šayḫ* Ṣāliḥ, because the town's inhabitants, unaware of the holiness of the site, were accustomed to throwing rubbish there. The two *šayḫ*s accomplished their task within seven months and returned (Cerulli 1931:92–95).

Src.: ABŪ MUḤAMMAD ʿABDALMALIK IBN HIŠĀM, *The Life of Muhammad. A Translation of Ibn Isḥāq's* Sīrat Rasūl Allāh, tr. by ALFRED GUILLAUME, Oxford 1955, 21–28; ID., *as-Sīra an-nabawīya*, ed. AT-TADMURĪ, vol. 1, Beirut 1987, 64–69; JOHANN LUDWIG [JOHN LEWIS] BURCKHARDT, *Travels in Arabia: Comprehending an Account on those Territories in Hedjaz which the Mohammedans Regard as Sacred*, London 1829; ALBERT DE BIBERSTEIN KAZIMIRSKI, *Dictionnaire Arabe–Français*, vol. 1, Paris 1860, 368; ENRICO CERULLI, "Documenti arabi per la storia dell'Etiopia", *MRALm* ser. 6ª, 4, 1931, 39–101, here 92–951 [repr. in: *CerIslam* 135–206, here 201–04]; MUḤAMMAD B. AḤMAD AL-FĀSĪ, *al-ʿIqd aṯ-ṯamīn fī taʾrīḫ al-balad al-amīn* ('The Precious Necklace in the History of the Secure City'), vol. 4, Beirut 1998, 318f., 409f.; ID., *Šifāʾ al-ġarām bi-aḫbār al-balad al-ḥarām* ('The Healing of Passion through the News of the Holy City'), 2 vols., Beirut 2000; EDWARD WILLIAM LANE, *Arabic–English Lexicon*, Book 1, Part 2, Edinburgh 1865, 501; BERNARD LEWIS, *Race and Slavery in the Middle East: an Historical Enquiry*, New York, 1990; MUḤAMMAD IBN SAʿD, *aṭ-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā* ('The Greatest Classes'), Beirut n.d., vol. 1, 75, 90ff., vol. 2, 163; SAYYID B. MUḤAMMAD ṢĀDIQ, *Manhal al-ʿaṭšān fī taʾrīḫ al-Ḥubšān* ('The Spring of the Thirsty in the History of the Abyssinians'), [Ṣanʿāʾ] 1422 H. [2001 A.D.], 251–57; 266ff.; ALOIS SPRENGER, *Das Leben und die Lehre des Moḥammad*, vol. 3, Berlin 1861, 430; AS-SUYŪṬĪ, *Asbāb an-nuzūl* ('The Circumstances of Revelation'), Beirut n.d., 291; AL-WĀQIDĪ, *The Kitāb al-Maġẖāzī of al-Wāqidī*, ed. by MARSDEN JONES, vol. 3, Oxford 1966, 983; FERDINAND WÜSTENFELD, *Die Chroniken der Stadt Mekka*, vol. 1, Leipzig 1859, 44.

Lit.: ALFRED FELIX LANDON BEESTON, "Ḥabashāt and Aḥābīsh", *Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies* 17, 1987, 5–7; CRStor 189–92; JOSEPH CUOQ, *L'Islam en Ethiopie des origines au XVIe siècle*, Paris 1981; GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, "Gregentios in the Land of the Homerites", in: ALBRECHT BERGER (ed., tr.), *Life and Works of St. Gregentios, Archbishop of Taphar*, Berlin 2006a (Millennium-Studien 7), 48–82, here 67f. and nn. 118–23; ID., "ʾElla Gabaz/(ʾElla) Ḥētāzā", *La Parola del Passato* 61, 2006b [2007], 115–41, here 129f.; HUSSEIN AHMED, "From Slaves to Elites: the Ethiopian Muslim Diaspora in Arabia and Muslim India", *Journal for Islamic Studies* 20, 2000, 15–32; MUHAMMAD HAMIDULLAH, "Les 'Aḥābīsh' de la Mecque", in: *Studi orientalistici in onore di Giorgio Levi Della Vida*, Roma 1956, vol. 1, 434–47; HENRY LAMMENS, "Les Ahabiš et l'organisation militaire de la Mecque, au siècle de l'Hégire", *JA* 1916, 425–82 [repr. in: *L'Arabie occidentale avant l'hégire*, Beirut 1928, 237–94]; ID., "Les Chrétiens à la Mecque à la veille de l'hégire", *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale* 14, 1918, 191–230; ID., *La Mecque à la veille de l'hégire*, Beyrouth 1924 (Mélanges de l'Université Saint Joseph 9, 3), 118f., 133, 329; SIDNEY SMITH, "Events in Arabia in the 6th Century A.D.", *BSOAS* 16, 1954, 425–68; TrIslam, s. index; WILLIAM MONTGOMERY WATT, *Muhammad at Mecca*, Oxford 1953, 154–57; ID., *Muhammad at Medina*, Oxford 1956, 344.

Alessandro Gori

Medicine

Traditional medicine

The World Health Organization defines traditional M. as "the sum total of the knowledge, skills and practices based on the theories, beliefs and experiences indigenous to different cultures, whether explicable or not, used in the maintenance of health as well as in the prevention, diagnosis, improvement or treatment of physical and mental illnesses". Traditional M. involves not only the treatment of ↗diseases, but also and perhaps even primarily, indigenous understandings of their etiologies. Long before the introduction of modern bio-M. into Ethiopia there existed a wide array of traditional M. based on the writing, reading and wearing of texts, contact with ↗spirits, M. made of herbs, animal parts and ↗minerals, and traditional procedures that used a wide variety of techniques including bleeding, cupping, and surgery such as uvulectomies and tooth extractions. Writing in the early 16th cent., Alvarez mentions cupping, bleeding, and herbal purges as part of the repetoire of traditional M. in Ethiopia (BeckHuntAlvar 509).

Throughout Ethiopian history various plants were used in an attempt to heal the sick. There are about 600 species of medicinal plants distributed all over the country. Virtually all parts of the plants are used including the leaves, stems, roots, seeds and fruits to produce traditional M. These are widely used by the rural population, and an increasing number of the poor in urban centres employ parts of plants as well as products from wild animals and minerals. *Hagenia abyssinica* (↗*Kosso*) is perhaps the best known and is commonly used against tapeworm. ↗Henna (*Lawsonia inermis*), in addition to its cosmetic uses, also has medicinal purposes. Henna leaves when heated and placed on the body are believed to relieve rheumatism; while their smoke fumigates the entire body. Powdered henna mixed with butter is believed to heal wounds. ↗*Hidii* (*Solanum campylacanthum*, etc.) is used to make an infusion which is used against coughing and diarrhoea in children. Leaves of the *sänsäl* (*Adathoda schimperiana*) are crushed and boiled in water and ingested to cure ↗malaria. Even such common products as ↗*ṭef* and ↗*č̣at* are on occasion used for medicinal purposes.

Among animal products butter (↗Milk and milk products) and ↗honey were among the most commonly applied as traditional M. Some forms of heart trouble are treated by a drink made of wild bee honey. Honey is also prescribed as a cure for a cough and as a an ingredient in a poultice for a wound sometimes in combination with ↗salt, onion, or even peas. (In fact,

modern research indicates that honey indeed has some antibiotic properties.) Victims of smallpox were expected to consume melted butter every day for eight days. Among the ↗Šinašša, warthog (*Phacochoerus africanus*) meat is used to heal measles, ostrich feathers (*Struthio camelus*) are used to treat asthma, and the fat and skin of the rock python (*Python sebae*) are believed to be effective in treating chest pains. Animal bones and fat are also used as traditional M.

Traditionally both Christianity and Islam were deeply involved in healing. Prayers, religious objects such as the ↗cross, the ↗Eucharist, holy water (*mayä ṣälot*, cp. also ↗*ṣäbäl*) and even the monastic garb were employed to cure disease. The fact that such services were, moreover, usually provided gratis or in expectation of a voluntary gift, must have made them all the more attractive. The belief in the healing power of sacred texts is shared by both religions. In both faiths, visits to tombs of ↗holy men and women or even obtaining dust from the grave of a saint was believed to be an effective cure. Perhaps the most peculiar manifestation of the Islamic traditional M. is the so-called "M. of the Prophet" (*aṭ-ṭibb an-nabawī*). This can be distinguished from both a Galenic medical system of Greek origin (*aṭ-ṭibb al-yūnānī*), well spread in the Islamic world since the early 9th cent., and a purely magical or spiritual healing practice (*aṭ-ṭibb ar-rūḥānī*). Basis of the "M. of the Prophet" is a number of prophetic sayings kept in the *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Buḫārī*, the most authoritative collection of *hadit* (79th chapter, *Bāb aṭ-ṭibb*) and some few passages from the Qurʾān (e.g. 16:69). The *ṭibb an-nabawī* is essentially a collection of empirical medical receipts and practices reflecting folk medicine of the Arabian Peninsula, which in the entire Islamic world has acquired an aura of Prophetical value. It is characterized by the wide use of natural remedies such as seeds and plants (especially black cumin, onion, and garlic), water, honey, milk, camel milk and urine and by the recourse to cupping, cauterization and venesection. In Ethiopia, Muslims have become acquainted with at least part of this tradition (Slikkerveer 1990:180-95; and s. also the publication in Addis Abäba of the book by Abū al-Fidāʾ Muḥammad 2003/04). Moreover, the use of plants and seeds in medical practice - even without an explicit reference to the *ṭibb an-nabawī* - is testified in written receipts for remedies preserved in Ethiopic Islamic manuscripts (s., e.g., Slikkerveer 1990:186f and figure 5,2; Dobronravin 2006:571).

A widespread procedure in traditional medicine, applying a small cut in the temple, Ḥamasen, Eritrea; photo 1914–15, courtesy of Frobenius-Institut, Frankfurt am Main (no. 07–8203)

A wide range of surgical techniques are practiced in Ethiopian traditional M. The uvula is believed to put infants at risk for suffocation and accordingly is excised in many infants. In other cases, it may be removed as a cure for tonsillitis. Eye problems may be treated with incisions of the eyelids or eyebrows. Diarrhoea in infants may be treated by extracting the milk teeth. *Moññ bagäññ* or "get a fool" is a disease according to traditional conceptualization with symptoms of syncope, fever, headache, abdominal cramps, or stiff neck. The disease is treated by bloodletting (brachial vein). Wind (cold) may cause pleuritic chest pain or *wəgat*, which is treated by cupping.

Since the discovery of the cause of a particular condition is usually intrinsic to the selection of the right treatment or cure, various forms of divination (↗Oracles and divination) formed a crucial part of much traditional M. Thus among some ↗Aari groups a diviner would interpret stones he had thrown in order to reveal the etiology of his patients' disease.

↗Magic-medical literature is an important part of traditional M. in Ethiopia. Collections of prescriptions against demons which are believed to be responsible for various illnesses exist in both Amharic and Gəᶜəz. Some of them are associated with the ↗Psalter, e.g., the *Məśṭirä Dawit* ('Mystery of the Psalter'), known in both Gəᶜəz and Amharic versions. Amulets (Amh. *kətab*) prepared by

↗*däbtära* or Muslim scribes are worn by some, usually under their clothing for protection.

Spirit ↗possession cults figure prominently in the repertoire of traditional M. Although officially in contradiction to strict monotheism, evil spirits are often blamed for mental illness and deviant behaviour by Muslims, Christians and Betä Ǝsraʾel. Moreover, spirits are held accountable for many somatic symptoms. ↗*Zar* possession is more common among women in Ethiopia/Eritrea and among men in refugee camps and immigrants living in the Western world. Harm can be inflicted on others by persons with ↗*buda* or the power of evil eye, which can be counteracted by various means. Spirit possession is treated with prayer and herbal preparations or holy water depending on whether the patient is Muslim or Christian. However, people may look outside the strict borders of their religious and ethnic community if medical help which is viewed as efficacious is available. The reputation of the healer or of a technique is of greater importance than narrow religious loyalties.

Visits to living holy men or healers are popular, however, in many cases it is not the person but the geographical place that is considered to be endowed with healing properties (↗pilgrimage). Thus healing water is not merely limited to that blessed by the Church, but can also include that flowing from a holy spring such as Mədrä Käbd, or ↗Faraqasa. Holy ash (*əmnät*) may be mixed with water. At ↗Zəqʷala grasses and moss from the site are sold as traditional M.

Since 1993 traditional M. is an integral part of national health policy. The Drug Administration and Control Authority (DACA) was given responsibility for the identification of traditional M., assuring their safety and submitting them to laboratory analysis and clinical trials. However, as of early 2006 it had yet to carry out trials or to license medicines.

Although usually perceived as a rural-based phenomenon, traditional M. thrives in urban settings where access to modern bio-medicine is limited by expense and the lack of personnel. It also continues to be widely practised not only in Ethiopia and Eritrea, but in the Ethiopian diaspora.

Src.: ABULFIDAʾ MUḤAMMÄD (ABŪ AL-FIDAʾ MUḤAMMAD), *Islamawi həkmənna – Tammərawi fäws bäṭəqur azmud bämar bänäčč šənkurtənna bäqay šənkurt – Min aǧl ṭibb islamī Muʿǧizat aš-šifāʾ fī al-ḥabba al-sawdāʾ wa-al-ʿasal wa-aṯ-ṯawm wa-al-baṣal*, Addis Abäba 1996 A.M. [2003/04 A.D.]; MARCEL GRIAULE (ed., tr.), *Le livre de recettes d'un dabtara abyssin*, Paris 1930 (Travaux et Mémoires de l'Institut d'Ethnologie 12); DEBORAH LIFCHITZ, *Textes éthiopiens magico-religieux*, Paris 1940 (Travaux et Mémoires de l'Institut d'Ethnologie 38);

Lit.: DAWIT ABEBE – AHADU AYEH, *Medicinal Plants and Enigmatic Health Practices of Northern Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 1993; R. CACCIAPUOTI, "Medicina e farmacologia indigene in Etiopia", *RSE* 1, 1941, 322–29; DESALEGN DESISSA, "Economic Value of Medicinal Plants in Ethiopia", in: *Biodiversity Conservation and Sustainable Use of Medicinal Plants in Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 1998, 102–22; NIKOLAY DOBRONRAVIN, "Gumiliev's Manuscript Collection (Harar and Jimma)", in: *PICES 15*, 2006, 569–71; GETAHUN ABATE, *Etse Debdabe (Ethiopian Traditional Medicine)*, Addis Ababa 1989; RICHARD HODES, "Cross-cultural Medicine and Diverse Health Beliefs: Ethiopians Abroad", *Western Journal of Medicine* 166, 1, 1997, 29–36; KEBEDE DERIBE KASSAYE et al., "A Historical Overview of Traditional Medicine Practices and Policy in Ethiopia", *Ethiopian Journal of Health and Development* 20, 1, 2006, 127–34; JACQUES MERCIER, "Les *däbtära* et le vocabulaire de la magie et de la médecine", *Abbay* 7, 1976, 113–34; ID., *Art that Heals: the Image as Medicine in Ethiopia*, New York 1997; SIMON DAVID MESSING, *Highland Plateau Amhara of Ethiopia*, New Haven 1985, 291–352; MAXIME RODINSON, *Magie, médecine et possession à Gondar*, Paris 1967; LEENDERT JAN SLIKKERVEER, *Plural Medical Systems in the Horn of Africa. The Legacy of 'Sheikh' Hippocrates*, London – New York 1990; STEFAN STRELCYN "Les 'Médecines du Bégamder et du Tchelga' (Éthiopie) d'Abbäbä Garréd", *Africana Bulletin* 5, 1966, 53–78; ID., *Médecine et plantes d'Éthiopie: Enquete sure les nomes et l'emploi des plantes en Éthiopie*, Warsaw 1968, Naples 1973; TSEHAI BERHANE SELASSIE, "An Ethiopian Medical Text-Book Written by Gerazmač Gäbräwäld Arägahañ Däga Damot", *JES* 9, 1971, 95–180; NORBERT LEWIS VECCHIATO, "Traditional Medicine", in: HELMUT KLOOS – ZEIN AHMED ZEIN (eds.), *Ecology of Health and Disease in Ethiopia*, Boulder, CO 1993, 157–78; WORLD HEALTH ORGANIZATION, *General Guidelines for Methodologies on Research and Evaluation of Traditional Medicine*, Geneva 2000; ALLAN YOUNG, *Medical Beliefs and Practices of Begemder-Amhara*, Ph.D. thesis, University of Pennsylvania 1970.

Steven Kaplan

Modern medicine

Ethiopia's health care system is based on a long tradition of exchange with the Arab and European world. Autochthonous, Arabic and Amharic medical practices coexist with biomedicine. Depending on accessibility, people make simultaneous use of different facilities.

Most Ethiopian rulers were eager to make use of foreign medical skills. However, it took until the early 1840s to bring modern M. to a sizable section of the population (Pankhurst 1990). Modern M. came to Ethiopia along with scientific, political and religious ↗missions. Whereas in most African countries church-based missions pioneered Western M. long before it was provided by colonial governments (Good 1991), in

Ethiopia it was mainly introduced by the request of its rulers. However, all major steps in establishing organized medical care have taken place within the three post-occupation decades from 1941–50, 1951–60 and 1961–70 (Conacher 1976). In 1948 the government established its Ministry of Public Health. By the end of the 20th cent. Ethiopia's health care system is still among the least developed in Sub-Saharan Africa. Even the best ↗hospitals suffer from antiquated equipment and lack of supplies. Formal health services reach only a small part of the population. Biomedical services are offered to the public with the assistance of WHO (World Health Organization) and donor organizations, as the expenditure of the national budget on public health usually is one of the lowest in the world (in 1995/96 it was approximately 4 %). Addis Ababa University manages two medical schools and one school of pharmacy, whereas the government runs three nursing schools and a few schools for health assistance (Ofcansky – Berry 1993).

In 2002 the Ethiopian health care system consisted of 1,311 health posts, 2,452 health stations, 412 health centres (97 % Ministry of Health [MoH]), and 115 hospitals (95 governmental), with 1 hospital bed per 5,740 people. Between 1998 and 2002, 19 hospitals and 130 health centres were opened. Medicines are supplied by 311 pharmacies (ca. 74 % private), 309 drug shops, and 1,876 rural drug vendors (all private). The MoH estimates that in 2002, 51.8 % of the population had access to modern medical care (in 1998 it was 50.7 %). This figure rises to 61 % if those with access to health posts are included.

From 1998–2002, an average of 142 physicians graduated each year from Ethiopia's three medical schools – Addis Abäba, Ǧimma and Gondär. During that same period, a total of 7,068 nurses graduated.

In 2002 there were 1,888 physicians and 12,838 nurses in government service (in 1998 there were 1,415 physicians and 1,483 nurses). In addition to these, there are probably several hundred additional physicians outside of the government system. Overall, there is one government physician per 35,603 people. This distribution, however, is unequal, ranging from 1/4,526 in Harär to 1/10,934 in Addis Abäba to 1/61,888 in Amhara and 1/66,068 in the Somali region.

In 2002, 7.0 % of the overall government budget was devoted to health (an increase of 6 % from 1997). In 2001, the government spent an average

An operation at the Ḫaylä Śəllase I Hospital, Addis Abäba, attended by *aṣe* Ḫaylä Śəllase; scene from a 1956 film on contemporary Ethiopia co-directed by *däggazmač* Mäkʷännən Dästa; screenshot, Asien-Afrika-Institut, Universität Hamburg

of 11.5 *bərr* per person (ca. US-$ 1.35). Spending varied from 22 *bərr* per person in Addis Abäba, 18.5 *bərr* in Dərre Dawa, 13.8 *bərr* in Təgray and 4.9 *bərr* in Amhara.

Health problems result from malnutrition and lack of sanitation as well as to shortage of trained personnel and health facilities especially in rural areas. Major causes of death are infectious and parasitic ↗diseases, respiratory diseases and diseases of the digestive system (Getachew Hailemariam et al. 2004; Kloos 1998; Kloos – Zein Ahmed Zein 1991, 1996).

The leading causes of outpatient visits in 2001 were ↗malaria (10.4 %), helminthiasis (worms, 6.7 %), upper respiratory infection (6.5 %), pneumonia (5.5 %) and skin infections (4.6 %). The main reasons for hospital admissions were malaria (14.8 %), pneumonia (8.9 %), tuberculosis (7.8 %), accidents (6.2 %) and abortion (3.9 %). The main causes of death were tuberculosis (10.3 %), pneumonia (7.3 %), malaria (4.6 %), bacillary dysentery (2.2 %) and accidents (1.6 %).

In 2002 Ethiopia is ranked number five in the world for ↗HIV-positive people (after South Africa with five million and India, Nigeria, and Kenya each with 2.5 million). About 5 % of the world's HIV-infected population is Ethiopian.

With respect to pregnancy and childbirth (↗Birth), 6.3 % of married women surveyed used modern contraception in 2000. 27 % of Ethiopian women received antenatal care (ANC) from a health professional. 17 % of pregnant women received more than one dose of tetanus toxoid. 5 % of women delivered in a health facility (rang-

ing from 66.9 % in Addis Abäba to 2.8 % in Amhara). Only 5.6 % of babies are delivered by a health professional (ranging from 69.1 % in Addis Abäba to 3.1 % in Amhara), and another 4.1 % by trained traditional birth attendants (TBA); 94.7 % received no post-natal care. 52 % of mothers initiated breastfeeding within one hour of giving birth, and 75 % within one day. The mean duration of exclusive breastfeeding was 4.2 months, and of any breastfeeding was 25 months.

The Demographic Health Survey (DHS) of 2,143 children aged 12–23 months found 14.3 % fully immunized; 46 % had received BCG vaccination; 21 % had received three DPT; 35 % had received three OPV; 27 % had had measles, while 16.6 % had received no immunizations. Though nearly 74 % of Addis Abäba children were fully immunized, rates were below 15 % in Amhara, Oromiyaa, Beni Šangul/Gumuz, Southern Nations, Nationalities and People's Region, and Gambella. 45 % of children whose mothers had secondary education were immunized, compared with 10 % of children with uneducated mothers.

The DHS reported that 79.9 % of Ethiopian women surveyed were circumcised, ranging from 79.8 % in Addis Abäba, 79.7 % in Amhara, and 35.7 % in Təgray. They further estimated that 59.7 % of women supported this practice, ranging from 16.2 % in Addis Abäba to 76.5 % in ᶜAfar.

The ten-year period from 1990–2000 had an infant (one-year) mortality rate of 113/1000, though from 1996–2000 it was 97/1000; in the same decade, under five mortality was 188/1000, which improved to 166 from 1996–2000.

Stunting is quite high, with 51.5 % of under-five year olds below two Standard Deviations (SD) height-for-age, wasting rates of 10.5 % (below 2SD weight to height), and underweight rate of 47 % (below 2SD weight to age). The overall average life expectancy was 44 years in 2001.

The government has a 20-year health development strategy through 4 five-year investment programs that began in 1997. The government advocates decentralized, democratized health services, preventive health care, an increase in health service capacity and increased access to health services. By 2010 they aim for an IMR of 50, life expectancy of 64, contraceptive coverage of 40 %, a 100 % health service coverage and a population growth rate of 2 %.

↗ALERT; ↗Fistula Hospital; ↗Leprosy

Src.: FEDERAL DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF ETHIOPIA. MINISTRY OF HEALTH (ed.), *Health and Health Related Indicators, 1994*, Addis Ababa 2002; FEDERAL DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF ETHIOPIA. CENTRAL STATISTICAL AUTHORITY – ORC MACRO (eds.), *Ethiopia Demographic and Health Survey*, Addis Ababa – Calverton 2000; CENTRAL STATISTICAL AUTHORITY (ed.), *Statistical Abstract*, Addis Ababa 2001; ID. (ed.), *Report on the 1998 Health and Nutrition Survey*, Addis Ababa 1999; ID. (ed.), *Statistical Abstract, 2001*, Addis Ababa 2002; UNICEF (ed.), *The State of the World's Children*, Oxford 2003.

Lit.: D.G. CONACHER, "Medical Care in Ethiopia", *Transactions of the Royal Society of Tropical Medicine and Hygiene* 70, 2, 1976, 141-44; GETACHEW HAILEMARIAM et al., "Intestinal Parasitic Infections in HIV/AIDS and HIV Seronegative Individuals in a Teaching Hospital, Ethiopia", *Japanese Journal of Infectious Diseases* 57, 2, 2004, 41–43; CHARLES M. GOOD, "Pioneer Medical Missions in Colonial Africa", *Social Science & Medicine* 1991, 32, 1, 1991, 1-10; HELMUT KLOOS, "Primary Health Care in Ethiopia under Three Political Systems: Community Participation in War-Torn Society", *Social Sciences and Medicine* 46, 4–5, 1998, 505–22; HELMUT KLOOS – ZEIN AHMED ZEIN, *Health, Disease, Medicine, and Famine in Ethiopia: a Bibliography*, New York 1991; SIMON DAVID MESSING, *The Target of Health in Ethiopia: a Holistic Reader in Applied Anthropology*, New York 1972; THOMAS P. OFCANSKY – LAVERLE BERRY, *Ethiopia: a Country Study*, Lanham 1993; RICHARD PANKHURST, *An Introduction to the Medical History of Ethiopia*, Trenton, NJ 1990; LEENDERT JAN SLIKKERVEER, *Plural Medical Systems in the Horn of Africa: the Legacy of 'Sheik' Hippocrates*, London 1990, 200ff.

Richard M. Hodes – Angelika Wolf

Mədr

M. is a pre-Christian Aksumite deity, mentioned in two royal inscriptions, RIÉ 185 II/21: *lᶜstr/wlmdr/wlmḥrm* (of king ↗ᶜEzana), and RIÉ 188/25–26: *läᶜastär/wäläbəḥer/wäläməḍr*. Remarkably, in RIÉ 185 II the name M. is used to replace *bḥr(m)* (↗Bəḥer) of RIÉ 185 I, the parallel version in South Arabian script: RIÉ 185 I/20–21: *lᶜstrm/[w]lbḥrm/w[lmḥrmm]*, whereas the duplicate inscription RIÉ 185bis has *bḥr(m)* in both the Gəᶜəz and the "pseudo-Sabaic" version, resp.: RIÉ 185bis I/22–23: *lᶜttrm/wl[b]ḥrm/wlmḥrm*; RIÉ 185bis II/C 35–36: *lᶜstr/wbḥr/wlmḥrm*. In its turn, *[b]ḥrm* of RIÉ 185bis is rendered as ἡ γῆ in its Greek parallel RIÉ 270bis/30: τῷ οὐρανῷ καὶ τῇ γῇ καὶ τῷ ... Ἀρέει.

M. is also mentioned in a short inscription on a stone basin found in the church of Arbaᶜəttu ∃nsəsa ('the Four Beasts') in Aksum, RIÉ 198 I/1–3 ([ʾ]*mḥśn zgl bᶜstr wmdr*).

M. and Bəḥer seem to be one and the same deity or at least two functionally similar – and therefore interchangeable – chthonic deities (the meaning of the both names is 'land, earth'). They are mentioned between ↗ᶜAstär (= ὁ οὐρανός) and ↗Mäḥrəm (= Ἄρης; perhaps M. in RIÉ 188/25–

26, M. is just a *lapsus calami* for Mäḥrəm?). In inscription RIÉ 270bis, the function of ὁ γῆ (= Mədr/Bəḥer) as well as that of ὁ οὐρανός (= ʿAstär) is obviously overtaken by "the god of heaven and earth" (apparently, Ares), invocated in the curse-formula, s. RIÉ 270bis/32–33: ὁ θϵ[ὸς] τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς (with no parallel in RIÉ 185/RIÉ 270 and RIÉ 185bis). This subordination of other deities is interpreted as a tendency towards monotheism (s. BrakKirche 37–41).

After ʿEzana had converted to ↗Christianity he retained the reference to *mədr* ('earth') in the designation of the Christian god: *[bä]ḫaylä ʾəgziʾa sämay* [*zäbä*] *sämay wämədr mäwaʾi* ..., 'By the might of the Lord of heaven, who is victorious in heaven and earth ...' (RIÉ 189/1). Besides, the traces of the veneration of M. may be seen in another formula of the same inscription (RIÉ 189/48–49): *wäʾamaḫṣänk*[*u*] *zämänbärä zätäkälku läʾəgziʾa sämay zäʾangäśänä wälämədr zäyəṣäwwəro* ..., '... and I entrusted this throne which I have established to the Lord of the heaven who made us king, and to the earth that carries it [i.e. ʿEzana's throne] ...'.

↗Aksum; ↗Inscriptions

Src.: DAE IV; RIÉ nos. 185, 188, 198, 270bis (Lit.).
Lit.: BrakKirche 37–41 (Lit.); CRStor 141f., 148; MARIA HÖFNER, "Die Semiten Äthiopiens", in: HANS W. HAUSSIG – EGIDIUS SCHMALZRIEDT (eds.), *Wörterbuch der Mythologie*, I: *Götter und Mythen im Vorderen Orient*, Stuttgart 1965, 555–67, esp. 560 ["Medr"].

Alexander Sima – Red.

Mədri baḥri ↗Baḥər nägaš

Meeḍiča

M. (Orom. *meedicha*) are strips of skin cut from a freshly sacrificed animal before it is skinned and butchered: a slit is usually made in each M. so that it can be worn as a wristlet. M. are "distributed ... to the major participants in the ceremony"; sometimes even to cows or camels if they, e.g., have "provided milk for the libation" (Tablino 1999:316).

M. may be worn by men, boys (after the name-giving ceremony) and married women but not by girls; they are integral to the rituals of ↗sacrifice and signify the incorporation of their receivers. Among ↗Arsi, ↗Boorana and ↗Gabra, eight M. are cut from each sacrificed animal, two from each lower leg, in such a way that part of the dew-claw provides a light bob for each. An elder preserves his M. from the wear and tear of daily life by transferring them to his ritual staff where they serve as enduring indicators of his participation in rituals. At some ceremonies additional strips of skin may be cut and distributed. For example, at a naming ceremony the strip from the umbilicus *hanḍuura* (Orom. sp. *handhuura*) is given to the central participant in the ceremony.

At the sacrifices required for the adoption and incorporation of individuals and groups M. provides graphic and enduring symbols of the newly created relationships. M. were tied around the wrists of participants as part of the process of political adoption and assimilation of non-Oromo to the ↗Mäčča Oromo (↗*Guddifačaa*; Triulzi 1996:253).

The word M. is sometimes extended to include other wristlets which are associated with sacrifices (Borello 1995:300).

Src.: interviews with Dəbaba Wänǧo (98), Dirirsa Dangala (95), Abbäbä Guddäta (56), Bultum Obse (95), Täfärrä Tuǧi (63) in Wänbära 1996–97; P. MARIO BORELLO, *Dizionario Oromo-Italiano* [ed. by HANS JÜRGEN SASSE – PAOLO TABLINO], Hamburg 1995, 300; TON LEUS, *Aadaa Boraanaa. A Dictionary of Borana Culture*, Addis Ababa 2006, 450f.
Lit.: PAUL TABLINO, *The Gabra*, Nairobi 1999, 316; ALESSANDRO TRIULZI, "United and Divided: Boorana and Gabaro among the Macha Oromo in Western Ethiopia", in: *BHTOrom* 251-64.

Tsega Endalew – Paul T.W. Baxter

Me'en

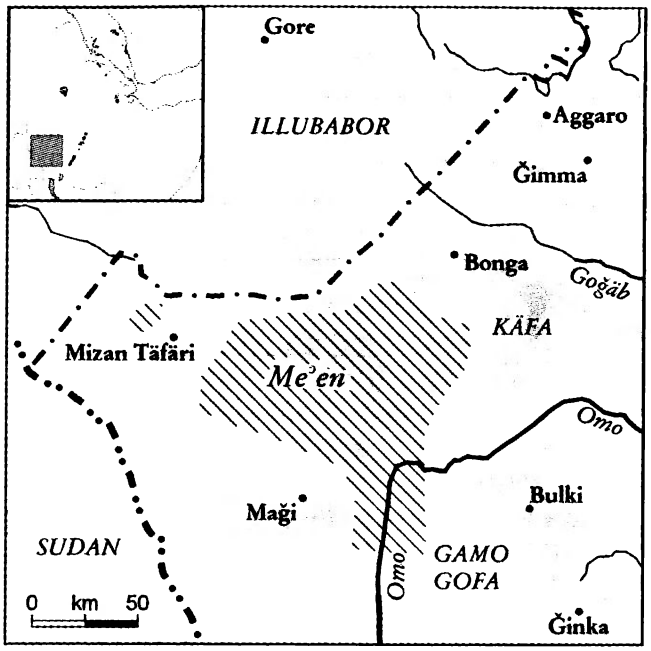
Me'en language

The M. language (also known as Mekan, Meken etc.) belongs to the south-eastern ↗Surmic sub-family of the Eastern Sudanic branch of the ↗Nilo-Saharan language phylum.

M. speakers generally live south of the ↗Benč and between the ↗Surma and ↗Dizi to the south-west and the ↗Mursi to the east. The majority are found in what was traditionally ↗Käfa province, an area now in the Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples' Region. The 1998 census gave the number of M. speakers as 56,585 (Gordon 2005:117).

The main differences between the two major dialects, Tišana and Bodi, are the numeral system (Tišana operates with units of ten, whereas Bodi utilizes units of twenty) and phonetic and lexical changes. Bodi seems to be the more conservative dialect diachronically. The Bodi live east of the ↗Omo river, the Tišana to the west and north of the Omo bend.

The M. consonantal system consists of 26 phonemes: voiceless *p, t, s, š, č, k, h* (*h* occuring only in root-initial position); voiced *b, d, z, ǧ,*



g; ejective *ṭ*, *ṣ*, *č̣*, *q* (the existence of ejectives being unusual for Surmic); implosive *ɓ*, *ɗ*; nasals *m*, *n*, *ñ*, *ŋ*; liquids *l*, *r*; and glides *y*, *w*. The glottal stop ˀ is an allophone of *q*, appearing in intervocalic position. M. has a seven-vowel system: *i*, *e*, *ɛ*, *a*, *u*, *o*, *ɔ*. M. utilizes three levels of tone on the word-level, both lexically and grammatically: low (ˋ), high (¯), and superhigh (ˊ), of which the superhigh level is best described as phonological stress rather than tone (s. Diehl 2007). Within one segmental mora there are a few cases of high-low tone combination, as in *bɔ̄ɔ̀r* 'honey'. There are no syllable-initial consonant clusters.

There are two major word classes in M., nouns and verbs. Qualifiers expressing adjectival concepts are often derived from verbs by adding a suffix *-i*, cf. *čaraš* 'to be clever', *čaraš-i* 'clever'. M. has no grammatical gender. Nouns distinguish between absolutive (ABS, unmarked), genitive (suffix *-uñ/-i*), directive (suffix *-ak/-ok*, except for singular nouns ending in a vowel, which are marked by *-y*), and ablative case (ABL, comprising the categories of location, origin and instrument). The ablative is marked by suffixes sg.: *-ge/-ɔ* (after vowels/consonants) and pl.: *-i*. Tone is not used to mark case. With regard to number, the nominal system includes singulative and plural marking, utilizing multiple suffixes and sometimes tone changes, cf. pl. *sīsò*, sg. *sīsòč* 'bee' (singulative marking); sg. *wārà*, pl. *wàrāā* 'knife' (plural marking); sg. *mèlqùt*, pl. *mèlqùò* 'snail' (both forms marked).

The head of the noun phrase precedes its modifiers, which, except for numerals, all require a relational marker (REL) following the noun (sg. *-de*, pl. *-ge*). Modifiers can be a demonstrative (immediately following the head), a possessor, one or more relative clauses, or a numeral, cf. *tēnà* 'goats', *tēnā-gìà* 'these goats', *tēnà-gēgē* 'their goats', *tēnā-gè čārāš šéššék-ɔ́* (goats-REL are.clever very-SUB') 'the goats that are very clever', *tēnā-gìà čārāš šéššék-ɔ́ kórí īpāgí-ɔ́* (goats-these [that] are.clever very-SUB [that] I.saw yesterday-SUB) 'these very clever goats that I saw yesterday', *tēnà rāmāŋ* 'two goats'. A nominal possessor is marked by genitive case, as in *tēnā-gè mɔkāğūñ* 'the woman's goats'. Subordination (SUB) of phrases and clauses is marked by a clitic *-ɔ* (s. the above examples).

Verbs utilize two tense-mood-aspect forms, A and B (the latter being subdivided into B1 and B2), depending on whether the respective event is marked for completeness or not. A is the unmarked form and is employed when the feature of completeness is not in special focus. This includes the negated category of imperative/jussive/subjunctive. B is employed to stress completeness, corresponding to past events (B1 to affirmative, B2 to negated ones). In addition, B2 is used to express the affirmative imperative/jussive/subjunctive. B1 and B2 differ in the realis factor in that the event marked by B1 has been realized, whereas the event marked by B2 has not (yet) been realized. Below the forms A and B of the verb *am/us* 'to eat' in 3rd pers. sg. are given. Form A: *ām* 'he/she eats/ate', *ám-óŋ* 'he/she does not/did not eat', *kē ām-ī* 'he/she should not/may not eat'. Form B: *ūs-āā-bóy* 'he/she ate/has eaten' (B1), *k-ús-óŋ* 'he/she did not eat/has not eaten' (B2), *k-ūs* 'he/she may eat' (B2).

There are several verbal derivational categories, which are expressed by affixes. Object suffixes exist for 1st and 2nd pers. and are *-añ* '1st sg.', *-eñ* '2nd sg.', *-eč* '1st pl.', *-oŋ* '2nd pl.'. Benefactive (BEN) is expressed for 1st and 2nd pers. by an infix *-ag-*, followed by the respective object suffix, as in *kē-dēšī-āg-ēñ* (3sg.-work:B2-BEN-2sg.) 'he/she may serve you (sg.)', *dēšī-àg-ēč* 'serve (sg.) us!'. For 3rd pers., it is marked by a suffix *-ɛsɛ*, as in *gè-dèšī-èsē* 'let us (incl.) serve him/her/them'. To signal purpose, *-ga* is suffixed to the verb form corresponding to the respective subjunctive category (form A for negative, B2 for affirmative), as in *kē-dēšī-èsé-gá* 'that I may serve him/her/them'. Suffix *-ɛ* expresses associative, i.e. the agent is accompanied by someone or something, as in *méé kōy-ē báyít* (man:ABS goes: A-with monkey:ABS) 'The man takes the mon-

key', and in *méɛ́ nīs-ē báyít bèr* (man:ABS kills: A-with monkey:ABS spear:ABS) 'The man kills the monkey with his spear'.

Personal pronouns are *āñì* 'I', *īñù* 'you (sg.)', *nɛ̄̀n* 'he/she', *èdē* 'we (incl.)', *èdáá* 'we (excl.)', *èdū* 'you (pl.)', *ēdɛ̀* 'they'. Functioning as demonstratives is a set of toneless clitics; the forms for the singular are *-dia* 'this' (closer to speaker), *-dɔŋɔ* 'that' (closer to addressee), *-dua* 'that' (far from both speaker and addressee, but still visible), *-diča* 'that' (far away and not visible). In plural, *-d-* is substituted by *-g-*.

M. has basic S[ubject]–V[erb]–O[bject] order (both subject and object taking absolutive case), as in *mɔ̄kāč ām mùlàč* (woman:ABS eats:A egg: ABS) 'The woman eats the egg'. The S–V order in M. is a tight unit and may not be reversed. Therefore, neither V–S–O, nor O–V–S are permitted. Also, S–V may not be broken up by an object. This does not apply if the verb is negated (the order then being S–O–V), as in *mɔ̄kāč mùlàč ám-óŋ* (woman:ABS egg:ABS eats:A–NEG) 'The woman does not eat the egg'. M. has postpositions, as in *kēs-ɔ̄ tēēk* (house-ABL inside) 'inside the house'; *kēs-ɔ̄ tùnt-ɔ̄* (house-ABL on.top.of) 'on top of the house'.

The ten-word list is as follows: 'one' *kɔ́náŋ*, 'two' *rāmāŋ*, 'three' *sīzzī*, 'fire' *gōò*, 'water' *māà*, 'sun' *súsá*, 'moon' *tāʾīs*, 'blood' *ñēbā*, 'tongue' *kāàt*, 'tooth' *ñīʾīdāč*.

Src.: RAYMOND G. GORDON (ed.), *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*, Dallas, TX [15]2005, 117.

Lit.: ACHIM DIEHL, "Mid-Tone Phenomena in Me'en", in: *PICES* 14, vol. 3, 1723–31; ID., "The Effect of a Floating Stress Feature with Certain Toneless Morphemes in Me'en", in: DORIS PAYNE – MECHTHILD REH (eds.), *Advances in Nilo-Saharan Linguistics: Proceedings of the 8th Nilo-Saharan Linguistics Colloquium. Hamburg, August 22–25, 2001*, Köln 2007 (Nilo-Saharan 22), 81–96; LANFRANCO RICCI, "Materiali per la lingua mekan", *RSE* 25, 1971–72 [1974], 90–455; HANS-GEORG WILL, "The Me'en Verb System: Does Me'en Have Tenses?", in: GERRIT J. DIMMENDAAL – MARCO LAST (eds.), *Surmic Languages and Cultures*, Köln 1998, 437–58; ID., "Adverbial Clauses and Topicalization in Me'en", in: M. LIONEL BENDER (ed.), *Proceedings of the Fourth Nilo-Saharan Conference Bayreuth, Aug. 30 – Sep. 2, 1989*, Hamburg 1991 (Nilo-Saharan Linguistic Analyses and Documentaion 7), 105–10; ID., "Me'en: a Bodi-Tishena Dialect Comparison", *JES* 24, 1991, 97–113; ID., "Sketch of Me'en Grammar", in: ID. (ed.), *Topics in Nilo-Saharan Linguistics*, Hamburg 1989 (Nilo-Saharan Linguistic Analyses and Documentaion 3), 129–50.

Achim Diehl – Hans-Georg Will

Me'en ethnography

M. (formerly also known as Šuro, Mekan or Goldiya) is the name of the largest ↗Surmic-speaking group in Ethiopia. *Me'en* means 'people' or 'humans', in their language. They have various sub-groups and live in relatively low densities in south-western Ethiopia, north and north-east of ↗Mağı town. They number ca. 80,000 people (in 2006). There is significant variety among the subgroups in dialect, economic strategies and socio-political organization. The territorial subgroups (not clans) of the M. are Mela and Čirim (together called Bodi by their Sudan neighbours). They are of diverse ethnic origin and include assimilated ↗Benç, K^{w}egu (↗K^{w}egu-Muguği) and ↗Dizi people. While expanding into the highlands, they fought frequently with the Benç and also emerged as fierce opponents of the northern conquerors and soldiers in the early decades of the 20th cent., after Ethiopian troops led by *ras* ↗Wäldä Giyorgis Aboyye had incorporated their area into the Ethiopian empire. Imperial troops or local soldier-settlers, trying to capture cattle or slaves and to force M. as serfs into the ↗*näfṭäññä-*↗*gäbbar* system, were often ambushed, and occasionally highland *kätämas* (Ğemu, Šaša and Gačit) were attacked or razed to the ground, most recently in 1976 (Geša, Barda and Čäbära villages) after the ↗Revolution. Among their sedentary neighbours in the highlands, such as Konta and Dawro, the M. kept a reputation as feared raiders. Also after the regime change in 1991 there was an upsurge of raids by lowland M. on highland neighbours. State policy towards the M. has been one of neglect and duplicity, with often violent and unjust punitive actions, fuelling M. distrust toward state interference.

In the 1980s and 1990s, their sedentarization and market integration proceeded, partly due to state pressure and more administrative control. Today, M. in the Mağı area have a reputation of being honest and hardworking cultivators. They supply the staple food crops for most of the local population, especially that of the highland villages. They are dominant in the local markets, selling products like *ṭef*, sorghum, maize, cabbage, sugar cane, lentils, beans, and peppers, as well as butter, coffee, and honey. They also trade small stock and occasionally cattle, when cash is needed to pay debts or taxes.

The relations of highland M. with neighbouring groups like Dizi, Benç and ↗Käfa is good, but with the Suri (↗Čai) there are problems due to repeated attacks on market travellers and occasional cattle raids, which have continued over the past 20 years. In the absence of fair and efficient

government protection or justice, the M., tired of the dozens of incidents of Suri robbery and ambushes, made a big retaliatory raid on them in 2000, whereby they captured several thousands of cattle. Some Suri and M. were killed in the fight, provoking more violence in return. The government later forced the M. to return most of the cattle and to hand in their arms, although no corresponding action to disarm the Suri was taken. Relations thus remain tense and are marked by distrust. In the mid-1990s the M., as one of the officially recognized "nationalities" or ethnic groups received their own M. *wäräda*, and during the last decade had a ruling party-associated representative in the Ethiopian parliament.

Src.: AbbGeogr 101, 117, 120ff., 142, 145, 153, 171, 190, passim.

Lit.: JON ABBINK, "Economy and Society in Southwest Ethiopia: the Emergence of the 'Tishana'", in: ID. – HANS VERMEULEN (eds.), *History and Culture. Essays on the Work of Eric R. Wolf*, Amsterdam 1992, 71–94; ID., "An Ethno-historical Perspective on Me'en Territorial Organisation (South-west Ethiopia)", *Anthropos* 87, 4–6, 1992, 351–64; ID., "Ritual and Environment: the *Mósit* Ceremony of the Ethiopian Me'en People", *Journal of Religion in Africa* 25, 2, 1995, 163–90; ID., "Représentations de la culture matérielle des Me'en: forme et fonction des artefacts", *AE* 16, 2000, 93–107; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "I Mekan o Suro nell'Etiopia del sud-ovest e il loro linguaggio", *RRALm* 22, 7–10, 1914, 397–463; KATSUYOSHI FUKUI, "Conflict and Ethnic Interaction: the Mela and their Neighbours", in: ID. – JOHN MARKAKIS (eds.), *Ethnicity and Conflict in the Horn of Africa*, London 1994, 33–47; ID., "Co-evolution between Humans and Domesticates: the Cultural Selection of Animal Coat Colour Diversity amongst the Bodi", in: ROY ELLEN – KATSUYOSHI FUKUI (eds.), *Redefining Nature: Ecology, Culture and Domestication*, Oxford 1996, 319–85; FRIEDRICH KLAUSBERGER, *Woga. Recht und Gesellschaft in Süd-Äthiopien*, Frankfurt am Main 1981, 230–82 ["Die Bodi"].

Jon Abbink

Mə^{c}əraf

The M. (ምዕራፍ) is a one of the five books in the collection *Amməstu ṣäwatəwä zemawoccˇ* (1972/73) which form the Divine office, together with the ↗*Ṣomä dəgg^{w}a*, ↗*Ziq*, ↗*Zəmmare* and ↗*Mäwaśə'ət* (the ↗*Dəgg^{w}a* being kept apart, although it can not be performed without the ordinance provided by the M.). The M. contains the structure of the Divine office in its diverse forms of performance, as well as the texts that are part of the services. The M. is therefore indispensable to the performance of the office; it is the Common as opposed to the Proper (i.e. the movable hymns which vary according to the circumstances and are contained in other books).

The name M. is derived from a word that signifies 'rest' or 'halt' (e.g., after a walking distance), or the space between the end of one part of the book and the beginning of the next, i.e. 'chapter' (LesCDic 69, 327). In this particular antiphonary, the letter ም marks a psalm versicle selected from a psalm of the ↗Psalter and sung by one singer in response to the choir when the choir has finished singing its line(s) in unison (marked ዘ, i.e. *zäḫəbrät*, lit. 'of the union'). The use of the Psalter as arranged in the M. and sung in this manner has its roots in the historical fact that when the first Christian communities came together to worship as a church or ἐκκλησία, they sang the Psalms of David (cf. Eph 5:19–20; Col 3:16). This practice of the early Church may also explain why the basic ↗education in the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥədo) Church focuses on the Psalter.

The M. includes all the psalms of the Ethiopic Psalter as well as texts traditionally attached to it. To these are added the daily office prayers, which are recited in the morning and evening and also before the celebration of Mass (↗*Qəddase*). The M. is thus an intricate voluminous hymnody.

Since the actors of the office are expected to know it by heart, one finds copies of the M. mainly with music teachers and in the libraries of major churches and monasteries. For his edition of the M., Velat used 11 manuscripts (the oldest dating into the 18th cent.): nine from the European libraries (VatLib, BritLib, BN) and two in his possession, acquired in Addis Abäba (VelMe I, VII–XI).

The chanting of the psalms and accompanying hymns is arranged according to the ↗Calendar of the Church and types of service envisaged (e.g., a vigil or night to morning service, on a solemnity or a ferial day). The texts are marked with one, or some combination, of the three types of melodies: ↗*gə^{c}əz* (ግ), ↗*^{c}əzəl* (ል), ↗*araray* (ራ). The major parts of the M. are as follows:

1. The daily office prayers: the *Kidan*-prayers (↗*Testamentum Domini*) of the different hours of the day and night (e.g., *Ṣälotä kidan*, 'Prayer of the Covenant'), followed by the ↗litanies of the days of the week, the supplications (*Mästäbq^{w}ə^{c}at*), including the *Zäyənäggäś* of St. ↗Yared, and the *Mystagogia* (↗*Təmhərtä ḫəbu'at*).
2. The "school chants": ↗*Mästägabə'* for chanting psalm versicles on the various days of the week; ↗*Arba^{c}ət* for chanting selected psalms; ↗*Aryam*, which is hallelujah-chants (cp. ↗*Ḫaletat*); *Śäläst*; and the two Praises of Mary:

↗*Anqäṣä bərhan* for Sunday and ↗*Wəddase Maryam* for the days of the week, neither of which has psalms. The students of the church music begin with the "school chants" because they contain all of the nuances and signs of the melodies of church chants.

3. The chants of selected psalms or psalm versicles for different feasts, accompanied by the preceding daily office prayers. These are, if the collection is complete, the "M. of the Vigil" (*Məʿəraf zäwazema*), for the days of the week and for selected holy days; "M. of the Morning Praise" (*Məʿəraf zäsəbḥatä nägh*), for weekdays, for the major holy days, for the season of the flower, and for ↗Lent; ↗*Mäwäddəs*, for the entire year, divided according to church seasons; "M. of Rogation" (*Məʿəraf zäʾarʾəstä məhəlla*); and ↗*Kəśtätä aryam* (VelMe I, 190, 194). Between the chants one has the possibility to perform new and appropriate ↗*qəne*-poems composed by the ↗*däbtära*.

If several M. are equally available for a given occasion, the choir leader, the *märaḥi* (cp. ↗*märigeta*), decides which part is to be chanted. This is the reason why many M. manuscripts in the collection of the ↗Ethiopian Manuscript Microfilm Library do not have all the parts that a complete manuscript would have. Also the arrangement of the parts varies slightly (VelMe I, XI).

Tradition maintains that the M. is part of the *Dəggʷa* composed by Yared in Aksumite times (s. *Mäṣḥafä dəggʷa* 1966/67). The hymns themselves could, indeed, be old, as few, if any, post-↗Zagʷe saints are celebrated in M. The contents of M. are diverse and it contains elements of both Ethiopian and foreign origin. However, since we have no M. copies older than the 19th cent., M. collections must have been compiled during the Gondärine time, by the Gondärine musicians.

↗Hymns

Src.: አምስቱ፡ ጸዋትወ፡ ዜማዎች (*Amməstu ṣäwatəwä zemawočč*, 'The Five Categories of Chants'), Addis Abäba 1965 A.M. [1972/73 A.D.], 103–246; DillmLex 971f.; LesCDic 69, 327; KWKDic 711; መጽሐፈ፡ ድጓ (*Mäṣḥafä dəggʷa*, 'The Book of the *Dəggʷa*'), Addis Abäba 1959 A.M. [1966/67 A.D.]; VelMe I, II.

Lit.: HabUff 93–103, s. index; KAY KAUFMAN SHELEMAY – PETER JEFFERY, *Ethiopian Christian Liturgical Chant: an Anthology*, Madison, WI 1993–94, vol. 1, 2.

Getatchew Haile

Mega

M. is a town in the Dəre *wäräda*, Boorana zone (formerly ↗Boräna *awraǧǧa*) of Oromiyaa *kəllәl*, owing its name to a mountain nearby (for location s. Kəbrä mängəśt).

The settlement was founded as a fort by the forces of *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II in 1897, a year after he had sent an expedition to ↗Boorana as part of his plan to incorporate the south. In 1899 M. became a town (↗*kätäma*) after *fitawrari* ↗Habtä Giyorgis's forces completed the incorporation of the area. Many settlers from the highland area in the north began to move to M. and started building houses, cultivating grain and establishing trade.

M. became an important trade centre because of its location on the well-watered slopes of Mt. M. and the presence of ↗salt from nearby crater lakes. One larger salt mine was next to the town, and another to the south-west at a place called Mogado (Guida 562). In 1920 a British consulate was transferred to M. from ↗Gardula. Hodson (1927) noticed the growth of the town and the importance of its salt market. A crater on the Mars was named after this city in 1976.

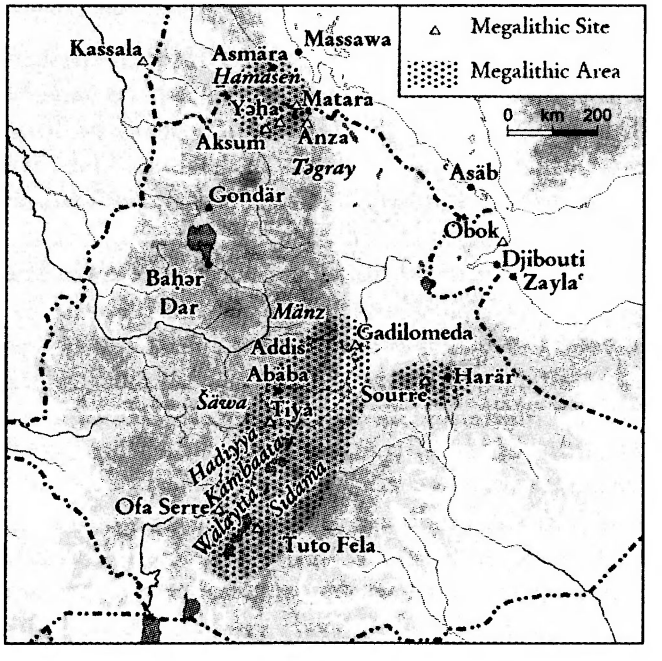
M. had 6,024 inhabitants in 2000 and 8,940 in 2004.

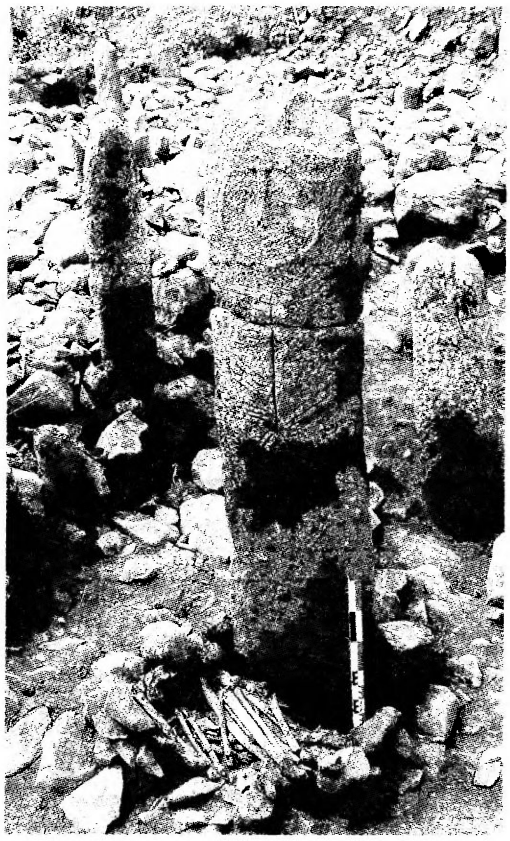
Src.: CENTRAL STATISTICAL AUTHORITY, *Ethiopia. Statistical Abstract 2004*, Addis Ababa 2004; CSA 2000; CSA 2004; ARNOLD WIENHOLT HODSON, *Seven Years in Southern Abyssinia*, Westport, CN 1927; GueCopMen, s. index; *Guida* 562f.

Mulatu Wubneh

Megalithic cultures

Megaliths are large stones used to form structures either alone or with other stones, that had a variety of purposes: as sepulchres, boundary





Megaliths in Tuto Fela, here a tomb at the foot of a stele; photo 1995, courtesy of the author

markers, reminders of past events or as astronomical devices.

Africa hosts one of the oldest megalithic sites in the world, at Nabta Playa, in the Nubian Desert (↗Nubia). In Ethiopia, besides the area in which the Aksumite civilization (↗Aksum) developed, regions south of ↗Djibouti, down to Lake ↗Turkana and the ↗Rift Valley, are also rich in megalithic monuments. These could be divided into three different types: dolmens, tumuli and standing stones.

1). Dolmens are found scattered in the mountains of ↗Harär. They number up to several hundreds, and are grouped in necropolises. Built on slopes, they are made of a stone slab not longer than 3 m, kept horizontal above ground by standing stones enclosing a space where the corpse was placed leaning to one side, arms and legs folded, hands towards his face. In some cases, the tomb also contained potsherds and obsidian items. Such monuments were erected during the 2nd millenium B.C., no evidence having been found, yet, as to the settlements of their builders.

2). In the Harär area, large stone tumuli contain a circular room, limited by upright stone slabs or dry stone walls, onto which a small side cell is grafted. The funerary room is divided into several compartments to contain skeletons, as well as pottery, daggers, iron arrowheads and pearls made of limestone, cornaline, glass, copper, bronze, silver and even gold. Known datings point to a use of these collective funerary rooms, some with access passages, between the 8th and the 12th cents. A.D. Most of these monuments are associated with fortified sites on hills, and surrounded by thick walls.

Tumuli sometimes exceeding 5 m in height and ca. 20 m in diametre are equally found in ↗Mänz. They are most similar to those in Harär, with a circular room and an access passage; and contain a great number of offerings (pottery, various pearls, metal bracelets, weapons etc.) placed next to the deceased, whose bones have now practically disappeared. Standing stones, ranging in lines, are sometimes paired with these tumuli.

3). Standing stones are widespread in Ethiopia. In the north, the most important area is Aksum; in the centre there are sites in Harär, ↗Soddo, ↗Kämbata and ↗Sidamo, and in the south at ↗Tuto Fela. The main variants and shapes are: anthropomorphical; of phallic inspiration; with sword forms; with preaching figures. For more information s. ↗Stelae.

Lit.: FRANCIS ANFRAY, "Quatre monuments du Choa: Soddo, Meskan, et Silte à l'Institut des Études Éthiopiennes de l'Université d'Addis-Abeba", *JES* 14, 1976–79, 27–56; ID., "Les stèles du Sud, Shoa et Sidamo", *AE* 12, 1982, 1–221, pl. 50; FRANÇOIS AZAÏS – ROGER CHAMBARD, *Cinq années de recherches archéologiques en Éthiopie. Province du Harar et Éthiopie méridionale*, Paris 1931; ERIC GODET – ISABELLE PIERRE, "Les stèles sculptées du Soddo (Ethiopie); Recherche sur leur symbolisme", *Hommages à Jean Leclant* 106, 2, 1993, 151–68; EIKE HABERLAND, "Megalithic Monuments in Southern Ethiopia: a Reconsideration", in: *Congrès panafricain de Préhistoire et d'études du quaternaire*, Addis-Abeba 1971, 227–28; ADOLF ELLEGARD JENSEN, *Im Lande des Gada: Wanderungen zwischen Volkstrümmern Südabessiniens*, Stuttgart 1936, 448–83; ROGER JOUSSAUME, *Le mégalithisme en Ethiopie. Monuments funéraires protohistoriques du Harar*, Addis-Abeba 1974; ID. (ed.), *Tiya – L'Ethiopie des mégalithes: du biface à l'art rupestre dans la Corne de l'Afrique*, Chauvigny 1995; ID. (ed.), *Tuto Fela et les stèles du sud de l'Ethiopie*, Paris 2007; METASEBIA BEKELE, "Notes on the Megalithic Sites of Southern Ethiopia, with Highlights on Late Paleolithic Occupation Sites", in: *PICES* 13, vol. 1, 362–75; CLAUDE TOURNEMIRE, "Découvertes des stèles monolithiques dans le pays Guragué", *AE* 19, 2003, 83–117.

Roger Joussaume

Məhəlla

M. (ምህላ, also ምሕላ, *məḥəlla*, originally *məhələla* 'supplication; rogation', from *tämahlälä*, 'supplicate') is, like the ↗*Mäwäddəs* and ↗*Kəśtätä*

aryam, one of the longest services of the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥədo) Church.

In the liturgical year, M. is prescribed on ten days called **ዕለተ፡ ምህላ** (*ʿəlätä məhəlla*, 'supplication day; rogation day'). A supplication day may fall on a Wednesday or Friday; the office is performed during the established times of the day.

The M. may be celebrated in two forms: long and complete (on three of the ten M. celebrations, called *śälästu məluʾat*) or abbreviated (for the remaining seven: *säbʿatu nətugat*). They are distinguished according to whether the psalms are recited entirely or partially. The two forms also differ in their melody (the long M. is sung in the ↗*ʿəzəl* mode, the short M. in the ↗*gəʿəz* mode).

The complete M. are:

1. the M. of ↗John the Baptist (*Məhəlla zäyoḥannəs*, or *Səbkät* according to Gondärine tradition, performed on a varying date between 28 *Näḥase* and 1 *Ṗagʷəmen*);
2. the M. of Niqodimos (*Məhəlla Niqodimos*, or *Məhəlla zähośʿəna*, 'M. of the Palm Sunday', performed on the last Friday of ↗Lent);
3. M. of the Paraclete (*Məhəlla zäpäraqliṭos*, performed on the Wednesday before Pentecost).

The abridged M. are:

a. M. of the "season of the Flowers" (*Məhəlla zäṣəgeyat*, performed on a Wednesday between 30 *Ṭəqəmt* and 4 *Ḫədar*, depending on which day *Ḫədar* begins);
b. M. of the Preaching (*Məhəlla zäsəbkät*, performed on the Friday nearest to the Advent Sunday);
c. M. of the Beginning of the Rainy Season (*Məhəlla zäbäʾatä kərämt*, performed on a Friday at the beginning of the *kərämt*, the day depending on which day the feast of St. Michael falls);
d. M. of the Cross (*Məhəlla zämäsqäl*, performed on a Friday between 18–24 *Mäskäräm*);
e. M. of the Eve of Lent (*Məhəlla zädərarä ṣom*, also called *Məhəlla zäqäbbäla ṣom*, 'M. of the encounter with Lent', performed on Wednesday before the beginning of Lent);
f. M. of the Temple (*Məhəlla zämək*ʷ*ərab*, or *Məhəlla zäśaləs*, 'M. of the third' [Sunday of Lent], performed on Friday of the same week);
g. M. of the Good Servant (*Məhəlla zägäbr ḫer* or *Məhəlla zäsadəś* [6th Sunday of Lent], performed on Wednesday of the same week).

The M. service comprises three main hours of the third, sixth and ninth hours, and is characterized by sobriety and simplicity. The major bulk of M. is composed of psalms (sung entirely or partially; ↗Psalter). The other elements include canticles, ↗*Dəggʷa* hymns, antiphons such as ↗*Səbḥatä nägh*, *Əsmä läʿaläm*, *Abun*, *Mästäbqʷəʿ*, prayers, thanksgivings (*burake*) attributed to St. ↗Yared, readings from the Old and the New Testaments (the ↗*Məʿəraf* gives their beginning and ending), ↗*Sənkəssar*, ↗*Wəddase Maryam*, ↗*Anqäṣä bərhan*, etc. M. ↗hymns and antiphons use typical words like **ተማህለሉ** (*tämahalälu* 'supplicate', 'beseech'), **ጸልዩ** (*säl-ləyu*, 'pray'), **ሰኣሉ** (*säʾalu*, 'ask') etc.

The ancient elements present in M. suggest that it may derive from a stational liturgy (a solemn procession, where at every *məʿəraf*, or 'station', psalms would be chanted or recited), and was originally celebrated in fixed places, shrines or churches, with the participation of both clergy and congregation.

The term M. is also used for popular prayers performed by the people without the institutional Church (e.g., by inhabitants of several villages that have become a victim of calamities, epidemics, wars, drought, famine, etc. who gather to supplicate God).

Src.: **አምስቱ፡ ጽዋትወ፡ ዜማዎች** (*Amməstu səwatəwä zemawočč*, 'The Five Categories of Chants'), Addis Abäba 1972 A.M. [1979/80 A.D.], 219[c]–44; BaetDic 120; DillmLex 155; EMML nos. 71, 1137; GuiVoc 49; KWKDic 583; LesCDic 334ff.; PerrZarY 168; TÄSFA GÄBRÄ SƎLLASE (ed.), **ምዕራፍ፡ ዘደረሰ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ያሬድ፡ ኢትዮጵያዊ** (*Məʿəraf zädäräsä qəddus Yared ityopyawi*, 'The *Məʿəraf* Composed by Saint Yared the Ethiopian'), Addis Abäba 1976 A.M. [1983/84 A.D.], 174–97, 209–11; VelMe I, 358–92, II, 35ff., 297, 338, 432, 467, 577–622, s. index.
Lit.: HabUff 286–303 (Lit.).

Habtemichael Kidane

Məhərkä Dəngəl

Abba M.D. (**ምህርከ፡ ድንግል**, in Jesuit sources Marcâ, b. ca. 1540, d. after 1633) was a court priest and chronicler. As a child, he was educated at ↗Däbrä Libanos (BecRASO II, 607). Later, he served in several important positions at the royal court. *Liq* M.D. was the confessor of Mäläk Mogäsa, wife of ↗Śärṣä Dəngəl (Paez in BecRASO III, 288). He was also a teacher of *aṣe* ↗Susənyos (PerChron 55ff.; BecRASO VI, 277, 279; VII, 445; XI, 146) who appointed M.D. *qes ḫaṣe*, i.e. the Emperor's confessor (cp. ↗*näfs abbat*; BecRASO II, 129).

M.D.'s most important contribution was his composition of the first part of the chronicle of Susənyos's reign (s. PerChron); he wrote the first 22 chapters covering the Emperor's early years until his coronation. By 1612 another chronicler, Ṭinno (or ↗Täklä Śəllase), seems to have succeeded M.D. in the task. Viewed by the ↗Jesuits as one of the most learned persons in the empire (s. letter by Azevedo, BecRASO XI, 146, cp. Almeida in BecRASO VII, 445), M.D.

was a follower of the ↗*Hulätt ləḏät* doctrine (BecRASO III, 288), and an early supporter of the missionaries. He defended them during their early years of mission and participated in the religious controversies of 1613–14 (BecRASO II, 363, 376f.). He was also among the informants used by Pedro ↗Paez to compile the *História da Etiópia* (BecRASO II, XXXV).

When the Orthodox faith was restored under *aṣe* ↗Fasilädäs, ca. 1633, M.D. seems to have been sent into exile to the borders of the empire, "close to the Kaffirs" i.e. "pagans" (BecRASO VII, 445).

Src.: BecRASO II, XXXV, 129, 363, 376f., 607; III, 288; VI, 277, 279; VII, 65, 445; XI, 146; PerChron 55ff. [tr.].

Dimitri Toubkis

Məlat Habte

Aläqa M.H. (ምላት፡ ሀብቴ, b. Zena Marqos ↗Däbrä Bəsrat, ↗Morät, fl. second half of 19th cent.) was a church scholar and mediator. According to a tradition, seven cows, seven sheep and seven goats were born on the night preceding the day of his birth, hence the name (*məlat*, 'fullness, abundance'). Educated at ↗Ankobär under *aläqa* Wäldä Ḫanna, he became a teacher of ↗*qəne*, O.T., N.T. and ↗*Fəṭḥa nägäśt*. When *nəguś* ↗Śahlä Śəllase expelled those embracing the ↗*Hulätt ləḏät* theological doctrine from his realm, M.H., one of its proponents, returned to Zena Marqos. However, Śahlä Śəllase regretted his decree and granted M.H. a ↗*madäriya* at Ǝndode (Admasu Gämbäre 1963:213). During the reign of *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II, M.H. was appointed to the church of Qəddus Mikaʾel in Ankobär and stayed there for the rest of his life (AmhChurchD vol. 1, 512). His church flourished there for over 40 years.

Mənilək II's mother, Ǝgǧəgayyähu, was once a maidservant of M.H. Reportedly, in a dream, she saw the sun coming out of her womb. She related it to M.H., a great believer in the message of dreams, who saw in it a sign that she had to abandon her life as a servant. Thereafter, the maid would have ascended to the court of Śahlä Śəllase at Ankobär (Mängəśtu Lämma 1959:23). Her union with one of his sons, ↗Ḫaylä Mäläkot, led to the birth of Mənilək.

In 1878, M.H. led a delegation of clergy and nobility, at the request of Mənilək, to a temporary court of *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV at Wädära, north-west of ↗Däbrä Sina, Šäwa, and, in a joint effort with representatives of Yoḥannəs, worked out terms of reconciliation. The contending parties met and were reconciled at ↗Ǧiǧiga on 26 March 1878 (Ṗawlos Ñoño 1991/92:57; cp., however, ZewYohan 93).

Src.: ADMASU ǦÄMBÄRE (ed.), መጽሐፈ፡ ቅኔ (ዝክረ፡ ሊቃውንት) (*Mäṣḥafä qəne* [*zəkrä liqawənt*], 'The Book of *Qəne* – the Memory of the Scholars'), Addis Abäba 1963 A.M [1970/71 A.D.], 213; GueCopMen 142; LUIGI FUSELLA, "Le Biografie del Blātengētā Ḫeruy Wålda Sellāsē", *RSE* 30, 1984–86 [1987], 15–52, here 28; MÄNGƎŠTU LÄMMA, መጽሐፈ፡ ትዝታ፡ ዘአለቃ፡ ለማ፡ ኃይሉ፡ ወልደ፡ ታሪክ (*Mäṣḥafä təzzəta zäʾaläqa Lämma Ḫaylu Wäldä Tarik*, 'The Book of Reminiscences of *aläqa* Lämma Ḫaylu Wäldä Tarik'), Addis Abäba 1959 A.M. [1966/67 A.D.], 7ff., 23, 116–24; ṖAWLOS ÑOÑO, ዳግማዊ፡ ዐፄ፡ ምኒልክ (*Dagmawiʿaṣe Mənilək*, '*Aṣe* Mənilək the Second'), Addis Abäba 1984 A.M. [1991/92 A.D.], 57.

Lit.: AmhChurchD vol. 1, 511ff. [230ff.]; BTafA 949; ROGER COWLEY, "Mämhər Esdros and his Interpretations", in: *PICES* 6, 41–69, here 57; TÄKLÄ ṢADƎQ MÄKᵛƎRIYA, ዐፄ፡ ዮሐንስና፡ የኢትዮጵያ፡ አንድነት (*ʿAṣe Yoḥannəsənna yäʾityopya andənnät*, '*Aṣe* Yoḥannəs and Ethiopian Unity'), Addis Abäba 1982 A.M. [1981/82 A.D.], 171–81; ZewYohan 93.

Ezra Gebremedhin

Melchizedek

M. (Gəʿəz: መልከ፡ ጼዴቅ, Mälkä Ṣedeq) is a biblical character who appears in both the O.T. and N.T. The short episode of M. (Gen 14:18-20), "king of Salem" (later interpreted as "king of peace" or as "king of Jerusalem") and "priest of God Most High", who offers wine and bread to Abraham on his way back from a victorious campaign, and receives a tithe of all produce, seems destined to assert the primacy of priesthood over secular authorities (a centuries-long process culminating in Hellenistic age with the supremacy of the priests), by affirming that the priest-kings of God had existed in Jerusalem before Abraham's arrival. In Ps 110:4 (probably an exhaltation of Simon Maccabaeus, mid-2nd cent. B.C.), M. loses any historical relevance and becomes the model of the ideal priest-king of Jerusalem (cp. Astour 1992). Also a character in Hebrew Qumranic writings (cp. Haelewyck 1998, no. 94: *Apocryphon Melchisedech* [11Q13]), M. plays a central role in the N.T. Epistle to the Hebrews, where the author intends to overcome the idea of an exclusively levitical priesthood in a Christian perspective, by developing a special exegesis of the O.T. passages on M. (Heb 4:14–5:10; 6:20–7:25). M. "the eternal priest" (Ps 110:4), with no father, mother, genealogy, is superior to the levitical priests: Abraham paid a tithe to M. and was blessed by him (Gen 14:18–20), and therefore Abraham and his

descendants, Levites included, are inferior to him. The Epistle to the Hebrews therefore assimilates M. to the Son of God, who although not of levitical descent, is the new heavenly priest of God: the exemplary character of M. demonstrates that the new law is going to be established.

The notion of M. as eternal priest, strictly assimilated to the Son of God, is at the root of various opinions and discussions concerning this enigmatic figure in the Early Church, and also in Gnostic circles, as attested by the Coptic treatise on M. in the Nag Hammadi Codex IX, 1 (cp. Haelewyck 1998, no. 96). A Greek *Story of Melchizedek* (*CPG* no. 2252, spuriously attributed to Athanasius in a minority of Greek and Arabic mss.), is attested in a Gəᶜəz version (probably from Arabic, cp. Cowley 1988:25), as well as in Coptic, Syriac, Arabic, Armenian and Georgian (cp. Haelewyck 1998, no. 95: *Historia de Melchisedech*). The story is probably a Christian rearrangement of two Jewish apocryphal writings of different ages: a midrashic legend dating to the 2nd/3rd cent., and an episode reinterpreted to combat the claims of the heterodox "Melchizedekians", dating to 4th/5th cent. (cp. Robinson 1987). It tells how M., one of the two sons of Melchi, acknowledged the existence of the "god of gods", refused to sacrifice to the idols and took refuge on Mount Tabor leaving the city of Salem, that was swallowed up by the earth. M. remained there seven years, living like a nazirite, or a wild man ("naked as from his mother's womb, and his fingernails became overgrown, and the hair on his head hung down to his loins, and his back became like the shell of a tortoise"), as he is sometimes represented in art. The second part is centred on Abraham: by divine command, the patriarch ascends Mount Tabor and meets M., calling him "Man of God", shaves him, trims his nails and receives his blessing. From then onwards, M. remains a priest continually: he is "without father, without mother, without genealogy" because "no one of the family of M. is left on the earth". Giving Abraham and 318 men with him a cup of wine and some bread, "he was made like the son of God, but not in grace". Reports of Palestinian pilgrims on churches and shrines of M., as well as the weighty transmission of the *Story of Melchizedek* itself, provide testimony that the tradition was not forgotten as late as the 12th cent. (ibid. 38). The Ethiopic version (unpublished: critical edition announced by Piovanelli 1993:214; Haelewyck 1998, no. 95) is transmitted in three mss.: BN d'Abbadie 156, 18th cent., fols. 131r–132r; d'Abbadie 94, 15th cent. (according to CRAbb, no. 170) or 16th cent. (ChAbb), fols. 34r–41v; Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Peterm. II Nachtr. 40, fols. 79r–85v, 18th cent. As atteted by Coptic liturgical texts, the treatise has also been used, although to a quite different extent, in some manuscripts of the Ethiopic anaphora of Gregory of Nyssa (first recension, cp. Euringer 1943a; Cowley 1988:25; ↗Anaphoras).

Two homilies attributed to ↗Cyril of Alexandria and one short treatise are preserved in the theological collection ↗*Qerəllos*. They were certainly translations from the Greek: the original is lost and the Ethiopic version is the only existing one. These three texts have been published and translated from *Qerəllos* manuscripts: the first and second homilies of Cyril by DillmChrAeth 88–93, 93–98 (ed.), Euringer (1943b:114–22, 122–27, tr.) and Weischer (1980:82–97, 98–117 [critical ed., tr.]); the short treatise on M. by Weischer (1969:142f., 152f. [critical ed., tr.]; ancient fragments from ms. Erevan, Matenadaran 947, of the second homily of Cyril have also been published and translated, ibid. 130–37).

Ms. BN d'Abbadie 94, a miscellaneous codex, contains a special "M.-dossier", respectively: (1) fols. 34ra–41rb, the *Story of Melchizedek*; (2) fols. 41va–47rb, and (3) fols. 47rb–53rb, first and second homilies by Cyril from the *Qerəllos*; (4) fols. 53rb–55rb, a homily attributed in the ms. to ↗Rətuᶜa Haymanot, 'the Orthodox', but really, again, the short treatise on M. from the *Qerəllos*. A detailed codicological analysis (cp. Fiaccadori 1997:45f.; note that the lines of fols. 2–32, 34–55 vary from 19 to 24) has suggested the 14th cent. as the date for the quires of fols. 56–63, containing the homily on the archangel Afnin (*Dərsanä Afnin*) and thus irrelevant for M.-related texts. A more recent date has been proposed for the quires of fols. 2–32, 34–55: fols. 2ra–20vb contain the Vita of Abunafər (*Gädlä Abunafər*) and fols. 22ra–32rb, the Vita of ↗Kiros (*Gädlä Kiros*). Moreover, the hagiographical texts were most probably written by a hand different from that of the M.-dossier, which is, in turn, a homogeneous and originally autonomous group of quires reserved for texts on M. If this is true, three different groups of quires (hagiographical texts, M.-dossier, homily on the archangel Afnin) were each copied in different times by different hands and later bound together in ms. BN d'Abbadie 94.

Apart from the references in liturgical and prayer collections, the destiny of M. in Ethio-

pian Christian tradition may be appreciated by its prominence in the *andəmta*-corpus (cp. the exhaustive examination by Cowley 1988:25–30). Here, two sources are most influential: "Mark" (not identified by Cowley, but certainly Mark the Hermit [d. 430], author of a Greek treatise against the "Melchizedekians", cp. Bardy 1927:35ff.), and the *Story of M.* Also a model of priesthood in pseudo-apostolical literature (for the *Sinodos*, cp. BauSen 64, 106, § 61 [text], 31, 47 [tr.]), M. is celebrated in the *Sənkəssar* on 3 *Ṗägʷəmen* (GuiSyn III, 451; BudSaint 1277f.; also 6 *Miyazya*, ibid. 791): son of Qaynan and Sem, besides the biblical episode of Gen 14:18–20, he is especially credited with having laid, together with Sem, the body of Adam in the middle of the Earth, at the place called Qəranyo, 'Calvary', where the Savior of the world would be sacrificed, thus redeeming Adam with his blood (a topic consecrated in the "Legend of the True Cross" [↗ *Mäsqäl: Legend of the Wood of the Cross*]). This tale is derived both from the *Gädlä Addam wäḤewa* ('Vita of Adam and Eve', cp. Trumpp 1880:126f.), and from other sources, esp. the ↗ *Qälemənṭos* (in turn incorporating the Syriac *Cave of Treasures*, cp. Ri 2000:263-89), in which M. "son of Faleq" takes care of the corpse of Adam, while the former's priesthood is strictly linked with this charge (cp. Grébaut 1912:23ff.); in another passage (ibid. 135f.), his mortal nature is strongly emphasized against those who denied it, on the basis of Ps 110:4 ("The Lord hath sworn, and will not repent: Thou art a priest for ever after the order of M."). Also ↗ *Abušakər*, the "Chronography" of ↗ Giyorgis Wäldä ᶜAmid and the "Chronicle" of ↗ John of Nikiou (to be compared with similar Byzantine sources, cp. Bardy 1927:43) mention traditions about M. (cp. Cowley 1988:27ff.).

Src.: AbbCat nos. 94, 156; BauSen 64, 106, § 61 [text], 31, 47 [tr.]; BudSaint 719, 1277f.; ChAbb nos. 94, 156; CRAbb no. 170; DillmBerl no. 70; DillmChrAeth xii f., 88–98 (ed.); SEBASTIAN[O] EURINGER, "Un frammento di Midrasch di Melchisedech nella liturgia dell'Osanna etiopica", *RSE* 3, 1943a, 50–60; ID., "Übersetzung der Homilien des Cyrillus von Alexandrien, des Severus von Synnada und des Theodotus von Ancyra in Dillmanns 'Chrestomathia Aethiopica'", *Orientalia* nova ser. 12, 1943b, 113–34, here 114–27 (tr.); SYLVAIN GRÉBAUT, "Littérature éthiopienne pseudo-clémentine. III. – Traduction du Qalêmentos", *ROC* 2ème sér., 7, 1912, 16–31, 133–44, here 23ff., 135f.; GuiSyn III, 451; ERNST TRUMPP (ed.), ገድለ፡ አዳም, *Der Kampf Adams (gegen die Versuchungen des Satans), oder: Das christliche Adambuch des Morgenlandes, Aethiopischer Text, verglichen mit dem arabischen Originaltext*, München 1880 (Abhandlungen der königlich bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften I. 15, 3); BERND MANUEL WEISCHER, "Die äthiopischen Psalmen- und Qērlosfragmente in Erevan/Armenien", *OrChr* 53, 1969, 113–58, here 130–37, 142f., 152f. (ed., tr.); ID. (ed., tr.), *Qērellos IV 3: Traktate des Severianos von Gabala, Gregorios Thaumaturgos und Kyrillos von Alexandrien*, Wiesbaden 1980 (AeF 7), 82–117; ዝማሬ፡ ወመዋሥእት (*Zəmmare wämäwaśəʾət*), Addis Abäba 1986 A.M. [1993/94 A.D.], part 2 (*Mäwaśəʿət*), 57.

Lit.: MICHAEL C. ASTOUR, "Melchizedek (person)", in: D.N. FREEDMAN (ed.), *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*, New York 1992, *s.v.* (Lit.); GUSTAVE BARDY, "Melchisédech dans la tradition patristique", *Revue biblique* 35, 1926, 496–509, and 36, 1927, 25–45; ROGER W. COWLEY, *Ethiopian Biblical Interpretation. A Study in Exegetical Tradition and Hermeneutics*, Cambridge 1988 (University of Cambridge Oriental Publications 38), 25–30 (Lit.); *CPG* II, no. 2252; GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, "Ripristino dell'omelia etiopica sull'arcangelo Afnin", in: DELIO VANIA PROVERBIO (ed.), *Scritti in memoria di Emilio Teza*, Venezia 1998 (= Miscellanea Marciana 12, 1997), 45–51; GrafLit vol. 1, 204 f.; JEAN-CLAUDE HAELEWYCK, *Clavis Apocryphorum Veteris Testamenti*, Turnhout 1998 (Corpus Christianorum), nos. 93–97 (Lit.); BERNARD MARC, "L'exaltation de Melchisédech dans la littérature juive, chrétienne et gnostique", *Cahiers Évangile*, Supplément 136, 2006, 28–38; PIERLUIGI PIOVANELLI, "Un nouveau témoin éthiopien de l'*Ascension d'Isaïe* et de la *Vie de Jérémie* (Paris, BN Abb. 195)", *Henoch* 12, 1990, 347–63, here 362f.; ID., "Les aventures des Apocryphes en Éthiopie", *Apocrypha* 4, 1993, 197–224, here 214; ANDREAS SU-MIN RI, *Commentaire de la Caverne des Trésors. Étude sur l'histoire du texte et de ses sources*, Lovanii 2000 (CSCO 581 [Subsidia 103]), here 263-89 (ch. V, "Melkisédeq et le Golgotha"); STEPHEN E. ROBINSON, "The Apocryphal Story of Melchisedech", *Journal for the Study of Judaism* 18, 1987, 26–39.

Alessandro Bausi

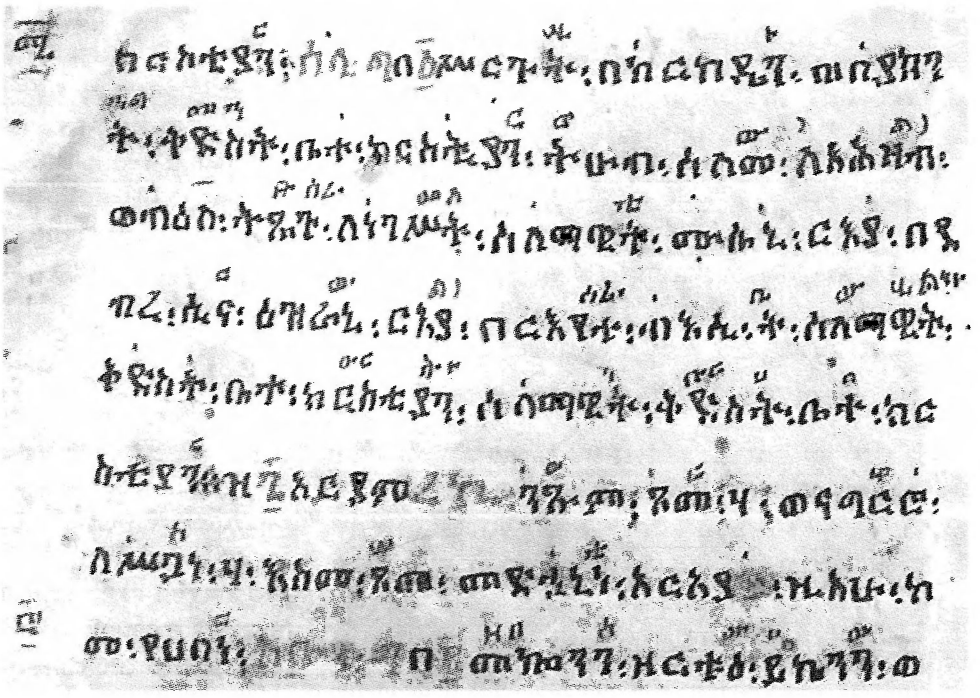
Məlәkkət

M. (ምልክት, 'sign') is used in a general sense to refer to the system of writing music employed by musicians of the Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥədo) Church (↗ *Däbtära*), which is the only indigenous system of musical notation in Africa. More specifically, M. refers to the largest category of four types of signs used within the Ethiopian Christian notational system. This system is categorized as an interlinear system because it is inscribed between the lines of Gəᶜəz liturgical texts in manuscripts. The signs do not depict the melodies in any visual way; rather, they provide a mnemonic device for recalling all the chants of the ↗ *Dəggʷa*, i.e. the non-monastic or "cathedral office" of the annual church cycle. Each of the more than 650 M. comprises one or more characters of the Ethiopian syllabary.

The other three types of signs include (a) what is called "shape(s) of the *fidäl*" (የፊደል፡ ቅርጽ, *yäfidäl qərṣ*): a dozen conventional signs not derived from the syllabary that help the singer apply the M. to the liturgical texts; (b) the "house(s)" (ቤት, *bet*): more than 100 marginal signs that classify close-

ly related groupings or "houses" of melodies; and (c) the halleluya-numbers, which dictate the number of repetitions of the word "halleluya" (cp. ↗*Ḫaletat*) at the beginning of certain antiphons.

Each M. represents a short segment of liturgical melody and is constructed from an abbreviated form of a word or phrase (called ሰረዪ, *sәräy*) drawn from the text of a well-known Gəᶜəz portion with which the melody is sung and with which it has become primarily associated. To read the notation, therefore, the singer must retain in his memory knowledge of all the notational signs as well as the melodies of the liturgical portions from which they derive.



Text with musical notations in a ms. of *wazema*, ca. late 18th cent., from Däbrä Mänkʷal, Šire, Təgray; from the collection of W. K. Smidt senior

The M. are further subdivided into three categories, each corresponding to and representing melodies from one of the three Church modes, ↗*gəᶜəz*, ↗*araray*, or ↗*ᶜəzəl*, respectively. M. for the *gəᶜəz* mode are the most numerous, totalling approximately 287, while those of the *ᶜəzəl* mode number well under 150 signs, with *araray* signs making up the balance.

Although St. ↗Yared is, in both written and oral traditions, credited with having invented the M. (DillmChr 34ff.; Shelemay – Jeffery 1993:4, 13), other sources mention two 16th-cent. Church cantors (*azzaž* Gera and *azzaž* Raguᵓel) who are said to have codified the notational system in the period following the Muslim invasion between 1529 and 1541 (BassÉt I, 336; EMML VI, 42 [no. 2045]; Conti Rossini 1925:515f.). The study of dated chant manuscripts establishes that the M. begins to appear in early 16th-cent. manuscripts (EMML X, 248ff. [no. 4667], cited in Shelemay – Jeffery 1993:4).

A *däbtära* in training begins to learn the notational system when he enters the special school for liturgical music (termed ↗*zema bet*; cp. ↗*Zema*). He acquires the liturgy as an oral tradition at night, singing entire liturgical portions segmented into a series of short melodies, and he subsequently acquires their notational equivalents in written studies during daytime hours.

Each modern *däbtära* is still required during his apprenticeship to copy his own notated liturgical manuscripts. Notated manuscripts are primarily used as a memory aide during study and are almost never consulted during liturgical performances. There are historical, regional and individual differences in the transmission and performance of both the written M. and the oral performance of the melodies that the signs represent (Shelemay – Jeffery 1994:3–9). During the last decades of the 20th cent., teachers of chant at urban institutions such as the ↗Theological College in Addis Abäba, began to draw up written lists of all M. for their students.

↗Hymns; ↗Qəddase

Src.: BassÉt I, 336 (text) = II, 109 (tr.); DillmChr 34ff.; EMML VI, 42, X, 248ff. [nos. 2045, 4667]; KaneDic 28, 399, 742, 788, 1700, 1750, 1840, 2211.

Lit.: ASHENAFI KEBEDE, "Die Geistliche Musik der orthodoxen Kirche Äthiopiens", in: INTERNATIONALES INSTITUT FÜR VERGLEICHENDE MUSIKSTUDIEN UND DOKUMENTATION (ed.), *Äthiopien, Musik der koptischen Kirche*, Berlin 1969, 3–14 (ill.); CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Aethiopica (IIª serie)", *RSO* 10, 1925, 481–520, here 515f. [§ 45: "Sul Degguā"]; KAY KAUFMAN SHELEMAY – PETER JEFFERY (eds.), *Ethiopian Christian Liturgical Chant: an Anthology*, 3 vols., 1993, 1994, 1997, vol. 1, 4, 13 (Lit.); TITO LEPISA, "The Three Modes and the Signs of the Songs in the Ethiopian Liturgy", in: *PICES* 3, vol. 2, 162–87; VelMe II, 97–111; EGON WELLESZ, "Studien zur äthiopischen Kirchenmusik", *OrChr* 17, 1920, 74–106.

Kay Kaufman Shelemay

Məlṭan

The Gəᶜəz term M. (ምልጣን) designates the way of executing the *angärgari*, an antiphon taken from the ↗*Dəggʷa* or from the ↗*Məᶜəraf*. The term derives from the verb **läṭṭänä* (ለጠነ, 'to glorify, recite, sing'; having its origin in Greek λιτανεία) and was originally used to designate the alternating singing of the choir leader, *märi*, and the people, *tämari*, as they were directed during the lesson or during the prayer at the church. It now has the meaning "praying insistently" (KWKDic 565a; LesCDic 346b).

M. also indicates the last part of a ↗hymn or antiphon that must be repeated alternatively between two choirs in a way and with a melody different from its *ənnat* (lit. 'mother'), i.e. the whole hymn or antiphon.

The M. can be compared with the Greek terms ἀκροτελεύτιον ('final') or τροπάριον ('refrain'). Some *Dəggʷa* elements, which could be either intercalated with a psalm or/and canticle or sung at the end of each biblical composition, use M. These elements are: *Mäzmur*, ↗*Əgziᵓabəḥer nägśä*, *Yətbaräk*, *Sälam*, *Əsmä läᶜaläm*, *Zäᵓamlakəyä*, ↗*Arbaᶜət*, ↗*Maḫlet*, ↗*Səbḥatä nägh*, ↗*Aryam* (cp. ms. EMML 2936, fols. 3r–96). A few of them are employed separately as a liturgical chant.

The M. or the last part of a *Dəggʷa* antiphon becomes *həyyäntä qəne* (lit. 'instead of ↗*qəne*') in the liturgy for the feasts that do not prescribe the composition of a *qəne*.

Src.: EMML no. 2936, fols. 3r–96; KWKDic 565a; LesCDic 320b, 346b; አምስቱ፡ ጸዋትዎ፡ ዜማዎች (*Amməstu ṣäwatəwä zemawočč*, 'The Five Categories of Chants'), Addis Abäba 1972 A.M. [1979/80 A.D.].

Lit.: HabTent 115f.; HabUff 115, 177–84, 277, 361; BERNARD VELAT, *Exécution liturgique de l'Office divin éthiopien*, Paris ms. n.d.; VelMe I, 680, n. 2, s. index; VelMaw.

Habtemichael Kidane

Menas

M. (Eth. ሚናስ, Minas) was a saint and martyr venerated in Byzantium and all over the Christian Orient, especially in ↗Egypt. He was supposedly martyred during Diocletian's persecution of the Christians in Kotyaion in Phrygia. Around his shrine, built at Karm Abū Mīnā (43 km south-west of Alexandria) in the vicinity of a well famous for miraculous healings, a large pilgrimage complex arrose. M.'s Vita is preserved in Greek, Latin and in several languages of the Christian Orient: Syriac, Armenian, Coptic, Gəᶜəz and Old Nubian.

A short account of M.'s life is found in the Ethiopic ↗*Sənkəssar*; the Vita is included in the ↗*Gädlä sämaᶜətat* collection (cp. Bausi 2002:9 n. 29). According to his hagiography, M.'s parents originated from the Egyptian district of Qeṭwa (ancient Kotyaion, the capital of Phrygia mistakenly transformed into an Egyptian city), but his father was appointed governor in Abraqya (= Phrygia) or Afrakya (= Africa). The nobleman's barren wife gave birth to a son through the intercession of St. Mary and called him M., allegedly because, when praying to Mary, she heard her uttering the word "Amen". M.'s parents died when he was still a teenager, whereupon, at the age of 15, he became a soldier. When an imperial decree to pay homage to the gods was proclaimed, M. left the service and stayed in the desert where he had a vision of martyrs receiving the crown of ↗martyrdom. He returned to the city, avowed his Christianity and refused to venerate the pagan idols. He was seized, tortured in many ways and eventually decapitated on 15 *Ḫədar* [= 11 November], which is also the day of his commemoration. His body was thrown into fire but was saved by his Christian military companions. While being transported to Egypt, M.'s body saved the ship from sea monsters. In Egypt, the presence of the body helped to defeat the enemies in a battle in the vicinity of Lake Mareotis. It was also the place where the relics were eventually buried according to the saint's wish, revealed by a miracle: when the soldiers were ready for the departure to Phrygia, the camels carrying the body of M. refused to move. A church was built there in the name of the saint, and later a city, founded by the emperor Zeno.

To some Ethiopian manuscripts of the Vita a series of posthumous miracles is appended (e.g., mss. Paris BN d'Abbadie 92, 15th or 16th cent., Éth 57 [ZotBNat 135], 17th cent., London, BritLib Orient. 691, 15th cent.). The Ethiopian set of miracles, most of which were translated into Gəᶜəz from Greek via Arabic, is the most complete collection of the miracles of the saint (19, as compared to 17 in Coptic, and 11 Greek, s. Devos in PICES 1).

In Ethiopic there is also a *Homily* (↗*Dərsan*) *for the commemoration of the Egyptian martyr Menas*, composed by a certain *liqä papṗasat* Dəratəyos (ድራትዮስ = Dorotheos?), extant in ms. EMML 1763 (fols. 57v–60r) which was written in 1336/37 or 1339/40.

M. seems to have been a popular saint in Ethiopia, to which both his frequent representations

in art as well as the name of the 16th-cent. emperor (↗Minas), named after him, testify.

Src.: Vita: Gəᶜəz: ERNEST ALFRED THOMPSON WALLIS BUDGE (ed., tr.), *Texts relating to Saint Mêna of Egypt and Canons of Nicaea in a Nubian Dialect: with Facsimile*, London 1909, 59–73; MARIUS CHAÎNE (tr.), "La vie de Saint Ménas dans la littérature copte et éthiopienne", in: CARL MARIA KAUFMANN (ed.), *Zur Ikonographie der Menas-Ampullen: Mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Funde in der Menasstadt nebst einem einführenden Kapitel über die neuentdeckten nubischen und aethiopischen Menastexte*, Kairo 1910 (Veröffentlichungen der Frankfurter Menasexpedition, 5), 31–45; KARL MARIA KAUFMANN (tr.), *Die Menasstadt und das Nationalheiligtum der altchristlichen Aegypter in Westalexandrinischer Wüste: Ausgrabungen der Frankfurter Expedition am Karm Abu Mina 1905–1907*, vol. 1, Leipzig 1910 (Veröffentlichungen der Frankfurter Menasexpedition 5), 30–40. Miracles: PAUL DEVOS (ed., tr.), "Un récit des miracles de S. Ménas en copte et en éthiopien", *AnBoll* 77, 1959, 452–63; *ibid.* 78, 1960, 154–60; ID. (ed., tr.), "Le juif et le chrétien: un miracle de Saint Ménas", *ibid.* 78, 1960, 275–308; ColSyn VIII, 308–13; BudSaint 246–49.

Lit.: ALESSANDRO BAUSI, *La versione etiopica degli* Acta Phileae *nel* Gadla samā'tāt, Napoli 2002 (Annali IUO, Supplemento 92), 9 n. 29; GrafLit I, 510–11; DE LACY O'LEARY, *The Saints of Egypt: an Alphabetical Compendium of Martyrs, Patriarchs and Sainted Ascetes in the Coptic Calendar, commemorated in the Jacobite Synaxarium* ..., London 1937 [repr. Amsterdam 1974], 194ff.; HIPPOLYTE DELEHAYE, "L'invention des reliques de saint Ménas à Constantinople", *AnBoll* 29, 1910, 117–50; PAUL DEVOS, "Les miracles de Saint Ménas en éthiopien", in: *PICES* 1, 335–43; FELICITAS JARITZ, *Die arabischen Quellen zum heiligen Menas*, Heidelberg 1993 (Abhandlungen des Deutschen archäologischen Insituts in Kairo, Islamische Reihe 7); MARTIN KRAUSE, "Karm Abu Mena", in: KLAUS WESSEL – MARCELL RESTLE (eds.), *Reallexikon zur byzantinischen Kunst*, vol. 3, Stuttgart 1978, 1116–58; JOSEPH-MARIE SAUGET – MARIA CHIARA CELLETTI, "Menna (Menas)", in: *EncSan* vol. 9, 1967, coll. 324–43.

Witold Witakowski

Menas in art

M. appears relatively often in the repertory of Ethiopian art, particularly after 1800. However, the iconography of the saint never follows the Coptic formula – widely spread in the Christian world through the production of holy water flasks for the pilgrims at his shrine at Abū Mīnā – that, in connection with one of M.'s miracles, represents him as an orant flanked by two kneeling camels. Ethiopian artists followed a different tradition which portrayed M. as a young man armed with a lance and riding a horse. Unlike other Ethiopian ↗equestrian saints, M. is rarely involved in a struggle with a figure incorporating an evil force. If such a figure appears at the foot of his horse, it is called *arämi*, the 'pagan'. All these iconographical elements refer to M.'s noble origin, his profession as a soldier and his denial of pagan cults.

St. Menas; wall-painting, 17th cent., old church of Maryam Dəngəlat, Ḥaramat, Təgray; photo 2004, courtesy of Michael Gervers

M. is probably one of the four horsemen depicted on the 12th cent. murals in the ↗Yəmrəḥannä Krəstos church, strongly influenced by contemporary Coptic paintings. Like his companions, M. receives the martyr's crown from the hand of God but is distinguished by two resting camels visible between the legs of his light brown horse. This early picture seems to be an isolated case, because it is only in the 17th cent. that more depictions of the saint appear in the works of the so-called First Gondär school of ↗painting. For instance in the ↗*sənsul* IES no. 3554 the saint armed with a lance is represented on a blue-grey staggering horse, along with eleven other equestrian saints. In the murals of the abandoned church ↗Maryam Dəngəlat he is depicted side by side with Märqorewos. M. is very often included in the large suite of the holy riders belonging to the extensive iconographical cycle designed in the 18th cent. for the walls of the ↗*mäqdäs*. Since this type of church decoration was largely employed during the 19th and 20th cent., his mounted figure can be seen in many recently painted murals.

Lit.: AfrZion 244, fig. p. 210; EWA BALICKA-WITAKOWSKA – MICHAEL GERVERS, "The Church of Yəmrəḥannä Krəstos and its Wall Paintings: a Preliminary Report", *Africana Bulletin* 49, 2001, 9–47, here 39, fig. 13; MARIO DI SALVO, *Churches of Ethiopia: the Monastery of Nārgā Śellāsē*, Milano 1999, 203, fig. 144, 203; MICHAEL GERVERS, "The Rock-Cut Church of Maryam Dəngəlat (Ḥaramat, Təgray)", in: *PICES* 15, 435–45, here 440, 444; OTTO JÄGER – IVY PEARCE, *Antiquities of Northern Ethiopia*, Stuttgart ²1974, 50–55; CARL MARIA KAUFMANN (ed.), *Zur Ikonographie der Menas-Ampullen: Mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Funde in der Menasstadt nebst einem einführenden Kapitel über die neuentdeckten nubischen und aethiopischen Menastexte*, Kairo 1910 (Veröffentlichungen der Frankfurter Menasexpedition 5); OSVALDO RAINIERI, with a preface by STANISŁAW CHOJNACKI, *Warrior Saints on Horseback. Ethiopian Paintings: Paintings by Qēs Adamu Tesfaw*, Clusone (Bg) 1996, 104–08.

Ewa Balicka-Witakowska

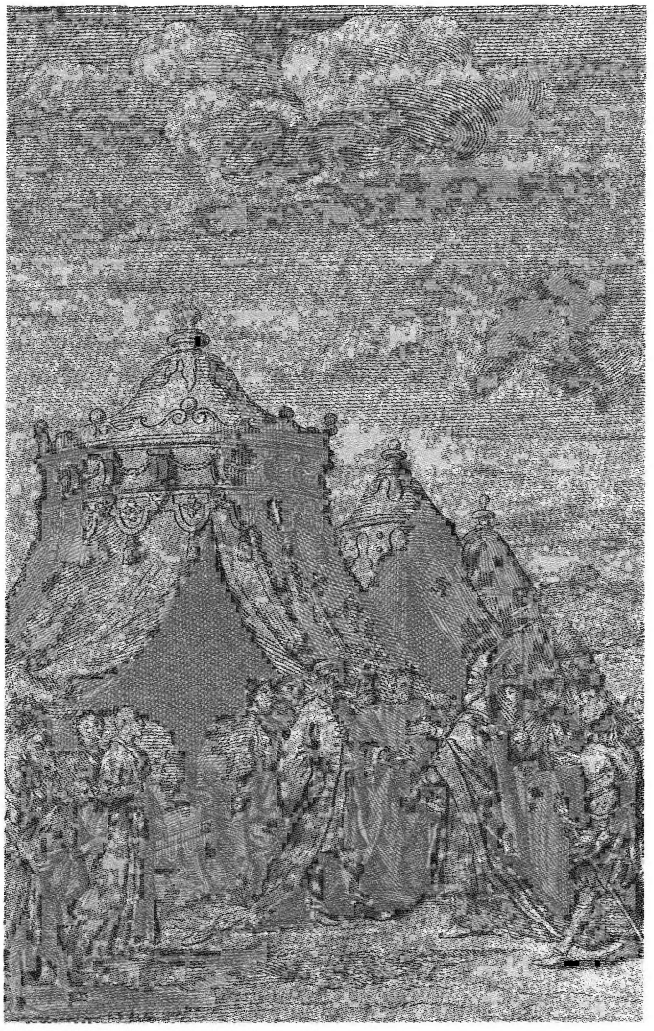
Mendes, Afonso

M. (b. 20 August 1579, Santo Aleixo, Portugal, d. 29 June 1656, Goa) was a Jesuit who became Patriarch of Ethiopia. He joined the ↗Jesuits in 1593, studied philosophy and theology at the University of Coimbra, and became Professor of Holy Scripture. In 1618, he obtained a doctorate in theology from the University of Évora, where he also taught. In 1622, M. was appointed third Catholic Patriarch of Ethiopia, after João Nunes ↗Barreto and Andrés de ↗Oviedo. He sailed from Lisbon at the end of March 1623 and reached ↗Goa on 28 May 1624. The trip to Ethiopia was organized in secret to evade the Ottoman control. Due to problems with the ordinary route that connected ↗Diu with ↗Massawa, M. and his large retinue (six missionaries and 13 servants) left Diu for ↗Baylūl. On 24 June 1625, the train arrived in ↗Fəremona, and in February 1626, in ↗Dänqäz, where he was received with great honors by ↗Susənyos.

The patriarchal residence was established at Däbsan (↗Däbrä San). The site enjoyed a stunning location over Lake Ṭana, and was close to the main Jesuit residence of ↗Gorgora and to the court at Dänqäz. During his patriarchate, M. attempted to strengthen and centralize ↗Catholicism in Ethiopia. The reforms he enforced were: no clergy were to celebrate Mass or perform any ecclesiastical function until they receive permission from him; churches were reconsecrated; liturgy was reformed; fasts and festivals were arranged according to the Tridentine calendar; disputes between husband and wife were transferred from civil to ecclesiastical courts; ↗circumcision was prohibited and the faithful were rebaptized *sub conditione*. He also actively promoted the mission among the ↗Agäw.

When Susənyos realized that his kingdom was lost owing to the strong opposition to Catholicism all over the country, M. decided to grant religious freedom. He suggested a compromise: that it be only granted to those who had not been received into the Catholic faith, but not to those who had already converted and communed as Catholics and would thus not be able to change their decision. When Susənyos refused and abdicated in favour of his son ↗Fasilädäs, M. left for India together with nine other missionaries. After a year of captivity in ↗Sawākin (1635), he arrived at Goa.

M. spent the rest of his life in Goa. There, he was consecrated archbishop just shortly before his death. His two important works are the *Light of Faith* (1692), divided into twelve books recounting and refuting the "errors" of the Ori-



Historical reconstruction of the meeting between Susənyos and Mendes in Dänqäz on 7 February 1626; drawing by Louis de Boullongne, engraving by Koenraadt de Putter, ca. 1720, from Lobo 1728, frontispiece

ental Churches, and the *Expeditio Aethiopica* (BecRASO VIII–IX), which deals with the history and geography of Ethiopia and the events of the Jesuit mission. In contrast to other Jesuits such as Manoel de ↗Almeida, Pedro ↗Paez or Emmanuel ↗Barradas, M. wrote all his compositions in Latin.

Modern historiography considers M. a controversial figure. It sees him as a great preacher and a man of high erudition, but his toughness and rigidity are stressed in contrast to the flexibility of the Jesuit Paez. It has been argued that M.'s personality was one of the main factors of the Catholic mission's failure. In fact, due to his intolerant attitudes towards local rites and customs, and his inability to adapt Catholicism to local circumstances, the Catholic mission could not strike roots in Ethiopia.

Src.: BecRASO VIII–IX; ALPHONSO MENDEZ, *Bran Haimanot: Id est, Lux Fidei in Ephitalamium Aethiopissae, sive in Nuptias Verbi et Ecclesiae*, 3 vols., Coloniae Agrippinae 1692.

Lit.: GIRMA BESHAH – MERID WOLDE AREGAY, *The Question of the Union of the Churches in Luso-Ethiopian Relations (1500–1632)*, Lisboa 1964, 89–95; ALBERT KAMMERER, "L'ephémère triomphe du Catholicisme en Abyssinie (1622–1632)", *Revue d'histoire diplomatique* 60, 1946, 260–93; JERÔME LOBO, *Voyage historique d'Abyssinie*, tr. by M. LE GRAND, Paris 1728 (ill.); ÁNGEL SANTOS, "Évora y el espíritu misionero de los Jesuitas en Portugal", *Miscelánea Comillas* 38, 1962, 151–52; BALTASAR TELES, *História Geral de Ethiópia a Alta ou Preste João*, Coimbra 1770, 693–702.

Leonardo Cohen

Mənilək I

According to tradition, M. (ምኒልክ, also Mənəlik, Mənyələk and vars.), is the legendary first emperor of ↗Ethiopia (fl. 10th cent. B.C.?), the son of the Queen of Sheba (↗Makədda) and King ↗Solomon of Israel, and the founder of the ↗Solomonic dynasty. The most authoritative source here is the early 14th-cent. ↗*Kəbrä nägäśt*, where he appears as Bäynä Ləḥkəm, with manuscript vars.: Bäynä/ʿIbnä ∃lḥakəm, Bin Alḥakəm, Bin Ḥakəm, ʿIbn ∃lḥakim, Bin Alḥəkəm (chs. 32 and 35), which are renderings of the Arabic *Ibn al-Ḥakīm*, 'Son of the Wise Man', i.e. of Solomon. M. and similar forms, derived from previous one(s) via **Binəl*(*ḥ*)*k*(*əm*) and the *b*/*m* variation commonly observed in northern Ethiopian languages, are found in later traditions such as those (Təgre) collected by Enno Littmann (1904 and 1947: *Məlilik*/*-ləlik*), or are found to be merged with ∃bnä Ḥakim and vars. including the popular ምን፡ ይልኽ, *Mən Yələk*, into the "king lists" (s. CRList 277: list B, no. 1, 287, list C, no. 7; 296: list D, no. 1; 299, list E, no. 4; 300, list F, no. 1). In the mid-18th cent. "legend book" of *əṣṣäge* Filəppos (Conti Rossini 1917:703), where the name is *Mən Yələk* (understood as Amharic: 'What does he look like?', but actually 'What does bring [you here]?'), and is explained as Solomon's exclamation at the sight of his son (cp., however, the form reconstructed in GuiS-Lett 47: ምን፡ ይልህቅ, *Mən Yələhəq*, 'How great/What a prince is he!').

The *Kəbrä nägäśt* (ch. 39) has it that, when he grew up, M. went to visit his father, who received him most honourably in ↗Jerusalem, and eventually appointed him king of Ethiopia with the name Dawit (II) – which might add to the difficulty of counting the Ethiopian emperors by that name (↗Dawit II, ↗Dawit III). M. returned then to his mother's kingdom. Solomon ordered the high priest and other notables of Israel to send their eldest sons with M., so as to establish an Israelite colony there, and the first Ethiopian kingdom ruled by a man. Meanwhile, the companions of the unwitting M. secretly removed the ↗Ark of the Covenant from the Temple (ch. 48), and, fleeing over night from Jerusalem took it to Ethiopia. King Dawit, i.e. M., brought the Ark to his mother's capital, Däbrä Makədda ('Mount[ain]/Fortress of Makədda'), i.e. Aksum, to be kept there under guard, the place becoming thereby a "Second ↗Zion", the heir of Jerusalem and of ancient Israel (chs. 84–85).

On account of that, at least in northern Ethiopia, M.'s companions were later regarded as the ancestors of several ethnic groups (including one of ↗Betä ∃sraʾel), and even founders of the Jewish tribes (s., e.g., Conti Rossini 1900:166; CRStor 256). Likewise, M. is credited with introducing several important innovations into Ethiopia, from ↗Law and Judiciary to court rules (↗*Śərʿatä mängəśt*); he was later identified as the mystical King ↗Tewodros in the eschatological legend, according to which, at the end of time, he shall reappear in the world for Ethiopia's restoration (↗*Fəkkare Iyäsus*).

Ruins of a stone funeral complex said to be M.'s tomb are still visible ca. 5 km west of Aksum, near the area called Ṣəʿuqdur (DAE I, 32; II, 134ff., and 204, 207ff. for pottery sherds). Known to foreign travellers since the 19th cent., as well as to contemporary local tradition (Littmann 1947:43: M. was buried with his mother in the land of Mäläkəya Aksum), they are referred to as

"the lonely place [*gädam*] where Ǝbnä Lälḥakim was buried, full inside of gold, silver and garment treasures" – a description found in the 15th-cent. Acts of Yared; referring back to the first half of the 6th cent. (ed. Conti Rossini 1904:8).

These ruins belong to a simple small four-room building, or rather the podium for a building, with a few later structures superimposed to the east. They were contained in a circular mound opened in 1904/05, at the request of *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II, by the then governor of Təgray ↗Gäbrä Śəllase Barya Gabər: the bones reportedly found inside – the poorly conducted excavations preventing further inquiries by the ↗Deutsche Aksum Expedition that arrived soon afterwards – were immediately recognized as those of M., and translated with solemn ceremony to the cathedral of ↗Aksum Ṣəyon (Monneret de Villard 1938:43; Munro-Hay 2002:291), thus promoting one of the founding myths – the Israelite origins – of Ethiopian civilization.

Src.: BezKebr 12a–29a, 123b (text) = 10–24, 97 (tr.); ERNEST ALFRED WALLIS BUDGE (tr.), *The Queen of Sheba and her Only Son Menyelek (I)*, London 1922, 1932² [repr. 2001], 16–40, 161; CRList 277, 287, 296, 299f.; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, *Vitae sanctorum antiquiorum*, I. *Acta Yārēd et Panṭalēwon*, Louvain 1904 (CSCO 26, 37 [SAe 9, 10]), 8 (text) = 7f. (tr.); ID., "Il libro delle leggende e tradizioni abissine dell'ecciaghié Filpòs", *RRALm* ser. 5ª, 26, 1917 [1918], 699–718, here 702ff.; DAE I, 32, 37ff.; II, 134ff., 204, 207ff.; ENNO LITTMANN, "La leggenda del dragone di Aksum in lingua tigrai", *RSE* 6, 1947, 42–45, here 43 (text) = 44 (tr.).
Lit.: CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Il Gadla Filpos e il Gadla Yoḥannes di Dabra Bizan", *RRALm* ser. 5ª, 8, 1900 [1901], 61–170, here 166; CRStor 256; UGO MONNERET DE VILLARD, *Aksum. Ricerche di topografia generale*, Roma 1938 (Analecta orientalia 16), 5, 43; GuiSLett 47; STUART CHRISTOPHER MUNRO-HAY, *Ethiopia, the Unknown Land. A Cultural and Historical Guide*, London – New York 2002, 23, 443, 257f., 291; EDWARD ULLENDORFF, "Menelik, Menyelek", in: *DicEthBio* 116.

Gianfranco Fiaccadori

Mənilək II

Early career

M. (ምኒልክ; b. 19 August 1844, Ankobär, d. 1913, Addis Abäba) may justifiably be regarded as the founder of the modern Ethiopian state. He was born at the palace of his grandfather ↗Śahlä Śəllase and received the baptismal name of Śahlä Maryam. His father was *nəguś* ↗Ḫaylä Mäläkot and his mother Ǝgǧigayyähu, reportedly a serving girl at the palace, possibly of Gurage origin, and his parents were not married until after their son's birth. The name Mənilək, bestowed on him by Śahlä Śəllase, referred to ↗Mənilək I, the legendary son of Solomon and the Queen of Sheba (↗Makədda), and forecast a distinguished imperial future for him. This was the name he always used.

Ḫaylä Mäläkot died in December 1855, in the course of the newly proclaimed *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II's invasion of Šäwa. M., then aged 11, was taken into captivity together with his mother and a group of Šäwan nobles, and brought up in the imperial court, at ↗Mäqdäla. Here he was treated with much respect, and married to Tewodros II's daughter ↗Alṭaš Tewodros. In 1865, as the Emperor's power waned, M. escaped from Mäqdäla and was received with joy in Šäwa as its rightful king, displacing *ato* Bäzzabbəh who had declared himself its independent ruler. Though Bäzzabbəh initially submitted to M., he was soon afterwards convicted of plotting against him, and executed.

Self-proclaimed *nəguśä nägäśt* (e.g. RubActa III, 55, 60) of Šäwa, M. showed signs of imperial ambitions even before the death of Tewodros, but stood aside during the British invasion that led to that event. After it, he lacked the military strength to challenge the two northern rivals for the throne, *wagšum* Gobäze Gäbrä Mädḫən (*aṣe* ↗Täklä Giyorgis II) and *däǧǧazmač* Kaśa Mərčа, who eventually triumphed and became ↗Yoḥannəs IV. Although M. colleded with the Egyptian invasions of 1875 and 1876, hoping to crush Yoḥannəs between his own forces and those of the Egyptians, Yoḥannəs's crushing victories over the Egyptians at ↗Gundät and ↗Gura^{c} greatly increased his strength and left M. isolated. When Yoḥannəs eventually advanced on Šäwa, M. was obliged to submit in March 1878, receiving in return the formal title of *nəguś* and acknowledgement of his control over Šäwa and much of Wällo.

Ruler of Šäwa

During the period from 1878 until 1889, when M. was in effect the quasi-independent ruler of Šäwa, he laid the foundations of his subsequent rule as emperor. These rested on the combination of three elements: first, the establishment of independent connections with the outside world and especially Europe, gaining through it modern technology (especially ↗weapons), expertise, and diplomatic support; second, the conquest of neighbouring peoples to the south-east, south and south-west, in order to obtain access to the sea, as well as the exploitation of the considerable wealth that these regions offered; and, third, the

maintenance of his autonomy from the historic centres of national power to the north, until he was in a position to challenge them.

Deeply aware of the importance of external resources for establishing his power in Ethiopia, M. sought to develop his own access to the outside world through ports in the southern ↗Red Sea and Gulf of ↗Tağūra, by-passing the long-established links through ↗Massawa which were firmly under Yoḥannəs's control. The principal port was at Obok, on the northern shore of the Gulf of Tağūra, where the French established a trading station in 1881. He also sought links with the Italians (↗Italy) through their station at ↗ʿAsäb, but communications with the interior through ↗ʿAfar territory were hazardous, and in May 1880, an Italian expedition was entirely destroyed by the ʿAfar. In May 1883, nonetheless, M. signed a treaty of friendship and commerce with Italy, which established his status as an autonomous diplomatic actor. Trade between both countries was concerned especially with the purchase of weapons and other military necessities. M. also sought the services of qualified Europeans, the most important of whom, the Swiss engineer Alfred ↗Ilg, arrived in Šäwa in 1879 and remained for 29 years. By far the most influential European ever to work in the Ethiopian government service, Ilg rapidly became a trusted counsellor concerned not only with technical matters, but with critical issues in M.'s relations with European powers. He eventually received the title of ↗*bitwäddäd*, the only foreigner ever to do so.

Closer relations with Europe both required, and made possible, Šäwan conquest of regions which had long been outside Ethiopian control. Regions inhabited by the ↗Oromo and other peoples could be exploited to produce a surplus for the export of goods, which could not be extracted from the regime's heartland in northern Šäwa. This trade was initially largely in animal products, notably ↗ivory and musk (↗zibeth) but also skins and ostrich feathers, as well as ↗gold, but these were increasingly displaced by ↗coffee. M. was also the beneficiary of a substantial trade in ↗slaves, which was conducted by Muslim entrepreneurs but taxed by the Šäwan state. The arms received in exchange enabled the Šäwans to pursue their conquests further each year. The territory south to the river ↗Awaš was largely conquered by 1875, much of it by M.'s leading Oromo general, *ras* ↗Gobäna Daṭi. Thereafter, the campaign of conquest continued south into

The young *nəguś* Mənilək of Šäwa in the 1870s, collection of the Protestant missionaries at Šäwa; drawing, courtesy of Mission21, Basle

↗Arsi and the ↗Gibe river area (s. also ↗Hasän Ǝnǧamo). Fortified settlements or ↗*kätäma* were established to provide the basis for permanent occupation, and land was expropriated from indigenous peoples, in the form either of large estates for Šäwan noblemen, or in smaller plots for military settlers – a formula for intense exploitation and deep political resentments (↗*Gäbbar*, ↗*Näftäñña*). In areas such as the sultanate of ↗Ğimma, where indigenous rulers recognized the inevitability of Šäwan conquest and submitted to M., he allowed them to remain in office; where such rulers resisted as in ↗Käfa, the scale of destruction was brutal.

A conquest of particular importance was the emirate of ↗Harär, both because of its own riches but notably because of its strategic situation astride the range of mountains leading east towards the Gulf of Tağūra. Left largely unprotected after the withdrawal of its ↗Egyptian occupiers in 1885, it was conquered by M. in January 1887. Entrusted to his cousin and loyal supporter *ras* ↗Mäkʷännən Wäldä Mikaʾel, it rapidly became both the leading entrepot for Šäwa's external trade, and a centre from which to control the surrounding territories and the route to the sea.

M.'s primary goal in his relations with Yoḥannəs and the historic centres of state power in northern Ethiopia at this period was to preserve his own autonomy and the freedom to expand to the south, without either challenging the imperial regime, or diverting his own resources to supporting Yoḥannəs in his struggles against invading external powers, whether Egyptian, Italian or

↗Mahdist. On those rare occasions, in 1878 and 1882, when the Emperor could spare the time to move south, M. submitted, acceding in 1882 to the loss of control over much of ↗Wällo. At other times, he went his own way, engaging in diplomatic manoeuvres which, without formally abandoning his allegiance, could readily have been interpreted as treasonable. It was critical, however, to preserve his dominions to the south, an objective achieved at the battle of ↗Ǝmbabo in north-east ↗Wälläga in June 1882, when a Goǧǧame army under *nəguś* ↗Täklä Haymanot, the only other provincial lord with potential access to the south, was decisively defeated. This incident prompted Yoḥannəs's move southwards to assert his sovereignty, an occasion that also resulted in a marriage of M.'s daughter ↗Zäwditu to Yoḥannəs's son, ↗Arʾaya.

Accession and foreign policy

Following Yoḥannəs's death in March 1889, M. immediately declared himself emperor, and received the allegiance of the great majority of the principal regional lords as he moved north. Only Yoḥannəs's surviving son and declared successor, *ras* ↗Mängäša Yoḥannəs, and his most faithful lieutenant, *ras* ↗Alula Ǝngəda, failed to support him. Much of northern Ethiopia was in any event devastated by famine (↗*Kəfu qän*) as well as by warfare, and there was no effective resistance. M. was crowned emperor by *abunä* ↗Matewos at ↗Ǝnṭoṭṭo on 3 November 1889.

His domestic standing was assured, however, his international position was extremely precarious. On 2 May 1889, between his accession and his coronation, M. had signed a treaty with the Italians at ↗Wəčale (↗Italo–Ethiopian Treaty of Friendship and Commerce), the Italian text of which acknowledged M.'s willingness to use the Italians as a conduit through whom to conduct all his relations with foreign powers, thus in effect agreeing to the establishment of an Italian protectorate over Ethiopia. The Amharic text of the critical Article XVII made no such commitment, merely enabling M. to make use of Italy if he so wished. There can be no doubt that this discrepancy was the result of deliberate deceit on the part of the Italian emissary, ↗Antonelli, and was designed to establish Italian primacy in the eyes of rival would-be colonial powers, pending the moment when this could be enforced on the ground. The Italian claim was immediately circulated to other European states. On 1 January 1890, the Italians formally established the colony of ↗Eritrea, providing them with a springboard in the highlands from which they could subsequently occupy the rest of Ethiopia.

In July 1890, M. learned from replies to his letters to European sovereigns that Italy had asserted a protectorate over Ethiopia, in terms justified by the Italian text of Article XVII. By February 1891, diplomatic attempts to resolve the issue had broken down, and Ethiopia was set on a collision course with Italy. In the resulting contest for support, M. operated with great skill, even obtaining the delivery from Italy of two million rifle cartridges that he had already paid for, and securing support (albeit ambivalent) especially from ↗France, ↗Russia and Turkey. At this juncture, with northern Ethiopia severely impoverished by famine and the rinderpest ↗epidemic, the resources extracted from the newly conquered southern provinces were critically important in paying for the weapons needed to secure Ethiopia's independence. Equally important was M.'s ability to secure the allegiance of a virtually united Ethiopia, notably including Yoḥannəs's son Mängäša Yoḥannəs and his leading general Alula Ǝngəda, who had maintained an autonomous position in ↗Təgray before surrendering finally to the Emperor in June 1894. As a result, M. was able to put a well-equipped army of probably over 100,000 men into the field. Italian hopes of securing Ethiopia through a strategy of divide and rule were thwarted.

The crushing Ethiopian victory at the battle of ↗ʿAdwa on 1 March 1896 secured Ethiopian independence. Much comment, however, has been attracted by his subsequent decision to accept the Italian colony of Eritrea within its existing frontiers, rather than seek to push the Italians into the sea and establish Ethiopian rule down to the Red Sea coast. Plausible reasons can be given for this decision, including his own army's exhaustion, the possibility of losing the impact of the ʿAdwa victory if the campaign was unsuccessful, and the danger that it might provoke retaliation from Italy or elsewhere. Some have also detected a desire to weaken the Təgrayans, by dividing them between Eritrea and a truncated Təgray region.

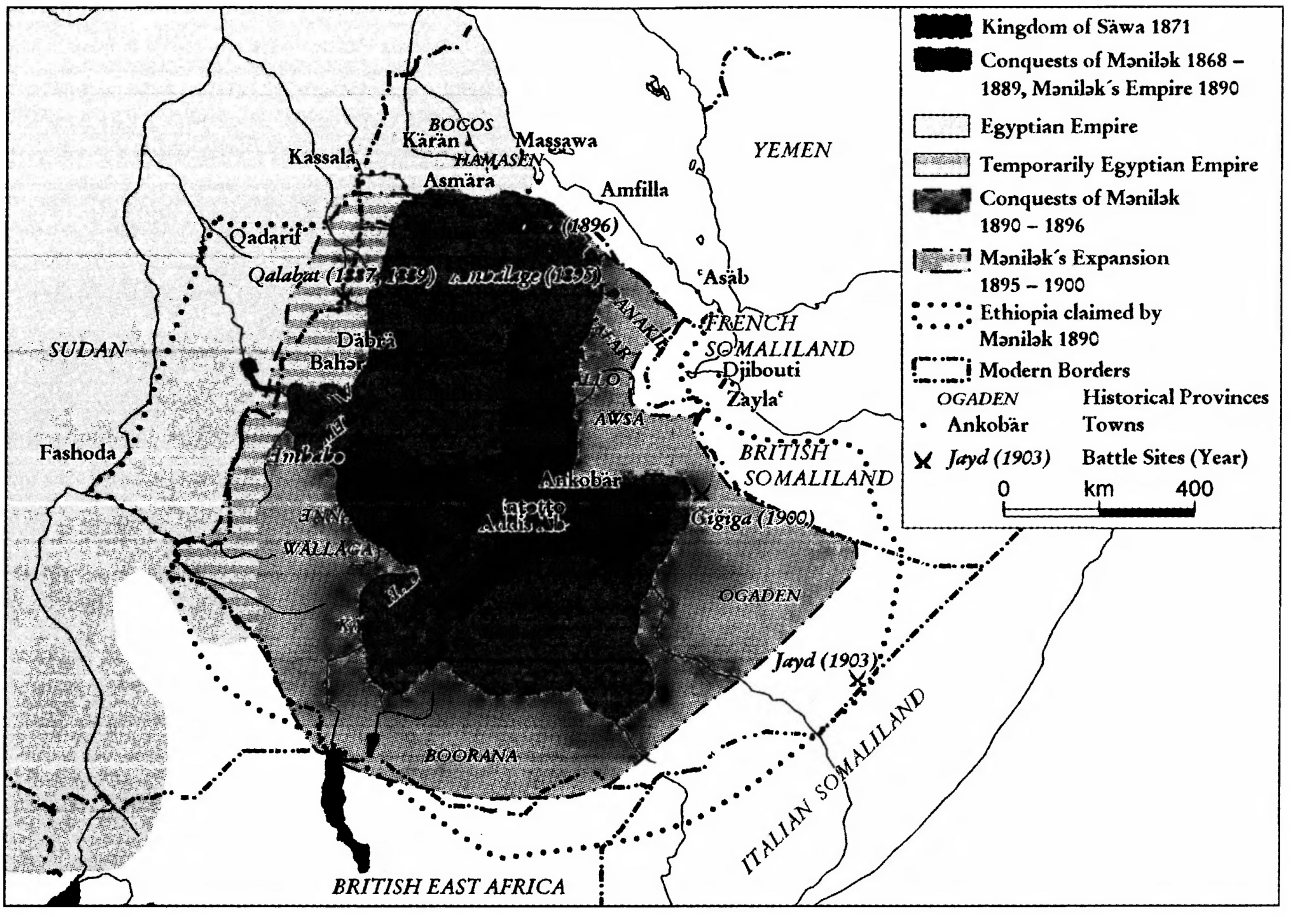
In the aftermath of victory, however, M. secured full European recognition of Ethiopia as a sovereign independent state – the only African state in the entire continent to achieve this vital status. The expansion of Ethiopian territory continued, notably into areas adjacent to British

colonies. In the process, the country's territory was established within the bounds that it retained a century later (↗Boundaries). As with the carve-up of the rest of Africa at that time, this involved the imposition of artificial frontiers on unmapped territory, in terms that were often only vaguely defined. These left Ethiopia with long frontiers with Italian Eritrea and ↗Somalia, and with ↗British Somaliland, ↗Sudan and ↗Kenya, and with a short one with the French Somali Coast (↗Djibouti). This was however particularly important, as Ethiopia's main access to the sea, and in March 1894 a convention was signed for building the ↗railway from Djibouti to ↗Addis Abäba. The frontier with British Somaliland was established in 1897, by an agreement between *ras* Mäkʷännən and the British; that with Sudan was settled in 1902 following the defeat of the Mahdist state, while the border with Kenya was agreed only in 1906. As M.'s health declined, the colonial powers (France, Italy and the ↗United Kingdom) sought to define their interests in Ethiopia in the event of the country's collapse, notably through the ↗Tripartite Treaty of 1906. Not until the 1930s, however, was the country's independence again threatened.

Aṣe Mənilək II; photo ca. 1907/08, by Arnold Holtz, from Holtz 1908

Domestic governance

M.'s primary preoccupations in domestic government were to extend the territory under Ethiopian sovereignty, to increase his own control over potentially autonomous provincial rulers, and to extract the economic resources required to maintain his power. Many sources testify to M.'s enquiring mind, and to his interest in external innovations of all kinds. In establishing the country's capital in the newly created city of ↗Addis Abäba, he laid the foundation for a permanent administrative centre, displacing the system under which, since the collapse of the Gondärine empire (↗Gondär), the administration had moved with the ruler. The new city was endowed with an infrastructure of roads and buildings, and large compounds were allocated to the principal foreign missions. The main provincial rulers likewise established their own residences in places immediately adjacent to the city, thus creating Addis Abäba's distinctive physical and social geography. In many respects, this process called for "modernizing" measures, which included building the country's first motorable road (from Addis Abäba to ↗Addis ᶜAläm), establishing its first European-style school (↗Mənilək II Secondary School), and creating formal government ministries to supplement the apparatus of the imperial court. A national ↗currency, a state bank (↗Banking system) and a ↗postal service were likewise introduced. There is no indication, however, that he conceived of government in anything but conventional Ethiopian terms, as the expression of his personal power. For so long as his mental faculties remained alert, he dealt in time-honoured fashion with the smallest minutiae of government, and his ↗*gəbbi* was the centre for a vast throng of courtiers. On major feast days, as many as 15,000 retainers might be fed at the *gəbbi* held in the huge *addaraš* or banqueting hall attached to the palace.



Expansion during the reign of *aṣe* Mənilək II, 1871–1903

The key area of government was the regional administration, through which – so long as he retained his own faculties – M. was able to impose a level of imperial control unknown since the mid-18th cent. or earlier. His general authority was established beyond question by the victory at ʿAdwa, but he was pragmatic in his selection of regional governors. In the historic heartland of the country, and in southern regions where local rulers had acquiesced in Ethiopian conquest, he was prepared to retain indigenous governors. Elsewhere, and especially in regions that had resisted conquest, the new system of government was often brutal and rapacious. Many of the southern regions were entrusted to Šäwan generals, even though these – like *däğğazmač* ↗Balča Śafo in Sidamo – were not necessarily Amhara. Harär, which was particularly important for both economic and security reasons, was entrusted to M.'s cousin and close confidant *ras* Mäkʷännən.

Decline and death

M.'s long and tragic decline can be dated from mid-1906, when he appears to have sustained a mild apoplectic attack. He was seriously ill in January 1907, and, in October 1907 he formed a council of ministers, though these had as yet no ministries to direct, and, since delegated power was so foreign to Ethiopian concepts of governance, they had little power. Further strokes followed in May 1908 and in early 1909, leaving him partly paralysed. A massive stroke in October 1909 brought him close to death, and *ras bitwäddäd* ↗Täsämma Nadäw was publicly appointed regent, though he had to compete with the influence of M.'s second wife *ətege* ↗Ṭaytu Bəṭul, who was eventually removed from power in March 1910. In the climate of uncertainty that resulted from his own incapacity, M. was successful in achieving the transfer of imperial authority to his grandson *ləğ* ↗Iyasu, whose deficiencies in character and ability he evidently did not appreciate. Although Ethiopian dignitaries were occasionally taken to see him in his last years of life, and unavailing efforts were made to quieten public concern, M. was in no condition to exercise any power, remaining suspended between life and death until his eventual demise on 12/13 December 1913.

Significance and legacy

M. must rank among the greatest of not only Ethiopian but also of African leaders. Alone

among his continental contemporaries at the time of the European scramble for Africa, he possessed the vision, the political skills and the state capacity needed to protect his country and people against advancing colonialism, and in the process to carve out for his own state a massively increased territory and a place in world affairs. Though he certainly owed much to his predecessors Tewodros and Yoḥannəs for starting to re-establish the Ethiopian state, and though its apogee was not to be reached until the reign of his eventual successor ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I, that state was his creation more than that of anyone else. That it proved in some respects to be deeply flawed may equally be laid at his door, though he did no more than other empire-builders of his era. Very dark in complexion, he looked the antithesis of the stereotypical highlander, and several of his leading generals were Oromo or Gurage. His eldest daughter, Šewaraga, was married to a Muslim Oromo, Mäḥammad ᶜAlī (↗Mikaʾel ᶜAli of Wällo). His younger daughter ↗Zäwditu became empress in 1916. In provinces such as Ǧimma and ↗Beni Šangul, established Muslim rulers were allowed to remain in power. The ruthless exploitation of the southern provinces could be justified as essential to provide the economic base for an independent state, which the impoverished northern highlands could not supply. In the longer run, however, land alienation in the south, and the discriminatory social relations that inevitably went with it, were to prove the greatest weakness of the state that he had founded, while his recognition of the Italian colony of Eritrea was likewise fraught with lasting consequences.

Src.: GueCopMen; RubActa III, 55, 60.
Lit.: BZHist; HAROLD G. MARCUS, *The Life and Times of Menelik II: Ethiopia 1844–1913*, Oxford 1975; PankEcon; CHRIS PROUTY, *Empress Taytu and Menilek II: Ethiopia 1883–1910*, London 1986; SVEN RUBENSON, *Wichale XVII: the Attempt to Establish a Protectorate over Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 1964; RubInd.

Christopher Clapham

Mənilək Iyasu

Ləǧ M.I. (ምኒልክ፡ ኢያሱ, by some called "Mənilək III", ᶜAfar: Minilik; b. March/April 1917, Dīdalé, Godá mountains, Côte française des Somalis, d. 14 August 1991, Dərre Dawa) was one of the youngest legitimate children of *ləᶜul ləǧ* ↗Iyasu. He was the first son of Fāṭuma Ôbakar Maḥammad (b. 1900), a granddaughter of *näggadras* ↗Maḥammad Ôbakar, a Muslim collaborator of *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II, from the influential ᶜAfar Ôbakartó lineage of ↗Zaylaᶜ (cp. ↗Abū Bakr Ibrāhīm Šahīm). The fact that Iyasu had married a "daughter of *näggadras* Maḥammad" was used against him when the leaders of the ↗coup d'état of 1916 (s. EAE vol. 2) looked for arguments that Iyasu had converted to Islam (s. the proclamation of Šäwan leaders and the declaration of *abunä* Matewos of 1916, *L'Afrique Française* 1917:9, 11; GebMolIyas 359). Greenfield reports that this "Danakil princess" was then his favourite wife, and "some say that she was successful in making Eyasu's political leanings to Islam, religious also" (Greenfield 1965:137).

Immediately after the coup d'état, acknowledging her prominent Muslim background, the pregnant Fātuma decided to flee from Addis Abäba via Wällo, helped by her father-in-law *nəguś* Mikaʾel (Greenfield 1965:143), to her ᶜAfar Ḥasoba relatives in the Côte française des Somalis (↗Djibouti), where M.I. was born. M.I. went to school in Djibouti and at an early stage already, the French seem to be attracted to the idea that M.I. could be used as a claimant to the throne in case of political turmoil in Ethiopia. In the 1930s his "followers are said to have acknowledged him as Emperor Menelik III as he spoke condemning Hailé Sellassié not only as a usurper but also as a dangerous progressive" (Greenfield 1965:182).

M.I.'s elder brothers (cp. ↗Mälakä Ṣäḥay Iyasu) organized part of the Ethiopian resistance against Italian occupation (↗Africa Orientale Italiana); in 1941, on request of his brother *däğğazmač* Yoḥannəs, M.I. decided to join his brothers. When he arrived, Ethiopia had been retaken by *aṣe* Ḫaylä Śəllase I and the British forces; M.I. was brought from Däse, together with the ᶜAfar *fitawrari* Yāyyó Ḥammadu of Awsa, to the Gännätä Ləᶜul Palace at Addis Abäba and immediately put under house arrest. Later, on condition that he should not involve himself in any political activities, he was given a small house below the palace compound in Afənčo Bär, where he lived in permanent custody, perfectly isolated from Ethiopian public life (Greenfield 1965:183). But he was visited by great numbers of ᶜAfar, a few of whom started to live there with him. He also spent part of the time in his house in Dərre Dawa in a Somali quarter (Ṭəlahun Bərhanä Śəllase 2003/04:111), also in custody.

The large empty slope lying below the central Addis Abäba ↗Gännätä Ṣəge Giyorgis church (in

Mənilək Iyasu, photo courtesy of Maryan ᶜAbdal Raḥman Ǧibril

the quarter known as *piyasa*, 'piazza'), was a heritage of his aunt *wäyzäro* Səḥin Mikaʾel. Here he built a small house for rent, from which he could make some earnings, his only income; however, *aṣe* Ḫaylä Śəllase had it demolished. Since then this deserted area in the middle of Addis Abäba stayed purposely unused, to avoid any income for M.I. or other relatives; later it was nationalized by the *Därg* (only in 2006 *šayḫ* Muḥammad Ḥusayn al-ᶜAmūdī got permission to erect high buildings there).

Following a demand of the *Därg*, M.I. undertook a political mission to Djibouti, before its independence in 1977. He successfully established relations between the Ethiopian government and the head of government of the Territoire français des Afars et des Issas, M.I.'s cousin ᶜAlī ᶜAref of the Ôbakartó family (Ṭəlahun Bərhanä Śəllase 2003/04:111).

M.I. was Muslim, "like his father", as he claimed (seemingly wrongly, as his mother was even baptized for the marriage in 1916, s. de Juniac 1979:63), and was mainly integrated into the ethnic network of the ᶜAfar. Besides Amharic, he also spoke ᶜAfar and French. As an alleged *šarīf* (i.e. descendant of Prophet Muḥammad, s. ↗Mammädočč dynasty) and son of the deposed ruler *ləǧ* Iyasu, the only ruler who had directly linked himself with the ᶜAfar, he enjoyed a high reputation among Ethiopian ᶜAfar, as well as Somali. His first wife was Amina Abubakr ᶜAli from the Ôbakartó lineage; from her he had a son in the 1930s, but both, son and mother, died. Later he had three wives (two Ḥasoba, married in Djibouti, one Argobba), with no children. His last wife Maryan ᶜAbdal Raḥman Ǧibril was a Gadabuursi Somali from Dərre Dawa. The widespread rumour that M.I. had been "castrated" by *aṣe* Ḫaylä Śəllase (MorDicAfar 29) might not be true, as also his last wife got pregnant (but she lost the baby, reportedly by poison "given to her husband"). At the end of his life, M.I. was paralysed.

Src.: interview with Maryan ᶜAbdal Raḥman Ǧibril, Addis Ababa, July 2006.

Lit.: "Le Nouveau Gouvernement de l'Ethiopie", *L'Afrique Française, Bulletin mensuel du Comité de l'Afrique française et du Comité du Maroc*, December 1917, 6–13, here 9, 11; GebMolIyas 332, 359; GOBÄZE ṬAFFÄṬA, አባ ጤና ኢያሱ. *Abba Tena Iyasu*, Addis Abäba 1996 (Bulletin de la Maison des études éthiopiennes 6), 130; RICHARD GREENFIELD, *Ethiopia. A New Political History*, London 1965, 137, 143f., 182f.; GONTRAN DE JUNIAC, *Le dernier Roi des Rois, l'Ethiopie de Haïlé Sélassié*, Paris 1979, 63; MorDicAfar 27, 29; ṬƎLAHUN BƎRHANÄ ŚƎLLASE BETÄ, የ20ኛው፡ ክፍለ፡ ዘመን፡ ኢትዮጵያ፤ አንደኛ፡ መጽሐፍ (፲፱፻፡ እስከ፡ ፲፱፻፷፮፡ ዓ.ም.) (*Yä20ññaw kəflä zämän Ityopya, andäññä mäṣḥaf* [1900 *əskä* 1966 A.M.], 'Ethiopia of the 20th cent., vol. 1: [1900 till 1966 A.M.]'), Addis Abäba 1996 A.M. [2003/04 A.D.], 110ff.

Wolbert Smidt

Mənilək II Secondary School

M.S.S. was Ethiopia's first modern school. It was founded in 1908 by *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II and was originally given the French name École Impériale Ménélik II. To allay fears that its teaching would endanger the Ethiopian Orthodox faith by introducing Catholicism or Protestantism (Teshome Wagaw 1979:31), it was entrusted to Coptic Egyptian teachers, headed by one of their number, Prof. Hanna Saleeb Bey (d. 1925). The school started with ca. 100 boys (later increased to 150), who originated from royal or noble families, and by 1924 some 3,000 alumni had graduated. Among these graduates were *ləǧ* ↗Iyasu and ↗Ǝmməru Ḫaylä Śəllase (Bahru Zewde 2002:24), as well as many Government officials, teachers and accountants (Jones 1922:327). The language of instruction was ↗French, but other languages were offered, i.e. English, Italian and Amharic. Courses were offered in geography, history, mathematics, and science. Attention was also paid to music, drawing, and acting – at that time the school had one of the capital's few theatres. Physical education and sports also had their place in the timetable (Farago 1935:170). Board and tuition were entirely free, with meals occasionally provided by the imperial palace.

M.S.S. opened on the estate of *ras* ↗Mikaʾel ᶜAli of Wällo, in the capital's Səddəst Kilo area, and then moved to Alfred Ilg's former residence near

Mənilək's palace before settling in its present site at Arat kilo. The first prize-giving ceremony took place on 16 July 1911 when the first award, of 100 Maria Theresa thalers, was given to Abbäbä, the son of *fitawrari* Ibsaa (Mérab 1922:127).

The school, which was frequently visited by ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I, was re-opened after Ethiopia's liberation in 1941, and by the 1950s had an attendance of ca. 500 students in the primary school, as well as 100 secondary school students. Though mainly a day school, it had some 250 boarders. From time to time it published a magazine entitled *The Menelik Mercury*.

Src.: GueCopMen 529f.; PAUL MÉRAB, *Impressions d'Éthiopie*, vol. 2, Paris 1922, 127f.
Lit.: BAHRU ZEWDE, *Pioneers of Change in Ethiopia: the Reformist Intellectuals of the Early Twentieth Century*, Oxford 2002, 226, s. index; LADISLAS FARAGO, *Abyssinia on the Eve*, London 1935, 199–71; THOMAS JESSE JONES, *Education in Africa: a Study of West, South and Equatorial Africa by the African Education Commission*, New York 1922, 326; ESTELLE SYLVIA PANKHURST, *Ethiopia. A Cultural History*, Woodford Green, Essex 1955, 613ff.; RICHARD PANKHURST, "The Foundations of Education, Printing, Newspapers, Book Production, Libraries and Literacy in Ethiopia", *EthObs* 6, 3, 1962, 241-90, here 259; TESHOME GEBRE-MICHAEL WAGAW, *Education in Ethiopia. Prospect and Retrospect*, Ann Arbor, MI 1979; ZerÉth 224.

Richard Pankhurst

Mənkullu ↗Ǝmkullu

Menstruation

The various ways by which different groups relate to M. and menstrual ↗blood occupy a central place within ethnographical research. In many cultures, this physiological phase becomes a site for symbolic elaborations and a main channel for various social and cosmological understandings. The symbolic potency which in many cases is attributed to menstrual blood, with its variety of rules for conduct during M. are often perceived as being connected to the study of ↗taboo and perceptions of purity and impurity, pollution and danger.

Ethiopians of diverse traditions exhibit complex and sometimes contrasting attitudes towards this specifically female bleeding. Thus, for example, the traditional ↗Gurage consider the woman to be inherently immoral, and a constant source of contamination for men unless she performs cleansing rituals after childbirth (↗Birth), M., and sexual intercourse. ↗Käfa males regard women as highly dangerous both because of their avid sexual desires which rob men of their strength and the fear that they may infect men during their menstrual periods (Levine 1974:54). Throughout the ↗Murle, a woman who gives birth remains confined to her hut for three days if she bears a male child and four if a female. No one may eat food cooked by a woman who has just given birth until she undergoes a purification ceremony (CerPeople 73f.), and among the ↗Oyda potters (Oto Mana), special rituals are performed during menstrual and childbirth seclusion periods. M. is perceived as dangerous. A mother announces the first M. of her daughter as if she were dangerous (Oyda: *seray*). Until her period stops she is put in a *fulle*, a seclusion house, and is taken care by other Oto Mana women. The bleeding woman, both during M. and after birth is considered impure, *tuna*, fatal for men (Freeman – Pankhurst 2003:156f.). The use of seclusion houses, which in many cases are also used for childbirth, is likewise documented, for example, among the Baka (↗Aari), ↗Ubamär, ↗Basketo, ↗Dime, ↗Maale, ↗Šeko and ↗Yäm (VSAe I, s. index; VSAe III, 25, 67, 363).

Nevertheless, the ethnographic knowledge on the subject is still very much in its infancy. One such ethnographical research relates to the study of menstrual blood among the ↗Betä Ǝsraʾel in Ethiopia, and as a central topic in everyday exchanges between the Betä Ǝsraʾel and their Christian neighbours. The Betä Ǝsraʾel can thus serve as an exemplary case for other groups who treat menstrual blood as impure (such as the ↗Kəmant, now officially Christians) and where the treatment of this feminine phase determines the purity of the entire group. For the Betä Ǝsraʾel and Christians the authority was the verse from the ↗Octateuch (*Orit*) and the O.T. respectively, "And if a woman has an issue, and her issue in her flesh be blood, she shall be seven days in her menstrual separation: and whoever touches her shall be unclean until evening" (Lev 15:19). This verse was quoted when discussing the separation of Betä Ǝsraʾel women during their "unclean" period. In accordance with the *Orit* (Lev 12:2–6), Betä Ǝsraʾel also considered the period after giving birth as impure (40 days for a boy, 80 for a girl). During both these and menstrual periods, Betä Ǝsraʾel women were confined to a separate hut (**የደም፡ ቤት**, *yädäm bet*, 'blood house' or **የራስ፡ ቤት**, *yäras bet*), situated at the periphery of the Betä Ǝsraʾel dwellings. A low circle of stones set the area off from the rest of the village, with several women sometimes occupying the hut together. Each month, a woman would

retire for seven days to the blood house, and on the evening of the seventh day she would go to purify herself in the river and return home. During this time, while they sometimes cooked for themselves in the house of blood, they generally received food from outside, served to them over the stone wall. The existence of blood houses and the customary separation were so conspicuous that at times it was described as the central sign of the existence of Betä Ǝsraʾel in a village.

Unlike comparable customs among most Judaist religious communities, Betä Ǝsraʾel laws applied not only to married women but also to unmarried girls, divorcees, or widows. This seems to indicate the group's concern with a stricter definition of purity than one limited to the marital realm: her menstrual blood is perceived as polluting the entire space.

Unlike the Betä Ǝsraʾel, Ethiopian Christian women do not maintain any special form of separation during their period. Although in a few communities Christian women were not allowed to enter certain places while menstruating, the woman is not considered impure at that time, she remains at home, cooks and maintains contact with other people. However, sexual intercourse is not allowed for her. Like any other person who bleeds, a menstruating woman is forbidden to enter a church building, which is reserved only for the "blood" of Christ celebrated in the Holy Communion (↗Eucharist). Likewise she is may not attend the mass.

The privacy which characterized the Christian treatment of menstrual blood, as opposed to the public character of Betä Ǝsraʾel's treatment, was the subject of much debate between neighbours. There were Christians who argued that, while their wives remained at home during their monthly period, they refrained from sexual relations. Betä Ǝsraʾel claimed that by making the woman's M. publicly known, the Betä Ǝsraʾel control the time of conception and thus ensure the purity of the next generation. The Betä Ǝsraʾel claimed that the Christians could never trace the identity of the real father of a woman's children. The attempt to control the purity of the next generation by following the monthly cycle is central to the way the group perceives itself.

This sort of symbolic community between two competing religious groups is far from self-evident. Analysis of the data indicates that for the Betä Ǝsraʾel the two definitions of purity and impurity belong to the same symbolic and conceptual system. Although the Betä Ǝsraʾel and the Christians have separate customs of purity and impurity, both groups are concerned with the purity and impurity of the "other woman". These categories serve as a basis for disputations, comparisons and evaluations, as the different menstrual customs reinforce boundaries between them.

Src.: DillmZarY 52.

Lit.: PankSoc 71; FREDERICK GAMST, *The Qemant: a Pagan-Hebraic Peasantry of Ethiopia*, New York – Chicago, IL 1968; CerPeople 73f.; HAGAR SALAMON, *The Hyena People: Ethiopian Jews in Christian Ethiopia*, Berkeley, CA 1999, 97–104; DONALD LEVINE, *Greater Ethiopia: the Evolution of a Multiple Society*, Chicago, IL 1974; DENA FREEMAN – ALULA PANKHURST, *Peripheral People: the Excluded Minorities of Ethiopia*, London 2003, 156–59.

Hagar Salamon

Mənṭaf

The use of carpets in Ethiopian culture was, until modern times, primarily confined to royal courts, churches, and society's elite. The Amharic term M. (ምንጣፍ) generally refers to textiles of various kinds used as floor coverings, or as seating in homes or when travelling, or for protecting precious objects from the ground, such as crowns or holy relics when on display. Historical references do not distinguish between knotted pile carpets, braided or twined mats, or tapestry or plain woven fabrics. For the most part, these were imported products carried by traders throughout the country. In cooler regions, however, where sheep can be raised, coarsely woven natural wool mats, called *səs mənṭaf*, are used even today as a protective layer on earthen floors. These are made at home using a very ancient technique similar to ↗basket weaving, called "weft-twining" (Balpinar 2001:147ff.).

Carpets imported from different countries were integrated into Ethiopian traditions by the elite. Influenced by the example of royal and religious figures of the Near East and Mediterranean, the Ethiopian ruling class and clergy embellished important occasions with costly imported textiles made available to them by the regional trade patterns which flourished from the 14th cent. onward (TadTChurch 85). As early as the 16th cent., foreign visitors wrote vivid accounts of their reception in the royal courts of Ethiopia and expressed their amazement at the richness of the furnishings and the apparel of the aristocrats in attendance (BeckHuntAlm 92ff.).

Oriental carpets came to be used in several ways. As palace furnishings, they proclaimed the

Fragmentary section of a a 16th–17th cent. wool pile Turkish carpet, at the monastery of Däbrä Wärq in Goğğam, donated by *aṣe* Yoḥannəs I in 1670; photo 2001, courtesy of Paul Henze

superior wealth and importance of the ruler. As honorific gifts to chosen subjects they helped seal a bond of loyalty to the central power. Expensive carpets made a family's wedding dowries more impressive. At times carpets were accepted in payment of taxes or other debts. Donated to a favourite monastery or church, a valuable carpet was a worthy symbol of the donor's piety (CRAxum no. 65; Pearce 1980:106ff.).

Although travellers did not describe the "rich carpets" they saw as made of knotted wool they sometimes called them Turkish or Persian (HarAeth vol. 1, 410). Records of the early import of carpets exist from at least the mid-16th, if not the late 15th cent. (s. Gervers in PICEA 5). It was undoubtedly during the period when the ↗Ottoman empire controlled the Red Sea that so many carpets reached Ethiopia. Material evidence in Ethiopia substantiates the recorded displays of carpets during the late medieval period of Ethiopian history. In recent years, private research has brought to light several readily identifiable fragments of Turkish pile carpets of a type exported in large numbers from the 15th to the 19th cent. (Raby 1986:177–87). Several customs lists of the late 19th century identify carpets among goods imported from India (Pankhurst 1964:49–159).

The only example that can be documented belongs to the monastery of ↗Däbrä Wärq in Goğğam where it was recorded as the gift of the Gondär *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs (BudHist vol. 1, 406f.). The years of his reign (1667-82) lend credibility to the date of 1670 listed in the church treasury inventory. Four others of this type, the so-called "medallion Ushak design", were found in the monastery of Qʷäyäṣa, west of Aksum, Təgray, in 2001. These appear to have been woven somewhat later than the example at Däbrä Wärq, possibly in the mid-18th cent. Found in greater numbers are tapestry-woven *kilims* firmly identified as typical of those woven in Central Anatolia prior to 1800 or in the early decades of the 19th cent. (Henze 1997:11–19, 2001:141–46). After that date, most pile carpets and *kilims* found in Ethiopian churches probably originated in Persia and India, the country's most important trading partners at that time. While all the carpets used in the Ethiopian churches were made in Islamic countries, they were imported purely as luxury items as they were in Christian countries of Europe during the same period.

The tradition of pious donation of carpets to the Ethiopian Church is still alive. Knotted pile carpets started to be produced in Ethiopia in the 1960s when several projects were initiated using native wool. These natural wool carpets and flat-woven mats are widely used today to replace the costly imported carpets that are wearing out and being discarded.

Probably half of the Ethiopian population professes ↗Islam and the old city of Harär is a famous pilgrimage centre. ↗Mosques and shrines are most commonly furnished with mats woven of reeds or plastic which provide the "clean place" required for Muslim prayers. Modern versions of carpets of oriental design are widely used today on floors of Harär houses and as covers for the seating and sleeping ledges that are the main features of their rooms. There is no material evidence that a carpet-weaving industry once existed in the town but they could easily have been sup-

plied by traders in earlier times as they are now.

Src.: BeckHuntAlm 92ff.; CRAxum 79; HarAeth vol. 1, 410; NATHANIEL PEARCE, *Life and Adventures in Abyssinia*, vol. 1, London 1980, 106ff.; BudHist vol. 1 [ed. 1970], 406f.

Lit.: BELKIS BALPINAR, "Ethiopian Weft-Twined Tapestries", in: MURRAY L. EILAND JR – ROBERT PINNER (eds.), *Oriental Carpet and Textile Studies VI*, Danville, CA 2001, 147–49; MICHAEL GERVERS, "The Portuguese Import of Luxury Textiles to Ethiopia in the 16th and 17th Centuries and their Subsequent Artistic Influence", in: *PICEA* 5, 121–34; MARTHA HENZE, "One Aspect of Ethiopia and the Near East: the Role of Carpets and Fine Textiles in Ethiopian Culture", in: *Äthiopien und seine Nachbarn. Ethiopia and its Neighbours*, Gniew 1997 (Orbis Aethiopicus 3), 11–19; EAD., "Anatolian Kilims in Ethiopia", in: MURRAY L. EILAND JR – ROBERT PINNER (eds.), *Oriental Carpet and Textile Studies VI*, Danville, CA 2001, 141–46; EAD., "Imported Textiles in Ethiopian Traditions", in: *PICEA* 5, 135–51; EAD., "Oriental Carpets and Textiles in Ethiopia: Evidence of Trade and Contacts", in: *AfrHorn* 402–10; PancEcon; RICHARD PANKHURST, "The Trade of Northern Ethiopia in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries", *JES* 2, 1, 1964, 49–159; JULIAN RABY, "Court and Export. Part I: Market Demands in Ottoman Carpets, 1450–1550. Part II: Ushak Carpets", in: ROBERT PINNER – WALTER B. DENNY (eds.), *Oriental Carpet and Textile Studies II*, London 1986, 177–87; TadTChurch 85.

Martha Henze

Məntəwwab ↗Bərhan Mogäsa

Mérab, Pierre Etienne

M. (b. 22 September 1877, Oudé, Georgia, d. 13 November 1930, La Motte, France) was a physician and writer. Born into a Catholic family, he took his baccalaureate in Constantinople, after which he travelled to France, acquired French nationality, studied medicine in Montpellier and Paris, and graduated as a doctor in 1906. Returning to Constantinople he was called in 1908 to treat members of a visiting Ethiopian delegation led by *däğğazmač* ↗Mäšäša Wärqe. This contact led M. to sign a 3-year contract to serve as ↗Mənilək II's personal physician, for a fee of 2,500 Maria Theresa thalers per annum. He remained in Addis Abäba until 1914, when he returned to France to serve in World War I. In 1922, he went to Egypt with the intention of doing a comparative study between that land and Ethiopia. Shortly after, he went to Ethiopia, where he opened a pharmacy, La Géorgie, the first in the country. He ran it until the death of his wife Jeanne le Mière in 1927 (her grave is in Addis Abäba's Gullale cemetery), and returned to France in 1929 (Triulzi in PICES 4).

M. was a man of scholarly disposition, keenly interested in Ethiopian society and medicine and published four volumes on these topics. His *Médecins et Médecine en Ethiopie* (1912) considers the country's principal diseases and traditional treatment. This was followed by his *Impressions d'Ethiopie* (*L'Abyssinie sous Ménélik II*), which he published under the first name of his father, Paul. The work ran to three volumes, and contains many reflections and numerous photographs. Volume I (1921) describes his journey from Constatinople via Harär to Addis Abäba, and includes surveys of Ethiopian history, geography, ethnography, linguistics, wildlife, etc. Volume II (1922) surveys Addis Abäba, its buildings and population, and the country's then "contemporary" history from Mənilək's death to the rise of *ləğ* ↗Iyasu. Volume III (1929) discusses Ethiopian material and moral life. Two further volumes, on Ethiopian religious and political institutions, remain unpublished. They are preserved, together with his writings on his wartime experiences, in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. A projected Amharic grammar has not, however, been traced.

Src.: PIERRE ETIENNE MÉRAB, *Médecins et Médecine en Ethiopie* ..., Paris 1912; ID. [PAUL MÉRAB], *Impressions d'Ethiopie* (*L'Abyssinie sous Ménélik II*), 3 vols., Paris 1921–29; mss. Paris, BN, BFP 3357, 3359, 3360, 3361.

Lit.: RICHARD PANKHURST, "The Beginnings of Modern Medicine in Ethiopia", *EthObs* 9, 1965, 135–36; ALESSANDRO TRIULZI, "Recente scoperte di materiale d'archivo inedito", in: *PICES* 4, vol. 1, 695–705.

Richard Pankhurst – Lukian Prijac

Mərçа Wäldä Kidan

Šum tämben M. (ምርጫ፡ ወልደ፡ ኪዳን, variants: Mərrəčа, Mərrač, b. ca. 1820s, d. 1864/65) was the ruler of ↗Tämben, a province in Təgray, and father of Kaśa Mərčа (later *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV). M. had his seat at ↗Mälfa in the mountainous Dägg$^{w^{c}}$a Tämben. Due to his connections to the old leading families of Təgray, he was regarded as one of the first nobles of the region. He himself, however, never acquired a central position within the Ethiopian power structure, but transmitted his own claims for rulership to his descendants.

M.'s mother, Wärqwəha, was married to *šum tämben* Wäldä Kidan Wäldä Mika$^{\circ}$el and traced her descent to *ras* ↗Mika$^{\circ}$el Səḥul, a great Təgrayan ruler. M.'s wife *wäyzäro* Śəllas Dəmṣu, was a daughter of Dəmṣu Däbbäb, the governor of Ǝndärta and a grand-nephew of the famous Təgrayan ruler *ras* ↗Wäldä Śəllase. Hence, *wäyzäro* Śəllas was connected to the main house

of Ǝndärta. Through her mother, *wäyzäro* Tabotu Wäldu, a sister of *däğğazmač* ↗Säbagadis, last of the Təgrayan rulers of the *Zämänä mäsafən* she was also connected to the house of ᶜAgamä. In local tradition *wäyzäro* Śəllas appears as a courageous women, who died at the end of Tewodros's reign at the hands of his soldiers.

Both M. and Śəllas supposedly had connections to the ↗Solomonic dynasty. M.'s mother, *wäyzäro* Wärqwəha, was allegedly linked to this line through Mikaᵓel Səḥul, while M.'s wife traced her descent to *aṣe* ↗Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob and other rulers. These connections were utilized by M.'s son Kaśa, who claimed the imperial throne on the basis of his connections to three Solomonic kings. This provided the legal basis that he could be crowned as king of kings of Ethiopia.

M. and Śəllas also had a daughter, Dənqənäš, and three other sons, Gugsa, Maru and Ḥagos. When M. died, his sons joined the court of *aṣe* Tewodros II. This was a common practice, its purpose being for the prospective young leaders to learn the art of war and government, but above all to receive an appointment and return home with a title and an office. Gugsa, the elder son, already had experience of governorship having governed Ǝndärta in 1861 after the death of his uncle, *däğğazmač* Ḫaylä Maryam Dəmṣu. This was probably the reason why Tewodros gave him the title of *däğğazmač*. Maru was placed a step lower as *fitawrari*. At the time Kaśa was placed the lowest, with the title of *balambaras*. Maru is said to have died at a young age. *Ǝtege* Dənqənäš achieved a considerable political position through her marriages. She was first married to Gäbrä Kidan, a close follower of her brother Kaśa in the early stages of his career. She then married *wag šum* Gobäze (later *aṣe* ↗Täklä Giyorgis II) and had a son by him named Śəyyum.

Src.: BTafA 600f.; BTafY 31; MARIUS CHAÎNE, "Histoire du règne de Iohannes IV, roi des rois d'Ethiopie (1868–1889)", *RevSem* 21, 1913, 178–92; *qäññazmač* FƎSSƎḪA WÄLDÄ MIKAᵓEL [*säḥafe təᵓəzaz* of *ras* Śəyyum Mängäša], የአፄ፡ ዮሐንስ፡ ታሪክ (*Yäᵓaṣe Yoḥannəs tarik*, 'History [Chronicle] of Emperor Yoḥannəs'), ms. [collection of Zäwde Gäbrä Śəllase]; ḪƎRUY WÄLDÄ ŚƎLLASE, የኢትዮ ጵያ፡ ታሪክ (*Yäᵓityopya tarik*, 'History of Ethiopia'), ms. [printed], Institute of Ethiopian Studies, Addis Ababa]; untitled ms. [Chronicle of Yoḥannəs IV], Däbrä Bərhan Śəllase, ᶜAdwa; [a short history of *aṣe* Yoḥannəs's reign], in *Sənkəssar*, church of Mälfa, Tämben; TSTarik IV; interviews with *fitawrari* Iyasu Aṣbəha, Mäqälä, April 2003.

Lit.: CLEMENTS R. MARKHAM, *A History of the Abyssinian Expedition*, London 1869.

Izabela Orlowska

Mərčа Wärqe

M.W. (ምርጫ፡ ወርቁ, Tgn. Mərrəčа, spelling himself in Engl. "M. Warkee", also called *liqä mäkʷas* Wärqe; b. ca. 1825, d. after 1896, ᶜAdwa) was one of the first foreign-educated Ethiopians who acted as a diplomat, secretary and interpreter for several Ethiopian rulers. His grandfather, an Armenian named Garabed (Käräbet), settled in Ethiopia as a merchant in the 18th cent. His father *aytä* Wärqe Käräbet was a wealthy goldsmith at May Gʷaggʷa near ᶜAdwa (cp. ↗Fəremona), and once an envoy of ↗Säbagadis Wäldu to Egypt (1822/23), with some contacts to the British; Wärqe's sister had married the British migrant William ↗Coffin after 1810.

In April 1837 Wärqe sent his two sons, M.W. and Gäbru (in English documents also known as "Bru"), to Bombay, in order to receive education at the British missionary school of John Wilson. Wärqe had already been in close contact with the Protestant missionaries ↗Krapf and ↗Isenberg, whom he served as a guide on their journey to Šäwa. The brothers stayed at Wilson's school until January 1843 and then went back to Ethiopia. In 1845 both returned to Bombay via Aden, Kattiarwar (a missionary station) and Gogo, from where they tried to raise interest for a Protestant mission to Ethiopia. In 1849 they left India for good and founded a school in ᶜAdwa, together with a priest from Waldəbba. This was the first school inspired by a Protestant mission in Ethiopia (two decades later it was again at ᶜAdwa that a Protestant school was founded, by Friedrich ↗Bender and his wife). After many students and their co-teacher died, they had to stop teaching. When Krapf returned to Ethiopia in 1855, with ↗Maḫdärä Qal and Martin ↗Flad, to prepare the re-opening of a Protestant mission (↗St. Chrischona-Pilgermission), M.W. was their first local contact. M.W. then became, together with the missionaries, a follower of *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II and served as a middleman between him and the foreigners; as such he witnessed the death of consul ↗Plowden during a battle with the rebel ↗Garäd Kənfu. *Ləğ* M.W. – being one of only two Ethiopians to know English well – assumed a crucial political role in 1867/68, when the British-Indian intervention army, led by ↗Napier, came to Ethiopia to free the captives of Tewodros II. M.W. established the contact between Napier and the young Təgrayan ruler *däğğazmač* Kaśa Mərčа (later *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV), and thus helped in securing him Napier's support after Tewodros's

Mərčа Wärqe (centre) as the Təgrayan envoy to the Napier expedition in 1867 with his attendants behind him, on his right Brigadier-General William Lockyer Merewether, Werner Munzinger, *liqä mäkʷas* Aläma (Kaśa's cousin), Charles Speedy, on his left the priest Gäränkaʾel; drawing after a photo, from the collection of Alex Capus

downfall. *Ləğ* M.W. was then perceived as Kaśa's "chief minister" (Waldmeier n.d.:42) and his main foreign advisor. In 1870 Kaśa nominated M.W. envoy to Great Britain, together with *aläqa* ↗Bərru Wäldä Giyorgis, with the task of taking letters and gifts and asking for craftsmen. But they only reached Cairo, waiting there for about ten months, as London did not wish to receive an Ethiopian mission. In late 1875, following the ↗Egyptian–Ethiopian war, he served as Yoḥannəs's envoy in Cairo, where he had to carry out the peace negotiations after the battle of ↗Gundät. He – from then on mostly called "*liqä mäkʷas* Wärqe" – stayed involved in negotiations with the Egyptians during the ongoing conflict. He was the most active go-between after the battle of ↗Guraᶜ, once (in April 1876) he was even virtually kept as a hostage by the commander-in-chief ↗Muḥammad Rātib *bāšā*. In 1884 M.W., together with his nephew *ləğ* Yoḥannəs Mäšäša Wärqe, were acting as Yoḥannəs's secretaries during the drafting of the ᶜAdwa peace treaty (↗Hewett Treaty) and then sent as envoys to London, to bring the ratified treaty back to Ethiopia (RubActa II, 347). In 1896 M.W. was still the interpreter of Yoḥannəs's son *ras* ↗Mängäša.

M.W. also played a certain role in the creation of a written ↗Təgrəññа literature, as he was involved in a project of a Təgrəññа ↗Bible translation in 1867/68 (Smidt 2003:51). However, this project never went far, probably due to a lack of funds, and manuscripts are not preserved.

Src.: JOHANN MARTIN FLAD, *60 Jahre in der Mission unter den Falaschas in Abessinien*, Gießen – Basel 1922, 52f.; IsKrapf 170f.; JOHANN LUDWIG KRAPF, *Reisen in Ost-Afrika ausgeführt in den Jahren 1837–55*, vol. 2, Kornthal – Stuttgart 1858, 326, 335; RubActa I, 116–17; ibid. II, 100, 338, 347; ibid. III, 66–68, 78f., 90–93, 117, 202, 213, 216–19, 226f., 248f.; THEOPHIL WALDMEIER, *Autobiography*, London n.d., 42; AUGUSTUS WYLDE, *Modern Abyssinia*, London 1901, index.

Lit.: ALEME ESHETE, "The Rôle and Position of Foreign-Educated Interpreters in Ethiopia (1800–1889)", *JES* 11, 1, 1973, 17–27; DouinIsm III.3B, 987–93; RICHARD PANKHURST, "The History of Ethiopian–Armenian Relations", *Revue des Études Arménniennes* 13, 1978-79, 259-312, here 259f.; ID., "The Foundation of Education, Printing, Newspapers, Book Production, Libraries and Literacy in Ethiopia", *EthObs* 6, 3, 1962, 241–90, here 249f.; ID. – DENIS GÉRARD, *Ethiopia Photographed*, London – New York 1996, 40 (ill.); RubInd s. index; WOLBERT SMIDT, "The St. Chrischona Pilgrim-Mission's Private Archives as a Source for Eritrean History: from a Romantic Quest for 'Ormania' to the Establishment at the Erythraean Coast", *Journal of Eritrean Studies* 2, 1/2, 2003, 39–58, here 50f.

Wolbert Smidt

Merchants ↗Trade

Meritorious complex

A syndrome of cultural features labelled the M.c. ("Verdienst-Komplex") has been a focus of culture-oriented research carried out particularly by German-speaking scholars since the 1930s. Its geographical concentrations were parts of southern and south-eastern Asia, Melanesia and predominantly north-eastern Africa, where it was documented among ethnic groups of southern Ethiopia such as ↗ᶜAfar, ↗Somali, ↗Oromo, ↗Sidaama, ↗Hadiyya, ↗Wälaytta, ↗Dorze, ↗Konso and many others. Certain relics could also be found among the Amhara and other peoples of northern Ethiopia (cp. ↗Gaz).

The M.c. consists of three major domains: 1. the killing system, i.e. a detailed scale of honorary rewards for the killing of male human adversaries and/or dangerous animals, 2. "feasts of merit", i.e. festivities on the occasion of possession of a certain number of cattle (in other parts of the world water buffaloes or pigs), and 3. conspicuous ↗funeral ceremonies associated with

memorial monuments erected for the glory of "heroes" who were able to achieve these goals.

These elements are a primarily male-oriented matter; females usually do not have more than a passive role in them. The ethos of the courageous, enterprising, wise and rich man was idealized to such an extent that it became a core element of culture in the societies of the M.c. For the ordinary man the most common possibility to gain "merit" was by killing human enemies or species of big-game such as ↗elephants, rhinoceroses, ↗lions, ↗leopards and buffaloes. In order to prove the deed, the genital organs of slain men and particular parts of the bodies of animals, such as tails, skins or tusks, were taken as trophies (cp. ↗Hunting). According to widespread norms only a man who had destroyed life was able to procreate new valuable life. The sophisticated scales of "killing units" varied among the different groups. The killers were honoured by opulent feasts, they received insignia such as earrings, arm-rings and phallic symbols, titles, privileges and became members of a "meritocracy". On the other hand, they were also submitted to certain rules of behaviour and a set of special avoidances (Haberland 1957; Braukämper in PICES 14).

Killer's sign (erected stick) near Wonago, Alabdu-Guggi; photo 1954/55, by Elisabeth Pauli, courtesy of the Frobenius-Institut, Frankfurt am Main (no. 27–Pa037–39)

Unlike the "killer system" which had to be abandoned following modern changes in the second half of the 20th cent., feasts of 100 and rarely of even 1,000 cattle are still performed in some parts of southern Ethiopia according to the traditional patterns. In the cases of some peasant peoples with few livestock "feasts of merit" can be based on material resources of a more general character, such as wealth in land, agricultural yield, modern means of transport and money. This is documented, e.g., on the Dorze who developed a complicated system of acquiring the rank of a *halaka* (VSAe III, 186ff., 194f.; Freeman 2002:83ff.).

Another major component of the M.c. is the prominence of funeral customs. The wooden ↗stelae on the ↗graves of the Konso, Gato and other groups and the decorated tombstones of the Arsi, memorializing the merit positions of the persons buried there, are the most spectacular examples.

Lit.: Ulrich Braukämper, "The Meritorious Complex: a German Approach to Ethiopian Anthropology", in: *PICES* 14, vol. 2, 706-24; Dena Freeman, *Initiating Change in Highland Ethiopia: Causes and Consequences of Cultural Transformation*, Cambridge 2002; Eike Haberland, "Verdienstfeste in Süd-Äthiopien", *Paideuma* 6, 1957, 326–41; VSAe III, 281, 283, 285, 291f., 326f.

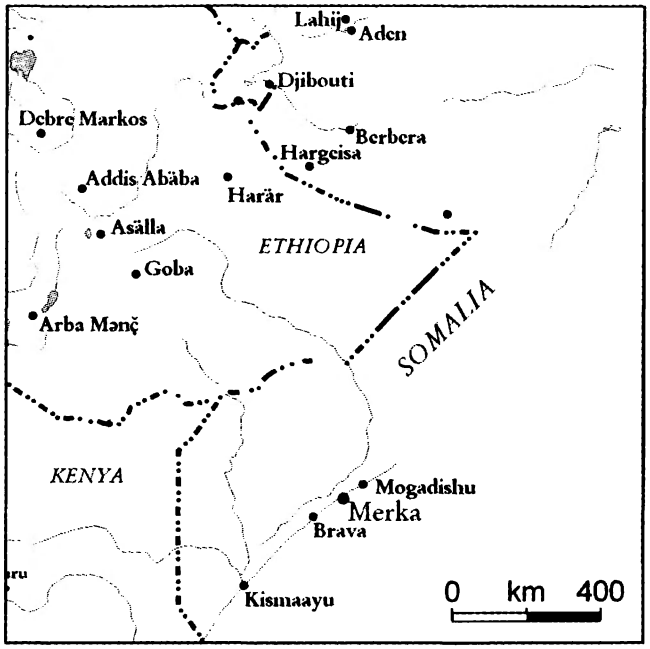
Ulrich Braukämper

Merka

M. (Somali also Marka; Ital. Merca; 1° 43' 11" N; 44° 45' 35" E) is the major town and administrative centre of the Lower Shabelle region (Somali Shabeellaha hoose; population ca. 40,000), lying ca. 70 km south of ↗Mogadishu and 15 km away from the fertile valley of the Lower Shabelle.

According to an oral tradition, M. was founded by Syrian and Persian immigrants as part of a series of towns on the East African coast commissioned by ᶜAbdalmālik b. Marwān (r. 685–705 A.D.), fifth Caliph of the Umayyads. In written sources, the town is first mentioned by al-↗Idrīsī in the 12th cent.; it also appears in the books by Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī and ↗Ibn Saᶜīd al-Maġribī in the 13th cent. (cp. Gori 2006:35f.). The origin and meaning of the name of the town are unknown.

M. has served at least since the 16th cent. as a commercial emporium on the Somali coast east



of the ↗Wabi Šäbälle (Shabelle). Exports included slaves, ivory, spice, aromatic gums, cattle and hides. In return textiles, metal, carved daggers, pepper, tobacco and a variety of manufacture goods, including fire-arms were imported.

However, the importance of M. as a trading seaport is severely limited by the coral reefs that face its harbour making its expansion and modernization practically impossible. During the colonial interlude, the Italians tried to re-condition the port facilities in order to allow them to handle the huge volume of bananas and citrus fruits coming from the nearby Italian-originated Shabelle-valley plantations. Still, to the present, it is necessary to carry these goods by lighter vessels to ocean-going merchant ships.

By the 13th cent., Somali immigrants from the northern interior, like the ↗Digil of the ↗Raḥanween clan confederacies and the Ǧiddu, seem to have repeatedly overrun the coast changing the character of M. from Arab/Persian to Cushitic/Somali. Since the 16th cent., the Biyamaal (or Bimaal) have risen to be the dominant ethnic group around M., later contested by the Habar Gidir Hawiye. Today the ᶜAyr sublineage of the Habar Gidir controls M. and indeed much of southern Somalia.

From a religious point of view, the town has been directly and tightly linked to the famous Islamic pilgrimage centre of ↗Šayḫ Ḥusayn in Bale. A genealogical document about this saint makes ↗Ḥusayn a forefather of *aw* ᶜUsmaan (Cusmaan), the "patron saint" of M., whose tomb (dated to 1560 A.D. or earlier; cp. Freeman-Grenville in EI², 1023) is an important Somali pilgrimage site. Moreover, the same text says that a descendant of ᶜUsmaan went to settle in Bale.

At the end of the 19th cent., the *Aḥmadīya* ↗Islamic brotherhood, which spread in M. thanks to the activity of *šayḫ* ᶜAli Maye (Cali Maye; d. 1916; cp. his hagiography in Gori 2003:195–394), gave new strength to the connection of the town's mystical milieu to the sanctuary of *šayḫ* Ḥusayn in Bale (ibid. 245–48).

A folk poem describes M. as:

Merka cadey,
Minan aw Cusmaan,
Martidi mooda,
Munaafaq waaye.

'White M., Home of beloved Saint Cusmaan, The stranger who fails to intercede at [Cusmaan's] shrine, Is of evil heart.'

The adjective "white", a frequent epithet of M. sometimes felt as an integral part of the name of the city, most probably refers to the town's limestone buildings. It may also refer to the fair-skinned inhabitants of Arab/Persian descent, as opposed to the darker-coloured Somalis of the hinterlands.

Src.: BOGUMIL W. ANDRZEJEWSKI, "A Genealogical Note Relevant to the Dating of Sheikh Hussein of Bale", *BSOAS* 37, 1, 1975, 139–40; ALESSANDRO GORI, *Studi sulla letteratura agiografica islamica somala in lingua araba*, Firenze 2003 (Quaderni di Semitistica 24), 193–394 (part 2: *Le agiografie confraternitali: la* Taḏkira *dello* šayḫ *ᶜAlī b. Muḥammad "Maye" di Merca*).

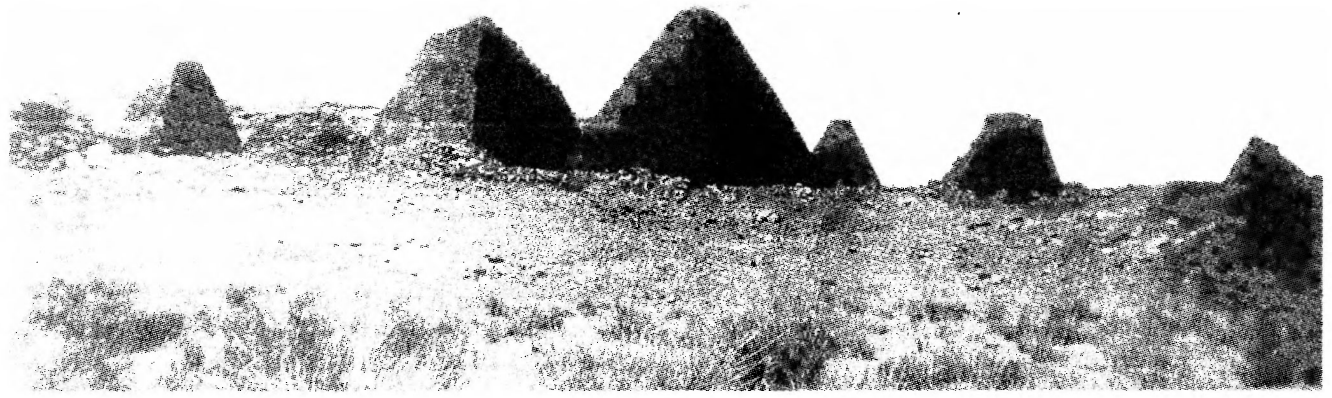
Lit.: LEE V. CASSANELLI, *The Shaping of Somali Society: Reconstructing the History of a Pastoral People, 1600–1900*, Philadelphia, PA 1982, passim; ENRICO CERULLI, "La città di Merca e tre sue iscrizioni arabe", *RSO* 23, 1943, 20–28 [repr. in: ID., *Somalia: Studi editi ed inediti*, vol. 1, Roma 1957, 91–100]; GREVILLE STUART PARKER FREEMAN-GRENVILLE, *The East African Coast: Select Documents from the First to the Earlier Nineteenth Century*, Oxford 1966, 241f.; ID., "Merka", in: *EI²* vol. 6, 1022-23; ALESSANDRO GORI, *Contatti culturali nell'Oceano Indiano e nel Mar Rosso e processi di islamizzazione in Etiopia e Somalia*, Venezia 2006, 35–42, 74–79 (Lit.); HASSAN OSMAN AHMED, *La città di Marka, i Biimaal e il dominio sulla costa somala: la prima colonizzazione italiana del Benaadir ca 1800–1910*, Napoli 1994; MOHAMMED HAJI MUKHTAR – MARGARET CASTAGNO, *Historical Dictionary of Somalia*, Blue Ridge Summit, PA 2003; HELEN CHAPIN METZ (ed.), *Somalia: a Country Study*, Washington, DC 1993, 8, 70, 121, 139; GH. PANTANO, *Nel Benadir: città di Merca e la regione Bimal*, Livorno 1910.

Said Samatar

Meroë

History of Meroë

M. is an ancient Sudanese city. Its ruins are located ca. 180 km north of present-day Khartoum.



The pyramids of Meroë; photo 1878, from Buchta 1881

It succeeded ↗Napata shortly after 300 B.C. as the capital of the Kushite empire (↗Kush), expanding along the Middle Nile and the Butana steppelands.

The southward orientation toward the zone of rainy seasons offered new economic possibilities by allowing extensive agriculture, cattle-breeding and the exploitation of the local ferruginous resources. Under these conditions, a number of settlements arose in that area, becoming important in royal ideology. In general, the Meroitic period shows remarkable changes in the kingdom's intellectual foundations through a weakening of Egypt's cultural impact, as indicated by the incorporation of autochthonous deities into the local pantheon, by new patterns in religious architecture and royal iconography, as well as by the emphasis on the matrilineal concept of legitimation. However, the most important feature was the creation of a specific script to represent the indigenous language (s. below).

On the other hand, contacts with the Mediterranean world are attested by influences in architecture, iconography, sculpture, pottery, a great number of imported luxury goods and a few texts mentioning "envoys to Rome". This openness may also be reflected by the appearance of ruling queens since the late 2nd cent. B.C., obviously triggered by the political situation in contemporary Ptolemaic Egypt.

Only a few decades later, another political innovation seems to have taken place, as demonstrated by the growing significance of the supreme military commanders. From the 1st cent. A.D. onwards, an interior separation within the kingdom is traceable. While the south fell into a state of stagnation, the north, prospering by its strong trade with Roman Egypt, became *de facto* semi-independent under a line of hereditary vice-kings.

Contacts with the ↗pre-Aksumite and ↗Aksumite cultures seem to have existed primarily on commercial level, and are testified to by only a few artefacts of Napatan/Meroitic origin found in Ethiopia and Eritrea. The objects – a Cippus of Horus and a Meroitic archer's loose (from Aksum), four decorated bronze bowls (ʿAddi Gälämo), two faience amulets (Ḥawəlti), an alabastron and some campaniform cups (Yəḥa), as well as an amulet of Harpocrates, a Pataikos and a statue of the god Nefertem (Mäṭära) – give little indication of the intensity of relations. Peaceful relationship obviously changed as a result of ↗Aksum's westward expansion and may have resulted in a series of border conflicts. A Meroitic victory in one of them seems to be celebrated in a rock-depiction at Ǧabal Qaylī in ↗Kassala province dating to the mid-1st cent. A.D., and showing king Amanisalaḫe (Sorakarora) smiting foreign enemies. However, this interpretation is far from clear and the slain foreigners may also represent a local group.

By mid-4th cent. A.D. the Meroitic empire collapsed as a result of three major factors: the displacement of Roman trade to the rising Aksumite kingdom; an ecological catastrophe caused by extensive deforestation followed by the abandonment of settlements; and the increasing immigration of Nubians from the west, creating independent chiefdoms in the Middle Nile Valley (↗Nubia). At least two Aksumite campaigns affecting Sudan are attested for that period, the second being conducted by ↗ʿEzana, recording the shift of political power leading to the establishment of three – later Christianized – Nubian kingdoms.

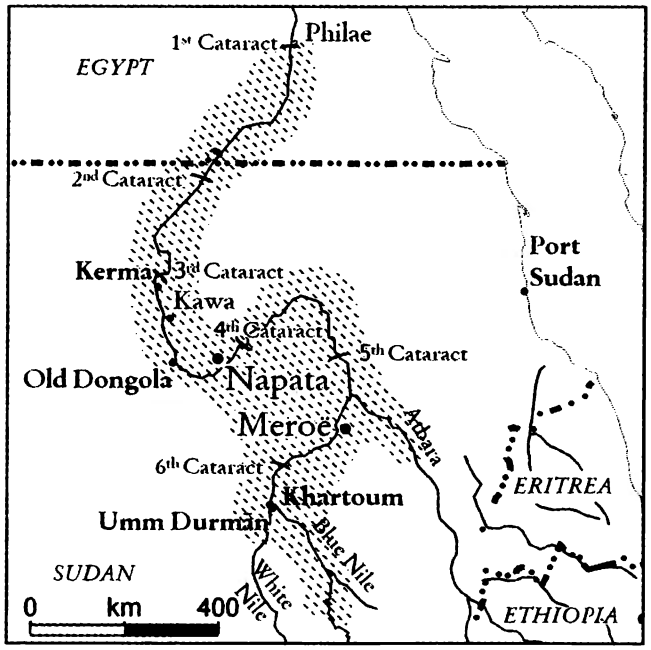
Src.: RICHARD BUCHTA, *Die oberen Nilländer: Volkstypen und Landschaften, dargestellt in 160 Photographien. Mit einer Einleitung von Dr. R. HARTMANN*, Berlin 1881 (ill.); FHN I–IV, here 285 and 286 = RIÉ 286 and 286A.

Lit.: SVETLANA Y. BERSINA, "Monuments of Egyptian-Meroitic Cults on the Territory of the Axum Kingdom", in: *PICES* 9, vol. 5, 175–84; RODOLFO FATTOVICH, "Remarks on the Pre-Aksumite Period in Northern Ethiopia", *JES* 23, 1990, 1–33; GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, "Sembrouthes 'gran re' (*DAE* IV 3 = *RIÉth* 275). Per la storia del primo ellenismo aksumita", *La Parola del Passato* 59, 2004 [2005], 103–57, here 110f., 116f., 127f.; INGE HOFMANN, *Beiträge zur meroitischen Chronologie*, St. Augustin 1978 (Studia Instituti Anthropos 31); MHAksum s. index; JACKIE PHILLIPS, "Egyptian and Nubian Material from Ethiopia and Eritrea", *The Sudan Archaeological Research Society. Newsletter* 9, 1995, 2–10; LÁSZLÓ TÖRÖK, *Der meroitische Staat 1: Untersuchungen und Urkunden zur Geschichte des Sudan im Altertum*, Berlin 1986 (Meroitica 9); ID., *The Kingdom of Kush. Handbook of the Napatan-Meroitic Civilization*, Leiden 1997 (Handbuch der Orientalistik 31); DEREK A. WELSBY, *The Kingdom of Kush: the Napatan and Meroitic Empires*, London 1996; STEFFEN WENIG, "Meroe. Zentrum und Peripherie", in: *L'impero ramesside. Convegno internazionale in onore di Sergio Donadoni*, Rome 1997, 221–31.

Michael H. Zach

Meroitic language

Meroitic is the extinct official language of the kingdom of M. It replaced Egyptian in text records from the late 2nd cent. B.C. onwards and used an independent script in hieroglyphic and cursive forms. Both consist of 23 graphemes (plus a so-called "word divider"), derived from Egyptian Hieroglyphic and Demotic. The language survived the end of M., as the latest inscription was drafted for the Blemmyan (↗Beğa) king Kharamadoye in Kalabša at the turn to the 5th cent. A.D. The corpus of texts as so far recorded in the REM comprises 1379 documents (with 357 numbers left vacant): monumental royal stelae inscriptions, mortuary inscriptions, ostraca and graffiti. The phonetic values of the signs were determined by Griffith in 1911. Nevertheless, only limited progress has since been made in disclosing the grammatical structure of Meroitic. The lexicon is also largely unrevealed except for a few native terms and Egyptian loanwords.



Griffith's assumption that Meroitic represents an early form of Nubian was soon abandoned on account of the fundamental difference between the two languages. Basing on Meinhof's alternative investigation, Zyhlarz (e.g. 1930) hypothesized that it is a Cushitic or at least "Hamitic" language, therefore related to Tu Bedawie (i.e. ↗Beğa). Hintze's fundamental studies demonstrated convincingly that it does not belong to ↗Afro-Asiatic, but forms an early branch of the ↗Nilo-Saharan group. This view is supported by recent research and is generally accepted in Meroitic studies today. Leaving these efforts unconsidered, Böhm (1988) renewed the "Hamitic" hypothesis, relying on Zyhlarz's obsolete arguments.

Finally, it must be admitted that, in absence of longer bilingual inscriptions (the only one known hitherto is much too fragmentary to be reliable) and thus reliable evidence for linguistic comparison, our grammatical and esp. lexical knowledge of Meroitic remains insufficient.

Src.: FRANCIS LL. GRIFFITH, *The Meroitic Inscriptions of Shablûl and Karanòg*, Philadelphia 1911; REM = *Répertoire d'Épigraphie Méroïtique. Corpus des inscriptions publiées*, 3 vols., Paris 2000.

Lit.: GERHARD BÖHM, *Die Sprache der Aithiopen im Lande Kusch*, Wien 1988 (Veröffentlichungen der Institute für Afrikanistik und Ägyptologie der Universität Wien 47); JOSEPH H. GREENBERG, "Nilo-Saharan and Meroitic", *Current Trends in Linguistics* 7, 1971, 421–42; FRITZ HINTZE, "Die sprachliche Stellung des Meroitischen", in: JOHANNES LUKAS (ed.), *Afrikanistische Studien*, Berlin 1955, 355–72; ID., *Beiträge zur meroitischen Grammatik*, Berlin 1979 (Meroitica 3); INGE HOFMANN, *Material für eine meroitische Grammatik*, Wien 1981 (Veröffentlichungen der Institute für Afrikanistik und Ägyptologie der Universität Wien 16); CARL MEINHOF, "Die Sprache von Meroe", *Zeitschrift für Eingeborenen-Sprachen* 12, 1921–22, 1–16; KARL-HEINZ PRIESE, "Zur Entstehung der meroitischen Schrift", *Meroitica* 1, 1973, 273–306; CLAUDE RILLY, *La langue du royaume de Méroé. Un panorama de la plus ancienne culture écrite d'Afrique subsaharienne*, Paris 2007 (Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études. Sciences historiques et philologiques 344); ERNST ZYHLARZ, "Das meroitische Sprachproblem", *Anthropos* 25, 1930, 409–63.

Michael H. Zach

Aksumite inscriptions and relics in Meroë

Despite the direct neighbourship of M. and Ak-

sum, the earliest relics of Aksumite origin on Meroitic territory, amounting to two fragmentary royal ↗inscriptions in ↗Greek, two graffiti in ↗Gəᶜəz and a coin, do not date before the late 3rd/beginning of the 4th cent. A.D.

The first Greek inscription, FHN 285 (= RIÉ 286), from M., represents a part of a throne-like triumphal monument: according to a recent suggestion (Hahn 1983), it might be attributed to ↗Ousanas (?), and indicate that, a few decades before its end, the kingdom became an Aksumite vassal. Inscription FHN 286 (= RIÉ 286A), unearthed at the same site, is neither palaeographicaly nor linguistically telling, and leaves undisclosed its patron king, though it may fall within the 3rd cent. A.D.

Both documents obviously predate the well-known military campaign led by ᶜEzana, after his conversion to Christianity, against the Nubians, successors of the Meroites as a political power along the Middle Nile. According to the relevant epigraphic record (DAE 11 = RIÉ 189), only two cities, including the former capital, remained in the possession of the Nubians, and a throne was erected at the confluence of ↗Nile and ↗Atbara, for which archaeological evidence is hitherto lacking; but there is no hint at the existence of a royal dynasty. The proposal according to which FHN 285 would be a fragment of that monument seems highly unreasonable, given both the geographic distance and the coeval political conditions.

Two graffiti in Gəᶜəz, carved into the murals of the royal pyramid chapel Beg N 2 at M. and, resp., of Temple T at ↗Kawa, in Lower Nubia, obviously reflect the presence of Aksumite travellers taking the "Nile route" to Egypt. Their dating into the 4th cent. A.D. seems to be sound. Probably, the Aksumite coin unearthed in M. may be put in the same context, belonging to the so-called first anonymous minting series, attributed either to the late 4th or better early 5th cent. A.D.

In general, FHN 285 and 286, as well as DAE 11, are deemed to prove the Aksumite expansion into the Nile valley south of the Atbara for at least the greatest part of the 3rd/4th cent. A.D., as also reflected in the royal title "king of (the) ↗Kasu", i.e. "of (the) Kush(ites)", borne by Ousanas (?), ↗ᶜEzana, ↗Kaleb and ↗WᶜZB. The end of this domination or suzerainty over the area of M., engulfed a few decades after the collapse of its dynasty, remains uncertain, but may well coincide with Aksum's supposed withdrawal, in the second half of the 6th cent., from the Nubian kingdom of ᶜAlwa (Alodia).

Src.: DAE IV, 32–42, no. 11 (= RIÉ no. 189); FHN III, nos. 285, 286 (= RIÉ nos. 286, 286A).

Lit.: SVETLANA BERSINA, "An Inscription of a King of Axumites and Himyarites from Meroe", *Meroitic Newsletter* 23, 1984, 1–7; STANLEY M. BURSTEIN, "Axum and the Fall of Meroe", *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 18, 1981, 47–50; ID., "Sayce's Axumite Inscription from Meroe: Observations on a New Edition", *Meroitic Newsletter* 25, 1994, 39–43; ID., "The Axumite Inscription from Meroe and Late Meroitic Chronology", in: FRITZ HINTZE (ed.), *Meroitische Forschungen 1980. Akten der 4. Internationalen Tagung für meroitische Forschungen*, Berlin 1984 (Meroitica 7), 220–21; TOMAS HÄGG, "A New Axumite Inscription from Meroe", *ibid.* 436–39; ID., "Sayce's Axumite Inscription from Meroe – Again", *Meroitic Newsletter* 25, 1994, 45–48; FRITZ HINTZE, "Meroe und die Noba", *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 94, 1967, 79–86; ARCHIBALD HENRY SAYCE, "A Greek Inscription of a King (?) of Axum found at Meroe", *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* 1909, 53–65; WOLFGANG HAHN, "Die Münzprägung des axumitischen Reiches (Mit Katalog, metallurgischem und theologischem Anhang)", *Litterae Numismaticae Vindobonenses* 2, 1983, 113–80; MICHAEL H. ZACH, "Varia Meroitica I", *Beiträge zur Sudanforschung* 6, 1996, 115–27.

Michael H. Zach

Məsbak

M. (ምስባክ, from ሰበከ, *säbäkä*, 'to preach/to proclaim') indicates the proclamation or singing of a psalm versicle during the Eucharistic liturgy (↗*Qəddase*) or the Liturgy of the Hours (solemn Vespers; ↗*Wazema*). By extension, it means an elevated place (e.g., a step of the *qəddəst*) from where one of the ministers, usually the deacon, proclaims the psalm versicle before the reading of the Gospel. The M. is always executed alternately by the deacon and the assembly.

Since the M. is sung immediately before Gospel readings, it is known as the *qədmä wängel* (ቅድመ፡ ወንጌል, lit. 'before the Gospel'). The choice of a given verse for the M. rests on some allusions fitting the celebration; one single word of the verse may be enough for that. M. has been compared to *prokeimena* (Gr.), i.e. responsorial psalm sung before the epistle in the Byzantine Eucharistic Liturgy.

We can distinguish several groups of M. Depending on the type of service, one chooses between the *Qəddase* M. and the *Wazema* M. The first is sung only during the *Qəddase*, and the second is sung only during the *Wazema*, both before the reading the Gospel, with the difference that the *Wazema* M. ends with small doxology (*səbḥat*). Moreover, there is the *Mäwäd-*

dəs M. that is sung during the Sunday office (↗*Mäwäddəs*).

The *Mäwäddəs* M. has no connection to any Gospel reading and consists of verses from the ↗Psalter, from Ps 89 [90], 71 [72], 117 [118], 106 [107], 135 [136] (the last three being considered as one unit because in the Gəʿəz version they have the same opening). One can distinguish between two *Mäwäddəs* M. groups: the Sanctoral and the Temporal.

The *Wazema* M. chooses psalms verses in a similar way to the *Mäwäddəs* M. They also have a similar outline. The *Wazema* M. chooses 2–3 versicles of a psalm with the sense suitable for the specific liturgical period or the celebrated feast, followed by the last verse of the same psalm, and concluded by the unusual doxology: "Glory to the Father, the Almighty; glory to the Son the Creator of all things; glory to the Holy Spirit, to this name, for ever and ever". The *Mäwäddəs* M. combines three parts of a psalm – *wəṭṭane dawit*, 'beginning of the psalm', *kärśä dawit*, lit. 'belly of the psalm', i.e. its liturgical (thematic) part; *fəṣṣame dawit*, 'end of the psalm', which is concluded by the small doxology.

The elements of psalms that constitute the *Wazema* M. and *Mäwäddəs* M. may indicate that the present use of the M. is a reduction of a former antiphonal psalm arrangement which used to be sung entirely. The same reduction has occurred to the psalms used in the *Dəggʷa* service of the *Mäwaśəʾət* (HabUff 106f.), *Sälam* (ibid. 190), and *Śäläst* (ibid. 195ff.).

Src.: አምስቱ፡ ጸዋትው፡ ዜማዎች (*Amməstu ṣäwatəwä zemawočč*, 'The Five Categories of Chants'), Addis Abäba 1972 A.M. [1979/80 A.D.]; *mäggabe aʾəlaf* HENOK WÄLDÄ MIKAʾEL, ዝክረ፡ ቃል፡ ዘውእቱ፡ መጽሐፈ፡ ዚቅ፡ ወመዝሙር (*Zəkrä qal zäwaʾətu mäṣḥafä ziq wämäzmur*, 'Aide-Memoire that is the Book of *Ziq* and *Mäzmur*'), Addis Abäba 1996 A.M. [2003/04 A.D.], 277ff.; LesCDic 484; VelMe I, 305–13, 339, 348–55; II, 56ff., 681 [index].

Lit.: EMMANUEL FRITSCH, *The Liturgical Year of the Ethiopian Church*, Addis Ababa 2001 (Ethiopian Review of Cultures Special Issue 9–10), 30f., s. index; HabTent; HabUff 106f., 170–84, 190, 195ff., 277, 361, 381; BERNARD VELAT, *Exécution liturgique de l'Office divin éthiopien*, Paris ms., n.d., 100; VelMaw.

Habtemichael Kidane

Məṣəwwaᶜ, Məṣwaᶜ ↗Massawa

Məsläne

M. (**ምስለኔ**, lit. 'deputy', 'representative', 'administrator') was a representative of a king or governor acting as an administrator. The term is sometimes interpreted as Amh. *məssəl* [*lä/*]*yäne*, (lit. 'image of me', or 'like me'). The term is of unclear origin, with the earliest evidence appearing from the 18th-cent. Šäwa. The deputy of the Šäwan king (↗*Nəguś*) was called M., in keeping with the term's literary meaning (cp. ↗*Ǝndärase*), but had the title of ↗*liqä mäkʷas*, constantly residing in Ankobär and acting in place of the king when the latter was out of the capital (EgeClass 109). Later M. appears in the system of administration as deputy of a senior administrator, with somewhat vague functions chiefly defined by the nature of the responsibility of the latter. M. were governors of the *mad bet* i.e. crown property lands with the obligations to provide fuel, food and other materials for the court. On the other lands which did not belong to the crown, M. were deputy governors responsible specifically for taxes to the king himself. There were also M. of the markets (EgeClass 154ff.). The system of M. was retained by *nəguś* Mənilək. M. who administered *mad bet* (or *ḫudad*) lands received ↗*madärya* as a reward (MahZekr 117). In other cases M. were rewarded with a part of the products of the region.

The system was extended to other provinces. In 1897 Mənilək appointed a M. of Goğğam seeking to control it without "taking the province away" from the children of *nəguś* ↗Täklä Haymanot (GueCopMen 511). Later, under *nəguś* ↗Ḫaylu Täklä Haymanot, Goğğam was devided into 14 districts, each having a governor and his deputy, a M. (PerGov 288). In the system of the modern Imperial administration under *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I, M. were retained as administrators of *məkəttəl wärädas* (ibid. 347f.).

↗Administrative division

Src: DTWDic 821; KWKDic 157; GueCopMen 213, 215f., 612, s. index; MahZekr 27, 117.

Lit.: AbPrince s. index; BTafA 949; BERHANOU ABBEBE, *Évolution de la propriété foncière au Choa (Éthiopie) du règne de Ménélik à la constitution de 1931*, Paris 1971 (Bibliothèque de l'École des Langues Orientales Vivantes 23), 118f.; EgeClass 109, 154ff. (Lit.); KOFI DARKWAH, *Shewa, Menilek and the Ethiopian Empire: 1813–1889*, London 1975, s. index; JOANNA MANTEL-NIEĆKO, *The Role of Land Tenure in the System of Ethiopian Imperial Government in Modern Times*, Warszawa 1980, 106; PerGov 288, 347f.

Hanna Rubinkowska

Messmer, Pierre Auguste Joseph

M. (b. 20 March 1916, Vincennes, Val-de-Marne, d. 29 August 2007, Paris) was a French politician, who had been active in ↗World War II as a leader of the forces of France Libre in the Horn of Africa.

M. was a son of an Alsatian industrialist. He studied at the École nationale de la France d'outre-mer and at the École des langues orientales (↗Institut national des langues et civilizations orientales), during the 1930s, receiving his doctorate in the field of colonial administrative law in 1939. Drafted in 1937, he joined the Free French Forces under General Charles de Gaulle in London in July 1940 after the French defeat against Nazi Germany and served as lieutenant, from 1941 onwards as commander of the 3rd company in the French Foreign Legion's 13th Half-Brigade (Bergot 1975:104–10).

To support General William Platt's campaign against the ↗Africa Orientale Italiana, leading to the siege and battle of ↗Kärän from 1 February to 27 March 1941, the Free French Legionnaires, sailing from Cameroon via Freetown round the Cape of Good Hope, debarked in Port Sudan on 14 February, entered northern Eritrea and joined the siege of Kärän on 13 March. M. and the Free French Legionnaires were among the troops to enter and finally seize the city.

After Platt's troops occupied ↗Asmära on 1 April, M.'s 13th Half-Brigade managed to capture the city and port of ↗Massawa after half a day of fighting, as well as Admiral Bonetti's Fort Vittorio Emanuele in a sudden assault on 8 April 1941, thus ending continual Italian rule since 1885. M. and his 3rd company captured three officers and 70 marines whilst attacking Italian fortifications with submachine guns and grenades. Altogether two generals, more than 100 officers and 14,000 soldiers were taken prisoner; and the small Italian Navy squadron in the ↗Red Sea ceased to exist.

British and Indian troops hastily deployed guards to save local shops from being looted by the rollicking Legionnaires (Bergot 1975:113–16). For his merits in Eritrea, M. was decorated with the Croix de la Libération by General De Gaulle who shortly thereafter ordered his Legionnaires into Vichy-controlled Syria (O'Ballance 1961:164). M. later also engaged in the battles of Bi᾽r Ḥakīm and Al-ᶜAlamayn, in the liberation of Paris and in the French Indochina war. He became a high official of the French colonial government in Indochina during the late 1940s and governor of several French colonies in Africa in the 1950s, before joining Charles de Gaulle's government as Minister of Defence and as Minister of Overseas Departments and Territories after 1960. Between 1972 and 1974 M. was appointed Prime Minister under the presidency of Georges Pompidou. Since 1999 he has been chancellor of the Institut de France and member of the Académie française as the successor of Maurice Schumann.

↗Brigade d'Orient

Lit.: "Messmer (Pierre, Auguste, Joseph)", in: *Who's Who in France. Qui est qui en France: Dictionnaire Biographique, 37e édition, 2005–2006*, Levallois-Perret 2005, 1446; "Pierre Messmer", *Telegraph* 30 August 2007; ALESSANDRO ARUFFO, *Storia del Colonialismo Italiano: da Crispi a Mussolini*, Roma 2003; ERWAN BERGOT, *La légion au combat: Troupes de choc*, Paris 1975; EDGAR O'BALLANCE, *The Story of the French Foreign Legion*, London 1961; MARCO PICONE CHIODO, *"Eja! Eja! Eja! Alalà!"*, *Die Geschichte Italiens im Zweiten Weltkrieg*, ms., 2005.

Magnus Treiber

Məṣṭir: Mäṣḥafä məṣṭir

The M.m. (መጽሐፈ፡ ምሥጢር, 'Book of Mystery') is a large anti-heretical work by *abba* ↗Giyorgis of Sägla, now generally assumed to be the same as Giyorgis of Gasəčča. The scholars who still believe that they are different personalities from different ages (cp., e.g., Yaqob Beyene 1989:37 n. 8, 39 n. 15) unanimously attribute the M.m. to Giyorgis of Sägla.

According to its colophon, the M.m. was completed on the 27 *Säne* 6916 A.M. [21 June 1424 A.D.], in the tenth year of *aṣe* Yəsḥaq's reign (s. YaqMist II, 312 [text] = 174 [tr.], where the reading "6917 A.M." is accepted; for a detailed discussion of the colophon and the dating to 6916 A.M. s. Getatchew Haile 1981a:112 and n. 44), probably one year before Giyorgis's death at the age of 60, around 1425/26 A.D., in the twelfth year of *aṣe* Yəsḥaq's reign, as attested in the saint's Vita (Colin 1987:53 [text] = 39 [tr.]). The "short chronicle" (BassÉt I, 326 [text] = II, 96 [tr.]; BegCron 12; DombrChr 36 [text] = 155 [tr.]) states that the M.m. was composed during Zär᾽a Yaᶜəqob's reign as a consequence of the discussions between Giyorgis and a foreigner (*afrənǧ*), formerly identified with Francesco Brancaleone. Conti Rossini (1948:15) dismissed the claim, both in regard to the dating to Zär᾽a Yaᶜəqob's time, i.e. after Giyorgis's alleged death in 1425, and to the identification of the foreigner with Brancaleone. Conti Rossini proposed instead the identification of the *afrənǧ* with a Venetian "Messer Zan", who is believed to have put at Giyorgis's disposal the *Vorlage* of the *Athanasian Creed* (↗Athanasius), also translated into Gəᶜəz by the Ethiopian writer, as stated in the colophon of the *Creed* (§ 17), ms. BritLib Orient. 793, fol. 110rb, ዘንተ፡

ሃይማኖተ፡ ጸሐፈ፡ አትናትዮስ፡ ዘሀገረ፡ ባባ፡ እንተ፡ ይእቲ፡ መንበረ፡ ጴጥሮስ፡ ወጳውሎስ፡ ወአምጽአ፡ ምስር፡ ዛን፡ ዘብሔረ፡ አፍራቅያ፡ እስከ፡ ብሔረ፡ ኢትዮጵያ፤ ወአዕለውክዎ፡ አነ፡ ጊዮርጊስ፡ ሰግላዊ፡ ..., 'Athanasius of the city of *baba* [i.e., 'of the Pope', according to Conti Rossini 1948:15], which is the see of Peter and Paul, wrote this Faith, and *Məssər Zan* [i.e., a Venetian 'Messer Zan(e)', that is 'Sir/Mr. John'] of the land of Africa [i.e., 'of *Afrəngi*', according to the correction by CerLett 144, n. 1] brought it to the land of Ethiopia. And I, Giyorgis of Sägla, translated it ...' (Grébaut 1915–17:73 [text] = 76 [tr.]; cp. Marrassini 1981: XXXIX; Getatchew Haile 1981b:239; Yaqob Beyene 1989:40). The erroneous dating of the *Arganonä Wəddase* (↗*Arganonä Maryam*) to Zär'a Ya'əqob's time as well as its false attribution to an unknown "Giyorgis the Armenian" (cp., e.g., GuiSLett 65f.; CerLett 114; RicLett 828) have been conclusively refuted by Getatchew Haile (1982:66f.; cp. also Yaqob Beyene 1989:39 n. 14, 43).

The M.m. is organized into 30 chapters in the form of homiletic treatises, to be read on the occasion of the major feasts of the liturgical year. Each of the treatises first exposes a heretical doctrine, and then proceeds to its refutation. Most of the heretical doctrines are attributed to heresiarchs of the patristic age: ch. 1, Sabellius; chs. 2 and 16, *Aburyos*, i.e., Apollinarius; ch. 3, ↗Arius; ch. 4, ↗Nestorius; ch. 5, Photinus; chs. 6 and 24, ↗Origen; chs. 14 and 17, Eutyches (also *Aftikis*); ch. 15, ↗Severos bishop of the Indies and ↗Theodosios of Alexandria; ch. 18, Manichaeans; ch. 19, *Arsis*, i.e., the 'heretics'; ch. 20, Leo; ch. 28, Flavian; ch. 29, Macedonius. Other doctrines are not listed according to an individual heresiarch: ch. 11, against the Antidicomarianites (cp. ↗Mary); ch. 21, against the Council of ↗Chalcedon; ch. 22, against the Phantasiasts; ch. 26, against the abrogation of the observance of ↗Sabbath; ch. 27, against those who deny the immortality of the soul; ch. 30, against those who deny the resurrection of the dead; chs. 7, 8, 23, 25 on other topics. Only one treatise is explicitly directed against a contemporary Ethiopian theologian accused of heresy: ch. 10, against the doctrine of Bitu (or Betu), who maintained that on the Last Judgement only Christ would come, not the Father and the Holy Spirit. Other treatises exalt the figures of the Virgin (ch. 9), Christ (ch. 11), and the holy orders (ch. 13). The treatises vary in length, probably according to the importance and urgency of each subject; e.g., ch. 26, on the observance of the Sabbath (cp. also Beylot 1994:170ff. [tr.]) is particularly long. This had been a considerable field of controversy for over a century, probably even earlier, reaching its climax in the first half of the 15th cent. In spite of the scarcity of references to contemporary issues (only the heretic Bitu is explicitly mentioned, also recorded in Giyorgis's *Gädl* as his personal enemy, cp. Colin 1987:27–30 [text] = 20ff. [tr.]), it is clear that the main target of the M.m. was the theological position of dissidents and/or opponents to royal authority, who may have in turn fostered their ideologies by means of patristic writings and even ancient sources (cp. Conti Rossini 1948:14; Piovanelli 1994:196). It was no coincidence that the author, the most prominent intellectual of the royal court, was canonized soon after his death (Derat 1998). Getatchew Haile has indicated both the anonymous author of homilies ↗*Rətu'a Haymanot* and the theological positions originating in much debated 14th-cent. writings, such as the ↗*Qälemənṭos* , as among the polemic targets of the M.m. (cp. Getatchew Haile 1981a:103ff.).

The question of the sources of the M.m. still needs careful investigation. In fact, besides the acquaintance with obvious writings (the Bible and various well-known patristic collections such as the ↗*Qərəllos*, as well as later texts translated from Arabic, the collaboration of Egyptian scholars too having been proposed by Yaqob Beyene 1989:43), the recent emergence of new texts definitely prove that Giyorgis of Sägla had access to ancient sources, also dating to the Aksumite age and only partially known to us: this can be demonstrated in particular for the so-called *Aksumite collection* of canonico-liturgical texts (cp. Bausi in PICES 15; Id. 2006). In a polemical passage of the M.m., Giyorgis lists seven sections forming the "Sinodos of the apostles" (YaqMist II, 305f. [text] = 169f. [tr.]; for the polemic target of the passage cp. Getatchew Haile 1981a:103ff.), which can now be partly identified as belonging to the ↗*Senodos* (*Synodus Alexandrina*, *Canons of Simon the Canaanite*, a recension of the *Apostolic Canons*, *Canons after the Ascension of Our Lord*, *Letter of Peter to Clement*) and partly as belonging to the *Aksumite collection* (*Baptismal Order*, *On the Sole Judge* or *On the Unity*). It can not be ascertained if such a collection ever existed (cp., e.g., YaqMist II, 170, n. 30 [tr.], for this hypothesis), or if it is an abstraction made by Giyorgis, but the passage certainly attests that the author of the M.m. still had a certain knowledge of these sections in the first half

of the 15th cent. Giyorgis's familiarity with ancient texts may also be reflected in the ms. tradition of the M.m.: some mss. of the work (BN Éth. 113, EMML 1831, 2426, 2429, 6837) contain a *Sylloge* of writings by Timotheus Ailouros, which is also part of the *Aksumite collection*; moreover, the mss. EMML 1831 and 6837 have inserted the *Refutation of Chalcedon*, part of the *Sylloge*, inside the M.m., and in ms. EMML 1831 the *Refutation* takes the place of the usual anti-Chalcedonian treatise (ch. 21) (cp. Bausi 2002:481ff.). It is more than likely that Giyorgis became familiar with ancient sources through deep intimacy with the rich library of the monastery of ↗Däbrä Ḥayq Ǝsṭifanos (cp. Colin 1987:5 [text] = 4 [tr.]), a *scriptorium* where mss. still witnessing traces of the *Aksumite collection* were written (e.g., mss. EMML 1763, an archaic homiliary dating to 1336/37 or 1339/40, and EMML 1843, a special *Senodos* dating to the 14th/15th cent., with some fragments of the controversial *Qälemənṭos* included [cp. Bausi 1992:15]), within the framework of the complex dynamics between ancient heritage and its revivals (cp. Id. in PICES 15, 536f.; 2006:50f.). One cannot exclude that even for other passages a relationship with ancient sources may be demonstrated, as has been suggested for the millenarian doctrine (cp. Beylot 1974:34ff.), the chapter on Arius (cp. Fiaccadori 1992:10 n. 19), and those on Origen (cp. Lusini 2003).

The M.m. is by far the most important of the works by Giyorgis. Moreover, the scholars who have dealt with it (starting from von Ewald 1844:195; DillmLex ix etc.) have agreed that it ranges among the absolute masterpieces of Ethiopian literature in Gəᶜəz, both for its arduous theological contents and for its complex style, characterized by anaphorical repetitions, similes, metaphors, and rare terms, which demonstrate the profound acquaintance of Giyorgis with all branches of Ethiopian literature in Gəᶜəz, as well as his special taste for rhetorical artifices. Giyorgis himself summarized the essential contents of his major work in the short ↗*Fəkkare haymanot* (cp. Getatchew Haile 1981b).

Probably also the most important Ethiopian original theological work, the M.m. can be in some ways considered a *Summa* of Ethiopian Christian theological thought, and its impact has been lasting and profound on Ethiopian culture and literature. This appears from the frequent reminiscences of passages of the M.m., starting from such works composed during Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob's period as the *Mäṣḥafä ↗bərhan* (cp. Beylot 1994; Derat 1998:54) and other writings of the 15th cent. (cp. Conti Rossini 1948:14; Yaqob Beyene 1989:41, n. 22), until the period of the harsh controversies of the 17th cent., when the M.m. was also frequently quoted (e.g., in the ↗*Mäzgäbä haymanot*, cp. ibid. 47; Fiaccadori 1992:10 n. 19). The M.m. may still be considered an exhaustive exposition of the official theological positions of the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church (cp. Yaqob Beyene 1989:48ff.).

A considerable number of mss. transmit the M.m.: besides the earliest ms. known in Europe, first belonging to the Tübingen collection donated by Krapf (no. 9) and later sent to the 'Missionshaus' in Basel (cp. von Ewald 1844:194, n. 1), where it was thoroughly used by Dillmann (cp. DillmLex ix) before being seemingly lost (cp. ZanBibl 120f. [no. 209]; YaqMist I, v, n. 1 [text]), twelve more mss. are known at present: BN d'Abbadie 49 and Éth. 113; EMML 13, 406, 714, 1191, 1831, 2426, 2429, 6456, 6837; Ṭānāsee 18 = Kebrān 18. The edition YaqMist considered all except for the Tübingen ms., plus one ms. (in Mäqälä) out of the four listed by Cowley (1971:24) in Təgray churches and monasteries. The quick circulation of the work is also attested by the age of the mss., seven of which date to the 15th cent. (BN d'Abbadie 49 and Éth. 113, EMML 1831, 6456, 6837, Mäqälä ms., Ṭānāsee 18 = Kebrān 18). According to the editor of the M.m., the manuscripts may be classified as follows (YaqMist I, vff. [text]): (1) BN d'Abbadie 49; and a series of subarchetypes grouping the following mss.: (2) EMML 6837 and 1831; (3) Ṭānāsee 18 = Kebrān 18, Mäqälä and EMML 6456; (4) EMML 2426, probably a copy of EMML 2429, both 19th cent.; (5) EMML 13, 406, 714 and 1191, 20th cent.; (6) the ms. BN Éth. 113 seems to transmit a corrected and contaminated text. It must be observed that this classification has been proposed on the basis of common variants, not on that of shared innovations, which is the only firm ground for reliable genealogical hypotheses. The printed text has been constituted according to the "base manuscript" method, with ms. BN d'Abbadie 49, which the editor believes to be the "best manuscript" and the most faithful witness of the original recension, serving as the basis.

Src.: AbbCat no. 49; BassÉt I, 326 (text) = II, 96 (tr.); BegCron 12; ChAbb no. 49; GÉRARD COLIN, "La notice sur Nestorius du Maṣḥafa Meṣtir de Georges de Saglā (Traduction)", *OrChrP* 50, 1984, 107–25; ID., *Vie de Georges de Sagla*, Lovanii 1987 (CSCO 492, 493 [SAe 81, 82]);

ROGER W. COWLEY, "The Study of Geez Manuscripts in Tégre Province", *JES* 9, 1, 1971, 21–25, here 24 [4 mss.]; CRAbb no. 139; DillmLex ix; EMML 13, 406, 714, 1191, 1831, 2426, 2429, 6456, 6837; HEINRICH VON EWALD, "Ueber die Aethiopischen Handschriften zu Tübingen", *Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 5, 1844, 164–201, here 194ff. (no. 9); HamTana I (Ṭānāsee 18 = Kebrān 18); SYLVAIN GRÉBAUT, "Un texte éthiopien du Symbole de Saint Athanase", *ROC* 2ème sér. 10, 1915–17, 68–76, 133–41; ID. – LOUIS GUERRIER, "Le fragment anti-chalcédonien du *Maṣḥafa Meśṭir*", *Aethiops* 3, 1930, 1–4, 18–20; WrBriMus 270–75 (no. 361 = BritLib Orient. 793); YaqMist (Lit.); ZanBibl 120f. (no. 209); ZotBNat 127–30 (BN Éth. 113).
Lit.: ALESSANDRO BAUSI, ቀሌምንጦስ፡ *Il Qalēmenṭos etiopico. La rivelazione di Pietro a Clemente. I libri 3–7*, Napoli 1992 (StAfEt 2); ID., [review of Gérard Colin, *L'Homélie sur l'église du Rocher attribuée à Timothée Aelure*, Turnhout 2001 (PO 49/2, fasc. 218)], *OrChrP* 68, 2002, 477–83; ID., "The Aksumite Background of the Ethiopic 'Corpus canonum'", in: *PICES* 15, 532–41; ID., "La *Collezione aksumita* canonico-liturgica", *Adamantius* 12, 2006, 43–70; ROBERT BEYLOT, "Le Millénarisme, article de foi dans l'Église éthiopienne, au XVe siècle", *RSE* 25, 1971–72 [1974], 31–43; ID., "La controverse sur le Sabbat dans l'Église éthiopienne", in: Le Boulluec 1994, 165–87; CerLett 114, 143f.; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Bollettini bibliografici. Etiopia (1915–1927)", *Aevum* 1, 1927, 459–624, here 468f.; ID., "Due capitoli del Libro del Mistero di Giyorgis da Saglā", *RSE* 7, 1948, 13–55; MARIE-LAURE DERAT, "La sainteté de Giyorgis de Sägla: une initiative royale?", in: *MiscAethKur* 51–62; GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, *Teofilo Indiano*, Ravenna 1992 (Biblioteca di «Felix Ravenna» 7), XXXV, 10 n. 64, 87 n. 19; GETATCHEW HAILE, "Religious Controversies and the Growth of Ethiopic Literature in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries", *OrChr* 65, 1981a, 102–36; ID., "*Fəkkare Haymanot* or the Faith of Abba Giyorgis Säglawi", *Le Muséon* 94, 1981b, 235–58; ID., "On the Writings of *Abba* Giyorgis Säglawi from Two Unedited Miracles of Mary", *OrChrP* 48, 1982, 65–91; GuiSLett 65f.; ALAIN LE BOULLUEC (ed.), *La controverse religieuse et ses formes*, Paris 1994 (Patrimoines Religion du Livre); V.M. LUR'E, "Abba Georgij iz Sagly i istorija julianizma v Efiopii" ('Abba George of Sägla and the History of Julianism in Ethiopia'), *Hristianskij Vostok* 1 [7], 1999 [2000], 317–58; GIANFRANCESCO LUSINI, "Tradizione origeniana in Etiopia", in: LORENZO PERRONE et al. (eds.), *Origeniana Octava. Origen and the Alexandrian Tradition* ..., vol. 2, Leuven 2003 (Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium 164), 1177–84; PAOLO MARRASSINI (ed., tr.), *Gadla Yohannes Mesraqawi: Vita di Yohannes l'Orientale*, Firenze 1981 (Quaderni di semitistica 10), XXXIX; PIERLUIGI PIOVANELLI, "Les controverses théologiques sous le roi Zarʾa Yāʿqob (1434–1468) et la mise en place du monophysisme éthiopien", in: Le Boulluec 1994, 189–228; RicLett 828; TadTChurch 222–25; YAQOB BEYENE, "La dottrina della Chiesa etiopica e il «Libro del mistero» di Giyorgis di Saglā", *RSE* 33, 1989 [1991], 35–88 (Lit.).

Alessandro Bausi

Məśṭirä aʿəban

The M.a. (ምሥጢረ፡ አዕባን, 'the Mystery of Stones') is an anonymous Amharic treatise (with a few words in Gəʿəz) on the different qualities of stones.

Stones in Ethiopia were used for such practical purposes as constructing churches and making altar tablets (s. ↗*tabot*; cp. *ṣəllat zäʾəbn*, Ex 32:15). Unlike, e.g., the Arabs, the Ethiopians did not speculate much on religious and magic aspects of plain and precious stones, apart from understanding them as part of the Creation. Most of their knowledge on precious stones (rare in Ethiopia) was from the Bible and translated literature: cp., e.g., the explanations concerning precious stones in the *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*məśṭirä sämay wämədr* (Perruchon 1903:66), or the references to the "stones of ↗India" (YaqMist I, 124, cp. related passage in the Vita of ↗Giyorgis of Sägla, Colin 1987:4).

Composed probably in the 1970s and attested in only two recent mss., the M.a. (s. Kane in PICES 6; Id. in EtRicci) seems to reflect the scanty influence of the large corpus of Arabic literature on stones (cp. cp. Getatchew Haile 1981a:103ff.; cp. Steinschneider 1895). A few linguistic features of the work might indicate a translation from, or adaptation of, an Arabic *Vorlage* – even though the bulk of the material included seems to be indigenous (cp., e.g., the author's mention of ↗Ḥawzen, Kane in PICES 6, 320f., no. 1).

The M.a. contains a register of 51 "magic stones" describing their features (s. Kane in PICES 6) and thus giving guidelines for identifying them. The names of the stones may refer to the similarity of the stones to natural phenomena (no. 17 "moon glow", no. 22 "elephant's sandal", no. 27 "head of a fish"), or link them to religious matters and symbols (no. 10 "the sole of the Lord"). Some are of Arabic origin (e.g., no. 5 from Arab. *ḥāris*, 'guard'). Most stones are described according to their shape, size and colour, or to the places they are supposed to be found at (some of them in ↗Egypt or even in biblical Israel). Specific magic powers of the stones are apparently defined by such features (cp. no. 27).

The magic powers of the stones include healing (even though the use of stones in traditional ↗medicine appears to have been limited), attracting or "binding" people or animals, bringing luck, preserving one's property as well as destroying or keeping away one's enemy etc. Some stones are described as so powerful that even angels, saints or biblical personages used them for special purposes (e.g., no. 2 is said to have been used by King ↗Solomon for the construction of the Temple).

↗Magic

Src.: GÉRARD COLIN, *Vie de Georges de Saglā*, Lovanii 1987 (CSCO 492, 493 [SAe 81, 82]), 4 [text] = 3 [tr.]; DillmLex 758f.; THOMAS L. KANE (tr.), "The Məśṭirä aᶜəban – an Amharic Lapidary Treatise", in: *PICES* 6, 315–36; ID. (ed.), "The ምሥጢረ: አዕባን – an Amharic Lapidary Treatise", in: *EtRicci* 115–27; JULES PERRUCHON [– IGNAZIO GUIDI] (ed., tr.), *Le Livre des Mystères du Ciel et de la Terre*, Paris 1903 (PO I, 1), 66; YaqMist I, 124 (text) = II, 75 (tr.).
Lit.: G. JÜTTNER, "Lapidarien", in: *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, vol. 5, München 2002, 1714f.; MARTIN PLESSNER, "Ḥaǧar", in: *EI²* vol. 3, 29-30; MORITZ STEINSCHNEIDER, "Arabische Lapidarien", *ZDMG* 49, 1895, 244–78.

Luam Tesfalidet – Denis Nosnitsin

Məśṭirä sämay wämədr: Mäṣḥafä məśṭirä sämay wämədr

The M.m. (**መጽሐፈ: ምሥጢረ: ሰማይ: ወምድር**) is an original work of ↗Gəᶜəz literature composed under *aṣe* ↗Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob, possibly by the middle of the 15th cent.

An apocalypse, i.e. a revelation of secret truths equally unknown to the O.T. Prophets and to the Apostles, the work is divided into four treatises, the first one being formed chiefly by a ↗*dərsan* about Gen and Ex, followed by a ↗*tərgʷame*, i.e. a systematic commentary upon a passage of Ezek, and a *raᵓəy* ('vision') about ultimate things. The second treatise is an original *tərgʷame* on the ↗Revelation of John. The third and fourth treatises are two *dərsanat* concerning "the mystery of the divinity" (**ምሥጢረ: መለኮት**, *məśṭirä mäläkot*) and "the birth of ↗Enoch" (**ልደቱ: ለሄኖክ**, *lədätu lähenok*), respectively. According to its incipit, the work "unfolds the mysteries of the first and the last tabernacle, and explains the mysteries of the whole creation" (Perruchon 1903:1). Yet, this statement only refers to the initial treatise, concerning, in fact, the Pentateuch from the creation to the construction of the first tabernacle, the vision of Ezekiel (ch. 40) about the second tabernacle, and Christian ↗eschatology.

The M.m. was revealed to its probable author, the monk Yəsḥaq, by his spiritual father(s) *abba* Bäṣälotä Mikaᵓəl (mentioned only in the first treatise) and/or *abba* Bäḫaylä Mikaᵓəl (also called Zosimas), who seem to be, however, one and the same person (s. ZotBNat 140; Tubiana in PICES 1, 405). Although the text is somewhat unclear, Bäṣälotä Mikaᵓəl was probably introduced as the elder to whom Yəsḥaq owed his initiation into religious life; but the "master" had already died by the time the book was being composed. Thus, the M.m. conveys the teachings of Bäḫaylä/Bäṣälotä Mikaᵓəl as they were written down by his/their "disciple" Yəsḥaq. The identification of Bäṣälotä Mikaᵓəl with the famous 14th-cent. homonymous abbot of Däbrä Gʷäl is quite likely (cp. ↗Bäṣälotä Mikaᵓəl), albeit in respect of the author's pretension, not by the text's chronological definition.

Yəsḥaq was probably a Təgrəññə speaker, his language showing traces of his mother tongue. This, and his statement that "Habaši are the Təgray" (Perruchon 1903:25, in the context of telling reflections on biblical and local Ethiopian people and languages, 24ff., on which Fiaccadori 1992a:89ff.), led Conti Rossini (1911–12:601f. and 1913) to assume that he came from ↗Akkälä Guzay or the northernmost areas of ↗Təgray.

The work is transmitted in at least five manuscripts: Paris, BN éth. 117 (*olim* éth. 37), 16th cent., brought to France from Egypt, between 1633 and 1637, for Nicolas-Claude Fabri de ↗Peiresc (who actually thought it to be the then much sought after book of ↗Enoch, which he had requested); Paris, BN éth. 118 (*olim* éth. 36), a copy of the foregoing executed by Johann Michael ↗Wansleben in 1670; EMML 2161, A.D. 1783/84, fol. 2r–101v; EMML 4532, 18th cent., fol. 1r–45r; a partial exemplar (first three treatises, with peculiar variants), now in private hands, copied before 1899 from an older manuscript (of ↗Tämben?) at the request of *ras* ↗Mängäša (s. Tubiana in PICES 1, 403f.). An abridged version of the text is found in EMML 2229, 18th cent., fols. 167r–174v. A further testimony, EMML 7023 (uncatalogued), is indicated by Getatchew Haile (1981:115f., with striking ascription to the "fourteenth century [?]"), according to whom it contains a shorter recension, lacking a few passages that are included instead, e.g., in EMML 2161, and would be polemical additions from the ↗*Qälemənṭos*. Peiresc's codex was examined by Hiob ↗Ludolf in 1684, who referred to the M.m. both in his *Historia Aethiopica* (LudHist lib. III, cap. 4, § 49f.) and the relevant *Commentarius* (1691:347).

The first treatise was published and translated by Perruchon (1903, with the help of Guidi); the three others, by Grébaut (1911).

A unique piece in Ethiopian literature, the M.m. still deserves thorough investigation as to its sources, those hitherto known ranging from such apocrypha as the *Gospel of Nicodemus* (CANT no. 62) or the *Questions of Barthelemy* (ibid., nos. 63 and 80), here both with reference to Christ's descent from the cross (Piovanelli 1993:210ff.; cp. Kaestli – Cherix 1993:38–41), to

Copto-Arabic ecclesiastical writings prior to the 13th cent. (Schneider 1990, implicitly discarding the lost Hebrew chronicle advocated by Aešcoly 1937:105ff.; s. also Fiaccadori 1992b:445).

In Cerulli's view, entailed partly by the proposed identity of Bäṣälotä Mikaʾəl, the moods and topics of the work make it a typical late 14th-cent. product in the wake of the literary activity of the age of *aṣe* ↗ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon I (1314–44), the text belonging, by continuity, to the same intellectual framework as the ↗*Kəbrä nägäśt*, the *Life of Ḥanna* and the *Zena Ǝskəndər* (↗Alexander the Great). In particular, the marked exotericism of Bäḫaylä Mikaʾəl's teachings would betray that long standing Gnostic bias of Ethiopian ↗monasticism which is still detectable in the 17th-cent. writings by the ↗Zämikaʾelites (CerLett 42–45, 100f. and 145ff.; but s. now Piovanelli 2004:198, 204f.).

Src.: JULES PERRUCHON [– IGNAZIO GUIDI] (ed., tr.), *Le Livre des Mystères du Ciel et de la Terre*, Paris 1903 (PO I, 1), 24ff.; SYLVAIN GRÉBAUT (ed., tr.), *Les trois derniers traités du Livre des Mystères du Ciel et de la Terre*, Paris 1911 (PO VI, 3); ERNEST ALFRED THOMPSON WALLIS BUDGE, *The Book of the Mysteries of the Heavens and the Earth, and other Works of Bakhayla Mîkâ'êl (Zôsîmâs): the Ethiopic Texts edited from the unique Manuscript (Éth. 37 Peiresc) in the Bibliothèque Nationale with English Translation*, London 1935; EMML VI, 266, 329; EMML X, 205; ZotBNat 137–41; CANT nos. 62–63, 80.

Lit.: ARON ZEʾEV AEŠCOLY, "Die äthiopische Übersetzung eines Kapitels aus einer verlorenen hebräischen Chronik", *Orientalia* nuova ser. 4, 1937, 101–15, here 105ff.; CerLett 42–45, 100f., 145ff.; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, [review of Grébaut 1911], *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen* 2, 1913, 106–12, here 107f.; ID., "Studî su popolazioni dell'Etiopia, II. La seconda migrazione Agau dell'Eritrea (Zaguà e Adchemè Melgà)", *RSO* 4, 1911–12, 599–651, here 601f.; CRStor 13; CerLett 42–45, 100f., 145ff.; GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, *Teofilo Indiano*, Ravenna 1992a (Biblioteca di «Felix Ravenna» 7), 89–92; ID., "Bâli", *La Parola del Passato* 47, 1992b, 439–45 (Lit.); GETATCHEW HAILE, "Religious Controversies and the Growth of Ethiopic Literature in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries", *OrChr* 65, 1981, 102–36, here 115f.; JEAN-DANIEL KAESTLI – PIERRE CHERIX, *L'Évangile de Barthélemy*, Turnhout 1993 (Apocryphes. Collection de poche de l'AELAC), 38–41; LudHist lib. III, cap. 4, § 49f.; HIOB LUDOLFUS, *Ad suam Historiam Aethiopicam, antehac editam, Commentarius* ..., Francofurti ad Moenum 1691, 347; PIERLUIGI PIOVANELLI, "Les aventures des apocryphes en Éthiopie", *Apocrypha* 4, 1993, 197–224, here 210ff. (Lit.); ID., "Connaissance de Dieu et sagesse humain en Ethiopie. Le traité *Explication de la Divinité* attribué aux hérétiques «Mikaélites»", *Le Muséon* 117, 2004, 193–227, here 198, 204f.; RicLett 827; ROGER SCHNEIDER, "À propos d'une tradition éthiopienne sur l'écriture, *AE* 15, 1990, 43–46; JEAN SIMON, [review of Budge 1935], *Biblica* 18, 1937, 143–46; WOLBERT SMIDT, "Selbstbezeichnungen von Təgrəñña-Sprechern (Ḥabäša, Tägaru, Təgrəñña u.a.)", in: BOGDAN BURTEA – JOSEF TROPPER – HELEN YOUNANSARDAROUD (eds.), *Studia Semitica et Semitohamitica: Festschrift für Rainer Voigt anläßlich seines 60. Geburtstages am 17. Januar 2004*, Münster 2005, 385–404, here 392f., n. 23; STEFAN STRELCYN, "Une tradition éthiopienne d'origine juive yéménite concernant l'écriture", *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* 23, 1959, 67–72; JOSEPH TUBIANA, "À propos du «Livre des Mystères du Ciel et de la Terre»", in: *PICES* 1, 403–08.

Gianfrancesco Lusini – Gianfranco Fiaccadori

Məśṭirä ṣəgeyat

M.ṣ. (**ምሥጢረ፡ ጽጌያት**, 'The Mystery of the Flowers', also 'The Mystery of the Rosary') is an Amharic ↗hymn praising St. ↗Mary. No Gəᶜəz version of the work has been discovered so far. The M.ṣ. could have been originally composed in Amharic, perhaps in the 17th cent., being therefore one of the earliest works of ↗Amharic literature, and one of a few examples of hymns written in Amharic.

According to Dillmann, the M.ṣ. contemplates the joy and the pains of St. Mary and the life of Christ (DillmBerl 65; but cp. Getatchew Haile in EMML IV, 322). The M.ṣ. presents Mary as the virginal mother of God. The title refers to the analogy of Mary with a flower or blossom. Flowers (sg. *ṣəge*, pl. *ṣəgeyat*) as a symbol of St. Mary are widely used in the Ethiopian Marian ↗hymns, cp., e.g., such works as *Mälkəʾa ṣəge* ('Image[s] of the Flower'; s. ↗*Mälkəʾ*), or ↗*Maḫletä ṣəge* (s. also GrohHymn 63f., 479). Jesus dwelt for nine months in Mary's body which is a holy place, to be compared with an immaculate piece of nature, a flower.

The M.ṣ. seems to be one of the very few Old Amharic poetic compositions extolling St. Mary (cp. another example in ms. BritLib Add. 11, 292, fols. 113–18). We can assume that the M.ṣ. was written during the "Portuguese time", and was deemed, along with some other writings in Amharic, to support the Ethiopian Orthodox faith and Ethiopian veneration of St. Mary against the Catholic reforms (also possibly to counterpart Marian hymns translated from Latin by the ↗Jesuits). After the fall of Catholicism, the M.ṣ. must have been quickly overshadowed by other Marian hymns.

The M.ṣ. has not been examined in recent studies devoted to the Amharic literature and language (cp., e.g., KaneLit 2ff.; RicLett 851ff.), being easily overlooked probably due to its Gəᶜəz title and extensive Gəᶜəz beginning preceding the Amharic rhyming stanzas (at least in ms.

Abbadie 235). In the beginning, every line starts with the words: **ኦማርያም፡ መሰረት** ..., *Omaryam mäsärät* ..., 'Oh Mary, the foundation ...', hence a second title of the M.ṣ. (s. CRAbb 137; for a hymn with the similar beginning, s. ChRep 350, no. 367). However, the M.ṣ. was among the Amharic sources used by Praetorius (1878), who argued (ibid. 10) that the features of the language attested through the M.ṣ. are similar to those described by ↗Ludolf in his Amharic grammar (1698).

Still unedited, the M.ṣ. is vouched for in a few manuscripts. The one which was known to Praetorius is ms. Berlin, Ms. or. oct. 234 (fols. 56r–79), probably the oldest known, dating to the second half of the 17th cent. (DillmBerl 65f.). In addition to the 19th-cent. ms. Paris, BN Abbadie 235, fols. 19r–23, a few more, all dating to the 18th/19th cent., have been recently discovered.

Src.: BritLib, Add. 11, 292; ChRep 350, no. 367; CRAbb 136f., no. 106 [ms. Abbadie 235]; DillmBerl 65f., no. 72 [Ms. or. oct. 234]; DillmLond III, 1f. [ms. Add. 11, 292]; EMML nos. 1308, fols. 191a–196a, 3842, fol. 171a, 4007, fols. 122–124a; LesCDic 551; HIOB LUDOLF, *Grammatica linguae Amharicae*, Frankfurt ad Moenum 1698; KaneDic 2257; FRANZ PRAETORIUS, *Die amharische Sprache*, Halle 1878 [repr. Hildesheim – New York 1970], 10, 305, 400, 473, 476.

Lit.: GETATCHEW HAILE, "A Hymn to the Blessed Virgin from Fifteenth-Century Ethiopia", *Worship* 65, 5, September 1991, 445–50; GrohHymn 25, 63f., 479; KaneLit 2ff.; RicLett 851ff.

Verena Böll – Denis Nosnitsin

Metalwork ↗Blacksmiths

Methodosius of Patara ↗Pseudo-Methodius of Patara

Metropolitan ↗Ṗaṗṗas

Meux, Lady ↗Budge, Ernest Alfred Wallis

MḤDYS

M. (**መሐደየሰ**) was a king of ↗Aksum in the early 5th cent. Known only from his coins, he was possibly a successor of ↗Eon and a more or less immediate predecessor of ↗Ebana.

Although rarely attested, M.'s ↗coinage is indeed one of the most controversial of the entire Aksumite series: its legends, at least in a few exemplars, would even provide the first acknowledgement for (inscribed) words being separated by two or three vertical dots (West 2001). Until recently, it was assumed that he never issued gold coins, his only known "type" (no. 68 in Munro-Hay – Juel-Jensen 1995:161) being a modern forgery, namely a gold cast of a silver exemplar (Type 69, ibid. 162f.). An astounding struck gold issue, completely different from any other surviving Aksumite piece, came to light from ↗Yemen in the mid 1960s (Type 67, ibid. 160f.): at some time probably part of a pendant (as indicated by three small holes), its description was published in 1995, and has since been the object of much interest and speculation.

On the obv., at the centre, the king's image is featured, full-length standing rightwards, wearing an arcaded tiara of three elements, a curbed ribbon hanging behind; his right arm, bare, displays armlets and bracelets, the hand holding a long spear with a large leaf-shaped head, and two pellets where the latter joins the shaft; his left arm is concealed by a round shield at chest level, with a plain out border enclosing five pellets; from behind it, a short sword seems to emerge. Below the waist, the king wears wide and loose trousers, caught tight at the ankles. The Gəᶜəz legend reads: *ngś mwᵓ mḥdys*, 'The conqueror king MḤDYS'. On the rev., a winged female figure, Victory, stands facing left and holding a Greek cross with flared equal arms on a long staff formed of pellets in her right hand, while the left lifts the drapery of the robe, depicted in two layers. Gəᶜəz legend all round: *bz msql + mwᵓ* (*bz msql tmwᵓ* in Hahn 1996:88 n. 11 [Kropp], but s. *mwᵓ* on the obv.), 'By this cross + you shall (be) conquer(or)' – i.e. the Constantinian victory device, possibly inspired by ↗Eusebius of Caesarea (cp. Hahn 2000:303). The iconography of the rev., also appearing in contemporary gems (Devoto – Pedroni 2000), is taken from a Byzantine *solidus* minted by Theodosius II in 420/21 or 421/22 to celebrate either his *vicennalia* or his victory over the Persians and the ensuing cult freedom for Christians in ↗Iran: the Latin cross held by Victory (with no distinction between its lower arm and the staff) is here the gemmed one sent to Jerusalem in 416/17 by the same emperor at the request of his sister Pulcheria (Fiaccadori 2003:191ff. [239]).

In spite of the appearance of the flan, its weight, size and gold content, which conform precisely to the Aksumite pattern (Munro-Hay – Juel-Jensen 1995:161), the complete divergence from the usual design and refinement standard of Aksumite (gold) coinage – not to mention M.'s own (silver and copper) issues, albeit with typological innovations vs. those of his predecessors (Pedroni – Devoto 2003:48f.) – casts serious doubt on the authentic-

Coins of MḤDYS; drawing courtesy of Wolfgang Hahn

ity of this particular M. piece (Ricci 1999:243f., cp. Bausi 2003:172f., n. 42). Its obv. seems in fact to draw inspiration from figures found in much later Ethiopian illuminations: e.g., the *ṣäwärtä wälta* ('shield bearers, squires') of *itye* Amätä Lᵊul and *mäsfən* Yəmḥaränna Ǝgziᵓ in the 1453 ↗*Gädlä sämaᶜətat* ms. kept at ↗Däbrä Maryam Qʷäḥayn (BauEr I, 59–62 and pl. VII, fig. 7).

M.'s available silver pieces, in one type, are both cast and struck issues, the former clearly being forgeries (no. 69, ibid. 162f., ignored by Pedroni – Devoto 2003, pleading instead for minted coins as counterfeit; s. also Godet 1986:184 n. 17 and Hahn 2000:305 and n. 93). On the obv., the king is shown in a beaded outer border, half-length bust rightward, robed in a garment with the curving v-neck above a round collar; he is crowned with a tiara of three elements topped with discs, a curved ribbon hanging behind, his right arm, bare, wearing armlets and bracelets, while the hand holds a Greek-style cross on a long staff, and another such cross balances it on the other side. With the same Gəᶜəz legend as above: *ngś mwᵓ mḥdys*. On the rev., flared or Maltese cross on a plain stand flanked by two wheat stalks. Here too, the same Gəᶜəz legend as above: *bz msql + mwᵓ*.

On his copper issues (Type 70 in Munro-Hay – Juel-Jensen 1995:163ff.), the first ever inscribed in Gəᶜəz, the king is portrayed, on the obv., within a beaded outer border, head and bust profile rightwards, framed by two stalks springing from about shoulder level with a cross between their tops that reaches down to just about his head; he is draped in a garment with fold lines from shoulder to shoulder forming a v-neck double collar, and wears a head cloth with mostly round ribbon hanging behind. Gəᶜəz inscription: *mḥdys ngśᵓksm*, 'MḤDYS king of Aksum'. On the rev., within a beaded outer border, the whole centre field is occupied by a Greek cross with flared arms and gold inlaid central punch-hole enclosed in a heavily beaded inner circle (cp. Russo – Russo 1989:148). Gəᶜəz legend all round: *bz msql + mwᵓ*.

Apart from previous, far-fetched attempts of interpretation (de Contenson 1958:6), his name has been understood (and vocalized) by Godet (1986:209 and n. 24) as a noun or a participle from the root *ḥds*: **Mäḥaddəyəs* ('The Renovator'), pronounced [Mäḥaddis] by way of analogy with *ḥaddis* ('new'), *y* being but a *mater lectionis*. Objections have been raised that the participle form is *mäḥaddəs*, whereas *mäḥaddəyəs* is a "grammatical monstrum", [*mäḥaddis*] sounding just "unlikely" on its own (private communication of Roger Schneider to Wolfgang Hahn [1988], in Kropp 1996:98f.); and that none of the examples provided by Godet for *matres lectionis* in Gəᶜəz script is reliable, such representation of vowels occurring only in "Pseudo-Sabaic" written texts (ibid. 99). This seems to be confirmed, unwittingly though, by a recent contribution with no fitting case for a *mater lectionis* in Gəᶜəz script (Frantsouzoff 2005:53–56). Yet, besides those in "Pseudo-Sabaic" (s., e.g., Drewes in KayeLes vol. 2, 384; Sima 2003–04:275 and n. 36), two instances at least of *mater lectionis*, namely *mys* = *mes* ('hydromel') and *byt* = *bet* ('house'), have been plausibly recognized in as many Palaeo-Ethiopic inscriptions from ↗Mäṭära (Ricci in KayeLes vol. 2, 1297, 1305, nos. A.7, B.a.2, resp.; cp. 1300f., 1308f.).

According to Kropp (1996:98f.), the name M. should be explained rather as *Mäḥadyas*, vz. *Mähadyas*, i.e. a "doublet" of *Matyas* ('Matthias') in Act 1:23 (after Vaccaro 1967:25, no. 35, but s. already Id. 1953:66: "Mehadios = Matteo"), and possibly traced to that of Ματταθιας, *Mattathias* ("Hebrew long form" of *Matyas*), the father of the Maccabees (1 Macc 2:1, 5 Esra 1:40, etc.), *Mättateyu* in the Gəᶜəz ↗Bible (cp. Hahn 2000:303). Both this linguistically elaborated proposal, resorting to "Copto-Ethiopic tradition", and the examples thereof have been severely challenged by Bausi (2003:172–75), in whose opinion a satisfying solution is still to be awaited. In keeping with his conclusion, one might perhaps venture to think of a (South) Arabian name in the form of a participle: e.g., Ṣafaitic MḤDS (Harding 1971:530, cp. 180: ḤDS,

'walk'), i.e. **Muḥad(d)is*, or Sabaic, Minaic and Qatabānic *MḤDṮ, i.e. **Muḥad(d)iṯ* ('Founder, Renovator'; s. Beeston et al. 1982:65: ḤDṮ; Arbach 1993:46; Ricks 1989:61), then rendered in Ethiopic (via "Pseudo-Sabaic"?) with a *mater lectionis* – MḤDYS, i.e. **Muḥad(d)is*.

Src.: DAE I, 56, no. 10 and fig. 40; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Monete aksumite", *Africa Italiana* 1, 1927, 179–212, here 203f. [§ 26 "MḤWYS o MḤYGS"]; ARTURO ANZANI, "Numismatica axumita", *Rivista Italiana di Numismatica* ser. 3ª, 3 [39], 1926, 5–110, here 33 ["MHYGS"], 63f., nos. 81–83, tav. M; FRANCESCO VACCARO, "Numismatica aksumita", *Il Bollettino* [Asmara] 1, 1953, 63–66; ID., *Le monete di Aksum*, Casteldario (MN) 1964, 25; WOLFGANG HAHN, "Die Münzprägung des Axumitischen Reiches", *Litterae Numismaticae Vindobonenses* 2, 1983, 113–80, here 136, 165, no. 30 ["Mehadios"]; ROGER SAUTER, "Monnaie d'argent inédit du roi MḤDYS", *Azania* 14, 1979, 27ff.; STUART C. MUNRO-HAY, "A New Gold Coin of King MḤDYS of Aksum", *Numismatic Chronicle* 155, 1995, 275ff., pl. 50; ID. – BENT JUEL-JENSEN, *Aksumite Coinage*, London 1995, 160–65 [cp. 38, 47, 50 (Lit.)]; STUART MUNRO-HAY, *Catalogue of the Aksumite Coins in the British Museum*, London 1999, 13, 36, nos. 293–302, pls. 27f.; AfrZion 109f., no. 29; LUIGI PEDRONI, "Una collezione di monete aksumite", *Bollettino di Numismatica* ser. 1ª, 15, 1–2 [28–29], 1997 [2000], 7–147, here 113f. [nos. 200–09, pls. 15, 16], cp. 47–52, 80.

Lit.: ARTURO ANZANI, "Numismatica e storia d'Etiopia", *Rivista Italiana di Numismatica* 5–6 [41–42], 1928–29, 5–69, here 36; ID., "Le monete dei re di Aksum. Studi supplementari", *ibid.* ser. 4ª, 1 [43], 1941, 49–73, here 59 ["Michea (Miheyyas?)]"; MOUNIR ARBACH, *Le maḍābien. Lexique, Onomastique et Grammaire d'une langue de l'Arabie méridionale préislamique*, Aix-en-Provence 1993, vol. 1, 46; BauEr I, 59–62 and pl. VII, fig. 7; ALESSANDRO BAUSI, "Numismatica aksumita, linguistica e filologia", *Annali dell'Istituto Italiano di numismatica* 50, 2003 [2005], 157–75, here 172–75 ["MḤDYS"]; ALFRED BEESTON et al., *Dictionnaire sabéen (anglais–français–arabe)*, Louvain-la-Neuve – Beyrouth 1982, 65; CRStor 216; HENRI DE CONTENSON, "Les fouilles à Axoum en 1958. Rapport préliminaire", *AE* 5, 1963, 3–16, here 6 [repr. in: ID., *Antiquités éthiopiennes d'Axoum à Haoulti*, Saint-Maur-des Fossés 2005 (Bibliothèque Peiresc 16), 75–90, here 68f.]; GUIDO DEVOTO – LUIGI PEDRONI, "La «Nike» di Teodosio II su due oggetti preziosi da collezione privata", *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum* 43, 2000, 200–04; ABRAHAM JOHANNES DREWES, "Some Features of Epigraphical Ethiopic", in: *KayeLes* vol. 2, 382–91, here 384; GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, "Πρόσωψις, non πρόοψις: Efeso, Gerusalemme, Aquileia (Nota a *IEph* 495, 1 s.)", *La Parola del Passato* 58, 2003 [2004], 182–249, here 191ff., 239 (Lit.); SERGEI FRANTSOUZOFF, "Matres lectionis v rannem geeze" ('*Matres lectionis* in Early Gəᶜəz'), in: DENIS NOSNITSIN et al. (eds.), *Varia Aethiopica: in Memory of Sevir B. Chernetsov (1943–2005)*, St. Petersburg 2005 (= Scrinium 1), 50–57; ERIC GODET, "Bilan de recherches récentes en numismatique axoumite", *Revue numismatique* 6ᵉ sér., 28, 1986, 174–209, here 184 n. 17, 192 and n. 24, 209, pl. VIII (G); WOLFGANG HAHN, "Aksumite Numismatics – A Critical Survey of Recent Research", *ibid.* 155, 2000, 281–311, here 293, 295, 303, 308; ID., "Eine axumitische Typenkopie als Dokument zur spätantiken Religionsgeschichte", *Jahrbuch für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte* 46, 1996, 85–94 (Lit.); MANFRED KROPP, "Zum Königsname MḤDYS der Aksumitischen Münzen", *ibid.* 95–99 (Lit.); STUART C. MUNRO-HAY, "MHDYS and Ebana, Kings of Aksum. Some Problems of Dating and Identity", *Azania* 14, 1979, 21–30; MHAksum 81f., 189, 192, 267 ["Mehadeyis"]; RICHARD PANKHURST, "Mḥdys", in: *DicEthBio* 105 (Lit.); LUIGI PEDRONI – GUIDO DEVOTO, "The Silver Coins of the Aksumite King Meḥadeyos in the Light of the Chemical-Physical Analyses ", *Aethiopica* 6, 2003, 47–53, here 48f.; LANFRANCO RICCI, "Iscrizioni paleoetiopiche", in: *KayeLes* vol. 2, 1291–311; ID., [review of Munro-Hay 1999], *RSE* 43, 1999 [2001], 243–44 ["MḤDDS"]; STEPHEN DAVID RICKS, *Lexicon of Inscriptional Qatabanian*, Rome 1989, 61; FRANCO RUSSO – GIANLUIGI RUSSO, "Sugli intarsi in oro nella monetazione aksumita", *Bollettino di Numismatica* ser. 1ª, 7, 2 [13], 1989 [2000], 144–60, here 189; ALEXANDER SIMA, "Die 'sabäische' Version von König ᶜĒzānās Trilingue RIE 185 und RIE 185bis", *Archiv für Orientforschung* 50, 2003–04, 269–84, here 275 and n. 36; LUCIA TRAVAINI, "La croce gemmata sulle monete dal V al XII secolo", in: GEMMA SENA CHIESA (ed.), *Gemme: dalla corte imperiale alla corte celeste*, Milano 2002, 111–25, here 114f. and nn. 14–20, 118 and n. 54; VINCENT WEST, "Geᶜez Legends on Aksumite Coins", *Oriental Numismatic Society Newsletter* 159, 1999, 5f.; ID., "Geᶜez Punctuation Marks on Aksumite Coins", *ibid.* 166, 2001, 4f.

Gianfranco Fiaccadori

Mibäzḫu

The M. (ሚበዝኁ) is a ↗*qəne* of three verses (*bet*, pl. *abyat*) that is sung after each three lines of Ps 3. Its name is taken from the beginning of the same psalm (*ʾAgziʾo mi bäzḫu* ..., 'Lord, how are they increased ...'). Though this *qəne* has three *abyat* like ↗*zäʾamlakəyä*, it differs in the length of its verses and its melody, ↗*gəᶜəz*. The M. is employed in the ↗*Kəśtätä aryam* service. During the Easter period, the M. is replaced by other elements of the ↗*Dəggʷa*.

Src.: ADMASU ĞÄMBÄRE, መጽሐፈ: ቅኔ: (ዝክረ: ሊቃውንት) (*Mäṣḥafä qəne* [*zəkrä liqawənt*], 'The Book of the *Qəne* [the Memory of the Scholars]'), Addis Abäba 1963 A.M. [1970/71 A.D.].

Lit.: ENRICO CERULLI, "Di alcune varietà di inni della Chiesa Etiopica", *Orientalia* nova ser. 3, 1934, 294–305; CRAbb IV, 222–46, here 240; *aläqa* ᶜƎNBAQOM QALÄ WÄLD, ስለ: ቅኔ: ትምህርትና: ስለ: ጥቅሙ (*Səlä qəne təmhərtənna səlä ṭəqmu*, 'About the Teaching and the Importance of the *Qəne*'), in: *PICES* 3, vol. 2, 117–32; ERIC GODET, "La métrique du qənē guèze", *Abbay* 12, 1983–84, 117–203, here 152f.; HabTent 177; HabUff 216; *mämhər* YƎḪEYYƎS WÄRQE, ንባብ: ወትርጓሜ: ዘቅኔያት: አዕማደ: ምሥጢራት (*Nəbab wätərgʷame zäqəneyat: aᶜəmadä məśtirat*, 'Text and Interpretation of the *Qəne*: the Pillars of Mysteries'), Addis Abäba 1960 A.M. [1967/68 A.D.], 14, 21.

Habtemichael Kidane

Michael the Syrian

M. (Syr. Mīḵāʾēl Rabbā, 'M. the Elder/Great'; b. 1126/27, Melitene [today Malatya], d. 7 November 1199, Monastery of Bar Ṣawmā) was the Patri-

arch of the Syrian Orthodox Church from 1166 to 1199, and one of the major Syriac historians. The epithet *rabbā* was first used by a 13th-cent. Syrian historian Grigoryos Bar ʿEḇrāyā, who had to differentiate between M. and his nephew Michael "the Younger" (Syr. *Zaʿōrā*), the next patriarch of the Syrian Orthodox Church (1199–1215). In western tradition he is referred to as "M. the Syrian", after the sobriquet preferred by the editor and translator of his chronicle Jean-Baptiste Chabot, following the Armenian usage into which language the chronicle had once been translated.

Before his patriarchate, M. had been the archimandrite of the Bar Ṣawmā monastery near Melitene. It was a difficult period for the Syrian Church both internally (fall of ethical standards of the hierarchy, schisms) and externally (clashes between Crusaders and Muslim *amīrs*). M. showed extraordinary skills in taking care of the internal problems (reform attempts by passing disciplinary canons, deposing corrupt bishops, excommunicating schismatics). He kept good contacts with both the Christian (Armenian Cilicia, Byzantium, Crusader states), and the Muslim powers (in spite of a brief imprisonment), and was thus able to avert dangers menacing his Church.

M. is known to have composed an anaphora, homilies, hagiographical and theological writings, but his fame is based mainly on his authorship of a universal *Chronicle*, the largest ever written in Syriac, which covers the period from the Creation to his own epoch (1195/96). He made use of several earlier historiographical works, which he frequently quoted verbatim. For earlier epochs it is based on partly known and partly unknown sources. These are: until Constantine, ↗Eusebius of Caesarea (both the *Chronicle* and the *Church History*); for the years 325–431, the *Church Histories* of Socrates and Theodoret, for 431–565, the *Church History* of Zachariah the Rhetor, for the years 325–582 the *Church History* of ↗John of Ephesus. For the later period all of M.'s sources are lost (with the exception of the *Chronicle* of Jacob of Edessa, which survives in part).

The *Chronicle* was translated into Armenian (two versions) and Arabic. It contains valuable source material on the history of Ethiopia and adjacent countries, as well as a few more or less legendary traditions.

M. places "Indians" (= Ethiopians, s. ↗India as name of Ethiopia) among the sons of Ham (7, tr. Chabot vol. 1, 16), along with the Egyptians, and the countries of ↗Kush, Saba and Egypt in the domain of Cham (Africa). He provides the name of the eponym of the Ethiopians, an Egyptian by the name Ethiopos, which he explains as meaning "Kushite" (10, tr. ibid. 21). M.'s terms "Kushites", "Indians" and "Ethiopians" seem to mean almost the same, which proves him to be an intellectual heir of Greek geographical concepts of Late Antiquity. Yet, after Eusebius's *Chronicle*, he explains that Ethiopians left the area by the Indus and moved to live near Egypt (22, tr. ibid. 39), thus showing that he also accepted the belief in the continental connection between East Africa and the Indian Peninsula. ↗Moses, as an Egyptian high military commander, is said to be waging a ten year long war with the "Ethiopians" (tr. ibid. 40). For the Christian epoch M. provides the name of the apostle of the Kushites – Marmatos (93, tr. ibid. 150).

As one of the sources of M. was the *Church history* of Socrates, the story of Frumentius, Edesius and Athanasius introducing Christianity into "India Interior" found its way into the *Chronicle* (131f., tr. ibid. 258). Likewise, since another of his sources was the *Church History* of John of Ephesus, M. took from him the account of the martyrdom of the Christians of ↗Naǧrān in the beginning of the 6th cent., together with an introduction originating from ↗John Malalas (273–76, tr. Chabot vol. 2, 183–89). Also on the basis of John's work M. tells us that the great bubonic (the so-called "Justinianic") plague began to spread from the countries south of Egypt (Kush, ↗Ḥimyar; 305, tr. ibid. 235f.). From the same source comes information on the spread of ↗Julianism comes, which *inter alia* reached "Indians, Kushites and Ḥimyarites" (313, 320, tr. ibid. 251, 264f.), as well as that on the Christianization of the Alodians in ↗Nubia (371f., tr. ibid. 348).

For the Muslim epoch M. provides a passage on the visit of George, king of the Christian Nobades, to the caliph (836 A.D.; 530-34, tr. vol. 3, 90–94). He also mentions the conquest of Nubia by Salaḥaddīn (710, tr. ibid., 361).

Src.: JEAN-BAPTISTE CHABOT (ed., tr.), *Chronique de Michel Le Syrien, patriarche jacobite d'Antioche (1166–1199)*, 4 vols., Paris 1899, 1901, 1905, 1924 [repr. Bruxelles 1963]; GIOVANNI VANTINI (ed., tr.), *Oriental Sources concerning Nubia*, Heidelberg – Warsaw 1975, 308–21.

Lit.: GrafLit II, 265ff.; DOROTHEA WELTECKE, *Die "Beschreibung der Zeiten" von Mōr Michael dem Grossen (1126–1199): eine Studie zu ihrem historischen und historiographiegeschichtlichen Kontext*, Lovanii 2003 (CSCO 594, Subsidia 110); WITOLD WITAKOWSKI, "Syriac Historiographical Sources", in: MARY WHITBY (ed.), *Byzantines and Crusaders in Non-Greek Sources, 1025–1204*, Oxford 2007, 253–82 (Proceedings of the British Academy 132).

Witold Witakowski

Michaelis, Johann Heinrich

M. (b. 1668, Halle an der Saale, Germany, d. 1738, Halle an der Saale, Germany) was one of the students of Hiob ↗Ludolf who continued his teacher's work in ↗Ethiopian studies. Unlike his mate Johann Michael ↗Wansleben, however, he never attempted to reach Ethiopia.

M.'s importance for Ethiopian studies lies in his 1724 publication of the biography of Peter ↗Heyling, the Protestant missionary and advisor of *aṣe* ↗Fasilädäs. It was based on manuscripts that M. found in his teacher's papers. Sources used were a confidential report by *abba* ↗Gorgoryos (who met Heyling in 1647), information of *ḫoğa* ↗Murād (the envoy of the Ethiopian ruler to Batavia in today's Indonesia), and a rather polemic account written by Wansleben (based on Catholic sources).

Since 1699 M. taught Oriental languages, and later theology, at the University of Halle. He was also the chief director of August Hermann Francke's *Collegium orientale theologicum*, a practical school of Biblical and Oriental philology quite unique at the time, thus continuing Ludolf's line of work in a prominent framework. In 1720 M. published an annotated Lutheran edition of the Hebrew Bible in Halle. M. was particularly renowned for his exegetical works (e.g., the 1720 *Uberiorum Adnotationum*); his Hebrew and "Chaldaean" Grammars were published in several editions (1708–48).

Other members of the M. family prominently continued M.'s work in Semitic philology. His grand-nephew was Johann David Michaelis from Halle, a biblical scholar, famous Semitist and geographer in Göttingen (cp. Carsten ↗Niebuhr).

Src.: IOANNES HENRICUS MICHAELIS, *Sonderbarer Lebens-Lauff Herrn Peter Heylings, aus Lübec, und dessen Reise nach Ethiopien ... Aus des Sel. Hn. Geh. Rath Ludolfs edirten Schriften und andern noch nicht gedruckten Documenten ...*, Halle 1724 [extract in: WERNER RAUPP (ed.), *Mission in Quellentexten, Geschichte der Deutschen Evangelischen Mission von der Reformation bis zur Weltmissionskonferenz Edinburgh 1910*, Erlangen 1991, 97f.]; ID., *Adnotationes in Librum Iobi, et in V. Megilloth, hoc est in Canticvm Canticorvm, Libellum Ruthæ, Threnos Ieremiæ, Coheleth siue Ecclesiasten, & Estheræ Historiam*, Halae 1720; JOHANN HEINRICH MICHAELIS, *Kurtze Anleitung zum rechten Verstande des Predigers Salomonis und des Buches Hiob*, Halle 1737.

Lit.: JOHANN MATTHÄUS HASSENCAMP, *Johann David Michaelis Lebensbeschreibung, von ihm selbst abgefaßt*, Rinteln – Leipzig 1793; MANFRED KROPP, "Ein äthiopischer Text zu Peter Heyling: ein bisher unbeachtetes Fragment einer Chronik des Fāsiladas", in: *PICES* 7, 243–52.

Wolbert Smidt

Midda

M. (ምድ) is an area to the north of the historical district of ↗Märḥabete. It is part of Märḥabete in a broader sense. In the pre-1974 administrative division, M. formed a *wäräda* in the Märḥabete *awraǧǧa*. With the administrative reorganization in 1995, M. was merged with neighbouring Wäräm Wadätu into Midda Wärämo with the capital at Märañña (or Märanya, also capital of M. proper; for location s. Mähal Meda).

M. was one of the early Christianized regions of central Ethiopia. The Ethiopian Orthodox Church lists 46 churches in Märḥabete as founded by the early 16th cent., 26 of them in M.

Since the 16th-cent. ↗Oromo expansion the area has been inhabited by the Oromo; the local group becoming known also as the M. The Oromo of M. tried to oppose the 18th-/19th-cent. Šäwan expansion: before succeeding ↗Asfa Wäsän, his son and then *abägaz* of Märhabete *märədazmač* ↗Wäsän Sägäd suppressed a rebellion and submitted the M. Oromo.

M. was also the site of death for ↗Säyfu Śahlä Śəllase. In 1860, on his return from a Harärge expedition to Märḥabete he had to face a revolt from his own *məsläne* Kəbrat. Säyfu was killed in battle and buried in M.

During the reign of ↗Mənilək II, the governor of M. was granted the title ↗*ras*.

M. is a fast growing town, it has an air strip and has recently been connected by roads to both Šäwa and Wällo.

Src.: AWTarik 140; BTafA 527, 577, 743, s. index; CecZeila vol. 1, 258f.; GueCopMen 96, 503.

Lit.: EgeClass 27, 149; MahZekr 138; StStud 93, 96, 108; VOLKER STITZ, "Distribution and Foundation of Churches in Ethiopia", *JES* 13, 1, 1975, 11–36, here 13.

Evgenia Sokolinskaia

Middle East, relations with the

The term "M.E." refers to the countries of north-eastern Africa and south-western Asia, extending from Morocco to Afghanistan. Sometimes used interchangeably, as a more common definition, with "Near East", the term was coined along with the latter (and "Far East") a few years prior to ↗World War I, but entered the official vocabulary of most Western languages in the aftermath of the war. The post-war arrangements indeed reshaped the whole region. What used to be the ↗Ottoman Empire, the last all-regional Islamic state, was dismembered by the British and French occupiers, who initiated and enabled

the emergence of various separate modern states. Historically, the term "M.E." defined the new, Western influenced concept of a politically diversified region. A primary cause for the spread of this term was the simultaneous emergence among the local Muslim societies of various modern nationalist movements, royal dynasties, and local elite groups. In time – mostly after ↗World War II – such movements ensured the liberation of the different states from Western occupation and thus perpetuated the region's political diversity.

The dismemberment of the Islamic empire and the creation of the diversified M.E. ushered in a new phase in the history of Ethiopian–Oriental relations. Since ancient times, Ethiopia has been an extension of Near Eastern, then Christian Oriental, civilizations – and, due to its main religions, languages, political traditions and strategic affiliations has ever remained so. The emergence of ↗Islam in the 7th cent. and its hegemony as a form of political identity for 13 centuries reshaped and defined much of Ethiopian–Oriental relations.

The early 20th-cent. rendering of the "Land of Islam" into the "M.E." opened new opportunities. During the first half of the century, Ethiopia developed bilateral relations with the different states and societies. Relations were mainly developed in places where there were Christian interests, namely, ↗Egypt and ↗Jerusalem. Ethiopian students were often sent to Egypt, and an intensive dialogue over inner-church relations developed there. During the Italian aggression, Ethiopia sought help from various Arab countries, and in the aftermath of World War II, it established diplomatic relations with all newly independent Middle Eastern states, including the new Jewish one, ↗Israel.

In the 1950s and 60s, the "M.E." concept was confronted with a strong challenge from within. New social forces in the newly liberated Arab societies strove to reunite the region and recreate it as an "Arab World". In some central countries, those forces, led by young army officers, managed to overthrow the old elite groups and royal houses which had collaborated with the Westerners in creating the M.E. The Unification of Arab states (notably the Egyptians and Syrians in 1958–61) undermined the legitimacy of territorial states, monarchies, traditional social structures, and non-revolutionary politics. The redefinition of the region as "revolutionary" and "Arab" alienated Imperial Ethiopia, and threatened to ignite the same spirit among its Muslims. Eritrean secessionism and Somali irredentism were conceived by Ethiopia's ruling elite as being backed by a momentous pan-Arabism. At the same time, the newly emancipated Africa offered Ethiopia diplomatic seniority. It was against this substantially African background that Imperial Ethiopia turned its back on the M.E. and severed some of its ancient ties. In 1959, by having an Ethiopian patriarch appointed (↗*Paṗpas*), ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I totally abolished the long-standing religious ties with ↗Egypt; in 1973 he broke diplomatic relations with Israel.

The "Arab World" secular, socialist and revolutionary concept, meanwhile, lost momentum. As of the late 1960s, the separate states had regained internal stability. With a few exceptions (Lebanon and Sudan), all Arab regimes have enjoyed continuity since 1970, and no meaningful efforts at pan-Arab unification and its potential effects on Ethiopia have been recorded. However, the re-assertion of the "M.E." concept – in particular the peace processes that resulted in the principal acceptance of Israel into the diversified region – has come under a new challenge since the late 1970s. Political Islam re-emerged in strong opposition to the modern states, their institutions and cultures. Aiming at re-uniting the region as a "Land of Islam" and at regaining Islam's political, legal, and moral dominance, radical Islam continues to challenge not only the Middle Eastern regimes, but also its neighbours, and has had a noticeable influence on some Muslims in Ethiopia, Somalia and Eritrea.

Ethiopia itself underwent profound changes during these periods. During Mängəśtu Ḫaylä Maryam's regime (↗Provisional Military Administrative Council), it lost much of its African seniority, but also refrained from reconnecting to what it conceived as an "Arab reactionary" M.E. The new regime, established in 1991, seems to be making an effort to rebuild Ethiopia's ancient ties to the M.E. as it attempts to maximize the benefits and minimize the obvious risks.

↗Arabia

Lit.: MALCOM E. YAPP, *The Making of the Modern Near East, 1792–1923*, London 1987; ID., *The Near East Since the First World War*, London 1991, 443–76 (Lit.); ErlEth; HAGGAI ERLICH, *The Cross and the River: Ethiopia, Egypt, and the Nile*, Boulder, CO 2002; ID. – ISRAEL GERSHONI (eds.), *The Nile: Histories, Cultures, Myths*, Boulder, CO 1999; TrIslam.

Haggai Erlich

Migrations ↗Population history

Mikaʾel ↗Angel(s)

Mikaʾel I

M. I (ሚካኤል) was a metropolitan (↗*Ṗappas*) of the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church in the early 12th cent., possibly the successor of ↗Giyorgis I. Christened as Ḥabīb al-Aṭfīḥī, he was consecrated by the Coptic patriarch Macarius II (1102–28), and remained in office during the pontificate of John V (1147–67).

According to the *History of the Patriarchs of Alexandria*, at the time of Patriarch Gabriel (1131–45), an unnamed "king of Abyssinia" (*malik al-Ḥabaša*) asked M. to consecrate for his land more bishops (cp. ↗*Eppisqoppos*), in keeping with the "the old custom". M. refused, since this would go beyond his prerogatives, and the king dispatched letters to both the Patriarch and the *ḫalīfa* al-Ḥāfiẓ (1130–49; ↗Fāṭimids) with the same request. The *ḫalīfa* was favourable, but Gabriel warned him that the number of bishops in Ethiopia would thus exceed the amount permitted by Canon ↗law and they would be able to consecrate a patriarch. The Ethiopians could become independent from the ↗Coptic Church of Egypt, become stronger and endanger the neighbouring countries, including the Muslim ones. The Patriarch dispatched a letter to the Ethiopian king, advising him to give up his intention. After returning to Egypt, the messengers of the Patriarch reported that Ethiopia was struck by calamities, and even the king's palace was hit by a "heavenly fire". The Ethiopian king did not insist on his position. He was blessed by the Patriarch, and the country immediately recovered. The same story was apparently translated into Gəʿəz, with a few variants, around 1400 A.D., and included in the ↗*Sənkəssar*, for 10 *Miyazya*, the day of the commemoration of Gabriel (ColSyn XII, 526f.; cp. SerHist 253).

Also, the *History of the Patriarchs* has it that, during the tenure of John V, an unnamed Ethiopian king sent a letter to ʿAlī b. as-Salār, *wazīr* of the *ḫalīfa* aẓ-Ẓāfir (1149–54), asking him to replace the old and weak M. It turned out, however, that the true reason was the opposition of M. to the new king, an usurper of the throne. The report has been interpreted by Conti Rossini as a reference to the seizure of political power by the ↗Zagʷe dynasty, which could have taken place around 1137 (CRStor 289f., 303). Viewing M. as a witness to the dynastic change connects him with the search for the last pre-Zagʷe ruler of Ethiopia. Some traditions claim that this was ↗Dəlnaʿod, whereas some others identify him with ↗Dəgnağan. Compiling the chronology of the pre-Zagʷe Ethiopian kings on the basis of traditional sources (in particular, the "kings lists"; cp. ↗Chronology), Śərgəw Hablä Śəllase has equated Dəgnağan with Anbäsa Wədəm, another early and less well known ruler, and called attention to a lengthy marginal note preserved in the "Golden Gospels" of ↗Mikaʾel Amba church, fol. 102r–v (SerHist 203 n. 117). Among others, it tells of "M. the sinner, the son of *abba* Ǝnṭones in Däbrä Ǝlʾaräbḫa [Arab. Dayr al-ʿAraba, i.e. Dayr Anbā Anṭūniyūs] that is (on) the coast of the Red Sea [*zäwəʾətu ṣənfä Erətra*]", who was consecrated bishop by Patriarch Macarius of Alexandria. According to the same note, M. was bishop of Ethiopia during the time of Anbäsa Wədəm, and consecrated Mikaʾel Amba in the year 866 of the Era of the Martyrs [= 1150 A.D.] (cp. MHAlex II, 139). Chronologically reliable, this record should be treated cautiously: the "Golden Gospels" may be dated to the second half of the 15th cent. at the earliest, while the note in question – with quite uncommon formulas and a few less credible stories – is an even more recent addition, written in a much later hand. Yet, it seems to partially reproduce an ancient, now lost document with good evidence about M. and his career in Egypt and in Ethiopia.

Src.: ColSyn XII, 526f.; ms. Four Gospels, Mikaʾel Amba (C3–IV–415), Kələttä Awləʿalo, Təgray; BudSaint 798ff.; SawHist² vol. 3, part 1, 34f. (text) = 56f. (tr.).

Lit.: CRStor 289f., 303; ARTHUR K. IRVINE, "Mikaʾél I", in: *DicEthBio* 118; SerHist 203, n. 117, 253; MHAlex 139, 161ff., 165ff.; TedEthPrel [II] 1006f.

Denis Nosnitsin

Mikaʾel II

M. (ሚካኤል) was an early 13th-cent. metropolitan (↗*Ṗappas*) of the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox Church. According to the *History of the Patriarchs of Alexandria*, in *Šawwāl* 596 H. [July–August 1200] a delegation "from the king of Ethiopia and Nubia" (*malik al-Ḥabaša wan-Nūba*) was received by the Ayyūbid *sulṭān* al-Malik al-ʿĀdil Abū Bakr. It was asking for a new metropolitan, to substitute the one who had died (of unknown name, a successor of Mikaʾel I). The Alexandrian Patriarch John VI consecrated as metropolitan a certain Kīyīl (Miḫāʾīl) b. al-Mulabbas, bishop of Fūwa, who was then sent to Ethiopia, gladly welcomed and richly endowed by the local king. The *History of the Patriarchs* continues by relating of the reception of M. in the "city of the king", at

the "metropolitanate" (*al-muṭrāna*). When the first mass was celebrated by M., the country, which had long been suffering from drought was suddenly moistened by rain. Five years later, however, M. was back in Cairo, accusing the Ethiopian queen and her brother Ḫayrūn (who forced M. to consecrate him bishop) of harassment; but an investigation by a special messenger, the priest Mūsā, dispatched to Ethiopia with a letter for the king, provided a different version of the events: M. had in fact caused an Ethiopian priest, accused of theft, to be beaten to death, and had to flee the revenge of the latter's relatives; nor did Ḫayrūn pose any longer a threat, having died two months after M.'s flight. Mūsā returned to Egypt accompanied by Ethiopians with rich gifts for the *sulṭān* and the patriarch on behalf of the king, requesting thereby a new metropolitan. In 1210 M. was deposed, and the monk Isaac (Arab. Isḥāq) from Dayr Anbā Anṭūniyūs was consecrated instead, becoming *abunä* Yəsḥaq (I). He was sent to Ethiopia together with his elder brother Joseph (Yūsuf) as a coadjutor.

Within the records of this episode, the *History of the Patriarchs* provides important (and accurate) information on Ethiopia: its king was Lālibala b. Šanūda (*aṣe* ↗Lalibäla), his wife's name Masqal Kabrā (↗Mäsqäl Kəbra); the "tribe" of the King was called an-Nukba (= al-Bukna, i.e. Bugna?), and his "(royal) city" (*madīna*) ʿArafa (= ʿAdafa, i.e. Adäfa, the site close to the churches of Lalibäla). The same passage also mentions Lalibäla's sons, the older being Yabārak (definitively ↗Yətbarək), the junior, Abyab (= Laʾab, i.e. [↗Näʾakkʷəto] Läʾab.

Src.: SawHist² vol. 3, part 2, 109–15 (text) = 184–93 (tr.); JULES PERRUCHON, "Extraits de la vie d'Abba Jean, 74ᵉ patriarch d'Alexandrie, relatif à l'Abyssinie", *RevSem* 6, 1898, 267–71, 366–72 and *ibid.* 7, 1899, 76–88.
Lit.: CRStor 307f.; MHAlex I, 181–86, and II, 3, 5, 9, 16, 30; TadTChurch 59ff.; SALVATORE TEDESCHI, "Note sul re etiopico Naʾakʷeto Laʾab", *Quaderni utinensi* 8 [15–16], 1990 [1996], 335–43, here 338f.; TedEthPrel [II] 1007f.

Denis Nosnitsin

Mikaʾel IV

Abunä M. (ሚካኤል, fl. 1650, d. ca. 1663) was an Egyptian metropolitan (↗*Abun*) who succeeded *abunä* ↗Marqos III.

According to the short chronicle of ↗Fasilädäs's reign, M. arrived in Ethiopia in 1650, coming along the northern route, via ↗Sinnār. The same year, following the eastern route via Danakil (↗Dankáli), Yoḥannəs arrived; he had been requested by the ruler's brother *abeto* ↗Gälawdewos. Yoḥannəs was exiled to ↗Särqa, while M. was instituted as metropolitan (BassÉt 288; BegCron 51). It is unclear why the Alexandrian Patriarch sent two bishops, hence recognizing the legitimacy of Gälawdewos's demand. Their arrival seems confirmed by a list of metropolitans, most probably compiled ca. 1680. Since one of the purposes of this list was to make *abunä* ↗Sinoda the 100th metropolitan of Ethiopia, M. is considered the 97th and Yoḥannəs, who is not supposed to have exercized the charge, the 98th.

During M.'s episcopate the first synod officially dedicated to the debate between Unctionists (↗*Qəbat*) and Unionists (↗*Karra*) took place, on 23 June 1655 at ↗Aringo (Getatchew Haile 1990:31f.; cp. also BassÉt 289, BegCron 52, DombrChr 203). The conclusion of the synod favoured the *Qəbat* party. The position M. took there is not known (Getatchew Haile 1990:31f.). His successor was *abunä* ↗Krəstodolu (II).

Src.: BassÉt II, 288; BegCron 51; DombrChr 201, 203; IGNAZIO GUIDI, "Le liste dei metropoliti d'Abissinia", *Bessarione* 4, 1899, 1–17, here 11f.; GETATCHEW HAILE, *The Faith of the Unctionists in the Ethiopian Church* (*Haymanot Mäsihawit*), Louvain 1990 (CSCO 517, 518 [SAe 91, 92]), 34 (text) = 31f. (tr.).
Lit.: MHAlex II, 4, 86ff.

Anaïs Wion

Mikaʾel

Abba M. (ሚካኤል; birth name Kəfle Gärima Wäldä Kidan; b. 15 May 1886, Gəšän Maryam, Wällo, d. 14 October 1959, Gəšän Maryam) was the bishop of Gondär in 1940s–50s.

M.'s parents were *märigeta* Wäldä Kidan and *wäyzäro* Dästa Wäldä Gäbrəʾel. Having completed the first and the second stages of the traditional church ↗education at Gəšän Maryam (↗Amba Gəšän) he moved to ↗Boru Meda where he stayed for three years, studying the N.T. ↗*andəmta*-commentary from *mämhər* Dästa (later *abunä* Abrəham), an outstanding *andəmta*-scholar (s. Cowley in PICES 6, 47f.). He studied the ↗*Fəṭḥa nägäśt* from *aläqa* Zäyoḥannəs in Gondär and the liturgy from *aläqa* Wäldä Mikaʾel of ↗Mäkanä Iyäsus. On completion of the ↗*qəddase bet*, M. started teaching liturgy at ↗Mänbärä Mängəśt Qəddus Gäbrəʾel in Addis Abäba. After a while, he decided to continue his education and went for the ↗*mäṣḥaf bet* level to ↗Däbrä Libanos of Šäwa. There he became monk and was consecrated priest on 22 February 1924 by *abunä* ↗Matewos.

In 1924–25, M. made a pilgrimage to ↗Jerusalem where he stayed for six months. On return, he started teaching liturgy and N.T. at the then newly built Mänbärä Ləʿul Qəddus Marqos church (today within the compound of ↗Addis Ababa University). In 1926, under the auspices of *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I, M. prepared and published the text of the liturgy (*Mäṣḥafä* ↗*qəddase*) and its *andəmta*, one of the first Ethiopian printed editions of traditional commentaries. In 1928 he was assigned as *mämhər* to the monastery of Gəšän Maryam.

In 1935 M. (as *mämhər* Kəflä Gärima) was appointed head of Ethiopian monasteries in Jerusalem. After the Italian war 1935–36, the metropolitan *abunä* ↗Qerəllos withdrew to Egypt, and the Italians installed *abunä* Abrəham. In December 1937 the Alexandrian Patriarchate excommunicated the Patriarch, installed by the Italians, but M. refused to recognize the Italian sovereignty and pleaded fidelity to the Alexandrian patriarchate. King Umberto of Italy appointed a new superior of the Jerusalem community, and M. was obliged to leave his office (formally, he lost even his Ethiopian citizenship; [Stoffregen-]Pedersen 1983:116). The case was made out of the "Regulations" (*dänb*), proposed to the Jerusalem community as early as 1925 but not accepted by the latter, and the position taken by Ḫaylä Śəllase in 1936 regarding the community's place in the new situation (ibid. 105f.). However, M. could not be deposed quickly; he fought to secure the buildings given to the community by Imperial officials (in particular, by *ətege* ↗Zäwditu) and helped Ethiopian refugees.

After the Liberation, M. was called to Ethiopia and ordained as M. II bishop of Gondär on 27 April 1946 (↗*Eppisqoppos*). M. contributed a lot while preaching and supporting monasteries, churches and traditional schools of his diocese. He kept close relation to Gəšän Maryam, attending the annual commemoration on 21 *Mäskäräm* when *aṣe* ↗Zärʾa Yaʿəqob is believed to have come and brought to Gəšän Maryam "the right wing fragment" of the Holy Cross (↗*Mäsqäl*). When M. went to Gəšän Maryam in 1959, he got sick after the feast there and soon died. His burial at Gəšän Maryam was attended by many high-ranking Church and government officials. A memorial service lead by the Patriarch *abunä* ↗Basəlyos and attended by the Emperor was held at the ↗Qəddəst Śəllase Cathedral, where a monument to him was erected.

↗Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church

Src.: AmhChurchD vol. 1, 414–17 (Lit.); ROGER WENMAN COWLEY, "Mämher Esdros and his Interpretations", in: *PICES* 6, 41–69; MÄRŠA ALÄḴÄÑÑ, ዜና፡ ጳጳሳት፡ ኢትዮጵያውያን (*Zena pappasat ityopyawyan*, 'History of the Ethiopian Patriarchs'), Addis Abäba 1997 A.M. [2004 A.D.]; KIRSTEN [STOFFREGEN-]PEDERSEN, *The History of the Ethiopian Community in the Holy Land from the Time of Emperor Tewodros II till 1974*, Jerusalem 1983, 105f., 116, s. index.

Lit.: *mämhər* GÄRIMA WÄLDÄ KIDAN (ed.), መጽሐፈ፡ ቅዳሴ (*Mäṣḥafä qəddase*, 'The Book of the Hallowing [Missal]'), Addis Abäba 1918 A.M. [1926 A.D.].

Mersha Alehegne

Mikaʾel

Abba M. (ሚካኤል, fl. 1870s–80s) was a Šäwan monk and agent of *nəguś* Mənilək (↗Mənilək II). Guglielmo ↗Massaja wrote that before working for Mənilək, M. purchased slaves for him to be sent to the ↗Collège des Galla and was engaged in trade in Təgray and Gondär. Subsequently, he entered the service of Mənilək, advising him on issues of foreign policy.

In 1871 Mənilək accepted M.'s requests and sent him on a mission to ↗Italy and ↗France. M. probably had already done some travel abroad, perhaps to Jerusalem and the Middle East. In June 1872, he left for Europe, despite the objections of Massaja, who believed his lacking experience made him unfit for a diplomatic charge. He carried with him letters for the Pope, the President of France, Queen Victoria, and the Kaiser, but his mission was principally to the King of Italy. All the letters except those for the King of Italy and the Pope were delivered in Aden to European consuls. M., with the help of one of Massaja's missionaries and the Italian consuls, proceeded to Italy, with whose government he intended to conclude a treaty.

In November 1872, M. was granted an audience with King Vittorio Emanuele II of Italy where he met Orazio ↗Antinori. Altough no treaty was signed, the extravagant stories told by M. awakened Antinoris's interest in Šäwa. It is not clear where M. went after he accomplished his mission to Italy, but it is stated that he accompanied Pierre Arnoux and ↗Yosef Nəguse from Aden to Šäwa through ↗Zaylaʿ on a journey which lasted from February 1874 to January 1875. There is no mention of M. after his return to Šäwa. The subsequent mission of Pierre Arnoux in 1876 was intended to accomplish what M. had failed to secure; but Arnoux's mission proved to be totally unsuccessful.

Src.: BTafA 834f., 950; MasMis² vol. 5, 200-04.
Lit.: RubInd; ZewYohan 85, 87f.

Zewde Gabre-Sellassie

Mikaʾel

Abba M. (ሚካኤል, fl. late 15th–16th cent.) was a member of a group of Egyptian ecclesiastics dispatched to Ethiopia after the long vacancy following the death of *abunä* Gäbrəʾel in 1458 (↗Gäbrəʾel and Mikaʾel). In 1480/81, *aṣe* ↗Ǝskəndər sent a delegation to Egypt that, probably in 1481/82, brought to Ethiopia the "metropolitans" *abba* ↗Yəsḥaq and *abba* ↗Marqos, and the "bishops" *abba* Mikaʾel and *abba* Yoḥannəs (↗*Eppisqoppos*). The first two succeeded one another, although not immediately (*abba* ↗Yaᶜəqob being *pappas* in between).

M. must have been accompanying his father, Mikaʾel, even if he is not mentioned in the sources relating the arrival of those ecclesiastics (Guidi 1899:3 [list I], 9; more clearly, in the Vita of ↗Märḥa Krəstos, Kur 1972:88 [text]; s. Fiaccadori 2004:681).

Elsewhere, M. appears as a translator into ↗Gəᶜəz of several important works of the Christian Arabic literature. According to the colophons in mss. St. Petersburg, Institute of Oriental Studies Orlov 1 (Turaiev 1906:83), and BritLib Orient. 712, fol. 42b, this was the case with the hagiography of St. ↗George of Lydda. In the latter manuscript, he is called M. the Junior, son of the son of *abba* George, son of *abba* Mikaʾel the metropolitan (s. WrBriMus 190), the record presenting his relation to Mikaʾel ("the Senior"), son of the priest George – M.'s grandfather.

The same information is repeated in the colophon of ms. BritLib Orient. 713, fol. 81, with an additional note referring to the time of his version of the Acts of St. George (The Homily of Theodotos of Ancyra) as "the second year of the reign of Ləbnä Dəngəl, the son of Naᶜod", i.e. 1509/10 A.D. (WrBriMus 191; Budge 1930:65); the part of this colophon beginning with the words "and its completion" does not necessarily refer to the scribal copy (Arras in PICES 1, 284), but rather to the translation of the text (cp. Conti Rossini 1946:13f. for such an expression in the colophons of two other manuscripts). Yet, the Miracles of George in the ms. BritLib Orient. 713 have a different colophon, with the year 6980 "of Mercy"/1204 "of the Martyrs", i.e. 1487/88 A.D. (WrBriMus 191; Arras 1953:64 [tr.]).

In keeping with these elements, one should assume that the translation of the Miracles of St. George preceded that of the Acts.

It seems possible to trace better the identity of M. and his family background in ↗Egypt. In a Coptic Arabic manuscript with a homily on the *translatio* of part of St. George's relics to the church of Darb at-Tiqā dedicated to him in Upper Egypt (Qaṣr aš-Šamᶜ), an additional note states that another part of them was taken to Old Cairo by "the priest Michael, son of the priest George the Limped [*al-ᶜārīǧ*], a minister of the church of Darb at-Tiqā" in 1426 A.D., under Patriarch Gabriel V (Arras in PICES 1, 279). This is confirmed by the Ethiopic Miracles of St. George (no. 25, ed. Arras 1953:23–27), where M. speaks also of himself and of having gone to Ethiopia with his father (nos. 18, 21 and 24, ibid. 9f., 16–20 and 23). The "priest Michael, son of the priest George" – not necessarily one and the same with the later bishop of Ṣahrağt and Difrā according to the same Miracle (ibid. 27) – is indeed M.'s father, who was sent to Ethiopia as a bishop.

Among the hagiographic works devoted to St. George, the short "collection" of his Miracles (1–13 "Palestinian" miracles) is an old translation into Gəᶜəz, made before 1425 (Arras in PICES 1, 282). A few scattered elements of the contents of the Miracles – in particular, what the author tells about himself – confirm that miracles 14–79 were compiled and/or translated, in one or several stages, in Ethiopia (ibid. 283), most probably by M., alone or with assistants.

The *Mäṣḥafä ↗fälasfa ṭäbiban* is another work linked to *abba* M., for which he earned fame since the early period of ↗Gəᶜəz literature studies (cp. GuiSLett 82). M. "the Junior" appears in the colophon of the book: e.g., ms. d'Abbadie 81 (Conti Rossini 1946:8; Sumner 1974:36), again as the one who produced a translation "through his mouth" – probably, by oral explanation of the Arabic texts to the masters of Gəᶜəz – in 1510–22 (Sumner 1977:36; Pietruschka 2002:146).

Finally, in both mss. BritLib Orient. 739 and 740, containing theological writings, fols. 117b and 118b respectively, the preceding Commentaries of ↗John the Chrysostom on the Epistle to the Hebrews is said to have been translated "through the mouth" of ↗ᶜƎnbaqom and "Mikaʾel Gəbṣawi", apparently the same as *abba* M., in 1522/23 A.D. (WrBriMus 205, 208; Conti Rossini 1946:15).

Src.: VICTOR ARRAS, *Miraculorum s. Georgii Megalomartyris collectio altera*, Louvain 1953 (CSCO 138, 139 [SAe 31, 32]), 110 (text) = 53 (tr.); ERNEST ALFRED WALLIS BUDGE (ed., tr.), *George of Lydda the Patron Saint of England. A Study of the Cultus of St. George in Ethiopia*, London 1930; IGNAZIO GUIDI, "Le liste dei metropoliti d'Abissinia", *Bessarione* 6, 1899, 1–16; STANISLAS KUR, *Actes de Marḥa Krestos*, Louvain 1972 (CSCO 330, 331 [SAe 62, 63]), 88 (text) = 80 (tr.), VII; BORIS TURAIEV, *Efiopskie rukopisi v Sankt-Peterburge* ('Ethiopian Manuscripts in St. Petersburg'), St. Petersburg 1906, 83f., no. 42 [ms. Orlov 1]; WrBriMus mss. Orient. 712, 713, 739, 740.
Lit.: VICTOR ARRAS, "La collection éthiopienne des miracles de saint Georges", in: *PICES* 1, 273–84; AZIZ S. ATIYA, "Qaṣr al-Shamᶜ", in: *CE* vol. 7, 2038; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Sul metropolita Y ṣḥaq d'Etiopia (secolo XV–XVI)", *RRALm* ser. 8ª, 1, 1946, 7–17; GuiSLett 82; UTE PIETRUSCHKA, "Das *Mäṣḥafä fälasfa ṭäbiban* und sein Verhältnis zu griechischen und arabischen Gnomensammlungen", *Aethiopica* 5, 2002, 139–55 (Lit.); GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, "Sul ms. Parigi, B.n.F., d'Abb. 78 (C.R. 38) e i metropoliti Yeṣḥaq, Yāᶜqob e Mārqos d'Etiopia (sec. XV–XVI)", *RRALm* ser. 9ª, vol. 15, 2004 [2005], 679–93 (Lit.); TedEthPrel [II] 1015–17 (Lit.); CLAUDE SUMNER, *Ethiopian Philosophy*, I: *The Book of the Wise Philosophers*, Addis Ababa 1974, 35–42 (Lit.).

Denis Nosnitsin

Mikaʾel ᶜAli

Nəguś M. (ሚካኤል, Arab. Mīkāʾīl b. *imām* ᶜAlī, horse name: Abba Šanqo, birth name Mäḥammäd ᶜAli; b. ca. 1847/50, Tänta, Wärrä Himäno, Wällo, d. 8 September 1918, Holäta, Šäwa) was an important ruler of Wällo and the entire northern Ethiopia. He was born Muslim and descended from the Oromo rulers of ↗Wärrä Himäno, as a son of *imām* ᶜAli "Abba Bula" by *wäyzäro* Geṭe, and thus grandson of *imām* ↗Libän Amäde from the ↗Mammädočč dynasty. M. was also a nephew of the Christian *ətege* ↗Mänän Libän and a relative of two well-known female rulers of Wällo, who governed when he was young: his step-mother ↗Wärqitu and his elder cousin's wife ↗Mästawät. There was a bitter rivalry between these two Oromo "queens" and their successors: on the one side, M. with Wärqitu, on the other, Amäde Libän (also known as Abba Waṭäw), the son of Mästawät, succeeded after his death in 1880 by his son, Libän "Abba Ğäbäl".

At a young age, after studying at a Muslim school at Tänta, M. succeeded his father as the ruler of Wärrä Himäno (s. MasMis 6f.). His *gəbbi* still exists at the natural fortress Tänta, his first stronghold, at the foot of Tänta Mikaʾel, Tač Tänta. In 1874 *nəguś* Mənilək of Šäwa (later *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II) recognized *imām* M.'s governorship of Wällo, before the then still more powerful Abba Waṭäw. In June 1877, however, M. joined *nəguś* Mənilək's wife, ↗Bafäna Gäččäw in her – abortive – rebellion against her husband. During that period the daughter of Bafäna was M.'s wife.

After Mənilək's submission to *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV in 1878, followed by the Council of ↗Boru Meda, M. converted to Christianity and assumed the baptismal name of "Mikaʾel". This expressed his (and his province's) symbolic union with *aṣe* Yoḥannəs IV, who became his godfather; part of Muslim Wällo tradition regards this apostasy as a betrayal of his fathers' religion "for worldly gains". M. was then granted the title of *ras*, but he had to share the governorship of Wällo with his rival Abba Waṭäw, who had also converted to Christiantity under the name Ḫaylä Maryam.

Aṣe Yoḥannəs always remained loyal to his alliance with M., at the same time maintaining a balance of power between M. and Mənilək. M. from his side tried to use both Yoḥannəs and Mənilək to safeguard his position. The history of Yoḥannəs's rule is marked by shifting alliances between the three personalities. In 1877, for example, M. sided with the Emperor, and M.'s province was devastated in an attack by the Šäwan army. In 1881 Wärrä Himäno was placed directly under Yoḥannəs IV instead of under Šäwa, with M. continuing to act as the governor. In 1885 M. was given central Wällo by Yoḥannəs while Mənilək was granted another part of that province. Finally, in February 1886, M. was appointed governor of the entire Wällo, replacing the son of the Emperor, *ras* ↗Arᵓaya Šəllase. In 1888 M. made ↗Däse his capital instead of Tänta (Shinn – Ofcansky 2004:121), the city evolving now around his new residential buildings. According to a report of Antonelli (s. Marcus 1975:195) Yoḥannəs then, in 1888, officially gave the governorship of ↗Goğğam to M. (which was not assumed by him, however). This was due to a conflict with *nəguś* ↗Täklä Haymanot of Goğğam (who got re-installed in his governorship in 1889), and was a measure to strengthen M.'s loyalty against the background of Mənilək's ambitions to the Ethiopian throne. M. then fought alongside Yoḥannəs at ↗Mätämma in 1889.

After the latter's death M. declared his submission to Mənilək II as the new Emperor and actively helped to defeat the rebellious ↗Mängäša Yoḥannəs, who also claimed the throne. M. stayed Mənilək's loyal subject till the end of his rule. He participated in the conquest of ↗Wälaytta in 1894 and was one of the military commanders of the battle of ↗ᶜAdwa in 1896.

Nəgusˊ Mikaʾel with his daughter Səḫin (left) and his son Iyasu (right), ca. 1915; photo courtesy of the IES

M.'s political marriages placed him in the network of the most influential ruling families. M. was married to at least five women consecutively and had more than eight children. From his first wife, Fantayeto Gäbru (also Fante, from a royal lineage), he had three daughters: Səḫin (mother of ↗Mänän Asfaw, later wife of *ras* Täfäri [*aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I]), Məntəwwab and Täwabäčč (married *ras* ↗Śəyyum Mängäša of Təgray in 1914) and two sons: ʿAli and Dästa. He did not have any children from his second wife Zännäbäčč ʿAli. From a political perspective the most important ones were his marriages to *nəgusˊ* Mənilək's step-daughter and daughter respectively: first he was given Man Alläbbəš (daughter of Bafäna) in marriage, and later, in 1892, M. married Šäwarägga Mənilək (b. 1867, d. August 1897). From her he had one son, the heir-to-the-throne *ləǧ* ↗Iyasu, and one daughter Zännäbä Wärq, who died young (b. mid-1890s, married in ca. 1905 by her grandfather *aṣe* Mənilək to *ras* ↗Bäzzabbəh Täklä Haymanot, governor of Goǧǧam; s. Bairu Tafla 1973:45, 48). M. had one more son from an early relationship, *ras* ↗Gäbrä Ḫəywät Mikaʾel (b. 1868). After Šäwarägga's death, M. linked himself with the Təgrayan dynasty of *aṣe* Yoḥannəs, marrying Alṭaš Waḥdä Wäldä Kidan, the widow of *ras* ↗Wäldä Mikaʾel Sälomon of Ḫamasen (niece of *šum tämben* ↗Mərčа Wäldä Kidan).

During the reign of *ləǧ* Iyasu, officially nominated heir-to-the-throne by *aṣe* Mənilək II in 1909, M. actively supported the rule of his son (cp. BZHist 121). On 11 March 1910 M.'s troops were involved in the coup against the de-facto regent ↗Ṭaytu Bəṭul, Mənilək's wife, and assured that the government would be taken over by the nominated regent *ras* Täsämma and his son, *ləǧ* Iyasu. After Iyasu had become the only ruler in 1911, he spent much time at his father's residence in Däse.

As a mark of his father's outstanding position in the country Iyasu decided to crown him *nəgusˊ* shortly after Mənilək's death. The ceremony was officiated by *abunä* ↗Peṭros on 31 May 1914 in Däse. On that occasion M. received the crown of *aṣe* Mənilək II and a new crown for himself. He became the governor-general of Wällo (together with Yäǧǧu and Lasta, M.'s grandson Ḫaylä Maryam Asfaw, b. 1888, d. 1915, now *ras*, becoming their governor at Säqoṭa) and Təgray (where M. nominated *ras* ↗Śəyyum Mängäša to rule in his name). In 1915 Bägemdər and Goǧǧam were allegedly added to his realm (Greenfield 1965:137), M. becoming the *nəgusˊ* of the entire northern Ethiopia (BZHist 125). Until 1916 M. occupied the second most powerful position in the country, being the key figure behind Ethiopia's ruler *ləǧ* Iyasu, governing the north almost as a sovereign and having great influence on Iyasu's decisions. His full title then was *nəguśä Śəyon wäwällo wägondär wägoǧǧam* (*nəgusˊ* of Śəyon, Wällo, Gondär and Goǧǧam; Śəyon standing for ↗Aksum Śəyon, i.e. Təgray, but could also be interpreted as an indirect claim to the rule of Ethiopia itself, s. Smidt 2007). He also kept an Arabic title, in which he calls himself *malik* ('king') of Wällo, Gondär, Goǧǧam and Təgray, referring to his Muslim origins as "son of *imām* ʿAlī, *malik* of Wällo" (ibid.).

In his province, Wällo, M. made important donations to churches and monasteries, such as those to the church Tänta Mikaʾel and the monastery ↗Däbrä Ḫayq Ǝsṭifanos. He was also appointed by *aṣe* Mənilək II as ↗*gäbäz* of the Šäwan ↗Ǝnṭoṭṭo Raguʾel church.

After the ↗Coup d'état of 1916, when Iyasu was dethroned, M. decided to stand for his son by leading his army against his grandson-in-law *ras* Täfäri. On 25 October 1916 he defeated *ras* ↗Ləʿul Sägäd Aṭnaf Sägäd at the battle of Tora Mäsk, but was defeated himself at the battle of

↗Sägäle on 27 October. He was captured on the battlefield and paraded as a prisoner through the streets of Addis Abäba on 3 November. M. spent one and a half years in detention under the custody of *fitawrari* ↗Habtä Giyorgis at Č̣äbo, and then another six months at ↗Holäta, between Männagäša and Addis ʿAläm. In the 1920s M. was reburied with honours at St. Michael church in Tänta. He is buried next to his second wife, Zännäbäčč, and the eldest sons.

Src.: Antonelli to Crispi, Hadelo Gubo, 10 December 1888, in: *Libro verde* XV, *Etiopia*, no. 200; BTafA 687, 799, 938, 943; BTafY 253; GebMollyas, passim; GOBÄZE ṬAFFÄṬA, አባ ጤና ኢያሱ. *Abba Tena Iyasu*, Addis Abäba 1996 (Bulletin de la Maison des études éthiopiennes 6), 59f.; GREAT BRITAIN, FOREIGN OFFICE. HISTORICAL SECTION, *Abyssinia*, London 1920, 56; GueCopMen 121ff., 154f, 157f., 317, 345–47; MasMis 6, 7; MERSʾÉ HAZEN WOLDE QIRQOS, *Of What I Saw and Heard: the Last Years of Emperor Menelik II & the Brief Rule of Iyassu*, pref. by GÉRARD PRUNIER, tr., annot. by HAILU HABTU, Addis Ababa 2004 (Ethiopian Studies 1), 13, 36, 51, 70ff., 102, 105f., 139, 143ff.

Lit.: ASNAKE ALI, *Aspects of the Political History of Wallo, 1872–1916*, M.A. thesis, Department of History, Addis Ababa University, 1983; BZHist, s. index; BAIRU TAFLA, "Two of the Last Provincial Kings of Ethiopia", *JES* 11, 1, 1973, 29–55; CrumLand 12, 218, 220; RICHARD GREENFIELD, *Ethiopia: a New Political History*, New York 1965, passim; HusIslam 148, 158, 174f., 180f. 184; MahHorse 223f.; HAROLD GOLDEN MARCUS, *The Life and Times of Menelik II, Ethiopia 1844–1913*, Oxford 1975, 35, 53, 58, 71, 84, 108, 195, 230, 265; DAVID H. SHINN – THOMAS P. OFCANSKY, *Historical Dictionary of Ethiopia, New Edition*, Lanham – Toronto – Oxford 2004, 121f., 284f.; WOLBERT SMIDT, "The Coronation of Negus Mikael in Desse in May 1914, a Photograph from the Nachlass Jensen and its Historical Background", *AE* 17, 2001, 359–71; ID., "The Coronation of Negus Mikael in Dese in May 1914: New Findings", *ibid.* 23, 2007, in preparation (Lit.); ZewYohan 89, 91f., 94, 96, 100, 102, 121, 139, 150, 196f., 285; ZÄWDE RÄTTA, ተፈሪ፡ መኰንን፡ ረኧሠ፡ የሥልጣን፡ ጉዞ፡ በምኒልክ፡ በኢያሱና፡ በዘመንዲቱ፡ ዘመን፤ ፲፰፻፹፬፡ ፲፱፻፲፪ *1884–1922* (*Täfäri Mäkʷännən räžžəmu yäśəlṭan guzo bämənilək bäʾiyasunna bäzäwditu zämän 1884–1922*, 'Täfäri Mäkʷännən, the Long Journey to Power, from the Periods of Mənilək, Iyasu to Zäwditu, 1884–1922'), Addis Abäba 1998 A.M. [2005 A.D.], 313, 316–24.

Hanna Rubinkowska – Wolbert Smidt

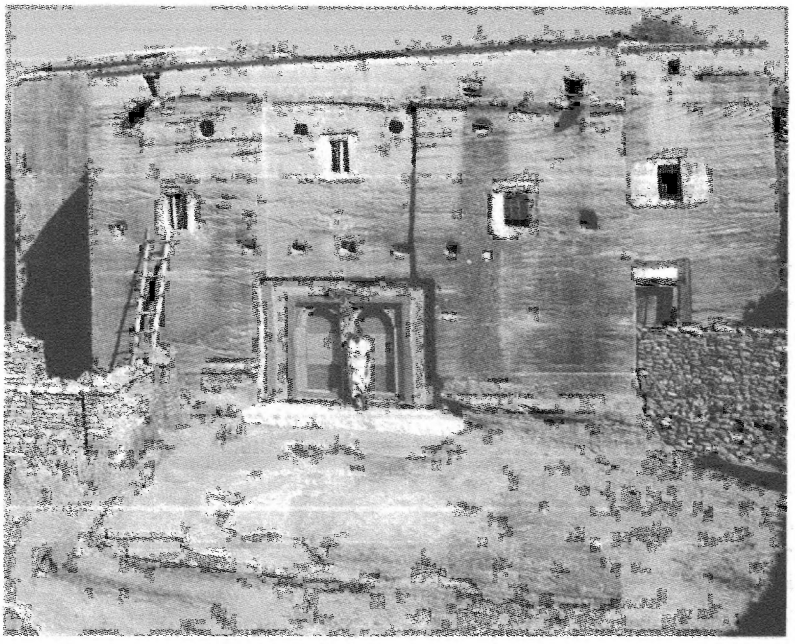
Mikaʾel Amba

M.A. (ሚካኤል፡ አምባ, also Mikaʾel Ǝmba) is a rock-hewn church located in Wämbärta, Kələttä Awləʿalo, Təgray. Situated on the top of an ↗*amba* 11 km south of Aṣbi, it is enclosed in a deep trench extended into the rock-cut courtyard with two hewn basins used for baptism and washing of the sick. One of the largest Ethiopian ↗rock-hewn churches (ca. 17 x 22.5 x 7.7–9.5 m), M.A.is a semi-monolithic structure, the free-standing part exceeding from the west façade approximately to the level where the third bays begin. Seen from above, it has the form of a Greek cross without eastern arm. The hewn caves in the surrounding rocks were once inhabited by monks, but the monastery attached to the church has since disappeared; it was last known to be active in 1973/74.

The complex, multi-section plan of M.A. belongs to the cross-in-square type and is similar to that of ↗Ṣəraʿ Abrəha wä-Aṣbəḥa and ↗Wəqro Qirqos excavated during the same period and probably by the same workshop. The main body of the church is divided into five aisles and three bays. The sections marking the shape of the cross are barrel-vaulted and higher than the others (with the exception of the eastern, which is flat and decorated with small crosses), the "transeptal", south-north axis is clearly pronounced due to its length and height. Four cruciform pillars connected by arches accentuate the central crossing-bay, covered by a flat ceiling and marked with crossed beams. The remaining eight sections, which form a square, also have flat ceilings and are divided by the pillars with chamfered shafts supporting flat beams. This part of the ↗church building serves as the *qəne maḥlet* and is thus commonly accessible, with the exception of three central eastern bays. These are elevated by tri-stepped platform and enclosed by a chancel, and belong to the sacred area, *qəddəst*.

The principal structure is extended to the west by a rectangular vestibule (originally opened, presently closed by a constructed wall and a double door), with a tall pillar in the centre and a large crypt (195 x 125 x 70 cm) cut under the floor level in the northern part. The vestibule is flanked by two side rooms opening into the interior of the church. They may have once served as the funeral chapels.

The eastern part of the church which functions as the sanctuary (↗*mäqdäs*) and houses three altar-tablets (↗*tabot*) dedicated to the archangels Michael, Gabriel and to St. Mary, was never properly explored by the scholars. Judging from the photographs taken from afar, the sanctuary is tripartite with addition of two extra rooms. Its central bay almost circular and covered by a flat cupola, opens to the church by an arch. It is extended to the east by a room ending in an apse, with a large monolithic altar. Two square side-rooms communicating with the aisles by narrow doorways are open to the central bay, but not to their full width. Since their furnishing and decorations are not known it is difficult to establish whether they functioned as the prothesis and diaconicon



Western façade of the church of Mikaʾel Amba, and courtyard; photo 2002, courtesy of Michael Gervers

or as a part of the sanctuary. The southern room is extended to the east by a square annex, which also might have been used as a funeral chapel.

There are three entrances to the church, all in the western façade: the main one, in the vestibule, and the southern and northern ones, placed symmetrically in the walls of the first external bays. The interior is poorly illuminated with light reaching only the principal body of the church through windows in the ends of the "transeptal" axis, above the side entrances and, indirectly through windows in the eastern wall of the vestibule and in the western walls of the western chapels.

The architectural decoration of M.A. is elaborate. An Aksumite-type frieze runs around the barrel vault and under the semi-cupola in the sanctuary apse. The cruciform pillars have bracket or stepped capitals. The engaged pillars along the north and south walls rise from plinths of ca. 1 m high, which also serve as the benches. The engaged pillars close to the south and north entrances are decorated with 2.8 m-long shafted crosses carved in stone. The window and door-frames are made of wood.

The wooden chancel screen separating the sanctuary, of which only the central and southern parts are still standing, consists of a balustrade (ca. 120 cm high) with the opening in the middle, accentuated by fine newels originally supporting an arch. The outer part of the balustrade is covered by carved coffered panels. Similar chancel pieces are preserved in two other churches of Aṣbidära, ↗Zarema Giyorgis and ↗Däbrä Sälam. An old wooden carved ↗*mänbärä tabot* (69 x 49 x 45 cm) is kept inside of the church. An original carved wooden door (180 x 94 cm) with elaborate lock still serves between the vestibule and the church; the other doors are stored, unused, in the vestibule.

Some fragments of wall ↗paintings have survived in the west bay of the northern aisle. The top of the haloed head of Christ and the eagle on the northern wall are all that remains from the ↗*Maiestas Domini*. Two male heads belonging either to the Apostles or to the Heavenly Priests are discernible on the western wall. The stylistic features and the range of colours make them comparable to the Coptic murals from the second half of the 12th cent. which suggests that the M.A.'s paintings might have been executed at the turn or at the beginning of the 13th cent.

According to a local tradition, the church was founded by Anbäsa Wədəm, a ruler appearing on the traditional king lists and conventionally placed in the 10th or 11th/12th cent. He is also connected with M.A. in some versions of the Vita of ↗Abrəha and Aṣbəḥa, where he figures, however, as the immediate successor of the two kings (Gire – Schneider 1970:75). A note preserved in the Gospel book kept at M.A. tells that the consecration of the church was performed in the year 866 of the Era of the Martyrs [= 1150 A.D.] by *abba* Mikaʾel during the reign of Anbäsa Wədəm (SerHist 203, n. 117). Whilst the genuineness of this note is dubious, the ecclesiastic may be identified as Ḥabīb al-Aṭfīḥī (*abba* ↗Mikaʾel I), who was appointed Ethiopian metropolitan in 1102 (TedEthPrel II, 1006; MHAlex 167–70). It is not known when he died or who ruled Ethiopia during his term.

The uncertainty of the historical circumstances is not the only factor which complicates the dating of the church. The structure itself presents an amazing mixture of old and new features, which on the one hand connects it to the ancient constructed churches (wooden frames of the openings, a chancel), while on the other, to advanced hewn structures (monumental interior with many elaborated details, almost united *mäqdäs* area). The dating of the murals is far from certain and cannot be used as a reliable *terminus ante quem*. At present one can suppose that the construction of M.A. took place between the beginning of the 12th cent. and the end of the 13th cent.

In 1974 the Oxford University Expedition reported 30 manuscripts in the church of which only nine were shown and examined. Among them, of particular value was the ↗*Sənkəssar* (36 x 52 cm), partly burnt and with folios in disorder, decorated with the miniatures and ↗*ḫarägʷ* in the ↗Gundä Gunde style. In 2006 only two folios, one with text and another bearing an illumination, were still in the church. Another illuminated folio belonging to the same manuscript is on display in the Yoḥannəs IV Museum in Mäqälä. Beside recent items, the church possesses two old iron shafted ↗crosses (161 and 157 cm) and another one made of dark wood (170 cm), which, according to a local tradition, belonged to *abunä* ↗Ewosṭatewos.

Src.: CRStor 289f., 303; SawHist vol. 3, 90f.; SerHist 203, n. 117, 233; MHAlex 139, 161–70; ms. Four Gospels, Mikaʾel Amba (C3–IV–415), esp. fols. 101rv–102r.

Lit.: DAVID BUXTON, *The Rock-Hewn and Other Medieval Churches of Tigré Province, Ethiopia*, Oxford 1971, 56, 72–73, pl. XXVI a–d; ID. – RUTH PLANT, "Rock-hewn Churches of the Tigre Province", *EthObs* 13, 3, 1970, 157–267, here 218f.; OTTO DALE, "The Rock-hewn Churches of Tigre", *ibid.* 11, 2, 1968, 121–51, here 145–48; EMMANUEL FRITSCH – MICHAEL GERVERS, "Pastophoria and Altars: Interaction in Ethiopian Liturgy and Church Architecture", *Aethiopica* 10, 2007, 7–51, here 13; GerKir [Eng] 131f., pl. 169–73; ID., "Verborgene Schätze in Äthiopiens Bergwildnis", *Woche*, 8, 21 Februar 1973, 11–17, here 13; JEAN GIRE – ROGER SCHNEIDER, "Étude des églises rupestres du Tigre: premiers résultats de la mission 1970", *Documents pour servir l'histoire des civilisations éthiopiennes* 1, 1970, 73–79, here 75, pl. 5f.; OTTO JÄGER – IVY PEARCE, *Antiquities of Northern Ethiopia*, Stuttgart ²1974, 129ff.; BENT JUEL-JENSEN – GEOFFREY ROWELL (eds.), *Rock-Hewn Churches of Eastern Tigray: Oxford Expedition to Ethiopia 1974*, Oxford 1975, 22, 65–67, ills. 37, 92–94; CLAUDE LEPAGE, "Premières recherches sur les installations liturgiques des anciennes églises d'Ethiopie (X^e–XVe siècles)", *Documents pour servir à l'histoire de la civilisation éthiopienne* 3, 1972, 77–114, here 87f., fig. 6; ID. – JACQUES MERCIER, *Les églises historiques du Tigray: Art éthiopien*, Paris 2005, 82–85; IVY PEARCE, "Pearce's Pilgrimage to the Rock-Hewn Churches of Tigre", *EthObs* 11, 2, 1968, 77–120, here 109–12, 115 [figs.]; RUTH PLANT, *Architecture of the Tigre, Ethiopia*, Worcester 1985, 218ff.; BEATRICE PLAYNE, *Saint George for Ethiopia*, London 1954, 75f., 182, 187; ROGER SAUTER, "Où en est notre connaissance des églises rupestres d'Éthiopie", *AE* 5, 1963, 235–92, here 25; ID., "Églises rupestres au Tigré", *ibid.* 10, 1976, 157–75 here 167; TedEthPrel II, 1006f.; *abba* TEWELDE MEDHIN JOSEPH, "Introduction générale aux églises monolithes du Tigrai", in: *PICES* 3, vol. 1, 83–98, here 97.

Ewa Balicka-Witakowska

Mikaʾel Arägawi

M.A. (ሚካኤል፡ አረጋዊ, German: [Michael] Aragau; b. 1848/49, d. 1931 Ǧända) was a prominent Ethiopian missionary who worked among the ↗Betä Ǝsraʾel – during the second half of the 19th cent. and the beginning of the 20th cent. – as a representative of the ↗London Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews.

M.A. was born in ↗Dämbəya. His father Habtu Gäbrä Maryam, who resided in ↗Jerusalem starting from ca. 1849, was the servant of Rev. J. Nicholayson, who had served as Johann Martin ↗Flad's cook on the former's first mission from Jerusalem to Ethiopia in 1855. M.A.'s mother, Täklit Adgu Agičäw, of a land-owning family from Dämbəya (and therefore almost definitely Christian), had died when he was three. His father gave him at the age of seven to Flad to raise, M.A. thus becoming Flad's first foster son (cp. Smidt 2005b:301f.: a letter of his written in 1865 in the German language). Flad supported M.A.'s further education by sending him to an orphanage in Germany in 1866. His education was completed in 1873 at the ↗St. Chrischona Pilgermission in Switzerland and M.A. was sent back to Ethiopia as a missionary, together with a group of other St. Chrischona-trained Ethiopian missionaries, all of them born Betä Ǝsraʾel (Agaže Sahlu, Säməʾanni Danəʾel and Sänbätu Danəʾel; s. Smidt 2005a).

After ↗Tewodros II had imprisoned European missionaries to Ethiopia in 1863, Betä Ǝsraʾel-born agents (such as *däbtära* ↗Bərru Wəbe, Gäbrä Ḫəywät and Iyob Nəguśe), ran the London Society mission in Ethiopia. M.A.'s group joined them in 1873, and the mission continued under the leadership of *däbtära* Bərru Wəbe. During his lifetime, M.A. preached, taught the Bible and converted Betä Ǝsraʾel, while making sporadic excursions to Europe when he was prevented from working in Ethiopia. M.A. married a relative of his elder colleague Bərru Wəbe, Tälaläč, a Betä Ǝsraʾel, who was the daughter of Iyasu Abərän and Abärräš Täddil, in Ǧända

He regularly sent letters back to the London Society and to the European director of the "Falasha Mission", Martin Flad in Switzerland, some of them being published (cp. London Society ... 1880). In 1880 he described his work at the mission school in Ǧända, and his success in baptising several Jews. His reports to the London Society include descriptions of ravaging wild animals, and the abduction and murder of a missionary. In 1883, he toured Betä Ǝsraʾel villages together with a co-missionary of Betä Ǝsraʾel origin, Goššu Mərčʿa, and participated in

several weddings with a view to converting the *Oritawi* (Torah-abiding) Betä Ǝsraʾel.

In 1885, he again visited Germany via Egypt and travelled from there to England with Flad to work on a revised version of the Amharic Bible. Upon his return to Ethiopia, he was incarcerated by the Mayor of Gondär after being accused of heresy (Ṣərä Maryam) by Ethiopian Christians, but was released after his co-missionary *däbtära* Bərru appealed to the governor of Gondär. During the ↗*Kəfu qän* famine (1888–92), M.A., like other local agents, suffered great hardship; however, he did succeed in converting many starving Betä Ǝsraʾel to Christianity during this period. By 1892, after *däbtära* Bərru died, M.A. became the director of the major "Fälaša" Christian station of the London Society at Ǧända, Lake Ṭana, and again briefly returned to Germany. In 1894, he organized an evangelist conference with Flad on the latter's last journey to Ethiopia.

Mikaʾel Arägawi during his stay in Europe; photo 1893, courtesy of the St. Chrischona Pilgermission

After the 1896 battle of ↗ᶜAdwa and Ethiopia's attempts to forge alliances with European powers, M.A. was officially permitted to operate in Ǧända and Azäzo, Dämbəya. In 1923, he was invited to St. Chrischona for the 50th anniversary of his dedication as an evangelist. There, he worked on a revised translation of the New Testament into Amharic, at the request of a Swedish mission, which was eventually printed at the Bərhanənna Sälam press in Addis Abäba (↗Bible translations, modern). He then returned to the mission station at Ǧända, where he lived until his death in 1931.

M.A. was survived by four children: three daughters – Asnäqa, Fätälwärq and Bällätäč – and a son, Mənkər Arägawi, who continued his father's missionary work in collaboration with Martin Flad's son, Friedrich. All three daughters married Betä Ǝsraʾel and their descandants live in Israel today as Jews. Mənkər married a "Fäläša Christian" from Ǧända, and continued his father's interest in promoting the study of crafts for the Betä Ǝsraʾel. M.A.'s successor as the director of the so-called "Falascha-Mission" became Friedrich Flad's son-in-law, Willy Heintze-Flad, in 1925. Friedrich Flad wrote M.A.'s biography, which was published in 1952, after Flad's death. The aim of the publication was to gain more support among the German and Swiss public for the then reviving Protestant mission among the Betä Ǝsraʾel.

Src.: LONDON SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING CHRISTIANITY AMONGST THE JEWS, *Jewish Intelligence and Monthly Account of the Proceedings* [also called *Jewish Missionary Intelligence*], London 1880 [July].

Lit.: FRIEDRICH FLAD, *Michael Argawi: Ein mutiger Bekenner*, ed. by WERNER SIDLER, Basel 1952; STEVEN KAPLAN, "The Beta Israel (Falasha) Encounter with Protestant Missionaries, 1860–1905", *Jewish Social Studies* 49, 1, 1987, 27–42; ERIC PAYNE, *Ethiopian Jews: the Story of a Mission*, London 1972; JAMES QUIRIN, *The Evolution of the Ethiopian Jews: a History of the Beta Israel (Falasha) to 1920*, Philadelphia 1992; WOLBERT G.C. SMIDT, "Les Africains de Bâle du 19ème siècle", in: THOMAS DAVID et al. (eds.), *De la traite des Noirs à la fin du régime de l'Apartheid: trois siècles de relations entre la Suisse et l'Afrique (XVIIIe–XXIe siècles)*, Münster 2005, 209–25 (Lit.); ID., "Deutsche Briefe von Äthiopiern 1855–1869 aus dem Umkreis der protestantischen Mission zur Regierungszeit von Tewodros II", in: DENIS NOSNITSIN et al. (eds.), *Varia Aethiopica: In Memory of Sevir Chernetsov (1943–2005)*, Saint-Pétersbourg 2005 (= Scrinium, Revue de patrologie, d'hagiographie critique et d'histoire ecclésiastique, 1), 287–316, here 292, 301f., 305 (Lit.).

Shalva Weil

Mikaʾel "Səḥul"

Ras M. (ሚካኤል፡ ሰሑል, 'M. the Astute', in his own chronicle also *səḥul əras* Mikaʾel [GuiIyas I, 213 = II, 223], variant *səḥul rəʾəsä rəʾusan* Mikaʾel, 'the astute *ras* of *rases* Mikaʾel' [BTafY 81], in Tgn. tradition known as *səḥul* Mikaʾel; b. ca. 1691, area of Ǝnda Abba Gärima near ᶜAdwa; d. 23 June 1777, ᶜAdwa) was an Ethiopian lord from Təgray.

M. was responsible for ushering in the ↗*Zämänä Mäsafənt*, a long period of political insecurity and lack of central government in Ethiopia, when he had ↗Iyoʾas I, the last emperor of the Solomonic monarchy with independent power, killed. The epithet *səḥul* (Tgn. 'astute', 'sharp') was given to him later in life due to his political and military success. In the work of the 18th-cent. Scottish traveller and eye witness ↗Bruce, M. appears as a character larg-

er than life, a ruthless and cold-blooded power politician. Ultimately, his political heritage was meagre, with both Təgray and the Ethiopian empire emerging fragmented and warring after his death. He was not a ruler with a political vision beyond control and self-interest. While he gave the decaying Solomonic monarchy in Ethiopia the final push, he ultimately did not replace it with anything else, so that the prestigious authority and office of emperor, based on the idea of descent, nominally remained in place.

M., son of the Təgrayan noble *abeto* Ḥəzqəyas Wäldä Ḫawaryat and of *wäyzäro* Ǝšäte Maryam, started his career around 1720 as a *blattengeta* to the governor of ↗Bambolo Məllaš, *däğğazmač* ↗ᶜAndä Haymanot. After having removed his rival *däğğazmač* Wälde, M. became a governor (with the title of *däğğazmač*) under ᶜAndä Haymanot in Təgray, starting from 1748. In 1759 he quarreled with his master ᶜAndä Haymanot, and in the ensuing fight had him imprisoned and executed with impunity. Starting from September 1759 he governed all of Təgray including neighbouring territories to the south. In this period, the Ethiopian monarchy was weak and ridden by regional rivalries. The problem was complicated by divisions within the Ethiopian Church between the followers of the *qəbat* ('Unctionists') and ↗*sost ləḏät* ('Three Births') schools who got the support of regional lords (AbPrince 39f.). M., not a religious man but quick to see the political importance of religion, became allied to the Gondär dynasty through empress-dowager ↗Bərhan Mogäsa (Məntəwwab), the long-living widow of *aṣe* Bäkaffa (d. 1730) and grandmother of *aṣe* Iyoʾas. In the early 1750s she had sought M.'s military and political support against Wällo and Yäğğu leaders who had entered court life following the marriage of her son Iyasu II with Wabi (Wəbit), baptized as Wällätä Bärsabəh, from the Wällo Oromo (Perret 1988:129–31). After Iyasu II's death, the widow of Iyoʾas and his mother became rivals. Məntəwwab had also given one of her daughters, Ǝleni, as wife to M.'s son *bäğərond* (later *qäñazmač*) Wäldä Ḫawaryat in 1765 (GuiIyas II, 227).

Earlier, Iyasu II had nominated M. *däğğazmač* of Təgray proper, i.e. with ↗ᶜAdwa in the centre, which was his residence (GuiIyas I, 214f. = II, 224f.). From here M. also submitted Ǝndärta in 1765, where *däğğazmač* Wälde had rebelled again, acquired the title *balgadda* and moved his residence to ↗ᶜAbi ᶜAddi in Tämben (GuiIyas

Portrait of Mikaʾel Səḥul by James Bruce; from Pankhurst – Ingrams 1988:47

I, 216 = II, 226). Within a short period of time he additionally received the governorship of Šire and Səmen and then submitted all the areas from ↗Säraye up to ↗Mänsaᶜ, Baqla and to ↗Akkälä Guzay (ibid. I, 217f. = II, 227f.). He also pillaged the ᶜAfar territories east of ↗Ṣəra.

Established as governor of the area east of the ᶜAngaräb river in addition to Təgray, he diverted trade income from caravans passing through Təgray to the coast, thus weakening the monarchy further while building his own army and importing rifles. The weak, but still calm monarchy then came into a serious crisis after the death of Məntəwwab's influential brother, *ras* ↗Wäldä Ləᶜul, in 1767. Opening the way for his power grab, M. was nominated *ras* on 20 September 1767 (GuiIyas I, 225 = II, 234; BTafY 31). M. was then virtually unstoppable and was called upon to intervene in the conflict between the Qʷara faction of Məntəwwab and the Wällo faction, erupting in 1767. But with his army of more than 20,000 men M. defeated both factions. Not much later he was raised to the rank of an imperial *ras bitwäddäd* on 22 January 1768 (Perret 1988:134). In this year he also received Empress Məntəwwab's daughter Aster in marriage (his second wife; Pankhurst 1979). Iyoʾas marshalled an army to stop M., but it was too late: in April 1769 M. defeated the coalition that supported the monarch and proceeded to try and execute him (by strangling) on 7 May 1769: an ominous precedent in the history of Ethiopia. Iyoᶜas was buried in ↗Qʷəsqʷam by his grandmother.

After the forced removal of *aṣe* Iyoᶜas, and the 5-month interlude of *aṣe* Yohannəs II, also killed by M., he put the latter's son *aṣe* Täklä Haymanot II on the throne. This "puppet Emperor" acted mainly as M.'s representative. M. was not claiming Solomonic descent to justify his position and did not try to install himself, or one of his relatives, as emperor. Also in his chronicle (*tarik zädäğğ azmač Mikaʾel*; GuiIyas I, 204ff. [text] = II, 214ff. [tr.]), which was inserted into the chronicle of *aṣe* Iyoʾas by M.'s order, he did not link himself with the Solomonids (ibid., I, 213 = II, 223; this link only appeared in later tradition, for such a genealogy s. BTafY 30f.). This chronicle covers the period up to 1769.

The lords of Damot and Wällo revolted against him, and he engaged in a series of fighting with them in Damot and Mäčča in late 1769 and early 1770. In the middle of 1770 he went to Təgray, and in December 1770 returned to Gondär and started a ruthless campaign of violent repression of any opposition. Many opponents, but also the *ᶜaqqabe säᶜat* Sälama and a group of ↗*azmari* that had performed a satire on him, were publicly executed (BruNile 1964:181f.), while others were abducted and killed in secret, and, according to Bruce (ibid. 187) the streets of Gondär were strewn with body parts and corpses that were denied decent burial.

M. could however not control the surrounding countryside, where the lords of Damot, Amhara and Bägemdər (the Oromo chief *däğğazmač* Fasil Wäräññña, *ras* Goššu Wädağe and *däğğazmač* Wänd Bäwäsän Ḫaylu) marshalled their armies against his tyranny in Gondär. In May 1771, M., still an energetic, but already aged man of over 80, was beaten on the battlefield at ↗Sarbakusa, south-east of Gondär, by the forces of Wänd Bäwäsän (who was married to a grand-daughter of M.) and *ras* Goššu. M. was imprisoned for about a year in Lasta. The stability of the empire, however, was not restored with M.'s removal, and all subsequent "emperors" until 1855 were nominal and did not command authority.

In 1772 he was sent back to Təgray as nominal governor, where he died in 1777 (or even after 1778, according to other sources, BTafY 31, BTafA 950). His stronghold in Təgray was the area between ᶜAdwa and ↗Tämben, to which he had genealogical links. His *gəbbi* at Mänawe was donated by him to the Church and serves as a church today. He was buried in the monastery of Dägna south of Aksum.

Src.: BlunChr 203–29, 313–50; BruNile ed. 1964; BTafA 950; BTafY 31, 81, 85, 123; GuiIyas; MANFRED KROPP, *Die äthiopischen Königschroniken in der Sammlung Däğğazmač Ḫaylu*, Frankfurt am Main – Bern – Paris 1989 (Heidelberger Orientalische Studien 13).
Lit.: AbPrince; MICHEL PERRET, "James Bruce en Éthiopie", in: *Colloque International 'Voyage et Voyageurs', Bruxelles, 1983*, Bruxelles 1985, 61–80; ID., "Les parties à la cour de Gondar en 1769", in: *PICES* 8, vol. 2, 129–36; LAVERLE B. BERRY, *The Solomonic Monarchy at Gonder, 1630–1755: an Institutional Analysis of Kingship in the Christian Kingdom of Ethiopia*, Boston 1976; ID., "Factions and Coalitions during the Gondar Period, 1630–1755", in: *PICES* 5b, 431–41; RICHARD PANKHURST, "An Eighteenth Century Ethiopian Dynastic Marriage Contract between Empress Mentewwab and Ras Mikaʾel Sehul of Tegre", *BSOAS* 42, 2, 1979, 457–66; ID. – LEILA INGRAMS, *Ethiopia Engraved: an Illustrated Catalogue of Engravings by Foreign Travellers from 1681 to 1900*, London – New York 1988, 47 (ill.); TÄKLÄ-TSADIQ MÄKURIA, "Histoire abrégée de Haylou Esheté (Degiazmatche)", in: *PICES* 8, vol. 2, 189–213.

Jon Abbink

Mikeyir ↗Šabo

Milad: Mäṣḥafä milad

M.m. (መጽሐፈ: ሚላድ, 'Book of Nativity') is one of several works of ↗Gəᶜəz literature ascribed to *aṣe* ↗Zärʾa Yaᶜəqob and composed in the mid-15th cent. As its title indicates, the M.m. is a homiliary for the monthly feast of the Nativity of Christ (it is not clear why a loan word (from Arab. *mīlād*) is used in the title in place of ↗*Lədät*, the Gəᶜəz term for Nativity).

The ↗Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥədo) Church, following the ↗*Senodos*, teaches that Jesus was born on 29 (28 in leap year) *Taḥśaś*, hence the assignment of the first homily to 29 *Taḥśaś*. Two months, *Gənbot* and *Ṭəqəmt*, have homilies for the 28th and 29th, which may have been originally related to the leap year shift of the feast. At the end of each month's homily – save for *Mäskäräm* – there is a short treatise on the ↗Trinity, titled ኖኅተ: ፀሐይ (*Ḫoḫətä Śäḥay*, 'Threshold/Window for the Sun'), in one of the two slightly different versions (thus the title of Wendt's edition of 1962–63). The symbolism is clear: the Window is Mary and the Sun is Christ.

Each homily opens with a renunciation of Satan, the same formula the faithful today begin their daily prayers with (በስመ: አብ: ወወልድ: ወመንፈስ: ቅዱስ: አሐዱ: አምላክ: በቅድስት: ሥላሴ: እንዘ: አአምን: ወእትመሓፀን: እክሕደክ: ሰይጣን: በቅድመ: ዛቲ: እምየ: (ቅድስት:) ቤተ: ክርስቲያን: እንተ: ይእቲ: ስምዕየ: ማርያም: ጽዮን: አሜን, 'In the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy

Spirit, One God. Believing and taking refuge in the Holy Trinity, I denounce you, Satan, before my (holy) mother Church, which is my witness Mary Zion. Amen'; s. Wendt 1962:1 [text]). Virtually every member of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church knows this prayer by heart. It is unclear, however, whether it originated from the M.m.

The work deals exclusively with the defence of the incarnation of the Word through temporal birth from Mary (↗Christology), and the Christian trinitarian theology, which touches also on the eternal birth of the Word from the Father. The work is not only apologetic regarding these two issues but also highly polemical in its addressing of two distinct groups that resisted the Emperor's theology of the Trinity. The first group (called here *Ayhudawi*, i.e. 'Jews', s. ↗Ayhud) did not believe in the existence of God in Trinity (s. Wendt 1962:3 [text]); the second group, followers of *abunä* ↗Ǝsṭifanos commonly known as the ↗Stephanites, being Christian, did believe in this concept but defined it differently (ibid. 13).

Some scholars have argued that Zär'a Ya'ǝqob was also in regard to the first group, implying a Christian sect, such as the Stephanites. However, it is difficult to imagine that Zär'a Ya'ǝqob would accuse the two groups whom he addresses in the M.m., the *Ayhudawi* and the Stephanites, of different theological views and take so much time to research the scriptures and historical sources on the Jewish people (cp. Wendt 1962:5ff. [text]) in order to refute their religious teaching unless there was indeed a Jewish community near him. Zär'a Ya'ǝqob defends the Christian interpretation of Gen 18–19 as an image of the Trinity visiting Abraham, denied by his opponents who described the visitors as "three men" or "God and two angels".

The second target group of polemics are the Stephanite monks. Though Christian, they did not share with the Emperor the understanding of the Unity and Trinity of God. Specifically, Zär'a Ya'ǝqob accused them of teaching the concept of the Trinity in a way that did not show the unity of the three persons. Though the description of the "heresy" in the M.m. (cf. Wendt 1962:38f.) might be exaggerated insofar that it is not clear whether Stephanites indeed claimed that each member of the Trinity existed "with his word and his spirit" independently of each other (the *Gädlä Ǝsṭifanos* only claims that the three are equal in divinity and authority), it is close to what *abba* ↗'Ǝzra maintained – that each person in the Trinity speaks with his own word, not through the Word (Caquot 1961:89f.).

Along with the other works of Zär'a Ya'ǝqob M.m. is one of the major sources on religious, political and social life in 15th cent. Ethiopia. Several monasteries preserve copies of the text, but only ms. EMML 6838 is from the 15th cent.

Src.: ANDRÉ CAQUOT, "Les Actes d'Ezrā de Gunda-Gundē", *AE* 4, 1961, 69–121; DillmZarY; ms. EMML 6838 [not catalogued]; GETATCHEW HAILE, *The Gaʿəz Acts of Abba Ǝsṭifanos of Gʷəndagʷənde*, Lovanii 2006 (CSCO 619, 620 [SAe 110, 111]); KURT WENDT (ed., tr.), *Das Maṣḥafa Milād (Liber Nativitatis) und Maṣḥafa Śellāsē (Liber Trinitatis) des Kaisers Zarʾa Yāʿqob*, Louvain 1962-63 (CSCO 221, 235 [SAe 41, 43]).

Lit.: TADDESE TAMRAT, "Some Notes on the Fifteenth Century Stephanite 'Heresy' in the Ethiopian Church", *RSE* 22, 1966, 103–15; KURT WENDT, "Das *Maṣḥafa Berhān* und *Maṣḥafa Milād*", *Orientalia* new. ser. 3, 1934, 1–30, 147–73, 259–93; ID., "Die theologischen Auseinandersetzungen in der äthiopischen Kirche zur Zeit der Reformen des XV. Jahrhunderts", in: *PICES* 1, 137–46; ID., "Der Kampf um den Kanon Heiliger Schriften in der äthiopischen Kirche der Reformen des XV. Jahrhunderts", in: *PICES* 2, 107–13.

Getatchew Haile

Military units s. vol. 5

Milk and milk products

In Ethiopia and Eritrea the M. (Amh. **ወተት**, *wätät*, Tgn. **ጸባ**, *ṣäba*, Orom. *aannan*) of cows, goats, sheep and ↗camels is consumed. For pastoralists M. is an important ↗food item, whereas for sedentary peoples it is secondary to their grain-vegetable-meat-diet. Pastoralists' daily life is structured around caring for their animals (↗Pastoralism) and, thus, around the consumption and handling of M. and its products (cf. VSAe II, 58ff).

The yield of cow's M. is sufficient to be shared with humans and is the most popular type of M. The consumption of the slightly bitter tasting camel's M. is practiced rarely, while goat's and sheep's M. is enjoyed by almost all pastoralists and many agriculturists. For the lowland pastoralists camel's M. is very precious because of its limited availability. Praise songs about the beauty of women who drank camel's M. exist in abundance. The patterns of M. consumption are mainly religion-specific. While the M. (and meat) of camels is central to the diet of Muslim nomadic pastoralists, it is strictly forbidden for Ethiopian Orthodox Christians and ↗Betä Ǝsraʾel (Braukämper in PICES 7, 432). The con-

sumption of other kinds of M. is accepted by all religions. However, Christians abstain from M. and M. products as well as other animal foods including meat, eggs etc. on ↗fasting days. In addition to consumption, M. and its products are widely used in cosmetics and ↗healing.

During the rainy season and during transhumance, cow's M. tends to be overabundant and, therefore, realizes a poor price. During the hot months the price is theoretically high, however, the supply, once family and calf needs have been met, is insufficient. The availability of M. in the villages decreases in the dry season because only some of the animals return to the village every day, as they are herded in remote areas with better pasture. Thus diet varies considerably, with large quantities of M. and M. products being consumed at some times, and much smaller amounts in the "hungry season". Since goats and camels produce M. also during the dry season they can compensate a little for the decline in cow M. production.

Among the ↗ᶜAfar, camels and cattle for milking may be transferred to allies if they experience a shortage of M. and breeding stock. This custom is known as *hantilla*. Among the ↗Gurage and ↗Hadiyya, the women of the neighbourhood participate in an association (*↗Əqqub*) which meets weekly for the purpose of sharing M. Each member, in turn, receives M. from her neighbours. The idea of *əqqub* was applied to the rotating credit associations.

Milking is often highly ritualized and subject to a rigid labour division. There are some ethnic groups which allow only men to milk (e.g., ↗Beni ᶜAmər, ↗Beğa, ↗Yäm, ↗Basketo) and some which also allow women to do this (e.g., Boorana, Oromo, Təgrəññña-speakers; VSAe I, 194; II, 82f., 357; Rüppell 1840:53). In the religious context often only men are allowed to perform sacred M. rituals and to bless M. (VSAe II, 82). Due to their superior status, elders do not perform menial work like milking. The processing of M., like yoghurt making, butter churning, is traditionally considered as women's work. The same is true for small scale trade with M. and M. products.

Processing of milk products

According to its importance as daily food, pastoralists differentiate sweet, hot, cold, fresh cold, fresh warm, sour or curdled M. as well as M. products like liquid butter (Amh. *qəbe*, Tgn. *ṭäsmi*), butterfat, buttermilk, whey, yoghurt (Amh. *ərgo*, Beğa *todub*, Tgn. *rəgᵊo*, Tgr. *rugo*), curdled cheese (Amh. *ayb*, Tgn. *ağğəbo*) and colostrum (Volker-Saad 1997:29; VSAe II, 84). Their diet consists predominantly of liquid and hard sorghum porridges prepared with different products of cow's or goat's M. (Volker-Saad 2003:205). The production of curd cheese practiced among Amhara is not known among pastoralists (cf. VSAe II, 85).

Yoghurt is made of fresh M., poured into a leather bag and not touched for a day. On the second day it is shaken until the "butterfat" separates from the M. base. This "liquid butter" is taken out of the bag and fresh M. is added to what remains in the bag. On the third day the yoghurt is ready to be consumed. Yoghurt is consumed directly or with mashed bread (Amh. *čäččäbsa*, Tgn. *qəčča fətət*) or porridge (Amh. *gänfo*, Tgn. *gäᶜat*) among the Amhara, Oromo and Təgrəññña.

Fresh M. is shaken in bags made of skin until it ferments or becomes butter. Among the Amhara there is a distinction between crude butter (*läga qəbe*) and clarified butter or ghee (*yäbässälä qəbe*). Both boiled and shaken butter (fat) generally turn rancid, which does not decrease its value, but is a special cultural feature. For its preservation butter has to be refined, e.g., by adding the root of *rumex abyssinicus* (Amh. *mäqmäqqo*; PankIntro 156). Butter is used for cosmetics, ritual purposes (s. below) and is part of various dishes. Melted butter is often added to stew, raw meat, hash, and coffee.

Whey (Amh. *aggʷat*, Tgn. *ḥəqʷan*) is the serum or watery part of M. that is separated from the coagulated part or curd in the process of cheese or butter making. It can be used, e.g., for the production of *gušayb* (Amh. 'whey cheese').

Churns are made of wood, animal skin, ceramic, calabash, or metal. The simplicity of churns in various societies is only illusory and their design results from the accumulated experience of those who have used them through millennia.

The butter and other M. products are stored in smoked calabashes or different kinds of vessels which are often beautifully decorated, e.g., with kauris. Among the Boorana it is strictly forbidden to store M. in clay pots, thus they use wooden or grass vessels (VSAe I, 13f., 20f.; II, 84). Beni ᶜAmər women produce a special milking basket of doum palm fibres (Tgr. *ᶜamur*). A smaller basket *əfa* is used to milk goats. Before its first usage, the women plaster the basket's interior with the precious colostrum and smoke it over fire to

make it watertight. The smoking is repeated before each milking in order to disinfect the vessel (Volker-Saad 1997:77). This hygienic method is known all over the region and is applied also for clay vessels.

Socio-cultural aspects

M. and M. products in all societies of the Horn posses symbolic qualities and fulfil important functions in their socio-cultural systems, especially among pastoralists. M. signifies wealth, fertility, purity and blessing. Sayings indicate the social as well as economic value of M. The Təgre, for example, say *ḥalib sətе* ('drink milk') to express "thank you", when they received good news or a gift. The Gurage sometimes refer to M. as "God's daughter" (Leslau 1982:297). M.-blessings are uttered in many instances, e.g., by spraying a person and a vehicle before a journey with M. and saying *gäbäy ḥalib* (Tgr. lit. 'road of milk') to wish a safe trip (Volker-Saad 2003:210).

Butter serves as an important repository of wealth and values. Jars of butter are one of society's most important forms of accumulating wealth, since butter can be more easily exchanged than the cattle which produce it. Thus, decorated butter jars serve as important ↗gifts at occasions such as ↗birth, ↗circumcision, ↗marriage or annual feasts (cp., e.g., VSAe III, 133, 185). Butter was also paid as part of ↗tributes or as an additional gift added to the tax payment (PankIntro 179, 193, 187).

All over the region butter is used in rituals of anointment as well as cosmetics. This is indicated, e.g., by the linguistic connection in many Semitic languages of the terms for "smearing", "anointment" or "consecration [of a priest or king]" with the term for "butter", e.g., Gəᶜəz *qäbᵊa* or Amh. *qäbba*, 'to anoint, to consecrate, to smear etc.' and Gəᶜəz *qəbᵊ* or Amh. *qəbe*, 'butter' (cp. LesCDic 418; KaneDic 763).

Butter was used as skin cream and as a hair care product (cp. VSAe I, 146f., 352f.; II, 54, 56). Among many ethnic groups (e.g., Gurage, Rayya Azäbo), cloth or leather cloths were immersed in butter. Likewise, the body was smeared with it. A practical function of this usage was, besides the cosmetic and symbolic aspects, protection against mosquito bites.

Furthermore, anointment with butter (cp., e.g., ↗*Muuda*) played an important role in enthronment ceremonies of chiefs and leaders of traditional ↗religions as well as in rituals in the context of the ↗meritorious complex (s. cp. VSAe III, 202f., 467, but 320). Likewise, it was practiced as part of ↗initiation rites and as a blessing in religious ceremonies (s., e.g. VSAe I, 205f.; II, 220, 339, 449, 490, 503, 547; III, 193, 198). Periodic commemorations, occasional celebrations or rituals that demonstrate appropriate communication with the supernatural often include the sprinkling with M. or the smearing with butter of sacred sites or trees and paraphernalia among many peoples of Ethiopia (cp., e.g., Reminick 1973; VSAe II, 201, 541; III, 190). It was also used to embalm the dead body of high-ranking office-holders (VSAe I, 204, 222). Only a few examples of ritual usage can be mentioned here.

The newly circumcised girls and boys among the Dorse, as in many other ethnic groups in southern Ethiopia, announce their new status in the first days after the operation by going to the market with butter on their shaved heads (VSAe III, 199f.). Among the ↗Hamär, when a young man is initiated, his head is shaved, his body is rubbed all over with charcoal mixed with butter, and he is fed M. and ↗honey. Among the peoples of the Omo Basin, ↗blood is sometimes mixed with M. and consumed during the ritual that marks the transition from youth to adulthood (Almagor 1977; Little et al. 1988; Strecker 1988:210; VSAe I, 405).

The Təgre-speaking people know a ritual called *fərе* (Tgr. 'fruit'), performed during the seventh month of a woman's pregnancy. Non-pregnant women of the village visit the pregnant women with their *ᶜamur* filled with M. products to join a ritual meal that is supposed to be a blessing. Starting at sunset some boys pile up seven *ᶜamur*. After prayers and good wishes this "tower" is pushed towards the *qibla* (↗Mecca) seven times. The pregnant woman takes a small basket with M. or water and seven leaves of *Ziziphus spina Christi*. Seven women wash their faces with this liquid. After this they put their silver bracelets, which only married women wear, into the vessel. The pregnant woman pushes this vessel seven times from her bed. The women and young boys help to rearrange this setting seven times (Volker-Saad 1997:16f.; 2003:221).

As much as M. is a symbol for purity and goodness, it is prone to dangers which necessitate ↗taboos. For the Təgre- and Beğa-speaking women it is strictly forbidden during pregnancy to eat meat, to drink M. or consume butter from an unknown source, because it may cause stillbirth or even kill the woman. The women of the

Bet Mäᶜala and Ḥamasen clan in Harkokoč, a village in the Western Lowlands of Eritrea, do not eat cow's M. colostrum.

There is one taboo which is quite complex and exists in several versions. In ᶜAd Ṣäᶜada, a Beni ᶜAmər village in the Eritrean Western Lowlands people say that it is dangerous when a pregnant woman steps on the dung of an "unknown" cow (an animal which does not belong to her family or to the village), of which she neither had M. nor butter during the time of pregnancy. The consequence is that the pregnant woman has to search for the owner and buy M. and butter which has been produced from this particular cow; if it cannot be found, the foetus may be aborted. In Harkokoč, it is said to be dangerous when a pregnant woman steps on dung from a cow with cut ears. It is also dangerous to drink M. and butter from such cows. (For taboos connected with M. and M. products cp. also, e.g., VSAe II, 361).

Medical use

M. and M. products, particularly butter, are often used as traditional medicines. Thus, a purgative root is boiled in butter and ingested to cure tuberculosis, and wild honey and melted butter are consumed to cure malaria. A child is treated for conjunctivitis by having breast M. squirted in the eye; in the case of an adult, camel or cow's M. is used (Messing 1972:249–52). In Sidaama country it is used particularly to cure headaches and other minor pains. Among the Gurage butter is placed in the nose to cure tiredness in the morning, or smeared on the body at the end of the day. It is also rubbed into the foot to heal cracks and sores. For the treatment of syphilis an early 20th-cent. text recommends taking ground roots and leaves of *mäkan əndod* (fruitless ↗*əndod*) with a small amount of whey or buttermilk produced from the "milk of a cow that has the same colour as her calf" (Tsehai Berhane Sellassie 1971:118, 155).

Src.: LitPEA vol. 2, 270f.; EDUARD RÜPPELL, *Reise in Abyssinien*, vol. 2, Frankfurt am Main 1838, 53; KERSTIN VOLKER-SAAD, *Beni Amer/Hedareb Women and Food Security*, Tessenei 1997 (ms.), 16f., 29, 40, 77.

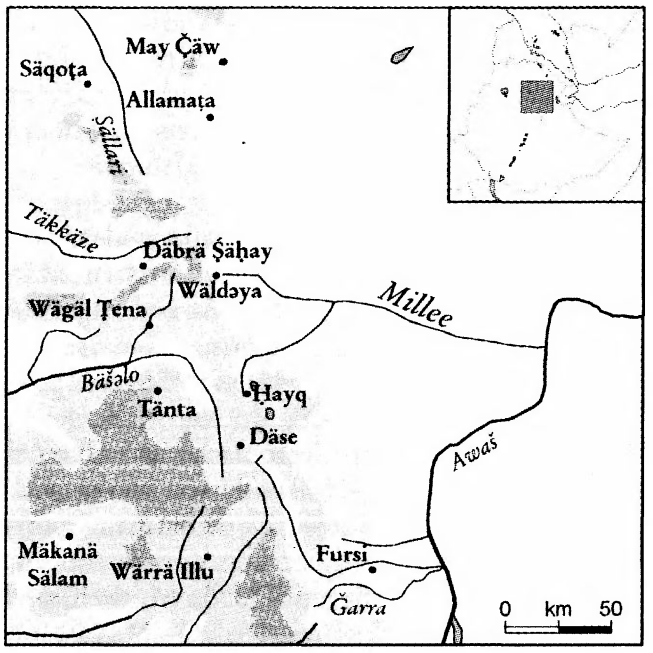
Lit.: URI ALMAGOR, "Raiders and Elders: a Confrontation of Generations among the Dassanetch", in: KATSUYOSHI FUKUI – DAVID TURTON (eds.), *Warfare Among East African Herders*, Osaka 1979 (Senri Ethnological Studies 3), 131f.; ULRICH BRAUKÄMPER, "Food Avoidances in Southern Ethiopia. Religious Manifestation and Socio-Economic Relevance", in: *PICES* 7, 429–61; JAN BRØGGER, *Belief and Experience among the Sidamo*, Oslo 1986, 88–91; GUDRUN DAHL, "Sources of Life and Identity", in: *BHTOrom* 162–77, here 166f.; CHRISTOPHER H. HALLPIKE, *The Konso of Ethiopia: a Study of the Values of a Cushitic People*, Oxford 1972, 314; KASSA NEGUSSIE GETATCHEW, *Among the Pastoral Afar in Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 2001, 41–44; WOLF LESLAU, *Documents tigrigna (éthiopien septentrional)*, Paris 1941 (Collection de la Société de linguistique de Paris 48), 294f.; ID., *Ethiopians Speak: Studies in Cultural Background*, 2: *Chaha*, Berkeley, CA – Los Angeles, CA 1966 (University of California Publications. Near Eastern Studies 9), 114–17; 3: *Soddo*, Berkeley – Los Angeles, CA 1968 (University of California Publications. Near Eastern Studies 11), 88ff.; 4: *Muher*, Wiesbaden 1981 (AeF 11), 177ff.; ID., *Gurage Folklore: Ethiopian Folktales, Proverbs, Beliefs, and Riddles*, Wiesbaden 1982 (SKK 63), 266, 297; M. LITTLE, "Health and Energy Requirements of Nomadic Turkana Pastoralists", in: I. DE GARINE – G.A. HARRISON (eds.), *Coping with Uncertainty in Food Supply*, Oxford – New York 1988, 56–58; PankIntro 156; RON REMINICK, *The Manze Amhara of Ethiopia: a Study of Authority, Masculinity and Sociality*, Ph.D. thesis, University of Chicago 1973, 116f.; SIMON MESSING, *The Target of Health in Ethiopia*, New York 1972, 249–52; IVO STRECKER, *The Social Practice of Symbolization: an Anthropological Analysis*, London 1988 (London School of Economics Monographs on Social Anthropology 60), 210f.; TSEHAI BERHANE SELLASIE, "An Ethiopian Medical Textbook Written by Gerazmac Gabrawald Aragahan, Daga Damot", *JES* 9, 1, 1971, 95–180; KERSTIN VOLKER-SAAD, *Zivilistinnen und Kämpferinnen in Eritrea*, Berlin 2003, 205, 210, 221; VSAe I, 141, 144, 146f., 193f., 204ff., 222, 228, 233, 243, 245, 259, 285f., 317, 331, 342f., 351f., 354, 364, 372, 376, 383, 392f., 404f.; II, 42, 52ff., 58ff., 82f., 201, 220, 307, 320, 339, 361, 449, 467, 490, 503, 541, 547; III, 50, 133, 163, 185, 190, 193, 198ff., 202f., 350, 353, 357.

Kerstin Volker-Saad – Steven Kaplan – Abbebe Kifleyesus

Millee

M. (Amh. ሚሌ, Mille) is a river in northern ↗Wällo, most of it north of the ↗Ḥayq lake, which flows from west to east into the lowlands of ↗Awsa as one of the main tributaries of the ↗Awaš (M. outlet into the Awaš at 11° 25' E, 40° 58' N). The upper course of the M., with its source near Golbo, is situated south of Ḥayq in the South Wällo Zone.

The middle course of the M. traditionally separated the provinces of ↗Yäğğu and of Wällo. In the 1870s it is documented to have served as a boundary between the kingdom of *nəguś* ↗Mənilək (II) of Šäwa (which included Wällo proper up to the M.) and the province of *ras* Ali Bərru of Yäğğu. Later in the late 19th cent. the boundary moved slightly north to the Addif Wəha, a tributary of the M., thus incorporating ↗Wəčale and the M. into Wällo proper. The lowlands south of the middle M. are settled by Oromo, who were in the 19th cent. dependent on Wällo. The confluence of the M. and the Awaš, however, already lies in ᶜAfar territory. The great



plains north-east of the M. are inhabited by ᶜAfar. The middle M. today serves as the southeastern boundary of North Wällo Zone to South Wällo Zone, within the Amhara Regional State.

The M. is known in history for a nearby battle between Šäwa-Wällo armies and the then virtually independent Awsa sultanate on 30 January 1896, immediately preceding the battle of ↗ᶜAdwa. It is also known as the battle of ᶜArraddó, after the plain of Kaló (MorDicAfar 87). The Wällo armies under the command of *ras* (later *nəguś*) ↗Mikaʾel together with the Šäwan armies under the command of *ras* ↗Wäldä Giyorgis and *däğğazmač* ↗Täsämma Nadäw attacked Awsa with about 30,000 troops in order to impose Ethiopian overrule and prevent Italian influence in Awsa. The battle at the M. was a turning point in Awsa history. Oral tradition of Awsa underlines that it ended with a peace treaty (↗Treaties), by which both parties agreed "not to attack each other any more" and respect each other's autonomy. Starting from that moment on, the *sulṭān* ↗Maḥammad "Illaltá" of Awsa *de facto* recognized the suzerainty of Šäwa. However, the inner political structure of Awsa was not touched, and it remained a functioning state apart from the Ethiopian centre in everything concerning its internal affairs. ᶜAfar tradition claims that until the end of the reign of ↗Maḥámmad Yāyyó in the 1940s even no tributary relations were established.

M. is also the name of a small town (11° 18' E, 40° 48' N) in the hot ᶜAfar lowlands on the M. river, on the road to ↗ᶜAsäb. It lies near the Awaš confluence, in Awsa *awrağğa*, and today mainly serves as a truck stop. In 1971 it became known for the finding of prehistoric remains by Maurice Taieb. During the following debate, it was concluded by Louis Leaky that the fossils were one to two million year old animal bones; Mary Leaky said, however, that the stone tools dated only from the Middle Stone Age (Kalb 2001:46).

Src.: BTafA 950; IsKrapf 420; diary of Johannes Mayer, Təgray, Wällo, Šäwa, 1869–1883, collection of Makeda Ketcham, Paris; *Section Abessinien (6)*, in: *Spezial-Karte von Afrika im Maßstab von 1:4 000 000*, drawn by HERMANN HABENICHT, 3rd ed., Gotha 1891 (*Justus Perthes' Afrika* [10 Bl.]) [map of the Horn of Africa with administrative divisions].

Lit.: GueCopMen 139, 157, 166, 289 (Lit.); JON KALB, *Adventures in the Bone Trade: the Race to Discover Human Ancestors in Ethiopia's Afar Depression*, New York 2001, 46; MorDicAfar 71, 87.

Wolbert Smidt – Yasin Mohammad Yasin

Millenarianism ↗Eschatology

Minas

Aṣe M. (ሚናስ [after St. ↗Menas]; b. between 1526 and 1529 [cf. below], d. 30 January 1563) ruled Ethiopia from April 1559 until his death. M.'s regnal ↗name was Admas Sägäd. This has traditionally been regarded as Gəᶜəz and hence as meaning 'The diamond submits [to him]', an understanding indeed suggested by a passage in M.'s chronicle (KrLebD 35f. [text]). Nonetheless it may be more appropriate here to interpret *admas* as Amh. 'horizon', with the resulting translation 'The [whole] horizon submits [to him]' (cp. Guidi 1893:10f., n. 2). This seems justified on account of both the less contrived semantics and the frequency of geographical terms in analogous contemporary names (e.g., Aṣnaf Sägäd, regnal name of M.'s brother and predecessor ↗Gälawdewos; ↗Wäsän Sägäd).

M. was, after ↗Fiqṭor and Gälawdewos, the third son of *aṣe* ↗Ləbnä Dəngəl and *ətege* ↗Säblä Wängel. In addition he had a younger brother, Yaᶜəqob, as well as a number of sisters. Indubitably attested are Amätä Giyorgis and Wälättä Qəddusan, less so Säbänä Giyorgis, Tewodada and Wälättä Ḥanna (Esteves Pereira 1888:58; Kropp 1989:176f., 179f.). M.'s own birth falls between 1526 (BeckHuntAlvar 247) and 1529. The latter date can be inferred from the fact that M. by or shortly after 1539 must have reached puberty (cf. below).

M.'s childhood was marked by ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī's ("Grañ's") ↗*ğihād* against the Christian kingdom, whose successes in the 1530s forced the imperial family to seek refuge in ever

more northerly parts of the realm. On 10 May 1539, however, M. in Wag fell into the hands of the Muslims and subsequently spent more than five years in their captivity.

There can be no reasonable doubt that during this period M. was made to convert to Islam. While this is never unequivocally acknowledged in the Ethiopian sources, the M. Chronicle strongly hints at this when it affirms that in 1559, when he was made emperor, M. again was "of sound heart, like before" and that "the perversion had not entered his mind" (cp. KrLebD 51 [text]). Moreover, Grañ and his main wife ↗Bati Dəl Wämbära some time after M.'s capture had conceived a plan to marry him to a daughter of theirs, a project for which M.'s conversion was a prerequisite. Even though the wedding was, according to the M. Chronicle, cancelled at the last minute because Grañ had been persuaded that it had the potential to undermine his own authority (KrLebD 41 [text]), M.'s previous conversion can hardly be in doubt. It even seems possible that the union indeed was made, but that the chronicle here bends the truth in an attempt to sanitize M.'s biography.

The marriage project – which incidentally also proves that M. must have reached puberty by 1541 at the latest – had its rationale in Grañ's and his wife's desire to link their family to the royal dynasty and generate Muslim Solomonid offspring with a claim to the Ethiopian throne. Thereby Grañ hoped to secure long-term Muslim rule over the conquests of his *ǧihād*. To this end, he had already once approached the beleaguered Ləbnä Dəngəl and offered him peace in exchange for the hand of one of his daughters – an offer which the monarch had scornfully rejected (KrLebD 16 [text]). M. however was obviously in no position to resist, all the more so because he otherwise faced the prospect of castration, a fate which two cousins who had been captured with him had already suffered.

Even if M. indeed was married to Grañ's daughter, the union of course became null and void upon M.'s return to the Christian sphere. In late 1544 he was exchanged against Grañ's teenage son Muḥammad (cf. BassHist 75 [tr.]) who in the wake of his father's defeat and death in the battle of ↗Wäyna Däga in February 1543 had fallen into the hands of the victorious Gälawdewos (Whiteway 1902:85). The exchange was negotiated by the two princes' mothers, Dəl Wämbära and Säblä Wängel, an indication of their independent authority. Yet external consent was also needed to secure M.'s release, since around the turn of 1541/42 Grañ had ordered his transfer from Ethiopia to the Ottoman *paša* of Zabīd in Yemen. This gesture of deference was occasioned by Grañ's desire to obtain additional Turkish support for his *ǧihād*, as in mid-1541 a Portuguese expeditionary force led by Cristovão da ↗Gama had landed in Ethiopia and begun to threaten the earlier Muslim gains.

On M.'s life between 1544 and 1559 we possess little information. We do know, however, that after his return to Ethiopia he was allowed to live in freedom, as Gälawdewos broke with a centuries-old tradition of Ethiopian monarchs and relegated neither him nor Yaᶜəqob to ↗Amba Gəšän. In the mid-1550s M. then wed Śəllus Ḫayla (regnal name ↗Admas Mogäsa) in a proper church ceremony, apparently prodded to do this by his mother. Säblä Wängel likely was concerned with propriety: Śəllus Ḫayla must at the time already have been M.'s consort or civil wife for a number of years, as their eldest son ↗Śärṣä Dəngəl was born ca. 1550. The couple's further sons were Ləssanä Krəstos and Fiqṭor, their daughters Taʾodra and Yosṭina (commemorated in the ↗*Sənkəssar* on 25 *Säne*). In addition, an 18th-cent. genealogy mentions a son of M. by the name of Alʾazar (Kropp 1989:182f.).

In April 1559 M. succeeded Gälawdewos on the throne because the latter, when he died in battle against the Adalite Muslims under ↗Nūr b. Muǧāhid, had no, or at least no legitimate, male offspring. Nonetheless M.'s succession seems not to have been a foregone conclusion, and during his short reign he had to contend with much internal opposition. This culminated twice in the installation of rival emperors by powerful lords. Already at the very beginning of his reign M. felt it necessary to enlist the support of his still influential mother in order to assert his authority and the legitimacy of his rule. The latter in particular could appear questionable due to his (as we assume) youthful conversion to Islam. Even if made under duress and later revoked, it constituted an abiding embarrassment for a ruler of Christian Ethiopia. Moreover, his captivity and conversion had not only tainted M.'s religious credentials, but apparently also scarred his personality and left him an irritable and irascible character (KrLebD 56, n. 226 [text]; PerChron 96f. [text]). This too perhaps contributed to some nobles' disaffection with him.

The not quite four years of M.'s rule were characterized by his almost constant campaigning in northern Ethiopia. After the rainy season of 1559, the Emperor's first move was directed against the ↗Betä Ǝsraʾel of Səmen, a foreshadowing of Śärṣä Dəngəl's much more vigorous assaults on the same community about two decades later.

After the inconclusive Betä Ǝsraʾel campaign, and after surviving an assassination attempt of unclear motivation, M. for the remainder of his rule had to focus on fighting internal challengers. Central among them was the *baḥər nägaš* ↗Yəsḥaq who managed to enlist the support of various other parties in his bid to become the effective master of the kingdom. Yəsḥaq's true colours first showed in 1560/61 when he, in connivance with M.'s cousin Yoḥannəs (a son of ↗Romanä Wärq and brother of ↗Ḥamälmal) and an otherwise little-known lord Kəflo, proclaimed M.'s nephew Täzkarä Dəngəl (or Täzkaro, a son of the meanwhile deceased Yaʿəqob) as counter-emperor. From Lasta M. moved against Yəsḥaq and eventually routed his opponent's army in ↗Adyabo. Yəsḥaq himself escaped, though, and thus remained a potential menace.

After this victory M. marched against Yəsḥaq's Amharic co-conspirators who camped in Bägemdər. There he surprised and defeated them in July 1561. The crushed forces included Portuguese contingents, mostly the remnants and offspring of da Gama's men, who had sided with M.'s opponents largely because he had manifested a pronounced anti-Catholic attitude (Andres de ↗Oviedo). After his victory M. initially showed clemency to his surrendering nephew Täzkaro, but later allegedly saw to it that his former rival was treacherously killed (PerChron 96f. [text]).

Despite these successes the challenge to M.'s rule was not over. Yəsḥaq had regrouped his forces on his home turf, secured the help of many of the remaining Portuguese, and even allied himself with the Ottomans who in 1557 had established a foothold in Eritrea (s. ↗Massawa; ↗Özdemir). Thus strengthened, he installed another puppet emperor against M., Täzkaro's younger brother Marqos. Once again M. without hesitation marched against Yəsḥaq (in late 1561/early 1562), but this time his army was resoundingly defeated in Ǝndärta due to its opponents' superior weaponry, as the Portuguese and Turks brought quite a few muskets and even pieces of artillery to the battle. Having learnt his lesson, M. spent the rainy season of 1562 producing and procuring better weaponry. He died, however, before he could confront the *baḥər nägaš* again: soon after his departure from his rainy season camp in Walä Mäčät in Amhara M. fell victim to a mysterious "light illness" (**ንስቲት ደዌ**, *nəstit däwe*, KrLebD 62 [text]). Yəsḥaq's challenge hence carried over into Śärṣä Dəngəl's reign.

Some manuscripts of the "Short Chronicle" report that M. was laid to rest in the church of ↗Tädbabä Maryam. He is briefly commemorated in the *Sənkəssar* on the day of his death, 5 *Yäkkatit*.

Src.: BassHist 33 (text) = 75 (tr.); BecRASO X, 105, 116, 146-56, 172, 196; BeckHuntAlm 109–29, here 122; BruNile vol. 2, 220f.; BTafA 950; ColSyn X 492f.; XIV 321; DombrChr 48f. (text) = 179f. (tr.); CRHist 79f. (text) = 91 (tr.); GuiIyas 8 (text) = 8 (tr.); GuiSyn I, 671; IGNAZIO GUIDI (ed.), "Historia gentis Galla", in: *CRHist* 223-32 (text), 228 = 195-208 (tr.), 202; KrLebD 35-63 (text) = 39-62 (tr.); MANFRED KROPP, *Die äthiopischen Königschroniken in der Sammlung des Dăğğazmač Ḫaylu*, Frankfurt am Main 1989 (Heidelberger Orientalistische Studien 13), 175ff., 181ff.; PerChron vol 1, 96f. (text) = vol. 2, 75 (tr.); FRANCISCO MARIA ESTEVES PEREIRA (ed., tr.), **ዜና፡ ሚናስ።**, *Historia de Minás, 'Además Sagad, rei de Ethiopia*, Lisboa 1888; RICHARD STEPHEN WHITEWAY (ed., tr.), *The Portuguese Expedition to Abyssinia in 1541-1543, as Narrated by Castanhoso ...*, London 1902 [repr. Nendeln/Liechtenstein 1967], 85f.

Lit.: BudHist 356ff.; SEVIR ČERNETSOV, *Efiopskaja feodal'naja monarhija v XIII–XVI vv.* ('The Ethiopian Feudal Monarchy in the 13th–16th Cent.'), Moscow 1982, 220–23, 253–60 and s. index; DerDom 306f.; GIRMA BESHAH – MERID WOLDE AREGAY, *The Question of the Union of the Churches in Luso-Ethiopian Relation (1500–1632)*, Lisboa 1964; IGNAZIO GUIDI, *Di due frammenti relativi alla storia di Abissinia*, Roma 1893 [= *RRALm* ser. 5ª, 2, 579–605]; HuntGeogr 136f.; STEVEN KAPLAN, *The Beta Israel (Falasha) in Ethiopia: from Earliest Times to the Twentieth Century*, New York – London 1992, 85; MICHAEL KLEINER, "Zu den mit **ሰገድ** (*sägäd*) gebildeten Namen äthiopischer Kaiser sowie anderer hoher Würdenträger des Reiches", *Aethiopica* 7, 2004, 54–73; HERVÉ PENNEC, *Des Jésuites au royaume du Prêtre Jean (Éthiopie). Stratégies, rencontres et tentatives d'implantation 1495–1633*, Paris 2003, 98f., 152f., 185, 288 n. 154, 292.

Michael Kleiner

Minas

M. (**ሚናስ**) is known in tradition as the second metropolitan (↗*Ṗaṗṗas*) of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church in ↗Aksum after Frumentius (*abba* ↗Sälama Käśate Bərhan). The information on M. is found in a few sources produced several centuries after the possible time of his tenure, between the late 4th and the 6th cent. ("10. Jh.?" in BrakKirche 124 n. 624). On account of that, his personality has been a subject of hypotheses and speculation.

In the traditional lists of metropolitans, *abba* Sälama is in fact followed by M., "bishop of Aksum", also called "Sälama II" (Guidi 1899:2f., cp. Chaîne 1925:266). Furthermore, M. is identified with the homonymous "bishop of Aksum" to whom a number of ancient homilies (cp. ↗*Dərsan*) are ascribed: e.g., in ms. EMML 1763 (first half of the 14th cent., from ↗Däbrä Ḥayq Ǝsṭifanos), those for the feast of the Holy Cross (fols. 10r–14r), on the "70 Disciples and 318 Orthodox Fathers" (fols. 27r–33v), on the commemoration of *abba* Yoḥanni (fols. 35v–37v; cp. StrANL 308), on the Dormition of the Virgin Mary (fols. 124v–29r), on the Apostles (fols. 259r–64r [also in BritLib, Or. 8192, fols. 120vb–28va; cp. Cowley 1983:77 n. 5]), and for the eve of St. John's day (fols. 276v–79r). The same works, belonging to one of the earliest layers of ↗Gəᶜəz literature, seem to be also contained in another manuscript of ca. the same age, the Homiliary of ↗Ṭana Qirqos (EMML 8509), and might be further looked for in the "twin" Homiliary of ↗Däbrä Asäbot (EMML 7602; s. Fiaccadori 1989:150). The study of those texts, as well as of the entire contents of these mss. remains a *desideratum*.

The Ethiopian ↗*andəmta* tradition claims that a certain M., archbishop of Ethiopia, translated the Revelation of John at the time of Anbäsa Wədəm, an obscure pre-Zagʷe king of uncertain chronology, "before the Muslims ruled Egypt" (Cowley 1983:78). Another reference to M. is found in the Vita of ↗Afṣe, where he appears as the bishop of Ethiopia and successor of Sälama at the time of the arrival of the ↗Nine Saints (SerHist 116 n. 9; Schneider 1985:107; MHAlex I, 68f., n. 177). This event, however, must have taken place in the late 5th–early 6th cent., but, according to some other sources, the metropolitan in that period was Elyas (e.g., the Vita of ↗Libanos, s. Bausi 2003; cp. CRStor 157).

Src.: ALESSANDRO BAUSI, *La «Vita» e i «Miracoli» di Libānos*, Lovanii 2003a (CSCO 595, 596 [SAe 105, 106]), s. index; EMML V, 218–31, no. 1763; no. 8509 [not catalogued]; IGNAZIO GUIDI, "Le liste dei metropoliti d'Abissinia", *Bessarione* 6, 1899, 1–16, here 2f., 8f.; ROGER SCHNEIDER, "Les Actes d'Abba Afsé de Yeha", *AE* 13, 1985, 105–18, here 107; StrANL 308, no. 125, XIII, 2.–3.; StrBritLib 89–92, no. 56 [Or. 8192], no. 30.

Lit.: BrakKirche 122, 124 and n. 624 (Lit.); MARIUS CHAÎNE, *La chronologie des temps chrétiens de l'Égypte et de l'Éthiopie*, Paris 1925, 266; CRStor 157f.; ROGER W. COWLEY, *The Traditional Interpretation of the Apocalypse of St John in the Ethiopian Orthodox Church*, Cambridge 1983 (University of Cambridge Oriental Publications 33), 71, 77f.; GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, "Aethiopica minima", *Quaderni utinensi* 7 [13–14], 1989 [1993], 145–64, here 150, 161ff. [IV. "EMML 7602: il «Libro dei Santi» di Tullu Guddo"]; MHAlex I, 68f., n. 177; RICHARD PANKHURST, "Minas", in: *DicEthBio* 119; SerHist 110, 116 n. 9; GETATCHEW HAILE, "Minās", in: *TedEthPrel* [I] 1000f.

Denis Nosnitsin

Minerals

In Ethiopia, most deposits of metallic M. are associated with Precambrian basement rocks, predominantly with Neoproterozoic low-grade metavolcano-sedimentary (greenstone) belts. The Phanerozoic sedimentary rocks and the Cenozoic volcanic rocks are significant with respect to industrial M. and building materials.

Since biblical times, Ethiopia has been an important producer of ↗gold and platinum (Getaneh Assefa 1985; Aberra Mogessie – Kebede H. Belete 2000). ↗Salt production and mining for copper can also be traced back to pre-Christian times, ↗iron production to the Middle ages (Pankhurst 1961:224–29). Nevertheless exploration by mining companies did not start until the late 1890s (Masresha Gebre Selassie – Reimold 2000).

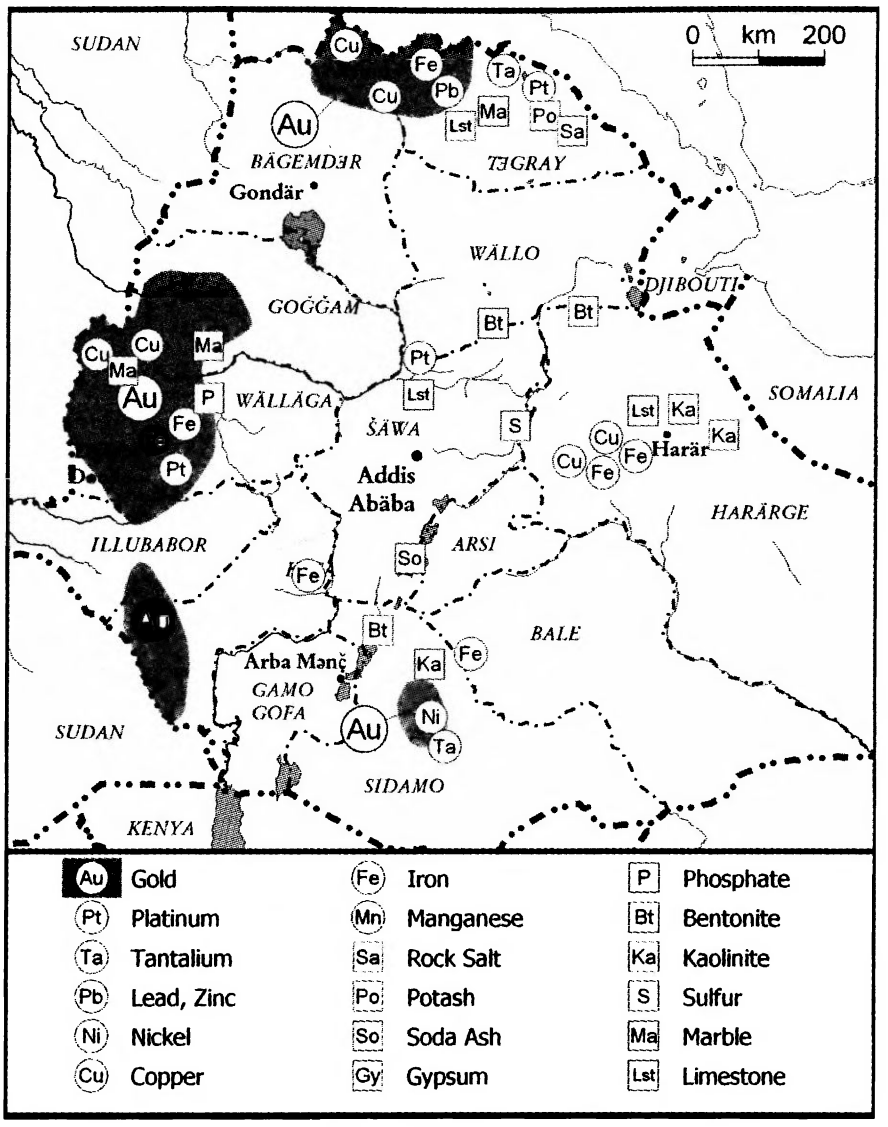
Metallic mineral deposits

Gold is present both in primary and in secondary (placer) deposits. It occurs in four major areas: in the Adola region (southern Ethiopia), in ↗Wälläga (western Ethiopia), in the Akobo region (south-western Ethiopia) and in Təgray (northern Ethiopia). At present the Adola gold field is the only active gold mining area except for artisanal mining in the above mentioned areas. Most of the primary gold occurrences are orogenic mesothermal in origin and bound to shear zone-hosted quartz veins developed within Neoproterozoic metavolcano-sedimentary rocks; gold-bearing volcanogenic massive sulphides and epithermal mineralizations were also detected (Solomon Tadesse et al. 2003). Gold occurs as free particles or within sulphides such as pyrite, galena or chalcopyrite. Gold-bearing placers are of eluvial and alluvial types (ibid.).

Platinum occurs in western Ethiopia, where mining is active in the Yubdo area. The platinum concentration formed by the alteration of ultramafic rocks, mainly dunites, to birbirites and serpentinites. Platinum is mostly present as Pt-Fe alloys (Aberra Mogessie – Kebede H. Belete 2000). The Pt-bearing sulphide M. kingstonite was first described from Yubdo (Stanley et al. 2005). Large-scale mining started in the 1920s concentrating on the lateritic weathering

zone, but has decreased during the last decades. Placers are still mined by locals.

Rare metals such as tantalum and niobium occur mainly in southern Ethiopia associated with pegmatites in Precambrian greenstone and serpentinised gabbro areas, in primary, in secondary weathering as well as in placer deposits. Tantalum is contained in columbo-tantalite, tantalum-rich columbite and in ixiolite (Masresha Gebre Selassie – Reimold 2000). Lead and zinc occur in the greenstone belts of western and northern Ethiopia. Nickel is found within serpentinized ultrabasic rocks in southern Ethiopia, mostly in laterites capping the serpentinite bodies. It occurs as pimelite, a M. of the garnierite group. Copper is present in the Neoproterozoic metavolcanosedimentary rocks of western and northern Ethiopia as disseminated ore or associated to quartz veins, mainly in the form of chalcopyrite, malachite and azurite. The "Adigrat Formation" in the ↗Čärčär Mountains contains stratiform copper mineralisations of the Red Bed type consisting of malachite, with minor azurite and chalcocite.



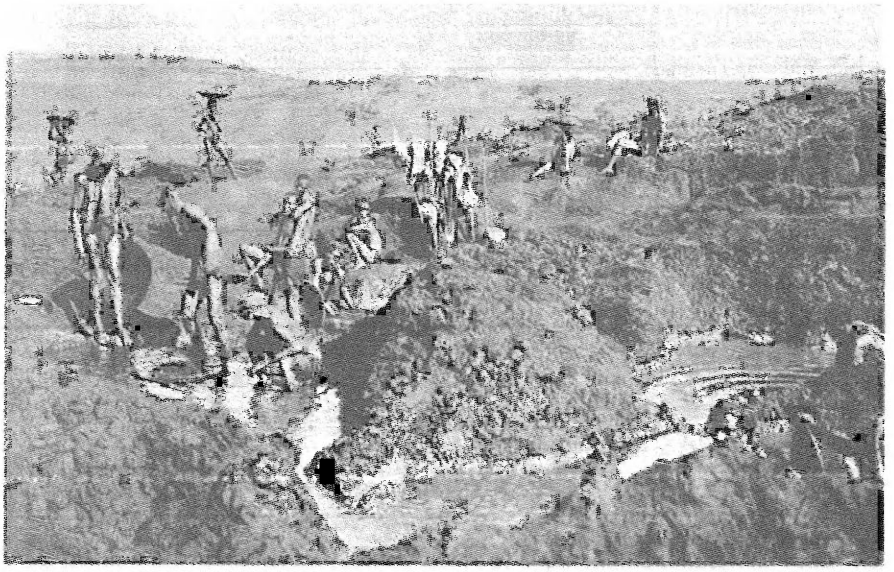
Sketch map of the mineral deposits of Ethiopia; after Wegner – Häußer 1996, Solomon Tadesse – Milesi – Deschamps 2003

Iron is widespread in Ethiopia, both as stratiform mineralizations in Precambrian metamorphic rocks, and as lateritic weathering or gossan-related concentrations in Precambrian rocks and Tertiary volcanites. Stratiform Precambrian iron ores consist mainly of magnetite and ilmenite, lateritic types of goethite and minor hematite (Wegner – Häußer 1996; Masresha Gebre Selassie – Reimold 2000). Manganese is present in Cenozoic sediments of the Danakil depression as stratiform ore consisting of psilomelane, pyrolusite and hollandite (Masresha Gebre Selassie – Reimold 2000).

Industrial mineral deposits

Rock salts such as halite, sylvinite and carnallite exist around Dallol in the ↗ᶜAfar Depression, and are associated with potash (Wondafrash Mammo Ghebre 2000). Soda ash deposits are found in salt lakes in volcanic calderas and in the ↗Rift Valley lakes (Getaneh Assefa 1985). Thick layers of gypsum form part of the Jurassic shallow marine sediments in the Blue Nile, Təgray, Čärčär mountains and ↗Ogaden regions, and occur in the Cenozoic evaporates of the ᶜAfar Depression. Phosphate deposits in western Ethiopia are related to intrusive basic rocks and consist of apatite. Native sulphur formed by solfatara activity in the ᶜAfar Depression and in the Rift Valley.

Clay M. deposits such as bentonite and kaolin are widespread. Bentonite formed by the alteration of volcanic and volcanoclastic rocks. It occurs in Quaternary lacustrine deposits in the ↗ᶜAfar region and former ↗Sidamo province. Kaolin results from the weathering of feldspat-rich rocks, such as granites, gneisses and pegma-



Platinium miners in Yubdo, washing out the ore; from CerEt vol. 2, pl. 14

tites. Feldspars and mica are associated with pegmatite dykes in Precambrian basement areas in ↗Harär region, Sidamo and Wälläga (Wegner – Häußer 1996).

Gemstones such as opal, garnet, beryl, rutile, tourmaline, topaz, spinel, olivine and chalcedon occur in situ and in recent river sediments (Getaneh Assefa 1985; Wegner – Häußer 1996) and are mined by artisanal and small scale miners.

Building stones

Marble exists in many Precambrian terrains of Ethiopia. Good quality granite is present as syn- and post-tectonic intrusions, e.g., in the Harär area and in Wälläga (Haileyesus Walle et al. 2000). Limestone suitable for the cement and the dimension stone industry forms part of the shallow marine Upper Jurassic sequences in central and northern Ethiopia, the Upper Jurassic and Cenozoic strata of the Ogaden Basin and of the ᶜAfar Depression. Pumice occurs widely in the Rift Valley, as recent shoreline sediments or as older lacustrine deposits (Getaneh Assefa 1985; Tibebu Mengistu – Haile Michael Fentaw 2000).

↗Geography; ↗Geology and geomorphology

Lit.: CerEt vol. 2, pl. 14 (ill.); Getaneh Assefa, "The Mineral Industry of Ethiopia: Present Conditions and Future Prospects", *Journal of African Earth Sciences* 3, 1985, 331–45; Wondafrash Mammo Ghebre, "The Dallol Potash Deposit, Northeastern Ethiopia", *Chronique de la recherche minière* 540, 2000, 41–45; Tibebu Mengistu – Haile Michael Fentaw, "The Industrial Mineral and Rock Resource Potential of Ethiopia", *ibid.*, 2000, 33–40; Aberra Mogessie – Kebede H. Belete, "Platinum and Gold Mineralization in the Yubdo Mafic-ultramafic Rocks, Western Ethiopia: Historical Perspective and Some New Results", *ibid.*, 2000, 53–62; Masresha Gebre Selassie – Wolf Uwe Reimold, "A Review of the Metallic Mineral Resource Potential of Ethiopia", *ibid.*, 2000, 11–32; Richard Pankhurst, *An Introduction to the Economic History of Ethiopia from Early Times to 1800*, London 1961, 224–29; Chris J. Stanley et al., "Kingstonite, $(Rh, Ir, Pt)_3 S_4$, a New Mineral Species from Yubdo, Ethiopia", *Mineralogical Magazine* 69, 2005, 447–53; Solomon Tadesse – Jean-Pierre Milesi – Yves Deschamps, "Geology and Mineral Potential of Ethiopia: a Note on Geology and Mineral Map of Ethiopia", *Journal of African Earth Sciences* 36, 2003, 273–313; Haileyesus Walle – Sintayehu Zewde – Tom Heldal, "Building Stone of Central and Southern Ethiopia: Deposits and Resource Potential", *Norges Geologiske Undersøkelse Bulletin* 436, 175–82; Hans-Ulrich Wegner – Ilse Häußer, *Äthiopien*, Hannover – Berlin 1996 (Rohstoffwirtschaftliche Länderberichte 39).

Robert Bussert

Miṅgo-Bušašo dynasty ↗Käfa dynasties

Miṅgo-Dintu dynasty ↗Käfa dynasties

Miniatures ↗Painting, miniature painting

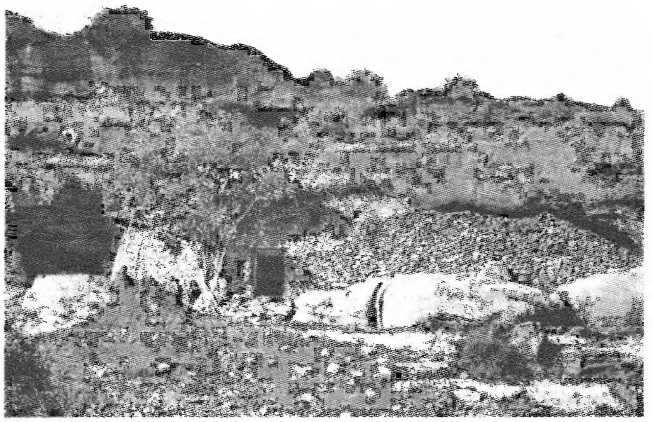
Minifire

The M. are a ↗Sāho-speaking group located between the ↗Asaorta (northern Sāho) and the ↗Ḥazo (for location s. Idda). They consist of three groups: the Đasamó, the Gaᶜasó and, according to some, the Dabrimēla (s. EAE vol. 5). Many Sāho consider the Đasamó and the Gaᶜasó the only "true" M., since their genealogical link with the rest of the M. is unknown. They are mentioned separately by Trimingham (TrIslam 178). The Đasamó wander between ↗Sänᶜafe and ↗Iṛāfálo on the Gulf of Zula. The Gaᶜasó are distributed from the region south of Iṛāfálo to ↗Amba Soyra. Some of them are agriculturalists while others are pastoralists. Towards the southeast, they reach the upper part of *wadi* ᶜIndēli.

According to the 1931 census, the M. accounted for 27 % of a total of 38,000 Sāho. The Đasamó are divided into five lineages: ᶜAbdallāh Ḥarag, Mōset Ḥarag, Nāfiᶜ Ḥarag, Subākum Ḥarag and Zellaᶜ ᶜAre. ↗Faḍé-k Ôbe, who is considered the greatest Sāho poet, was of Đasamó origin (Reinisch 1889:291; Morin 1999:95f.), as was Reinisch's interpreter ᶜAbdallāh "Đasamóyta". The Gaᶜasó consist of seven lineages where the term *gāša*,

'branch', is used instead of *ḥarag*, 'house, lineage', i.e. ᶜAbdallāh Gāša, ᶜAsa-Yōfisa Gāša, Šum-Aḥmad Gāša, Ḥasan Gāša, Yōfis Gāša, Silēman Gāša, Ōna-ᶜUmar-Dik. The word *ᶜáre* 'house' is used for the two Dabrimēla sub-groups: Alades ᶜAre (*ala des*, 'those who keep their goats') and Labhalet ᶜAre ('warrior's house'). From a strictly linguistic point of view, the M. dialect shares features with both the northern Sāho (as spoken by the Asaorta and the ↗Tarūᶜa), and the southern Sāho (Ḥazo and ↗Irob).

The three groups known as M. claim a common descent (*firé*) from *aṣe* ↗Minas (Sāho *Mína*). This alleged origin cannot be totally rejected because Ethiopian soldiers may have settled among the Sāho during the reign of Minas (1559–63) in order to defend against Turkish raids from the coast. A second local tradition (s. Martini 1946:46) refers to another Minas, the nephew of *aṣe* Naᶜod (r. 1494–1508) and a ↗Balaw woman. This Minas, after being recognized by his father, adopted the name *ras* Marsom in response to those who insulted him saying he was illegitimate. A third legend (s. Reinisch 1889:12) states that "Mina" was the son of a woman captured by a local chief, ᶜAsa Bōraytó. She gave birth to a male child who was nicknamed Mína (his birth-name was Wān). Another legend (PollEr 269) refers to a Turkish ancestor and claims that the M. identity has its origin in the political conflict between ↗Christianity and ↗Islam during the 16th cent.



Inhabited caves of Minifire; photo early 20th cent., from Dainelli – Marinelli 1909:8 (Fig. B)

Lit.: CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Al Ràgali", *Bollettino della Società Italiana di Esplorazioni Geografiche e Commerciali* 18, 1903, 241–51, 276–81, 297–303, 325–27, 340–42; *ibid.* 19, 1904, 5–8, 20–24, 37–42, 51–56, 72–74, 112–22; ID., "Studi su popolazioni dell'Etiopia: I. Gli Irob e le loro tradizioni", *RSO* 3, 1910, 849–900; GIORGIO DAINELLI – OLINTO MARINELLI, "Di alcune grotte della Colonia Eritrea", *Mondo sottoterraneo. Rivista di speleologica e idrologia* 5, 3–5, 1909, 3–20 (ill.); FERDINANDO MARTINI, *Il diario eritreo*, vol. 3, Roma 1946, 46; DIDIER MORIN, *Des paroles douces comme la soie: introduction aux contes dans l'aire couchitique (bedja, afar, saho, somali)*, Paris 1995 (Langues et Cultures Africaines 19), 62ff.; ID., *Le texte légitime: pratiques littéraires orales traditionnelles en Afrique du nord-est*, Paris 1999 (Langues et Cultures Africaines 25), 95f.; PollEr 269; LEO REINISCH, *Die Saho-Sprache*, 2 vols., Wien 1889, 12, 291.

Didier Morin

Miracles ↗Täʾammər

Mīrġanīya ↗Islamic brotherhoods

Missals ↗Qəddase

Mission Dakar–Djibouti

The M.D.D. was a French ethnographic expedition that crossed Africa from its western to its oriental coast, between May 1931 and February 1933, through French West Africa (Senegal, French Sudan, Upper Volta, Dahomey), French Equatorial Africa (Cameroon, Central Congo), British-ruled Nigeria, the Belgian Congo, Anglo–Egyptian Sudan and Ethiopia. It was financed by French institutions, such as the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, the Museum of Natural History, the Ethnographic Museum of Trocadéro etc., by private donors (amongst them Rockefeller and David Weill) and by a special governmental enactment of March 1931, allocating an extraordinary budget from the Ministry of Education and Fine Arts.

This huge expedition was made possible thanks to the obstinacy of its leader, Marcel ↗Griaule. After having attended Marcel ↗Cohen's Semitic linguistic lessons at the Écoles des Langues Orientales and studied ethnology with Marcel Mauss, a proponent of field research for ethnologists, Griaule led, in 1928–29, the first ethnographic and linguistic mission to Goğğam, where he applied methods which he could systematize during the M.D.D.

One of the aims of the M.D.D. was to collect artefacts for the collections of the Ethnographic Museum of Trocadéro, another was to gather a scientific documentation (photos, films, notes and observations) for "the ethnographical facts" were already considered endangered by the development of tourism. Griaule planned to conduct "extensive surveys" to collect basic information for further research and "intensive surveys" to study in detail a selected population. Such "intensive surveys" were conducted in Sanga

(Dogon), Mali (29 September–19 November 1931), and in Gondär, Ethiopia (July–December 1932). The first retained the attention of Griaule during his entire career, making the Dogon one of the most studied West African people. After 1933 Griaule phased out his Ethiopian studies. His books published about Ethiopia after this date were edited on the basis of his first mission and he entrusted one of his student, Wilhelm Staude, the task to study the Ethiopian paintings brought back by the M.D.D.

Pragmatically, the law of March 1931 also claims, in order to convince the government to generously finance the mission, that ethnology "contributes necessarily to colonial methods by revealing to legislators, civil servants, colonists, the usages, beliefs, laws and techniques of the local population, and therefore permits a more human and fruitful collaboration by leading to a more rational exploitation of natural resources". The paradox of this mission was that its activities were oscillating between looting and safeguarding, between scientific observations and involvement in the colonial game, an ambiguity that has been intensively discussed since the mission returned in 1933.

The permanent members of the M.D.D. were: Marcel Larget, intendant and naturalist (member of Griaule's expedition in 1928–29); Éric Lutten, who lead the research on "technologies" and was at times cameraman; Marcel Griaule himself, head of the mission, and the surrealist writer Michel ↗Leiris, engaged as archivist and secretary. Some members left the mission before reaching Ethiopia such as Jean Mouchet (linguist), Jean Moufle (ethnographer) and André Schaeffner (musicologist), founder and director of the department of ethnomusicology at the Ethnographic Museum since 1929 and contributor, like Leiris and Griaule, to the surrealist journal *Documents*. For the Ethiopian part of the mission some additional members joined the team: Abel Faibvre (geographer), Gaston-Louis Roux (painter) and Deborah ↗Lifchitz, who mastered Gəᶜəz and Amharic.

The M.D.D. arrived at the Ethio–Sudanese border in April 1932. After having travelled one year through colonial Africa, the situation now changed and for being authorized to enter Ethiopia, the M.D.D. had to justify itself. Griaule and his team had planned to settle in Zäge, under the protection of *ras* ↗Ḫaylu Täklä Haymanot, and to prospect on Lake Ṭana. However, between 1929 and 1932 the political situation in Ethiopia had changed and *aṣe* Ḫaylä Śəllase I, the new emperor, building up a centralized and authoritarian state, felt defiant to provincial governors as much as to foreign missions. The M.D.D. got the wrong reference, *ras* Ḫaylu, who was imprisoned in June being accused of supporting *ləǧ* Iyasu. Furthermore, the M.D.D. was equipped with suspicious material, some guns and a boat, designed for the genuine scientific exploration of Lake Ṭana, an area considered a sensitive geopolitical zone. After leaving behind this material, Griaule alone could enter Ethiopia, escorted by Ethiopian soldiers and conducted to ↗Däbrä Tabor, to *däǧǧazmač* Wänd Bäwäsän, provincial governor of the Bägemdər region. Griaule could settle half-way, in Gondär, under the protection of the Italian consul, Raffaele di ↗Lauro.

At the beginning of July 1932, Leiris and the other members of the mission joined Griaule on the territory of the Italian consulate. There they erected a camp with proper buildings for the rainy season, from where they conducted different activities, all supervised by Griaule. One was dedicated to the study and acquisition of paintings, the most challenging project being the copying and replacement of the 17th-cent. mural paintings of Abba Anṭonyos church (St. Anthony) in Gondär, successfully completed but not without creating tensions amongst the religious and lay authorities. The old painter Kaśa worked for the Mission for four months, delivering paintings and texts for documenting the activity of "traditional painters". All mural and wood paintings were deposited at the Ethnographic Museum of Trocadéro (now Musée de l'Homme). Since 2005 they have been at the Museum of Quai Branly (Bosc-Tiessé – Wion, 2005).

Under the control of Deborah Lifchitz some 350 manuscripts and magic scrolls were collected. They are today deposited in the French national Library. Michel Leiris, assisted by *abba* ↗Jérome Gäbrä Muse, conducted enquiries about ↗possession cults and spirits. Marcel Griaule choreographed all this and conducted particular studies on slavery as well as on the cultures of the ↗Kəmant and ↗Betä Ǝsraʾel, proceeded to different demographic and sociological census, and collected oral traditions. The M.D.D. French team was assisted by a huge network of Ethiopian translators, informants and intermediaries, totalling ca. 100 persons in total.

The mission had planned to leave Gondär mid-October but the Europeans had to respond to

different claims beforehand. The fact that they had purchase slaves and liberated them led to incriminations. Slave trade was at this time forbidden in Ethiopia, although still very common and some could not accept that slaves had escaped from their condition and thus were lost from the market. The mission's huge collection of objects, manuscripts and paintings was a potential problem as well. For passing the provincial customs, the mission had to hide the most sensitive objects and, once the customs was passed without trouble, the collections were sent to Eritrea, at this time a safe colonial country. When, in February 1933, Griaule met Ḫaylä Śəllase in Djibouti, he intended to ask for a compensation for all the troubles the Ethiopian state and the local rulers had created, but he was dissuaded to do so by the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs and just reclaimed the charges pressed by the Ethiopian government, namely by *blattengeta* Ḫəruy.

Back in France, a huge exhibition of items collected by the M.D.D. was displayed in the Trocadéro Museum. Griaule later conducted other scientific missions, in West Africa, selecting the Dogon area to be his main field of study.

Src.: Fonds "Marcel Griaule", bibliothèque Éric-de-Dampierre, Paris X-Nanterre University; French National Archives, files of the Ministry of Public Instruction, sous-série F[17]-17 272; ms. BnF Éthiopien 663, accession inventory of mss.; Musée du Quai Branly, archives and photographs of "Mission Dakar–Djibouti"; "La Mission Dakar–Djibouti", *Le Minotaure* [special issue] 2, 1933; CLAIRE BOSC-TIESSÉ – ANAÏS WION, *Peintures sacrées d'Éthiopie. Collection de la mission Dakar–Djibouti*, Saint-Maur-des-Fossés 2005 (Lit.); GrébGriaule I–III; MARCEL GRIAULE, "La mission Dakar–Djibouti dans son rapport avec les études ethnologiques et archéologiques", *Revue de synthèse* 1, 3, Decembre 1931, 327–32; ID., "Mission Dakar–Djibouti, rapport général (mai 1931–mai 1932)", *Journal de la société des africanistes* 2, 1932, 113–22; ID., "Mission Dakar–Djibouti (loi du 31 mars 1931), rapport général (juin à novembre 1932)", *Journal de la société des africanistes* 2, 1932, 229–36; ID., "Introduction méthodologique", *Le Minotaure* 2, 1933, 7–12; ID., "Les résultats de la mission Dakar–Djibouti", *Aethiopica* 1, 1933, 1–3; ID., "La mission Dakar–Djibouti", *L'Afrique Française* 43, 5, 1933, 283–85; ID., "La mission Dakar–Djibouti", *Bulletin de l'Association Française pour l'avancement des sciences*, decembre 1934, 413–20; ID., "L'enlèvement des peintures d'Antonios", *La Revue de Paris* 19, 1er octobre, 1934, 545–70; ÉRIC JOLLY – JACQUES MERCIER – MARIE-DOMINIQUE MOUTON (eds.), *Fonds Marcel Griaule*, Laboratoire d'Ethnologie et de sociologie comparative, Bibliothèque-section des archives, CNRS UMR 116, Université de Paris X – Nanterre 1997, 16; RAFFAELE DI LAURO, *Tre anni a Gondar*, Milano 1936; MICHEL LEIRIS, *Instructions sommaires pour les collecteurs d'objets ethnographiques*, Paris 1931; ID., *L'Afrique fantôme*, Paris 1934; ID., *Le culte des zârs à Gondar (Ethiopie septentrionale)*, Mâcon 1934; ID., *La possession et ses aspects théâtraux chez les Ethiopiens de Gondar*, Paris 1958; ID., *Miroir de l'Afrique*, Paris 1996; DEBORAH LIFCHITZ, *Textes éthiopiens magico-religieux*, Paris 1940; WILHELM STAUDE, "Les peintures de l'église d'Abba Antonios (Gondar, Abyssinie)", *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 1, février 1935, 94–105; ID., "Die ikonographischen Regeln in der äthiopischen Kirchenmalerei", *Archiv für Völkerkunde* 13, 1958, 236–308; ID., "Étude sur la décoration picturale des églises Abba-Antonios de Gondar et Dabra-Sina de Gorgora", *Annales d'Éthiopie* 3, 1959, 185–250; GASTON-LOUIS ROUX, "La peinture en Abyssinie", *Art et couleur* 43, octobre 1933, 10–16; ID., "Un peintre français en Abyssinie", *La Bête noire*, octobre 1935; STEFAN STRELCYN, *Catalogue des manuscrits éthiopiens (Collection Griaule)*, tome 4, Paris, 1954.

Lit.: GENEVIÈVE CALAME-GRIAULE – JEAN GUIART, "Dakar–Djibouti: le 'Minotaure' et Marcel Griaule", in: *Regards sur Minotaure. La revue à tête de bête*, Genève 1987, 88–93; BENEDETTO CALTAGIRONE, "La missione etnografica e linguistica Dakar–Djibouti", *Uomo e cultura* 13–14, 1974, 185–231; ID., "Il soggiorno etiopico della Missione Dakar–Gibuti. Ancora sui rapporti tra ethnologia (francese) e colonialismo (italiano)", *La Ricerca Folklorica* 18, 1988, 57–61; JAMES CLIFFORD, *The Predicament of Culture. Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature and Art*, Harvard 1988, 55–91; FERNANDO GIOBELLINA BRUMANA, *Soñando con los Dogon. En los orígenes de la etnografía francese*, Madrid 2005; JEAN JAMIN, "Objets trouvés des paradis perdus (à propos de la Mission Dakar–Djibouti)", in: JACQUES HAINARD – ROLAND KAEHR (eds.), *Collections passion: exposition du 5 juin au 31 décembre 1982*, Neuchâtel 1982, 69–100; ID., "L'ethnographie, mode d'inemploi. De quelques rapports de l'ethnologie avec le malaise de la civilisation", in: JACQUES HAINARD – ROLAND KAEHR (eds.), *Le mal et la douleur*, Neuchâtel 1986, 45-79; ID., "Introduction à Miroir de l'Afrique", in: Michel Leiris 1996, 9–59 (Lit.); ÉRIC JOLLY, "Marcel Griaule, ethnologue. La construction d'une discipline", *Journal des Africanistes* 71/1, 2001, 149–90 (Lit.); ID., "Du fichier ethnographique au fichier informatique. Le fonds Marcel Griaule: le classement des notes de terrain", *Gradhiva* 30–31, 2001–02, 81–103 (Lit.); JACQUES MERCIER, "Rencontres, fiches et savoir. Le butin des *zar*", *Gradhiva* 14, 1993, 41–50.

Anaïs Wion – Claire Bosc-Tiessé

Missionari della Consolata

The M.C. (Istituto della Consolata per le missioni estere) is a missionary institution founded in Italy by Giuseppe Allamano in 1901. Inspired by the work of Cardinal Guglielmo ↗Massaia, Giuseppe Allamano asked the ↗Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide to concentrate their missionary action among the Galla (↗Oromo) or across East Africa. However, the initial apostolate camp assigned to the institute was in 1902 in Kenya.

On 28 January 1913, Propaganda Fide established the Apostolic Prefecture of Southern ↗Käfa, separating it from the Apostolic Vicariate of ↗Harär, run by French ↗Capuchins, and entrusting it to the M.C. Due to governmental opposition, it was only on 25 December 1916

that the first Apostolic Prefect, Gaudenzio Barlassina, could reach Addis Abäba.

After some years of travelling in disguise as tradesmen, the M.C. were able to gain the goodwill of Ethiopian authorities, thanks in part to construction works carried out for *ətege* ↗Zäwditu and *ras* Täfäri (the future ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I) and to the liberalization of attitude toward religion on the eve of Ethiopia's entrance into the ↗League of Nations. With the support of the National Association to assist Italian Catholic missionaries and of the Italian Anti-slavery Society, they opened missionary stations, orphanages, professional schools, hospitals, centres for the elderly, leper hospitals, "Villages of freedom" (places for freed slaves), and, from 1922, a seminary for the formation of indigenous clergy. On the eve of the ↗Italian war of 1935–36, there were 33 fathers and 53 nuns running these charitable institutions.

With the beginning of Italian operations in Ethiopia the good relationship between the Apostolic Prefecture and Ethiopian authorities suffered a radical change. Missionaries tended to comply with all requests coming from the Italian government, which encouraged initiatives favouring the diffusion of "italianità", tried to involve the clergy in strategic plans aimed at creating the *casus belli*, and used the missionaries' knowledge of local languages and peoples.

Between 1933 and 1934, the Ministry of Colonies granted the M.C. in Ethiopia some "extraordinary" subventions for teaching the Italian language, technical instruction of indigenous workers, sanitary assistance and the foundation of a boarding school in Addis Abäba for the children of the Ethiopian elite. This initiative, favoured by the Italian government, was intended to spread Italian language and culture among Ethiopian upper classes.

In early May 1935 the Ministry of Colonies, through the head of the Division Enrico ↗Cerulli, tried to involve the missionaries in the insurrection of some tribes, with the aim of creating incidents that would justify military intervention. The M.C. found themselves caught between the pressures of the Italian and the expectations of the Ethiopian government, which asked Barlassina – superior general since 1933, succeeded in Käfa by Santa – to undertake mediation and pacification action between the two States.

The initiatives undertaken by Barlassina following the failure of negotiations were inspired by the principle of obedience to Italians as the likely victors. While hoping that the missionaries would only be used in medical and spiritual assistance, Barlassina accepted that some also collaborated with Cerulli in his plans. General Rodolfo ↗Graziani received topographic maps and logistic information regarding southern Ethiopia from some fathers.

With the outbreak of war, the Ethiopian government compelled Italian missionaries to leave the country. For many of them the main objective was to go back to Ethiopia; some enrolled as military chaplains for Italian troops, others played an important role in operations against Ethiopian "rebels". The journal of the Consolata followed up on the war in providential and anti-Coptic terms.

With the creation of the ↗Africa Orientale Italiana and the expulsion of British, Swedish and American Protestant missionaries, and the "removal" of French Catholic missionaries, who were substituted by Italian staff, ecclesiastic circumscriptions were re-designed. On 25 March 1937, the Apostolic Prefecture of Käfa was enlarged and elevated in rank as Apostolic Vicariate of ↗Ǧimma. With the liberation and power transfer to the ↗British Military Administration, Italian missionaries were compelled to leave the country.

In 1970 the M.C. went back to Ethiopia, in the beginning with the name Fatima Fathers, to avoid reference to the colonial past. They first established missions in the Apostolic Vicariate of Harär. In 1980, they assumed the new Apostolic Prefecture of ↗Mäqi, elevated in 1991 to Apostolic Vicariate, where they have founded parishes, one hospital and two seminaries.

Src.: Archivio Centrale dello Stato, Fondo Graziani, b. 34; Archivio Istituto Missioni Consolata, XV/2, Giovanni Chiomio to Mario Borello, 23 September 1935; *ibid.* VIII/4, Mario Borello to Gaudenzio Barlassina; *ibid.* IV/4, Pro-memoria per S.E. il Governatore, 10 October 1935; Archivio Storico del Ministero degli Affari esteri, Ministero dell'Africa Italiana, pos. 54/9; *ibid.* Serie Affari Politici (1931–1945), Etiopia – Fondo di guerra, b. 139.

Lit.: LUCIA CECI, "La Chiesa e la questione coloniale: guerra e missione nell'impresa di Etiopia", in: MIMMO FRANZINELLI – RICCARDO BOTTONI (eds.), *Chiesa e guerra. Dalla 'benedizione delle armi' alla 'Pacem in terris'*, Bologna 2005, 321–56; GIOVANNI CRIPPA, *I missionari della Consolata in Etiopia: dalla Prefettura del Kaffa al Vicariato di Gimma (1913–1942)*, Roma 1998; CESARE MARONGIU BUONAIUTI, *Politica e religioni nel colonialismo italiano (1882–1941)*, Milano 1982, 169–89; ALBERTO SBACCHI, "The Archives of the Consolata Mission and the Formation of the Italian Empire, 1913–1943", *History of Africa* 25, 1998, 319–40.

Lucia Ceci

Missions

Although missionary activity is, to some extent, co-terminous with the history of ↗Christianity, and although the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church has itself carried out missionary activity, this article focuses on the efforts, since the 16th cent., by foreign religious bodies to bring Ethiopians under their influence. The vast majority of this activity was carried out by Catholic (↗Catholicism) and Protestant M. (↗Protestantism), but European Jews also sent missionaries to Ethiopia to work among the ↗Betä Ǝsraʾel. Since separate articles exist on all of the major M., this article provides an overview emphasizing historical themes and processes.

Widescale European missionary activity in Ethiopia began in 1555 – during the period of the worldwide expansion of Iberian Catholicism – with the establishment of a ↗Jesuit M. in the country sponsored by ↗Portugal (For earlier, though badly documented missions, cf. ↗Dominicans, ↗Franciscans). The arrival of the Jesuits rested on the (mis)understanding that the Ethiopian royal court was prepared to submit to Rome. *Aṣe* ↗Gälawdewos clarified his position and the Jesuit M. withered, until the arrival, in 1603, of Pedro ↗Paez, who was welcomed by Ethiopian monarchs, starting with ↗Zädəngəl. Almost immediately the M. became involved in the political struggles of the period. ↗Susənyos encouraged the Jesuits and sought their support. In 1621, he formally submitted his court to Rome. This met with formidable resistance, and in 1632, he was forced to abdicate in favour of his son, ↗Fasilädäs. Although the kingdom returned to Orthodoxy, the Jesuits left behind a legacy of theological controversies and hostility to Catholic M.

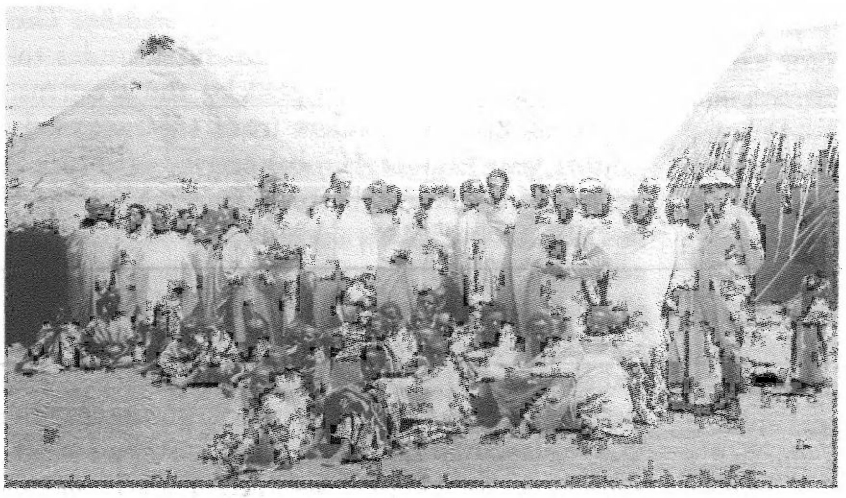
After that episode, the ↗Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide entrusted the Catholic mission in Ethiopia to Carmelitans, Franciscans and ↗Capuchins. Accordingly, under the reigns of Fasilädäs and his successors, some M. – including single Jesuits and Franciscans – reached Ethiopia but without much success.

Ethiopian court policy changed in the middle of the 18th cent., when Empress Məntəwwab (↗Bərhan Mogäsa) entertained a small Franciscan mission led by Remedius ↗Prutky. This foreshadowed the more pragmatic attitudes towards European M., adopted by the great majority of Ethiopian rulers from 1830 onwards. In that year Samuel ↗Gobat arrived in Ethiopia on behalf of the Anglican ↗Church Missionary Society. Gobat's arrival re-kindled Catholic interest, which led to two missions, one, led by the ↗Lazarist De ↗Jacobis, directed to the members of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, the other, led by the Capuchin ↗Massaja, directed to the ostensibly "pagan" peoples of south-west Ethiopia. It also stimulated European Jewish communities to organize missions to the Betä Ǝsraʾel.

The M. of the 19th and early 20th cents. must be viewed against the background of the rise of the modern missionary movement and of ↗colonialism. Ethiopian rulers' interest in the connection to Europe, its political power and technology (particularly ↗fire-arms), generally overcame their fear of the potential threats to Ethiopian cultural unity posed by the M. *Aṣe* ↗Tewodros II tolerated M., although his decision to imprison missionaries eventually led to his downfall. His successor, ↗Yoḥannəs IV, systematically attempted to eradicate them in the name of religious unity, but his death, in 1889, brought a return to pragmatism under ↗Mənilək II.

↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I encouraged European missionaries provided that they direct their proselytizing efforts to the non-Christian peoples of Ethiopia and that they establish schools and hospitals. The M. which successfully adapted themselves to

Departure of the Lazarist missionaries Coulbeaux (centre) and Le Priol from Addis Abäba to Təgray, October 1898; from Coulbeaux 1901:43



The Protestant mission at Ğända; photo around 1930, courtesy of the St. Chrischona Pilgermission

these conditions had a considerable impact on Ethiopia during his reign.

Italian policies (↗Africa Orientale Italiana), supporting Islam and opressing Orthodox Christianity, led to the expulsion of many non-Italian based M. and a moratorium on their activities (whereas Italian operated M. like the ↗Missionari della Consolata remained active). The imperial restoration soon led to a return of the status quo. In the 1950s and 1960s an unprecedented number of M. were active throughout Ethiopia.

M. played a vital role in the introduction of modern ↗education to Ethiopia. The ↗Swedish Evangelical Mission, the Brothers of Saint Gabriel, the Seventh-Day Adventists and the United Presbyterian Church were just a few of the M. which operated schools in the first decades of the 20th cent. They played a major role in the emergence of a modernizing elite. Although intended by the court to foster national unity, the M.'s educational activities often led to the strengthening of ethnic identities, particularly through their development and offering of instruction in local languages.

In this context, it is important to note that missionaries were often pioneers in the study of Ethiopian languages, cultures and history (↗Ethiopian studies). Leaving aside for the moment the historical value of their letters, memoirs and other descriptions of the country as primary sources, ↗Kolmodin's collection of traditions, Rubenson's historical volumes, and ↗Cowley's pioneering work on the ↗*andəmta* commentary tradition are only a few of the many examples in which foreigners who arrive under M. auspices contributed to scholarship. In no area, however, were the M. as important as in that of language study and translation. Vernacular versions of all or part of the ↗Bible in ↗Amharic, ↗Oromiffa, ↗Təgre, ↗Təgrəññña, and numerous other languages were the product of the M.'s need for texts. It is important to recall that such works were usually prepared in cooperation with local converts, such as ↗Onesimos Näsib, ↗Täwäldä Mädḫən Gäbrä Mädḫən and ↗Dawit Amanuʾel. Moreover, beyond their inherent religious purpose the M. were often the first to produce written texts in hitherto exclusively oral traditions and study their linguistic features. Thus some of the earliest scholarly grammars of Amharic, Oromiffa, ↗Käfa, ↗Kunama and ↗Wälaytta were also the product of missionaries' work. The M. were, moreover, instrumental in the introduction of ↗printing and printed books into Ethiopia.

In the 20th cent., medical M. became increasingly important. Dr. Thomas ↗Lambie of the ↗Sudan Interior Mission was probably the best known of the numerous medical missionaries active in Ethiopia in both primary care and the construction and maintenance of ↗hospitals. During the 20th cent., M. became increasingly involved in filling the gap left by a dearth of governmental services in such areas as rural and urban ↗development, famine relief, medical assistance and care for the poor (↗Relief and development organizations). This was especially true during the last decades of the century, when various Ethiopian and Eritrean governments sought to limit the presence of foreign groups in the country.

From the period of the Jesuits onward, the M. were often as critical of Ethiopian Christianity as they were of the adherents of traditional religions and Muslims. Despite the prohibitions on proselytizing among Orthodox Christians, many M. saw the "reform" of local Orthodoxy as a major goal. Yet, despite this ethnocentrism and cultural imperialism, it should also be noted that in some cases they were open to significant adaptations to meet the needs of local believers. The missionary De Jacobis thus adopted the practices and culture of Ethiopian orthodoxy, which eventually led to the establishment of a Catholic Church of the Ethiopian Rite.

As in many parts of Africa, the culmination of such policies of adaptation can be seen in those cases in which foreign M. were the seedbed for

the emergence of local churches. Thus, activities initiated in 1866 by Swedish Evangelical Lutherans led to the formation, in 1959, of the Ethiopian Evangelical Church ↗Mäkanä Iyäsus; while the Sudan Interior Mission, which traces its origins to 1928, gave rise to the ↗Qalä Ḫəywät Church. Lazarist and Capuchin missions eventually gave rise to an Ethiopian Catholic Church, which follows two distinct Rites, the churches in Addis Abäba, Təgray and Eritrea following the Catholic Ethiopian Rite, the churches in south and southwestern Ethiopia adhering to the Latin rite.

In 1994 Protestants composed roughly 10 % of Ethiopia's population, while Catholics composed just under 1 %, but a higher percentage of the population of Eritrea.

↗Conversions

Src.: BecRASO I–XV; MasMis; *Prutky's Travels in Ethiopia and Other Countries*, tr. and ed. by J. HENRY ARROWSMITH-BROWN, London 1991.

Lit.: GUSTAV ARÉN, *Envoys of the Gospel in Ethiopia: in the Steps of the Evangelical Pioneers*, Stockholm 1999; ArEvang; VERENA BÖLL et al. (eds)., *Ethiopia and the Missions: Historical and Anthropological Insights*, Münster 2005; LEONARDO COHEN SHABOT, *The Jesuits in Ethiopia: Missionary Methods and Local Responses to Catholicism (1555–1632)*, Ph.D. thesis, University of Haifa 2005; CrumMis 145–51; BRYAN L. FARGHER, *The Origins of the New Churches Movement in Southern Ethiopia, 1927–1944*, Leiden 1996; GetLRubMiss; GIRMAH BESHAH – MERID W. AREGAY, *The Question of the Union of the Churches in Luso-Ethiopian Relations (1500–1632)*, Lisbon 1964; STEVEN KAPLAN, *The Beta Israel (Falasha) in Ethiopia From Earliest Times to the Twentieth Century*, New York 1992; JOHANNES LAUNHARDT, *Evangelicals in Addis Ababa (1919–1991): with Special Reference to Ethiopian Evangelical Church Mekane Yesus and the Addis Ababa Synod*, Münster 2004; OMahPh; HERVÈ PENNEC, *Des Jésuites au Royaume du Prêtre Jean (Éthiopie)*, Paris 2003; JAMES ARTHUR QUIRIN, *The Evolution of the Ethiopian Jews: a History of the Beta Israel (Falasha) to 1920*, Philadelphia, PA 1992.

Donald Crummey – Steven Kaplan

Mittwoch, Eugen

M. (b. 4 December 1876, Schrimm, Province of Posen, Germany [today's Poznan, Poland], d. 8 November 1942, London) was an eminent German orientalist. He enrolled in classical and oriental languages at Berlin University in 1894, and earned his doctorate in 1899 with a dissertation in Arabic studies. M. earned his postdoctoral lectureship qualification (Habilitation) in Semitic Philology in 1905, serving from 1907 as "Privatdozent" (lecturer) in ↗Gəᶜəz and ↗Amharic at the Berlin Seminar for Oriental Languages (Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen). In 1915 he was made "Extraordinarius" (i.e. reader), and in 1917 "Ordinarius" (tenured professor) at the University of Greifswald, succeeding Mark Lidzbarski. He simultaneously worked as the head of the German Foreign Office Information Centre. In 1919 he was offered a professorship at his institute in Berlin, which he accepted. In 1928 he became the director of the same institution, a position he kept until his retirement in 1935.

In his academic work, M. initially focused on Arabic literature and Arabic history. His main interest, however, soon shifted to Ethiopic philology and linguistics. In co-operation with his Ethiopian teacher *aläqa* ↗Tayyä Gäbrä Maryam who worked as a lecturer at the institute, he published a series of folklore texts (Mittwoch 1906, 1907, 1910 and 1911). Several of his publications are also based on material provided by his and Tayyä's former student, Lorenz ↗Jensen of Addis Abäba. In his *Die amharische Version der Soirées de Carthage*, (1934), M. provided further evidence for the hypothesis (previously expressed by ↗Conti Rossini) that the theological-philosophical writings previously attributed to the "Abyssinian philosophers" of the 17th cent. had indeed been authored by the 19th-cent. Italian priest Giusto da ↗Urbino. M.'s best-known work is *Die traditionelle Aussprache des Äthiopischen* (1926), a study on the contemporary pronunciation of Gəᶜəz.

During his last years in Berlin, M. studied Ancient South Arabian inscriptions (cp. Mittwoch – Mordtmann 1931, 1932). Many of his contributions to ↗Epigraphic South Arabian studies were published in the journal *Orientalia* (1932–38, sometimes in collaboration with ↗Schlobies). From 1922 to 1924 M. was the editor of the journal *Der Neue Orient*.

Apart from his work in Semitic studies, M. took an active interest in Jewish causes. He promoted the knowledge of Hebrew in Germany and Palestine. At the beginning of 1933 he was briefly head of the Department for Jewish affairs in the German Foreign Office. He was also active in several Jewish organizations, e.g. the "Gesellschaft zur Förderung der Wissenschaft des Judentums" (Society for the Promotion of Jewish Studies), where he served as the organization's last president, or the "Central-Verein deutscher Staatsbürger jüdischen Glaubens" (Central Association of German Citizens of Jewish Faith). When M., while staying in France, received news of the "Kristallnacht"-pogrom of 1938, he decided not to return to his country. In 1939 he emigrated to Great Britain.

There he worked for the Ministry of Information and was again active in Jewish organizations – such as the Association of Jewish Refugees in Great Britain – until his death.

Src.: EUGEN MITTWOCH, *Proelia Arabum paganorum – Ajjâm al-'Arab – quomodo litteris tradita sunt*, Ph.D. thesis, Berlin 1899; ID., "Exzerpte aus dem Koran in amharischer Sprache", *Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen zu Berlin* 9, 1906, 111–47; ID., "Proben aus amharischem Volksmunde", *ibid.* 10, 1907, 185–241; ID., "Abessinische Kinderspiele", *ibid.* 13, 1910, 107–40; ID., "Abessinische Erzählungen und Fabeln", *ibid.* 14, 1911, 101–58; ID., *Die traditionelle Aussprache des Äthiopischen*, Berlin – Leipzig 1926 (Abessinische Studien 1); ID., *Die amharische Version der Soirées de Carthage, mit einer Einleitung: Die angeblichen Philosophen des 17. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin – Leipzig 1934 (Abessinische Studien 2); JOHANNES HEINRICH MORDTMANN – EUGEN MITTWOCH, *Sabäische Inschriften*, Hamburg 1931; IID., *Himjarische Inschriften in den staatlichen Museen zu Berlin*, Leipzig 1932.

Lit.: ENNO LITTMANN, "Eugen Mittwoch", *ZDMG* 99, 1945–49, 143–46; EDWARD ULLENDORFF, "Some Amharic and Other Documents from the Eugen Mittwoch Nachlass", *BSOAS* 43, 1980, 429–52; ID., "Eugen Mittwoch and the Berlin Seminar for Oriental Languages", in: IAN RICHARD NETTON (ed.), *Studies in Honour of Clifford Edmund Bosworth*, vol. 1: *Hunter of the East: Arabic and Semitic Studies*, Leiden – Boston – Köln 2000, 145–58; RAINER VOIGT, "Eugen Mittwoch", *Neue Deutsche Biographie* 17, 1994, 591–92; ID., "Äthiopistik in Berlin. Das Wirken von Eugen Mittwoch und Aläqa Tayyä", in: ID. (ed.), *Die äthiopischen Studien im 20. Jahrhundert/Ethiopian Studies in the 20th Century: Akten der internationalen äthiopischen Tagung Berlin 22. bis 24. Juli 2000*, Aachen 2003 (Semitica et Semitohamitica Berolinensia 2), 103–21.

Rainer Voigt

Miyazya ↗Calendar, Christian

Mizan

M. (or Mizan Täfäri; 7° N, 35° 35' E, 1,451 m A.S.L.) is a town in the former ↗Käfa province in the historical region of ↗Gimira (today called ↗Benç). It lies at the confluence of the Akobo river and one of its tributaries and at the crossing of the road from Gore to the north and from Bonga to the west (for location s. Mağı).

M. appears as a toponym on the post-1936 Italian map but is not mentioned in the *Guida* of 1938. It grew during the 1950s–60s owing to the cultivation and trade in ↗coffee. It was during this period that *aṣe* Ḫaylä Śəllase I's birth name, Täfäri, was added to the name of the town to honour the sovereign (as it was also done with Asbä Täfäri).

Before 1987 M. was the capital of the Gimira *awraǧǧa*, a subdivision of the Käfa governorate-general and then region. From 1987 to the 1991 it was the capital of the Käfa region. Currently it is the capital of the Benç *wäräda* and of the Benç Mağı zone, subdivisions of the South Nations, Nationalities and Peoples' *kəlləl*.

In Bäbäka south of M. lies the largest coffee plantation in Ethiopia (6,537 ha) where 7,000 workers are employed producing 1,500 tons of Arabica coffee beans a year. In ↗Tepi, 65 km to the west, the second largest coffee plantation in Ethiopia is found, and in Wušwuš, 92 km to the east, the largest tea plantation in Ethiopia.

Since new roads were opened many migrants have come clearing the rain forests to plant coffee and also grow their food. From ca. 6,000 inhabitants in 1984 the population grew to over 10,000 in 1994 and nearly 20,000 in 2005 having thus tripled in 20 years. The M. airfield is regularly served by planes coming from ↗Addis Abäba because it is an administrative centre and because it is the only place from where tourists can reach Mağı and visit the ↗Omo National Park by car.

Src.: JOACHIM D. AHRENS, *Kefa, the Cradle of Coffee: a Situation Report on the Western Zones of South Nations, Nationalities and Peoples' Regional State, United Nations – Emergency Unit for Ethiopia*, 13–18 January 1997; CSA 1984; CSA 1994; CENTRAL STATISTICAL AUTHORITY, *Ethiopia. Statistical Abstract 2000 / 2004 / 2006*, Addis Ababa 2000 / 2004 / 2006; EMAtlas; CONSOCIAZIONE TURISTICA ITALIANA, *Carta dell'Africa Orientale Italiana, scala 1:1 000 000*, fol. 3, Milano [after 1936]; *Guida* 538–44.

Alain Gascon

Moassa

M. (or *moggaasa*) is an ↗Oromo word conventionally translated as 'to adopt' but which also has the meaning of 'to give a name to'. It belongs to a set of related terms which also includes *moggoo*, people of the same ↗name, namesakes. Another Oromo word, ↗*guddifačaa* is similarly commonly translated as 'adoptive parents'. The connotation of this usage is undoubtedly the nurturing aspects of adoption as the root of the word, *guddaa* ('big, large'), occurs in many other words referring to rearing, growing and bringing up. For this reason, perhaps, *guddifačaa* is also used in contexts where, in English, the verb "to foster" would be more appropriate. This distinction is not rigidly made by Oromo.

Analytically, it is possible to distinguish two principal types of Oromo adoption. The first may be termed "domestic or individual adoption" and refers to the transfer, usually of infants, from one family to another, the child becoming wholly and irreversibly the offspring of its adoptive parents. Haberland (VSAe II) describes this as a common

practice among many Oromo groups, certainly more common than simple considerations of child welfare would imply. Other reasons given to Haberland for adoption include correcting a serious sexual imbalance in a household, helping childless households and cementing relationships between friendly households.

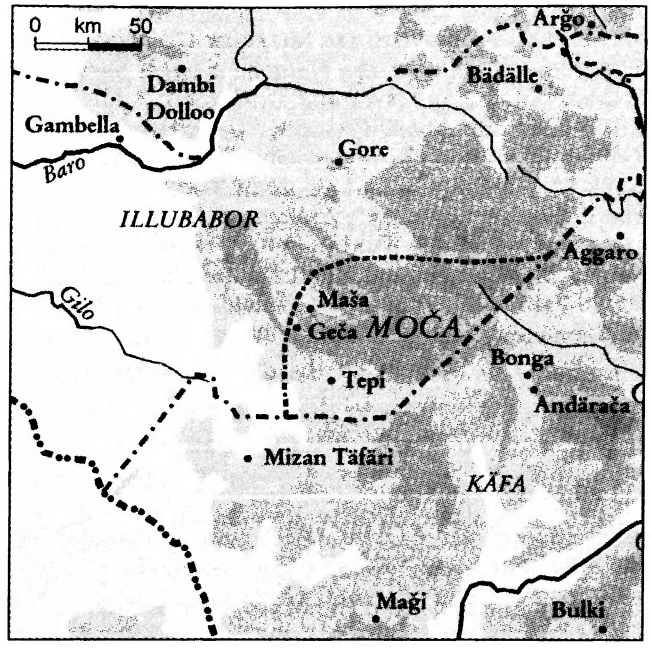
The second type of adoption may be called "political adoption". Here, the adopting and the adopted parties are groups. Individual lineages of one Oromo group can be adopted by another or sub-groups of stranger peoples or whole ethnic groups can be incorporated and given Oromo identity, even with the status of *boorana* or "pure" Oromo (↗Boorana; cp. VSAe II, 528: *akako*). In some cases "political adoption" leads to the development of ↗inter-ethnic clan relations. This type of adoption has been widely discussed by a number of scholars, for example, Hultin (1987), Mohammed Hassen (MHasOr) and Asmarom Legesse (2000). Its historical importance lies in the context of the Oromo expansion into central and northern Ethiopia. The Oromo's ability to assimilate the peoples they encountered in their northward movement, using techniques such as group adoption, enabled them, it is argued, to successfully accommodate to their new, and potentially threatening, circumstances and to avoid the creation of an unstable and alienated population of non-Oromo in their midst. Levine (1974) has argued, more generally, that the propensity of the Oromo to affiliate rather than to dominate, of which M. is a manifestation, is one of their key cultural features which has influenced the evolution of Ethiopian society.

Lit.: ASMARON LEGESSE, *Oromo Democracy: an Indigenous African Political System*, Lawrenceville, NJ 2000, 6f.; BEKELE NADI, "Adoption Among the Oromo of Säwa", *Ethnological Society Bulletin* 8 [University College of Addis Ababa], 1958, 83–91; VSAe II, 236, 483, 528, 544; JAN HULTIN, *The Long Journey: Essays on History, Descent and Land among the Macha Oromo*, Uppsala 1987, ch. 5, 1, 10; DONALD N. LEVINE, *Greater Ethiopia: the Evolution of a Multiethnic Society*, Chicago, IL 1974, 128ff.; MHasOr 21.

Hector Blackhurst

Moča

M. (ሞቻ) was an *awraǧǧa* that was dissevered in the 1991 administrative reform (↗Administrative division). Its territory was divided into the Gambella *kəlləl* (zones two and four), the Oromiyaa *kəlləl* (Illubabor/Illuu-Abbaa-Boraa zone) and the Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples' *kəlləl* (Käfiċċo Šakačo zone).



A wide variety of peoples were gathered into this *awraǧǧa*. The Oromo were predominantly settled north of the Baro River on the border of the former Gore *awraǧǧa*, and southward the ↗Šakačo (formerly called Moča) and ↗Käfa were located (both Omotic languages speakers). The area around the town ↗Tepi is inhabited by the ↗Maǧaŋgir.

M.'s core consists of highlands covered with rain forests. *Ǝnsät* (to the south) and coffee cultivators have begun clearing the forests intensively. Because demand for coffee and food are increasing, peasants have replaced their slash-and-burn agricultural sites with fallow land for permanent fields where they have begun to settle.

The capital of the M. *awraǧǧa* was Maša (cp. CSA 1984). This *kätäma* was founded in 1897 by *ras* Täsämma Nadäw, who jailed the last "king" of the Šakačo, Teči Gawočo. During certain periods in M.'s history, Geča, a small Käfa town, served as its capital. In 2000 Maša (8,344 inhabitants) was the capital of the Maša Andärača *wäräda*, while Geča (in the same district) had only 1,566 inhabitants and Tepi (capital of the Yäki *wäräda*) 14,685 inhabitants. In the 1970 census, the M. *awraǧǧa* (9,300 km²) was populated with 27,400 inhabitants (population density: 2,9 inhabitants/km²) while in 1984 117,685 inhabitants (density: 12,6 inhabitants/km²). The population increase may have been due to a number of reasons: the underestimation in the 1970 figures of this remote region; the influx of Sudanese refugees and resettlements from the North in 1984; the new *awraǧǧa* (Sor–Geba) created in the Illubabor *kəflä hagär*. In 1984 Maša had 2,417 inhabitants, Geča 529 and Tepi 4,459.

Src.: CSA 1984; CSA 1998; CSA 2000; CENTRAL STATISTICAL OFFICE (PROVISIONAL MILITARY GOVERNMENT OF ETHIOPIA), *Results of the National Sample Survey, 2nd Round,* vol. 5: *Land Area and Utilization,* Addis Ababa 1975; EMAtlas; ALAIN GASCON, "Le miracle de l'*ensät*: Géographie d'une plante peuplante", in: *PICES* 11, vol. 1, 81–89; GasEth; *Guida*; STANISLAW STANLEY, "Ensete in the Ethiopian Economy", *Ethiopian Geographical Journal* 4, 1, 1966, 30–37; ADRIAN PAUL WOOD, "Natural Resource Management and Rural Development", in: SIEGFRIED PAUSEWANG et al. (eds.), *Ethiopia: Options for Rural Development,* London 1990, 187–98.

Alain Gascon

Moča ↗Šakačo

Mōdayto

The M. are an ↗ᶜAfar tribe that dominates the middle and lower Awaš valley (including Awsa). They originated from the Mabla mountains (north of ↗Obock, Republic of Djibouti) where there are still traces of their descendants. According to certain traditions, their eponymous ancestor, Môday, (or Mōdale Arbāhim), was the eldest son of Ḥaḍal Māḥis, the legendary ancestor of the ruling ᶜAfar tribes. The main genealogical division of the M. tribe is between the Kaḍḍa ᶜAli and the ᶜUnḍa ᶜAlih-sarra, which includes the politically dominant Aydāḥisso, the *sulṭān*'s clan. The tribe began their migration towards the fertile Awaš valley at the beginning of the 18th cent. The tomb of one of their ancestors Kaḍḍa Aydāḥis (ca. 1700) at Badayda, near the Dōbi Depression on the border with Ethiopia, indicates the location of the tribe before it took over ↗Awsa in ca. 1834.

According to Krapf and Harris (s. AbPrince 24), the Awsa *sulṭān* at the end of the 18th cent. was Yūsuf b. ᶜAlī b. Aydāḥis, and he is said to have expelled the Yemeni troops that were originally called upon by the Debnek Wēʾima coalition to help them fight against the M. Yūsuf's name, however, does not appear in the existing ᶜAfar sources (aš-Šāmī – aš-Šāmī 1997:342–59; MorDicAfar 74).

Src.: *aš-šayḫ* ĞAMĀLADDĪN AŠ-ŠĀMĪ B. IBRĀHĪM B. ḤALĪL AŠ-ŠĀMĪ — *ad-duktūr* HĀŠIM ĞAMĀLADDĪN AŠ-ŠĀMĪ, *Al-manhal fī taʾrīḫ wa-aḫbār al-ᶜAfar* (*ad-Danākil*) ('The Source on the History and the Information about the ᶜAfar/Danākil'), Cairo 1997.
Lit.: AbPrince; MorDicAfar 70ff., 225f. (Lit.).

Didier Morin

Mogadishu s. vol. 5

Mogäs Asgädom

M.A. (ሞገስ፡ አስገዶም, b. 1911, Asmära, d. 1937, near Mätämma) was an Eritrean patriot who made an attempt on Italian Viceroy Rodolfo ↗Graziani's life on 19 February 1937.

M.A. attended Mənilək II School and later graduated from Täfäri Mäkʷännən School in Addis Abäba. In the years preceding the Italian occupation M.A. worked in the Municipal Land Registry Office and by the time the Italians entered Addis Abäba on 5 May 1935 M.A. was unemployed and managed to find shelter at the German Mission in Addis Abäba, where he stayed until 1937.

M.A. played an important role at the side of his friend ↗Abrəha Däboç, the mastermind of the attempt on Graziani's life.

M.A.'s material involvement with the attack started in September 1936 when he moved to ↗Däbrä Libanos of Šäwa as a guest of *abba* Ḥanna, the confessor of Ḥaylä Śəllase. On 9 February of the following year M.A. was joined by Abrəha Däboç in the last preparations before the attack. The two were helped by other patriots. A taxi-driver Səmᶜon Adäfrəs drove them to the lowlands around Mount Zəqʷala with Käbbädä Yardu, a soldier. Here they practiced the use of handgrenades under the supervision of the latter.

M.A. and Abrəha Däboç returned to Addis Abäba on 12 February. A week later they attacked Graziani during a public ceremony at the Viceregal Palace (the former ↗*Gəbbi*) in Addis Abäba. M.A. and Abrəha Däboç attempted to hit Graziani with a number of grenades launched from a balcony above the Palace's steps. However, Graziani was standing under the balcony and thus avoided a direct hit. Eight people died in the attack – an Ethiopian cleric, two zaptié, a carabiniere, two Italian technicians and two soldiers – and over 50 more were injured.

Ethiopian sources suggest an interpretation of the events as the result of the action of a handful of disgruntled Eritreans disconnected from the Ethiopian patriot movements and *ras* ↗Dästa. However, the first Italian investigations attempted to link the attack to a vaster network of Ethiopian dissidents, exiled nobility and the British secret service. Heavy repressions against Ethiopian intelligentsia followed the attack. Thus, the Italian administration quickly linked the two patriots to the clergy in Däbrä Libanos which, once considered active agents in the anti-colonial plot, were executed (↗Graziani massacre).

After the attack, M.A. and Abrəha Däboç were escorted north of Addis Abäba by Səmᶜon Adäfrəs as they planned to join *ras* ↗Abbäbä

Arägay's patriots. However, being Eritrean and having been previously involved with the Italian administration the two were shunned. As the Italian administration had offered a 10,000 Maria Theresa thaler reward for their capture they decided to cross to Sudan. M.A. and Abrəha Däboč were killed near Mätämma shortly thereafter. It remains unclear whether their death was related to their identification as plotters of the attempt on Graziani's life.

Src.: RODOLFO GRAZIANI, *Ho difeso la patria*, Milano 1948; ID., *I primi venti mesi dell'Impero*, ms., Fondo Graziani: Archivio centrale dello Stato, Roma b.56; ID., *Il secondo anno dell'impero*, ms., Fondo Graziani; CIRO POGGIALI, *Diario AOI (15 Giugno 1936–4 ottobre 1937)*, Longanesi, Milano 1971; "The Attempt on the Life of Marshal Graziani", *New Times and Ethiopia News*, 6 March 1937, 2.

Lit.: ALAZAR TESFA MICHAEL, "Eritrean Heroes", *New Times and Ethiopia News*, 26 June 1948; ANGELO DEL BOCA, *Gli Italiani in Africa Orientale*, vol. 3: *La caduta dell'impero*, Roma – Bari 1982; RICHARD PANKHURST, "Resistance to Italian Colonialism: the Case of the Ethiopian Patriots (1936–1941)", in: MINISTERO DEI BENI CULTURALI E AMBIENTALI, *Fonti e Problemi della Politica Coloniale Italiana*, Roma 1996; ID., "The Ethiopian Patriots: the Lone Struggle 1936–1940", *EthObs* 13, 1970, 40–56; GIORGIO ROCHAT, "L'attentato a Graziani e la repressione italiana in Etiopia nel 1936–1937", *Italia Contemporanea* 118, gennaio–marzo 1975; SALOME GABRE EGZIABHER, "The Ethiopian Patriots 1936–1941", *EthObs* 7, 2, 1969, 62–91; ALBERTO SBACCHI, *Ethiopia under Mussolini: Fascism and the Colonial Experience*, London 1985; ID., *Legacy of Bitterness: Ethiopia and Fascist Italy, 1935–1941*, Lawrenceville, NJ 1997, 163–204.

Matteo Salvadore

Mogäs ᶜƎqʷba Giyorgis

Mälʾakä gännät/liqä mäzämmərən M. (**ሞገስ፡ ዕጭባ፡ ጊዮርጊስ**, or Mogäs ᶜUqbagiyorgis; b. 12 September 1914, Kətmäwliᶜ, Loggo Č̣əwa, d. 19 March 1986, Asmära) was an outstanding church scholar. He began studying the alphabet and basic religious texts such as the ↗Psalter and the ↗*Wəddase Maryam* at the age of twelve at Ǝmni Ṣällim, Eritrea. He then moved to Ǝndärta, where he qualified in, and subsequently became a teacher of, ↗*qəne*. After that M. studied *aqʷaqʷam* in Gondär and in 1931 he began studying traditional ↗exegesis under *mämhər* Ayyälä, who had been awarded an honorary doctorate by *aṣe* Ḫaylä Śəllase I.

For a number of years M. remained at St. Mark's church in Addis Abäba. During that time, he additionally pursued other subjects such as the *liqawənt* (the writings of the Church Fathers) and ↗*abušakər*.

During the Italian war of 1935–36, M. was arrested and sent back to Eritrea. There, he taught for a short period in Ǝmni Ṣällim, and then continued in ↗Däbrä Dəmaḥ. There, M. devoted some time to learning the *Mäzgäbä* ↗*qəddase* (the Missal). After Däbrä Dəmaḥ, he continued to Käränwhere he taught *qəne* poetry and liturgy.

M. was a gifted teacher with a simple and profound teaching style. He was also one of the founding fathers of the ↗Maḫbärä Ḥawaryat Fəre Haymanot publishing house, and had numerous responsibilities in its day to day running. He also worked as a columnist for newspapers such as *Zena Ḥawaryat* and *Fənotä Bərhan*.

M. was a meticulous scholar with a thorough knowledge of Gəᶜəz and Arabic in addition to Təgrəññaand Amharic, and a prolific writer who, among other things, actively participated in editing and publishing biblical texts, e.g., the ↗New Testament published in Asmära in 1960/61 by the Kokäbä Ṣəbbaḥ Maḫbärä Ḥawaryat. Among his more notable publications are the editions of such important works of ↗Gəᶜəz literature as ↗*Śənä fəṭrät* and ↗*Ammənstu aᶜəmadä məṣṭir* (1962/63), *Mäṣḥäfä* ↗*säᶜatat* and ↗*Baḥrä ḥassab* (1964/65), *Märḥa ṣədəq* (1976/77) and others. He also published collections of philosophical sayings (1960/61), Amharic and Təgrəññaproverbs (1965/66 and 1966/67) and compiled an Amharic monolingual dictionary (1967/68). There have been posthumous editions of his books published without the knowledge of his family, who claim to hold the copyright.

Src.: MOGÄS ᶜƎQUBA GIYORGIS (ed.), **ወንጌል፡ ቅዱስ፡ ዘእግዚእነ፡ ወመድኃኒነ፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ክርስቶስ። ግብረ፡ ሐዋርያ ት፡ ወመልእክታቲሆሙ፡ ለሐዋርያት፡ ቅዱሳን** (*Wängel qəddus zäʾəgziʾənä wämädḫaninä Iyäsus Krəstos: Gəbrä ḫäwaryat wämälʾəktatihomu läḫäwaryat qəddusan*, 'Holy Gospels of our Lord and our Saviour Jesus Christ: the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles of the Holy Apostles'), Asmära 1953 A.M. [1960/61 A.D.]; ID., **አንጋረ፡ ፈላስፋ** (*Angarä fälasfa*, 'Sayings of Philosophers'), Asmära 1953 A.M. [1960/61 A.D.]; ID. (ed.), **ሥነ፡ ፍጥረ ት፡ ወአምስቱ፡ አዕማደ፡ ምስጢር** (*Śənä fəṭrät wäʾammənstu aᶜəmadä məṣṭir*, 'Beauty of Creation and Five Pillars of Mystery'), Asmära 1955 A.M. [1962/63 A.D.]; ID. (ed.), **መጽሐፈ፡ ሰዓታት፡ ወኩሉ፡ ፀዋትዊሁ፡ ምስለ፡ ባሕረ፡ ሐሳብ** (*Mäṣḥäfä säᶜatat wäkʷəllu ṣäwatəwihu məslä baḥrä ḥasab*, 'Horologion with all its Kinds and the Computus'), Asmära 1957 A.M. [1964/65 A.D.]; ID., **ጥንታዊ፡ ምሳሌ፡ በትግርኛ** (*Ṭəntawi məssale bätəgrəññä*, 'Ancient Proverbs in Təgrəññä'), Asmära 1958 A.M. [1965/66 A.D.]; ID., **ጥንታዊ፡ ምሳሌ፡ በአማርኛ** (*Ṭəntawi məssale bäʾamarəññä*, 'Ancient Proverbs in Amharic'), Asmära 1959 A.M. [1966/67 A.D.]; ID., **መዝገበ፡ ቃላት፡ አማርኛ፡ በአማርኛ** (*Mäzgäbä qalat amarəññä bäʾamarəññä*, 'Dictionary of Amharic'), Asmära 1960 A.M. [1967/68 A.D.]; ID. (ed.),

መርሐ፡ ጽድቅ፡ ባህለ፡ ሃይማኖት (*Märḥa ṣədəq bahlä haymanot*, 'Guide to Righteousness, Religious Practice'), Asmära 1969 A.M. [1976/77 A.D.]; archives of Maḫbärä Ḥawaryat Fəre Haymanot.

Lit.: GHEBREMICAEL BISSIRAT, "In memoriam Mogos Ogbaghiorgis (1914–1986)", *QSE* 8–9, 1987–88 [1989], 190–93.

Tedros Abraha

Moggaasa ↗Moassa

Mohamedally and Company

M.C., a Bohra Indian commercial concern, was the principal trading company in Ethiopia prior to the Italian Fascist invasion.

The firm was first established in Harär by the Gujarati Indian *mulla* Mohamedally Shaikh Sharafally Hararwala (b. ca. 1858, d. 1 January 1948, Sidhpur, North Gujarat) as early as 1888, shortly after the conquest of the city by *nəguś* ↗Mənilək (II) of Šäwa. The governor of Harär *ras* ↗Mäkʷännən Wäldä Mikaʾel invested considerably into the M.C. and formed a joint venture with Mohamedally. M.C. soon extended its business operations to the new capital of the country, Addis Abäba, and to the newly acquired western Ethiopian provinces. M.C. became the major supplier to the Ethiopian court from the time of *aṣe* Mənilək II until the Italian invasion. M.C. quite quickly established branches in several cities in Ethiopia, directed by other Indian merchants.

Starting from the early 20th cent., M.C. was cakked Goolamally Mulla Mohamedally & Co., after *ras* Mäkʷännən had retired from the business and Goolamally Abdulhusain Paghdiwala had become a partner. Another commercial house at Harär was called Hebtoolabhai M. Mahomedally & Co. and was directed by another partner of Mohamedally's, Hebtoolabhai Mohammedbhai Kera. A considerable number of Indian merchants migrated to Ethiopia to work with M.C.

The company thrived. It had offices in India at Bombay and Sidhpur, in the Middle East at Aden, Djibouti and Berbera, and in Ethiopia at Addis Abäba, Dərre Dawa, Harär, Ğiğiga, Ğimma, Naqamtee, and Wälamo. The company's main exports consisted of beeswax, coffee, hides and skins, and civet musk. Its imports were varied, and included textiles (cotton, wool and silk cloth and thread); manufactured goods (glassware, enamelware and porcelain); transport machinery (motor-cars, tractors, road-building equipment, tires, inner-tubes, automobile spare-parts, batteries, petrol, and machine-oil); photographic equipment, films and developing supplies; soap, bath and toiletry items; and foodstuffs. M.C. was also involved in productive activity, particularly mechanical grinding of grain, sawing of wood and bottling of mineral water. M.C. also possessed a sawmill concession at Gağı in Šäwa and was the exclusive agent for a number of great international companies, e.g., for General Motors, Chevrolet and Opel for automobiles, Texaco for petrol, Kodak etc. (ZerÉth 510).

The first modern general store of Addis Abäba was built by M.C. at the very beginning of the 20th cent. The beautiful Indian-style building was located close to the Arada market area, on a road between the *gəbbi* and the market. Mohamedally's own Indian-style house nearby, built within the same compound, is being restored, because of its historical and cultural importance, by Addis Wəbet, an Ethiopian NGO headed by *ləᶜəlt* Maryam Sänna Asfa Wäsän, which is committed to the preservation of traditional buildings.

Mohamedally was also active in the non-commercial sphere. During the time of Mənilək II, he was the spokesman of the Indian community at the royal court (Batistoni – Chiari 2004:72) and was the first Indian to receive a decoration from the Ethiopian Government. He also built a religious school at Harär. In the 1930s M.C. was acting as the official representative of one of the then two Indian communities in Ethiopia, the Bohra Indians, while the Hindus were represented by *sekh* Nathoo Mooljee Varia (ZerÉth 500).

Iconographic documents give us an idea of the ties between the Ethiopian royal government and M.C. A postcard printed before 1904 shows that Mənilək II visited personally the new store for its inauguration (Batistoni – Chiari 2004:72f.); *däğğazmač* Täfäri (later *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I), the son of the governor of Harär, was photographed with Mohamedally during an official visit in 1905 (s. ill. for ↗Indians in Ethiopia). Empress ↗Zäwditu, *ras* Täfäri, the *əčč̣äge* and the court were also pictured together with the members of the company in front of the store on another postcard in the 1920s (Pankhurst – Gérard 1997). Mohamedally seems to have maintained a close relationship with *aṣe* Ḫaylä Śəllase I, the two being photographed together on several occasions. The contacts between his firm and the Emperor are also confirmed by the photo showing Ḫaylä Śəllase in company of one of Mohamedally's closest companions Abdullahbhoy Kera (publ. in HSLife [Amh.] vol. 1, 128). In that period, Mohamedally had allegedly become the richest merchant of Ethiopia. His will,

written in 1926, stated that he had 8,000,000 rupees at he Djibouti branch of the Bank of Abyssinia. The M.C. then consisted of six business partners: *mulla* Mohamedally, his brother *mulla* Ebrahim, *mulla* Goolamally, *mulla* Buxabhoy *shaikh* Abdul Rahim, *mulla* Abdullabhoy (Hebtoolabhai), each with 18%, and Salehbhoy M. Master, with 10%.

Mohamedally may also have pursued other unofficial activities in Ethiopia. Being Indian-operated, the M.C. was under the protection of the British government. Their political commitments are unclear, but several testimonies show that Mohamedally may have acted as an agent for several Anglophone governments. The businessman got for example acquainted with Robert P. Skinner, the special envoy of the US-American government in Ethiopia in 1903, then writing accounts of the situation in Ethiopia for him, especially during the ↗coup d'état of 1916 (s. EAE vol. 2, 1081; Steffanson – Starrett 1976:107). However, the frequency of this kind of contact is not known, nor which kind of agreement existed between them. A few years later, French diplomatic reports accused the company's owner of being "the best agent" of the British government in Ethiopia. The M.C.'s office of Ǧiǧiga was said to spy on the region for British authorities in exchange for funds (Archives du Ministère des affaires étrangères, Paris).

The main warehouse of G.M. Mohamedally & Co on one of the main squares of Djibouti; photo 1930s, collection of Johannes Bohnenberger

M.C. ran into severe difficulties after the Fascist occupation of Ethiopia, when the Italian authorities considered its trade inimical to prospective Italian commerce, and suspected it also of being an instrument of British imperialism. After the abortive attempt on the life of the Italian viceroy Rodolfo ↗Graziani, in February 1937 Italian intelligence reported that the firm's Berbera branch had been involved in importing the hand-grenades used in the plot. The firm was accordingly closed down, after tough negotiations, in September 1937 (Pankhurst 1971:53f.; Haile Mariam Larebo 1994:61).

Widely spread rumours claim a blood link between *aṣe* Ḫaylä Śəllase I and Mohamedally *shaikh* Sharafally, stating that the latter was the Emperor's illegitimate father (e.g., Evalet 1999:46) or Ḫaylä Śəllase's mother a half-Indian related to him. This rumour, still known today especially in Harär, for which there is no historical evidence, attacks the legitimacy of the Christian ruler by attributing a foreign (and Muslim) origin to him.

Src.: HSLife [Amh.] vol. 1, 128; communication from Ali Asgar and Abdul Kadir Hararwala, Dominion Tools Traders, Secunderabad, India 2007; Archives du Ministère des affaires étrangères, Paris, correspondance politique et commerciale, K-Afrique 1918–1940-Éthiopie, vol. 2 : Légation de France, correspondance générale et Attaché militaire, Rapports du capitaine Hanck, chef de mission, en novembre 1921 et janvier 1922.

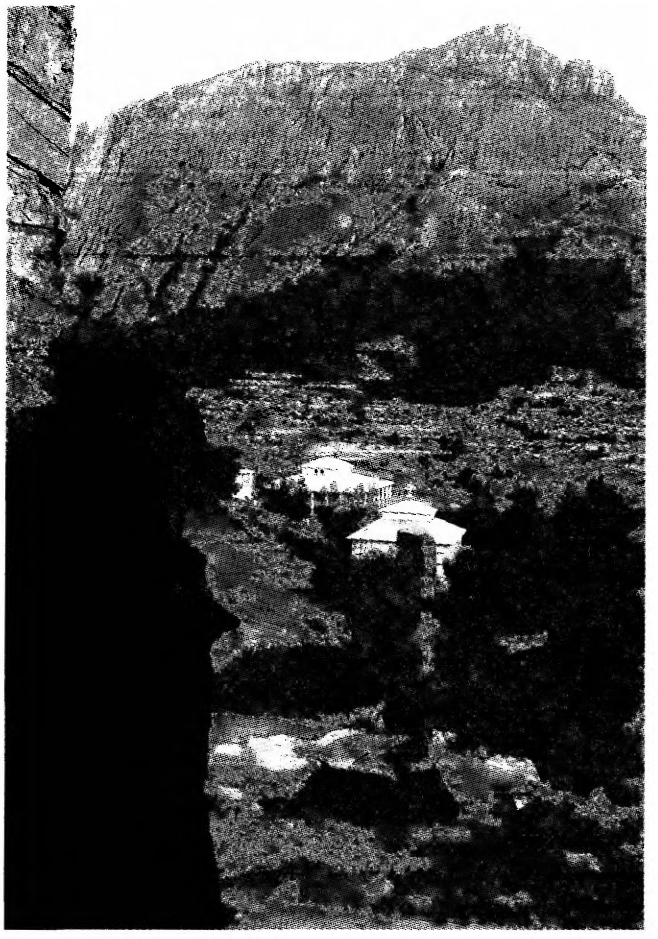
Lit.: MILENA BATISTONI – GIAN PAOLO CHIARI, *Old Tracks in the New Flower. A Historical Guide to Addis-Ababa*, Addis Ababa 2004, 72f.; ANDRÉ EVALET, *De Ménélik à Mengistu. Un Suisse en Éthiopie*, Genève 1999, 46; PETER P. GARRETSON, "The Naggadras, Trade, and Selected Towns in Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century Ethiopia", *IJAHS* 12, 3, 1979, 416–39; HAILE MARIAM LAREBO, *The Building of an Empire: Italian Land Policy and Practice in Ethiopia, 1035–1941*, Oxford 1994; JOSEPH KESSEL, *Fortune carrée*, Paris 1977, 230; PankEcon 398f., 410, 449, 622; RICHARD PANKHURST, "A Chapter in Ethiopia's Commercial History: Developments during the Fascist Occupation", *EthObs* 14, 1, 1971, 47–67; ID. – DENIS GÉRARD, *Ethiopia Photographed, Historic Photographs of the Country and its People Taken Between 1867 and 1935*, London 1997; BORG G. STEFFANSON – RONALD K. STARRETT, *Documents on Ethiopian Politics*, Salisbury 1976 (Documentary Publications 1), 107; ZerÉth 6, 340, 362, 399, 405, 500, 510.

Richard Pankhurst – Estelle Sohier – Wolbert Smidt

Monarchy s. vol. 5

Monasteries

M. are among the most important institutions of the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church (EOTC). The usual term referring to a M. is



The surroundings of the monastery of Ǝnda Abba Gärima near ᶜAdwa with several monastery buildings, seen from the main church; photo 2005, courtesy of Wolbert Smidt

↗*gädam*, or also ምኔት (*mənet*, its derivation is not known precisely, cp. LesCDic 351). The population of a M., i.e. the religious community comprising of people who devote themselves to a life of spirituality, can be referred to as ማኅበር, *maḫbär*. It is estimated that there are ca. 800 M. in Ethiopia and some 22 in Eritrea (cp. Chaillot 2002:158, 185; cp. BerTarik; Heyer 1972:145). Only a small percentage of them have been studied and properly documented in terms of history, architecture, organizational structure and artistic holdings. The most prominent M. are currently, in Ethiopia, ↗Däbrä Libanos of Šäwa, ↗Zəqʷala, ↗Waldəbba, ↗Däbrä Damo, ↗Däbrä Ḥayq Ǝsṭifanos, ↗Amba Gəšän, ↗Dima Giyorgis, and, in Eritrea, ↗Däbrä Bizän.

History, spread and social role

The early history of M. in the Aksumite and post-Aksumite times is difficult to trace. According to tradition, ↗monasticism and the phenomenon of M. reached Ethiopia from the Mediterranean region in the late 5th/early 6th cent., with the arrival of the ↗"Nine Saints", who are credited with the establishment of the earliest M. in ↗Təgray, particularly around ↗Aksum. Churches (though not monastic communities) exist today next to ancient ruins at several sites connected to these saints, e.g., Ǝnda Abba ↗Ṗänṭälewon and Däbrä Qʷänaṣəl of *abba* ↗Liqanos near Aksum; *abba* ↗Afṣe's church at ↗Yəḥa. The most venerated among the "Nine Saints", *abba* ↗Zämikaᵓel Arägawi, is specifically credited with the introduction of the monastic rule to Ethiopia, and with the foundation of what may well be the country's most ancient M., Däbrä Damo, certainly one of the most illustrious Ethiopian M. throughout the centuries. More ancient ecclesiastic foundations are located in northern Ethiopia and Eritrea, but only in a few cases (like ↗Däbrä Libanos of Šəmäzana) the existence of an early monastic community can be ascertained. The islands of Däbrä Ḥayq Ǝsṭifanos and ↗Daga Ǝsṭifanos were probably populated by ↗hermits and monks by the middle 13th and the late 13th cent. resp., before the establishment of larger M. there. Many M. were founded in the 14th–15th cent., when Ethiopian monasticism flourished.

M. importantly contributed to the expansion of the Ethiopian polity and incorporation of different ethnic groups. The rulers enhanced imperial control through co-ordinated monastic settlements. In some cases, the M. served as the vanguard of Christian expansion. In others, the establishment of M. marked the incorporation of new areas into the Christian state.

M. were the only permanent institutions during the time when the emperors constantly moved and itinerant camps (↗*Kätäma*) served as capitals (ca. 1270–1530s). The alliance of monarch and monks created solidarity and promoted the integration of social and cultural life. The royal court and M. provided the minimal social services and economic infrastructure that existed. M. were the centres of traditional ↗education; they were responsible, e.g., for preserving treasures, providing aid to those in distress, running markets, reconciling disputes. M. could be in charge of local administration and courts, and even organized militia to guard vulnerable borders.

During different periods M. spread in a number of ways. Large or prosperous M. established daughter monastic communities. Attempts of monastic evangelisation also led to the foundation of new M., such as those that emerged after the 14th-cent. *abunä* ↗Yaᶜəqob divided southern Ethiopia among twelve monastic leaders. A century later *aṣe* ↗Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob divided northern Ethiopia among the M. there and assigned an

area for each to evangelize (Conti Rossini 1923).

A monk could depart from his community for personal, political or theological reasons, and establish himself in another locality as a missionary or hermit. His presence gradually attracted others, both those who had already taken the monastic habit and others who were going to. Eventually a new community was formed. Sometimes monks were forced to leave, as happened, e.g., with "purists" who emerged in some monastic communities. They advocated stricter observance of the rules of ascetic life and may have supported alternative theological views, and were thus viewed as being fundamentalist or schismatic by the Church. Frictions could result in monks retreating to distant locations. Thus, around 1429, *abunä* ↗Əsṭifanos was expelled from the monastery of Däbrä Qʷäyäṣa in ↗Šire and soon founded his own community, giving birth to the movement of the ↗Stephanites.

Historically, a religious community leading an ascetic life had to be officially recognized as M. (i.e. to be chartered as *gädam*). The consecration of the ↗*tabot* of the M.'s church as well as ordination of the church's ministers also required official recognition from the Church hierarchy. Royal patronage disappeared with the ↗Revolution of 1974, yet new M. appeared, often on bishops' or hermits' initiatives and with support from the church administration (an example of a recently established community is Awasa Däbrä Gäbrəʾel). Becoming a M. usually requires an announcement from the Patriarch and involves a series of administrative changes associated with a monastic lifestyle, such as the establishment of a monastic *gubaʾe* ('council') which decides communal policy.

M. now diversify their activities, running training centres (Abunä ↗Gorgoryos Monastery in Zʷay and ↗Muhər Iyäsus in Gurage), orphanages and schools (Säbäta Betä Dänagəl), producing ↗handicrafts and specializing in healing ministry and exorcism at sacred springs (cp. ↗Healers). Some gain additional significance during major religious festivals when they attract flocks of pilgrims – a source of income for the M.

M. often house ↗relics of the founding saint or other holy personages, which are important for the M.'s prestige, and attract visitors. Large numbers of pilgrims visit the tomb of *abunä* ↗Täklä Haymanot in Däbrä Libanos of Šäwa, the tomb of ↗Zena Marqos in ↗Däbrä Bəśrat, or the grave of ↗Buruk Amlak in ↗Däbrä Kol (Eritrea). Several M. also served as cemeteries for emperors and nobles. ↗Däbrä Nägʷädgʷad held the graves of *aṣe* Zärʾa Yaᶜəqob's father and mother and, for a time, of the king himself until his remains were moved to Ḥayq Əsṭifanos. Such M. were richly endowed to insure the commemoration (↗*Täzkar*) service for the deceased.

Compound of the Däbrä Libanos monastery, with the modern St. Mary church in the background; photo 2000, courtesy of Jeremy Hespeler-Boultbee

Location

The greatest concentration of M. are still found in Təgray and Eritrea, but monastic establishments have spread as far south as ↗Ğinka. The Ethiopian monastic tradition stresses renunciation and proximity to nature. Consequently M. were often built in inaccessible and isolated sites, such as mountain tops, cliff ledges, and islands. Däbrä Damo is one of several M. which can be reached only by rope. Lake Ṭana has numerous M. on islands, and promontories. Uninhabited wilderness and isolation protected the monastic communities from outsiders, provided the necessary separation from the distractions of the secular world, and limited admission to those deemed sufficiently pure. As a result, some M. emerged on the frontier of the Christian empire, close to non-Christian groups, thereafter gradually Christianizing them. However, in such areas as Eastern Goğğam important M. (↗Märṭula Maryam, Däbrä Wärq and Dima Giyorgis) are situated close to urban centres. Recently, a few monastic communities have been established in cities, most notably within the capital of ↗Addis Abäba. Abroad, Ethiopian monks have risen to prominence in ↗Egypt, and there are a number of Ethiopian M. in the Holy Land (↗Jerusalem).

Organization and governance

M. can follow the coenobitic (አንድነት, *andənnät*) or idiorythmic (ቍሪት, *qʷərit*) model. A com-

prehensively properly functioning monastic administration is associated with the coenobitic system; whereas in a fully idiorythmic system monks or nuns only received spiritual guidance, but are otherwise independent. The differences are due to local customs, lifestyles and historical circumstances. For example, ↗Maḫbärä Śəllase near Mätämma is a prime example of a centralized coenobitic M. not allowing private property; whereas in idiorythmic Waldəbba hermits live scattered over a wide area and some individual initiative is required. In Däbrä Ḥayq Ǝsṭifanos a tradition evolved that monks passed on property to nephews who followed in their footsteps. The difficulties of the *Därg* period encouraged arrangements whereby individuals provide for themselves through private handiwork or benefactors. In some cases monastic revival has led to the restoration of the coenobitic model which is traditionally considered superior.

Non-Chalcedonian monastic traditions stress having a rule of life communicated by a spiritual guide and writings such as the ↗Bible, the lives of the saints (↗Hagiography), and also ↗monastic literature and ↗Canon law texts. Most M. have a ሥርዓት (*śərᶜat*, 'rule[s]') or ደንብ (*dänb*, 'regulation[s]'), i.e. the collection of the rules regulating the life in the M. There are Gəᶜəz translations of the monastic *Rules of ↗Pachomius* and *Rules of St. ↗Antony*; some other similar Gəᶜəz texts are scattered in the manuscripts (cp. Cerulli 1952:264f.). There are also local rules written in Amharic or even transmitted orally, dealing with monastic life predominantly on the basis of the local practices (cp. Lusini 1997; rules and statutes of some M. were first written down under *aṣe* Mənilək II, s. MahZekr 570-81). Such rules refer to the local monastic issues but recall the charisma of the founder of the M., reflecting its history and significant reforms in the monastic community. The Amharic *Rule of Maḫbärä Śəllase* (Persoon 1997:496) is said to be a translation of the Gəᶜəz *Rule of St. ᶜAmdä Śəllase* (lived early 17th cent.). It has sections dealing with the monastic enclosure, the seven office-holders, the community prayers, admittance, discipline, and duties. It is unusual in making even razor blades, needles and wild fruit common property. Most of the monastic rules refer to the ↗*kidan* given to the M.'s founder by Christ and mention the protection of the natural environment surrounding the M. due to its sanctity. Northern monastic rules often associated with *abunä* ↗Ǝwosṭatewos are more egalitarian, while those of the followers of *abunä* Täklä Haymänot give more privileges to office holders. Rules of the most M. prohibit any female to enter the community's premises (↗Gundä Gunde), or prescribes that a woman or even a female animal must be kept distant from the M.'s precincts (Däbrä Bizän). In some other cases, the rules are less strict, or allow nuns to live nearby. A few M. are associated with ↗nunneries (cp. Cerulli 1958:262f.).

The head of a monastery is usually a ↗*mämhər* with an *afä mämhər* second in the hierarchy. He can also have the title of *abä mənet* (lit. 'father of the monastery') or ↗*mäggabi*. The head of ↗Däbrä Mäwiᵓ in Goğğam holds the title of ↗*gäbäz*; Däbrä Libanos of Šäwa is run by the *mäggabi* and ↗*ṣäbate*, who preside over a council of 12 representatives of the monks.

The head of a M. was usually supposed to keep his office until his death. A new head could be named by his predecessor or elected, but was sometimes also appointed by the emperor (cp. ↗*nəburä əd*). Such emperors as *aṣe* ↗Dawit II and especially ↗Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob are known to have regularly intervened in the appointment of heads of important M.

The heads of the country's most important M. had close ties to the royal throne. From the 15th cent. onward, heads of at least some of the M. resided at the court, and others were summoned when their services were needed. Backed by their communities, monastic leaders played an active role in the political life of the court, forming alliances with local rulers and members of the royal family, and seeking to influence the succession process. The influential ↗*ᶜaqqabe säᶜat* was originally appointed among the monks of Däbrä Libanos of Šəmäzana and later those of Däbrä Ḥayq Ǝsṭifanos. In the 15th cent. the abbot of Däbrä Libanos received the title of ↗*əčč̣äge* and was seen as the head of Ethiopian M. Throughout most of the subsequent history of the Church the *əčč̣äge* continued to be the most important indigenous cleric.

While the smallest of M. might have only a handful of monks, larger institutions (Däbrä Libanos of Šäwa, Waldəbba, Däbrä Abbay) can have several hundred. Apart from the leadership, the population of an *andənnät*-community is usually composed of monks who have taken the monastic vow (Gəᶜəz: መነኮስ, *mänäkos*; Amh.: መነኩሴ, *mänäkʷəse*) and novices (ሬድኦ, *rädᵓ*). Each novice is supposed to have a spiritual mentor (cp. ↗*Śərᶜatä mənkʷəsənna*). Novices and younger

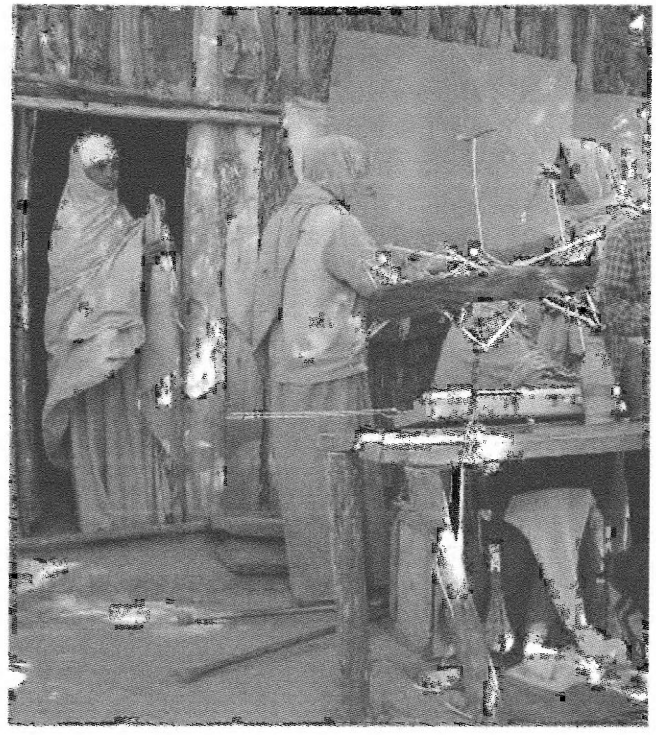
monks are mostly charged with manual work and with taking care of elderly monks. In some M. (like Waldəbba), older monks are allowed to practice ascetic life separately from the community. A few large and well-established M. such as Däbrä Libanos of Šäwa (but also some recently established M.) are noted for their sophisticated internal organization and efficient households.

Ethiopian M. originally had a special legal status and had the right to grant ↗asylum to those who had committed crimes, esp. manslaughter (cp. Guidi 1922). *Aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I abolished these privileges, and made M. subservient to the civil law code. They are under the direct authority of local bishops and have less to do with other organs of Church administration. Heads of the M. are chosen according to the local monastic rules. Often local bishops play a role, and important positions need to be ratified by the Patriarch.

Eritrean M. follow similar customs and rules to the M. of Təgray. They differ in that monks are controlled in their movements (i.e. unable to go to urban areas without permission) begging for ↗alms is not allowed, nor are there preaching hermits. Some M. are better organized, but they tend to be less integrated in the mainstream of public life than in Ethiopia.

Land tenure and economy

The ↗*gʷəlt*-holdings of M. were an integral part of Ethiopia's ↗land tenure system and administration. A M. often received land from the emperor or local ruler upon its foundation. In other cases, M. were founded in peripheral areas and were only endowed with land when the region and the M. came under royal auspices. Since gifts were dependent on the goodwill of the ruler, an intricate web of relations existed between M. and political leaders. In some cases M. refused royal gifts as an expression of their independence. ↗Däbrä Abrəntant was one of several M. which refused to accept *gʷəlt* from *aṣe* Dawit II. The grants and land transactions are often recorded in the marginalia of the manuscripts kept in monastic libraries (cp. ↗*Wängelä wärq*). Such grants provided the basis for the economic survival of the community. While monks often worked the land to provide for the needs of the community, the taxes paid by the peasants on M.'s land were also a major source of income. This was used to meet the needs of the M. and to acquire or manufacture church vessels and books. The M.'s charitable work was dependent on its ability to command and redistribute available resources.



Nuns producing textiles at Asir Mätira, Wəmbärta, Təgray, photo 2006, courtesy of Joachim Persoon

In the course of time, a number of M. accumulated substantial land holdings. On the basis of the purported cooperation of *abunä* Täklä Haymanot with *aṣe* ↗Yəkunno Amlak to topple the ↗Zagʷe dynasty, the Church (and M.) claimed revenues from a third of the arable lands. In the wake of the Revolution, M. lost most of their landholdings and were forced to depend upon donations from congregants and subsidies from central EOTC authorities. M. today have much smaller landholdings than before, and have to use irrigation and other techniques to farm more intensively. Some have established cereal grinding mills, and apiculture or animal breeding programs for extra income; they also have acquired real estate in towns which they rent out. Some receive support from local parishes, or income from festivals. Many isolated rural M. struggle to survive. In some cases (Zəqʷala, Waldəbba), the restoration of the monastic rule after the fall of the *Därg* went along with efforts to protect the places' ecological balance and integrity.

Spatial organization

M. vary in their physical appearance and structure. The regional differences are mainly due to the fact that M. are constructed according to local practice. In Northern Ethiopian M. resemble more the stone-built M. of the Middle East, while

central and southern M. use such techniques as wattle and daub. Certain spaces are necessary for each M.: at least one church, a *betäläḥem* for preparing the ↗Eucharist, an ↗*ʿəqa bet*, a cemetery and huts for the monks. However, there is no standard appearance for any of these. Many M. contain more than one church with several *tabots*. The liturgy (↗*Qəddase*) is normally celebrated in the M.'s church by consecrated monks (not married priests), though this distinction between different categories of churches has become blurred due to the urban migration of monks and impoverishment of rural M.

Changes in the community size, natural disasters (esp. fires) and human interventions all result in changes in the physical appearance of a M. over time. In Däbrä Bizän, ancient (deserted) structures can be seen next to those constructed in the mid-19th cent. ↗Däbrä Maryam on Lake Ṭana was destroyed during the *Zämänä mäsafənt* and rebuilt under *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II. Däbrä Mäwiʾ in Goğğam and ↗Däbrä Asäbot in eastern Harärge were both partially destroyed by the Italians and then reconstructed. Däbrä Libanos of Šäwa was nearly abandoned in the 17th cent.; since its revival in the 19th cent. the main church has been rebuilt several times. While intensive repairs and construction work are underway in many M. today, little or no consideration is given to the preservation of still remaining historical structures.

Numerous accounts speak of M. raided by external enemies (e.g., the 1557 Turks' raid on Däbrä Damo). Many M. were destroyed in the 16th cent. by *imām* ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī ("Grañ"), whose troops burnt the buildings, plundered manuscripts, church vessels and precious metals. Many of those M. were never rebuilt (cp. ↗Däbrä Halleluya). Frequently, M. were also victims of feuds and internal struggles, ↗*šəfta* or brigands. Gundä Gunde was burnt under both Zärʾa Yaʿəqob and Naʿod; ↗Däbrä Baḥrəy on the Gasəčča plateau is said to have been burnt down three times, once by Grañ and twice by the local Muslims.

The destruction of a M. did not necessarily entail the end of the community. Having hidden or taken along the books, the *tabot* and sacred vessels, the monks could flee. After the danger was over, those who survived would return. A modest church building was sufficient to restore the *tabot* to its place. A M. could also be re-established after a considerable period of time, whenever a strong charismatic leader attracted disciples and established continuity, e.g., by discovering or translating the relics formerly preserved at the place.

Literary and artistic impact

Beyond their religious significance, M. were important cultural centres rivalled only by the royal court. Heldman (1998) has suggested an important distinction between those craftsmen who belonged to low status groups, and monastic artisans. Painters, metalworkers, scribes etc. of the latter group were members of the clergy trained in M. Monks were among the few literate people in pre-modern Ethiopia and thus M. were an important site for the copying and sometimes composition of literary works (↗Manuscripts; ↗Gəʿəz literature). All important M. have libraries, in some cases extending to hundreds of volumes. Members of the M. also illustrated the manuscripts, as well as painted murals and icons (↗Painting). M. often served major repositories of artefacts including liturgical vessels, vestments, crosses etc. In some cases, other precious objects such as royal ↗crowns were deposited in M. to enhance the M.'s prestige and assure the safekeeping of the valuables. Over the course of time some M., or monastic "houses" developed distinctive styles, particularly in the case of Gundä Gunde and the Ewosṭateans.

The role of M. as centres of expressive culture was not limited to material objects. M. were major centres for the training of musicians in the performance of church ↗music and for ↗education in different aspects of ecclesiastical learning. Often a M. would have a special reputation for the quality of its instruction in a particular field. For example, the scholars of ↗Däbrä Abbay are considered the highest authority and the most acclaimed teachers in the matters of liturgy.

Non-Christian monasteries

At least two other groups in Ethiopia have M. The ↗Betä Ǝsraʾel adopted monasticism in the 15th cent. and until sometime in the 20th cent. had a number of M. The missionary Johannes Martin ↗Flad claimed that Hurharwa, the largest Betä Ǝsraʾel M., had about 200 monks, but Joseph ↗Halévy reported only 12 to 15. The Betä Abrəham craftsmen of northern Šäwa and southern Wällo live in ca. 20 M. The most important of these is ↗Mugär Gädam in Šäwa.

Muslim rural retreats existing at some shrines (↗*Zāwiya*), like elsewhere in Islamic world, share some features with M. and are often referred to by Amh. *gädam* (Abbink in preparation).

Src.: AmhChurchDic esp. vol. 4; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Aethiopica (I)", *RSO* 9, 1923, 365–468, here 452–55 [no. 15: "Un editto di re Zarʾa Yāʿqob per l'Eritrea"]; IGNAZIO GUIDI, "Contributi alla storia letteraria di Abissinia. Un responso sul diritto d'asilo", *RRALm* ser. 5ª, 31, 1922, 210–18; LesCDic 351; MahZekr 570-81; JOACHIM G. PERSOON, "Le monastère de Mahbêre Selassié", *Irénikon* 70, 1997, 496–519.

Lit.: JON ABBINK, "Muslim Monasteries? Some Aspects of Religious Culture in Northern Ethiopia", *Aethiopica* in preparation; BÄRIHUN KÄBBÄDÄ, **የዋልድባ፡ ገዳም፡ ታሪክ** (*Yäwaldəbba gädam tarik*, 'The History of the Monastery of Waldəbba'), Addis Abäba 1983 A.M. [1990/91 A.D.]; BerTar; ENRICO CERULLI, "Il monachismo in Etiopia", in: *Il monachesimo orientale. Atti del Convegno di Studi orientali ... (9–12 aprile 1958)*, Roma 1958 (OrChrA 153), 259–78; CHRISTINE CHAILLOT, *The Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Church Tradition*, Paris 2002, 152–90; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, *Principî di diritto consuetudinario dell'Eritrea*, Roma 1916, 373-432; CrumLand passim; DerDom; GETATCHEW HAILE, "Ethiopia" in: WILLIAM M. JOHNSTON (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Monasticism* vol. 1, Chicago, IL – London 2000, 454–59; ID., "Ethiopian Monasticism", in: *CE* vol. 3, 990–95; GIRMA ELIAS, "The Monastery of Abrentant in Waldibba", *Abbay* 8, 1977, 93–121; MARILYN E. HELDMAN, "Creating Religious Art: the Status of Artisans in Highland Christian Ethiopia", *Aethiopica* 1, 1998, 131–47; FRIEDRICH HEYER, *Die Kirche Äthiopiens: Eine Bestandsaufnahme*, Berlin 1971 (Theologische Bibliothek Töpelmann 22), 145–87; WOLF LESLAU, "Taamrat Emanuel's Notes of Falasha Monks and Holy Places", in: SAUL LIBERMAN (ed.), *Salo Wittmayer Baron Jubilee Volume on the Occasion of his Eightieth Birthday*, Jerusalem 1975, 623–37; GIANFRANCESCO LUSINI, "Tradizione e redazione delle regole monastiche etiopiche (Parigi, B.N., ms. éth. 125, ff. 160ᵛ-162)", *Miscellanea Marciana* 12, 1997 [1999], 3–66; RICHARD KEIR PANKHURST, "A Visit to the Craftsmen's *gädam*, or Monastery, of Mänteq, near Ankobär, Shäwa", *Africa* (Roma) 53, 4, 1998, 587–96; ID., "Two Visits to Mugär Gädam, Shäwa", *Aethiopica* 4, 2001, 169–78; JOACHIM PERSOON, "Ethiopian Monasticism between Tradition and Modernity", in: *AfrHorn* 203-16; KIRSTEN STOFFREGEN-PEDERSEN, *Les Éthiopiens*, Turnhout 1990, 161f.; ID., "Les moniales éthiopiennes à Jérusalem: *Mahbär* et *Qurit*", in: *PICES* 10, 383–90.

Steven Kaplan

Monastic literature

M.l. comprises works devoted to monastic life, practice and thought. ↗Monasticism has been and still is a decisive factor in the religious, social and till recently also political life of the Christian societies of Ethiopia (and, to a certain extent, of the ↗Betä Ǝsraʾel), and the M.l. (largely in Gəʿəz, with a few developments also in Amharic) is both its literary expression and at the same time its essential premise and background (↗Gəʿəz literature). In its broader sense, M.l. also includes (I) hagiographic literature devoted to monastic saints. In its narrower sense M.l. is understood as (II) normative and prescriptive writings for all those who desire to conform to a more or less exactly determined discipline of monastic life, i.e. monastic rules; and (III) theoretical reflections on monasticism, i.e. treatises and writings of less prescriptive character, yet focusing on the practical, spiritual, and theological essence of monasticism and ascetic life.

I. Hagiographic literature devoted to monastic saints

(1) Generally speaking, all hagiographies devoted to saints who have practiced a monastic and/or an ascetic life can be considered M.l. Vitae of such early founders of monasticism as St. ↗Anthony, Paul the first hermit (*abba* Ṗawli), or of such exemplary figures as St. Alexis (Gəʿəz ↗Gäbrä Krəstos), had a lasting and profound influence on the further development of M.l. and monastic life itself.

For Anthony cp. Harmless (2004:57–113) for his Vita in general; the Gəʿəz version, still unpublished, is in mss. BN d'Abbadie 31, 60 [CRAbb nos. 209, 172]; BritLib Orient. 692, 696, 697, 698; EMML 141, 1844; also Six-Tana III, no. 164 [Ṭānāsee 164 = Dāgā Esṭifānos 53]; cp. Leloir 1984.

For *abba* Ṗawli, cp. ed. FRANCISCO MARIA ESTEVES PEREIRA, *Vida de S. Paulo de Thebas primeiro eremita. Versão ethiopica ...*, Lisboa 1903 and ID., *A Vida de S. Paulo de Thebas primeiro eremita segundo a versão ethiopica*, Coimbra 1904, from ms. BN d'Abbadie 60 (Bausi 2002:16, n. 57); additional mss.: EMML 141, fols. 54ra–70va; 1840, fols. 3ra–13vb; 1844, fols. 25ra–30r; cp. also a "debate of *abba* Ṗawli with Satan" in EMML 1939, fols. 86va–101va.

These and other monastic hagiographies are sometimes transmitted within large collections, properly termed *Gädlä qəddusan* (**ገድለ፡ ቅዱሳን**, '[Spiritual] Contendings of the Saints'), or even ↗*Gädlä säma*ʿ*ətat*, with reference to the prominent part the hagiographies of Martyrs has in them. These texts have in turn been taken as a model in the Vitae of the so-called "Egyptian Saints" of Ethiopian hagiography, such as Bula (or Abib), Laṭṣun, Nob, ↗Gäbrä Mänfäs Qəddus, ↗Yoḥannəs Məśraqawi, possibly ↗Tadewos of Däbrä Bartarwa and others (cp. Marrassini 2005).

It is likely that the *Life of Anthony* and the *Life of Paul the first hermit* were translated into Gəʿəz from Greek at an early stage of Ethiopian literary history, i.e. in ↗Aksumite age. The same is possible for the earliest recension of the *Life of St. Alexis*. It is also possible for some texts of the *Gädlä qəddusan* which have not yet been submitted to adequate philological scrutiny, although it is clear that most of them have been translated from Arabic starting from the 13th cent. at the latest.

(2) Various collections of noteworthy anecdotes about and pithy sayings from desert fathers (mainly from the mid-4th to mid-5th cent.) are attested in Gəᶜəz. They are indicated by the Greek term *Apophthégmata Patrum*, 'Sayings of the Fathers' (cp. Harmless 2004:167ff.), but may also include shorter hagiographical narratives. As such they may be considered both hagiography and M.l. There are various Gəᶜəz terms used to indicate these collections: **ገነተ፡ መነኮሳት** (*Gännätä mänäkosat*, 'Garden [or, Paradise] of the Monks'), **ነገረ፡ መነኮሳት** (*Nägära mänäkosat*, 'Story of the Monks'), **ዜና፡ አበው፡ ክቡራን** [or **ቅዱሳን**] (*Zena abäw kəburan* [or *qəddusan*], 'History of the Venerated [or Holy] Fathers'), etc.

The translation of these collections was previously believed not to antedate the early 15th cent. (cp. Conti Rossini 1899:265f.; GuiSLett 36; RicLett 827; Beylot 1993:245, and 252f., dates the *Collectio monastica*, cp. below, to the 17th cent.). The date, however, can go back to the end of the 13th cent. at the latest, as a manuscript of *Zena abäw* is mentioned in the list of manuscripts dating to 1292 A.D. (cp. Sergew Hable-Selassie 1992:246f.). Besides, ms. EMML 2071, from Däbrä Ḥayq Ǝsṭifanos, dates to the 14th cent., and ms. VatLib Etiop. 17 to the 14th/15th cent.

The identification of each text belonging to this genre is extremely difficult (as also in the Christian Arabic domain, cp. GrafLit vol. 1, 380–414): different collections circulate under the same extensive labels, an indication of their pervasive popularity among the monastic circles, or were even written down in the blanks of the ↗manuscripts, as it happens for monastic prescriptions (cp. Lusini 1998:55f.). For the main edited collections conventional labels were introduced by Arras (s. a–e). The still unedited pieces, however, can be neither exactly determined from the catalogues of manuscripts, nor evaluated in general.

(a) *Collectio monastica*

This is an anonymous collection of 67 chapters, partly containing doctrines and prescriptions derived from writings of Macarius the Egyptian, ↗Evagrius, ↗Pachomius, Isaiah the abbot, Amon, ↗Ephrem, Palladius and others, and partly *Apophthégmata*. Its absolute importance for preserving otherwise lost and unknown narrative pieces and sayings has been recently reasserted by specialists of M.l. (cp. Harmless 2000).

Ed.: VICTOR ARRAS (ed., tr.), *Collectio Monastica*, Louvain 1963 (CSCO 238, 239 [SAe 45, 46]); French tr. LUCIEN REGNAULT, *Les Sentences des Pères du Désert, nouveau recueil: apophtegmes inédits ou inconnus*, Sablé-sur-Sarthe 1970, 287–311.
Mss. used for the edition: BritLib Orient. 764 (17th cent.), fols. 103r–215r; VatLib Cerulli Etiop. 220 (18th cent.), fols. 96r–166v. Other mss.: HamTana I, no. 28 (Ṭānāsee 28 = Kebrān 28, 18th cent.), fols. 2ra–112ra; EMML 4447 (18th cent.), fols. 10r–78v, 85r–92v, 79r–84v, incomplete. Fragments (partially mentioned by Arras 1963) preserved in mss. BN d'Abbadie 178 (CRAbb no. 119), fols. 117r–124v (chs. 1–2); BritLib Orient. 593, fols. 121v (ch. 18), 126r (ch. 20), 128r (ch. 6); Orient. 766 (18th cent.), fol. 134r (ch. 20); Add. 16,222, fols. 76v (ch. 20), 128r (ch. 6); one fragment inserted within the text of the *Rules of Pachomius* in ms. BN d'Abbadie 75 (CRAbb no. 132, 18th cent.), fol. 163r (ch. 19). The identification is not certain for mss. EMML 19 (1928 A.D.), fols. 71r–149r; 414 (18th cent.), fols. 1r–154r.

(b) *Patericon Aethiopice*

This collection, bearing the Gəᶜəz title **መጽሐፈ፡ ዜናሆሙ፡ ለአበው** (*Mäṣḥafä zenahomu läʾabäw*, 'Book of the History of the Fathers'), consists of 450 (so numbered by the editor, 283 in the transmitted text) *Apophthégmata* and noteworthy episodes narrated by John Moschos, Anastasius of Sinai and others, as well as short contributions by ↗Ephrem the Syrian, ↗John Chrysostomos, Basilius, Macarius, Isaiah, John Saba, ↗Isaac of Nineveh and others.

As demonstrated by Sauget (in PICES 4, vol. 1, 386ff.), the collection is composed of four parts: a "systematic collection" of *Apophthégmata*; a series of various random extracts from patristic writings; a summary of the *Pratum Spirituale* ('Spiritual Meadow') by John Moschos (540/550 to 619/634 A.D.) with a final appendix; and a second "systematic collection" of *Apophthégmata* with additions at the beginning and at the end. According to Sauget, the collection transmitted to us was compiled starting from three different ones, already existing in Gəᶜəz at an earlier stage (1st section; 2nd section; and 3rd and 4th together). The primitive versions of each collection, in turn, do not antedate the 13th cent.

Ed.: VICTOR ARRAS (ed., tr.), *Patericon Aethiopice*, Louvain 1967 (CSCO 277, 278 [SAe 53, 54]).
Mss. used for the edition: BN Éth. 125 (15th cent.), fols. 1r–149v; d'Abbadie 75 (CRAbb no. 132, 17th cent.), fols. 1r–162v; BritLib Orient. 762 (17th cent.), fols. 98r–158r; Orient. 764 (17th cent.), fols. 3r–101r; Orient. 765 (18th cent.), fols. 1r–155r; Orient. 766 (18th cent.), fols. 2r–134v; Orient. 767 (18th cent.), fols. 1r–127r. Other mss.: SixDeu 91 (Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek Frankfurt Ms. or. 7), fols. 251ra–280rb, 281va–283rb, 286r–336v; SixTana III, no. 24 (Ṭānāsee 135 = Dāgā Eṣṭifānos 24, 1765 A.D.), fols. 135ra–168vb (not complete); one long fragment of the first part has been identified (cp. Sauget 1978) in ms. VatLib Etiop.

33 (15th cent.), fols. 34r–52v. Other mss. with uncertain identification are EMML 19 (1928), fols. 1r–69r; 1096 (19th cent.); 1536 (20th cent.), fols. 3r–46v (only similar in contents), followed on fols. 46v–72v by sayings of Pachomius; 2071 (14th cent.); SixDeu 91 (Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek Frankfurt Ms. or. 7, 19th cent.), fols. 345r–351v, similar in contents, but distinct from the *Patericon*; VatLib Cerulli Etiop. 124 (20th cent.), fols. 7rff. (286 entry numbers).

(c) *Asceticon*

The collection entitled **ዜና፡ ዘእምአበዊነ፡ ቅዱሳን** (*Zena zä'əm'abäwinä qəddusan*, 'History of our Holy Fathers') consists of 62 chs., mainly of *Apophthégmata*, also comprising homilies and treatises of ascetic subjects attributed to John Chrysostomos (nos. 49–50), Isaac (no. 51), Isaiah (no. 52), Paul the abbot (no. 53), Ephrem (nos. 58–59), including the "Rule of the Angel" sent to Pachomius (no. 57, corresponding to *Historia Lausiaca*, chs. 38–39) and rules of Anthony (no. 62, fols. 172r–173v).

Ed.: VICTOR ARRAS (ed., tr.), *Asceticon*, Lovanii 1984 (CSCO 458, 459 [SAe 77, 78]); partial French tr. by Regnault (1970, s. under I.a), 332–38.
Ms. used for the edition: BritLib Orient. 768 (18th cent.), fols. 111r–173v.
Additional identification of texts was proposed by LUCIEN REGNAULT, "Des apophtegmes des Pères redécouverts", in: ENZO LUCCHESI – UGO ZANETTI (eds.), *Ægyptus Christiana. Mélanges d'hagiographie égyptienne et orientale dédiés à la mémoire du P. Paul Devos bollandiste*, Genève 2004 (Cahiers d'Orientalisme 25), 149–62, here 150–54.

(d) *Geronticon*

This collection bears the Gəᶜəz title **ገድለ፡ አበው፡ ቅዱሳን** (*Gädlä abäw qəddusan*, '[Spiritual] Contendings of the Holy Fathers'), or *Gännätä mänäkosat*, in the explicit (cp. Arras 1986:363 [text]), and consists of 540 *Apophthégmata*.

Ed.: VICTOR ARRAS (ed., tr.), *Geronticon*, Lovanii 1986 (CSCO 476, 477 [SAe 79, 80]).
Mss. used for the edition: BritLib Orient. 763 (1586/87), fols. 2r–124v; BN d'Abbadie 85 (CRAbb no. 162, 18th cent.); mentioned, but not used, EMML 7469 (not yet catalogued).
Additional identification of texts was proposed by Regnault 2004 (s. I.c), 150–54.

(e) Quadraginta historiae monachorum

This collection of 40 ascetic and monastic narratives referring to Egyptian Monks of the 7th–8th cent. was probably first composed in Greek.

Ed.: VICTOR ARRAS (ed., tr.), *Quadraginta historiae monachorum*, Lovanii 1988 (CSCO 505, 506 [SAe 85, 86]).
Mss. used for the ed.: BritLib Orient. 768 (18th cent.), fols. 3r–110v; EMML 746 (20th cent.), incomplete; 7469 (not yet catalogued); an additional ms. was noted by Crum (1932).

(f) There are a number of other writings the relationship of which with the previous ones is very difficult to establish. Here follows a sample list:

Ms. Berlin, DillmBerl no. 83 (Ms. or. oct. 238, 19th cent.), fols. 103–106r, contains excerpts from sayings of Fathers and Monks on spiritual matters. The *Nägärä mänäkosat*, with *Apophthégmata* on the Egyptian Fathers, is preserved in ms. BritLib Orient. 757 (18th cent.), fols. 131rff., with extracts from several writers: Isaiah of Scete, John Climacus or of Mount Sinai, Sayings of Isaiah, Macarius, *abba* Bämnu etc. Ms. BN Éth. 34 (18th cent.), fols. 1, 223, 256 contains various *Apophthégmata*, partly in Arabic language written in Gəᶜəz script. Fragments of *Apophthégmata* are also in ms. BN Éth. 157 (18th cent.), fols. 4, 95–97, 2–3 and Éth. 159 (18th cent.), fols. 80ff. Ms. EMML 414 (18th cent.), fols. 154r–169r, has various sayings of the Fathers of the Desert, and also includes (like other mss.) an excerpt from the third series of *Apophthégmata Patrum* and one saying from the holy Fathers, fols. 163v–169r. Ms. EMML 930 (17th cent.), on fols. 65r–92v has a *Mäṣḥafä zenahomu lä'abäw qəddusan* or *Gännät*. Ms. EMML 1952 (18th cent.) contains excerpts from the sayings of the Fathers in the *Śərᶜatä betä krəstiyan*, fols. 17r–24v. Ms. EMML 4550 (20th cent.) has an excerpt from a monastic writing on fol. 19, and from the sayings of the spiritual Fathers on fols. 51r–54r. Ms. EMML 4722, fol. 1r, has a fragment. Ms. HamSixBerl no. 79 (Ms. orient. oct. 1307, 18th/19th cent.), fols. 21vb–46va, has texts similar in contents with *Collectio monastica*, *Patericon*, *Mäṣḥafä ↗ḥawi*, but not identical to them. Ms. in St. Petersburg, Asiatic Museum, described by Turaev (1906): no. III, 39, fols. 2ff. have *Zenahomu lä'abäw*, and fols. 126–65 have *Gännät zämänäkosat*, to be compared with BN Éth. 125; no. VI, 1, has *Apophthégmata* on fols. 159–60. Ms. VatLib Etiop. 14 (16th cent.), fol. 185, has one saying. Ms. VatLib Etiop. 17 (14th/15th cent.), fols. 34–45, has sayings of the Fathers (not further identified). There is no ms. in Tübingen and Wien, to the contrary of what was stated by Conti Rossini (1899:621, *s.v.* "*Gannat*").

According to Conti Rossini (1899:283), an Amharic version of the *Pratum Spirituale* was prepared by fathers Caldeira and Luiz d'↗Azevedo with the help of Fəqur Ǝgzi'.

(g) An absolute exception among the writings of this genre (all of them are translations), is the original composition ascribed to *abba* Näbyud of Däbrä Sihat, Eritrea (better known as ↗Däbrä Sina), consisting of visions and ascetic advises derived from various sources.

Ed.: ROBERT BEYLOT, *Abba Nabyud de Dabra Sihat. Visions et conseils ascétiques*, Louvain 1976 (CSCO 377, 378 [SAe 70, 71]).
Mss. used in ed.: BN Éth. 125 (15th cent.), fols. 165vb–218ra; BritLib Orient. 763 (1586/87 A.D.), fols. 132ra–162rc. Some excerpts are also preserved in ms. EMML 2183 (19th cent.), fols. 1r–6r.

II. Normative rules and rituals

(a) Monastic rules

These are collections of prescriptions concerning the conduct and the lifestyle of the monks and of the monastic communities. The most ancient are the *Rules of Pachomius* concerning coenobitic life, the first two sections of which date to Aksumite period and were translated from the original Greek, while a third section is an original composition added later (14th/15th cent.; cp. Conti Rossini 1899:203; GuiSLett 17, 41; Cerulli 1958:264f., 268f.; CerLett 23, 137; RicLett 813; Lusini 1998:54f.).

Ed.: DillmChrAeth 57–69; s. also OSCAR LÖFGREN, "Zur Kritik der äthiopischen Pachomiusregeln I, II", *Le Monde Oriental* 30, 1936, 171–86; ID., "Pakomius' etiopiska klosterregler. I. I svensk tolkning", *Kyrkohistorisk Årsskrift* 48, 1948, 163–84.

Ms. used by Dillmann: BN d'Abbadie 174 (CRAbb no. 34), fols. 91–101; cp. SimChrAeth 300ff.

Mss. used by Löfgren (1936): BN d'Abbadie 10 [CRAbb no. 101], fols. 1–5, first section; d'Abbadie 75 [CRAbb. no. 132], fols. 163–172, second section; Berlin, DillmBerl no. 31 [Ms. or. oct. 237, 17th/18th cent.], fols. 3–9v, with additional rules on fols. 9v–10 and 111–18; BritLib Orient. 768, fols. 149v–150v, first section, *scilicet*, within the *Asceticon*; Orient. 764, fols. 167r–168r, second section, *scilicet*, within the *Collectio monastica*; Add. 16,222, fols. 139–146, 3rd section.

Other mss.: BritLib Orient. 593 (18th cent.), fols. 126rf. (on the conduct of Monks); EMML 2183 (18th cent.), fols. 216r–218v, third part of the Rules; 2272 (18th cent.), fols. 56r–62r, third part of the Rules; 3200 (17th cent.), fols. 57r–60r, third part of the Rules plus another unidentified monastic writing on fols. 60r–61r; 4779 (19th cent.), fols. 67r–74v, first part of the rules (incomplete); VatLib Cerulli Etiop. 268 (19th cent.), fols. 57rff.

Besides, a number of other texts are still to be edited. Some texts bear the name of the saint to whom they are attributed, but most of them are simply indicated as ↗*Śərᶜatä mənkʷəsənna*.

Rules of Anthony circulate both in the *Asceticon* (s. I.c) and in mss. of his Vita:

E.g., mss. EMML 141, fols. 50rb–52va; 1844, fols. 23va–24rb; 1939, fols. 84ra–86rb; cp. also the *Śərᶜatä mənkʷəsənna* in ms. ANLin nos. 131 (15th/16th cent., in very poor condition), where Anthony is also mentioned.

A unique ms. seems to witness to the monastic *Rules of Stephen of Thebais* (cp. GrafLit vol. 1, 413), EMML 4493 (1528 A.D.), fols. 103r–105r.

A ቀኖና፡ መነኮሳት (*Qänona mänäkosat*, 'Monastic canon') was witnessed by ms. VatLib Comboni Etiop. 290 (lost at present), fol. 4 (cp. Raineri 2000:297).

At the same time monastic rules are scattered all over the original hagiographic literature, in some cases to a very systematic degree, such as the series of *Rules* in the Vita of ↗Filəppos of Däbrä Bizän.

Ed.: CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Il gadla Filpos e il gadla Yoḥannes di Dabra Bizan", *MRALm* ser. 5ª, 8, 1900, 62–170, here esp. 94*a*, l. 19 to 98*b*, l. 11 (text); ID., *Principî di diritto consuetudinario dell'Eritrea*, Roma 1916 (Manuali coloniali pubblicati a cura del Ministero delle Colonie), 381–87 (tr.).

Discussions and controversies on monastic rules also have a large part, directly or indirectly, in many works of more general interest: see the exemplary case of the delicate and obscure question of the ↗Ewosṭatean "lay abbot" in the *Mäṣḥafä ↗bərhan* (CRRicBerhan vol. 2, 145–56 [text], 82–87 [tr.], on which cp. also BauSen 44f.).

An extremely popular and influential monastic rule (yet, almost totally disregarded by the scholars), is the ነገር፡ ዘቅዱሳን፡ አበው፡ ፫፻፲፰፡ ዘይከውን፡ ሕንጻ፡ ለመነኮሳት (*Nägär zäqəddusan abäw 318 zäyəkäwwən ḥənṣa lämänakosat*, 'Discourse of the 318 Holy Fathers which will be Edifice to the Monks'), corresponding to the so-called Greek pseudo-Athanasian *Syntagma*, transmitted as *Didascalia of the 318 Nicene Fathers*, for which a Greek *Vorlage* could be proposed: incorporated within the ↗*Senodos*, it has a later, although recensionally much different, equivalent in the ↗*Haymanotä abäw*, certainly depending upon an Arabic *Vorlage*.

Ed.: ALESSANDRO BAUSI (ed., tr.), "La versione etiopica della *Didascalia dei 318 niceni* sulla retta fede e la vita monastica", in: ENZO LUCCHESI – UGO ZANETTI (eds.), *Ægyptus Christiana. Mélanges d'hagiographie égyptienne et orientale dédiés à la mémoire du P. Paul Devos bollandiste*, Genève 2004 (Cahiers d'Orientalisme 25), 225–48. Cp. ሃይማኖተ፡ አበው (*Haymanotä abäw*, 'The Faith of the Fathers'), Addis Abäba 1986 A.M. [1993/94 A.D.; 1st ed. 1955 A.M. = 1963 A.D.], 46–68.

(b) Monastic rituals

These texts rule the ceremony of the attribution of the monastic habit, though they may comprise even more general rules. One of the earliest rituals is probably the *Śərᶜatä mənkʷəsənna* transmitted under the name of the Syrian Father ↗Jacob of Serug. It was translated from Arabic in the 14th or at the latest in the 15th cent., as it is already quoted in the Vita of ↗Abäkäräzun (cp. CRAbb 115).

Not yet published, it is witnessed by mss. BN d'Abbadie 71 (CRAbb no. 78); EMML 499 (19th cent.), fols. 55r–76r; maybe also EMML 669 (20th cent.); 1012 (19th

cent.); VatLib Cerulli Etiop. 124 (20th cent.), fols. 176v (teaching of *abba* Yaʿəqob on Macarius the Great).

Another ritual (*Śərʿatä mənkʷəsənna*) is equally ancient.

Ed.: SYLVAIN GRÉBAUT, "Rituel éthiopien de prise d'habit", meant to be printed in *ROC* 30, 1935–46, 225–55, publ. as offprint at Mesnil (Departement Eure) 1940 (cp. HamTana II, 100).

Ms. used in ed.: BN Éth. 79 (14th cent.), 22 fols.

Other mss.: HamTana II, no. 81 (Ṭānāsee 81 = Dabra Māryām 23), fols. 6ra–57vb; Manchester, John Rylands Library Ethiop. 16 (17th cent., cp. Strelcyn 1974, no. 16); SixTana III, no. 155 (Ṭānāsee 155 = Dāgā Eṣṭifānos 44, 18th cent.).

There are a number of other similar, not easily identifiable texts. Some of them are termed *Mäṣḥafä mänäkosat*, and are described as monastic rituals. Examples are mss. EMML 31 (20th cent.), fols. 1r–60v (fols. 1r–13v: rite of clothing the nuns with the religious habit [*Śərʿatä ʿaśirä mänäkosayəyat anəst bäʾaskema qəddus*]; fols. 13v–25v: rite of clothing monks with the religious habit [*Śərʿatä ʿaśirä mänäkosat bäʾaskema qəddus*]; fols. 25v–50v: rite of religious profession [*Śərʿatä mənkʷəsənna*]; fols. 50v–60v: the confirmation of monks, extracted from the *Haymanotä abäw* [misinterpreted in EMML vol. 1, 32: *ḥənṣa mänäkosat zä-täqäddəḥo* (i.e. *täkəḥḥədu*?) *əm-haymanotä abäw*, 'the Confirmation of Monks who have Apostasized (?) from the Faith of the Fathers']); EMML 48 (1938/39 A.D.), fols. 103v–151v.

Others are simply described as monastic rituals: cp. mss. EMML 233 (ca. 1746 A.D.), fols. 7r–102v (various texts of monastic rituals), fols. 107r–111v (third rule from the sayings of the Fathers; rules for monks and penance for their infraction); EMML 634 (20th cent.); EMML 842 (19th cent.); EMML 930 (17th cent.), fols. 93r–122v (monastic ritual), fols. 122v–141v (various excerpts concerning the spiritual life); EMML 978 (18th cent.), fols. 9r–15r (homily on the conversion and life of the monk, entitled *Zena mänäkosat abäw qəddusan*), fols. 15r–67r (monastic ritual); EMML 1951 (18th cent.); EMML 2093 (19th cent.); EMML 2168 (18th cent.), fols. 3r–54v; EMML 2272 (18th cent.), fols. 1r–53r; EMML 2394 (19th cent.), fols. 1r–37v; EMML 2459 (17th cent.), fols. 40r–91r; EMML 2813 (17th/18th cent.); EMML 2852 (17th cent.), fols. 17r–56r; EMML 2816 (17th/18th cent.); EMML 4468 (19th cent.), fols. 5r–70v; EMML 4621 (18th cent.); EMML 4886 (19th/20th cent.), fols. 3r–44v; EMML 4934 (18th/19th cent.), fols. 1r–154v.

(c) Less identifiable texts

Ancient, unidentifiable texts are preserved in such mss. as

VatLib Etiop. 33 (15th cent.), fols. 2–25 (a treatise on monastic life), fols. 25–34 (ascetic prescriptions), fols. 53–72 (homily on ascetic life, by Isaac as the first piece, cp. Sauget 1978:44, n. 4), while for fols. 34–52v cp. the *Collection monastica*; ANLin no. 132 (StrANL no. 132, II and III), 8 fols. plus 1 fol.

Monastic rules were frequently written down in blanks of mss. Although Ethiopian M.l. is still too scarcely known to allow a precise evaluation of each single piece (cp., e.g., Bausi 2004 [s. under II. a], 226, n. 8), it is possible that in some cases these short texts be occasional deliberations from a particular monastic community, as in:

ms. BN Éth. 125 (15th cent.), fols. 160v–162r (cp. Lusini 1998, ed., tr.; but the monastic canons on fols. 162rb–165va, *ibid.* 56, were published and tr. by Grébaut 1940); EMML 5000 (19th cent.), fols. 2r–3v, monastic rules laid down by Abbot Qäṣäla Giyorgis for his community of Mayä Wäyn (in Amh.); a *Təʾəzazä mänäkosat* ('Order for the Monks') in ms. Berlin, DillmBerl no. 55 (Peterm. II Nachtr. 31, 16th cent.), fols. 1ff. and 128f. (guardleaves); excerpts of monastic rules, also extracted from "Sayings of the Fathers", are in ms. BritLib, DillmLond no. 18 (Add. 16,222, "antiquior"), fols. 76vff.; cp. also ms. München, SixBay no. 105 (Cod. aeth. 107), fols. 107ra–108vb (fragment of rules and prescriptions for the spirituals in a bad hand); VatLib Borg. Etiop. 20 (18th cent.), fols. 1–3v (fragment of monastic rules from the "Sayings of the Fathers"); Cerulli Etiop. 124 (20th cent.), fols. 185vff. (monastic rules in Amh.); EMML 1849 (19th cent.), fol. 2r (monastic rules uttered by one of the Fathers); 4380 (19th cent.), fols. 4r–9r (excerpts from monastic rules).

A collection of 59 documents from various mss., relating to the monastic communities of Jerusalem and Egypt, was published by Cerulli (CerPal vol. 2, 380–446, ed., tr.). The oldest document (no. 1, 1331/32 A.D., from ms. Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Orient. 148, fols. 4v and 3v, *ibid.* 380ff.) significantly begins by mentioning the *Rule of Anthony and Macarius*.

III. *Mäṣaḥəftä mänäkosat*

Various Patristic authors may be credited with having exerted a remarkable and lasting influence on Ethiopian M.l. Among the authors included in the collections listed under no. I, Evagrius Ponticus is also mentioned under the name *Akryos* (cp. Sauget in PICES 4, 358). Writings referring to monastic practice are inserted into the ↗*Wəddase amlak*. The *Mäṣḥafä ḥawi* also has sections relevant to M.l., as does the ↗*Fətḥa nägäśt*. Among Amharic works, e.g., the **ቃለ፡ ሃይማኖት፡ ወምዕዳን** (*Qalä haymanot wämaʿəḍan*, 'The Word of Faith and Admonition') has one section on monastic life (cp. mss. EMML 1310 [20th cent.], fols. 59v–66r; EMML 1315 [19th/20th cent.], fols. 62r–68v; EMML 1442 [20th cent.],

fols. 38r–45v; Cambridge, University Library, Or. 1882 [Ullendorff – Wright 1961, no. 43, 18th cent.], fols. 52vff. etc.).

However, the three Syrian authors whose writings are collected under the label of *Mäṣaḥəftä mänäkosat* ('Books of the Monks') have become by far the most popular. They are (in chronological order of translation into Gəᶜəz): (1) the ↗*Filkəsyos*, a questionary on monastic life through "the stories of the Fathers, Egyptian monks", attributed to Philoxenus of Mabbug, but really a work written in Syriac by the monk Dāḏīšōᶜ Qaṭrāyā (7th cent.); the work was translated from Arabic at the middle of the 14th cent. (LöfUpp no. 33, supposing that the note in ms. Uppsala, O Etiop. 7 [17/18th cent.], witnessing a tr. dating to 1021 of the Martyrs [1305 A.D.] by initiative of metropolitan ↗Sälama, is corrected to 1365 by reading 1081 instead of 1021, what would give year 1365 A.D.); (2) the *Mar Yəsḥaq*, i.e. the third treatise on spiritual asceticism by ↗Isaac of Nineveh (cp. ZotBNat 131–34, no. 114), translated from Arabic not later than the 16th cent. (Beylot 1993:250); and (3) the ↗*Arägawi Mänfäsawi*, the ascetic writings by John of Saba, translated from Arabic by ↗ᶜƎnbaqom during *aṣe* Ləbnä Dəngəl's reign, as attested by the *subscriptio* in, and age of, the most ancient known ms., Berlin, Ms. or. quart 491 (accomplished on 5 *Mäskäräm* 1517 A.M. = 1524 A.D., cp. DillmBerl 43f.; Conti Rossini 1899:271f.; GuiSLett 68f.; CerLett 140; RicLett 839; Rodinson 1975:244ff.; Beylot 1993:245 erroneously attributes the work to the 15th cent.; EAE vol. 2, 281); ms. EMML 4493 (1528 A.D.) dates to few years later.

The high number of manuscripts testify to the importance and central role attributed to them. Yet, the very existence of a canon of "Books of the Monks" composed of the three aforementioned works is certainly the result of a slow development. Most manuscripts have only two of the three works. Four are known to contain all three:

BritLib Orient. 759 (17th/18th cent.): *Arägawi Mänfäsawi*, fols. 2rff., *Filkəsyos*, fols. 81rff., *Mar Yəsḥaq*, fols. 129rff.; BritLib Orient. 760 (18th cent.): *Filkəsyos*, fols. 4rff., *Arägawi Mänfäsawi*, fols. 50vff., *Mar Yəsḥaq*, fols. 123rff.; EMML 15 (17th/18th cent.): *Arägawi Mänfäsawi*, fols. 1r–112r, *Mar Yəsḥaq*, fols. 113r–182r, *Filkəsyos*, fols. 183r–247v; EMML 2100 (17th cent.): *Arägawi Mänfäsawi*, fols. 2r–93v, *Mar Yəsḥaq*, fols. 94r–162v, *Filkəsyos*, fols. 163r–223r.

(1) The *Filkəsyos* is preserved in the following additional manuscripts (some of them not mentioned by Witakowski 2006):

Berlin, DillmBerl no. 46 (Ms. or. qu. 344, 17th/18th cent.), fols. 75–139; 48 (Peterm. II Nachtr. 44, 17th cent.); BN Éth. 157 (17th cent.), fol. 4 (only the beginning); d'Abbadie 23 (CRAbb no. 123, 18th/19th cent.), fols. 147rff.; d'Abbadie 37 (CRAbb no. 121, 18th/19th cent.), fols. 18rff.; d'Abbadie 172 (CRAbb no. 122, 18th/19th cent.), fols. 102rff.; BritLib Orient. 761 (18th cent.); EMML 418 (18th/19th cent.), also with a fragment of a Gəᶜəz commentary on the work on fol. 1r; 1387 (18th cent.), fols. 91r–201v; 1836 (17th cent.), fols. 112r–203v; 2127 (19th/20th cent.), fols. 10r–162v; 2837 (17th/18th cent.), fols. 4r–81v; Uppsala, LöfUpp no. 33 (O Etiop. 7, 17th/18th cent.); Hamburg, SixDeu no. 138 (Cod. orient. 412, 18th/19th cent.), fol. 1r–v (fragment); Stuttgart, SixDeu no. 233 (Cod. orient. quart. 42, 18th cent.), fols. 3ra–82va; VatLib Etiop. 79 (20th cent.), fols. 234rff., 237vff. (incomplete, with Amh. translation); Etiop. 294 (18th/19th cent.); Cerulli Etiop. 135 (19th cent.), also with a history of Philoxenus in Amharic on fols. 97vff.; Cerulli Etiop. 220 (18th cent.), fols. 7rff.; Cerulli Etiop. 237 (17th cent.), fols. 55rff.; cp. also EMML 2183 (18th cent.), fols. 211r–214v (introduction to the work in Amh.).

The Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church (EOTC) edition: መጻሕፍተ፡ መነኰሳት፡ ሁለተኛ፡ መጽሐፍ። ፊልክስዩስ፡ ገብረ፡ ክርስቶስ (*Mäṣaḥəftä mänäkʷäsat. Hulättäññä mäṣḥaf. Filkəsyus Gäbrä Krəstos*, 'The Books of the Monks. Second Book. Filkəsyus the Servant of Christ'), Addis Abäba 1982 A.M. [1989/90 A.D.].

(2) The *Mar Yəsḥaq* is preserved in the following additional mss.:

Berlin, DillmBerl nos. 46 (Ms. or. qu. 344, 17th/18th cent.), fols. 3–74; 47 (Peterm. II Nachtr. 47, 16th/17th cent.); BN Éth. 114 (19th cent.); Éth. 157 (17th cent.); Éth. 324 (Griaule 20, 19th cent.); d'Abbadie 33 (CRAbb no. 120, 18th/19th cent.); d'Abbadie 85 (CRAbb no. 162), fols. 1rff.; d'Abbadie 172 (CRAbb no. 122), fols. 4rff.; d'Abbadie 178 (CRAbb no. 119), fols. 1rff.; BritLib Orient. 754 (1638/47 A.D.), no. II; Orient. 755, 756, 757, fols. 4rff., 758 (all of the 18th cent.); EMML 1836 (17th cent.), fols. 1r–112v; 2183 (16th cent.), fols. 126r–210v; 2847 (17th cent.), fols. 5r–107v; 3441 (17th cent.); 4465 (1847/55), fols. 137r–142v (excerpts); 4771 (early 20th cent.); 4991 (18th cent.); VatLib Cerulli Etiop. 135 (19th cent.), also with a history of Philoxenus in Amh. on fol. 96r; Cerulli Etiop. 162 (19th cent.), fols. 135rff. An Amh. commentary is preserved in ms. Frankfurt, SixDeu 91 (Ms. or. 7, 19th cent.), fols. 3ra–242va; cp. also VatLib Cerulli Etiop. 204 (20th cent.), fols. 11rff. (an Amh. translation).

The EOTC edition: መጻሕፍተ፡ መነኰሳት፡ አንደኛ፡ መጽሐፍ። ማር፡ ይስሐቅ (*Mäṣaḥəftä mänäkʷäsat. Andäññä mäṣḥaf. Mar Yəsḥaq*, 'The Books of the Monks. Book I. Mar Yəsḥaq'), Addis Abäba 1982 A.M. [1989/90 A.D.]; s. also DAWIT BERHANU, *Das Maṣḥafa des Mar Yesḥaq aus Ninive. Einleitung, Edition und Übersetzung mit Kommentar*, Hamburg 1997.

(3) The *Arägawi Mänfäsawi* is preserved in the following additional mss.:

Berlin, DillmBerl nos. 49 (Ms. or. qu. 491, 1524 A.D.); 50 (Peterm. II Nachtr. 41, 17th cent.), fols. 8–169; 51 (Peterm. II Nachtr. 62, 19th cent.); 52 (Ms. or. qu. 393,

16th/17th cent.); BN Éth. 115 (16th cent.); Éth. 325 (Griaule 21, 18th cent.); d'Abbadie 19 (CRAbb no. 124, 18th/19th cent.); d'Abbadie 23 (CRAbb no. 123, 18th/19th cent.), fols. 1rff.; BritLib Orient. 529 (17th cent.), fols. 125rff.; Orient. 754 (1638/47 A.D.), no. III; Orient. 762 (17th cent.), fol. 2rff.; Add. 24,993 (18th cent.); EMML 425 (20th cent.); 1387 (18th cent.), fols. 91r–201v; 1536 (20th cent.), fols. 74r–134v (excerpts); 1849 (19th cent.); 1937 (16th cent.); 1949 (17th cent.); 2076 (17th cent.), with explanatory notes; 2118 (16th cent.), fols. 7r–165r, with explanatory notes on fols. 1r–5v, 165vff.; 2146 (17th cent.), fols. 1v–2r, 124r–125r; 2183 (16th cent.), fols. 7r–125v, with Gəʿəz notes of commentary (18th cent.), on fols. 215r–216r; 2384 (18th cent.); 2838 (17th cent.), fols. 2r–107r; 2844 (18th cent.), fols. 2r–141r; 2847 (17th cent.); 4493 (1528 A.D.), fol. 105r–v; 4992 (early 20th cent.); 4465 (1847/55), fols. 137r–142v (excerpts); HamTana I, no. 39 (Ṭānāsee 39 = Kebrān 39, 17th cent.), fols. 5ra–165rb; SixTana III, nos. 24 (Ṭānāsee 135 = Dāgā Esṭifānos 24, 1765 A.D.), fols. 2ra–134rb; 37 (Ṭānāsee 138 = Dāgā Esṭifānos 37, 16th/17th cent.); München, SixBay no. 41 (Cod. aeth. 41, 18th cent.); Hamburg, SixDeu no. 132 (Cod. orient. 406, 17th/18th cent.); VatLib Etiop. 84 (17th cent.), formerly ms. no. 4 of Delorme collection (an excerpt published in: SYLVAIN GRÉBAUT, "La *Lettre* et la *Notice* finales du 'Vieillard Spirituel'", *ROC* 20, 1915–17, 77–81); Borg. Etiop. 20 (18th cent.), fols. 4r–148v; Cerulli Etiop. 9 (17th cent.); Cerulli Etiop. 79 (20th cent.), fols. 5rff., 226rff. (incomplete, Gəʿəz and interlinear Amh. tr.); Cerulli Etiop. 161 (19th cent.); Cerulli Etiop. 162 (19th cent.), fols. 3rff.; Cerulli Etiop. 240 (17th cent.) (to the contrary of "249" in RainCer 245, but cp. Raineri 2000:223–26); St. Petersburg, Turaev (1906): no. I, 26 (Imperial National Library no. 26, 17th cent.); no. IV, 3 (Spiritual Academy); ANLin no. 131 (StrANL no. 131, 15th/16th cent.), an ancient fragment, probably from Däbrä Damo.

The EOTC edition: **መጻሕፍተ፡ መነኰሳት፡ ሦስተኛ፡ መጽሐፍ። አረጋዊ፡ መንፈሳዊ** (*Mäṣaḥəftä mänäkʷäsat. Śostäññä mäṣḥaf. Arägawi Mänfäsawi*, 'The Books of the Monks. Third Book. *Arägawi Mänfäsawi*'), Addis Abäba 1982 A.M. [1989/90 A.D.]; s. also MAXIME RODINSON, "Éthiopien et Sudarabique", in: *École Pratique des Hautes Études. IVe Section. Sciences Historiques et Philologiques. Annuaire 1974–1975*, Paris 1975, 209–47, here 244ff. ("les lettres de Jean Saba").

There is no critical edition or translation of any of the three *Mäṣaḥəftä mänäkosat* yet.

Src.: (a) Mss.: for the list of catalogues s. ↗Manuscripts and the text of the article; (b) Ed. and tr.: Arras 1963, 1967, 1984, 1986, 1988, also Regnault 1970, 2004, s. I. (a) – (e); Bausi 2004 s. II. (a); Beylot 1976 s. I. (g); CerPal vol. 2, 380–481; SYLVAIN GRÉBAUT, "Interdictions faites aux moines", *Orientalia* n.s. 9, 1940, 260–70; ID. 1915–17 s. III. (3); BORIS TURAEV, "Efiopskoe asketičeskoe poslanie, pripisannoe Sv. Makariju Egipetskomu" ('Ethiopian Ascetic Epistle Ascribed to St. Macarius of Egypt'), *Hristjanskij Vostok* 4, 2, 1916, 141–54.

Lit.: ALESSANDRO BAUSI, *La versione etiopica degli* Acta Phileae *nel* Gadla samā'tat, Napoli 2002 (Annali IUO, Supplemento 92); BauSen 44f.; ROBERT BEYLOT, "Langue et littérature éthiopiennes", in: MICHELINE ALBERT et al., *Christianismes orientaux. Introduction à l'étude des langues et littératures*, Paris 1993, 219–60, here 236, 240f., 245, 250, 252f.; CerLett 23, 137, 139f.; ENRICO CERULLI, "Il monachismo in Etiopia", in: *Il monachesimo orientale*, Roma 1958 (OrChrA 153), 259–78, here 264f., 268f.; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Note per la storia letteraria abissina", *RRALm* ser. 5ª, 8, 1899, 197–220, 263–85, here 203, 209, 271f., 283; ID., "Manoscritti ed opere abissine in Europa", *ibid.* 606–37; ID. 1916 s. II. (b); WALTER EWING CRUM, "A Nubian Prince in an Egyptian Monastery", in: STEPHEN RANULPH KINGDON GLANVILLE (ed.), *Studies presented to F. Ll. Griffith*, London 1932, 137–48; GrafLit vol. 1, 380–414; GuiSLett 30, 68f.; WILLIAM HARMLESS, "Remembering Poemen Remembering: the Desert Fathers and the Spirituality of Memory", *Church History* 60, 2000, 483–518; ID., *Desert Christians. An Introduction to the Literature of Early Monasticism*, Oxford 2004 (Lit.); LOUIS LELOIR, "Premiers renseignements sur la Vie d'Antoine en éthiopien", in: *ANTIDORON. Hommage à Maurits Geerard pour célébrer l'achèvement de la Clavis Patrum Graecorum*, Wetteren 1984, 9–12; GIANFRANCESCO LUSINI, "Tradizione e redazione delle regole monastiche etiopiche (Parigi, B.N., ms. Éth. 125, ff. 160v–162)", in: DELIO VANIA PROVERBIO (ed.), *Scritti in memoria di Emilio Teza*, Venezia 1998 (= *Miscellanea Marciana* 12), 53–66 (Lit.); PAOLO MARRASSINI, "The 'Egyptian Saints' of the Abyssinian Hagiography", *Aethiopica* 8, 2005, 112–29; LANFRANCO RICCI, "Ethiopian Christian Literature", in: *CE* 3, 1991, 975*b*–979*b*, here 976*a*–*b*, 977*b*; RicLett 813, 816f., 827, 839, 900, n. 16; JOSEPH-MARIE SAUGET, "Une nouvelle collection éthiopienne d'*Apophthegmata Patrum*", *OrChrP* 31, 1965, 177–88 (rev. of Arras 1963); ID., "Un exemple typique des relations culturelles entre l'arabe-chrétien et l'éthiopien: un *Patericon* récemment publié", in: *PICES* 4, vol. 1, 321–88; ID., "La court série d'*Apophtegmata Patrum* du manuscrit Vatican Éthiopien 33", *RSE* 26, 1973–77 [1978], 44–46; SERGEW HABLE-SELASSIE, "The Monastic Library of Däbrä Hayq", in: *OrbAethChoj* vol. 1, 243–58; SimChrAeth 300ff.; WITOLD WITAKOWSKI, "*Filekseyus*, the Ethiopic Version of the Syriac Dadisho Qatraya's *Commentary on the Paradise of the Fathers*", in: ID. – LAURA ŁYKOWSKA (eds.), *Wälättä Yohanna: Ethiopian Studies in Honour of Joanna Mantel-Niećko* ..., Warszawa 2006 (= Rocznik Orientalistyczny 59, 1), 281–96 (Lit.).

Alessandro Bausi

Monasticism s. vol. 5

Mondon-Vidailhet, Casimir

M. (François Marie Casimir M.; b. 1 February 1847, Saint-Gaudens, Gascogne, d. 30 November 1910, Paris) was a French journalist and scholar actively engaged in Ethio-European affairs who contributed with pioneer works to the knowledge of Ethiopia and its languages.

After receiving primary education in his father's school, M., at the age of 17, went on a long initiatory journey to the Orient. On his return ca. 1867, he started a career as a parliamentary chronicler in Paris. He was also engaged, within the colonial lobby, in the French attempts at setting establishments on the Red Sea. His interest for the region prompted his Ethiopianist career. M. soon managed to learn Amharic by his own

Casimir Mondon-Vidailhet; photo from Rouaud 1997:4

means. In 1891, he published a *Manuel pratique de langue abyssine*, a work that, despite its imperfections, remained for a long time the only handbook of Amharic in the French language. The same year, he was selected representative "semi-officiel" before *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II to support the French policies in the region. In January 1892 he left for Ethiopia, officially as special correspondent of *Le Temps*. He returned to France, against his will, in December 1897, to yield his place to the official representative Léonce Lagarde.

During his stay in Ethiopia, M. advised Mənilək on various matters and wrote for him projects of reform. Other activities he was intensely engaged in were the organization of the ↗Postal service, the setting up of the first printing press in Šäwa and the gathering of valuable Ethiopic manuscripts (113, of them 27 Gəᶜəz and 86 Amharic, today at the French National Library; s. ChMonV). M. was also a full supporter of Ethiopian independence; through his articles he influenced the French in its favour, and advocated weapon delivery to Ethiopia. Crediting him with the introdution of ↗eucalyptus in Ethiopia is, however, probably wrong, as in his own articles in *Le Temps* he described the existence of such trees in the Harärge province before his arrival in the country.

Back in Paris, on 16 June 1898, M. inaugurated a new course of Amharic at the École des Langues Orientales (later ↗Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales, INALCO). He compiled for his pupils a *Grammaire de langue abyssine* (1898). With the notes he had collected in Ethiopia he also issued several works on various Semitic languages and cultures in Ethiopia, among them pioneer studies on ↗Harari and ↗Gurage, namely ↗Čaha, ↗Səlṭi, ↗Wäläne, ↗Soddo, and ↗Mäsqan (1902, 1913; s. Hetzron 1977:25). He published the chronicle of *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II by *däbtära* ↗Zännäb (MonVidTheo). M.'s contribution to the *Encyclopédie de la musique* in 1922 (MonVidMus; cf. Falceto 2003) remained for a long time the single reference available on Ethiopian music. M. also wrote short *feuilletons* for the French newspapers, some texts in his mother tongue Gascon, and overviews on a variety of languages. At his death, Marcel ↗Cohen took over his Amharic chair at the INALCO.

Src.: ChMonV; François Marie Casimir Mondon-Vidailhet, *Manuel pratique de langue abyssine (amharique) à l'usage des explorateurs et des commerçants*, Paris 1891; Id., *Grammaire de la langue abyssine (amharique)*, Paris 1898; Id., *La langue harari et les dialectes éthiopiens du Gouraghê*, Paris 1902 [extract from: *JA* ser. 9, 18, 1901, 401–29; 19, 1902, 5–50; *Revue sémitique* 8, 1900, 168–75, 266–74; 9, 1901, 64–70]; Id., "Une tradition éthiopienne", *Revue sémitique* 12, 1904, 259–68; Id., *Proverbes abyssins*, Paris 1905 [extract from: *JA* ser. 10, 4, 1904, 487–95]; Id., "La rhétorique éthiopienne. *Le sämenna wärq*", *JA* ser. 10, 10, 1907, 305–29; Id. et al., *Populations indigènes de la Côte des Somalis et des régions voisines* (= *Revue internationale de sociologie*), 1908; Id. – Erich Weinzinger, *Études sur le guragiè*, Wien 1913 (Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften. Schriften der Sprachenkommission 5); MonVidMus [repr. in: *AE* 19, 2003, 149–88]; MonVidTheo.

Lit.: Francis Falceto, "Mondon-Vidailhet et la musique éthiopienne", *AE* 19, 2003, 119–47; Robert Hetzron, *The Gunnän-Gurage Languages*, Napoli 1977, 25; Roger Schneider – Jacques Vanderlinden, "A propos d'un manuscrit de Casimir Mondon-Vidailhet adressé à Ménélik II", *JES* 7, 2, 1969, 165–94; Alain Rouaud, *Casimir Mondon-Vidailhet. Pionnier de l'amitié franco-éthiopienne / Pioneer of the French–Ethiopian Friendship (1847–1910)*, Addis Abeba – Paris 1997.

Alain Rouaud

Monfreid, Henry de

M. (b. 14 November 1879, Franqui, Aude, d. 13 December 1974, Ingrandes, Indre) was a French traveller and author. Born to George-Daniel de Monfreid, an Impressionist painter, he tried several professions. In 1911, he left France for ↗Djibouti, where he became agent for the firm Guignony trading in coffee and leather. In 1913, he married Armgart Freudenfeld, daughter of Alsace-Lorraine Statthalter. Despising the colonial lifestyle, he converted to Islam (adopting the name ᶜAbdalḫayr) and went to live among the indigenous population. He built his own boats and became active in illegal trading activities (hashish and arms dealing), for which he was twice jailed

by the French (1914–15, Djibouti) and English (1918, Berbera) authorities. Yet, he continued with these activities until in 1923 he established himself at ↗Dərre Dawa, where he invested his gains in hashish trade in a flour mill and an electric power plant. During the hot season he left Dərre Dawa for Harräwa, 10 km south from Harär on the road to Ğiğğiga, where he had a plantation (coffee, *čat*, cereals, mango trees). His house was confiscated in 1941 (picture in Davie Vovan et al. 2005:56)

In 1930 he met the writer and journalist Joseph Kessel, who was investigating the persistence of slave trade in Djibouti in spite of colonial administration. Kessel encouraged M. to publish his numerous writings (private diary, correspondance etc.). In 1932 *Les secrets de la mer Rouge* appeared, the first of his 75 books. In 1933, for the publication of *Vers les terres hostiles de l'Ethiopie* he was expelled from Ethiopia by ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I. In 1935, he sided with the Italians, met ↗Mussolini and a year later repossessed his properties that had been confiscated in Ethiopia. Between 1942 and 1943 the British Army sent M. to a prison camp in Kenya. He could only return to France in 1947. He retired in Ingrandes, where a museum was later dedicated to him, and published his last book in 1973. He had four unsuccessful attempts at becoming a member of the Académie française.

A number of H.'s books obtained a great success and inspired films. They usually contain a subtle mixture of gossip, historical remarks, acute descriptions and observations of people and countries. They also reveal his misanthropy and his unscrupulous racketeering. M. was filled with hatred for the French colonial administration, Great Britain, Ḫaylä Śəllase and the bourgeoise morale. He contributed with his autobiographical novels to the introduction of Ethiopia and the Horn of Africa to the French and French-speaking general public.

Src.: HENRY DE MONFREID, *Les secrets de la mer Rouge*, Paris 1932; ID., *Aventures des mers*, Paris 1932; ID., *Vers les terres hostiles de l'Éthiopie*, Paris 1933; ID., *La poursuite du Kaïpan*, Paris 1934; ID., *Le drame éthiopien*, Paris 1935; ID., *Les lépreux*, Paris 1935; ID., *Les derniers jours de l'Arabie heureuse*, Paris 1935; ID., *Le masque d'or*, Paris 1936; ID., *L'avion noir*, Paris 1936; ID., *Les guerriers d'Ogaden*, Paris 1936; ID., *Le naufrage du Marietta*, Paris 1937; ID., *Abdi, l'homme à la main coupée*, Paris 1937; ID., *Sir Henry Middelton*, Paris 1941; ID., *Charas*, Paris 1947; ID., *Ménélik tel qu'il fut*, Paris 1954; ID., *Les lionnes d'or d'Éthiopie*, Paris 1964; ID., *Lettres d'Abyssinie*, Paris 1999; ID., *Lettres de la mer Rouge*, Paris 2000; "Le dossier judiciaire d'Henry de Monfreid", *Pount* 1, 2007, 131–49.

Lit.: *Djibouti et son histoire: des Ptolémées à Henry de Monfreid. Hommage à Robert Ferry*, Paris 2007 (= Pount 1); JACQUES MEUNIER et al., "Gentilhomme de fortune et écrivain. Les tribulations d'Henry de Monfreid", *Le Monde* 2, 59, 2 April 2005; DANIEL GRANDCLÉMENT, *L'incroyable Henry de Monfreid*, Paris 1990; FRANÇOIS GUYOT, *Le Voyage en Éthiopie, dernier voyage en Orient*, Paris 2001; JOSEPH KESSEL, *Fortune carrée*, Paris 1955; GISÈLE DE MONFREID, *Mes secrets de la mer Rouge*, Paris 1982; GUILLAUME DE MONFREID, *En mer Rouge. Henry de Monfreid photographe et aventurier*, Paris 2005; ALAIN ROUAUD, *Le negus contre l'esclavage. Les édits abolitionnistes du ras Täfäri*, Paris 1997; DAVID VOVAN et al., *Harar guide culturel*, Paris 2005, 56 (ill.).

Alain Gascon

Monkey(s)

Zoological overview

M. are members of the mammalian order of primates, which also includes galagos, lorises, lemurs, apes and humans. Due to the broken relief and varying precipitation regimes, the Horn of Africa is particularly habitat-rich and offers some of the most extreme primate habitats (e.g. temperate cool, treeless alpine meadows and hot, dry semi-desert).

Currently 13 primate species occur, among them two galagos and ten monkey species from the subfamily Cercopithecinae (cheek-pouched M.) and one from the subfamily Colobinae (colobine M.) (Yalden et al. 1977; Grubb et al. 2003). The species' ranges are generally determined by certain habitat types. The two galago species are the Ethiopian lesser galago (*Galago senegalensis dunni*) from southern Ethiopia, south of Wabi Šäbälle and in forests along the rift lakes, and the Somali lesser galago (*G. gallarum*) from Somalia and Ogaden, both associated with acacia trees. Both are small nocturnal, arboreal species (up to 250 g) feeding mainly on insects and gum. They live as solitary foragers, in contrast to the other primates of the region, which are diurnal and live in groups of up to several hundred individuals.

The patas M. (*Erythrocebus patas*), a terrestrial species of the open savannah is found within the region only along the western border of Ethiopia, as far south as the Omo River National Park (Yalden et al. 1996; ↗National Parks). Patas live in small one-male groups (5 to 30 individuals). This species shows a pronounced sexual dimorphism with males (up to 13 kg) almost twice as heavy as females.

The two guenons found in the forests and woodlands of south-western Ethiopia are more arboreal: De Brazza's M. (*Cercopithecus neglec-*

Male hamadryas baboon in the lowlands near Dogᶜali, Eritrea; photo 2005, courtesy of the author

tus) and Boutourlini's blue M. (*C. mitis boutourlinii*). A second subspecies of *C. mitis*, Syke's M. (*C. m. albogularis*) is found in southern Somalia, mainly along the larger rivers. These species also form one-male groups, and they too are sexually dimorphic (female 4.5 kg, male 8 kg). The main food for *C. neglectus* is fruits and seeds, for *C. mitis* it is fruits, leaves and animal prey. The *C. neglectus* population of Ethiopia represents a small isolated relict population. In contrast, *C. mitis* is widely distributed in central and eastern Africa. The most common primate within the region is the grivet M. (*Chlorocebus aethiops*). It is semi-terrestrial, omnivorous and uses a broad range of habitats, from forest to open savannah in low- and highlands (Yalden et al. 1977; Zinner et al. 2002). It is found in Eritrea, northern and central Ethiopia south to the Omo River and in Djibouti. It lives in multi-male multi-female groups (up to 50 individuals) and it is considered a crop raider and thus, it is chased and extirpated from many agricultural areas. *C. aethiops* is slightly lighter than the guenon species (female 3.5 kg, male 4.5 kg). Closely related to the grivets is the vervet M. *Chlorocebus pygerythrus*, which occupies the southern parts of the Rift, the eastern Ethiopian lowlands and southern Somalia; and the Bale Mountains grivet (*Chlorocebus djamdjamensis*) found in a small area in the north-western foothills of the Bale Mountains (Dandelot – Prevost 1972).

The largest primates in the region are the *Papio* baboons. Three species occur: northern yellow baboons (*Papio cynocephalus ibeanus*), olive baboons (*Papio anubis*) and hamadryas baboons (*Papio hamadryas*). Yellow baboons are found in south-eastern Ethiopia and Somalia along the Wabi Šäbälle and River Juba. Like the other baboons they are terrestrial, omnivorous primates, living in multi-male, multi-female groups of up to 100 individuals (female 15 kg, male 25 kg). Within their arid range, they are mainly confined to habitats along rivers and wadis. Valid and updated information about their status, in particular from Somalia, are missing. Whether hybridization occurs in the region with either hamadryas or olive baboons is not known.

Olive baboons are the heaviest of the baboons (female 20 kg, male 30 kg,) and they occupy the more humid western parts of Eritrea and Ethiopia from Tesseney in the north, to the Awaš Falls and south into Kenya. Their social organization is similar to that of yellow baboons. They are still abundant and in many areas they are chased and killed because they can damage crops. Hybridization with hamadryas baboons is reported from the Awaš National Park (Nagel 1973), the upper Wabi Šäbälle (Mori – Belay 1990) and the Baarentuu area (Zinner et al. 2001). Hamadryas baboons occupy the most arid habitats in eastern Eritrea and Ethiopia, in Djibouti and parts of Somalia. Their social organization differs from that of other baboon species. They live in a multi-level system with one-male groups as the smallest entity (Kummer 1968). A similar social organization is found in geladas (*Theropithecus gelada*) which are endemic to the highlands of Ethiopia. They are specialized grass feeders, living on alpine meadows.

The only colobine M. from the region is the guereza (*Colobus guereza*). Two subspecies are found in Ethiopia (*C. g. guereza*, West of Rift, Awaš valley, Omo river; *C. g. gallarum* highland forests East of Rift). They live in small one-male groups and their main food is leaves and fruits. The region's extant primate community represents only a small portion of the regional primate diversity during evolutionary times (↗Homo; ↗Palaeontology). The region is exceptionally rich in primate fossils including apes and humans. Several of the regional primate species are endangered due to habitat destruction, especially the two regional endemics, gelada and Bale Mountain grivets.

Lit.: P. DANDELOT – J. PREVOST, "Contribution à l'etude des primates d'Ethiopie (Simiens)", *Mammalia* 36, 1972, 607–33; P. GRUBB et al., "Assessment of the Diversity of African Primates", *International Journal of Primatology* 24, 1, 2003, 1301–57; HANS KUMMER, *Social Organization of Hamadryas Baboons. A Field Study*, Chicago, IL

1968; A. MORI – G. BELAY, "The Distribution of Baboon Species and a New Population of Gelada Baboons along the Wabi-Shebeli River, Ethiopia", *Primates* 31, 1990, 495–508; U. NAGEL, "A Comparison of Anubis Baboons, Hamadryas Baboons and their Hybrids at a Species Border in Ethiopia", *Folia Primatol* 19, 1973, 104–65; DEREK W. YALDEN et al., "Catalogue of the Mammals of Ethiopia. 3. Primates", *Monitore Zoologico Italiano*, supplement 9, 1, 1977, 1–52; DEREK W. YALDEN et al., "Catalogue of the Mammals of Ethiopia and Eritrea. 7 Revised Checklist, Zoogeography and Conservation", *Tropical Zoology* 9, 1996, 73–164; DIETMAR ZINNER et al., "Distribution and Habitat Associations of Baboons (*Papio hamadryas*) in Central Eritrea", *International Journal of Primatology* 22, 2001, 397–413; DIETMAR ZINNER et al., "Distribution and Habitat of Grivet Monkeys (*Cercopithecus aethiops aethiops*) in Eastern and Central Eritrea", *African Journal of Ecology* 40, 2002, 151–58.

Dietmar Zinner

Cultural history

M. play a prominent role in many Ethiopian cultures. Their similarity to mankind is reflected in legends and myths as well as in children's ↗games. In some cultures the M. functions as an emblematic symbol for certain ethnic units.

From the perspective of traditional peasant culture, M. were serious food competitors. Especially at the beginning of the rainy season, M. came near human homesteads to invade the fields. For the defence of the crops the peasants prepared traps or posted guards during nighttime (cp. PankSoc 145f.). Today the number of M. has significantly decreased mainly due to the shrinking of their natural habitats. However, in remaining forests, river valleys and mountainous areas M. still can be numerous. The fact that wildlife habitats are often no longer able to feed bigger groups of M. makes them enter into the periphery of human settlements at night-time in order to search for food.

M. are killed to protect the crops or, traditionally, as a heroic deed in the context of the ↗meritorious complex (or killing complex). Sometimes the child of a killed M. mother is caught and raised in human households for the amusement of the children.

The coat or parts of the coat and the tail of M. were used as elements of traditional costumes. The long hair of baboons was used for hats and capes (s. e.g., VSAe I, 402; III, 360, 369). The M. coat is worn, for example, by the jesters of the ↗Fuga group who perform M.-like behaviour at public feasts (author's own observation in Hadiyya).

M. are rarely hunted for the meat because in many Ethiopian societies it is considered to be ritually impure. According to Ernesta Cerulli (CerPeople 130), in ↗Sidaama the evil eye (↗*Buda*) is ascribed to baboons, to wild pigs and wild goats, as well as to so-called ↗marginalized people (s. EAE vol. 5). Only the members of the despised hunter groups may hunt and eat M. meat, but in some cases even they refuse to consume it. An interesting but singular case was a possession cult among the Mağaŋgir: after the Liberation of 1941, Congolese soldiers (being part of the British contingent), whose diet included M. meat, inspired a cult in which possessed mediums ate the meat of M. and other "impure" animals. When not in an altered state of consciousness, however, the medium still avoided such meat (Stauder in PICES 3).

Some ethnic groups and sub-groups in their tradition claim a special mythical relation with M.; here only some examples from southern Ethiopia can be mentioned. The members of the pan-ethnic clan Aysti among the Basketto, Dokko and Balta, for instance, were considered "relatives" of the M. They believed that if they ate a M. they would die from a terrible skin disease (VSAe I, 214f.). Some groups directly trace themselves back to M. The *godini* priest's clan of the Ubamär, the Zoba, claim decent from M. The same is true for the Binnas clan of the Banna (VSAe I, 176, 366). A sub-clan of the Me'en people has the Colobus M. as an emblematic animal and never kills it. Likewise the Ora clan of the Banna has strong ties with the M. Members of the Ora clan never kill a M. If they find a dead M., they cover the corpse and mourn. It is believed that the M. also leave the forest to mourn for a dead Ora. A woman of the Ora clan who cannot give birth, puts the faeces of M. in her house to become fertile. It is reported that infertile Rengako Banna women hang a bundle containing M. faeces, little stones and bark around their neck to gain a similar positive effect. To prevent M. from invading the fields, the Ora put coffee beans near the field and tell the M. that they are invited for coffee. Unlike the neighbouring clans, the Ora are allowed to choose their marriage partners from any other group, as it is said "like M. eat ripe and none ripe fruits" (VSAe I, 49, 54, 322, 367). A legend of the Goyraš clan of Šangama relates that the clan founder came down from a tree together with a Colobus M. (Šangama: *goyra*). It is said that M. keep the fast and practice the ceremonies of the *kaši*-sacrifice as do their human relatives according to their autochtonous socio-religious system (VSAe I, 128f.).

Formerly, the ↗Yäm people were often associated with M. by outsiders. The reason for this may have been their old denomination "Ǧanǧäro" (probably derived from *Yämgar*, 'country of the Yäm') which was equated with the Amharic word ጨጬሮ (*ǧənǧäro*, also *zənǧäro* 'monkey, baboon') and today is rejected as pejorative. However, a certain significance of M. for the old Yäm culture is presumed by Straube (VSAe III, 270) who draws this conclusion from reports of Paez (BecRASO II, 273) and Bruce (BruNile vol. 2:273) that M. might have been once symbolically related to Yäm kingship rituals.

M., as close relatives of mankind, are a popular motif in myths and fables (s., e.g., Kellner 2001; Leslau 1983:111, 117; Sahlu Kidane 2002:81, 122f., 127; VSAe I, 184, 381f.; II, 635). Many of these stories have a humorous character. In some documented stories the similarity of man and M. is well reflected, e.g., being explained by ties of ↗kinship. The origin of M. in some cases is explained as being human. Among the Bodi, an etiological legend tells that M. formerly were people who had been cursed. The Bakka view M. as the descendents of a man who became mad and escaped into the forest. A son who did not respect the *kaši* haruspecium of his father was cursed to live in the forest and became a M. In some groups the story is told that the baboons stem from a man who burned his back. In other cases a tail grew from the back of a man (VSAe I, 49, 164, 214f., 336, 414).

Lit.: CerPeople 130; ALEXANDER KELLNER, "'The Lazy Baboon': a Linguistic Analysis and Anthropological Interpretation of a Burji Tale", *AAP* 65, 2001, 41–69; WOLF LESLAU, *Gurage Folklore: Ethiopian Folktales, Proverbs, Beliefs, and Riddles*, Wiesbaden 1983 (SKK 63), 111, 117; EUGEN MITTWOCH, "Abessinische Kinderspiele", *Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen*, vol. 13, Abt. 2, Berlin 1910, 107–40, here 120f.; PankSoc 145f., 290; SAHLU KIDANE, *Borana Folktales: a Contextual Study*, London 2002, 81, 122f., 127; JACK STAUDER, "Notes on the History of the Majangir and their Relations with other Ethnic Groups of Southwest Ethiopia", in: *PICES* 3, 104–15; VSAe I, s. index; VSAe II, s. index, VSAe III, s. index.

Dirk Bustorf

Monneret de Villard, Ugo

M. (b. 16 January 1881, Milan, d. 4 November 1954, Rome) was an Italian archaeologist, art historian and epigrapher with a keen interest in ancient Christian and Islamic ↗architecture, as well as in the cultural relationships between East and West from late Antiquity to the Middle Ages and beyond. He began his career as an engineer, graduating in 1904 at the Politecnico in Milan, where he habilitated in 1908, and thereafter taught medieval architecture until 1924.

Before World War I, he had already initiated the characteristic "comparative" approach to western medieval art – initially in the wake of Joseph ↗Strzygowski – that was to inspire his scholarship for the years to come. In order to assess the coeval developments in the Near and Middle East, he then started extensive travelling: from the Balkans and Constantinople to Syria, Mesopotamia and ↗Egypt. Here, in 1921–28, he carried out research and excavations on behalf of the Italian Ministry of Foreign affairs, his main interest being early Coptic art and its Greek origins vs. local traditions and external (Syrian) influences (e.g., Monneret de Villard 1923, 1925–26, 1928 and 1930).

On the same official basis, from 1929 to 1934, he directed six excavation campaigns for the systematic exploration of Christian ↗Nubia (between the first and the second cataract) and its medieval monuments – which resulted in a major series of publications, and in two still fundamental historical monographs (Monneret de Villard 1935–57, 1938a and 1941).

In January–March 1937, entrusted by the Italian government with organizing the transfer to Italy of the fallen broken Aksumite obelisk (↗stelae) that was re-erected in Rome and remained there until 2005 (when it was returned, once again cut into three pieces), he was able to conduct an archaeological survey of ↗Aksum, and to gather what information he could from the military about the removal of monuments and pottery during the construction work undertaken by the new Italian colonial administration. This opportunity, in turn, afforded him the idea of producing a collection of sources (up to contemporary times) on the historical topography of the site that is still a standard work in the field (Monneret de Villard 1938b, but cp. Littmann 1939). He also briefly excavated the rock-hewn church of ↗Yäkka Mika'el near Addis Abäba (Monneret de Villard 1941).

Thereafter, M. concentrated on European library and archive material, implementing the publication of the enormous amount of information he had been gathering during his travels and expeditions. Along with those issued posthumously, he penned more than 200 articles and books in a wide variety of topics, showing

a constant attention to the European Middle Ages, and extending to the artistic traditions of Babylon and ↗Iran (with special emphasis on the Sasanian period and Manichaeism), the Hellenistic and Roman heritage in Buddhist central Asia and Kuṣāṇa ↗India (Id. 1948b), the formation of Islamic art until the fall of the ʿUmayyad dynasty (Id. 1966), the knowledge of Islam in the West during the 12th–13th cent. (Id. 1944), and the origins and fortunes of the eastern legends on the Three Kings (↗Magi, s. Id. 1952).

Ugo Monneret de Villard in 1898; photo from Augenti 2001:8, fig 1.

M.'s Ethiopian perspective (summarized, e.g. in Id. 1950c) was quite original for his time, albeit partially influenced by the peculiar insights of Joseph Marquart, and is still to be fathomed and furthered. Local tradition was always considered by him both within the framework of the Christian and Islamic Orient (Id. 1948b) and against the background of the civilizations of Asia Anterior and India and their impact on the historical and artistic development of East Africa as a cultural unit (↗Horn of Africa; s. Id. 1938c, 1940 and 1943b) – as many aspects of which he had an accomplished knowledge, profitably shared with such outstanding Orientalists and friends as ↗Conti Rossini, ↗Cerulli, ↗Tisserant and esp. Giorgio Levi della Vida (1886–1967), to mention only a few.

M.'s interests in Ethiopian matters included, thus, ↗architecture, ↗painting (miniatures), ↗liturgy and religious history (Id. 1935 and 1937; 1939a, 1945 and 1947b; 1942c and 1950b; 1942a, 1942b, 1943a, resp.), in all of which he underscored the survival, up to medieval and early modern times, of ancient features revealing a most peripheral and conservative historical model (for ↗inscriptions s. Id. 1939b and 1940; cp. also ↗Syrian influences). Of special relevance for Ethiopian studies, too, is M.'s edition and commentary of the 14th-cent. itinerary to the Holy Land by the Italian pilgrim Jacopo da Verona (Id. 1950a).

A much respected but isolated scholar throughout his life, also as a bitter opponent of Fascism, M. had no permanent academic position. He was appointed lecturer in Christian Archaeology at the University of Rome for the year 1943–44 alone. In 1950, however, he received the national prize of the Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, of which he was then also awarded the most prestigious membership (as a "socio nazionale"). A street is named after him in Milan.

His valuable personal library and archive were bequeathed to the Biblioteca di Archeologia e di Storia dell'Arte at Palazzo Venezia (Rome). The "Fondo Monneret de Villard" comprises a large amount of important and rare books and off-prints on Oriental art and archaeology, along with sketches, drawings and photographs, mostly by M. himself, as well as notes and preparatory material for his large corpus of published and unpublished works.

Src.: ANGELO M. PIEMONTESE, "Bibliografia delle opere di Ugo Monneret de Villard (1881–1954)", in: LORETTA DEL FRANCIA (ed.), *Studi in onore di Ugo Monneret de Villard*, vol. 1, Roma 1987 (= RSO 58, 1984), 1–12 (Lit.). In particular: UGO MONNERET DE VILLARD, *La scultura ad Ahnâs. Note sull'origine dell'arte copta*, Milano 1923; ID., *Les couvents près de Sohâg (Deyr el-Abiad et Deyr el-Ahmar)*, 2 vols., Milano 1925–26; ID., *Deyr el-Muḥarraqah. Note archeologiche*, Milano 1928; ID., *La necropoli musulmana di Aswān*, Cairo 1930; ID., *La Nubia medioevale*, vols. 1–2, Cairo 1935, vols. 3–4, Cairo 1957; ID., "Un tipo di chiesa abissina", *Africa Italiana* 6, 1935 [1938], 83–91; ID., "L'origine dei più antichi tipi di chiese abissine", in: *Atti del 3° Congresso di Studi coloniali. Firenze – Roma 1937*, Roma 1937, vol. 4, 137–51; ID., *Storia della Nubia cristiana*, Roma 1938a [repr. 1962] (OrChrA 118); ID., *Aksum. Ricerche di topografia generale*, Roma 1938b (Analecta Orientalia 16); ID., "Note sulle influenze asiatiche nell'Africa Orientale", *RSO* 17, 1938c, 303–49, here 306–09, 321–31; ID., "Note sulle più antiche miniature abissine", *Orientalia* nova ser. 8, 1939a, 1–24; ID., "Per una nuova iscrizione greca ad Aksum", *Oriente Moderno* 19, 1939b, 520; ID., "L'iscrizione etiopica di Ham e l'epigrafia meroitica", *Aegyptus* 20, 1940, 61–68; ID., *La Nubia romana*, Roma 1941a; ID., "La chiesa monolitica di Yākkā Mikāʾēl", *RSE* 1, 1941b, 226–33; ID., "Problemi sulla storia religiosa dell'Abissinia", *Rassegna sociale dell'Africa Italiana* 5, 1942a, 583–91; ID., "La coronazione della Vergine in Abissinia", *La bibliofilía* 44, 1942b, 167–75; ID., "Su una possibile origine delle danze liturgiche nella Chiesa abissina", *Oriente Moderno* 22, 1942c, 389–91; ID., "Perché la Chiesa abissina dipendeva dal Patriarcato di Alessandria", *ibid.* 23, 1943a, 308–11; ID., "I minareti di Mogadiscio", *RSE* 3, 1943b, 127–30; ID., *Lo studio dell'Islām in Europa nel XII e nel XIII secolo*, Città del Vaticano 1944 (Studi e

Testi 110); ID., "Miniatura veneto-cretese in un codice etiopico", *La bibliofilía* 47, 1945, 1–13; ID., "Mosè, vescovo di Adulis", in: *Miscellanea Guillaume de Jerphanion*, Roma 1947a [= OrChrP 13], vol. 2, 613–23; ID., "La Madonna di Santa Maria Maggiore e l'illustrazione dei Miracoli di Maria in Abissinia", *Annali Lateranensi* 11, 1947b, 9–90; ID., "ʾAksūm e i quattro re del mondo", *ibid.* 12, 1948a, 125–80; ID., "Le monete dei Kushana e l'Impero romano", *Orientalia* nova ser. 17, 1948b, 205–45; ID. (ed.), *Liber Peregrinationis di Jacopo da Verona*, Roma 1950a (Il Nuovo Ramusio 1); ID., "Sulla festa del Battesimo in Abissinia", *RALmor* ser. 8ª, 5, 1950b, 513–25; ID., "Etiopia: Antichità cristiane", in: *Enciclopedia cattolica*, vol. 5, Città del Vaticano 1950c, 702–08; ID., *Le leggende orientali sui Magi evangelici*, Città del Vaticano 1952 (Studi e Testi 163); ID., *Introduzione allo studio dell'archeologia islamica: le origini e il periodo omayyade*, ed. by OLEG GRABAR, Venezia – Roma 1966 [repr. 1968].

Lit.: ANDREA AUGENTI, "Per una storia dell'archeologia medievale italiana: Ugo Monneret de Villard", *Archeologia medievale* 28, 2001, 7–24 (Lit.); RANUCCIO BIANCHI BANDINELLI, *Dal diario di un borghese*, Milano 1962, 370; MASSIMO BERNABÒ, *Ossessioni bizantine e cultura artistica in Italia. Tra D'Annunzio, fascismo e dopoguerra*, Napoli 2003 (Nuovo Medioevo 7), 208, 239; MARIO BUSSAGLI, "Ricordo di Ugo Monneret de Villard", in: ID. et al. (eds.), *Studi in onore ...*, vol. 3, Roma 1988 (= RSO 60, 1986), 1–2; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Pubblicazioni etiopistiche dal 1936 al 1946", *RSE* 4, 1944–45, 1–132, here 25ff., 29f., 33–36, 77f. nos. 127–29, 136–37, 141, 152, 171, 172*bis*, 176, 178–84, 439f.; ERNST KÜHNEL, "Ugo Monneret de Villard (1881–1954)", *Ars Orientalis* 2, 1957, 627; GIORGIO LEVI DELLA VIDA, "Bibliography of the Writings of U.M.d.V.", *ibid.* 628–33; ID., "La morte di Monneret de Villard, studioso insigne dell'arte orientale", *Il Nuovo Corriere della Sera*, 6 November 1954, 3; ID., "Ugo Monneret de Villard", *RSO* 30, 1955, 172–87; ENNO LITTMANN, [review of Monneret de Villard 1938a], *Orientalia* nova ser. 8, 1939, 391–98; ETTORE ROSSI, "Ugo Monneret de Villard", *Oriente Moderno* 34, 1954, 587–90.

Gianfranco Fiaccadori

Monnier, Paul Robert

M. (b. 12 June 1888, St. Quentin, France, d. 11 November 1939, Ǧantola, Ethiopia) was an officer engaged in the liberation of Ethiopia. The son of a pastor of the Reformed Church, after studies at the university and military service at the *Chasseurs Alpins*, he worked as a journalist and in the import-export business to Morocco. In 1914, when World War I was declared, he was re-enlisted in the *Chasseurs Alpins*, remaining in the army until 1924. Back in civil life, he worked as a business man and, at the same time, for the Secret Service.

In 1937, M. accepted to become a military counsellor of the Basque president Aguirre and as such participated in the Spanish Civil War on the Republican side. In Spain, he met the British author George Lowther Steer, whom he met again in France in 1939, at the time leading a campaign in support of French–British aid to *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I. Steer introduced M. to ↗Loränso Taʾəzaz, engaged in the defense of the Ethiopian cause in Europe. Loränso Taʾəzaz suggested M. to accompany him to Ethiopia. With the agreement of the French authorities, who were interested in evaluating the situation of the Ethiopian resistance and finding out which kind of aid could be accorded, M. accepted to go.

At the beginning of August 1939, M., Loränso Taʾəzaz and others met in Sudan and crossed the border into Ethiopia. They were welcomed by Ethiopian resistants and facing the heavy rains the group split in two. Loränso Taʾəzaz headed to Goǧǧam. In October, M. and his comrades managed to cross the Atbara, the north of the Bägemdər and on 19 October reached Ǧantola, near the Täkkäze and north-east of Gondär. Despite being ill, M. rushed to organize a general upraisal, but died on 11 November. Buried in the compound of the church of Ǧantola, his body was transferred in 1963 to the ossuary of Massawa, erected for the soldiers of the ↗Brigade d'Orient, who died for the liberation of Ethiopia. Nonetheless, the plan "Monnier-Lorenzo" was later on applied successfully by Colonel Sandford and Orde ↗Wingate during the liberation of Ethiopia.

Lit.: HERVÉ DESPLANCHES, "Il comandante Robert Monnier (1888–1939) patriota e Don Chiciotte", *Studi Piacentini* 21, 1997, 155–89; YVES JOUIN, "Le commandant Robert Monnier, héros de la guerre 1914–1918, organisateur de la résistance éthiopienne", *Revue historique de l'Armée* 4, 1971, 38–49; HENRI LABROUSSE, "Le commandant Robert Monnier, héros et organisateur de la résistance éthiopienne (1939)", in: *PICES* 9, 141–51; PAUL-ALAIN PRIGENT, "La mission du commandant Monnier", *Les Nouvelles d'Addis* 2, 12 November 1997, 9.

Alain Rouaud

Monophysitism

Etymologically, M. refers to a christological doctrine confessing one single nature (μόνος, *mónos*, 'single', φύσις, *phýsis*, 'nature') of Christ after the union of divinity and humanity. Historically the opponents of the two-natures doctrine of the council of ↗Chalcedon in 451 ("one person or hypostasis in two natures") were called monophysites; these Christians, namely the Copts, Syrian Orthodox (↗"Jacobites", West-Syrians), Armenians, Ethiopians, Syro-Orthodox Malankars, i.e. members of the so-called Old

Oriental or Oriental Orthodox Churches took the *mía phýsis* formula (μία φύσις τοῦ θεοῦ λόγου σεσαρκωμένη, 'one incarnated nature of the God Logos') as their central Christological formula. The term probably came into use only at the end of the 6th cent. (testimonies: 601/02 Lat. *monophysitae* in Gregory the Great, *Epistolae* XI 52 and XII 16, s. DH 478; in the 7th cent. Gr. μονοφυσίτης (*monophysítēs*) in Anastasius of Sinai, *Viae dux*, CCG 8, Index); before, they were called Severians (after ↗Severos of Antioch), Theodosians (after Theodosios of Alexandria), *Diakrinómenoi* ('Hesitants'), or in a pejorative sense Eutychians (after Eutyches). In a heresiological context M. means mostly a Eutychian opinion ("commixtion of divinity and humanity, Christ is not consubstantial with us") or, more generally, a position where, in any union of divine and human, the human part is dominated or engulfed by the divine one.

1. A problematic concept

Representatives of the Oriental Orthodox Churches today strongly reject to their being called Monophysites; in a heresiological respect, the term is in fact an incorrect description of their Christological position because the term insinuates that they confess a mono-nature in Christ. Confessing, however, that "our Lord's divinity and humanity are united in one nature", by "nature" these Churches understand not a simple but a composite nature, "in which divinity and humanity are united without division and without confusion" (Vienna Christological declaration of 29 August 1976, cf. Grillmeier 1987:335, n. 48). Therefore, it has been suggested as more appropriate to use the names Miaphysites or anti-Chalcedonians for the adherents of these Churches, since the *mía phýsis* formula and the rejection of the two natures doctrine of the council of Chalcedon are constituent for them.

M. wishes to emphasize the unity in Christ, starting from Jn 1:14 ("the Word became flesh"). Crucial is the concept of "nature" in the confession of one nature in Christ. ↗Cyril and his followers hold the concept of a nature that is existent only in a *hypóstasis* ("there is no *phýsis* without *hypóstasis*"). *Phýsis* and *hypóstasis* are synonymous for them in ↗Christology, although in a trinitarian context they distinguish these concepts following the Cappadocian Fathers (the divinity is one *phýsis* and three *hypostáseis*). On the other hand, the distinction of the concepts of *phýsis* and *hypóstasis* is presupposed in the definition of Chalcedon. For Cyril the distinction of the two natures after the union is possible only in thought (ἐν θεωρίᾳ μόνῃ); his follower Severos of Antioch opposed any possibility of duality after the union. Since the human nature in Christ has its existence in the divine *hypóstasis* of the Logos, most of the anti-Chalcedonians deny that the humanity of Christ can be called a *phýsis*. From a Chalcedonian point of view, however, with the *mía phýsis* formula, due to its Apollinarian background (s. paragraph 2 below), there remains some danger of undervaluing the humanity of Christ and of overstating the dominance of the God Logos.

2. Main representatives in the 5th and 6th cent.

A distinction has been made between a) a heretical "real M." and b) a "verbal M." which can be interpreted in an orthodox sense (i.e. Christ is confessed as real human being; cp. Lebon 1909).

(a) Here Eutyches and Eutychian groups rank (i.e. extremists attacked by Timothy Aelurus, s. Grillmeier 1996). The origin of real M. is seen with Apollinarius of Laodicea. He is also the author of the *mía phýsis* formula, which circulated through Apollinarian frauds and was taken up by Cyril of Alexandria, erroneously thinking that the formula was coined by ↗Athanasius (s. ACO I 1, 5:65, 25–30; PG 76, 1212AB; resp. PG 76, 349B; ACO I 1, 7:48, 28–33). The unity of divinity and humanity in Christ is understood by Apollinarius as a vital union determined by the Logos: just like the human being is a unity of body and soul, so Christ is seen as a unity of flesh (*sarx*) and Logos, whereby the Logos is the replacement of the human soul (eventually also the *noûs*). From the doctrine of Eutyches the anti-Chalcedonian Churches, as well as Dioscorus after 449, kept their distance.

(b) There are many theological schools of "verbal M.", all of them accepting ↗Cyril of Alexandria as the unrestricted authority. Severos purged the Cyrillian Christology aiming at strict *mía phýsis* doctrine (Grillmeier 1995). A special Christological idea was developed by Philoxenus with his concept of the incarnation as "God's becoming without change" (A. de Halleux). Julian of Halicarnass and his doctrine of aphtharsia caused a schism of the anti-Chalcedonians. The formula "one composite nature" (μία φύσις σύνθετος) of Christ and the synonymy of "nature" and *hypóstasis* was substantiated, based on Aris-

totelism, by John Philoponus in the 6th cent.; as a result, his nominalistic terminology led to tritheism.

3. The development of separate ecclesiastical hierarchies

Soon after the council of Chalcedon, ↗Jerusalem and Alexandria were the centres of resistance against its decisions. After the deposition of the Alexandrian patriarch Dioscorus in Chalcedon, the Chalcedonian Proterius held the office until his assassination in 457. Though he was at first Patriarch of Alexandria only for a short time (457–60), Timothy Aelurus also had great influence (not only in Egypt) also during his exile, when the Chalcedonian Timothy Salophakiolus (460–75, 477–82) was patriarch in Alexandria; in 475, Timothy Aelurus could return as patriarch until his death in 477. Again the Chalcedonian Timothy Salophakiolus became patriarch, but from the end of 482 till 538, all the Alexandrian patriarchs were opponents of Chalcedon. In the disorders between Theodosios and the Julianist Gaianus (in 535), emperor Justinian I took the initiative and appointed the Chalcedonian Paul of Tabennesi (ordination in 538) as patriarch, and other Chalcedonian (so-called Melkite) patriarchs succeeded. But Theodosios was thought to be the leader of the anti-Chalcedonians even during his exile in Constantinople until his death in 566; therefore, from 538 onwards, there were two Alexandrian hierarchies. The supporters of the Chalcedonian patriarchs were limited in number in Alexandria, and could be found especially in the upper classes. The anti-Chalcedonians, on the other hand, were split into many sub-groups until the ↗Coptic Church grew strong under the leadership of ↗Damian and ↗Benjamin.

In Antioch, however, Chalcedonian patriarchs were in office during the first 20 years after Chalcedon, without struggles. The situation changed, when in 470/71 Peter the Fuller with a strong miaphysite tendency (he introduced the so-called theopaschite addition "which was crucified for us" into the Trishagion) prevailed for the first time as an anti-Chalcedonian patriarch. During 471–85, Chalcedonian and anti-Chalcedonian patriarchs alternated, under grave riots. At the beginning of his last term (485–88), Peter the Fuller consecrated the Persian theologian Philoxenus, Bishop of Mabbug in 485 (cp. ↗*Filkəsyos*). Philoxenus's pertinacious agitation led finally to the deposition of Flavian of Antioch in 512 and to the installation of Severos. With the beginning of the Chalcedonian restoration under emperor Justin (after 518, deposition of Severos) a persecution of the anti-Chalcedonians started; the Severian hierarchy was nearly destroyed and existed only underground. In 543 the Arab vassal Ḥāriṯ (↗Arethas) went to empress Theodora in order to ask that the Alexandrian exile Theodosios should ordain two bishops for the anti-Chalcedonians, ↗Jacob Baradaeus and Theodore of Arabia. The restless activity of Jacob Baradaeus (from Alexandria up through Mesopotamia and Constantinople) led to the re-construction of an anti-Chalcedonian hierarchy, parallel to the dioceses held by Chalcedonians (hence "↗Jacobites") (around 557 ordination of Sergius as Patriarch of Antioch). The ordination of Aḥudemmeh by Jacob was the beginning of an anti-Chalcedonian hierarchy in Mesopotamia (later maphrianate).

In Armenia, the influence of Syriac anti-Chalcedonians at the Synod of Dvin (506) caused a negative attitude regarding Chalcedon, which was aggravated at the 2nd Synod of Dvin (555) under the influence of Syriac Julianists. Byzantine attempts for union (in 590/91, 633, 653 and 690) failed. After 719 the anti-Chalcedonian movement was consolidated in Armenia. For the development in Armenia, as also in Alexandria and Syria, the political and national opposition to Byzantium was an important factor.

↗Nubia joined the anti-Chalcedonian movement, on account of a missionary expedition sent by empress Theodora, and remained a Christian state till the Muslim conquest in 1323 and even later.

4. Ethiopia and Monophysitism

With the consecration of bishop Frumentius (*abunä* ↗Sälama Käśate Bərhan) by ↗Athanasius of Alexandria (328/29) the foundation of an orthodox (Nicaean) Christianity was laid. With the translation of the ↗*Qerəllos*, a Cyrillian pre-Chalcedonian and, simultaneously, an anti-Nestorian Christology became influential for theological and religious thinking in Ethiopia. Besides this Alexandrian influence and a strong Jewish or O.T. background, in Ethiopia also Syriac theological ideas had their impact.

In the progress of time, influenced by the ↗Nine Saints and other similar groups of immigrants or refugees from the eastern provinces of the ↗Byzantine Empire, the Ethiopian Church, dependent on Alexandria, joined the anti-Chal-

cedonian position of the Coptic Church (for events around 480 s. Grillmeier 1996:303 n. 33, and esp. Fiaccadori 2006:65 and nn. 104f.). However, in the war with the Ḥimyarites during the early 520s, king ↗Kaleb was obviously ready to co-operate with the Chalcedonian emperors Justin I and Justinian I, in order to protect persecuted Christians (↗Nağrān).

In Ethiopian symbols and ↗anaphoras, the baptism of Jesus has an important role (*Mäṣḥafä ↗bərhan*, s. CRRicBerhan; *Confessio Claudii*, s. LudHist 237–41). This may be due to ↗Syriac influence (Philoxenus of Mabbug; s. Grillmeier 1996:355–62). Yet, in Ethiopian liturgy Jesus's baptism was more deeply underscored than in Syrian anaphoras.

The strong emphasis upon Jesus as the Messiah is linked with the idea of anointment. This topic was already introduced with the *Qerəllos* and Philoxenus of Mabbug, which in the 17th cent. and later caused the debates on the unction of Christ (↗*Qəbat*; s. also ↗*Karra*, ↗*Ṣägga*, ↗*Täwaḥədo*; Grillmeier 1996:341–55).

Controversial formulas (such as the *mía phýsis* formula or the theopaschite addition to the Trisagion) are rare and used without polemic. Historical knowledge of the Christological controversies often remains incomplete (*Mäṣḥafä ↗məṣtir*), Chalcedon is rejected (↗*Mäzgäbä haymanot*).

In the liturgy, one can find throughout a Christology "from above" or with an emphasis on the divinity of Christ. Despite some one-sidedness in Ethiopian anaphoras, it is not necessary to assume therein M. (but, e.g., influences of apocryphal original-state teaching of Jewish origin). There is no absorption of Jesus's humanity into divinity in Ethiopian liturgy, as is witnessed by the references to the mysteries of the life of Jesus or the refusal of the teaching of Julian of Halicarnassus (Grillmeier 1996:381–88).

5. Efforts for union and dialogue

Efforts for union took place again and again, but did not succeed: like emperor Zeno's edict Henotikon in 482, or the negotiations with the Severians in 532 under emperor Justinian I. The council of Constantinople in 553 was not able to win the opponents of Chalcedon, just as two edicts (similar to the Henotikon) by emperor Justin II. The unions under the formula *mia energeia* (Monenergetism, Monotheletism) in Alexandria and Armenia in the 7th cent. did not last long.

Only after 1970 efforts for dialogue finally led to bilateral Christological declarations between Oriental Orthodox Churches and the Roman Catholic Church, and also multilateral declarations on Christology between the Oriental Orthodox and the Eastern Orthodox Churches, the Reformed World Alliance and the Anglican Church.

↗Christology; ↗Ecumenical dialogue; ↗Nicaea

Src.: ENRICO CERULLI, *Scritti teologici etiopici dei secoli XVI–XVII*, II: *La Storia dei Quattro Concili ed altri opuscoli monofisiti*, Città del Vaticano 1960 (Studi e Testi 204), 76–98; CRRicBerhan; LudHist 237–41; ALBERT VAN ROEY – PAULINE ALLEN, *Monophysite Texts of the Sixth Century*, Louvain 1994 (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 56); EDUARD SCHWARTZ (ed.), *Acta conciliorum Oecumenicorum*, Berlin – Leipzig 1924, vol. 1, part 1, 5:65, 25–30, 7:48, 28–33 [= ACO]; BERND MANUEL WEISCHER (ed., tr.) *Qērellos* I – IV.

Lit.: PAULINE ALLEN, "Monophysiten", in: GERHARD KRAUSE – GERHARD MÜLLER (eds.), *Theologische Realenzyclopädie*, vol. 23, Berlin – New York 1994, 219–33; HEINZGERD BRAKMANN, "Axomis", in: *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum* Suppl. 1, 1992, 718–810; BrakAksum; ROBERTA C. CHESNUT, *Three Monophysite Christologies: Severus of Antioch, Philoxenus of Mabbug, and Jacob of Sarug*, Oxford 1976; GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, "Gregentios in the Land of the Homerites", in: ALBRECHT BERGER (ed., tr.), *Life and Works of St. Gregentios, Archbishop of Taphar*, Berlin 2006 (Millennium-Studien, 7), 48–82, here 65 and nn. 104–05; WILLIAM HUGH CLIFFORD FREND, *The Rise of the Monophysite Movement*, Cambridge 1972; ALOIS GRILLMEIER, *Jesus der Christus im Glauben der Kirche*, vol. 2, parts 1, 2, 4, Freiburg 1986, 1989, 1990 [= ID., *Christ in Christian Tradition*, vol. 2, parts 1, 2, 4, London 1987, 1995, 1996]; ALOIS GRILLMEIER – THERESIA HAINTHALER, *Christ in Christian Tradition*, vol. 2/4, London 1996, 292–388, THERESIA HAINTHALER, "La foi au Christ dans l'Église éthiopienne: une synthèse des éléments judéo-chrétiens et helléno-chrétiens", *Revue des sciences religieuses* 71, 1997, 331–39; ANDRÉ DE HALLEUX, *Philoxène de Mabbug*, Louvain 1963; JOSEPH LEBON, *Le monophysisme sévérien*, Louvain 1909; ID., "La christologie du monophysisme syrien", in: ALOIS GRILLMEIER – HEINRICH BACHT (eds.), *Das Konzil von Chalkedon*, vol. 1, Würzburg 1951, ⁵1979, 425–580; DIETMAR W. WINKLER, *Koptische Kirche und Reichskirche. Altes Schisma und neuer Dialog*, Innsbruck 1997, 202–337.

Theresia Hainthaler

Montandon, George Alexis

M. (b. 19 April 1879, Cortaillod, Switzerland, d. 1944, 3 or 30 August 1944, Clamart, France) was an anthropologist and explorer. The son of a well-established family from Neuchâtel, he studied medicine at Geneva and Zurich. Later, he travelled to Hamburg and London, where he decided to become explorer.

In 1909, M. went to Ethiopia (Montandon 1913a:7). He arrived in Addis Abäba via Djibouti

by the end of 1909, being received by a sick *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II and *ras* ↗Täsämma Aśmärom. After a two-months stay in the capital he travelled for eleven months through the south-western regions of Ǧimma, Gimira and Illubabor. He left Ethiopia in July 1911 through Dərre Dawa and Djibouti, settling in Renens, near Lausanne. His main work, describing his Ethiopian explorations, appeared in 1913 (1913a). Anchored in the history and anthropology of Gimira, it was one of the most extensive and precise reports of the area at the time. M. also did some cartographical research, and many of his sketches and photographs as well as information he transmitted on the travel situation and on everyday life in Addis Abäba are of historical interest. His experience on the ground as well as the documents he had gathered in Ethiopia opened the gates to several geographical societies in England, France, Italy and Switzerland for him.

Thereafter, M. lived in Russia, Switzerland and Paris, where he was to work at the Musée d'Histoire Naturelle and the Musée Broca. He also turned into a vociferous advocate of racial theories (ethno-racism, eugenism) and a fierce antisemite, and befriended Louis-Ferdinand Céline. Having collaborated with the Nazis, he was reportedly killed by the Résistence.

Src.: GEORGE MONTANDON, "Le Ghimirra", *La Géographie, Bulletin de la Société de Géographie Paris* 25, 1912a, 1–20; ID., "A Journey in South-Western Abyssinia", *Geographical Journal* 40, 1912b, 372–92; ID., "Traversée du Massif Éthiopien (du désert Somali à la plaine du Soudan, 1909–1911)", *Le Globe* 51, 1912c, 1–17; ID., "Au pays Ghimirra (Récit de mon voyage à travers le massif éthiopien)", *Bulletin de la Société Neuchâteloise de Géographie* 22, 1913a, 1–424; ID.,"Viaggio nell'Etiopia di sud-ovest. Conferenza tenuta al Collegio Romano il 26 gennaio 1913 dal dottore Giorgio Montandon di Neuchâtel", *Bollettino de la Società Geografica Italiana, Roma* 50, 1913b, 1417–28; ID., *L'esclavage en Abyssinie. Rapport rédigé à la demande de la Ligue Suisse pour la Défense des Indigènes*, Genève 1923.

Lit.: ALFONS RITLER, "Der Neuenburger Arzt George Montandon (1879–1944) und sein Reisebericht von 1913 über Äthiopien", in: ANNE MAYOR – CLAUDIA ROTH – YVAN DROZ (eds.), *Sécurité social et Développement – Soziale Sicherheit und Entwicklung*, Hamburg 2005 (Le forum suisse des africanistes/Werkschau Afrikastudien 5), 253–63.

Alfons Ritler

Monumental painting ↗Painting

Monumentum Adulitanum

The M.A., so named by its *editor princeps* Leone Allacci (Allatius 1631), is a twofold Greek ↗inscription engraved on a basalt tablet or stela (*eikṓn*) and a nearby white marble ↗throne (*díphros*) both once visible in ↗Adulis "at the town's entrance, to the western side, looking upon the way to ↗Aksum", as our only source, ↗Cosmas Indicopleustes, puts it (ed. Wolska-Conus 1968:365 [II, 54]). The M.A. survives in the copy made by him and his fellow trader Menas "at the beginning of the reign of the Roman emperor Justin [I, 518–27]", i.e. sometime around 518 or 523 (for the chronology s. Fiaccadori 2006:61ff.). They actually mistook two different texts for a single one – then inserted as such, with some further information, into Cosmas's *Topographia Christiana*, written ca. 547–49 (ed. Wolska-Conus 1968:371–79 [II, 58–63]). Here, a late antique illumination transmitted in medieval garb (the earliest ms. of the work is a 9th-cent. one; for the text tradition s. now Schneider 2006) features a simplified map of Aksumite ↗Ethiopia on which the inscribed stela and throne are also portrayed (Wolska-Conus 1968:367; s. ill.). The M.A. was copied by the two merchants at the request of Adulis's governor Asbâs (whose figure does fit the usual pattern of the "ports of trade"), in turn complying with an order by *nəguś* ↗Kaleb ƎllÄ Aṣbəḥa who was then "setting to wage war against ↗Ḥimyar" (ed. Wolska-Conus 1968:369 [II, 56]), as a reaction to the anti-Christian persecutions started in ↗Arabia (↗Naǧrān) by King Ḏū Nuwās (↗Yūsuf As'ar Yaṯ'ar).

First distinguished by Henry Salt, the two inscriptions forming the M.A. are the so called *Adulitana I*, by the *basiléus mégas* ("great king") of Egypt Ptolemy III Euergetes (246–21 B.C.), and the acephalous *Adulitana II*, by a ruler of Aksum (in no way an Adulite ruler) whose names and title must have stood at the beginning, the text lacking thereby any indication as to his identity. Both documents bear witness to the fortunes of Greek language and culture in Ethiopia, the *Adulitana I* being the oldest known Greek inscription of this country: it records, with some exaggerations, Ptolemy's Asiatic deeds (Dittenberger 1903:86 n. 15; Hauben 1990:30 and nn. 19–20); by hinting at "Trogodyte [i.e. Nubian] and Ethiopian ↗elephants", it confirms the well-known interests of the Lagid dynasty in the Red Sea and, especially, its western shore with the port of Adulis (↗Egypt).

More significant for the Horn of Africa in general and Ethiopia and Eritrea in particular is the *Adulitana II*, on the sculptured throne. Marked by an evident imitation of Ptolemy, and somehow conceived as a rhetorical *hypolepsis* or 're-

sumption' of the previous one (even in its excessive pride), this inscription remarkably complements the more formal ↗Greek literature and ↗historiography of Ethiopia with concrete first hand information about ancient geography, ethnography, climatology, orography, hydrography and demography in those parts of the Horn.

Clearly influenced by both the Roman tradition of the emperor's *res gestae* and the typically Greek concept of civil progress as opposed to the barbarity of people dwelling in unliveable places is the anonymous king, who narrates there in the first person his successful military enterprises, on account of which he had been able to extend his dominion on to both sides of the Red Sea. Most of the "nations" (*éthnē*) he claims to have conquered – and then "pacified", again in the Roman imperial tradition – are now difficult to trace, in spite of his descriptions of the respective lands and positions, or the almost contemporary scholia to the text, with a few more details in terms of 6th-cent. equivalents and/or explanations of the ethnonyms involved: e.g., *Tigrêtes* for "the tribes near Adulis", which might imply, by then, the earliest mention of (greater?) ↗Təgray (s. Fiaccadori 2004:117f.), and not of ↗Təgre speakers (as in Lusini 2006:451f.).

Stela and throne bearing the text(s) of the *Monumentum Adulitanum* within a map of Adulis and the kingdom of Aksum that is oriented to the south (Red Sea stream on the left); 9th-cent. illumination, ms. Vat. Gr. 699, fol. 15v; courtesy of the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Città del Vaticano

According to this "gazetteer" of the king's conquest, the people first defeated by him were all living around Aksum: among others, the Gázē and the Agáme and Samêne, i.e. the ↗Agᶜazi and the eponymous tribes of ↗ᶜAgamä and ↗Səmen (a scholion reads here: "Gázē are the Aksumites, and until these days they call themselves Agazē [Agazi]"). Next he vanquished the people "to the (north and) west as far as (*méchri*) the lands of ↗Aithiopía and Sasou", i.e. the (north-)western limits of the Ethiopian highland; and then the people "to the (south and) east as far as (*méchri*) the land of Aromatics" (↗Incense), i.e. today's ↗Somalia. Eventually, he crossed the Red Sea and subdued a few parts of Arabia, "from Leukē Kōmē", possibly al-Waǧḥ (not far from Petra), "to (*héōs*) the land of the Sabaeans", a formula (with *héōs* vs. *méchri*) implying that the latter was excluded. After his victories, he "come down" (*katêlthon*) to Adulis to "offer a sacrifice to Zeus and ↗Ares and to Poseidon for the (sake of the) sea-faring folk", and dedicated a throne "as a pledge to Ares", his "august god Ares", i.e. ↗Mäḥrəm of the Ethiopian pantheon (by then, already a dynastic deity, as later on for ↗ᶜEzana). This was "in the 27th year of [the king's] reign".

The ruler of the *Adulitana II* has been variously identified – with ↗Zoskales (or a king before him), ↗GDRT, ↗Sembrouthes or ↗Endybis – and dated from the 2nd to the 4th cent. A.D. (s. Pedroni 1997a:92, 102 and 1997b:20–34, 43; lastly, Munro-Hay 2002:234f., arguing for around the period of ↗ᶜEzana). Yet, as recently established, no Aksumite campaign against Egypt is alluded to therein but by a syntax misunderstanding of a passage in the Greek text (ed. Wolska-Conus 1968:375 [II, 60], to be in fact translated: 'Having subdued Atalmô and Begá, and all the tribes of the Tangaïtai with [i.e. allied to] them, who dwell as far as [*méchri*] the bounds of Egypt, I had them walk on the road [leading] from the ter-

ritories of my kingdom as far as [*méchri*] Egypt'), so that the late-3rd cent. chronology and the relevant "Palmyrene connection" can be definitely ruled out (Fiaccadori 2004:113–16). The *terminus post quem* of the "conquest" of ↗Meroë in ca. 260 or 269 A.D. should also be discarded, due to the erroneous equation of the text's *Aithiopía* to "↗Nubia" (ibid. 117f., 125–28). Other proposals, with reference to the 4th cent., are too vague and uncertain to be taken into serious consideration.

The expansion of Aksum as finally summarized in the *Adulitana II* follows a consistent development pattern that – owing to a stronger impact of Greek or Graeco-Roman elements – led from the "commons" (*plêthos*) to the "state-city" (*pólis*) of Aksum and its rising from among other contemporary small scale or petty kingdoms of the Ethiopian highland, all then subject to the Aksumite sovereignty (ibid. 132–40). Such a unification process under a unique rule was achieved by the anonymous king in about a quarter of a century, through subsequent military operations and annexations of the neighbouring people and countries: from the nearby highland zones to the farther coast regions and, beyond the sea, well into Arabia, up to touching on the boundaries of Saba – a point of special interest to *nəguś* Kaleb, clearly seeking a precedent for vindicating his own expedition.

In accordance to the South Arabian epigraphic evidence, such a geographical and historical picture would suggest dating the *Adulitana II* prior to the tenure of Śaʿir Awtar, the king of Saba and Dū Raydān (ca. 210–30 A.D.) under whom the conflict burst between Sabaeans and Aksumites, formerly allied against Ḥimyar. At the time of his predecessor ʿAlhān Nahfān (ca. 200–10 A.D.), the Ethiopians seem to be "new comers" to South Arabia (Robin in PICES 8, vol. 2, 150). A chronology to the end of the 2nd or the very beginning of the 3rd cent. is therefore most fitting for this portion of the M.A. (s. Desanges 1984:257ff.; Schneider 1987:609; Anfray in EtRicci 23; FHN III, 948, 953). Also, it rather favours the identification of the anonymous king with Sembrouthes, whose Greek inscription of ↗Däqqämḥare, from "the 24th year of [his] reign", shows a few striking similarities with the M.A. as a whole: namely, a general Hellenistic bias, the imitation of Ptolemy (as revealed by the use of the title *basiléus mégas*), the vaunt of the king in comparison with his predecessors, the dating system and the high number of regnal years are many common features. If so, Sembrouthes's inscription could refer to one of the (north-)western campaigns recorded, three years later, in the *Adulitana II*.

Src.: LEO ALLATIUS, *Ptolomaei Euergetae III Aegypt. Regis monumentum Adulitanum*, Romae 1631; FRIEDRICH WILHELM KARL DITTENBERGER, *Orientis Graeci inscriptiones selectae*, Lipsiae 1903 (Supplementum Sylloges inscriptionum Graecarum I), 84–88 and 284–96, nos. 54 and 199; DAE I, 42 (tr.), cp. 44; FHN III, 948–53, no. 234; BENJAMIN HENDRICKX, *Official Documents Written in Greek Illustrating the Ancient History of Nubia and Ethiopia (3rd Century B.C.–6th Century A.D.)*, Johannesburg 1984 (Monumenta Afro-Hellenica 1), 15–23 and 35–45, nos. 1 and 5; WANDA WOLSKA-CONUS (ed., tr.), *Cosmas Indicopleustès, Topographie chrétienne*, vol. 1, Paris 1968 (Sources chrétiennes 141), 364–79 [II, 54–64] and 72–79 [scholia], cp. 117–23 [Lit.]; RIÉ I, 375–78 and 378–82 (text) = RIÉ IIIa, 26–32 and 32–45 (tr.), nos. 276 and 277 [based on Wolska-Conus 1968; Lit.]; H.W. PLEKET – R.S. STROUD – J.H.M. STRUBBE (eds.), *Supplementum epigraphicum Graecum*, vol. 42 (1992), Amsterdam 1995, 480, nos. 1646 and 1647 [review of RIÉ I, nos. 276f.].

Lit.: CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Egitto ed Etiopia nei tempi antichi e nell'età di mezzo", *Aegyptus* 3, 1922, 3–18, here 10f.; CRStor 121, 123ff.; JEHAN DESANGES, *Recherches sur l'activité des méditerranéens aux confins de l'Afrique (VIe siècle avant J.-C. – IVe siècle après J.-C.)*, Rome 1978 (Collection de l'École française de Rome 38); ID., "Rome et les riverains de la mer Rouge au IIIe siècle de notre ère. Aperçus récents et nouveaux problèmes", *Ktema* 9, 1984 [1987], 249–260, here 257ff.; FRANCIS ANFRAY, "Considérations sur quelques aspects archéologiques des relations de l'Éthiopie et de l'Arabie antiques", in: *EtRicci* 17–25, here 23; GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, "Sembrouthes 'gran re' (*DAE* IV 3 = *RIÉth* 275). Per la storia del primo ellenismo aksumita", *La Parola del Passato* 59, 2004 [2005], 103–57, here 107–11, 113–18, 120–22, 125–40 [Lit.]; ID., "Gregentios in the Land of the Homerites", in: ALBRECHT BERGER (ed., tr.), *Life and Works of Saint Gregentios, Archbishop of Taphar*, Berlin 2006 (Millennium-Studien 7), 48–82, here 61ff.; HANS HAUBEN, "L'expédition de Ptolémée III en Orient et la sédition domestique de 245 av. J.-C. Quelques mises au point", *Archiv für Payrusforschung* 36, 1990, 29–35, here 30 and nn. 18–20; GIANFRANCESCO LUSINI, "The Early History of Eritrea: A New Perspective", in: PIER GIORGIO BORBONE et al. (eds.), *Loquentes linguis. Studi linguistici e orientali in onore di Fabrizio A. Pennacchietti*, Wiesbaden 2006, 447–54, here451f.; MHAksum 42, 46, 56, 222f.; STUART MUNRO-HAY, *Ethiopia, the Unknown Land. A Cultural and Historical Guide*, London – New York 2002, 234f.; LUIGI PEDRONI, "Sembrouthes 'il grande': un bilancio critico", *RSE* 41 1997a [1998, but 1999], 89–106, here 92; ID., "Una collezione di monete aksumite", *Bollettino di Numismatica*, ser. I 15, I–II [28–29], 1997b [1998, but 2000], 7–147, here 20–34, 43; HORST SCHNEIDER, "Kosmas Indikopleustes, Christliche Topographie. Probleme der Überlieferung und Editionsgeschichte", *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 99, 2006 [2007], 604–14; ROGER SCHNEIDER, "Notes sur les inscriptions royales aksumites", *BiOr* 44, 1987, 599–616, here 609; YÛZÔ SHITOMI, "A New Interpretation of the *Monumentum Adulitanum*", *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko* 55, 1997, 81–102.

Gianfranco Fiaccadori

Moon

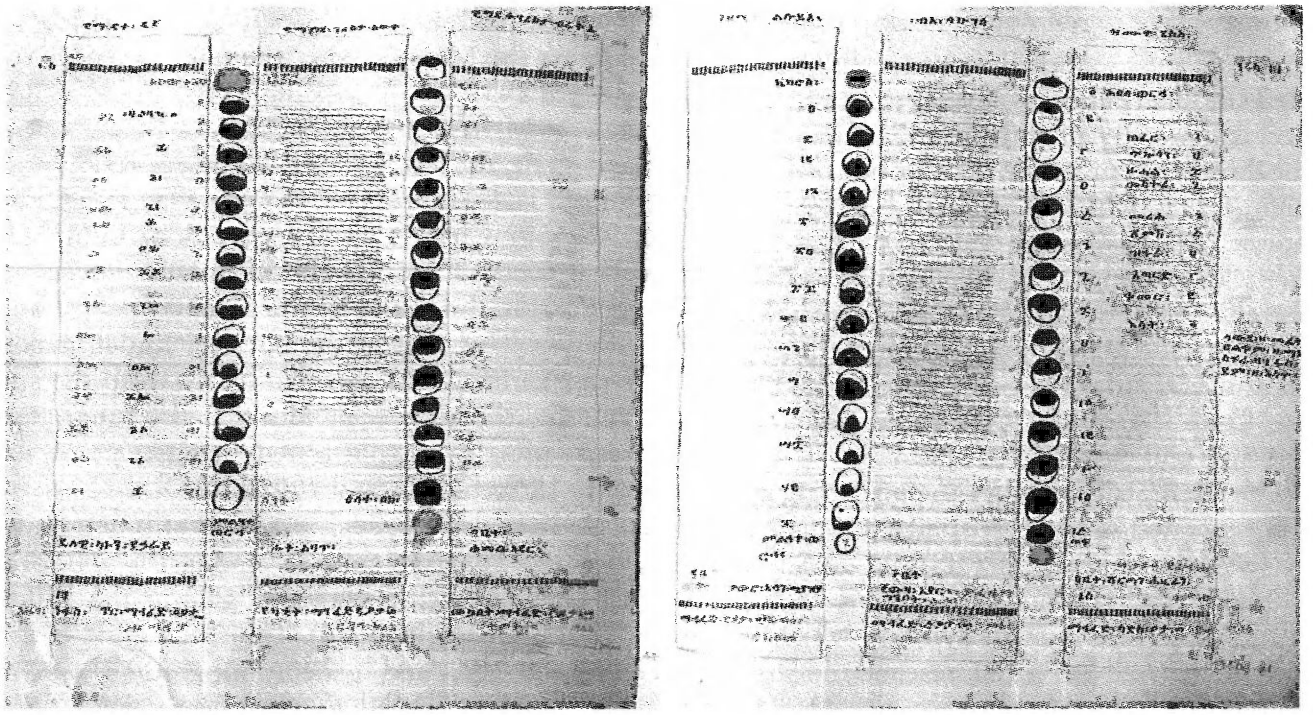
Practices and symbols attached to the M. permeate Ethiopian cultures. At least one pragmatic aspect is shared by all of them: at Ethiopian latitude the bright illumination of the moon facilitates night travel, which is especially desirable in the hotter regions (Levine 1965:65). Three analytical fields are central: (1) the references to the M. and the Sun in the Christian and Jewish thought, literature and art; (2) observation of the lunar cycle for ↗calendar reasons among some Cushitic and Omotic groups; (3) the M. in the cultures of peasants and pastoralists.

The attempts to identify the main Sabaean deities venerated in pre-Christian Ethiopia with the M. (↗Almaqah and ↗HWBS) and the Sun (↗Dāt Ḥimyam) seem dubious and are rejected now by specialists. Although the symbol, which is usually interpreted as "The Crescent and the Sun", appears on some ↗stelae (e.g., in ↗Mäṭära, cp. Kropp in WenDAE 323f.) and other monuments, it is not possible to connect it with any concrete deity, and its meaning remains unclear.

(1) The divinely promised royal legacy of the House of David, and its transfer to the ↗Solomonic dynasty of Ethiopia, is symbolized as being "ordained like the moon forever" (Ps 89, 37; cf. Budge 1932:120). The Sun and M. became symbols for the eternity of god-given kingship (Lepage 1986–87:64; VSAe II, 13; ↗Kingship, divine). Crucifixion scenes in Christian art often included the sun, the stars and the M. on top of the ↗cross (Chojnacki 1977:58; Museum für Völkerkunde Wien 1964, Kat. 38, 108; Lepage 1986–87:66, fig. 4; Lepage 1992:141; Balicka-Witakowska 2004:432). The sun may appear as a darkened eclipse and the M. as a blood-red disc, which underlines the eschatological setting of the crucifixion (Balicka-Witakowska 2004:436f.; for an example s. Jäger 1957, pl. 12). The Book of ↗Enoch is a further important text that contributed to the esoteric status of the M. in Christian and Jewish contexts (Caquot 1992; Leslau 1951:33, 153). In the Jewish context the M. is seen as "the light of darkness" (Leslau 1951:33). According to the Book of Enoch the M. has four names: Aśonyā, Eblā, Benāśe, and Eraᶜe, the last deriving from *yārēᵃḥ* (Hebrew 'moon') used in the O.T. (Leslau 1951:153; Uhlig 1984:659). Chs. 72–82 of the Book of Enoch are an astronomic treatise on the annual movement of the sun, the phases of the M. and the cycles of months. This part of the book of Enoch makes a case in favour of conciliation between the sun year and the M. year, an idea that also found representation in an illustrated manuscript of the early 18th cent. (Caquot 1992:130).

(2) In the south, such practices still determine local calendar systems, as among the ↗Boorana-Oromo (AsmGada) and among the Mursi (Turton – Ruggles 1978). The ritual cycle of the Boorana age- and generation grading system (↗*Gadaa*) is related to the observation of the wax and waning of the M. (Bassi 1988; Anneesa Kassam 1999). ↗ᶜAfar and ↗Somali developed similar capacities for observation, but adopted the Islamic lunar year (Paulitschke 1896:224, 265; VSAe II, 579). Oromo elaborated aspects of the lunar observation into a complex system of classification, with different names for several stages of the M. (*ǧiʾa*, also 'month'). The richest vocabulary is documented for the Boorana. The first four days are called *baatii* ('new moon, crescent', which stands among Muslim Oromo also for the notion of Arabic *hilāl* in the Islamic tradition); from the 5th to the 13th day the M. is *addeessa* ('white moon'); the 14th day is *qonč̣ora*; the 15th *goobana* ('full moon'); the 16th is *dukkana duro* ('waning moon, first darkness'), followed from the 17th to the 28th day by *dukkana* ('darkness'); the 29th day is *dukkana diba duda* ('covered by darkness'), and the 30th day is *luho* (Leus 1995:95 et passim). A related *guyyaa loʾoo* ('day of the cattle', i.e. the day when only the cattle sees the M.) was found among the Alabdu (VSAe II, 579). The historical

The "Crescent and the Sun symbol" on an incense burner of the pre-Aksumite period, Yəḥa; photo January 2006, courtesy of Maria Bulakh



Lunar phases in a ms. containing calendaric treatises, 19th cent., Č̣äläqot Śəllase, Təgray; photo 2000, courtesy of Michael Gervers

relation of the Boorana experts for the observations of the lunar cycles (the *ayyaantuu*) with the archaeological site of an ancient observatory at Namoratunga in Northern Kenya, is an open issue (Asfaw Beyene 1995:58).

(3) Strength and fertility are particular cultural tropes. Among the Amhara, the M. was seen as a powerful agent, the commander of an army of stars and an epitome for ruling nobility (Levine 1965:65; Crummey 1980:135). In the name of "Gobäna" (Orom. *goobana,* 'full moon', Arab. *badr*) the Oromo replicated the imagination of the M. as a strong-man (CerFolk 171). Among the ↗Dime, the full M. was considered as "a man," while the small M. was seen as a good mother, associated with rain and fertility (VSAe I, 257). Among the Amhara the sun contributed the seedlings and the M. caused the crops to grow (Levine 1965:65). The wax and waning of the M. found a reflection in folk-theories and tales (s., for example, LitPEA vol. 2, 65f.; VSAe II, 593). Oromo focus linguistic tropes and proverbs about fate and moral knowledge on aspects of the M. (CerFolk 45; Cotter 1990, passim; Biiroo Aadaa fi Beeksisa Oromiyaatti 1996, passim). Among Somali the M. was perceived as been covered by large woods, whereby the leaves of the trees represented the human beings. Each fallen leaf marked the end of a human being (Paulitschke 1896:224).

↗Abäqte

Src.: ERNEST ALFRED WALLIS BUDGE (tr.), *The Queen of Sheba and her Only Son Menyelek (I)*, London 1932²; GEORGE COTTER (tr.), *Salt for Stew: Proverbs and Sayings of the Oromo*, Debre Zeit 1990; WOLF LESLAU, *Falasha Anthology*, New Haven, CT – London 1951, 33, 153; TON LEUS, *Borana Dictionary: a Borana Book for the Study of Language and Culture*, Schijndel 1995; SIEGBERT UHLIG, *Das äthiopische Henochbuch*, Gütersloh 1984 (Jüdische Schriften aus hellenistisch-römischer Zeit 5, Apokalypsen), 659.

Lit.: ANNEESA KASSAM, "Ritual and Classification: a Study of the Booran Oromo Terminal Sacred Grade Rites of Passage", *BSOAS* 62, 3, 1999, 484–503; ASFAW BEYENE, "Oromo Calendar: the Significance of Bita Qara", *Journal of Oromo Studies* 2, 1–2, 1995, 58–64; AsmGada; EWA BALICKA-WITAKOWSKA, "Pictorial Tərgʷame on the Crucifixion. An Ethiopian Drawing in the Bodleian Library", in: *StudAeth* 431–42; MARCO BASSI, "On the Borana Calendrical System: a Preliminary Field Report", *Current Anthropology* 29, 4, 1988, 619–24; BIIROO AADAA FI BEEKSISA OROMIYAATTI, *Mammaaksa Oromoo* ('Oromo Proverbs'), vol. 1, Finfinnee 1996; ANDRÉ CAQUOT, "Le Livre d'Henoch", in: *Musée national des arts d'Afrique et d'Océanie, Le roi Salomon et les maîtres du regard. Art et médecine en Éthiopie*, Paris 1992, 129–30; CerFolk 45; STANISŁAW CHOJNACKI, "Two Ethiopian Icons", *African Arts* 10, 4, 1977, 44–47, 56–61, 87; DONALD CRUMMEY, "Abyssinian Feudalism", *Past and Present* 89, 1980, 115–38; VSAe I-II; GEORGE WYNN BRERETON HUNTINGFORD, "The 'Wealth of Kings' and the End of the Zague Dynasty", *BSOAS* 28, 1, 1965, 1–23; OTTO JÄGER (ed.), *Aethiopische Miniaturen*, Berlin 1957; MANFRED KROPP, "Die Stele von Matara", in: *WenDAE* I, 321–28; CLAUDE LEPAGE, "Prototypes de deux tetraevangiles du XIVᵉ siècle a cycle court des trois miniatures", *Abbay* 13, 1986–87, 59–75; ID., "L'art pictural antérieur au XVIᵉ siècle", in: *Musée national des arts d'Afrique et d'Océanie, Le roi Sa-*

lomon et les maîtres du regard. Art et médecine en Éthiopie, Paris 1992, 140f.; LevWax; ENNO LITTMANN – DANIEL KRENCKER, *Vorbericht der deutschen Aksumexpedition*, Berlin 1906; LitPEA vol. 2, 65f.; MHAksum; *Christliche Kunst aus Äthiopien und Nubien. Ausstellung im Museum für Völkerkunde, Wien, 11. März bis 3. Mai 1964*, Wien 1964; PHILIPP PAULITSCHKE, *Ethnographie Nordost-Afrikas*, vol. 2: *Die geistige Kultur der Danâkil, Galla und Somâl*, Berlin 1896; DAVID TURTON – CLIVE RUGGLES, "Agreeing to Disagree: the Measurement of Duration in a Southwestern Ethiopian Community", *Current Anthropology* 19, 3, 1978, 585–600.

Thomas Zitelmann

Mooti

M. is a title used in most ↗Oromo kingdoms for the ruler. Probably derived from the Oromo word *mowuu* ('defeat, rout, win a victory over', TilDic 467f.), the word can best be translated to English as 'king'. The institution of ↗kingship and the establishment of kingdoms (sg. *mootummaa*, ibid.) among the Oromo developed from about the beginning of the 19th cent. (and even earlier, s., for example, ↗Amuma) as a series of local leaders defeated their rivals and consolidated their power over districts of varying size (e.g., ↗Gomma, ↗Guummaa, ↗Limmu Ǝnnarya, ↗Ǧimma Abbaa Ǧifaar, ↗Leeqaa Naqamtee or ↗Wälläga). The title itself was already used much earlier, as attested by the ancient example of the legendary ↗"Motälämi" (*mooti* Lämi?), who probably lived around the 13th cent.

Cerulli (CerEt vol. 2, 100) defines M. by contrasting it with ↗*hayyuu*, an office of the ↗*gadaa* system. He states that the title of M. is hereditary, while *hayyuu* are elected from a privileged clan. Yet, according to Haberland (VSAe II, 345), *hayyuu*, although formally elected, in his time often *de facto* inherited their office as well.

Among the Otu-↗Guğği, the M. was one of the four *gadaa* leaders subsumed under the term *hayyuu*, which included the *gadaa*, the *ğaldaba*, the *hooka* and the M. Like the other three *hayyuu*, a new M. of the Otu had to be confirmed and blessed during a collective pilgrimage of the *gadaa*-class then in power to the ↗*abbaa muudaa* of Alabdu, and was thus permitted to wear the ↗*kallačča* as a symbol of dignity. Among the ↗Guduru and ↗Leeqa, "M." was the title of the chief war leader originally part of the *gadaa* system. Despite his field of responsibility, he did not participate in the war personally (VSAe II, 345f.).

According to Cerulli's (CerEt vol. 2, 100) hypothesis, the egalitarian Oromo immigrants to the western territories were influenced by the features of kingship of the pre-Oromo inhabitants in that they developed the Oromo office of M. into that of a monarch. The legitimate wives of kings in the Gibe kingdoms, for example, bore the title *genne* or, in the case of the first spouse, *gennefa* (cp., e.g., ↗Genne Gummiti, i.e. 'Lady from/of Guummaa'). Cerulli holds that this title derived from the political terminology of pre-Oromo kingdoms of the region (cp. Käfa, *genne*, fem. of *genno*, 'lord', from *gan*, 'to own'), as it was the case with the title *donaččo* or *donzo* (e.g., in Anfillo, Käfa, Šakačo) for the heir to the throne (CerEt vol. 2, 101; LewJimm).

However, pre-Oromo influences are not sufficient to explain the evolution of states among the "republican" western Oromo. Besides certain features of pre-Oromo kingship being adopted, the Oromo had themselves developed socio-political stratification in addition to the egalitarian *gadaa*-system. Since political affiliation was not mainly based on corporate kinship or descent, wealthy land owners (↗*abbaa lafaa*) and, especially, successful war leaders who held the titles of ↗*abbaa bokkuu* or ↗*abbaa dulaa* could gather huge followings and accumulate power. By taking booty, acquiring land and distributing it to allied peasants/tenants, some of them were able to gain complete control over their own domains. Such mighty individuals and founders of petty states then often adopted the title of M., which became hereditary in the following generations (cp. Lewis 1964:140ff.).

Holders of the title of M. in a phase of transition from a "republican" to a hereditary system were, for instance, Abbaa Faro, the father of ↗Abbaa Magaal and founder of the historical nucleus of the kingdom of Ǧimma, ↗Abbaa Maale of Oboo, ↗Abbaa Gomol I of Limmu Ǝnnarya. Examples of important M. were ↗Gama Moras of Guduru, ↗Bakaree Godana of ↗Naqamtee, his son ↗Moroda and ↗Ǧootee Tulluu of Leeqaa Qälləm. Abbaa Gifaar II, king of Ǧimma, to whom his subjects referred to as *gooftaa* ('lord', probably adopted from Gurage *goyta*, s. CerEt vol. 2, 73f.), styled himself as ↗*sulṭān* on his royal seals, and by that showed a different Islamic understanding of Oromo kingship.

Src.: TilDic 467f.

Lit.: CerEt vol. 2; GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, "Aethiopica minima", *Quaderni utinensi* 7 [13–14], 1989 [1993], 145–

55, here 145f., 152ff. ["Motalāmi/Moti Lāmi"]; MHasOr; LewJimm 26–41; HERBERT SAMUEL LEWIS, "A Reconsideration of the Socio-Political System of the Western Galla", *JSS* 9, 1964, 139–43.

Herbert S. Lewis – Dirk Bustorf

Mora

M. (ሞራ, Arab. موره, Mūra) was a Muslim city or state in the north of ↗Ifat near ↗Awsa (HuntGeogr 91f.; PankBord 41; s. the map for Ifat) mentioned in an Arabic document on the early Šäwan sultanate (Cerulli 1941) and in the Chronicle of *aṣe* ↗ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon I.

The Arabic source (Cerulli 1941:8, 31) mentions that in 1264/65, the ruler of M. (*ṣāḥib Mūra*) was defeated and killed by ↗Dilgāmis, a ↗Maḫzūmī *sulṭān* of Šäwa; the war lasted until 1266/67, and it is not clear whether M. was completely incorporated in the Šäwa sultanate. In 1285, when ᶜAlī b. Wālī Asmaᶜ deposed the former Maḫzūmite *sulṭān* in Eastern Šäwa and made the ↗Walašmaᶜ the ruling dynasty in that area, he also took power over the neighbouring Muslim states M., ↗ᶜAdal, Hobät and ↗Gidāya, the invasion of M. taking place in 1288 (cf. Cerulli 1941:9, 13; TrIslam 58, 62). Since then, the destiny of M. was apparently bound to that of Ifat but nevertheless it seems that a certain degree of independence was still possessed by M.

The Chronicle of *aṣe* ↗ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon I speaks of M. making an alliance with ᶜAdal against ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon who defeated them (KrAmdS 16 [text]; MarAmdS 76, 78). Furthermore (KrAmdS 19 [text]; MarAmdS 82), M. is mentioned as one of the seven "big countries" (*ahgur ᶜabbäyt*) that unsuccessfully attacked ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon. The Chronicle also says that the Emperor managed to camp in M. after having first crossed Awaš and then another big river called Yas (KrAmdS 24 [text]; MarAmdS 92). In 1332, M. under the guidance of its king (*nəguś*) was again one of the partners of the great Muslim coalition that clashed with ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon I and was eventually defeated (KrAmdS 27 [text]; MarAmdS 98; TadTChurch 138). M., then, probably became a tributary to the new ruler of Ifat, ↗Ǧamāladdīn II b. Dalḥūy b. Manṣūr (TadTChurch 138, 141). After the decline of Ifat in the beginning of the 15th cent. there are no further records on M.

Src.: ENRICO CERULLI, "Il sultanato dello Scioa nel secolo XIII secondo un nuovo documento storico", *RSE* 1, 1941, 5–42 [repr. in: *CerIslam* 207–43]; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI (tr.), *Vitae sanctorum indigenarum*, I. *Acta Marqorewos*, Louvain 1904 (CSCO 34 [SAe 17]), 24; KrAmdS 16, 19, 24, 27, 29 (text) = 21, 23, 28, 32, 34 (tr.), n. 145, 160, 207, 308; MarAmdS 76–79, 82f., 92f., 98f., 102f., s. index.
Lit.: HuntGeogr 91f.; PankBord 41; TadTChurch 128, 138, 141; TrIslam 58, 62, 72.

Ronny Meyer

Morät

M. (ሞረት) is a historical district in lowland Šäwa, situated mostly in the *qʷälla* climatic zone. One of the home areas of the ↗Amhara, it is bordered by the Šäwa Meda plateau in the south, river Ǧämma and ↗Ǝnsaro in the south-west, and ↗Tägulät and ↗Märḥabete in the east and north-east. The natural western boundary was formed by the Bärsäna river, the Addäbay river limiting it from the north. In the pre-1974 administrative division it formed a *wäräda* of the Tägulät and Bulga *awraǧǧa*.

M., or rather its lower parts, are believed to have been Christianized during the 13th–14th cent. The area was the scene of the missionary activities of *abunä* ↗Täklä Haymanot, his disciples and *abunä* ↗Yaᶜəqob. In particular, ↗Zena Marqos is credited with the foundation of the important monastery of ↗Däbrä Bəśrat (also known as Däbrä Zena Marqos) in M.

M. was a district traditionally governed by the local hereditary rulers. In the late 17th cent., the period of M.'s flourishing, probably Ṭəddu (called in the Šäwan tradition "the King of *qʷälla*") built up connections with the Amhara Christian Ǝnsaro lowlands to the west, towards ↗Däbrä Libanos, pushing back the Oromo of ↗Sälale, and probably getting some influence among the Oromo in the Gərar area. However, today the plateau of the central M. is inhabited predominantly by the Ǧerru Oromo.

During the Šäwan expansion under ↗Asfa Wäsän M. was one of the few regions, along with Märḥabete, to offer resistance. When Asfa Wäsän suppressed the rebellion of his generals Nəgde and Marəyye, killing the latter, the former found refuge in M. and united forces with the M. ruler Ṭəddu to fight the Šäwans. However, the forces were inferior and Ṭəddu had to submit.

Shortly after the death of *märədazmač* ↗Wäsän Sägäd, the hereditary chiefs of M. and Märḥabete reasserted their independence for a while, Ṭəddu's son Ḫaylu taking over the reign in M. When *nəguś* ↗Śahlä Śəllase rose to power, he reunited the kingdom. His clashes with Ḫaylu were particularly hard, the area of Däbrä Zena

Marqos was devastated. The church was later rebuilt by ↗Mənilək II.

Even under Šäwan domination the hereditary rule in a certain form remained. The governor appointed in 1841 over M. was Ḫaylu's son Bisäwwər (whereas Märəd Ḫaylu was given Ǝnsaro). Śahlä Śəllase's first wife was Bäzzabbəš, Ṭəddu's granddaughter.

In 1870 Mənilək, then *nəguś* of Šäwa, made M. his stronghold, establishing a fortress at Ǝnnäwari.

Src.: BTafA, s. index; ENRICO CERULLI (ed., tr.), *Gli Atti di Zēnā Mārqos, monaco etiope del sec. XIV,* vol. 1, Città del Vaticano 1962 (Studi e Testi 219), 191–212; IsKrapf 290, 300; GueCopMen 62ff., 112, 321, 525, 532; DENIS NOSNITSIN, "'A History that was Found': a Recent Chapter in the Historiography of Däbrä Libanos", *Africana Bulletin* 54, 2006, 11–30; BORYSSUS TURAIEV, *Vitae sanctorum indigenarum.* II. *Acta S. Aronis et S. Philippi,* Louvain 1908 (CSCO 30, 31 [SAe 13, 14]), 198 (text) = 179 (tr.).

Lit.: EgeClass 27ff., 31, 43f., 148f., 165, 176, 217 (Lit.); HerTar 94ff.; VOLKER STITZ, "Distribution and Foundation of Churches in Ethiopia", *JES* 13, 1, 1975, 11–36, here 17f., 22; StStud 85f., 93–96, 108f.; TadTChurch, s. index.

Evgenia Sokolinskaia

Mordini, Antonio

M. (b. 14 February 1904, Barga, Lucca, d. 3 December 1975, Barga) was an Italian ethnologist and civil servant who made an important contribution to Ethiopian studies, chiefly by conducting archaeological, architectural and art historical field research in northern ↗Ethiopia (↗Təgray) and ↗Eritrea.

A scion of a family of fervent socialists and patriots (his homonymous grandfather, involved with Masonry, was Giuseppe Garibaldi's "prodictator" in Sicily), M. participated in Gabriele D'Annunzio's march on Fiume (1920), and later, in Benito Mussolini's march on Rome (1922).

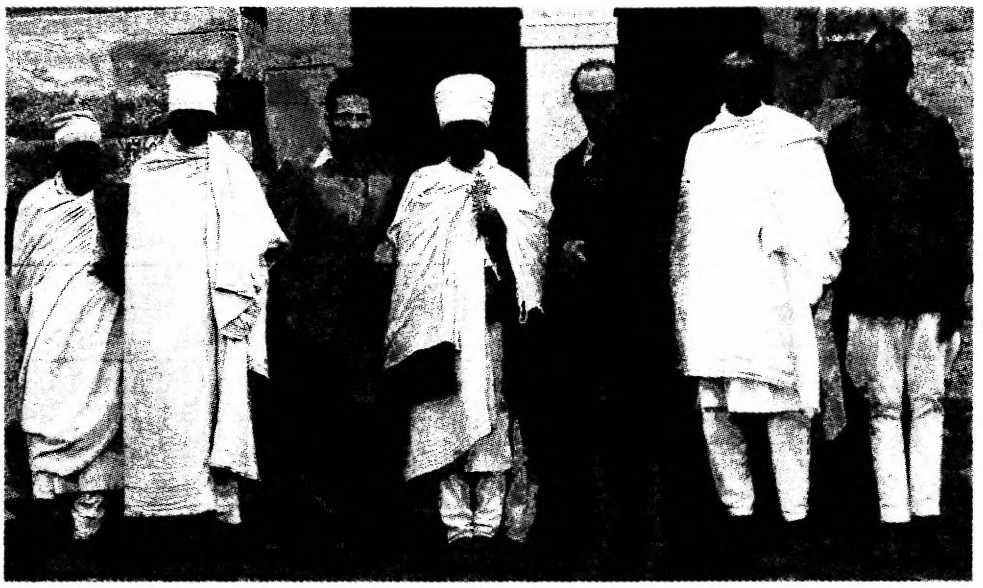
He graduated from Florence University in ethnology and archaeology, and attended courses in Berlin and in Sweden. In 1926, he started his scholarly activities, initially focusing on South America. Then his interest shifted toward Africa and the Persian Gulf. In 1932, together with Lidio Cipriani, he directed the expedition of the ↗Società Geografica Italiana to Fezzān, in Italian-controlled Sahara. After the occupation of Ethiopia, in 1936–37, M. joined the government ethnological mission to this country. In 1937 he was part of the demographic mission of the Ministero dell'Africa Italiana in Eritrea. From 1939 to 1944, M. was the head of the Ethnographic services (also for archaeological enquiries and restorations) of the ↗Africa Orientale Italiana, acquiring then a first-hand knowledge of the country and its monuments. From 1941 to 1943 he served as "editorial secretary for the Africa Orientale Italiana" of the ↗*Rassegna di studi etiopici.*

During the war and the subsequent British administration, M. became a personal councillor of Amedeo di ↗Savoia, Duke of Aosta. In this capacity, he was entrusted with protecting the Italian population. He succeeded in establishing good relationships with Emperor ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I, the latter insisting on a personal meeting during a visit to Italy in the 1960s.

Besides providing information and materials, not only photographic, to other scholars, thus adding to their collections and publications (this being the case, e.g., with Carlo ↗Conti Rossini for the parchment fragments from ↗Däbrä Damo, or with Georg Gerster for this and other early churches of ↗Təgray), M. wrote a number of essays and minor notes (including a series of entries for the *Enciclopedia Italiana di Scienze, lettere e arti*) in which the results of his research on the Ethio–Eritrean region are presented.

His scholarly activity focused mainly on late antique and medieval monuments, with particular attention towards their preservation (hence his emphasis on such perishable parts as wooden doors and carvings). His records are, therefore, of special value for our knowledge of the history, art and architecture of important Ethiopian churches and monasteries: first and foremost, Däbrä Damo – for which he established a friendly co-operation with architect Derek H. Matthews – and ↗Gundä Gunde. He was in fact the first European scholar to provide detailed descriptions of these and other important sites, where he had undertaken basic restorations during his tenure in the Ethnographic services. His inventory of the ↗manuscripts of Gundä Gunde is still the most important source of information on the monastery's once richest library in Ethiopia.

His private collection of manuscripts (first described by M. himself, with the aid of Enrico ↗Cerulli), was acquired in 1994 for the Biblioteca Palatina of Parma (and is being catalogued there). Among others, it boasted such precious pieces as a 14th-cent. prier book (ms. Parm. 3845), a 15th-cent. copy (the oldest one) of the Ethiopic version of the *Shepherd* of ↗Hermas (Parm. 3842), a 17th-cent. painter's book (3853), a 17th–18th cent. collection of ↗*Sälam* (3848–49), all from Gundä



Antonio Mordini (third from right) at Däbrä Damo, with an assistant, monks and *mämhər* Gäbrä Mädḫən Yared; photo 1939, courtesy of the family

Gunde. By 1994, however, a few significant pieces had been long since dispersed on the market: e.g., a famous 16th-cent. illuminated copy of the Vitae of ↗Ǝsṭifanos and ↗Abäkäräzun (from Gundä Gunde, no. 103 of M.'s own inventory), which became the property of Lady Diana Spencer, and entered later the New York Public Library (Spencer Collection, Eth. ms. 7).

Noteworthy also are M.'s contributions to Aksumite numismatics. His collection of Ethiopian coins (ca. 120 in 1947), coming from his excavations or purchased from locals, merged later into that of Claudius Côte (Lyon), which was then bequeathed to the ↗Bibliothèque nationale (de France), where it is now kept in the Cabinet des médailles (Girola 2006:482 and n. 80).

Src.: CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "I. Pergamene di Dabra Dāmmó", *RSO* 19, 1940, 45–57; GerKir² [with contributions by M.]; DEREK H. MATTHEWS – ANTONIO MORDINI, "The Monastery of Debra Damo, Ethiopia", *Archaeologia* 97, 1959, 1–58; ANTONIO MORDINI, "Etnografia e fatti culturali", in: *Il Sahara Italiano*, I: *Fezzān e oasi di Gat*, Roma 1937, 449–91; ID., "Stato attuale delle ricerche etnografiche (cultura materiale) nell'Africa Orientale italiana", in: *Atti del III Congresso di Studi coloniali (Firenze – Roma, 12–17 aprile 1937)*, vol. 6, Firenze 1937, 149–59; ID., "La chiesa ipogea di Ucrò (Ambà Seneitì) nel Tigrai", *Gli Annali dell'Africa Italiana* 2, 2, 1939, 519–26; ID., "Un'antica porta in legno proveniente dalla chiesa di Gunaguna (Scimezana, Eritrea)", *RSO* 19, 1941, 105–07; ID., "Un riparo sotto roccia con pitture rupestri nell'Ambà Focadà", *RSE* 1, 1941, 54–60; ID., "Informazioni preliminari sui risultati delle mie ricerche in Etiopia dal 1939 al 1944", *ibid.* 4, 1946 [1947], 145–54; ID., "Il soffitto del secondo vestibolo dell'Endā abuna Aragāwi in Dabra Dāmmó", *ibid.* 6, 1947, 29–25; ID., "Discussione sul tema: Il contributo della scienza italiana alla conoscenza delle popolazioni dell'Africa Orientale", in: *Atti del Terzo Convegno di Studi Africani. Firenze 3–5 giugno 1948*, Firenze 1948 (Università degli Studi di Firenze. Centro di Studi Coloniali 38), 123–27; ID., "Su di un nuovo titolo regale aksumita", *RSE* 8, 1950, 7–11; ID., "Un'antica pittura etiopica", *ibid.* 11, 1952 [1953], 29–32; ID., "Il convento di Gunde Gundiè", *ibid.* 12, 1953 [1954], 29–63; ID., "La chiesa di Aramò (con considerazioni sulla datazione dei monumenti dell'arte religiosa etiopica)", *ibid.* 15, 1959 [1960], 39–54; ID., "Un tissu musulman du Moyen Âge provenant du couvent de Dabra Dāmmò (Tigrai, Éthiopie)", *AE* 2, 1957, 75–79; ID., "Appunti di numismatica aksumita", *ibid.* 3, 1959, 179–83; ID., "La chiesa di Baraknaha, nello Scimezana", *ibid.* 4, 1961, 131–38; ID., "I tessili medioevali del convento di Dabra Dāmmò", in: *PICES* 1, 229–48; ID., "Gli aurei Kushāna del convento di Dabra Dāmmò. Un'indizio sui rapporti commerciali fra l'India e l'Etiopia nei primi secoli dell'èra volgare", *ibid.* 249–54; ID., "L'église rupestre de Woqro-Maryâm (Amba Seneiti) au Tigré", *Éthiopie d'aujourd'hui* 6–7, 1962, 27–34; ID., "L'architecture chrétienne dans l'Éthiopie du Moyen-Age: un programme de recherche", *Cahiers d'études africaines* 2, 5, 1962, 166–71; ID., "Uno sconosciuto capolavoro dell'arte etiopica: il soffitto di Dabra Damò", *Antichità viva* 1, 8, 1962, 29–35; ID., "Architecture éthiopienne au Moyen Age", in: KLAUS WESSEL (ed.), *Christentum am Nil. Internationale Arbeitstagung zur Ausstellung «Koptische Kunst» (Essen, Villa Hügel, 23.–25. Juli 1963)*, Recklinghausen 1964, 53–58; ID., "Indagini sul convento di Gunde Gundiè e su problemi di storia medioevale etiopica", in: *Mélanges Eugène Tisserant*, vol. 3, Città del Vaticano 1964 (Studi e Testi 233), 85–111; ID., *La reconnaissance et la préservation des anciennes églises éthiopiennes*, Lucca 1964 (Materiali per lo studio del Medioevo etiopico 1); ID., "Un crucifix en bois sculpté provenant du monastère de Dabra Dāmmò (Tigrai oriental, Ethiopie)", in: DAVID COHEN (ed.), *Mélanges Marcel Cohen. Études de linguistique, ethnographie et sciences connexes ...*, The Hague 1970 (Janua linguarum, Ser. major 27), 441–43.

Lit.: LEONARDO FARINELLI et al., "I manoscritti etiopici di Antonio Mordini alla Biblioteca Palatina", *Malacoda* 57 [10, VI], 1994, 11–28, esp. 24–27 [GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, "I manoscritti etiopici di Antonio Mordini"] and 27f. [UMBERTO SERENI, "Brevi cenni sulla vita di Antonio Mordini"]; RODOLFO FATTOVICH, *Lineamenti di storia dell'archeologia dell'Etiopia e della Somalia*, Napoli 1992 (Annali IUO Suppl. 71), 34; GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, "Prototipi miniati dell'Ottateuco etiopico", *Bollettino del Museo Bodoniano di Parma* 8, 1994, 69–102, here 102 n. 87

[ms. Spencer 7]; ID., "Album di pittore. Ms. Parm. 3853 [= MORDINI 20]", in: *Cum picturis ystoriatum. Codici devozionali e liturgici della Biblioteca Palatina*, Modena 2001 (Il giardino delle Esperidi 14), 282–87 (Lit.); GIUSEPPE GIROLA, "Monete aksumite: bilancio italiano", *Rivista di Numismatica e scienze affini* 107, 2006, 474–85, here 482 and n. 80 (Lit.); LANFRANCO RICCI, "Ricordo di Antonio Mordini", *Africa* (Roma) 32, 1977, 135–38; StrANL 43ff., 177f., 327–37, nos. 14, 63, 134.

Gianfranco Fiaccadori

Moreno, Martino Mario

M. (b. 8 September 1892, Torino, d. 13 June 1964, Rome) was an Italian state executive and one of the most important scholars in both Islamic and ↗Ethiopian studies.

On completing classical studies and graduating in 1912 from the Faculty of Humanities of the University of Genoa (with a dissertation on Greek tragedy), M. started a successful career as a civil servant within the Italian colonial administration in 1913. He was sent to Libya, and by 1920 he was playing a prominent role in the hierarchy of the Ministry of the Colonies. Between 1927 and 1929 he served in Cairo as an advisor to the Italian embassy and accomplished two missions in Yemen (1927–29). Between 1929 and 1931, he served as Director of political and civil affairs of the government of Colonia Eritrea in Asmära. From 1931 to 1934 he was an advisor to the Italian Embassy in Addis Abäba. After the occupation of Ethiopia he was appointed vice governor of the Governo del Galla e Sidama with the headquarters in Ǧimma. From 1938 he was Director General of political affairs at the Ministry of the Italian Africa.

After ↗World War II M. was integrated into the staff of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Between 1952 and 1956 he represented the Italian Government in Lebanon as Minister plenipotentiary, and became the first Director of the Italian Cultural Mission (later Italian Cultural Institute) in Beirut which today bears his name. In 1956–57 he was Minister plenipotentiary in Sudan.

M. taught at several universities: the University of Rome between 1939–44 (Non-Semitic languages) and 1951–52 (History and languages of Ethiopia); the University of Beirut between 1954–57 (Gəʿəz and Epigraphic South Arabian); the Academy of Fine Arts of Lebanon in the same years (Hebrew and Glottology); the ↗Istituto Universitario Orientale of Naples between 1958–62 (Hamito-Semitic philology, later Semitic philology, and Somali). Between 1957 and the year of his death he was the editor-in-chief of two journals: the ↗*Rassegna di Studi Etiopici*, then published by the Istituto per l'Oriente (I.P.O.) of Rome, and the *Levante*, by the Centro per le Relazioni Italo-Arabe of the I.P.O.

The prodigious plurilinguistic competence of M., together with his immediate and deep knowledge of peoples and countries, allowed him to conduct remarkable research in both Islamic and Ethiopian studies, with special attention to the description of languages, the theological debate among religious movements, and modern literature.

M. started teaching himself Arabic during the secondary school, and in 1910, when he was only 18 years old, published an Italian version of Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ's (d. 757) *Kalīla wa-Dimna*, a translation from Pahlavi (Middle Persian) of the Sanskrit tale *Pañcatantra*. His translation of the ↗Qurʾān (publ. 1967) is still widely accepted and has been recently reprinted. While working for the colonial administration, M. published monographs on linguistic, social and literary matters related to the peoples and religious communities of the countries he worked in. His research on Islamic theology and its relationship to Indian religious tradition, via the Persian link, as well as his studies on Lebanese poets are still valuable.

In the field of Ethiopian studies, M. was the first to describe such Cushitic languages as ↗Gideʾo, ↗Kambaata, ↗Allaaba, and ↗Burǧi. He isolated some morphological features of the West Cushitic languages of the Käfa region, which would later be called ↗Omotic. He wrote grammars of the most important Cushitic languages (↗Sidaama, ↗Oromiffa, ↗Somali), collected and published texts of Oromo and Amharic oral tradition (particularly folk tales and poetry) and translated one of the several versions of the Amharic Chronicle of ↗Tewodros II.

The close relationship between colonial duties and scholarly activities, and thus long periods spent in the field, allowed intellectuals like M. to produce fundamental works still relied upon by contemporary research.

Src.: FRANCESCO CASTRO, "Scritti di Martino Mario Moreno", *RSE* 20, 1964, 12–21 (Lit.); MARTINO MARIO MORENO, *La versione araba del libro di Kalilah e Dimnah*, Sanremo 1910; MORDEKHAI COHEN, *Gli ebrei in Libia. Usi e costumi*, tr. [from Hebrew] by MARTINO MARIO MORENO, Roma 1928, repr. Firenze 1994; MARTINO MARIO MORENO (ed., tr.), *Alcuni racconti galla*, Roma 1935; ID. (ed., tr.), *Favole e rime Galla*, Roma 1935; ID., *Raccolta*

di Qené (ed., tr.), Roma 1935; ID., *Introduzione alla lingua ometo*, Milano 1938; ID., *Grammatica teorico pratica della lingua Galla con esercizi*, Milano 1939; ID., *Manuale di Sidamo. Grammatica, esercizi, testi, glossario*, Milano 1940; ID., *L'Islamismo*, Milano 1947; ID. (ed., tr.), *Cent Fables Amhariques mises en écrit par le Dabtara Kenfé*, Paris 1948; ID., "Mistica musulmana e mistica indiana", *Annali Lateranensi* 10, 1949, 103–219; ID., *Caratteristiche della favolistica etiopica*, Roma 1949; ID., *Antologia della mistica arabo-persiana*, Bari 1951, repr. 1980; ID., *Il Somalo della Somalia. Grammatica e testi del Benadir, Darod e Dighil*, Roma 1955; ID., *Scritti*, I: *Scritti arabo-islamici*, II: *Scritti africanistici*, Roma 1993 (Lit.); ID. (tr.), *Il Corano*, Torino 1967, repr. 1978, Roma 1992, 2005; MorTeo.

Lit.: FRANCESCO GABRIELI, *Orientalisti del Novecento*, Roma 1993, 117–20; MARTINO MARIO MORENO, *Dalle palme di Sanremo alle palme dell'Oriente*, ed. by MAURIZIO MORENO, Ventimiglia 2005; MARIA NALLINO, "Ricordo di Martino Mario Moreno (1892–1964)", *Oriente Moderno* 44, 8–9, 1964, 646–48; LANFRANCO RICCI, "Martino Mario Moreno", *RSE* 20, 1964, 5–11; EDWARD ULLENDORFF, "Obituary of Dr. M. M. Moreno", *The Times*, 26 June 1964.

Gianfrancesco Lusini

Mori, Attilio

M. (b. 12 September 1865, Florence, d. 16 December 1937, Florence) was an Italian geographer and cartographer. He became interested in geography while attending the courses of the Istituto tecnico of Florence. He was one of the principal contributors to the *Bullettino* of the Florentine section of the Italian African Society (Società Africana d'Italia, with its main seat in Naples) since its first issue in 1885, publishing articles on ↗Massawa, ↗Asäb, Italian expeditions to Africa etc.

In 1886 M. joined the Istituto Geografico Militare (I.G.M.) of Florence as an assistant topographer. He was later promoted to senior topographer and eventually to librarian of the institute. In 1901 he achieved the qualification of private lecturer and worked in different fields of geography under the guidance of such teachers as Bartolomeo Malfatti and Giovanni Marinelli, of which the latter's son Olinto, the editor of the *Rivista geografica italiana* and explorer of Eritrea (↗Dainelli, Giotto) became M.'s close friend.

During the Libyan war of 1911–12 M. headed the local colonial institute of the I.G.M. During World War I he was assigned to the onslaught of artillery troops. He taught geography at the University of Messina from 1915 until 1922, when he was transferred to the Istituto Superiore di Magistero in Florence.

M. devoted most his studies to his native Tuscany and, significantly, to colonial geography, closely following recent developments and current research. In 1907 he prepared a series of maps of the Colonia Eritrea: for ↗administrative division, for each Commissariato, as well as several detailed maps for the "residenze" and a map of itineraries. In 1912–14 a linguistic map, a map of climatic zones, of fauna distribution, of population density, of religious landscape and a map of telegraph connections followed. Numerous articles on Eritrean and Ethiopian geography by M. appeared in the *Rivista geografica italiana*, the editorship of which he took over upon Olinto Marinelli's death in 1926.

He was particularly interested in the history of exploration. His 1927 study on Libya was accompanied by a detailed geographical map showing the routes of the most important expeditions. He wrote a historical introduction on the exploration of the ↗Wabi Šäbälle basin for di Savoia's book (1932), and a chapter on the history of exploration of the ↗Africa Orientale Italiana for the Geographic Society's collection of 1935. He also contributed to the *Enciclopedia Italiana*, with the entry on Vittorio ↗Bottego (repr. vol. 7, 1949, 585–86), and by co-authoring the entry "Etiopia" with R. Almagià, A. Baldini, U. Cassato, E. Cerulli, C. Conti Rossini, A. Gaibi, I. Guidi, M. Guidi, N. Piccioni e G. Stefanini (1935).

Src.: ATTILIO MORI, "Massawa", *Bullettino della Sezione fiorentina della Società Africana d'Italia* 1, 1885, 14–19; ID., "Notizie africane", *ibid.* 36–47; ID., "I confini e l'area dell'Africa Italiana", *Rivista Geografica Italiana* 15, 1908, 412–16, 466–76, 626–34 and 16, 1909, 148–53, 273–81, 402–13; ID., "I confini e l'area dell'Impero Etiopico. Notizie storiche e determinazioni planimetriche", *ibid.* 17, 1910, 169–80; ID., "Cartografia coloniale", *ibid.* 18, 1911, 604–12; ID., "Il ritorno della missione per la delimitazione del confine italo – etiopico e la sua opera geografica", *ibid.* 19, 1912, 82–86; ID., "La colonia Eritrea nel decennio 1898–1907", *ibid.* 21, 1914, 390–93; ID., "Le comunicazioni marittime dell'Eritrea con l'Italia e con i porti del Mar Rosso", in: FERDINANDO MARTINI (ed.), *L'Eritrea economica*, Roma 1913, 91–113; ID., *La cartografia ufficiale in Italia e l'Istituto Geografico Militare. Notizie storiche raccolte e ordinate*, Roma 1922; ID., *L'esplorazione geografica della Libia. Rassegna storica e bibliografica*, Roma 1927; ID., *L'Africa settentrionale*, Milano 1934; LUIGI AMEDEO DI SAVOIA-AOSTA (ed.), *La esplorazione dello Uabi-Uebi Scebeli dalle sue sorgenti nella Etiopia meridionale alla Somalia Italiana (1928–29)*, Milano 1932; SOCIETÀ GEOGRAFICA ITALIANA (ed.), *L'Africa Orientale*, Roma 1935.

Lit.: ANON., "Attilio Mori" [obituary], *Bollettino della Società Geografica Italiana* 1938, 211–14; ANON., "Due colonialisti: Attilio Mori e Sandro Sandri", *Rivista delle colonie* 12, 1937, 1592; MANLIO BONATI, *Vittorio Bottego. Un ambizioso eroe in Africa*, Parma 1997, 17, 34, 420; ErDizBio 213.

Manlio Bonati

Moroda Bakaree

Däğğazmač M.B. (Amh. ሞሮዳ፡ በከሬ, Moroda Bäkäre; b. 1841, Naqamtee, d. 1888, Naqamtee) was the son of ↗*mooti* Bakaree Godana of ↗Naqamtee, and Aya Urge Čančo of Hadiyya. He succeeded his father as *mooti* in the administration of ↗Leeqaa Naqamtee, ↗Wälläga in 1870, and ruled for 18 years.

M.B. united numerous warring tribes in Leeqaa Naqamtee and Sibuu and brought stability to the region. He allowed the rulers who came under his control to continue administering the districts they previously controlled as long as they paid him a nominal tribute. After conquering a region, he adopted the children of the vanquished Oromo rulers, such as Niqus Dalala of ↗Limmu or Wirtu Dango of Horo Dangoro. Thus, M.B. pre-empted future challenges to his rule. He took care to always consult important dignitaries and elder statesmen of his realm before passing a law. To discourage pillaging of invaded areas by unsalaried soldiers, as was the tradition at that time, he gave his fighters lands that they could use for their livelihood.

M.B. maintained good relations with the *mooti* of other areas of Wälläga, such as ↗Abbaa Ğoobir Abbaa Duula of Guummaa, Abəše Garbaa of Horo, Qadidaa Wandabit of Ğimma Rarre and *dağğazmač* ↗Ğootee Tulluu of Leeqaa Qälləm, to whom M.B. married his daughter Doʾe.

When the army of ↗Täklä Haymanot of ↗Goğğam headed by *ras* ↗Däräso Ṭabo reached Wälläga, M.B. recognized the sovereignty of the *nəguś* of Goğğam. He was christened by Däräso and promoted to the rank of *dağğazmač*. Later, when the Šäwan *nəguś* ↗Mənilək sent his army led by *ras* ↗Gobäna Daçi to the region, M.B. dispatched his brother *fitawrari* Dibaba Bakaree with gifts, pledging to accept Mənilək's suzerainty – against the advice of his elders who wanted to fight against the Amhara army just as Abbaa Ğoobir was doing. Mənilək accepted the gifts and the submission and appointed M.B. to rule his realm as long as he paid tribute to the kingdom of Šäwa. M.B. also influenced the remaining local rulers of Wälläga to submit to Mənilək. M.B. opted for collaboration because of a lack of co-operation among the Oromo rulers of the south and, most importantly, because of the Oromo's severe lack of sophisticated weaponry. Additionally, if the Wälläga Oromo were occupied by force, they would have been subject to the plundering of the ↗*näfṭäññä*, as was the fate of regions like Arsi, Bale, Harärge, Gumaa, Limmu, Wälaytta and Käfa. By paying a tribute of 1,000 ounces of gold, M.B. received Mənilək's permission to be totally responsible for his northern Wälläga territorial administration and to have the Šäwan *näfṭäññä* who came with Gobäna removed from his dominion.

In spite of M.B.'s occasional cruelties towards his rivals, he was a magnanimous individual known for outlawing two cruel traditional practices of the Oromo in his region: geronticide and female ↗circumcision. An example of his sense of justice concerns his father, Bakaree Godana, who had unjustly confiscated Sarba Golğa's property. Sarba killed him in retaliation and fled. While on his death bed, M.B. told his officials that Sarba could not be blamed for killing his father. He ordered them to give him a total pardon and let him return to his land.

M.B. was succeeded by his son Kumsaa, better known under his Christian name ↗Gäbrä Ǝgziʾabəḥer Moroda.

Src.: *däğğazmaç* YÄMANE GÄBRÄ ƎGZIʾABƎḤER, (ሞሮዳ፡ በከሬ ('Moroda Bäkäre'), ms.; interview with *ləʿəlt* Maḥṣäntä Häbtä Maryam; GueCopMen 391.

Lit.: BAIRU TAFLA, "Four Ethiopian Biographies: Däjjazmač Gärmame, Däjjazmač Gabra Egziʾabeher Moroda, Däjjazmač Balča and Käntiba Gäbru Dästa", *JES* 7, 2, 1969, 1–31, here 11ff.; BZHist 19; WOLDETSADIK TERREFE, "The Unification of Ethiopia (1880–1935): Wälläga", *JES* 6, 1, 1968, 75–86 (Lit.).

Paulos Milkias

Moses

The biblical patriarch M. (ሙሴ, Muse) is widely venerated in Ethiopia, by both the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥədo) Church and among the ↗Betä Ǝsraʾel, as the person who stood in the beginning of the history of the Israelites and took part in biblical events basic for the self-consciousness of the Ethiopian people. In addition to the Biblical texts, a number of literary works are devoted in whole or in part to M. Some of them elaborate upon the stories of M. which appear in the ↗Old Testament, others include apocryphal information regarding his life not included in the Bible. The tradition recalls and elaborates upon many episodes from M.'s life, in the context of the great respect Ethiopians generally pay to the O.T. The canticle of M. comprises an obligatory part of the Ethiopic ↗Psalter.

According to some traditions derived from Num 12:1 testifying to M.'s marriage to an "Ethiopian" woman, M. was the ancestor of the ↗Zagʷe dynasty which ruled Ethiopia from ca. 1137 to 1270. This tradition is also echoed by ↗Abū Ṣāliḥ, who says the rulers of Ethiopia were "of the family of M. and Aaron, on the account of the coming of M. to Abyssinia. M. married the king's daughter" (Evetts – Butler 1895:288). Other sources, including Eusebius and Josephus and a number of later Jewish texts, have elaborated upon this "Ethiopian" woman to report of M.'s journey to and defeat in war of the Ethiopians (at Meroë; s. Rajak 1978).

The biblical account of M.'s encounter with Pharaoh's magicians (Ex 7:10–12) appears to have been the basis for a variety of prayers and other texts depicting M. as a magician. In the Betä Ǝsraʾel version of the ↗*Ardəʾət*, it is M. (as opposed to the Christian version's Jesus) who reveals the secret names (cp. ↗*asmat*) of God to his "disciples", the leaders of the twelve tribes of Israel. Another similar magical text known as the Prayer (or Acts) of M. (Strelcyn 1951) contains the prayer Moses used against his enemies in Egypt. Nollet (1933) has published a similarly themed text.

Ch. 98 of the ↗*Kəbrä nägäśt* (Budge 1922:177–83; BezKebr 136–41) consists largely of reinterpretations of biblical stories of M., and particularly his use of his rod, hence, the story in Ex 17:6 in which M. strikes a rock and brings forth water. The water is associated with the Apostles, the rock with Christ, and the rod with the wood of the Cross. Later in the same chapter, the Amalekites who fight the children of Israel are said to represent unbelievers, and M.'s rod, which when stretched forth defeats them, once again the wood of the Cross.

The biblical story of the conversation between God and M. on Mount ↗Sinai and the receiving of the tablets of stone with the Ten Commandments (*səllatä Muse*) is linked to the tradition of the origin of ↗*tabot*. The same episode is discussed in the work called ↗*Nägärä Muse*, purporting to be an account of that conversation. In response to a series of questions, God explains the rewards which follow certain types of good deeds and the punishments meted out for specific sins. These are followed by more philosophical inquiries and answers concerning the divine essence. The text appears to be of Syriac origin, and the Gəʿəz versions (both Christian and Betä Ǝsraʾel) are certainly derived from an Arabic source. Indeed, several manuscripts explicitly state that this work was translated from Arabic in the middle of the 18th cent. The Betä Ǝsraʾel version is a censored adaptation of the Ethiopian Christian text and retains Christian references to the Apostles, martyrs and saints at several points.

The biblical text's silence regarding the place and exact time of M.'s death (Dt 34) provides the background for the ↗*Motä Muse*, probably drawing on a 14th–15th cent. Arabic source.

Src.: AARON ZEEV AEŠCOLY, *Recueil de textes Falachas. Introduction. Textes éthiopiens*, Paris 1951, 29–37, 80–143; BezKebr 136–41 (text) = 107–10 (tr.); ERNEST ALFRED WALLIS BUDGE (tr.), *The Queen of Sheba and her Only Son Menyelek (I)*, London 1922, ²1932, 177–83; BudSaints 30–32, 639; CRAbb nos. 36, 39, 74; nos. EMML 1143, fol. 113a–17a; 1738 fol. 123a–41b; 1739 fol. 70a–100b, etc.; BASIL THOMAS ALFRED EVETTS – ALFRED J. BUTLER, *The Churches and Monasteries of Egypt and some Neighbouring Countries attributed to Abū Ṣālih*, Oxford 1895, 288; WOLF LESLAU, *Falasha Anthology*, New Haven, CT 1951, 102–11 (tr.); GENEVIÈVE NOLLET, "Prière de Moïse", *Aethiopica* 1, 1933, 7–12; STEFAN STRELCYN, "Note sur le manuscrit éthiopien d'Abbadie 7 de la B.N.", *RSE* 10, 1951, 52–55; EDWARD ULLENDORFF (ed., tr.), "The 'Death of Moses' in the Literature of the Falasha", *BSOAS* 25, 1961, 419–43; WrBriMus 112, no. 168 [ms. Orient. 564]; MAX WURMBRAND, *Arde'et: Sefer Hatalmidim ha-falashi*, Tel Aviv 1964; ROCHUS ZUURMOND, "The Colloquy of Moses with God on Mount Sinai", in: *StudAeth* 127–38.

Lit.: TESSA RAJAK, "Moses in Ethiopia: Legend and Literature", *Journal of Jewish Studies* 29, 1978, 111–22 (Lit.); STEFAN STRELCYN, "La magie éthiopienne", in: *PICES* 1, 147–65, here 150.

Steven Kaplan

Moses in art

The most common iconography of M., also in Ethiopia, is based on the biblical account of the event at Mount Sinai (Ex 34:1–30) and depicts him holding the Tablets of Law. The oldest presently known Ethiopian representation of M., the 13th-cent. wall painting in the ↗Gännätä Maryam church, shows him with a single, cross-marked tablet standing side by side with Aaron. He is portrayed in a similar way in two Gärʿalta churches, ↗Däbrä Ṣəyon and ↗Gʷəḥ Yəmʾata, while in a third one, ↗Qorqor Danəʾel, he is rendered as a priestly figure, together with ↗Melchizedek, Aaron and Stephan, each holding a censer (↗*Maʿəṭänt*). The Tablets of Law distinguish M. among the long rows of the holy figures decorating 15th and 16th-cent. ↗manuscripts, ↗paintings on wood and liturgical fans ↗*märawəḥ*.

The scene showing M. about to receive the Commandments from the hand of God, which emerges from the sky or a cloud, belongs to the programme of the illuminated ↗Psalters where it introduces the "canticle of M." (e.g., ms. Paris, BN, d'Abbadie 105). In the manuscript London BritLib Orient. 481 (a replica of the famous *Mäṣḥafä ↗ṭefut* of Gəšän Maryam [↗Amba Gəšän]), it is used as the frontispiece for the book of Genesis (fol. 4v). At the end of the 18th cent., the scene entered the programmes of the churches extensively decorated with wall paintings. Always placed on the eastern wall of the ↗*mäqdäs*, it shows God the Father in half-figure instead of the *manus dei* handing over the tablets.

Another biblical event connected to M. is also included in these programmes, namely the crossing of the Red Sea (Ex 14:15–30). It is represented as a rescue action accomplished by the archangel Michael on behalf of the Israelites. Aimed as an apotropaic picture, it is always placed on the western door leading to the *mäqdäs* (e.g., Narga Śəllase church). Some manuscripts of the ↗*Dərsanä Mikaʾel* also include this scene, for instance ms. Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, W 835, fol. 59, which additionally shows M. in front of God's angelic messenger and the burning bush (Ex 3:2–6). All three episodes became the subjects of an unusual magic picture devoted to M., kept in the collection of the British Museum (inv. no. Af 1912.2).

Another attribute of M. is the staff, with which he parted the waters of the Red Sea (Ex 14:15–16) and made water gush out of a rock in the desert (Ex 17:7). In Qorqor Maryam church M. is holding up a snake, obviously the allusion to the episode with the brass serpent (Num 21:6–9) interpreted as a *typos* of the ↗Crucifixion (Jn 3:13–15).

It seems that M. was an important figure for the painter who decorated the Octateuch of Amba Gəšän, because he depicted M. on three separate miniatures: carrying the Tablets of Law, sitting and writing the Commandments and holding his staff. The same series of pictures was repeated in the copy of the Amba Gəšän manuscript, ms. BritLib Orient. 481, while a very similar cycle illustrates the Octateuch kept in Pistoia (Biblioteca Fortegueriana, Martini etiop. 5).

Since the Ethiopians adopted the Byzantine scheme of the Transfiguration, which always includes the figure of M., he appears in all Ethiopian depictions of the scene; the oldest examples

Moses defying the magicians Jannes and Jambres before Pharaoh; miniature in ms. Dərsanä Mikaʾel, fol. 69r, 18th cent., church of Mädḫane ʿAläm, Mändabba monastery; photo 1993, courtesy of Michael Gervers

are to be found in the churches Gännätä Maryam and ↗Ǝmäkina Mädḫane ʿAläm. Otherwise, the Transfiguration is included in the developed Christological cycle which decorates a group of the 15th-cent. illuminated Gospels, for instance mss. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 828, fol. 11r, Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, W. 850, fol. 59v, Kəbran Gäbrəʾel, fol. 15r.

Lit.: EWA BALICKA-WITAKOWSKA, "Le psautier illustré de Belēn Sägäd", in: RUDOLF ZEITLER (ed.), *Imagines Medievales. Studier i medeltida ikonografi, arkitektur, skulptur, måleri och konstverk*, Uppsala 1983, 1–46, here 22f., fig. 28; EAD., "Un psautier éthiopien illustré inconnu", *Orientalia Suecana* 33–35, 1984–86, 17–48, here 23, fig. 23; EAD., "'Against Thirty and Twenty Five Devils': Two Ethiopian Painted Amulets in the British Museum Collection", in: WITOLD WITAKOWSKI – LAURA ŁYKOWSKA (eds.), Wälättä Yohanna. *Ethiopian Studies in Honour of Joanna Mantel-Niećko on the Occasion of the 50th Year of her Work at the Institute of Oriental Studies, Warsaw University*, Warszawa 2006 (= Rocznik Orientalistyczny 59/1), 33–46, here 35–37, 42f., fig. 2; GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, "Bisanzio e il regno di 'Aksum. Sul ms. Martini etiop. 5 della Biblioteca Forteguerriana di Pistoia", in: ANDREA GATTI (ed.), *Quaecumque recepit Apollo. Scritti in onore di A. Ciavarella*, Parma 1993 (= *Bollettino del Museo Bodoniano di Parma* 7), 161–99; ID., "Prototipi miniati dell'Ottateuco etiopico", *Bollettino del Museo Bodoniano di Parma* 8, 1994 [1995], 69–102; ERNST HAMMERSCHMIDT – OTTO JÄGER, *Illuminierte Äthiopische Handschriften*, Wiesbaden 1968, 65, 102f., 144, fig. 56; MARILYN HELD-

MAN, *Miniatures of the Gospels of Princess Zir Ganela: an Ethiopic Manuscript dated A.D. 1400/01*, Ph.D. thesis, Washington University, Saint Louis MO 1972, 164–67, figs. 19, 70, 93, 147; DEBORAH E. HOROWITZ (ed.), *Ethiopian Art: the Walters Art Museum*, Baltimore 2001, nos. 14-15; CLAUDE LEPAGE – JEAN GIRE, "Dieu et les Quatre Animaux Célestes dans l'ancienne peinture éthiopienne", *Documents pour servir à l'histoire de la civilisation éthiopienne 7*, 1976, 67–112, here 90, fig. 28; MARIO LIVERINI, "Iconografia di Mosé", *Biblioteca Sanctorum* 9, 1967, 629–49; ANAÏS WION, "Un nouvel ensemble de peintures murales du premier style gondarien: le monastère de Qoma Fasilädäs", *AE* 17, 2001, 277–306, here 294.
Ill.: JACQUES MERCIER (ed.), *L'Arche Éthiopienne. Art chrétien d'Éthiopie 27 septembre 2000–7 janvier 2001, Paris, Pavillon des Arts* [exhibition catalogue], Paris 2000, 139; STANISŁAW CHOJNACKI, *Ethiopian Icons: Catalogue of the Collection of the Institute of Ethiopian Studies Addis Ababa University*, Milano 2000, nos. 146, 202, 276; GerKir [Eng] pls. 37, 186; JULES LEROY, *Ethiopian Painting in the Late Middle Ages and under the Gonder Dynasty*, London 1967, pl. 7; WALTER RAUNIG (ed.), *Religious Art of Ethiopia – Religiöse Kunst Äthiopiens* [exhibition catalogue], Stuttgart 1973, no. 26; MARIO DI SALVO et al., *Churches of Ethiopia: the Monastery of Nārgā Śellāsē*, Milan 1999, figs. 143, 146f.

Ewa Balicka-Witakowska

Moses of Adulis

M. (Μωϋσῆς, *Mōysês*, fl. first half of 5th cent. A.D.?) was a bishop of ↗Adulis, the "port of trade" controlled by the kingdom of ↗Aksum. He is mentioned in the first section of the Greek treatise *On the Races of India and the Brahmans* which might even have been genuinely by Palladius, bishop of Helenopolis in Bithynia (ca. 400–06) and then of Aspuna in Galatia (from ca. 412; d. ca. 431), under whose name the entire work is transmitted – in the form of a letter by him to an anonymous high ranking personage (s. Berg 1974 and Häuptli 2005; cp. Monneret de Villard 1947:614f., also for the Byzantine fortunes of the text).

The section, also surviving with variants in a few Latin versions (the *Commonitorium Palladii*, 'Instruction[s] of Palladius'), seems to provide actual evidence for Greek travellers and traders in the East from the late 4th to the mid 5th cent. (s. Desanges 1969:632, 639). It describes the journey to ↗India by an Egyptian *scholastikós* ('lawyer' or 'rhetor') from Thebes who went as far as the "eastern" country of the "slightly-built and indolent" Visadhes (Βισάδες, *Bisádes*), Tibeto-Burman "pepper-gatherers" dwelling in the mountains of Assam, and was captured and held prisoner there for six years. After visiting Adulis and Aksum, "in which a minor king(let) of the Indians [*basilískos mikròs tôn Indôn*] was sitting (on his throne)", he eventually embarked at Adulis on a ship meant for the "Indian trade" (I, 1. 4 and 7, ed. Berghoff 1967:2, 4 and 6) – but was then unable to reach Ceylon (*Taprobánē*). The situation depicted by Palladius, in turn depending upon a letter by the Theban *scholastikós*, has been thought to suggest a decline of Aksum at the time, its communications with Ceylon having slackened or become more difficult, its king being referred to so scathingly (for the title *basilískos* s. also Chrysos 1978:44f.). This way of introducing him may indeed reflect "the attitude of a Roman subject to almost any ruler in comparison to the Roman and Persian emperors" (MHAksum 82f.). However, in the first quarter or half of the 5th cent., witnessing the reigns of ↗Eon, ↗MḤDYS (possibly, with no gold ↗coinage) and ↗Ebana, a certain dimunition of Aksumite power cannot be excluded.

The story of the *scholastikós*, touching upon Brahmans, was possibly told ca. 420 by Palladius, who also speaks of himself as being interested in their life and philosophy: on account of that, he set out for India in the company of "the blessed Moses, bishop of Adulis [*episkopos tôn Adulēnôn*, lit. 'of the Aduleans' – a good mark of the still relative autonomy of the port of trade]", who was clearly dead by the time the work was composed. Moses's aim was probably to tie relationships with the Christian communities of India, already visited by ↗Theophilus the Indian, and placed under the authority of the Church of Persia (↗Nestorius, ↗Iran) by the end of the 5th cent. (Monneret de Villard 1947:620ff., cp. Desanges 1969:630f., and Fiaccadori 1992:66 and n. 63). With Moses, Palladius managed to reach at least India's – i.e., probably, Ethiopia's – outskirts (Berg 1974:7f., cp. Desanges 1969:628 and n. 17), where he had the opportunity of collecting direct information on the country, if not the testimony of the Egyptian *scholastikós*.

Src.: WILHELM BERGHOFF (ed.), *Palladius, De gentibus Indiae et Bragmanibus*, Meisenheim a. Glan 1967 (Beiträge zur Klassischen Philologie 24), 1–10 [chs. 1–8], esp. 2, 4 and 6 [I, 1. 4 and 7]; JOHN DUNCAN M. DERRET, "The History of «Palladius on the Races of India and the Brahmans»", *Classica et Mediaevalia* 21, 1960, 64–135.
Lit.: BERNARD BERG, "The Letter of Palladius on India", *Byzantion* 44, 1974, 5–16, here 7f.; EVANGELOS K. CHRYSOS, "The Title Βασιλεύς in Early Byzantine Relations", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 32, 1978, 29–75, here 44f.; PATRICIA CRONE, *Meccan Trade and the Rise of Islam*, Princeton, NJ 1987, 40 and n. 114; JOHN DUNCAN M. DERRET, "The Theban Scholasticus and Malabar in c. 355–60", *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 82, 1962, 21–31;

JEHAN DESANGES, "D'Axoum à l'Assam, aux portes de la Chine: le voyage du «*Scholasticus* de Thèbes» (entre 360 et 500 après J.C.)", *Historia* 18, 1969, 627–39, here 628 and n. 17, 632, 639; ID., *Recherches sur l'activité des méditerranéens aux confins de l'Afrique* (*VIe siècle avant J.-C.–IVe siècle après J.-C.*), Rome 1978 (Collection de l'École française de Rome 38), 363; ALBRECHT DIHLE, *Umstrittene Daten. Untersuchungen zum Auftreten der Griechen am Roten Meer*, Köln – Opladen 1965 (Wissenschaftliche Abhandlungen der Arbeitstgemeinschaft für Forschung des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen 32), 49f.; GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, *Teofilo Indiano*, Ravenna 1992 (Biblioteca di «Felix Ravenna» 7), 27f. and n. 91, 66 and n. 63 (Lit.); ID., "Nuova iscrizione greca da Aksum", *La Parola del Passato.* 62, 2007, 70–76; GÜNTHER CHRISTIAN HANSEN, "Alexander und die Brahmanen", *Klio* 43–45, 1965, 351–80, here 367–76; BRUNO W. HÄUPTLI, "Palladios von Helenopolis", in: *Biographisch-Bibliographisch Kirchenlexikon* vol. 24, Nordhausen 2005, 1149–54; PHILIP MAYERSON, "A Confusion of Indias: Asian and African India in the Byzantine Sources", *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 113, 1993, 167–74, here 170 [repr. in: ID., *Monks, Martyrs, Soldiers and Saracens. Papers on the Near East in late Antiquity*, Jerusalem 1994, 361–66, here 362]; MHAksum 59, 82ff., 148, 207; MHAlex [I] 49, 70, 114; UGO MONNERET DE VILLARD, "Mosè, vescovo di Adulis", in: *Miscellanea Guillaume de Jerphanion*, Roma 1947 [= *OrChrP* 13], vol. 2, 613–23, here 614f., 620ff.; SERGEW HABLE-SELASSIE, "Moses", in: *DicEthBio* 120; FRANÇOISE THELAMON, *Païens et chrétiens au IVe siècle. L'apport de l'«Histoire ecclésiastique» de Rufin d'Aquilée*, Paris 1981, 52f. and n. 43.

Gianfranco Fiaccadori

Moses the Black

M. (Eth. **ሙሴ ፡ ጸሊም**, Muse Ṣällim), also known as Anba Musa, Moses of Scetis or Moses the Ethiopian, was one of the first hermits of Scetis (late 4th cent. A.D.), and a saint. Three different people called "Moses" are mentioned in hagiographical literature (Apophthegmata Patrum, Palladius, Cassian, Sozomen, synaxaries, and lives of saints). J.-Cl. Guy (unpublished dissertation quoted in Sauget 1967) has shown them to be one and same person (a fourth name, "Moses of Kalamon", used by Cassian only, is also identified to be this M.). This saint is commemorated twice in liturgical practice (3 *Mäskäräm* and 24 *Säne*), but under different names. He was "black", thus probably originating from a Nubian tribe, and that is why he is called "the Ethiopian".

A former thief, after having been a slave, he converted and joined the monks of Scetis, where he lived in so edifying a manner that he was ordained a priest and had a large number of disciples. He was killed by the Barbarians when these destroyed Scetis for the first time (in 407 A.D. rather than in 395 A.D.). He refused to escape, saying that he was to fulfill the Lord's saying: "He who has killed with the sword shall die by the sword" (cf. Mt 26:52).

An Ethiopian life of Moses has been published by Raineri (1995), from the only known ms. (Vat. Aeth. 316); it translates the 'G' Arabic text as published by Pirone (1994), with some light omissions (e.g. ch. 25 of the Arabic) and additions (ch. 16 of the Ethiopic is not found in Arabic).

Src.: BudSaint 12ff., 1030ff.; ColSyn I, 26ff. [344ff.]; GuiSyn I, 147ff. [665ff.]; **መጽሐፈ፡ ስንክሳር** (*Sənkəssar*, 'Synaxary'), Aśmära 1991 A.M. [1998/99 A.D.], 9ff., 615ff.; PATRIARCHATE OF THE ETHIOPIAN ORTHODOX TÄWAḤƎDO CHURCH (ed.), **መጽሐፈ፡ ግጻዌ፡ ዘይትነበብ፡ እምዓመት፡ እስከ፡ ዓመት፡ ወዘሰናብት፡ ዘየኀብር፡ ምስለ፡ መዝሙራት** (*Mäṣḥafä gəṣṣawe zayətnäbbäb əmᶜamät əskä ᶜamät wäzäsänabət zäyäḫabbər məslä mäzmurat*, 'The Book of the Exposition, which is to be Read from Year to Year, and of the Sundays, together with the *Mäzmur*'), Addis Abäba 1973 A.M. [1980/81 A.D.]; repr. as TÄSFA GÄBRÄ ŚƎLLASE (ed.), Addis Abäba 1973 A.M. [1983/84 A.D.], 9 and 101; BARTOLOMEO PIRONE, "Vita di Mosè l'Etiope", *Studia Orientalia Christiana. Collectanea* 24, 1991 [1994], 5–115; OSVALDO RAINERI, "Gli Atti etiopici di san Mosè il Nero", *OrChrP* 61, 1995, 131–61 (Lit.).

Lit.: FRIEDRICH HEYER, *Die Heiligen der Äthiopischen Erde*, Erlangen 1998 (Oikonomia 37), 24ff.; RICHARD PANKHURST, "Musä", in: *DicEthBio* 122; JOSEPH-MARIE SAUGET, "Mosè di Scete o l'Etiope", in: *Bibliotheca Sanctorum*, vol. 9, Roma 1967, 652–54; LUCIEN REGNAULT, "Moses the Black, Saint", in: *CE* vol. 5, 1991, 1681.

Ugo Zanetti

Mosiye

Mosiye language

The M. language (self-name: Mossittata, Mossittača, also Quǧire), spoken by ca. 6,500 speakers (Hudson 1999:93), belongs to the ↗Konsoid dialect chain of the ↗Lowland East Cushitic group within the ↗Cushitic family.

The only published materials on M. are surveys by Wedekind (in Dinote Kusia Shenkere et al. 1994 and in Wedekind 2002) and a study by Wondwosen Tesfaye (in PICES 14).

Wondwosen Tesfaye (ibid.) shows that there are two varieties of M.; northern and western. Northern M. is spoken in Bussa Baasso and Bussa Qilla (Moro Čabane), and Western M. in Bussa Naalo. The northern variety is influenced by ↗Omotic languages such as ↗Zayse and ↗Gamo, and the western one has borrowings from ↗Oromo and ↗Konso. The present description is based on Western M.

The consonant phonemes are: voiceless stops *p*, *t*, *k*, ʾ, affricate *č*, fricatives *f*, *s*, *š*, *h*, ejectives

p, (*t*), *č*, *q*, implosive *d*, nasals *m*, *n*, liquids *l*, *r*, glides *w*, *y*. Consonant voice is not distinctive in the language, e.g. [*roopa*] or [*rooba*] 'rain'. There are five vowels: *i*, *e*, *a*, *o*, *u*. Vowel length and consonant gemination are phonemic.

Pronouns are:

	sg.		pl.
1	*ana/anti*		*inno*
2	*heʾe/atti*		*išina*
3	*iša* (masc.)	*išeeta* (fem.)	*išoo*

Demonstrative forms are 'this' *sede*, 'that' *tossi*, 'these' *aregyan*, 'those' *toysiyo*.

Possessive markers are:

	sg.		pl.
1	*-ho*		*-yno*
2	*-yti*		*-ssina*
3	*-yyi* (masc.)	*-ddî* (fem.)	*-šina*

E.g., 'my cow' *saʾa-ho*; 'your cow' *saʾa-yti*, etc.

The Pluralform can be marked by 1) geminating the last stem consonant: 'house' *tika* (sg.) vs. *tikka* (pl.); or 2) adding the morphemes *-ddo* ('dog' *huuta* [sg.] vs. *huutaddo* [pl.]) or *-awwe/-awwa* ('sheep' *karda* [sg.] vs. *kardawwa* [pl.]).

Negation is expressed by either *akakka* or *ayya*, e.g.:

anti-ni	*piša*	*akakka/ayya*	*n-ukk-a*
I-NOM	water	NEG	I-drink-IMPF

'I do not drink water'

The imperfective marker is *-a* as in the following paradigm of the verb *dam-* 'to eat':

	sg.		pl.
1	*n-dam-a*		*dam-m-a*
2	*dam-t-a*		*dam-t-a-ni*
3	*dam-a* (masc.)	*dam-t-a* (fem.)	*dam-a-ni*

The perfective marker is *-e*:

	sg.		pl.
1	*n-dam-e*		*n-dam-m-e*
2	*dam-t-e*		*dam-t-i-n-e*
3	*dam-e* (masc.)	*dam-t-e* (fem.)	*dam-i-n-e*

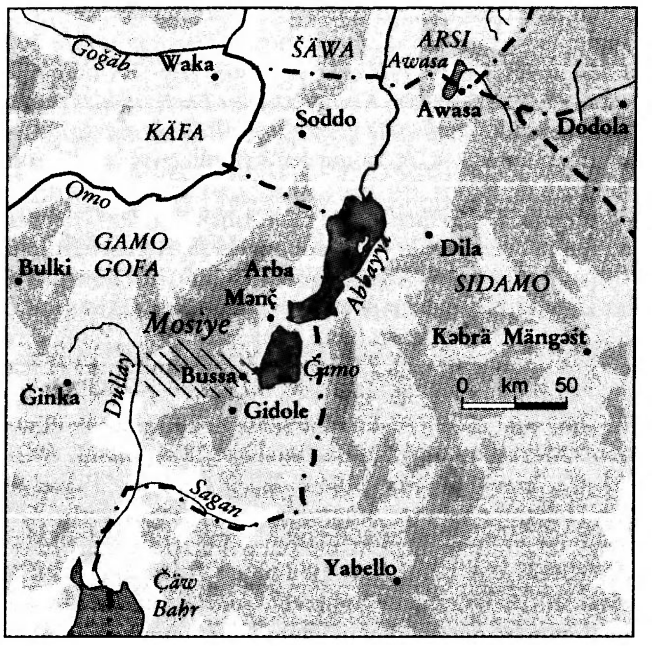
Question words include 'who' *ayno*, 'what' *moydiyo*, 'when' *etooti*, 'where' *ayyila*.

The word order is Subject–Object–Verb. There is no overt copula:

ağara-ti	*astamareta*
A-nom	teacher

'Ağara is a teacher' (example from Wondwosen Tesfaye in PICES 14, 1852).

The ten-word list is: 'one' *tokko*, 'two' *lakki*, 'three' *sessa*, 'water' *piša*, 'fire' *ʾabitta*, 'sun' *lat-*



ta, 'moon' *leʾa*, 'blood' *diika*, 'tongue' *ʾarraba*, 'tooth' *ʾillitta* (ibid. 1855ff.).

Src.: GROVER HUDSON, "Linguistic Analysis of the 1994 Ethiopia Census", *NEASt* 6, 3, 1999, 89–107.

Lit.: DINOTE KUSIA SHENKERE et al., "Second Survey of Language of the Gawwada, Tsamay and Diraasha Areas with Excursions to Birayle (Ongota) and Arbore (Irbore), Part 1", *S.L.L.E. Linguistic Reports* 19, 1994; KLAUS WEDEKIND (ed.), "Sociolinguistic Survey Report of the Languages of the Gawwada (Dullay), Diraasha (Gidole), Muusiye (Bussa) Areas", *SIL Electronic Survey Reports* 2002–065, 2002; WONDWOSEN TESFAYE, "The Status of North and West Bussa: a Comparative Study", in: *PICES* 14, vol. 3, 1840–57.

Alemayehu Gurmu Bileat

Mosiye ethnography

M. (Mossiye, Mussiye, Muusiye, Bussa) is the autonym of an ethnic group until 1999 part of ↗Gardula *wäräda* of the former ↗Gamo Gofa province (today North Omo zone). The territory of the M. is located west of the southern shore of Lake ↗Čamo. The M. territory reaches into the Dullayho (Amh. Wäyṭo) lowlands (700 m A.S.L.) to the west and beyond the ridge of Mount Gardula (ca. 2,500 m A.S.L.) up to Lake Čamo (1,108 m A.S.L.) in the east. The territory of the M. includes the settlements of Moro Čabane, Bussa Baasso, and Bussa Naalo.

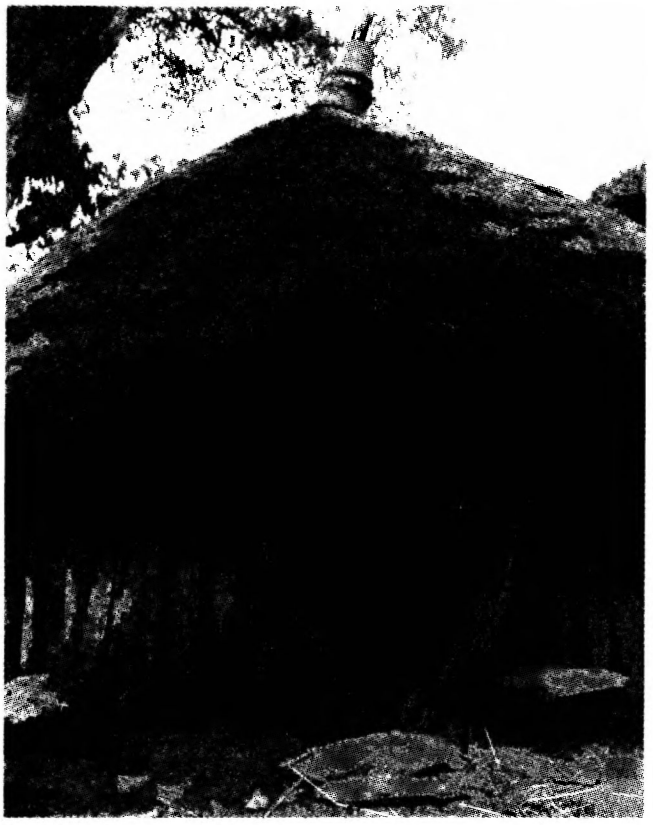
The imperial administration is called the M. Bussa, after the former ↗*kätäma*. There is not much ethnographic information available in written form (Amborn 1990). Their social and economic structure has many similarities to that of their, also Konsoid-speaking, southern neighbours, especially the ↗Diraašša. Frequent

intermarriage with the ↗Zaysse and the ethnic groups of the Gamo highlands resulted into many "Omotic" features in their culture, including their language. In 1994 the "Bussa" population numbered ca. 9,205 (CSA 1996).

The traditional settlement area of the M. is situated above 1,800 m A.S.L.; above 2,000 m A.S.L., scattered hamlets with ↗*ənsät* gardens are predominant. Agriculture was originally characterized by similarity with that of the ↗Burği and ↗Konso cluster, but for decades the terraces have no longer been maintained. However, due to favourable ecological circumstances, which allow mixed farming with *ənsät*, cereals, small livestock and cattle, and a sparse population, food supply is assured. The variety of ↗ecological zones given by topography facilitates an all-season sequence of harvests and seasonally alternating use of the lush grazing grounds. Additionally, hunting is possible in the Dullayho lowlands, which are rich in game; but usually only small antelopes, referred to as "goats", are consumed. Handicraft products are purchased on the markets of neighbouring ethnic groups.

Like their southern neighbours, the M. have nine exogamous and patrilineal clans which are divided into lineages. Compared with their neighbours, they were more rigorously organized for military purposes. Centralist tendencies were also apparent in the institution of priestly chiefs (*ɗaama*) resembling the "kingship" (↗Kingship, divine) of the Omotic-speaking groups; especially of Käfa. They had a strong cavalry at their disposal, which in the 19th cent. enabled them to dominate areas up to the Sagan river. In Tuuro in north-western Konso stone ramparts against the M. cavalry still can be seen. During the 19th cent., areas like Alayša in southern M. were integrated into M. territory and parts of the Konso population were forcefully resettled in that area. Against the Diraašša, to whom they were linked by intermarriage between one of their two most important religious dignitaries and the Diraašša *ɗaama*, they led highly ritualized, but nevertheless violent, wars (Amborn 2005). According to oral tradition, the imperial army under *ras* ↗Lᵊul Sägäd attacked the ad hoc combined forces of Diraašša and M. several times, before they were finally subdued in about 1897.

According to their myth of origin, the first *ɗaama* of the M. emerged from a pond through which obtained the power to control the rain (↗Rainmaking). The *ɗaama* is buried in the same grave as his predecessors within a burial grove. When, in the time of the *Därg* regime, the *ɗaama* retreated into the impassable lowlands so as not to lose his authority, still nobody dared to violate the traditional taboo against cutting wood in the *ɗaama*'s burial grove. Thus, on Mount Gardula, part of the original mountain rainforest persisted as a sacred area.



House of a Mosiye religious dignitary marked by a special ceramic roof top and forked tree trunk for offerings; photo 1981, courtesy of the author

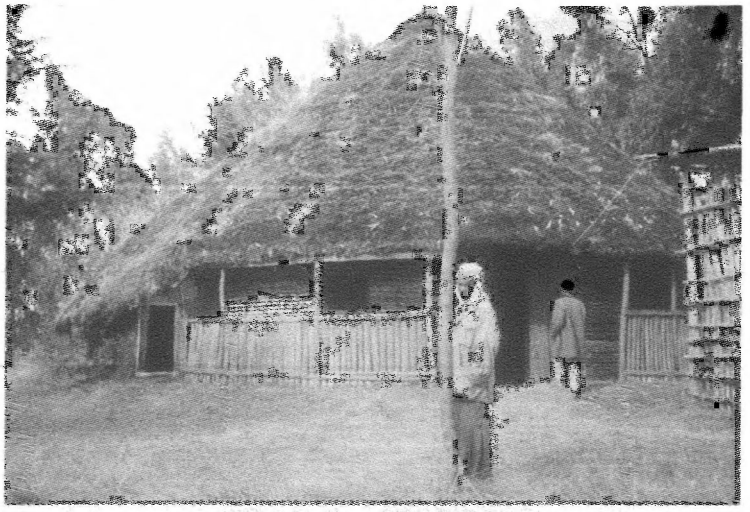
Src.: authors's own fieldnotes; CSA 1996.

Lit.: HERMANN AMBORN, *Differenzierung und Integration: Vergleichende Untersuchungen zu Handwerkern und Spezialisten in südäthiopischen Agrargesellschaften*, München 1990; ID., "Polykephale Gesellschaften Südwest-Äthiopiens zu Zeiten der Sklavenjagden", in: STEFAN BRÜNE – HEINRICH SCHOLLER, *Auf dem Weg zum modernen Äthiopien, Festschrift für Bairu Tafla*, Münster 2005, 1–28; WONDWOSEN TESFAYE, "The Status of North and West Bussa: a Comparative Study", in: *PICES* 14, vol. 3, 1840–57, here 1840.

Hermann Amborn

Mosques

M. (Arab. مسجد sg. *masǧid*, pl. *masāǧid*, lit. 'place of prostration'; Amh. and other Eth. languages መስጊድ, *mäsgid*) are places of organized public worship used by the followers of ↗Islam (Pedersen – Hillenbrand 1991:644f.). In principle, every ritually clean ground can be used as a place



Mosque of 19th cent. *šayḫ* Muḥammad Sərağ Aḥmad Raḥmi in the village of Hadrä near Qawwa Qoto, Aliččo-Wuriro, Səlṭe; photo 2005, courtesy of Dirk Bustorf

of worship, but the term M. is mainly used for buildings constructed specifically for this purpose. The role of the M. is not limited to prayer; they are also places of gathering, discussion, and rest. In M., the Qurʾān is recited and commented upon, religious lectures are given to the people, and learned men offer advice to visitors. In times of ↗famines and other calamities, M. call on Muslims to make financial and material contributions for relief work. They are also centres of traditional Islamic ↗education.

A *masǧid ǧāmiᶜ* (or more simply and currently, *ǧāmiᶜ*) is a M. that accomodates a large number of worshippers on the occasion of the compulsory weekly collective prayer on Fridays at *ẓuhr* time, which is necessarily preceded by the sermon (*ḫuṭba*). Whereas *ǧāmiᶜ* is usually the major religious building of a town, there is a simple *masǧid* in every neighbourhood.

The central elements of a modern M. building are the prayer hall (*muġaṭṭā*), prayer niche (*miḥrāb*), pulpit (*minbar*), minaret (*manāra, miʾḏana, maʾḏana*) and dome (*qubba*). Some M. also have a platform for the *muʾaḏḏins* (*dakka*) and a reading-stand (*kursī*) for the reading from the ↗Qurʾān. The floors are usually covered by carpets (*bisāṭ*). Common M. paraphernalia include chandeliers, reliquaries and ↗incense burners.

M. enhance the believers' commitment to their religious obligations, promote unity among the members of Muslim communities and guarantee doctrinal conformity as well as consensus on secular issues. Attendance of M. is at its fullest during the ↗*Ramaḍān*, especially in the evening when the *īšāʾ* (obligatory) and *tarāwīḥ* (optional but highly recommended) prayers (*ṣalāt*) are offered, at the two major Islamic festivals, *ᶜĪd al-fiṭr* and *ᶜĪd al-aḍḥā*, and the weekly Friday noon congregational prayer.

Personnel

All M. have at least one permanent ↗*imām*, who acts as a leader of prayer for the faithful. The *imām* is responsible for maintaining order and is in charge of the services offered in the M. The *imām* is chosen from among those well-versed in religious matters. During the service, the *imām* stands beside the *miḥrāb* or sometimes on an elevated position. Occasionally a M. has a deputy *imām*. The *imām* can also temporarily concede his function to another person present in the M. (e.g., in order to show respect to a senior guest or scholar). If a M. has several *imāms*, they can read parts of *ṣalāt* one after another or celebrate the service simultaneously in different parts of a M. The *ḫaṭīb* (deliverer of the Friday noon sermon) is often, but not necessarily, the *imām* of the M.

The *muʾaḏḏin* who summons people for prayer is another important member of the M. (cp. also ↗Bilāl b. Rabāḥ al-Ḥabašī).

Sometimes a M. may have an administrator (*nāẓir*) who would manage the finances and other affairs of the M. Many M. have committees that run their affairs and maintain loose administrative links with the office of the Supreme Council.

There are no government subsidies or guaranteed regular income for the personnel.

Types and development of edifices

In Ethiopia three types of M. can be distinguished, based on the materials out of which they are constructed and the architectural style.

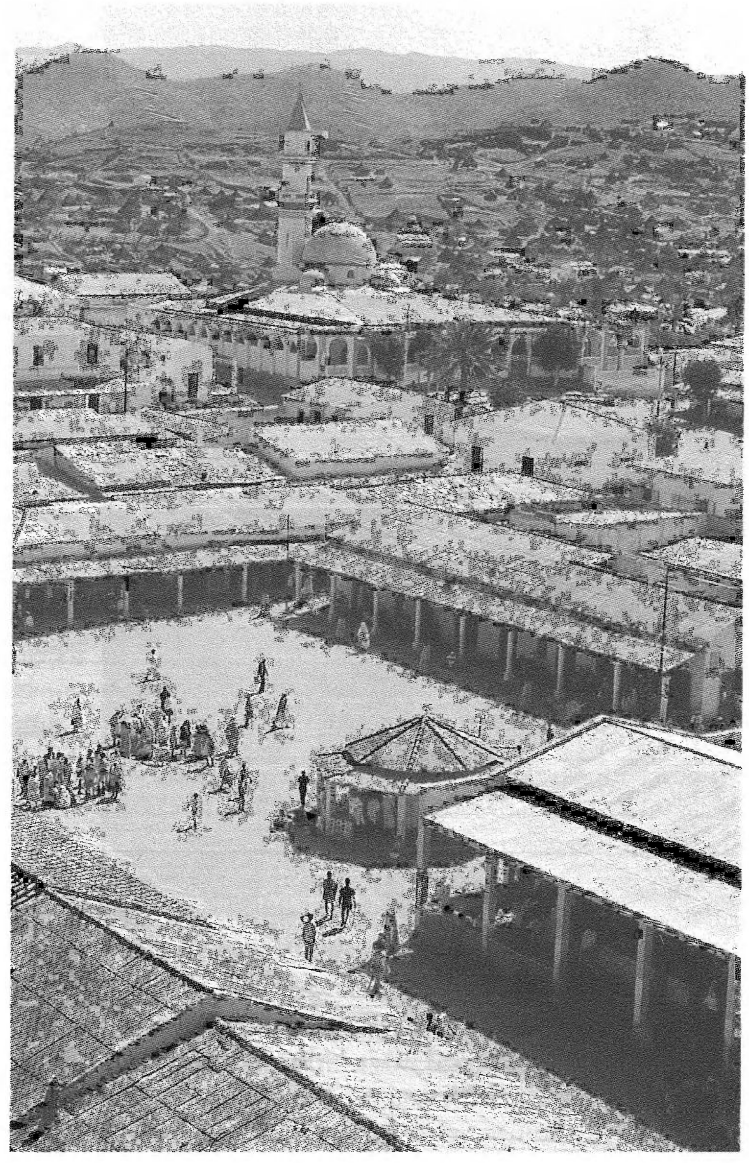
The most basic type, and the earliest one to emerge and spread, is the rural *zāwiya*. For many centuries, this was the dominant type. *Zāwiya* buildings are constructed out of wood and mud, and often have a thatched roof but neither a dome nor a minaret. They do not differ much from ordinary houses except that they have a large prayer hall and a prayer niche. Sometimes the symbol of the star and crescent can be seen on the roof. A well-known example of an open prayer esplanade with merely a prayer niche and a pulpit is Ras Midr in ↗Massawa, which resembles one of early prayer spaces typical of the Ḥi-

ğāz in the early days of Islam.

In towns, more spacious M. made out of cut stones and bricks (or coral stones in coastal Eritrea), and at first attached to the residences of the pious and wealthy merchants and philanthropists, started to be constructed. They had ceilings supported by stone pillars, and were covered with imported or locally-made corrugated iron sheets. Architecturally, they reflected modified forms of Ottoman and North African styles. Each of these M. usually had a simple (and sometimes domed) minaret but not a large dome.

Since the 1980s a modern architectural style, reflecting the influence of the Arab Middle East and the Indo-Pakistani world, has been introduced. A typical M. has a semi-circular but not a bulbous or onion-shaped dome, as found in India under the Mughals (1526–1857) and in Asia in general, a square minaret, as in North Africa, and sometimes, a polygonal one. The construction of large domes and more than one minaret started only recently. The style of M. is often determined by persons and organizations financing their construction.

Pictures and images are traditionally excluded from the M. Elaborately-designed arched doors and glazed windows, exquisite carpets, book-shelves, wall clocks, calligraphic inscriptions from the Qurʾān on ceilings and walls, and large chandeliers are some of the new features of the decorative art displayed in the interior of recently-constructed M. Many have marble floors, mosaic pillars, large domes and several minarets.



Mosque and market place in Kärän; photo 1960s, courtesy of Mike Metras

Naming of mosques

In Ethiopia M. are popularly identified by the names of the neighbourhoods or quarters of the towns in which they are located. In today's ↗Addis Abäba, with the exception of al-↗Ǧāmiᶜ al-Anwar, the M. (estimated at 146 in total) are better known by the names of localities, ethnic groups, philanthropists who financed their construction, important personalities, and public institutions than by their official designations. These include, among others, Banin *Säfär* (an-Nūr, ↗Qatbare); *Säfär* Sälam (Bilāl), Kolfe (Ḥasan b. ᶜAlī), Qera (Salām); ↗Adäre *Säfär* (Ḥusayn b. ᶜAlī), Kʷas Meda (Abū Bakr aṣ-Ṣiddīq); *al-Ḥāǧǧī* Yūnus Aḥmad (Ṣalāḥaddīn); ↗Gurage (Maḥallī); Ādam Bädane (Hamza); and Fəl Wəha (at-Tawfīq). In Däse the principal M. are named after the town's neighbourhoods: Šäwa Bärr, Dawudo, Aräb Gända and Säññǒ Gäbäya. In Massawa and its surroundings M. were named after predominant legal schools (e.g., Ǧāmiᶜ al-Ḥanafī, Ǧāmiᶜ aš-Šāfiʾī), holy men (e.g., Šayḫ Aḥmad an-Naǧāš), the founders of Sufi orders and their descendants (e.g., Šayḫ ↗Muḥammad ᶜUṯmān al-Mīrġanī, ᶜAbdalqādir al-Ǧīlānī etc.) and locally powerful notables and families (e.g., Sayyid Muḥammad Masāwa). In Asmära, most of its ca. 30 M. (six of which are *ǧāmiᶜ*) are similarly named after the holy men or important personalities of Islamic history, e.g., ↗Ǧāmiᶜ al-Ḫulafāʾ ar-Rāšidīn, Ḫālid b. al-Walīd, ᶜUmar b. al-Ḫaṭṭāb, al-Ḥāǧǧ Abrāb and Abū Bakr aṣ-Ṣiddīq, ᶜAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, ᶜAlī Mūz, ᶜUmar b.

An Argobba mosque, typical for the Harär area; photo 1984, courtesy of Ewald Wagner

ᶜAbdalᶜazīz, and al-Ḥāǧǧ Ibrāhīm Muḥammad Ḥusayn. The M. named after ᶜAbdalqādir al-Ǧīlānī stands beside the *maqām* of the ↗*walī* where members of the Qādirīya *ṭarīqa* used to perform their ↗*ḏikr* every Thursday night.

History of M. construction

The first M. must have appeared in the Ethio-Eritrean region from the time of the advent of Islam. Arabic sources from the heydays of the Islamic principalities (9th–16th cent.; e.g., Ibn Faḍlallāh al-ᶜUmarī, s. TrIslam 73, 78) mention a number of M. However, with the expansion of the Christian empire beginning in the 14th cent., a large number of rural M. were destroyed. Christian emperors banned the construction of M. within the territory under their jurisdiction. Muslims had to revert to the use of *zāwiya*s which fulfilled all the functions of the M.

Ruins of mediaeval M. (by no means the oldest in the area) have been discovered recently in north-eastern ↗Šäwa. On a steep hill called Goze, to the north-west of the town of Šäwa Robit, there is an ancient M. with walls and roof made of stone slabs. The structure is still intact (Kebbede Geleta 2000:186ff.; Stitz in UNCES, 187; Chernet Tilahun in PNCES 1, 307). At Turu Sina, not far from Kämise, there is a M. which also serves as a place for mystical retreat. It was constructed with split logs of big and tall trees. Other ruins of M. were found in Wesiso Nora and Asberi in the plain of Rasa (Chernet Tilahun in PNCES 1, 307ff.).

For Eritrea, one can surmise that on the ↗Dahlak islands, M. were at the disposal of the faithful to perform the compulsory prayers since the very beginning of the Islamic presence there. In the village of Dahlak al-Kabīr "M. with short minarets" among the ruins of the old site were mentioned by Puglisi (in PICES 3, 38). Other ancient Muslim populations in Eritrea probably had their M. in the highland, as well as in the coastal areas but no sufficient archaeological evidence is so far available.

In ↗Harär, which has been the site of a great number of M. since at least the 12th cent., the central M. was converted into a church at the time of the Šäwan conquest in 1887 (Gibb 1997:382) and in the Muslim kingdom of Ǧimma no churches were built until its incorporation in 1932 (s. ↗Abbaa Ǧifaar II).

The revival of M. building started in the 19th and 20th cent. Three periods can be singled out: the development under the influence of the Turks, Egyptians and Yemeni Arabs, the Italian occupation, and the post-war period.

The Ottoman and later Egyptian occupation of Eritrea brought about a rapid development of Islam and many M. were constructed during the 19th cent. The Šayḫ Ḥammāl (or Ḥammālī) al-Anṣārī M. and shrine (Cresti 1990; Gori 1995:88) built in Massawa in the 16th cent. is one of the most renowned holy places of the city. The Ottomans also renovated M., notably the Ǧāmiᶜ al-Ḥanafī, associated with the legal school they promoted. Following their brief and ultimately unsuccessful attempt to gain a foothold in the Eritrean highlands, the Ottomans took ↗Dəbarwa in 1559 where they constructed a Friday M. and several lesser ones. From the mid-19th cent. a significant growth in M. construction on Massawa island is registered, their number tripling from four in the 1840s to twelve in the 1890s. In addition, Islamic court records from the mid- to late-19th cent. show that wealthy merchants in Massawa had endowed (Arab. *waqf*) various kinds of real estate property to local M. (Miran 2004:243–52).

At the same time new M. were built in Harär, whose rulers also patronized M. in distant areas, e.g., the 18th-cent. *amīr* ↗ᶜAbdaššakūr b. Yūsuf is associated with a M. at ↗Šayḫ Ḥusayn of Bale, dedicated to ᶜAbdalqādir al-Ǧīlānī. The architectural styles of Harär M. reflected the influence of those existing in the Islamic world, particularly in Egypt.

The same period gave impetus to the construction of the first M. in Addis Abäba. The oldest M. in the capital was founded in 1898 on a site not far from the imperial palace (↗*Gəbbi*). It was built on the initiative of an Indian Muslim mason, Walī Muḥammad, on the land he had been granted for his services in the construction of the palace. The idea of construction of a big M. came from the Turkish envoy of *sulṭān* ᶜAbdalḥāmid II, ↗Sadıq *paša*, who was sent to Mənilək in 1904. In the name of the local Islamic community of Addis Abäba (numbering ca. 2,000) he submitted a formal request for permission to build a main M. in the capital. Though Mənilək agreed, no such M. was built prior to the Italian occupation. A M. was built in Gondär in 1900/01 on a plot of land obtained with the permission of Mənilək II (Solomon Addis Getahun 1997:4). Banin *Säfär* M. was founded in 1911 (s. Hussein Ahmed 1997:340; Gori 2005:82).

The Italians, in an attempt to win the support of the indigenous Muslims, adopted a pro-Islamic policy. They restored the old M. in Massawa and promoted construction of new ones, both in Eritrea and later in Ethiopia. They financed the principal M. of ↗Asmära (1900; Ǧāmiᶜ al-Ḫulafāʾ ar-Rāšidīn was also renovated by the Italians in 1937), the Sayyid Hāšim shrine in ↗Ḥəṭumlo (1902) and another in ↗Ǝmbärämi near the revered *qubba* of the ↗ᶜAd Šek. The Italians also funded a Friday M. in ↗Kärän in 1896 as well as another one, following *sayyid* Ǧaᶜfar al-Mīrġanī's settlement in the town in 1903. Friday M. were constructed in ↗Asäb (1892), ↗Tïʾo (1907), ↗ᶜAddi Qayyəḥ (1909), ↗Aqordät (1911) and ↗Mändäfära (1912). By 1911 Massawa area alone had ca. 65 M. (Odorizzi 1911), and by the end of the colonial period there were over 20 M. in Asmära. M. were also constructed in ↗Ginda ᶜ (1933), ᶜAlī Gidir (1935), ↗Naqfa (1935), ↗Täsänäy (1937), Sägänäyti (1938) and ↗Barentu (1938). The "small" *ǧāmiᶜ* was built in ᶜAsäb in 1938. In Ethiopia, the Italians constructed new M. in Addis Abäba, repaired those at Säqota, Čəlga, Däbarq, Ǝslamge (↗Addis ᶜAläm in Gondär), Dangəla, Ḥayq, Däse, Mätämma, ↗Harär, Dərre Dawa, Ǧiǧǧiga, Miʾesso, Asbä Täfäri and Gobba (TrIslam 137). The Ǧāmiᶜ al-Anwar M. in Addis Abäba was founded in 1936.

Under the ↗British Military Administration in Eritrea more Friday M. were built in ↗ᶜAddi K̲ʷala (1943) and ↗Qarora (1948). By 1942, there were 27 M. in ↗Ḥərgigo. During the period of the ↗Ethiopian–Eritrean Federation, Ḫaylä Śəllase attempted to gain favour among Eritrean Muslims by funding the renovation of the Ḥanafī M. in Massawa (1953) and the *ǧāmiᶜ* in Aq̲ordät (1956–57). In 1956 there were 796 M. in Eritrea, 36 of them were Friday M. (Ibrāhīm al-Muḫtār 1958). The opening of the Ǧāmiᶜ ᶜAbdalqādir and the Ǧāmiᶜ Akriya in Asmära in 1961 raised the number of Friday M. in the city to three.

The post-war period, and particularly the post-1974 years witnessed an unprecedented boom in M. construction throughout the country, due to the liberalization of religious policies. In many cases the financial costs of construction were covered by the Muslim community, and in recent years, by external Islamic philanthropic organizations, or by anonymous, pious and rich individuals based inside and outside Ethiopia and Eritrea. Numerous new M. appeared in Addis Abäba (there is a growing trend of M. being constructed in new neighbourhoods), Asmära and elsewhere. Many M. have been constructed in the towns and rural areas of the regional states of Oromiyaa, the south, Amhara and ᶜAfar. Harär probably remains the town with the highest concentration of M. in relation to total area and population. In the early 21st-cent. new foreign-funded (mainly Saudi) M. were constructed at various locations in Eritrea, including Massawa, ↗Säncafe, Mändäfära and ᶜAddi K̲ʷala.

Often there are M. and churches in close proximity to each other, symboling peaceful coexistence of Islam and Christianity. Good examples are the Ǧāmiᶜ al-Anwar and the Raguʾel Church, and the *šayḫ* ↗Ḫʷağali M. and Rufaʾel Church, both in Addis Abäba, or the Ǧāmiᶜ al-Ḫulafāʾ ar-Rāšidīn and ↗Ǝnda Maryam Church in Asmära. The only two places where a ban on the building of M. is still in force are the towns of ↗Lalibäla and ↗Aksum (in nearby ᶜAdwa there are two M.) where several clashes between Christians and Muslims demanding the right to set up a M. took place in 2003 and 2004.

Src.: ALEM ZELALEM, "Saudi Arabia's Wahabism and the Threat to Ethiopia's National Security", *Ethiomedia* 26 September 2003 [*http://www.ethiomedia.com/press/wahabism_*

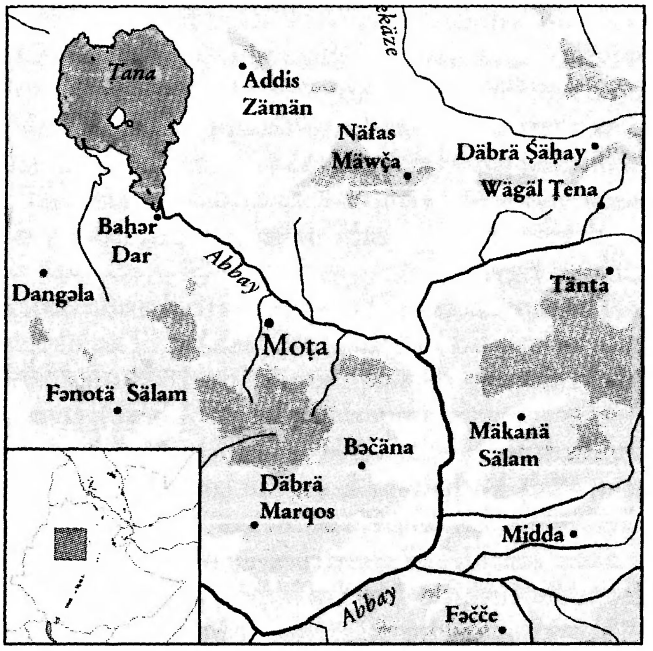
threat_to_ethiopia.html, retrieved 15 August 2007]; JOHANNES SEBHATU, "The Emergence of Radical Islam in Ethiopia (1991–2004)", *ibid.* 3 July 2004 [*http://www.ethiomedia.com/commentary/radical_islam_in_ethiopia.html*, retrieved 15 August 2007]; BUREAU OF DEMOCRACY, HUMAN RIGHTS, AND LABOR, *Ethiopia, International Religious Freedom Report*, ms., 2004.

Lit.: CHERNET TILAHUN, "Traces of Islamic Material Cutlure in North-Eastern Shoa", in: *PNCES* 1, 303–20; FEDERICO CRESTI, "Alcune note storiche su Massaua, con particolare riferimento ad un complesso religioso islamico: la moschea dello Šayḫ Hammāli", *Africa* 45, 3, 1990, 410–31; ID., "La mosquée du Šayḫ Hammālī à Massaoua", in: *PICES* 10, 1, 1994, 303–15; K.A.C. CRESWELL, "Architecture", in: *EI²* vol. 1, 1960, 609–24; MARTIN FRISHMAN – HASAN-UDDIN KHAN (eds.), *The Mosque: History, Architectural Development and Regional Diversity*, London 1994 (Lit.); ErlEth; CAMILLA GIBB, "Constructing Past and Present in Harar", in: *PICES* 13, vol. 2, 378–90; ALESSANDRO GORI, "Soggiorno di studi in Eritrea ed Etiopia", *RSE* 39, 1995 [1997], 81–129; ID., "Contemporary and Historical Muslim Scholars as Portrayed by the Ethiopian Islamic Press in the 1990s", *Aethiopica* 8, 2005, 72–94; J. PEDERSEN – R. HILLENBRAND, "Masdjid; in the Central Islamic Lands", in: *EI²* vol. 6, 644–88; HUSSEIN AHMED, "A Brief Note on the Yemeni Arabs in Ethiopia", in: *PICES* 13, vol. 1, 1997, 339–48; ID., "Faith and Trade: the Market Stalls around the Anwar Mosque in Addis Ababa during *Ramadān*", *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs* 19, 2, 1999, 261–69; ID., "Coexistence and/or Confrontation? Towards a Reappraisal of Christian-Muslim Encounter in Contemporary Ethiopia", *Journal of Religion in Africa* 36, 2, 2006, 4–22; IBRĀHĪM AL-MUḤTĀR, *Ar-Rāwiya fi ta'rīḫ mudun Iritriyā* ('A Compendium of the History of Eritrean Towns'), ms. Asmära 1378 H. [1958 A.D.]; KEBBEDE GELETA, "A Survey of Argobba Sites in Northern Shoa", *AE* 16, 2000, 185–94; KEDIR MOHAMMED, *The History of the Two Oldest Mosques in Addis Ababa*, B.A. thesis, Department of History, Addis Ababa University 1986; JONATHAN MIRAN, *Facing the Land, Facing the Sea: Commercial Transformation and Urban Dynamics in the Red Sea Port of Massawa, 1840s–1900s*, Ph.D. thesis, Michigan State University 2004, 243–52, 366ff.; DANTE ODORIZZI, *Il commissariato regionale di Massaua al 1° gennaio 1910*, Asmara 1911; GIUSEPPE PUGLISI, "Alcuni vestigi dell'isola di Dahlac Chebir e la leggenda dei Furs", in: *PICES* 3, 35–48; ṢĀDIQ AL-'AẒM, *Riḥlat al-Ḥabaša* ('Journey in Ethiopia'), Cairo 1908; SAID KEMAL, *A History of Shawabar Mosque in Dasse 1940–1995*, B.A. thesis, Department of History, Addis Ababa University 1995; SOLOMON ADDIS GETAHUN, "Addis Alam: the Nucleus of Gondar", in: *PICES* 13, vol. 1, 1997, 3–15; TrIslam; OFFICE OF THE MUSLIM WORLD LEAGUE (ed.), *Adwā' 'ilmīya ala masāğid Addīs Abābā* ('The Light of Scholarship upon the Mosques of Addis Abäba'), Addis Abäba *Šawwāl* 1414 H. [1994 A.D.]; VOLKER STITZ, "The Western Argobba of Yifat, Central Ethiopia", in: *UNCES* 185–92; YASSIN M. ABERRA, "Muslim institutions in Ethiopia: the Asmara *Awqāf*", *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs* 5, 1983–84, 203–23.

Hussein Ahmed –Jonathan Miran

Moṭa

M. (ሞጣ) is a town located in the middle of a rich countryside north of Mt. ↗Č̣oqqe and south of the ↗Abbay canyon, at 2,536 m A.S.L.



This town, founded around the old ↗Moṭa Giyorgis church, has the most important market in East Goğğam. It also has administrative services and an airfield. The town's influence, however, is overshadowed by the growth of ↗Baḥər Dar and ↗Däbrä Marqos.

Before the 1991 federal reform, M. was the capital of M. *awraǧǧa*, a subdivision of the Goğğam administrative region (East Goğğam in 1987). Since the elimination of the *awraǧǧas*, M. has been the capital of the Hulät Əğ Ənnäse *wäräda*, a part of the Məsraq Goğğam zone of the Amhara *kəllәl*.

Populated with 12,934 inhabitants in 1984, the town grew quickly after the Baḥər Dar–M.–Däğän road was improved. It had 24,096 inhabitants in 2000.

After the completion of the Abbay Bridge, a main road directly connecting Baḥər Dar and Däbrä Marqos was built through Däbrä Marqos, south of Mt. Č̣oqqe. After the 1967 Goğğam revolt, the Ethiopian authorities improved the road running through M.

Src.: CSA 1984; CSA 1998; CSA 2000; *Guida*; EMAtlas 1988.

Lit.: GEBRU TAREKE, *Ethiopia: Power and Protest. Peasant Revolts in the Twentieth Century*, Cambridge 1991 (African Studies Series 71), 171, 177-84, 190; *The Abyssinian Campaigns: the Official Story of the Conquest of Italian East Africa*, London 1942, 66; PETER SCHWAB, "Rebellion in Ethiopia, a Study of Gojjam Province", *East African Journal* 11, 6, 1969; ID., *Decision-making in Ethiopia: a Study of the Political Process*, London 1972.

Alain Gascon

Motä Aron

The M.A. (ሞተ፡ አሮን, 'The Death of Aaron', also known as ገድለ፡ አሮን, *Gädlä Aron*, 'Acts of Aaron') is a ↗Betä Ǝsraʾel work based upon an Arabic–Christian version, itself derived from a Syriac homily by ↗Jacob of Serug, of the short biblical tale on the death of Aaron (Num 20:22–29) – which served as the basis for later Jewish, Christian and Muslim legends exploring the subject in greater detail.

According to the M.A., ↗Moses is informed of Aaron's approaching death, and despite Moses's intervention his brother is not spared. Aaron officiates as High Priest for the last time and passes his priestly vestments on to his son, Elazar. After bidding farewell to both Elazar and Moses, Aaron dies.

No Christian Ethiopic version of this legend has been discovered to date, but the M.A. is likely to derive from such a text, and to be not itself a direct translation from the Arabic. The existence, however implied, of an Arabic *Vorlage* would entail a dating of the Gəʿəz text not earlier than the 14th cent.

At present, the only available copies of the M.A. are two manuscripts in Tel Aviv University library, Faitlovitch collection, that reveal two successive stages in the adaptation of the text for Betä Ǝsraʾel's needs. One of these mss. contains a text in which only the most conspicuously Christian references have been deleted, while the attribution to "The Blessed and Holy Father Jacob of Serug" is retained. The other manuscript, used by Wurmbrand as the primary text for his 1961 edition and Hebrew translation, has been thoroughly "de-Christianized", with an attempt to eliminate some of the narrative inconsistencies passed from Syriac and Arabic into Gəʿəz.

Src.: MORDECHAI WURMBRAND, *Petirat Aharon*, Tel Aviv 1961; STEVEN KAPLAN, *Les Falāshās*, Turnhout 1990, 74–84 (tr.).

Lit.: STEVEN KAPLAN, "The Literature of the Beta Israel (Falasha): a Survey of the Biblical-Hebraic Tradition", *Hristianskij Vostok* new ser. 1 [7], 1999, 99–123, here 107f.; HAIM SCHWARZBAUM, "Jewish, Christian, Muslim and Falasha Legends of the Death of Aaron, the High Priest", *Fabula* 5, 1962, 185–227; MAX [MORDECHAI] WURMBRAND, "Homélie de Jacques de Saroug sur la mort d'Aaron", *L'Orient Syrien* 4, 1961, 255–78.

Steven Kaplan

Moṭa Giyorgis

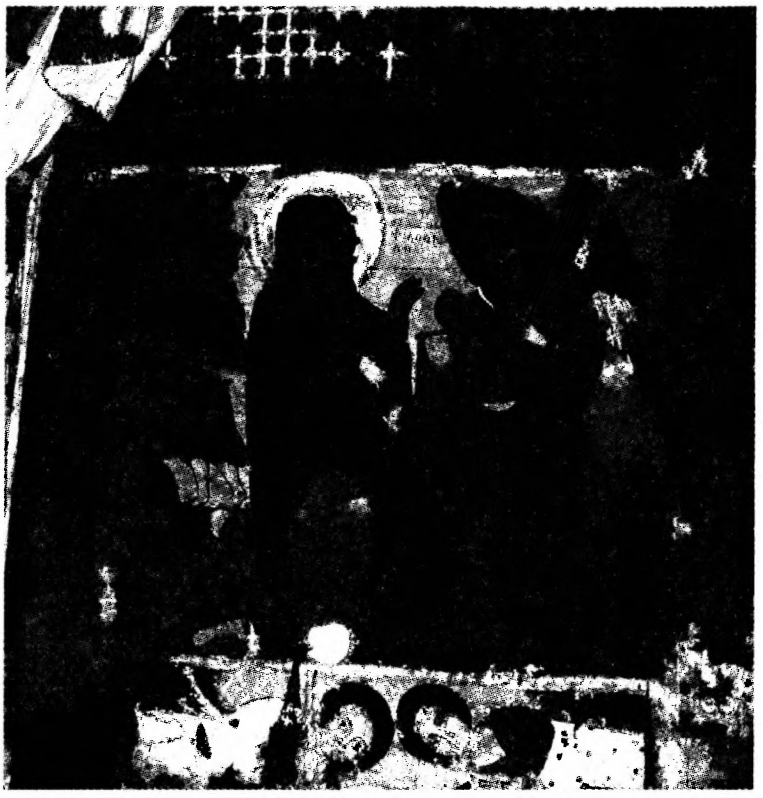
M.G. (ሞጣ፡ ጊዮርጊስ, also ሞጣ፡ ጊዮርጊስ፡ ደብረ፡ ገነት, Moṭa Giyorgis Däbrä Gännät) is a round church consecrated to St. George in Goǧǧam, Hulät Ǝǧ Ǝnnäse *wäräda* (formerly Moṭa *awraǧǧa*; currently East Goǧǧam zone of the Amhara region).

M.G. was founded by ↗Wälättä Ǝsraʾel, daughter of *ətege* Məntəwwab (↗Bərhan Mogäsa), during the reign of *aṣe* ↗Iyoʾas I (CrumLand 105; Habtamu Mengistie 2004:14, 44ff.). Richly endowed by Wälättä Ǝsraʾel, the church was to serve for the promotion of her family's interests in Goǧǧam. The text of Wälättä Ǝsraʾel's land grant followed the model of the ↗*gʷəlt* of ↗Däbrä Ṣäḥay Qʷəsqʷam (CrumLand 167f.). The pattern of the *gʷəlt* of M.G. was, in turn, followed by the grants to the Qäranyo Mädḫane ʿAläm church, often associated with M.G. and founded by Wälättä Ǝsraʾel's grandson *ras* ↗Marəd Ḫaylu, and to the Däbrä Elyas monastery founded by *aṣe* ↗Täklä Haymanot II (CrumLand 2000:213; Crummey – Daniel Ayana – Shumet Sishagne in PICES 11, vol. 1). The success of the formal and legal pattern of M.G.'s foundation (with 1/3 of the lands distributed to the *balärəst*, i.e. holders of ↗*rəst*, and 2/3 to the ↗*däbtära*) is confirmed by the substantial number of the charter's copies preserved in different Goǧǧam monasteries (Däbrä Marqos, Yägʷärä Qʷəsqʷam, Däbrä Elyas, Märṭulä Maryam; s. Habtamu Mengistie 2004:36, 44).

The M.G. church had the right of ↗asylum, like most of the important royal churches. Its head originally bore the title of ↗*aläqa*, whose second title was *liqä ṭäbbäbt* (s. ↗*liq*; according to Wälättä Ǝsraʾel's charters partially published by Habtamu Mengistie 2004:44ff.). Today the *aläqa* of M.G. has the additional honorific title of *mälakä gännät*.

Ever since its foundation, the M.G. church was an important centre of traditional ↗education (AbbSéjour vol. 2, 33). *Arat ʿayna* Goššu (lit. Goššu the "Four-eyed", d. 29 *Ṭərr* 1861 A.M. [6 February 1869 A.D.]), thus called for mastering the traditional exegesis of the four groups of church books (cp. ↗*Mäṣḥaf bet*), taught at M.G. in the mid-19th cent. Among his famous students was ↗Kəflä Giyorgis, who later became the assistant of Ignazio ↗Guidi (Cowley 1974:169).

In the second half of the 19th cent., the M.G. area was affected by the recession caused by the pillages of *ras* ↗Ali and then *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II on the one hand and the ↗famine on the other. A famous ↗*qəne* recalls the calamities of the ↗*Kəfu qän* (published in Maḫtämä Śəllase Wäldä



Moṭa Giyorgis church, *mäqdäs* wall-painting, miracle of St. Mary, saving the soul of the cannibal (garments of St. Mary made of textile enhanced with metal, end 18th cent.); photo 2006, courtesy of Paul Henze

Mäsqäl 1961/62, no. 169; tr. 'How to plough the lands of Moṭa and Qäranyo? / How to plough the lands of Dämbäčča and Däbrä Wärq? / Going from here to there I have seen no more oxen [or: I walked on dead bodies]').

Beautiful mural paintings have been preserved in M.G. (s. fig.). The walls of the ↗*mäqdäs* (on the west, south and north sides) bear murals dating most probably from the foundation time. Two representations of St. Mary are remarkable. On the northern wall, at the right side of the door, the "miracle of the cannibal" (*Bälaᶜe Säbᵓ*) is depicted (s. ↗*Täᵓammärä Maryam*; ↗*Kidanä məḥrät*). The mantel and the dress of the Virgin are made of textile and enhanced by metallic decorations around her head, shoulders and arms.

On the right side of the western wall of the *mäqdäs*, there is a conventional picture of St. Mary and Child protected by the archangels. It has been repainted by *aläqa* Dästa of Säqoṭa, but two ancient pieces of red textile with floral motifs have been kept on the Virgin's ↗*alga*. Noble ↗donors are painted at the bottom of both murals.

The Chronicle of Iyasu II accounts that Məntəwwab, while commissioning the mural paintings of Däbrä Ṣäḥay Qʷəsqʷam, ordered St. Mary's vestments to be made of precious textiles instead of being painted, and her neck and wrists to be gilded with necklaces and bracelets (GuiIyas 106). Whereas Däbrä Ṣäḥay Qʷəsqʷam's murals have disappeared, M.G. might testify to the same *modus operandi*. The foundation of Wälättä Ǝsraᵓel has therefore more than one common point with the foundation of her mother, whose baptismal name was Wälättä Giyorgis.

Interestingly, three stripes of paintings, dating most probably from the same period, have been preserved on the upper part of the inner wall of the *qəddəst* facing the northern and western faces of the *mäqdäs*. Some scenes depicted on them, such as, e.g., the killing of Uriah, husband of Bathsheba, arranged by King David (2 Kings 11), are quite unusual. This remarkable scene – maybe a *hapax* in Ethiopian painting – depicts the first in a chain of events that eventually led to the birth of ↗Solomon, Bathsheba's son.

While Goğğam played a prominent role as the centre of Unctionist (↗*Qəbat*) movement in the history of christological controversies (↗Christology), M.G., at least since the middle of the 19th cent., was the stronghold of the ↗*Täwaḥədo* (Kropp 1987:110). M.G.'s library possesses a copy of the ↗*Nägärä haymanot* (here preserved in a manuscript containing *Mäṣḥafä mänäkosat*; ↗Monastic literature), which synthesizes the ↗*Karra* point of view on the history and the ideologies of the different doctrinal schools. The text, known in a few copies, lays the foundation for the anti-*Qəbat* ideology (Kindeneh Endeg 2004, ch. 1; Getatchew Hayle in PICES 6, 242).

Src.: mss. Moṭa Giyorgis Illinois/IES 89.VIII.22–24 (*Giyorgis Wäldä ᶜAmid*), /IES 89.VIII.25–27 (*Mäṣḥafä mänäkosat, Nägärä haymanot*), /IES 89.IX.4–6 (Gospels); ms. Vat. aeth. 233, fol. 141r°; interview with *mälakä gännät* Nəbrät Ǝwnätu of Moṭa Giyorgis 1997; GreTisVat [I], 739; GuiIyas 10f., 97 (text) = 10, 106 (tr.); *blattengeta* MAḤTÄMÄ ŚƎLLASE WÄLDÄ MÄSQÄL, **አማርኛ፡ ቅኔ፡ ከነመፍቻው** (*Amarəñña qəne kännämäfčaw*, 'Amharic *Qəne* with Explanations'), Addis Abäba 1955 A.M. [1962/63 A.D.], 119, no. 169.

Lit.: AbbSéjour vol. 2, 33, 261f.; vol. 3, 127; ROGER W. COWLEY, "Old Testament Introduction in the 'Andemta' Commentary Tradition", *JES* 12, 1, 1974, 133–75, here 169; ID., *The Traditional Interpretation of the Apocalypse of St. John in the Ethiopian Orthodox Church*, Cambridge 1983, 20; CrumLand 105, 157, 167f., 213; DONALD CRUMMEY – DANIEL AYANA – SHUMET SISHAGNE, "A Gondärine Land Grant in Gojjam: the Case of Qäranyo Mädhané

Aläm", in: *PICES* 11, vol. 1, 103–16; GETATCHEW HAILE, "Materials on the Theology of Qeba't or Unction", in: *PICES* 6, 205–50, here 245, n. 32; HABTAMU MENGISTIE, *Lord, Zéga and Peasant: a Study of Property and Agrarian Relations in Rural Eastern Gojjam*, Addis Ababa University 2004 (Faculty of Social Sciences Special Monograph Series 1), 14, 44ff.; KINDENEH ENDEG, *The Role of Qebatoč in the Christological Controversy within the Ethiopian Orthodox Church (1620–1764)*, M.A. thesis, History Department, Addis Ababa University 2004, 20ff.; MANFRED KROPP, "Les premières querelles théologiques d'Abuna Salama III en Éthiopie", *AE* 14, 1987, 99–116, here 110.

Anaïs Wion

Motä Muse

M.M. (ሞተ፡ ሙሴ, 'The Death of Moses') is a Gəᶜəz work which focuses on the last days on earth of a major biblical figure (as do ↗*Motä Aron, Gädlä* ↗*Abrəham, Gädlä* ↗*Yəsḥaq* and *Gädlä* ↗*Yaᶜəqob*), its main protagonist being the greatest of the biblical prophets and patriarchs, ↗Moses (cp. ↗*Ardəᵓət* and ↗*Nägärä Muse*). In M.M., he is informed of the day, but not the date, of his death; and is thus troubled, having to leave his family. By showing him a worm living "in the stone", and yet feeding on green sprouts secured from Heavens, God assures him that the latter shall be taken care of. When the angel of death appears, Moses is granted the opportunity to take leave from his mother, wife and children. He then meets angels who are preparing his grave, and then dies.

M.M. is usually assigned to the literature of ↗Betä Ǝsraᵓel (who recite it at ↗funerals); and is perhaps the best studied piece of it, published in several editions which rely on a wide range of mss. All of the texts hitherto examined appear fairly uniform in format, with only minor variant readings distinguishing them from one other.

The M.M. is attested in recent mss. alone. Despite some general similarities with such well-known Jewish works as the Assumption of Moses (*Assumptionis Mosis*, also known as the Testament of Moses) and *Peṭirat Moše* ('The Death of Moses') it does not seem to directly draw on Jewish sources. Rather, a number of features have suggested the existence of a Muslim Arabic source for the Betä Ǝsraᵓel text, and thereby a dating of the latter to the 14th or 15th cent. – possibly, instead, a mere *terminus post quem*.

No Christian Ethiopian version of the work has been discovered so far; however, Moses is highly respected by both Christian and Betä Ǝsraᵓel traditions: unsurprisingly, the use of the M.M. in a Christian work is also attested (Nosnitsin 2003:159–62). A Christian version may have existed some time in the second half of the 15th cent. at the earliest, and was then possibly rejected when the text became identified with the Betä Ǝsraᵓel exclusively.

Src.: WOLF LESLAU, *Falasha Anthology*, New Haven, CT 1951, 102–11 (tr.); EDWARD ULLENDORFF (ed., tr.), "The 'Death of Moses' in the Literature of the Falasha", *BSOAS* 25, 1961, 419–43; MAX (MORDECHAI) WURMBRAND, "Remarks on the Text of the Falasha 'Death of Moses'", *BSOAS* 25, 1962, 431–37; JACQUES FAITLOVITCH (ed., tr.), *Mota Muse*, Paris 1906; STEVEN KAPLAN, *Les Falāshās*, Turnhout 1990, 68–74 (tr.).

Lit.: STEVEN KAPLAN, "The Literature of the Beta Israel (Falasha): a Survey of the Biblical-Hebraic Tradition", *Hristianskiy Vostok* new ser. 1 [7], 1999, 99–123, here 106f.; HEINRICH MALTER, "Der Tod Moses in der äthiopischen Überlieferung", *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums* 51, 1907, 707–17; DENIS NOSNITSIN, "Mäṣḥafä fəlsätu lä-abunä Täklä Haymanot: a Short Study", *Aethiopica* 6, 2003, 137–67.

Steven Kaplan

Motälämi

M. (ሞተለሚ; also Motälami, Motälome, Motä Lomi etc.) is the name of the half-legendary, mighty 13th/14th-cent. ruler of ↗Damot. The first part of the name (*motä-*) probably derives from the old south-Ethiopian title ↗*mooti*, to which a personal name of the ruler was attached.

M. is attested mainly in the Gəᶜəz hagiographic sources. The earliest mention of M., styled as *śəyyumä* ↗*Damot* ('governor of Damot'), is found in the commemorative text devoted to *abunä* ↗Täklä Haymanot on 24 *Näḥase* (included in the 16th-cent. version of the ↗*Sənkəssar*, but composed much earlier, s. Nosnitsin 2007). It tells that M. expanded his power over entire ↗Šäwa up to the river of ↗Ǧämma and invaded the place where the Saint's family lived (cp. ↗Ǝtissa). Täklä Haymanot's mother Ǝgziᵓ Ḫaräya was taken prisoner by M. but saved by Archangel Michael. Later, the Saint came to Damot and converted M. and his subjects, and destroyed the local warlocks and the sites of their cults (GuiSyn I, 378-83).

The existence of once powerful Damot, harassing both Muslim and Christian neighbouring regions, and of its capable local military leader(s), seems to be certain (cp. TadTChurch 121). Based mostly on the initial short account, other, more recent versions of the Acts of Täklä Haymanot expand the story (cp. Nosnitsin 2007). They include further details, which, whilst frequently

being contradictory, are not necessarily pure literary elaborations. However, the provenance and historical background of these details, generally referring to the historical realities of southern Ethiopia, is difficult to define. Among such details are, e.g., the names of M.'s mother Ǝsländäne and M.'s father Motäqal (*mooti* + name?). Mount Bilat appears as the main sanctuary in old Damot. Some features of M.'s authority are discernible: he was not an absolute ruler, but strongly depended on the "warlocks" and had to consider the opinion of his people. He took the wives of the rulers he had subdued as concubines. The capital of M., Mälbäradi (Mälbarade etc.), may be, in fact, not a toponym, cp. ancient terms designating the parts of the royal camp in the History of the Campaign of ↗ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon I: Märᶜade (KrAmdS 7 and no. 40 [tr.]; MarAmdS 54f.) and Mal/Gramal (KrAmdS 27 [tr.]; MarAmdS 92f.). Finally, the pattern of the conversion of M. and the evangelization of Damot also reflects the historical situation, including, e.g., Täklä Haymanot's deviation from some prescriptions of Canon ↗law while dealing with M. and other new converts (TurIz 86ff.). Later M. appears as a devote Orthodox Christian (though the traditional cults had not been eradicated in Damot by the 15th cent. and later).

As to other traditions, a valuable account appears in the 14th/15th-cent. Acts of ↗Yared, which tell of the last king of the ↗Zagʷe dynasty, Zena Ṗeṭros (cp. CRStor 317; he is usually excluded from the reconstructions of the Zagʷe line, s. DicEthBio 200-05), who went to fight the prince (*mäkʷännən*) of Damot M. and lost his life (Conti Rossini 1904:22-26). The priests of his royal camp (*kahənatä däbtära*) were captured by M., but then converted him, destroyed the "warlocks", and stayed in Damot until the coming of *aṣe* ↗ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon I (cp. Guidi 1889:63; indeed, M. is mentioned among the vassals of this Emperor). In the Acts of Täklä Haymanot, a similar story of the conversion of M., though not taken from the Acts of Yared directly, was incorporated into the 15th-cent. so-called Ḥayq or Däbrä Libanos 1 recension of the Acts. Here, Täklä Haymanot liberated the ecclesiastics who had spent years in the captivity of M. and retrieved their ↗*tabot*.

Some other saints' Acts contain further stories about M., which rather resemble "hagiographical novels" than accounts of real events. The common pattern is to attach the protagonist of the Acts (or his relatives) to Täklä Haymanot (or Ǝgziᵓ Ḫaräya). This is the case of the Acts of ↗Yoḥannəs Məśraqawi, which contain two accounts of Täklä Haymanot's and *abunä* Yoḥannəs's "fight" with M. (Marrassini 1981:167-82, 335-55). In the Acts of *abunä* ↗Qäwisṭos, the captivity of Ǝgziᵓ Ḫaräya is shared by the mother of the saint (Raineri 2004). The narrative structure in the Acts of *abunä* ↗Tadewos of Däbrä Maryam (Six 1975) is even more complex, since Tadewos faces M.'s brother Zəgna, the ruler of Damot, and Mayuṭ, "the King of the Muslims".

The identification of M. as ruler of ↗Hadiyya (and Damot as its capital) by ↗Aṣmä Giyorgis is arbitrary, though he mentions descendants of M., which can be found in ↗Ǝnnarya and ↗Käfa (BTafA 215ff.). Elsewhere, traditions in southern Ethiopia keep a discernible link between M. and his original ↗Sidaama background (Fiaccadori 1993). In the 20th cent., the story of M. was included into the Chronicle of *aṣe* Mənilək II, an account of M.'s conversion preceding that of the conquest of the country of ↗Wälaytta (GueCopMen 360f.). The story of M. has also been preserved in some Wälaytta oral traditions, as well as in a written historical account of this ethnic group (esp. Bureau 1990:54–58; influenced by the Acts of Täklä Haymanot; cp. Tsehai Brhane Selassie 1975).

Src.: ERNEST ALFRED WALLIS BUDGE (ed., tr.), *The Life and Miracles of Tâklâ Hâymânôt in the Version of Dabra Lîbânôs* ..., London 1906; JACQUES BUREAU, "Un fragment de l'histoire du people Wollaita d'Afework Gebre-Sellassie", *AE* 15, 1990, 47–81; BTafA 215ff., 951; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Il gadla Takla Haymanot secondo la redazione Waldebbana", *MRALm* ser. 5ª, 2, 1894, 97–143; ID. (ed., tr.), *Vitae sanctorum antiquiorum*, I. *Acta Yārēd et Panṭalēwon*, Roma 1904 (CSCO 26, 27 [SAe 9, 10]), 22–26 (text) = 21–24 (tr.); GueCopMen 360f., s. index; GuiSyn I, 378-83; IGNAZIO GUIDI, "Le canzoni geez-amariña in onore di re abissini", *RRALm* ser. 4ª, 5, 1889, 53–66, here 62, 64 [= nos. 8, 13; 10, 33]; PAOLO MARRASSINI, *Gadla Yohannes Mesraqawi. Vita di Yohannes L'Orientale*, Firenze 1981 (Quaderni di Semitistica 10); OSVALDO RAINERI, *Gli atti di Qaweṣṭos martire etiopico: (sec. XIV)*, Città del Vaticano 2004 (Stude e testi 418); VERONIKA SIX, *Die Vita des Abuna Tadewos von Dabra Māryām im Ṭānasee*, Wiesbaden 1975 (VOHD Supplementband 18).

Lit.: CRStor 317; BELAYNESH MICHAEL, "Zagwé", in: *DicEthBio* 200-05; EAD., "Zéna-Ṗeṭros", *ibid.* 216; ARTHUR KINLOCH IRVIN, "Motälamé", *ibid.* 120; GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, "Aethiopica minima", *Quaderni utinensi* 7 [13–14], 1989 [1993], 145–55, here 145f., 152ff. ["Motalāmi/Moti Lāmi"] (Lit.); KapMon, s. index; RUDOLF KRISS – HUBERT KRISS-HEINRICH, *Volkskundliche Anteile in Kult und Legende äthiopischer Heiliger*, Wiesbaden 1975, s. index (Lit.); PAOLO MARRASSINI, "Una nuova versione geez della disputa fra Takla Haymanot e Motalami", *Egitto e Vicino Oriente* 3, 1980, 263–98; DENIS NOSNITSIN, "The

Ethiopic Synaxarion: Text-Critical Observations on Täklä Haymanot's Commemoration (24 *Näḥase*)", *OrChrP* 73, 1, 2007, 141–83; TadTChurch 121; TSEHAI BRHANE SELASSIE, "The Question of Damot and Wälamo", *JES* 8, 1, 1975, 37–46; TurIz 86ff.

Denis Nosnitsin

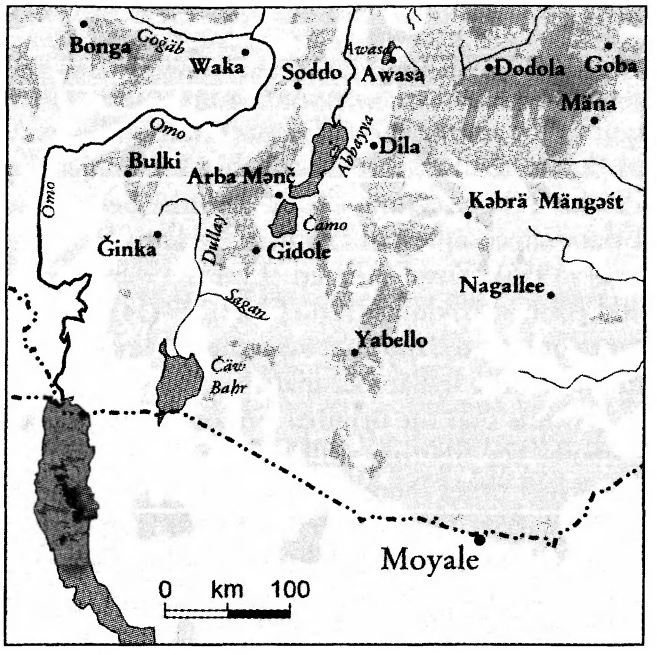
Moyale

M. (ሞዮሌ, Orom. Mooyalee, 3° 34' N, 39° 5' E) is a major border town located about 700 km south of Addis Abäba on the Addis Abäba–Nairobi international road connecting Ethiopia with ↗Kenya. It is the administrative centre of the *wäräda*, known by the same name, and the major regional market. There is an adjoining town by the same name on the Kenyan side, which was the site of an important British fort known as Fort Harrington, named so after the first British envoy to Ethiopia (Gwynn 1911:122; ↗United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland). The town served as the seat of the British District Commissioner during the colonial period. A wide dry stream separates the two M.

M. is located in the ↗*q*^{w}*älla* agro-ecological zone, about 270–300 m A.S.L., and the area is prone to frequent drought. In Amharic, the name M. is used to refer to the chigger flea (*tunga penetrens*), which is widely found in and around M. (PankEcon 632). During the colonial period, pastoralists in ↗Boorana crossed the frontier to British M. to water their cattle at the wells maintained by the British.

M. became an important commercial town, due to its proximity to British East Africa and its location along the major trade route connecting Boorana, a major cattle raising area, and other major Ethiopian areas via the Waggeyra oasis to Kismaayo, the Kenyan Indian Ocean port. Because of its strategic location, M. has become a thriving town with an estimated population of 25,038 (Central Statistical Agency of Ethiopia 2005) on the Ethiopian side and 13,664 on the Kenyan side (Census 1999). The main ethnic groups in both parts of the town are Boorana and ↗Garre.

As early as 1902/03, the British officer Captain Maud carried out surveys along the frontier between Ethiopia and British East Africa to recommend the future frontier line, and predicted that M. would become "a considerable trade artery" because of its strategic location. After the opening of the M.–Nairobi road, trade across the southern frontier increased significantly. Zaphiro, the



Greek businessman and the frontier inspector at M. in 1910, reported on supplies being transported from M. via Badera to ↗Kismaayo, including ivory tusks, hides, coffee, rhinoceros horns, cattle, salt and other commodities. Imports from British East Africa through M. included cotton cloth and other manufactured goods (PankEcon 445).

In 1940 M. was the site of a major clash between British and Italian forces. The Italians crossed the border and attacked the well-fortified 1st King's Africa Rifle regiment, forcing it to abandon the base and retreat (MockWar 237). The British were able to retake the base after they received reinforcement from the south.

Since the partition of the M. region different governments have given weapons to the pastoralists who supported their causes. During the 1941 war, during the ↗Ogaden wars and even during the 1998–2000 and 2006–07 wars many refugees came to settle in both parts of the town.

Src.: CENTRAL STATISTICAL AGENCY OF ETHIOPIA, *The 2005 National Statistics: Population*, ms. [online]; GREAT BRITAIN, WAR OFFICE, *The Abyssinian Campaigns. The Official Story of the Conquest of Italian East Africa*, London 1942, 17, 74; REPUBLIC OF KENYA, CENTRAL BUREAU OF STATISTICS, *Population Figures for Towns and Municipalities (1999)*, Nairobi 2003.

Lit.: FAN C. DUNKLEY, *Eight Years in Abyssinia*, London 1935; *Guida* 563; CHARLES W. GWYNN, "A Journey in Southern Abyssinia", *Geographical Journal* 38 1911, 113–38; ARNOLD WIENHOLT HODSON, *Seven Years in Southern Abyssinia*, Westport, CT 1927; KASSA NEGUSSIE GETACHEW, "The Displacement and Return of Pastoralists in Southern Ethiopia: a Case Study the Garri", in: TIM ALLAN (ed.), *In Search of Cool Ground. War, Flight and Homecoming in North East Africa*, Trenton – Asmara 1996, 111–23; MockWar; PankEcon.

Mulatu Wubneh

Mugād

M. is the term for associations of young people in ↗Harär. The descriptions of this institution differ quite a lot among the different sources. This may be due to the fact that Abdullahi Mohammed (in PICES 11) speaks mostly of the time before the Ethiopian conquest of Harär, while Duri Mohammed (1955), Yusuf Ahmed (Leslau 1965:112–19) and Ahmed Abdullah Kalo (ibid. 229–34) discuss, more or less, the time between the Ethiopian conquest and the Italian occupation.

It seems that the original aim of the M. was to enhance the fighting skills of the town's youth. In former times there existed only five M.: one in each quarter. The quarters had their names after the five gates and so did the M. The boys entered the M. after finishing the Qurʾān school (*qurān gēy*), usually at the age of 15 or 16. Every M. was hierarchically arranged into four ranks according to age. Each year, the oldest members, having occupied the highest rank for one year, retired from their membership, and all age-groups advanced by one rank, leaving the lowest rank to the newcomers.

The main activity of the M. was the stick fighting named *barti-barti* (Har. *barti*, 'stick') which took place at several occasions, e.g. on *Šuwāl īd* (observed on 8 *Šawwāl* [Har. *šuwāl*]) and in connection with the *ṭunsus*, the prenuptial celebrations. The biggest contests however, were organized on the 17th and 27th of ↗*Ramaḍān*: the former (Har. *Badri*), in commemoration of Prophet Muḥammad's victory over the Meccans at Badr, and the latter (Har. *Ḫātimat*), in celebration of the *Laylat al-Qadr*, the 'Night of Power', in which Muḥammad received the first revelation of the Qurʾān. In the presence of a huge crowd of spectators from both sexes and of the political and religious dignitaries of the town including the ↗*amīr*, the corresponding ranks of the different M. fought against each other, armed with sticks and shields. The members of the victorious M. were allowed to use not only the title of their own M.'s rank, but also that of the losing one. The members of the latter could not use the title anymore, unless they won it back in a later battle. The fights often resulted in severe wounds and even in lethal casualties, but it was not common to bring such cases before court.

The two big *barti-barti*-fights were forbidden by *ras* ↗Mäkʷännən Wäldä Mikaʾel, who was not interested in the military training of the Harari youth. The consequence of this was a change in the organization of the M. Most of them were then no longer affiliated to the five quarters of the town, but to the much smaller neighbourhood (*tōya*). Though the old names according to the gates further existed, most of the M. took their names from their *tōya* or from famous Harari warriors. The number of members of each M. varied from then on, from only a few up to 60, and the boys' M. got their counterpart in girls' M.

The *barti-barti*-fights were not totally abolished. They continued between the now much smaller M. during the month of *Raǧab*, on New Year (1 *Muḥarram*) and especially in connection with *ṭunsus*. If the bride's M. had invited a befriended boys' M., it could happen that the boys of a stronger M. would appear, drive those of the first M. away and take their place.

The main activity of the M., however, was then centred on the festivities at *Šuwāl īd* and even more on those of *ʿArafa* (*ʿĪd al-aḍḥā*, celebrated on 10 *Ḏū l-ḥiǧǧa*), with the M. gathering on the fifth day after *ʿArafa* (s. Leslau 1965:230f.): the boys rented a room where the members of their M. assembled and prepared meat and *uḫāt* (the Harari bread), while the girls met in the house of one of the members. It came to an exchange of food between the boys' and the girls' M. until finally the girls invited the boys to sing and dance together. After sunset the girls went home, whilst the boys retired to their hired room where they continued eating, drinking, and singing; they also slept there. The *ʿArafa* meetings lasted for a week or two.

Though the M. still existed when Sidney Ralph Waldron did his field research in Harär in the early sixties (Shack 1974:130, n. 4), they lost their social importance after the *ṭunsus* had been ostracized in the fifties because it promoted the mingling of sexes. Parents who allowed their daughters a *ṭunsus* were excluded from their ↗*afōča* (Leslau 1965:149f.).

↗Feasts, Islamic; ↗Games

Lit.: DURI MOHAMMED, "The Mugads of Harar", *Ethnologicial Society Bulletin* 1, 4 1955, 15–19; WOLF LESLAU, *Ethiopians Speak: Studies in Cultural Background*, 1: *Harari*, Berkeley, CA – Los Angeles, CA 1965 (University of California Publications. Near Eastern Studies 7); WILLIAM A. SHACK, *The Central Ethiopians: Amhara, Tigriña and Related Peoples*, London 1974 (Ethnographic Survey of Africa. North Eastern Africa 4), 130; ABDULLAHI MOHAMMED, "Agri-Agri and Berti-Berti: Conventional Military Training in the Amirate of Harar", in: *PICES* 11, vol. 1, 1994, 143–54.

Ewald Wagner

Mugär

The M. (ሙገር) is a tributary of the ↗Abbay (for location s. Mugär Gädam). Like many other Blue Nile tributaries in Šäwa, it originates in the mountainous massifs between Bulga in the east and Sälale in the north. The M. (whose upper course has also been known as Dubar in both 17th-cent. records and contemporary oral local tradition), runs northward from its source on Mount Alaltu into the Abbay.

The lower course of the M. (M. proper) has had particular strategic and political importance, esp. since the late 16th–early 17th cent. It was there that ↗Susənyos, then governor of Šäwa, drove the ↗Gafat people out to Goğğam. Having camped in Ǧaarso he attacked the whole area from Amonat to M. including Sälale, Angorča, Zega Däm (Zega-Wädäm). After he became Emperor in 1607, Susənyos gave order to launch a military expedition against the ↗Ittuu Oromo camping at Maqaa Waha (at the M.). The lower course of the M. seems to have been the site where he defeated and later pardoned them making them his subjects.

In the 19th cent., the M. valley, like that of the Abbay, was a crossroads for slave dealers between the Goğğam market of ↗Basso and the Šäwan market of Ǧaarso. One of the major gateways of the market of Roge in Sälale was Gəndä Bärät, sometimes called Mugär Bär.

During the Italian occupation (1936–41), the M. valley served as a power base for the Italian forces. It was from there that they tried to dislodge the ↗resistance base in Goğğam. In their attempt to neutralize the patriotic alliance between *däğğazmač* ↗Gäräsu Duki and ↗Mäsfən Səläši, the Italian forces, positioned in the area of today's Bakko as far as the Wälläga frontier, closely observed the M.

In the 1970s, a cement factory was built in the M. basin in western Šäwa (in the former Ǧebat-Mäčča *awraǧǧa*, now Western Šäwa Zone), another indication of the area's economic importance. A road was built to link the factory with the Addis Abäba–Naqamtee road in Holäta/Gännät.

In the pre-1989 administrative division of Šäwa, M. formed the eastern boundary of the Gəndä Bärät *wäräda* and the former Sälale *awraǧǧa*.

Src.: AbbGeogr I, 155; BeckHuntAlm 11; BTafA 191, 327, 334–37, 951; DTWDic 412; HarAeth 169; PerChron vol. 1, 17, 159; interviews with Admasu Täsfaye, Goha Ṣəyon, 2002; Alamahu Zagäyyä, Goha Ṣəyon, 2002; Getahun Waqgaari, Garbaa Gurračaa, 2002.

Lit.: EgeClass, facing page 260; PAUL B. HENZE, *Ethiopian Journeys*, London – Tonbridge 1977, 236; YAZACHEW MEKONEN, *Slavery and the Slave Trade in Gindabarat, ca. 1870s–1933*, B.A. thesis, History Department, Addis Ababa University 2000, 1.

Ahmed Hassen Omer

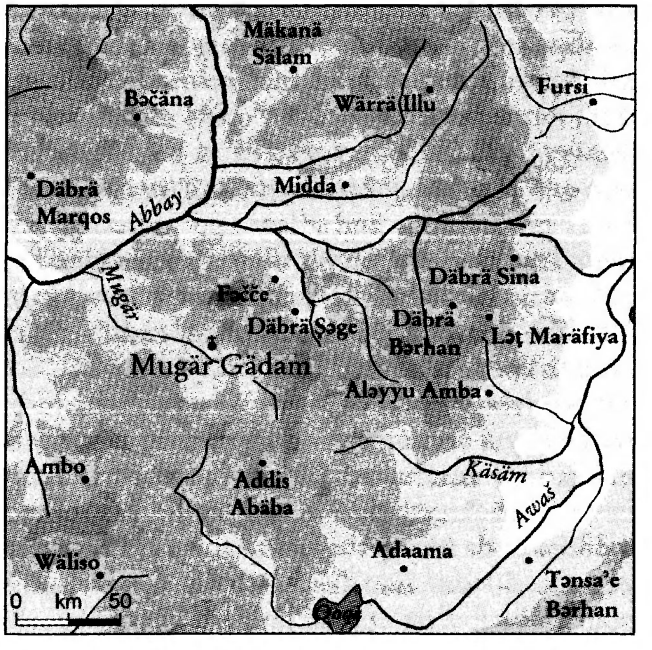
Mugär Gädam

M.G. (ሙገር ገዳም) is one of the most important *balä əğğ* (craftsmen's monasteries; s. Pankhurst 1995:145f.) of northern ↗Šäwa (cp. Məntək Gädam near ↗Ləṭ Maräfiya; Yällema Gädam in ↗Mänz). It is situated at the bottom of a deep ravine 30 km west of Däbrä Ṣəge (135 km north of Addis Abäba), next to two crevices in a cliff overlooking the ↗Mugär river. There is a spring above the crevices.

M.G. consists of several caves and traditional rectangular houses inhabited by monks and nuns (ca. 130 and 100 respectively in 2000). The first crevice is occupied by the *ṣälot bet* ('house of prayer'), the other by the kitchen and nuns' quarters.

M.G.'s history is linked to the ↗Betä Ǝsraʾel. According to the tradition, M.G. was founded in the late 17th cent. during the time of the Šäwan ruler *abeto* ↗Nägaśi Krəstos Wärädä Qal (interview with *abba* Bälaynäh) by the Betä Ǝsraʾel who settled in Šäwa at that time (Faitlovitch 1910:138). Other sources suggest a later date for the Betä Ǝsraʾel migration to Šäwa, during the rule of the mid-18th-cent. *märʿəd azmač* ↗Abbəyye (BTafA 513; AWTarik 69).

The life at M.G. today shows some affinity to the Betä Ǝsraʾel tradition. The monks practice the ↗blacksmiths' and ↗weavers' crafts, nuns special-



ize in ↗pottery (↗Handicrafts). They venerate Saturday ↗Sabbath, and live extremely frugally, eating only an evening supper for the rest of the week. The women have a *täkäto bet*, in which they are strictly confined during ↗menstruation. Unlike the Betä Ǝsraʾel, however, the *balä əgg* has no burial ground of its own, and uses the cemeteries of St. George or St. Michael churches nearby.

The ጸሎት፡ ቤት (*ṣälot bet*) is the centre of the monastery's religious life. Like in other craftsmen's monasteries, the function of ↗*tabot* is taken over by ምኩራብ (*məkʷərab*, 'shrine, sanctuary'). It has the shape of a tall altar-like erection, made of wood, situated in the centre of the chamber.

The monastery possesses several Christian manuscripts (IsKrapf 238ff.; Pankhurst 2001:173) and a number of printed texts.

Src.: interview with *abba* Bälaynäh, Mugär Gädam 2000; AWTarik 69 (text) = 83 (tr.); BTafA 513; JACQUES FAITLOVITCH, *Quer durch Abessinien: Meine zweite Reise zu den Falaschas*, Berlin 1910, 138; IsKrapf 238ff.; MasMis² vol. 5, 259f.

Lit.: RICHARD PANKHURST, "The Craftsmen's Monasteries of Shawa and their Judaeo-Christian Customs: a Review of Literature", in: MICHAEL KOHLBACHER – MARKUS LESINSKI (eds.), *Horizonte der Christenheit: Festschrift für Friedrich Heyer zu seinem 85. Geburtstag*, Erlangen 1994, 49–60; ID., "The Ballä Ejj Community of Šäwa", in: STEVEN KAPLAN – TUDOR PARFITT – EMANULA TREVISAN SEMI (eds.), *Between Africa and Zion: Proceedings of the First International Congress of the Society for the Study of Ethiopian Jewry*, Jerusalem 1995, 131–52; ID., "Two Visits to Mugär Gädam, Šäwa", *Aethiopica* 4, 2001, 169–78.

Richard Pankhurst

Muggət

M. (ሙግት; properly Amh. ሙግት፡ በተጠየቅ፡ ሥርዓት, *M. bätäṭäyyäq śərʿat*, lit. 'litigation according to procedure of being interrogated', or *täṭäyyäq śərʿat*) is an ancient mode of litigation, named after a sort of "cross examination" (*täṭäyyäq*, lit. 'be interrogated!', s. below), which was one of the major parts of Amhara customary court proceedings and ↗law and judiciary system. Traditional open air courts were operative at least until the Italian occupation following the ↗Italian war of 1935–36, in many rural regions even to the second half of the 20th cent.

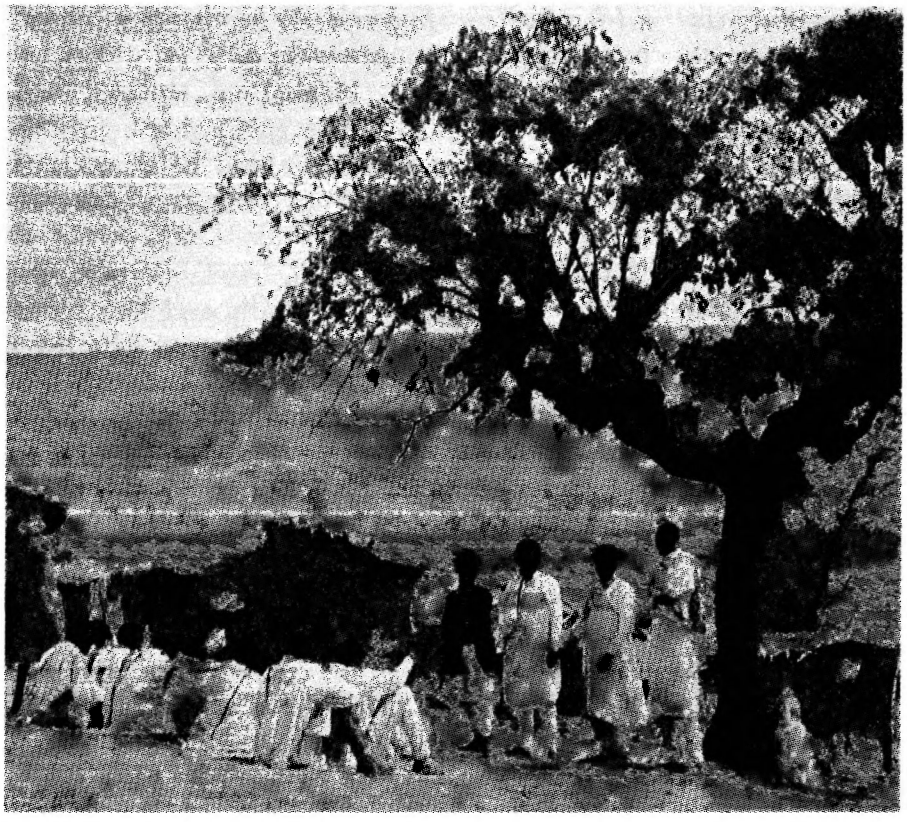
Daily conflicts at their initial stage used to be settled by a voluntary and spontaneous form of mediation, conducted by any passer-by. Only in case the "road-side judge" could not obtain a decision or found the matter beyond his competence, it was transferred to the next regular court. The lowest official judge (↗*Daññа*) could be any local representative (cp. Aberra Jembere 2000:248f.). Most people preferred to state their case themselves, without relying on an advocate or substitute.

To speak well at court was a great social value and highly esteemed. Combining a rather formalized frame of formulaic expressions with a high degree of spontaneity, subtle and ambiguous rhetorical devices and personal performance, M. is evidence of the great importance of verbal skills and rhetoric in traditional Ethiopia. Proverbs, riddles, poetry and other forms of ↗oral literature were used as a means of clarification and as techniques of establishing arguments.

Beside its legal function, M. was a great source of public entertainment. According to eye-witnesses, the whole process resembled a dramatic stage performance with the opponents displaying their dignity, rhetorical skills and credibility by verbal and non-verbal means of communication: bodily motions and impressing gestures, the using of leaning staff and the draping of *šämma* (↗Clothing) in special ways. (S., e.g., the lively report of the Swedish General Eric ↗Virgin as cited in Aberra Jembere 2000:250 and LevWax 230f.).

Regular court proceedings at all levels followed special stages with inherent rules. In criminal cases, the process normally started with a traditional investigation (↗*Leba šay*; ↗*Afärsata*), after 1941 by ↗police. (The greater part of cases, however, were civil matters such as debts, insults or land disputes.)

The following major constituents of court proceedings, partly overlapping and varying, can be quoted (for further details s. Aberra Jembere 2000:248–85): 1.) Securing a guarantor (የሥርዓት፡ ዋስ, *yäśərʿat was*): The court proceeding started with the naming of a guarantor who would secure that both parties respect procedures. 2.) Putting the claim forward (ክስ፡ ማቅረብ, *kəss maqərräb*): The judge required the plaintiff to put forward his claim, after that the defendant was required to admit or deny it. 3.) Laying wager or bet (ውርርድ፡ መትከል, *wərərrəd mätkäl*): Plaintiff and defendant laid wagers (be it in ↗*bərr*, ↗*amole* etc. or in kind, such as livestock and honey) or bets on the outcome to prove their credibility. Wagers were considered as part of the court fee and salary for the judge. 4.) Introduction of evidence (ማስረጃ, *masräggа*): Witnesses from each side were heard and possible documentary evidence was submitted to the court. 5.) "Cross examination" (ተጠየቅ, *täṭäyyäq*): After both parties had sworn obedi-



A *muggət* session in highland Ethiopia; from Osgood 1928:137

ence to the rules, plaintiff and defendant posed questions to each other, only one at a time, demanding a single and direct answer. If one of the parties violated these rules, it was required to pay the previously agreed bet or to name a guarantor for the payment. 6.) Poetic advocacy and challenge (**ውርድ፡ መንዛት**, *wərd mänzat*, sometimes called after the initial formula of this phase "**በላ፡ ልበልሃ**", *bäla ləbäläha*, lit. 'speak, so that I speak to you'; the final *-a* is used for the rhyme): Dialogic court poetry was crucial to the event, The parties used subtle verbal strategies and poetic devices including oral traditions in rhymed verse in order to convince the judge, the assessors and the audience. Each party strove to prove its credibility and to ridicule and harass the opponent by discrediting him in public or by flattering the judge and important members of the audience. 7.) Final judgement (**ፍርድ**, *fərd*): After assessors have given their opinion and recommended a decision, the *daññа* would give his judgement, demanding of the defeated to pay his bet and the court fees. 8.) An appeal to the decision (**ይግባኝ**, *yəgbaññ*) could be submitted to the next higher court. In some cases it proceeded through all the intermediary courts until it finally came before the crown court (**ዙፋን፡ ችሎት**, *zufan č̣əlot*), where the parties submitted to the decision of the Emperor.

After the administration of justice proclamation 1942, the M. system was replaced by modern procedural rules and ceased to exist.

↗Customary law

Lit.: ABERRA JEMBERE, *An Introduction to the Legal History of Ethiopia*, Münster 2000; BAIRU TAFLA, "The Role of Proverbs in Litigation in Traditional Ethiopia and Eritrea", in: HEINRICH SCHOLLER (ed.), *Rechtssprichwort und Erzählgut: Europäische und afrikanische Beispiele*, Berlin 2002, 73–88; FRANZ AMADEUS DOMBROWSKI, "Cases before the Emperors: Notes on the Development of Civil and Criminal Procedure", in: *PICES* 10, 195–203; STANLEY Z. FISCHER, "Traditional Criminal Procedure in Ethiopia", *The American Journal of Comparative Law* 19, 1971, 209–746; LevWax 230f.; BIRGIT MATTAUSCH, *Die Kunst der Ambiguität: Indirekte Kommunikation im historischen Äthiopien und den Gäbrä-Hanna-Anekdoten*, Wiesbaden 2006 (AeF 67), 84–91; WILFRED H. OSGOOD, "Nature and Man in Ethiopia", *The National Geographic Magazine* 54, 2, 1928, 121–76, here 137 (ill.); ŠIBÄŠI LÄMMA, **ተጠየቅ።** (*Täṭäyyäq*, 'Be Interrogated!'), Addis Abäba 1985 A.M. [1992/93 A.D.].

Birgit Mattausch

Muguǧi ↗K^{w}egu-Muguǧi

Muḥammad

M. (محمد, M. b. ᶜAbdallāh b. ᶜAbdalmuṭṭalib, b. ca. 570, Mecca, d. 632, Medina), the Prophet of ↗Islam, is considered in the Muslim tradition to be the bearer of the last divine revelation to mankind. For the general facts of his biography, s., e.g., Watt 1953, 1956, 1961; Rodinson 1961; Buhl – Welch in EI²; Bobzin 2000. The present contribution focuses on M.'s attitude towards Ethiopia.

The sources commonly used for the reconstruction of M.'s life (mainly the *Sīra* by Ibn Isḥāq/↗Ibn Hišām, the *Taᵓrīḫ* by aṭ-↗Ṭabarī, the *Ṭabaqāt* by Ibn Saᶜd, various *ḥadīṯ* collections, and some Qurᵓānic commentaries) contain numerous pieces of information on his relationships with the Ethio–Eritrean area. The proximity of the land and the lasting and deep ties between ↗Arabia and the African shores of the ↗Red Sea fostered a quite intense connection of M. with al-Ḥabaša (↗Abyssinia). Some doubt

may be cast on the real historical value of the details preserved in the traditions but on the whole the episodes listed below can to a certain extent be considered reliable evidence for the strength of this connection.

It is not known exactly when M. was born. Only two dates in the life of M. are known: that of his *hiǧra* to Yaṯrib – Medina (622) and that of his death (632). Two verses of the Qurʾān (10:16 and 46:15) and, more clearly, an explicit passage from the *Sīra* (Ibn Hišām ed. by at-Tadmurī 1987, vol. 1, 263; Guillaume 1955:104) affirm that M. was 40 when he was granted the first divine revelation (*mabʿaṯ*). The *Sīra* also preserves a tradition that M. remained in Mecca within his Qurayš tribe for a little more than ten years, after he had been chosen by God (Ibn Hišām ed. by at-Tadmurī 1987, vol. 2, 154; Guillaume 1955:238, quoting a verse by Abū Qays Ṣirma b. Abī Anas). It is also accepted in Islamic tradition that the public preaching of M. probably started two or three years after he had received the first call to prophethood (Al-Mubārakfūrī s.d., 37, 52). From these data, we may thus surmise that M. was born in a lapse of time between 569 and 572. According to the prevailing but not unique Islamic tradition (Conrad 1986:234f.), M. was born during the "Year of the ↗Elephant" (*ʿām al-fīl*). This name is commonly explained with the famous episode of ↗Abraha's expedition to conquer ↗Mecca, destroy the Kaʿba and divert the great pilgrimage from the *ḥaram* (sacred enclosure) of the holy Arabian town to the church (al-Qullays) he had built in Ṣanʿāʾ (though other sources seem to place the episode in a year between 530 and 552; s. Conrad 1987:227f.). In the army of the Abyssinian leader there was a big and strong elephant called Maḥmūd which belonged to the ↗*naǧāšī* personally (according to Ibn Saʿd [n.d., vol. 1, 92], there were 13 elephants in Abraha's army). M.'s grandfather ʿAbdalmuṭṭalib, the head of Mecca at that time, tried to negotiate with Abraha, but to no avail. He asked the Abyssinan general to give back the camels he had seized but received a negative answer. Abraha attacked the Kaʿba but, according to all sources and the Qurʾān itself (*sūra* 106; Newby 1974), the divine intervention protected the "house of God". These events (Ibn Saʿd n.d., vol. 1, 90ff.; Ibn Hišām ed. by at-Tadmurī 1987, vol. 1, 64–69; CRStor 189–92) probably represent the background of the later Islamic tradition, sanctioned in a prophetic *ḥadīṯ* (al-Buḫārī 2001:286, *Kitāb al-ḥaǧǧ, Bāb Hadm al-Kaʿba, ḥadīṯ* no. 1596; an-Nawawī – Muslim n.d., *ǧuzʾ* 18, 252, *ḥadīṯ* no. 2909; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal n.d., vol. 12, *ḥadīṯ* no. 7052–53; al-Fāsī 2000:175f.), that before the final judgement the Kaʿba will be demolished by an Abyssinian "with two thin legs" (*ḏū s-suwayqatayn*).

M.'s father, ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbdalmuṭṭalib, had died before the boy was born, and M.'s mother Āmina gave him to a wet-nurse. The latter, Ḥalīma as-Saʿdīya, gave the boy back when he was five years and one month old. According to a tradition transmitted by Ibn Isḥāq (Ibn Hišām ed. by at-Tadmurī 1987, vol. 1, 192), this was preceded by an incident with some Abyssinian Christians. They saw M. with Ḥalīma after she had weaned him, asked her about him, turned him upside down and claimed that, aware of the exceptional status of the child, they were to take him with them to their king. The woman escaped with the child but preferred to give him back to his mother.

After his mother's death, M. was nursed by Umm Ayman al-Ḥabašīya, an Abyssinian woman who had been taken prisoner during Abraha's expedition and became a servant of M.'s father. When M. married his first wife Ḫadīǧa, he freed Umm Ayman, and she became the wife of Zayd b. al-Ḥāriṯ, another of M.'s freedman (an-Nawawī – Muslim n.d., *ǧuzʾ* 12, 343, *ḥadīṯ* no. 1771; according to Sayyid b. Muḥammad Ṣādiq 2001:273f., Umm Ayman was M.'s first nurse).

Later, too, M. maintained relatively close relationships with people of Abyssinian origin. Significantly enough, to indicate the duty to pay obedience to every ruler, in a famous *ḥadīṯ* the Prophet used the expression "even [if the ruler is] an Abyssinian slave" (al-Buḫārī 2001:1261f., *Kitāb al-Aḥkām, Bāb as-samʿ waṭ-ṭāʿa lil-imām, ḥadīṯ* no. 7162; an-Nawawī – Muslim n.d., *ǧuzʾ* 12, 467, *ḥadīṯ* no. 1837; Crone 1994). As it was common in Arabia, M. had Abyssinian servants in his household. Šuqrān al-Ḥabašī (Sayyid b. Muḥammad Ṣādiq 2001:61) was bought by M. (or received as a gift) from ʿAbdallāh b. al-ʿAwf, or inherited from his father ʿAbdallāh. The Prophet freed him after the battle of Badr (624). An Abyssinian (*ḥabašīya*) servant usually prepared a fermented but not intoxicating beverage called *nabīḏ* for M. (an-Nawawī – Muslim n.d., *ǧuzʾ* 13, 186, *ḥadīṯ* no. 2005). ↗Umm Ḥabība, the Prophet's wife, brought a servant called Baraka al-Ḥabašīya from Abyssinia (Sayyid b. Muḥammad Ṣādiq 2001:275). Hiding

behind a curtain in the mosque in Medina, M.'s beloved wife ʿĀʾiša saw some Abyssinians, called Banū l-Arfida, an apparent tribal name, who were dancing and playing with their spears during a feast (al-Buḫārī 2001:630, *Kitāb al-Manāqib, Bāb qiṣṣat al-ḥabaš, ḥadīṯ* no. 3520–30; ibid. 179, *Kitāb al-ʿīdayn, Bāb al-ḥirāb wad-daraq yawm al-ʿīd, ḥadīṯ* no. 949–50; an-Nawawī – Muslim n.d., *ǧuzʾ* 6, 433, *ḥadīṯ* no. 892).

M. apparently knew some Ethiopic, as in a tradition preserved by al-Buḫārī (2001:1057, *Kitāb al-Libās, Bāb al-ḥamīsa as-sawdāʾ, ḥadīṯ* no. 5823) he pronounced the words *sanāh, sanāh* meaning 'beautiful' (s. also CRStor 210). The Qurʾān has a number of Gəʿəz loanwords. Some of them are not attested in early Arabian poetry and thus, probably, are taken directly from Gəʿəz: notably, *raǧīm* 'stoned, execrated' < Gəʿəz *rəgum* 'cursed, execrated'; *ǧahannam* 'hell' < Gəʿəz *gahannam* (Jeffery 1938:106, 139f.).

Islamic tradition mentions 37 *ṣaḥāba* (companions of the Prophet) who are said to have been of Abyssinian origin. 30 (25 men and 5 women) are known by name (Sayyid b. Muḥammad Ṣādiq 2001:251–71, 273–78) while seven remain anonymous (ibid. 271–79). A certain number of them achieved an outstanding position in the history of early Islam: the first *muʾaḏḏin* of Islam ↗Bilāl b. Rabāḥ al-Ḥabašī; Abū Bikra al-Ḥabašī, who transmitted 132 *ḥadīṯ* of the Prophet; the *naǧāšī*'s nephew Ḏū Maḫmar (son of ↗Aṣḥam[a] b. Abǧar's brother), who came to Arabia accompanying ↗Ǧaʿfar b. Abī Ṭālib on his way home, and who also became a traditioner of *ḥadīṯ*; and Waḥšī b. Ḥarb who, when still a pagan fighting in the army of Qurayš, killed M.'s uncle Ḥamza b. ʿAbdalmuṭṭalib in the battle of Uḥud (625), and later, converted to Islam by the Prophet, fought against Musaylama al-Kaḏḏāb in the battle of ʿAqrabāʾ (634).

The emigration of some of M.'s companions to al-Ḥabaša in 615 ("the first ↗*hiǧra*") paved the way for an intensification of the relationships. Probably in 620, when M. was still in Mecca suffering from the political and economical pressure of the Qurayš pagans, a delegation made up of some 20 Christians, most likely from Ethiopia (although some traditions say they were from ↗Naǧrān; Ibn Hišām ed. by at-Tadmurī 1987, vol. 2, 42; CRStor 210), came to visit him, apparently to ascertain his true nature. They met M. in the *ḥaram* of Mecca. After the Prophet read them some passages from the Qurʾān, the Christians were so impressed that they eventually accepted M.'s prophetic mission and even convinced his uncle Abū Ǧahl, a stubborn pagan. The Qurʾān makes a direct reference to this episode in *sūras* 28:52–55 and in 5:82–84. In Ibn Kaṯīr's commentary on the Qurʾān (Ibn Kaṯīr 1994:380), a tradition transmitted by Saʿīd b. Ǧubayr is preserved, according to which the verses 28:52–55 were revealed to 70 priests whom the *naǧāšī* sent to the Prophet.

According to a tradition preserved by aṭ-Ṭabarānī in the *Muʿǧam aṣ-ṣaġīr* as quoted by as-Suyūṭī in his *Asbāb an-nuzūl* (n.d., 291), 40 Abyssinians took part in the battle of Uḥud against the pagans. Some of them were wounded. Seeing that the Muslims were very needy, they offered M. to share their properties with them and therefore the Qurʾānic verse 52:5 was revealed as a divine recognition of their faith and courage (s. also al-Baġawī 1992 vol. 4, 349, for a slightly different version: they were 40 Abyssinians who came together with Ǧaʿfar b. Abī Ṭālib).

The relationships between M. and the *naǧāšī* are well known. The Prophet received gifts from the Ethiopian king, such as a *ʿanaza* (a sort of spear) which M. used when preaching the two feasts' sermon (s. also CRStor 208) (according to other traditions [Ibn Saʿd n.d., vol. 1, 249], it was taken by Zubayr b. ʿAwwām from Abyssinia), and a pair of black "simple" (*sāḏiǧ*) shoes (ibid. 482). M. also had a ring with a stone from al-Ḥabaša (*faṣṣuhu ḥabašī*; ibid. 472; an-Nawawī – Muslim n.d., *ǧuzʾ* 14: 315, *ḥadīṯ* no. 2094 speaks of a silver ring).

According to Ibn Saʿd (n.d., vol. 1, 258f.), in the month of *Muḥarram* of 7 H. (628 A.D.), M. sent ʿAmr b. Umayya aḍ-Ḍamrī, who spoke Ethiopic, to the *naǧāšī* with two letters. The first letter called him to Islam, the second asked to arrange the wedding of the Prophet with Umm Ḥabība. According to the tradition, the *naǧāšī* converted to Islam, arranged the wedding, put the letters inside an ivory case and said that Abyssinia will be in prosperity as long as the two letters remain inside it. Aṭ-Ṭabarī (n.d., 652ff.) separates the two letters. He dates the mission of ʿAmr b. Umayya aḍ-Ḍamrī with one letter to the year 6 H., and mentions other details of the mission: the *naǧāšī* answered by a letter in which he openly accepted Islam and sent his son together with 60 companions to M., but they all perished in a sea wreck (s. also CRStor 209). Afterwards M. sent what seems to be the second letter concerning the marriage to Umm Ḥabība; finally Umm Ḥa-

bība and the other emigrants went back to Arabia on two boats, reaching M. while he was in an expedition against the oasis of Ḫaybar (628). When the Prophet came to know of the death of the *naǧāšī* in 630, he prayed for him (an-Nawawī – Muslim n.d., *ǧuzʾ* 7, 25, *ḥadīṯ* no. 951–53).

Muslims coming back from the Abyssinian *hiǧra* brought back some information about the country. Thus, Umm Ḥabība and Umm Salama told M. that in al-Ḥabaša they saw a church called Mārya, in which a holy man was buried and his image was painted. M. commented that to bury saints inside churches and paint sacred images on church walls was the custom among these people, but that those who do so will be the worst people in front of God on the day of Judgement (an-Nawawī – Muslim n.d., *ǧuzʾ* 6, 14, *ḥadīṯ* no. 528). Ǧaʿfar b. Abī Ṭālib's wife, Asmāʾ bint ʿUmays, who also participated in the *hiǧra*, saw the use of the bier (*naʿš*) for deceased people. She took it back to Arabia and put it into practice for the first time on the occasion of the death of Fāṭima, M.'s daughter (Ibn Saʿd n.d., vol. 8, 28).

During the period of illness that was to last until M.'s death, some of his wives together with other women and his uncle, al-ʿAbbās, decided to give the Prophet a medicine of apparently Abyssinian origin, called *ladūd* (see Ibn Manẓūr n.d., vol. 2, 357; Lane 1885, part 7, 2656f., for some observations on the meaning and origin of the word), to try to heal him. Made of seven ingredients, the *ladūd* was put into the patient's mouth on one side and rubbed in. It was brought to Medina by some women coming from Abyssinia (according to Ibn Saʿd n.d., vol. 2, 236, by Asmāʾ bint ʿUmays), and it seems to have been considered a good remedy for pleurisy (Ibn Hišām ed. by at-Tadmurī 1987, vol. 4, 300f.).

In Ethiopia, as elsewhere in the Islamic world, M. is highly revered by the faithful. This devotion is clearly expressed in a large number of poems written in praise of the prophet by Ethiopian and foreign authors both in Arabic and in local languages (Drewes 2007). These poetical texts are commonly recited and sung in every important religious celebration and festival, especially during ↗*mawlid*.

Christian Ethiopia is also well acquainted with M. Many traditions and legends on the life of M., the origin of his doctrine and the spread of his creed developed and are well attested in Gəʿəz and Amharic texts (details and bibliography in Mittwoch 1915; Gori 1993 [1995]).

Src.: ABŪ MUḤAMMAD ʿABDALMALIK IBN HIŠĀM, *as-Sīra an-nabawīya* ('The Life of the Prophet'), ed. by AT-TADMURĪ, 4 vols., Bayrūt 1987, vol. 1, 64–69, 192; vol. 2, 42; vol. 4, 300f. (text); AḤMAD B. ḤANBAL, *Al-Musnad*, ed. by AḤMAD MUḤAMMAD ŠĀKIR, 12 vols., Cairo n.d.; ALFRED GUILLAUME (tr.), *The Life of Muhammad: a Translation of Isḥāq's Sīrat Rasūl Allāh*, Oxford 1955, 21–28, 73, 179f., 680 (tr.); AL-ḤUSAYN B. MASʿŪD AL-BAĠAWĪ, *Maʿālim at-tanzīl fī t-tafsīr wat-taʾwīl* ('The Outlines of Revelation in Commentary and Interpretation'), vol. 4, Bayrūt 1992, 349; ISMĀʿĪL B. ʿUMAR IBN KAṮĪR, *Tafsīr al-Qurʾān al-ʿaẓīm* ('Commentary on the Great Qurʾān'), 4 vols., Cairo 1994, 380; MUḤAMMAD B. AḤMAD AL-FĀSĪ, *Šifāʾ al-ġarām bi-aḫbār al-balad al-ḥarām* ('The Healing of Passion through the News of the Holy City'), vol. 1, Bayrūt 2000, 175f.; MUḤAMMAD B. ISMĀʿĪL AL-BUḪĀRĪ, *aṣ-Ṣaḥīḥ* ('The Authentic [Collection]'), Bayrūt 2001; MUḤAMMAD IBN SAʿD, *aṭ-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā* ('The Greatest Classes'), Bayrūt n.d., vol. 1, 90ff., 249, 258f., 472, 482; vol. 2, 236; vol. 8, 28; AN-NAWAWĪ, *Šarḥ Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim lil-imām an-Nawawī* ('The Explanation of Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* by *imām* an-Nawawī'), *ǧuzʾ* 1–18, Bayrūt n.d.; ṢAFĪ AR-RAḤMĀN AL-MUBĀRAKFŪRĪ, *ar-Raḥīq al-maḫtūm: baḥṯ fī as-sīra an-nabawīya* ('The Sealed Nektar: a Research in the Life of the Prophet'), Bayrūt n.d.; SAYYID B. MUḤAMMAD ṢĀDIQ, *Manhal al-ʿaṭšān fī taʾrīḫ al-Ḥubšān* ('The Spring of the Thirsty in the History of the Abyssinians'), [Ṣanʿāʾ] 1422 H. [2001 A.D.], 61, 251–71, 273–78; AS-SUYŪṬĪ, *Asbāb an-nuzūl* ('The Circumstances of Revelation'), Bayrūt n.d., 291; AṬ-ṬABARĪ, *Taʾrīḫ* ('History'), ed. by MUḤAMMAD ABŪ AL-FAḌL IBRĀHĪM, vol. 2, Cairo n.d., 652ff.

Lit.: HARTMUT BOBZIN, *Mohammed*, München 2000 (Lit.); FRANTS BUHL – [ALFORD T. WELCH], "Muḥammad: 1. The Prophet's Life and Career", in: *EI²* vol. 7, 360–76 (Lit.); LAWRENCE I. CONRAD, "Abraha and Muḥammad: Some Observations apropos of Chronology and Literary *Topoi* in the Early Arabic Historical Tradition", *BSOAS* 50, 1987, 225–40; PATRICIA CRONE, "'Even an Ethiopian Slave': the Transformation of a Sunnī Tradition", *ibid.* 57, 1994, 59–67; CRStor 189–92, 208ff.; ABRAHAM JOHANNES DREWES, "Amharic as a Language of Islam", *BSOAS* 70, 2007, 1–62; ALESSANDRO GORI, "Islam in Etiopia: I. Nuovi documenti in amarico per lo studio delle tradizioni cristiane su Baḥīrā e Maometto in Etiopia", *RSE* 37, 1993 [1995], 45–66; IBN MANẒŪR, *Lisān al-ʿarab* ('The Tongue of the Arabs'), vol. 2, Beirut [s.d.], 357; ARTHUR JEFFERY, *The Foreign Vocabulary of the Qurān*, Baroda 1938 [repr. New York 2006] (Gaekwad's Oriental Series 79), 99f., 106, 139f., 200, 202f.; EDWARD W. LANE, *Arabic–English Lexicon*, part 7, London 1885, 2656f.; EUGEN MITTWOCH, "Ein amharischer Text über Muhammed und die Ausbreitung des Islams in Abessinien", in: GOTTHOLD WEIL (ed.), *Festschrift Eduard Sachau zum siebzigsten Geburtstage: gewidmet von Freunden und Schülern*, Berlin 1915, 444–51; GORDON D. NEWBY, "Abraha and Sennacherib: a Talmudic Parallel to the *Tafsīr* on *Sūrat al-fīl*", *Journal of American Oriental Society* 94, 1974, 431–37; WIM RAVEN, "Some Early Islamic Texts on the Negus of Abyssinia", *JSS* 33, 2, 1988, 197–218; MAXIME RODINSON, *Mahomet*, Paris 1961; WILLIAM MONTGOMERY WATT, *Muhammad at Mecca*, Oxford 1953; ID., *Muhammad at Medina*, Oxford 1956; ID., *Muhammad Prophet and Statesman*, London 1961.

Alessandro Gori

Muḥammad ᶜAbdallāh Ḥasan

M. (b. ca. 1856, Buuhoodle district, Somalia, d. January 1921, Iimay, Ogaden) was an outstanding 19th–early 20th cent. Somali religious and political leader and poet.

M.'s name appears in many different ways. Muḥammad [b.] ᶜAbdallāh [b.] Ḥasan (Ḥassān in Cerulli EI¹ and Lewis EI²; Ḥasan Nūr – Somali sp. Xasan Nuur – in M.'s genealogy in Keenaadiid 1984:25, in Samatar 1982:100 and also in the Turkish document published in Caroselli 1931:223) represents the classical Arabic form of his name (محمد عبد الله حسن) which he himself used in his seals (e.g., Aw Jaamac Cumar Ciise 1976:130, 157). The current Somali orthography is Maxamed (or Maxammad) Cabdille Xasan. M. is also known by two nicknames. The *Sayyid* (Somali *sayid* or *siyid* Maxamed or simply *sayidkii* 'the Sayyid') is an epithet that he himself cherished. It could be interpreted as a reference to his prophetic ancestry (stated in one of his poems published by Keenadiid 1984:246f.) but is more commonly considered a honorific title given to him by his followers after M. became the most outstanding representative of the *Ṣāliḥīya ṭarīqa* in Somalia (↗Islamic brotherhoods) and a powerful political and military leader (Caroselli 1931:8; Keenadiid 1984:30; Abdi Sheik – Abdi 1993:45). His most famous nickname is, however, the "Mad Mullah" (Somali *wadaad waal*[*an*], s. Samatar 1982:183f.). Many different explanations exist concerning its origin (Caroselli 1931:7f.; Keenadiid 1984:30f.; Samatar 1982:182–85; Abdi Sheik – Abdi 1993:54ff.): it was used by local and foreign detractors and enemies of M. in a strongly derogatory sense, but also with a nuance of astonished admiration.

M.'s date and place of birth of are not exactly known. Most likely M. was born ca. 1856 in the valley of Saᶜmaddeeqo (Sacmaddeeqo), 10km north of the Buuhoodle water-holes, in the north-eastern part of the modern "Somaliland Republic" (Jaamac Cumar Ciise 1976:4, Samatar 1982:100; for other versions s. Caroselli 1931:17; Keenadiid 1984:25; Abdi Sheik – Abdi 1993:46f.). His father was *šayḫ* ᶜAbdille (Cabdille) from the Ogaadeen clan of the ↗Darood clan-family and his mother was ᶜArro (Carro) or Timiro Seed, a Ḍulbahante (Dhulbahante) of the ᶜAli Geri (Cali Geri) sub-lineage of the Darood. Later, the Ḍulbahante were to constitute the bulk of M.'s guerrilla fighting force.

The family of M.'s father counted several itinerant Muslim learned men who wandered in search of religious education. M. kept this family tradition and in 1894 went to *ḥağğ*. In ↗Mecca he studied under Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ, founder of the *Ṣāliḥīya* brotherhood, who was a Wahhābī-influenced Sudanese from ↗Dongola. M. was thus indoctrinated in Wahhābism, which adheres to a rigid, literalist interpretation of the ↗Qurᵓān and the *ḥadīṯ*: it denies the intercessory powers of saints and bans visits to their tombs for blessings, as opposed to the saint-revering *Qādirīya* brotherhood to which most Somalis belonged. The doctrinal rift was to cause violent clashes between the adherents of the two sects, that nearly plunged Somalia into civil war.

M. visited the Sudan in 1897, when the anti-British ↗Mahdist revolt was still raging. He seems to have borrowed the appellation of Dervish there. He was also considered a sort of Somali equivalent of the Sudanese Mahdī and, in fact, he is also frequently nicknamed so (Cerulli in EI¹; Lewis in EI²; Alame Eshete 1984). However, M. apparently never claimed to be the expected "Rightly Guided" of the Islamic tradition (Keenadiid 1984:31; Lewis in EI²; s. for the opposite opinion Jardine 1923:42), though in some of his verses he actually mentioned the Mahdī in a somewhat unclear sense (Keenadiid 1984:247). It is certain, however, that a strong aura of sanctity and of mystical power encircled his person in lifetime and after death: e.g., he is believed to have had full command over the ↗*ğinn* and other supernatural forces (Andrzejewski 1971).

Coming back home, M. settled among his mother's Ḍulbahante kinsmen. In 1899, after having been summoned by the British Authorities in ↗Berbera for involvement in the case of a rifle theft, he disdainfully refused any cooperation with the colonial administration and started his own holy war against the occupants of his country (↗Colonialism). He organized the Dervish (Somali *daraawiish* from Arab. pl. *darāwīš*) anti-colonial movement and led the Somali nationalist resistance struggle against the combined powers of Great Britain, Italy and Ethiopia from 1898 to 1920. During the complex and contradictory events of this long period of war, M. sought contact with first ↗Mənilək II (Aleme Eshete 1984) and later *ləğ* ↗Iyasu and the Ottomans (Jardine 1923:245f., 249, 287, 303; Caroselli 1931:215–47; Kakwenzaire 1985). *Ləğ* Iyasu sent M. a German technician named Emil Kirsch alias Casson who

was to take care of the ammunition and maintenance of the Dervishes' fire-arms. Mistreated by M. and his followers, Kirsch escaped but died in the desert (Jardine 1923:247f.).

This perception of M.'s movement, however, conceals the fact, that M. had *de facto* already become the leader of his own independent state within officially "colonialized" territory. Wide areas under his control were inaccessible for colonial officials for decades. Somali Dervishes were brilliant in guerrilla war tactics, nearly always eluding the pursuing British, Italian and Ethiopian armies. They disappeared into the dry, pathless Somali bush country when the enemy was strong, only to hit back when he was weak. However, the Dervishes lost their guerrilla advantage in an open country with the invention of air power and aerial bombardment. The airplane proved convenient, as a Royal Air Force pilot put it, to "bomb the old villain out of his hiding place" (Samatar 1982:130). Accordingly, in 1920 the British delivered a devastating air assault on the Dervish capital of Taleex, all but destroying the Dervishes as a fighting force. In the wake of this catastrophe, M. and a few followers staggered onto the Ethiopian-occupied Somali Ogaadeen where M. died of influenza.

M.'s contribution to Somali literature was even more remarkable. During the years of the struggle, he produced a magnificent body of oral poetry that is today considered to be the "jewel in the crown" of Somali heritage. He employed his polemical lyrics as an anti-colonial weapon, through which to communicate war-campaign propaganda in order to mobilize public opinion, to discredit his enemies, and to heap diatribes on colonial authorities. Below, an extract from his *Dardaaran* ('The Will'), composed in the wake of his defeat is given as a sample:

A beating we took, forced to flee, to swim across the river,
Stripped of stock, we reel, reduced to destitution,
Rejoice, then, you lackeys who remained behind.

Oh men, foolery leads to mental deterioration,
Yet some love to indulge in profitless disputation.
I, on my own volition, chose to fight the infidels.

It was I who said to the filthy unbeliever: "This land is not yours".
It was I who sought and found the Prophet's guidance,
It was I who rejected again and again the infidel's offer to buy me out.

Today, M.'s poetry is still chanted before enthusiastic audiences throughout the Somali peninsula, thus serving as a soothing source of comfort and compensation in the collapse of the Somali state and consequent chaos.

Lit.: ABDI SHEIK ABDI, *Divine Madness: Mohammed Abdulle Hassan (1856–1920)*, London 1993; ALEME ESHETE, "A Page in the History of Ogaden. Contact and Correspondence between Emperor Minilik of Ethiopia and the Somali Mahdi, Muhammad Abdullah Hassan (1907–1908)", in: *PICES* 7, 301–14; BOGUMIL W. ANDRZEJEWSKI, "Muhammad Abdille Hassan and the Lizard – A Somali Legend", in: VERONICA SIX et al. (eds.), *Afrikanische Sprachen und Kulturen – Ein Querschnitt*, Hamburg 1971, 298–304; FRANCESCO SAVERIO CAROSELLI, *Ferro e Fuoco in Somalia*, Roma 1931; MARGARET CASTAGNO, *Historical Dictionary of Somalia*, Metuchen, NJ 1975 (African Historical Dictionares 6); ENRICO CERULLI, "Muḥammad b. ᶜAbdallāh Ḥassān al-Mahdī", in: *EI*[1] vol. 3, 667–68 (repr. in ID., *Somalia ...*, Roma 1957, vol. 1, 153–56); ROBERT L. HESS, "The Poor Man of God Muhammad Abdullah Hassan", in: NORMAN R. BENNET (ed.), *Leadership in Eastern Africa: Six Political Biographies*, Boston, 1968, 63–108; JAAMAC CUMAR CIISE, *Diiwaanka Sayid Maxamed* ('Collected Poems of Sayid Maḥamed'), Mogadishu 1974; ID., *Taariikhdii Daraawiishta iyo Sayid Maxamed Cabdulle Xasan, (1895–1921)* ('The History of the Dervishes and of Sayid Maḥamed ᶜAbdulle Ḥasan'), Mogadishu 1976; DOUGLAS JARDINE, *The Mad Mullah of Somaliland*, London 1923; PATRICK K. KAKWENZIRE, "Sayyid Muhammd Abdille Hassan, lij Yasu and the World War I Politics: 1914–1916", *Transafrican Journal of History* 14, 1985, 36–45; IOAN MYRDDIN LEWIS, *The Modern History of Somaliland: from Nation to State*, London 1965; ID., "Muḥammad b. ᶜAbdallāh Ḥassān", in: *EI*[2] vol. 7, 389–90; BRADFORD G. MARTIN, *Muslim Brotherhoods in Nineteenth-Century Africa*, Cambridge 1976, 177–201; SAID S. SAMATAR, *Oral Poetry and Somali Nationalism: the Case of Sayyid Maḥammad ʿAbdille Ḥasan*, Cambridge 1982 (African Studies Series 32); YAASIIN CISMAAN KENAADIID, *Ina Cabdille Xasan e la sua attività letteraria*, Napoli 1984.

Said Samatar

Muḥammad ᶜAbdarraḥīm

Nāʾib M.ᶜA. (محمد عبد الرحيم, b. ca. 1825/30 [?], Ḥərgigo, d. 1904) was ↗*nāʾib* of ↗Ḥərgigo, holding this office several times between 1856 and 1887. His father was ᶜAbdarraḥīm Aḥmad, son of the 5th *nāʾib*, from the "Balaw family".

Nāʾib M.ᶜA. was the 16th (r. 1856–60), 18th (r. 1862), and then again the 20th *nāʾib* (r. 1865–87; s. Odorizzi 1910:155; Abdu Ali Habib 1973:1–4; Yəsḥaq Gäbrä Yäsus 1998:101). His rival, *nāʾib* Idrīs Ḥasan, was the 15th, 17th, and the 19th *nāʾib*. These shifts of power took place due to Ottoman intervention and the internal struggle between the two branches of the Nāʾib family, namely the Bet Ḥasan (M.ᶜA.) and the Bet ᶜUṯmān (Idrīs Ḥasan).

The Ottoman administration manipulated the power balance between the two families. Thus, in 1861, Idrīs Ḥasan was nominated as the 17th

nāʾib, while M.ᶜA. held his position without nominal power. Although the two *nāʾibs* lived in an uneasy relationship, they jointly opposed the Ottoman administration whenever it tried to collect taxes from the surrounding tribes. The taxes were collected through raids without consulting the Nāʾib families who considered themselves the traditional rulers of the country and wanted to maintain their monopoly on the collection of tributes. Thus, during the 1850s and 1860s, the *nāʾibs* conducted forceful expeditions against the Ḥamasen, the Mänsaᶜ, the Ḥabab and the Bogos (↗Bilin). This period was also characterised by numerous uprisings of the ↗Sāho against the Ottoman authorities which destabilized transport and communication between the coast and the highlands (↗Massawa Governorate). *Nāʾibs* who had been removed from office often allied themselves with Sāho-speaking groups to challenge the coastal authority and the acting *nāʾib* (Miran 2004:76f.).

After a conflict with the Ottomans, M.ᶜA. went to ↗Dəgsa in Akkälä Guzay in 1862 to hide among the Sāho tribes. He also used his refuge to re-establish his relations with the Ottomans. In the same year, he was re-installed as the 18th *nāʾib*, and his rival Idrīs Ḥasan was expelled to ↗Mecca. According to Rassam (s. House of Commons 1868:39), M.ᶜA. was sent as an envoy to *aṣe* ↗Tewodros by the Ottoman administration in 1863, to improve the trade relations with Ethiopia. When he declared that the Ottomans had ordered him to return soon, Tewodros grew angry about M.ᶜA.'s statement that the Ottomans were his masters and detained him for 41 days. After his release, friendly relations were restored (Abdu Ali Habib 1973:10 and n. 58).

The *mušīr* of Mecca decided to re-install Idrīs Ḥasan as the 19th *nāʾib* only 18 months after M.ᶜA.'s appointment. The dismissed M.ᶜA. travelled to Jeddah in order to exert pressure on the *mušīr* to allow him to retain his position. After less than one year he succeeded and returned to ↗Massawa as the 20th *nāʾib* in 1865, the year the Egyptians occupied that town. Upon his arrival, the new Egyptian Governor of Massawa found two *nāʾibs*, namely M.ᶜA. and Idrīs Ḥasan. He recognized both of them as *nāʾibs* and sent them to Ḥərgigo, their place of residence. However, he disallowed them to collect tribute from ↗Sämhar, ↗Saḥəl, and ↗Dänkäl (ᶜAfar). Thus, their traditional political power declined and they concentrated more on economic activities. They also got involved in military campaigns against the Ethiopian rulers. In 1874 M.ᶜA. joined ↗Arakel *bey*, *mumtāz bāšā* of Massawa, in the war against *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV (↗Egytian–Ethiopian war of 1875–76). In 1875, Arakel *bey* was killed in the battle of Gudda Guddi (↗Gundät), and M.ᶜA., who had received the title of "*bey*" from the Egyptians, was captured by the Ethiopians. After the battle of ↗Guraᶜ in 1876, he was re-installed as *nāʾib* by the Egyptians.

In 1885 the Italians occupied the port of Massawa and recognized both *nāʾibs*, Idrīs Ḥasan as the 19th and M.ᶜA. as the 20th *nāʾib*. In 1887 *nāʾib* M.ᶜA. took part in the battle of Dogᶜali against the Italians and was then deported by them to ᶜAsäb (Odorizzi 1910:155). M.ᶜA., however, was finally released at the orders of general Roberto Asinari di ↗San Marzano in 1888. He was given a monthly pension of 200 Lire and kept his title, with no power. His brother ᶜAbdalkarīm ᶜAbdarraḥīm succeeded him as the 21st *nāʾib*.

Src.: [House of Commons], *Correspondence Respecting Abyssinia 1864-68*, London 1868.

Lit.: Abdu Ali Habib, *History of Massawa: from Early Nineteenth Century to the Coming of the Italians*, B.A. thesis, Department of History, Haile Sellassie I University, Addis Ababa 1973, 1–14; *Great Britain Parliamentary Papers, Correspondence Respecting Abyssinia 1846–1868*, London 1868; Jonathan Miran, *Facing the Land, Facing the Sea: Commercial Transformation and Urban Dynamics in the Red Sea Port of Massawa, 1840–1960*, Ph.D. thesis, Department of History, Michigan State University 2004, 37–78; Id., "Power without Pashas: the Anatomy of *Na'ib* Autonomy in Ottoman Eritrea (17th–19th c.)", *Eritrean Studies Review* 5, 1, 2007, 33–88; Dante Odorizzi, *Il commissariato regionale di Massaua al 1° gennaio 1910*, Asmara 1910, 140–55; MuhTarih; Yəsḥaq Gäbrä Yäsus, **ገማገም፡ ባሕረ፡ ኤርትራ፡ ካብ፡ ሰብአ፡ ጱንት፡ ክሳዕ፡ ልዑላን፡ ሕርጊጎ** (*Gämagəm baḥrä Erətra kab säbᵓa Punt kəsaᶜ laᶜulan Ḥərgigo*, 'The Coast of Eritrea from the People of Punt till the Nobility of Ḥərgigo'), Asmära 1998.

Abdulkader Saleh Mohammad – Nicole Hirt

Muḥammad ᶜAlī ↗Mikaᵓel ᶜAlī

Muḥammad ᶜAlī s. vol. 5

Muḥammad Amān b. *šayḫ* ᶜAbdallāh

Muftī M. (محمد امان بن عبد الله; b. 1894, Gädäm Goze, Yəfat, d. 1978, Sakina, Yəfat), known among the local Oromo and ↗Argobba as *abbayye muftī*, was a prominent Islamic teacher of Argobba origin.

M. reportedly started his traditional Islamic ↗education at an early age. He completed the

first stage (↗Qurʾān and *fiqh*) under the supervision of his uncle, *šayḫ* Amanəyye at Ǝssoyye Gula and continued his studies at different centres of Islamic learning in ↗Yəfat and southern ↗Wällo. At Goze in Yəfat he mastered *tawḥīd*, or Islamic theology, and *tafsīr al-Qurʾān*, or exegesis. At Grañ in Dawway, Wällo, he studied *naḥw*, or Arabic grammar and syntax, under the guidance of *šayḫ* ᶜAlī Bərru.

In 1918 M. left for ↗Egypt to study at al-Azhar University in Cairo. He stayed there for ca. 25 years both as a student and teacher, being one of the four Ethiopians teaching in this University. While Gäzzahəññ Wändäfräš, Addamu Səläši and Wäldä Kiros Arägawi were teaching ↗Gəᶜəz, M. taught *naḥw*.

In 1943 M. returned to Yəfat and founded his own centre of learning at Lugo Sakina. Sakina is a small hill between the Argobba settlement of Lugo and the Oromo hamlets of Bäddessa and Hiğra, in the eastern part of the Efrata-Ğille *wärada*. He taught there for 35 years till his death in 1978, mainly specializing in *naḥw* and *tafsīr al-Qurʾān* and tutoring several distinguished *ᶜulamāʾ*.

Other written and oral sources highly credit him, apart from teaching, for his contribution in the arbitration of inter-ethnic conflicts between the Oromo and the ᶜAfar during the 1940s–60s. The representative elders of both communities are reported to have preferred M.'s advice to asking the officials of Ḫaylä Śəllase I's government. M. encouraged leading members of different Oromo clan groups to strictly practice Islam, and advised the well-to-do to perform the ↗pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina. He also advised all families to send their children to nearby schools, whether secular or religious. M. offered a local alternative to the government officials by seeking peaceful ways of conflict resolution; he publicly criticized the imperial government for corruption and social injustice. Nevertheless, the local *balabbats* could never challenge him as he always showed them deep respect. M. is known for having treated all people with respect irrespective of their religious, ethnic and social background and for offering help to the poor giving them food and shelter in times of difficulty.

Src.: interviews with: *al-ḥāǧǧ* Muḥammad Dāʾūd, Ṭəǧǧa Mäwčʿa, Yəfat, July 2001; *ustāḏ* Muḥammad Ḫalīl, Addis Abäba, September 2002; *al-ḥāǧǧ* Ḥasan ᶜAlī, January 1993; *wäyzäro* Momina ᶜAlī, Aṭayye, July 1986, Addis Ababa, July 1992, September 1993, April 1994; *əmmät* Sofiyā bt. Muḥammad (M.'s daughter), July 1986; *al-ḥāǧǧīya* Faṭuma (M.'s wife), July 1985; *al-ḥāǧǧ* Muḥammad Wale Aḥmad, Addis Abäba, February 1992; *al-ḥāǧǧ* MUḤAMMAD WALE AḤMAD, *Kitāb aṭ-ṭirāz al-manqūš fī manqabāt awliyāʾ al-ḥubūš* ('The Coloured Embroidery about the Virtues of the Ethiopian Saints'), ms., n.d.; *šayḫ* ADAM ESSOYYE, *An-nafaḥāt ar-rabbānīya fī manāqib awliyāʾ ad-dawawīya* ('The Divine Gifts about the Virtues of the Saints of Dawway'), ms., n.d.

Lit.: AHMED HASSEN OMER, "Aspects of the History of Muslim Communities in Northern Shäwa (c. 1840s–1970s)", seminar paper, School of Graduate Studies, Addis Ababa University, March 1992, 26f.; ID., *A Historical Survey of Ethnic Relations in Yefat and Temmuga, Northeast Shäwa (1889–1974)*, M.A. thesis, History Department, Addis Ababa University 1994, 81f.; ID., "State and Ethnic Relations in Northeastern Shäwa (Ethiopia), 1912–1935", in: *PICES* 13, vol. 1, 138–50; HUSSEIN AHMED, "Islam and Islamic Discourse in Ethiopia (1973–1993)", in: *PICES* 12, vol. 1, 775–801.

Ahmed Hassen Omer

Muḥammad b. ᶜAbdalbāqī al-Buḫārī al-Makkī

M. (محمد بن عبد الباقى البخارى المكى, also Abū l-Maᶜālī ᶜAlāʾaddīn Muḥammad b. ᶜAbdalbāqī al-Buḫārī al-Makkī; s. Brockelmann 1938:519) was a 16th-cent. Arabic author whose fame is essentially linked to his only known book, *aṭ-Ṭirāz al-manqūš fī maḥāsin al-ḥubūš* ('The Coloured Brocade: on the Good Qualities of Ethiopians').

Hardly anything is known of M.'s life. According to the incipit of the book, he started writing it 991 H. [1583 A.D.] (Weisweiler 1924:12f. postpones the first section to 992 H.) and dedicated it to the *sulṭān* of Ḥiğāz (↗Arabia), Abū n-Naṣr Ḥusayn b. Ḥasan b. Abī Numayy b. Barakāt. M.'s two bynames may allow us to speculate about his life. The first *nisba*, al-Buḫārī, may hint to a possible family origin in Bukhara in Central Asia. The second, al-Makkī, could relate to a long stay by one of his ancestors, his father, or even M. himself in ↗Mecca, or even indicate that he was born in the holy city (Weisweiler 1924:11; van Donzel 2004:113). Ducatez (1979:1) proposes a Circassian origin for M,. but provides no supporting evidence. We can be certain M. lived in Medina because the introduction to his book states that he served as a *ḫaṭīb* there (a preacher for the collective Friday prayers).

The *Ṭirāz* is devoted to the praise of the Ḥabaš (i.e. Ethiopians, s. ↗Abyssinia) in general and the ↗*naǧāšī* in particular, with a particular reference to the virtues of Ethiopian female slaves. It is attested in numerous manuscripts. Brockelmann (1902:385; 1938:519) lists 16 mss. whereas Ducatez (1979:2) mentions 18, but admits not having been

able to examine those kept in the Dār al-kutub al-ğadīda in Cairo, including an autograph. Besides, the ms. Paris 4632 contains a different recension of the work (Brockelmann 1938:519), and an excerpt is kept in Bod. II 1363. Additional evidence that the *Ṭirāz* raised a degree of literary interest stems from the fact that a summary of the work was written by ʿAlī b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥalabī (d. 1044 H. [1634 A.D.], Brockelmann 1938:418). This abridged version of M.'s work is contained in an apparently unique manuscript in Cairo, and was printed there in 1307 H. [1893/94 A.D.] (ibid. 519). The *Kitāb al-manqūš fī manāqib al-ḥubūš* contained in ms. BN Eth. d'Abbadie 224 (d'Abbadie 1859:218; ChAbb 129; CRAbb 236) and here attributed to an-Nawawī (d. 1277), is possibly another abridged version of the *Ṭirāz*.

The book consists of an introduction (*muqaddima*), four chapters (*bāb*, each subdivided into three or four paragraphs, *faṣl*) and a conclusion (*ḫātima*). The chapters and paragraphs bear subtitles. The introduction deals with the origins of the Ḥabaš long before the Prophet, the cause of their skin being black and the reason for the interest people take in them. In chapter one, arguments in support of the high esteem the Ḥabaš are held in are provided; chapter two deals with the merits and qualities of the *naǧāšī* and his companions (*aṣḥābuhu*); the third chapter lists Prophet's companions of Abyssinan origin, starting with the first *muʾaḏḏin* ↗Bilāl b. Rabāḥ; the fourth chapter contains a collection of excerpts from what men of letters (*ahl al-adab*) said about Abyssinans; finally, the conclusive section deals with the Ethiopians' tattooing (*luʾuṭ*) and scarification (*šurūt*) practices (↗Body ornamentation).

The book, its literary form and the historical and anthropological aspects have attracted scholarly attention since the early 20th cent. Weisweiler was the first to study the *Ṭirāz* in detail. He published an annotated German translation of the foreword, the introduction, and three of the four chapters of M.'s work on the basis of four manuscripts (1924). Moreover, he carefully analysed the contents of the *Ṭirāz*, and collocated it with similar works dealing with the same topic, highlighting M.'s relationship with his forerunners. A significant part of his *Ṭirāz* is clearly, whether directly or indirectly, drawn from ↗Ibn al-Ğawzī's *Tanwīr al-ġabaš* (Ibn al-Ğawzī 1998; s. van Donzel 1986, 1989) and as-Suyūṭī's *Azhār al-ʿurūš* and *Rafʿ šaʾn al-ḥubšān* (as-Suyūṭī 1991, s. Brockelmann 1902:158, 1938:198). Weisweiler also shed light on the literary nature of the *Ṭirāz*: a mix of different genres (*adab*, *faḍāʾil* and *aḫbār*), it should be dealt with very cautiously by those searching for a historical or anthropological source, since it was perhaps only conceived for entertainment with no serious scholarly goal in mind. Ducatez (1979) critically edited and annotated three chapters of the book on the basis of 13 manuscripts. The fourth chapter was left out because its text varied so much from one manuscript to another that it could in each case be considered an independent version (1979:4).

Src.: Abū l-Faraǧ ʿAbdarraḥmān b. ʿAlī b. al-Ğawzī, *Tanwīr al-ġabaš fī faḍl as-sūdān wal-ḥabaš* ('Lighting of the Morning Twilight on the Excellent Qualities of the Blacks and the Ethiopians'), ed. by Marzūq ʿAlī Ibrāhīm, ar-Riyāḍ 1419 H. [1998 A.D.]; Guy Ducatez (ed., tr., comm.), Al-Buḫārī l-Makkī, *Kitāb aṭ-Ṭirāz al-manqūš fī maḥāsin al-ḥubūš*, Ph.D. thesis, Universitè de Paris I, 1979; Ǧalāladdīn as-Suyūṭī, *Rafʿ šaʾn al-ḥubšān* ('The Raising of the Status of the Ethiopians'), [Cairo] 1991; Max Weisweiler (ed., tr.), *Buntes Prachtgewand: Über die guten Eigenschaften der Abessinier von Muḥammad ibn ʿAbdalbāqī al-Buḫārī al-Makkī*, Hannover 1924.

Lit.: Carl Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*, vol. 2, Berlin 1902, and *Zweiter Supplementband*, Leiden 1938; Emeri Johannes van Donzel, "Quelques remarques sur le Tanwīr al-ghabash", in: *Actas del XII. Congreso de la Unión européenne des arabisants et islamisants (Málaga, 1984)*, Madrid 1986, 243–55; Id., "Ibn al-Jawzī on Ethiopians in Baghdad", in: Clifford Edmund Bosworth – Roger Savory – Albert L. Udovitch (eds.), *The Islamic World from Classical to Modern Times: Essays in Honor of Bernard Lewis*, Princeton, NJ 1989, 113–22; Id., "'Leave the Ethiopians Alone as Long as they Leave you Alone' *utrukū l-ḥabaša mā tarakūkum*. Some Reflections on a *ḥadīṯ*", in: *StudAeth* 109–14, here 113; Bernard Lewis, *Race and Color in Islam*, New York 1971, 37; Gernot Rotter, *Die Stellung des Negers in der arabisch-islamischen Gesellschaft bis zum XVI. Jahrhundert*, Ph.D. thesis, University of Bonn 1967.

Alessandro Gori

Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbdaššakūr

M. (محمد بن علي بن عبد الشكور, d. 1875) was the 17th *amīr* of the ʿAlī b. Dāʾūd dynasty, who ruled in ↗Harär from 30 August 1856 to 11 October 1875 (Tedeschi in PICES 4, vol. 1, 497f.). According to official documents, M. was the grandson of *amīr* ↗ʿAbdaššakūr b. Yūsuf. This genealogy is doubted, however, in some Harari and Oromo oral traditions, which claim that M.'s father, ʿAlī, was in reality a son of Māyū, a rich Oromo of the ↗Anniyya tribe. ʿAlī grew up in the court of ʿAbdaššakūr. Having gained favour, ʿAlī married Fāṭima bint ʿAlī, a relative of the *amīr*. Their son,

M., distinguished himself in campaigns against the Oromo during the reign of ↗ᶜAbdalkarīm b. Muḥammad. He married a younger half-sister of his mother, Ḫadīğa bint ᶜAlī, and adopted the name ᶜAbdaššakūr as that of his grandfather (Caulk 1977:378; Waldron 1984:29ff.). Furthermore, the records of the *dīwān* (the ↗*qāḍī*'s court) show that M. inherited from Amatallāh bint ᶜAbdaššakūr (ᶜAbdurahman Garad 1990:16, n. 6; Drewes 1983:71). Since there is no adoption in Islam, it is deduced that Amatallāh must have been M.'s real aunt and, consequently, ᶜAbdaššakūr his grandfather. It could also be that the Harari, who hated M., wanted to make a foreigner of him, and, inversely, the Oromo, who liked him, wanted to make him a relative.

When M.'s predecessor ↗Aḥmad b. Abī Bakr fell ill and had to turn over the government to his mother ↗Fāṭima bint Kawšan, M. was instigated by his wife Ḫadīğa bint ᶜAlī to organize a revolt. He fled the town about 1854/55 and went to live among the Alaa in Gara Mulläta west of Harär. In alliance with them, he defeated the Noolee (↗Qottu) who had previously terrified the other Oromo tribes. He joined in the brotherly relationship of *ilma gosaa* (lit. 'son of the tribe', s. ↗*Gosa*) with the Noolee, which made him a member of their tribe, and later on with the whole confederation of Afran Qalloo. In 1856, M. felt strong enough to march with his Oromo allies against Harär. He destroyed the city's gardens and cut the trade routes. During the siege, the *amīr* Aḥmad b. Abī Bakr died. The townspeople appointed and deposed two candidates in only a few hours and then called in M. to end the siege (Caulk 1977:378f.).

M. became known for his despotic rule. He was totally dominated by his Oromo allies, a fact that made him unpopular with the people of the town. He began his rule by taking revenge upon Fāṭima bint Kawšan, of Somali origin, for her anti-Oromo policy, and deprived her of her property. Later however, Fāṭima's popularity in the town made him change his attitude. He offered her that his eldest son, the later *amīr* ↗ᶜAbdullāhi b. Muḥammad, would marry her daughter. She only agreed on the condition that his daughter marry her grandson Yūsuf b. Aḥmad. Finally, M. himself married Fāṭima bint Kawšan (Mohammed Moktar 1876:391f.).

The *ilma gosaa* obliged M. to offer hospitality to the Oromo. Every week, especially in times of famine, hundreds of Oromo entered the town and were assigned by the *amīr* to the rich families, preferably those who were his enemies. The Oromo stayed with them for weeks and expected gifts in clothing and cash, before they left (Mohammed Moktar 1876:384ff.; Caulk 1977:379f.). To pay his Oromo "brothers", M. levied a special tax (*maḥallaq al-Gāllā*), monopolized the trade in several goods (coffee, ivory, ostrich-feathers, musk) and devalued the money twice, in 1862 and 1867 (Mohammed Moktar 1876:393; DouinIsm III.3A 623; ᶜAbdurahman Garad 1990:244).

The Harari had not only to suffer from the *amīr*'s economic and fiscal measures, but also from his personal whims: he prohibited the consumption of dates and rice, because such delicious foods were fit only for kings and *amīrs* (Mohammed Moktar 1876:394f.).

M. was, however, a well-educated man and a pious Muslim. The catalogue of his library shows that he owned about a hundred Arabic manuscripts covering the major disciplines of Islamic scholarship (Drewes 1983:70). He tried to propagate Islam among the Oromo by sending scholars to the tribes and building mosques in the villages (Caulk 1977:380f.).

On 16 July 1875, the *ḫidīw* ↗Ismāᶜīl decided to conquer Harär. He ordered ↗Muḥammad Raᵓūf *bāšā* to march from Zaylaᶜ towards the town. When the Egyptians came near, M. sent two letters of submission to Muḥammad Raᵓūf *bāšā* (DouinIsm III.3A 619f.; RubActa III, 188–92). On 11 October 1875, Muḥammad Raᵓūf *bāšā* entered Harär. He received the *amīr* warmly and honoured him with a robe and a gift in cash (Paulitschke 1888:239). On 11 November 1875, the *ḫidīw* bestowed on M. the nominal title of *muḥāfiẓ* (governor) of Harär (DouinIsm III.3A 627; Šawqī ᶜAṭāᵓallāh al-Ğamal 1959:129). By that date however, M. had already been strangled by one of Muḥammad Raᵓūf's *başıbozuks* (members of the irregular troops) during the evening prayer on 27 October 1875 (Paulitschke 88:231; Tedeschi in PICES 4, vol. 1, 497f.). The murderer was honoured by the Somali with the name *libaaḥ* (*libaax*, 'lion'), for killing a friend of the Oromo (Plazikowsky-Brauner 1957:315).

Src.: ENRICO CERULLI, "Gli Emiri di Harar dal secolo XVI alla conquista egiziana (1875)", *RSE* 2, 1942, 3–19, here 16f. [repr. in: *CerIslam* 1971, 365–82, here 379f.]; RubActa III, 188–92; ŠAWQĪ ᶜAṬĀᵓALLĀH AL-ĞAMAL, *Al-Waṯāᵓiq at-taᵓrīḫīya li-siyāsat Miṣr fī l-Baḥr al-Aḥmar* ('Historical Documents on the Policy of Egypt in the Red Sea'), Cairo 1959; SALVATORE TEDESCHI, "L'Emirato di Harar secondo

un documento inedito", in: *PICES* 4, vol. 1, 481–500.
Lit.: ABDURAHMAN GARAD, *Harar: Wirtschaftsgeschichte eines Emirats im Horn von Afrika (1825–1875)*, Frankfurt a. M. 1990 (Europäische Hochschulschriften 3, 426), 16, 50, 55f., 166, 244ff.; RICHARD ALAN CAULK, "Harär Town and its Neighbours in the Nineteenth Century", *JAH* 18, 1977, 369–86; STANISŁAW CHOJNACKI, "Muhammad Abd esh-Shakūr", in: *DicEthBio* 114; DouinIsm III.3A, 602–27; ABRAHAM JOHANNES DREWES, "The Library of Muḥammad b. ᶜAlī b. ᶜAbd al-Shakūr, Sulṭān of Harar, 1272–92/1856–75", in: ROBERT BIDWELL – GERALD REX SMITH (eds.), *Arabian and Islamic Studies: Articles Presented to R.B. Serjeant on the Occasion of his Retirement ...*, London – New York 1983, 68–79; EMILE FOUCHER, "Harar au temps de Arthur Rimbaud: 1880–1891", in: *PICES* 8, vol. 1, 367–73, here 367; MOHAMMED MOKTAR [MUḤAMMAD MUḤTĀR], "Notes sur le pays de Harrar", *Bulletin de la Société Khédiviale de Géographie d'Égypte*, 1ère sér., 4, 1876, 351–97; PHILIPP PAULITSCHKE, *Harar: Forschungsreise nach den Somâl- und Galla-Ländern Ost-Afrikas*, Leipzig 1888, 228–31; HERMA PLAZIKOWSKY-BRAUNER, "Beiträge zur Geschichte des Islams in Abessinien", *Der Islam* 32, 1957, 310–23; LUIGI ROBECCHI BRICCHETTI, *Nell'Harrar*, Milano ³1896, 115–18; SIDNEY RALPH WALDRON, "The Political Economy of the Harari-Oromo Relationship, 1559–1874", *NEASt* 6, 1984, 23–39.

Ewald Wagner

Muḥammad b. Aẓharaddīn

M. (محمد بن اظهر الدين, d. 1518) was the 24th ruler of the ↗Walašmaᶜ dynasty, ruling over ↗ᶜAdal between 1488 and 1518. M. came to power after the murder of Ibrāhīm b. *qāṭ* Naṣraddīn, who did not belong to the Walašmaᶜ dynasty. With M. the rule came back to the old family, though in another branch, since the predecessor of Ibrāhīm b. *qāṭ* Naṣraddīn, Šamsaddīn b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Badlāy, had no living descendants.

It seems that M. tried to remain at peace with the Christians. His policy, however, failed, as the intensified Islamic propaganda of fanatic leaders who had acquired control over ᶜAdal pushed the Walašmaᶜ *sulṭān* into the background. M.'s peaceful efforts were nullified, in particular, by the raids of ↗Maḥfūẓ b. Muḥammad, the governor of ↗Zaylaᶜ. After Maḥfūẓ was defeated by *aṣe* ↗Naᶜod, M. hastened to assure the Christian ruler his neutrality. An insecure truce followed in spite of spasmodic raids by Maḥfūẓ.

The relations with the Christian kingdom were peaceful throughout Naᶜod's reign and *ətege* ↗Ǝleni's interregnum, but ↗Ləbnä Dəngəl reversed that policy. On the Muslim side, Maḥfūẓ had recovered from his defeat after receiving ideological support, arms and trained men from Arabia. The policy of both sides led to confrontation. In July 1517, M. had to give way to religious pressures and to move, together with Maḥfūẓ, into the Ethiopian province of ↗Fäṭägar for an invasion. His army was heavily defeated, and Maḥfūẓ slain; Ləbnä Dəngəl invaded ᶜAdal, destroying the castle of Zankar – which may be identified with Dakar, the capital of ᶜAdal at that time. M. was saved with the help of Muslims from ↗Däwaro in Ləbnä Dəngəl's army. Yet, when he came home in 1518, he was murdered by his son-in-law and Maḥfūẓ's grandson, Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr b. Maḥfūẓ, who, according to ᶜArabfaqīh's *Futūḥ al-Ḥabaša*, ruled ᶜAdal for one year (BassHist 5 [text]). The Walašmaᶜ chronicle, on the other hand, does not mention Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr but, instead, ᶜAlī b. Muḥammad b. Aẓharaddīn, as the successor of his father (Cerulli 1931:42). It seems that ᶜAlī, from the Walašmaᶜ dynasty, became the nominal ruler, whereas the usurper Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr b. Maḥfūẓ, from the religious faction, was the *de facto* ruler.

Src.: BassHist 5 (text) = 7ff. (tr.); BeckHuntAlvar 410–15; PHILIPP PAULITSCHKE, *Harar: Forschungsreise nach den Somâl- und Galla-Ländern Ost-Afrikas*, Leipzig 1888, 506; ENRICO CERULLI, "Documenti arabi per la storia dell'Etiopia", *MRALm* ser. 6ª, 4, 1931, 39–101, here 42 (text) = 49 (tr.) [repr. in: *CerIslam* 135–206, here 139 (text) = 147 (tr.)]; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Storia di Lebna Dengel re d'Etiopia sino alle prime lotte contro Ahmad ben Ibrahim", *RRALm* ser. 5ª, 3, 1884, 617–40, here 622f. (text) = 632ff. (tr.); DombrChr 158f., n. 49; KrLebD 3ff. (text) = 4f. (tr.).
Lit.: BruNile vol. 2, 122–42; ENRICO CERULLI, "L'Etiopia medievale in alcuni brani di scrittori arabi", *RSE* 3, 1943, 272–94, here table [repr. in: *CerIslam* 257–80]; TrIslam 82f.; EWALD WAGNER, "The Genealogy of the Later Walashmaᶜ Sultans from Adal and Harar", *ZDMG* 141, 1991, 376–86, here 379ff., 385f.

Ewald Wagner

Muḥammad b. Naṣīr b. ᶜUṯmān

M. (محمد بن نصير بن عثمان, r. 1573–76), *sulṭān* of ↗ᶜAdal, succeeded his father ↗Naṣīr b. ᶜUṯmān b. Badlāy in 1573. Being a grandson of the slave and renegade ↗ᶜUṯmān b. Badlāy who ruled after the death of ↗Nūr b. Muǧāhid, M. belonged to a family that traditionally stood for a pragmatic policy in relation to the ↗Oromo and the Christians. However, under the pressure of the militant religious party which continued the policy of ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī (Grañ), in 1575 M. declared ↗*ǧihād* on Christian Ethiopia. The timing seemed to be auspicious, because *aṣe* ↗Śärṣä Dəngəl had to grapple with a new plot of the *baḥər nägaš* ↗Yəsḥaq.

In 1576 *aṣe* Śärṣä Dəngəl and his army penetrated into Šərka (↗Šarḫa?) and, according to Aṣmä Giyorgis (BTafA 156f.), also ↗Bale. He met M. beyond the Wäbi River. The Emperor pitched his camp opposite to that of the Muslims. Already during the first fights, some of M.'s officers went over to the Christian side. After one month, there was a battle which brought no decision. In the night after this battle, an officer named Asmāʾaddīn who had already been in connivance with the Emperor and had given bad advice to M., deserted together with his soldiers to the Christian camp; other officers followed. With only a few fighters left, M. tried to flee towards home. Their way, however, was blocked by the ↗Hadiyya, whom M. and his people had robbed of their cattle. In this situation, M.'s officers decided to hand him over to the Emperor. Śärṣä Dəngəl wanted to spare his life, but the Christian noblemen demanded his death. M. was killed together with several other Muslim leaders, among them three sons of Nūr b. Muǧāhid.

Before leaving, M. had placed ↗Harär under the command of his brother, the *wazīr* Ḥāmid, who, however, was not able to defend the country against the attacks of the Oromo who took advantage of the *sulṭān*'s absence. The defence of Harär then passed to ↗Manṣūr b. Muḥammad b. Ayyūb who defeated the Oromo, but was removed by his own soldiers. Thus, after M.'s death, there was no ruler in Harär. That was a chance for a member of the religious party, ↗Muḥammad Ǧāsā I b. Ibrāhīm, who declared himself ↗*imām*. With M.'s death the rule of ʿUṯmān's family came to an end.

Src.: BTafA 156f., 300f., 940; ENRICO CERULLI, "Documenti arabi per la storia dell'Etiopia", *MRALm* ser. 6ª, 4, 1931, 39–101, here 54 (text) = 60f. (tr.) [repr. in: *CerIslam* 135–206, here 154f., 167 (text) = 162f., 173 (tr.)]; CRHist 48–51 (text) = 56–60 (tr.); DombrChr 49f. (text) = 183f. (tr.).

Lit.: BruNile vol. 2, 228f.; BudHist 364f.; PankHist I, 52f.; TrIslam 96.

Ewald Wagner

Muḥammäd Bäsäle

M.B. (መሐመድ በሰሌ; b. 16 March 1938, Gangahaa, Efrätä-Ǧillee, d. 14 April 1972) came from a family of Oromo nomads. His parents wanted him and his younger brother Ḥasan to pursue traditional Islamic education and to become cattle breeders like themselves. M.B., however, chose to wander around talking to elders during the day and attend dancing gatherings (*hammisaa*) at night, the latter disapproved by his family – partly because the *ʿulamāʾ* denounced the practice and partially because the *hammisaa* were prohibited by the government, which was afraid that the young Oromo could use the meetings to plan criminal acts or revolts.

By 1964, M.B. had joined the local *šəfta* brigades, and a stronger regional band in 1966. He was strongly influenced by the brigade leader Mammo Aššännafi. An Amhara of Gədəm, the latter had been adopted by Abdälle, the Oromo chief of Dugugguru and converted to Islam (taking the name Mammad, the local form for Muḥammad). M.B. announced that his banditry was a form of protest against the corrupt imperial government and was soon joined by Muḥammad Duli and Saʿīd Bašša. Among the victims of his nightly raids there were many local Oromo. M.B. justified himself by claiming they deserved it for serving the Amhara. When the tribute was refused he took it by force (e.g., the case of *al-ḥāǧǧ* Ḥasan ʿUmar Muḥammad, robbed and killed by M.B.'s men on 29 September 1968).

In November 1968, the district governor of Efrätä-Ǧillee sent a police force under Adanä Ǝrgäṭe to capture M.B. They clashed at the site of Hula-Ǝrgi, ca. 100 km east of Sanbäte on the bank of the Aṭayye River. M.B. (then nicknamed *anbässaw*, 'the ↗lion') and Mammad Abdälle were obviously stronger, and Adanä had to ask the local *balabbats* for help. The Oromo chiefs of Ǧillee and Dugugguru joined him at the head of a 500-men strong militia force. M.B. killed Adanä and wounded the Dugugguru chief Mūsā ʿAlī, son of *grazmač* Adame. By the end of the daylong fight the militia force was completely defeated.

Subsequently M.B. announced, indirectly, to the General *däǧǧazmač* Abbäbä Gämmada, and later to his successors *fitawrari* Asfaw Gäbrä Amanuʾel and Mammo Bäše, that he would never submit to the imperial rule and that he was ready to clean up the system that mistreated the Oromo.

M.B. was killed in a local incident by an Oromo young man; his name is still alive in oral tradition since his raids are seen as a form of social and political protest.

Src.: Tägulat-Bulga *awraǧǧa* archives: Letter from commandant of Šäwa Police Abate Bäzza to *ras* Mäsfən Səläši, 10/9/1956 A.M. [18 May 1964]; letter from *fitawrari* Asfaw Gäbrä Amanuʾel to Mäsfən Səläši, 21/3/1960 A.M. [1 Decembre 1967]; Yəfat-Təmmuga *awraǧǧa* archives: letter from Mammo Bäše to Mäsfən Səläši, 19/8/1959 A.M. [27 April 1967]; *Yäšäwa ṭäqlay gəzat polis ʿamätawi mäṣḥet* (Annual Bulletin of Šäwa Province Police) 1961 A.M. [1968/69 A.D.]; interviews with *ato* Aḥmad ʿUmar Muḥammad,

Gangaha (Efrätä-Ǧillee), July 1987; *ato* Adam ᶜAlī Doyyo, Gorama (Efrätä-Ǧillee) November 1993; *ato* Muḥammad Mūsā, Tayyaa (Efrätä-Ǧillee), December 1993.

Lit.: AHMED HASSEN OMER, *A Historical Survey of Ethnic Relations in Yefat and Temmuga, North-East Shäwa, (1889–1974)*, M.A. thesis, History Department, Addis Ababa University 1994, 132–36.

Ahmed Hassen Omer

Muḥammad Gāsā I b. Ibrāhīm

M. (محمد جاسا بن ابراهيم, r. 1576–83, d. 22 November 1583, Awsa) ruled as *imām* over ↗Harär and later over ↗Awsa. During ↗Muḥammad b. Naṣīr b. ᶜUṯmān's campaign against ↗Śärśä Dəngəl, the Oromo took advantage of the *amīr*'s absence and attacked the town. The emergency of the siege made a new leader, ↗Manṣūr b. Muḥammad b. Ayyūb, stand up in Harär. He defeated the Oromo, but after occupying ↗Zaylaᶜ and Awsa, was attacked by his own soldiers in July/August 1576. This event, as well as the defeat and death of Muḥammad b. Naṣīr b. ᶜUṯmān, deprived Harär of a ruler. M. saw this as an opportunity to take the town.

M. did not use the titles *amīr* or *sulṭān*, but claimed the position of *imām*, as ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī ("Grañ") had done. This led Cerulli (1931:62, n. 116) to conjecture that he was a member of Aḥmad Grañ's family. Certain is, that with this title M. wanted to express the religious nature of his rule. The Awsa Chronicle (Wagner 1979:660) tells us that M. was a pious ruler who paid respect to the descendants of the Prophet and especially honoured the members of the Bā ᶜAlawī family. He was so eager to wage ↗*ǧihād* that he assembled an army of 600 horsemen and 1,000 foot-soldiers, equipped with 70 rifles.

Soon after the take-over of Harär, M. transferred his capital from Harär to Awsa, which was less exposed to Oromo raids. The Oromo, however, penetrated even into the Danākil Desert. M. himself eventually fell victim to their attacks. In Harär, M. installed his brother ↗Muḥammad Gāsā II b. Ibrāhīm as *wazīr*, in Zaylaᶜ *gärad* ↗Lādūh as governor. The latter's rule was interrupted when the eunuch Nūr, together with the Somali, sacked the town. M., however, was able to remove Nūr and to reinstall Lādūh. After M. was killed in Awsa by Wärrä Daya Oromo in 1583, power was seized by his treasurer Zuḫal b. ᶜAbdallāh al-Ḥasanī.

Src.: ENRICO CERULLI, "Documenti arabi per la storia dell'Etiopia", *MRALm* ser. 6ª, 4, 1931, 39–101, here 55, 64, 70 (text) = 62, 68ff., 72f. (tr.) [repr. in: *CerIslam* 135–206, here 155, 167, 174 (text) = 164, 172f., 178 (tr.)]; EWALD WAGNER, "Neues Material zur 'Ausa-Chronik'", in: ULRICH HAARMANN – PETER BACHMANN (eds.), *Die islamische Welt zwischen Mittelalter und Neuzeit: Festschrift für Hans Robert Roemer zum 65. Geburtstag*, Beirut – Wiesbaden 1979 (Beiruter Texte und Studien 22), 657–73, here 660f.

Lit.: AbRSea 139; PankHist I, 53; TrIslam 96f.; EWALD WAGNER, "Imamat und Sultanat in Harar", *Saeculum* 26, 1975, 283–92, here 291f.

Ewald Wagner

Muḥammad Gāsā II b. Ibrāhīm

M. (محمد جاسا بن ابراهيم, d. 13 May 1589, Farfar) ruled as ↗*imām* in ↗Awsa between 1584–89. When M.'s brother, ↗Muḥammad Gāsā I b. Ibrāhīm (it is common in Muslim families that brothers by different mothers have the same name) transferred his capital from ↗Harär to Awsa, he installed M. as his *wazīr* in Harär. After the death of Muḥammad Gāsā I on 22 November 1583, his treasurer Zuḫal b. ᶜAbdallāh al-Ḥasanī usurped the throne. During his eight-month rule, the ↗Oromo invaded the country. Only two places, Farfar and Warrāba, withstood their attacks. While Zuḫal stayed in Farfar, the people of Warrāba turned to ᶜAbbās b. *kabīr* Muḥammad from ↗Bale for help. He came to Warrāba, and the people of the place made him *wazīr* not of Zuḫal but of M., who was still in Harär at that time. That implies that they renounced their allegiance to Zuḫal. In addition to the siege by the Oromo, there was now a conflict between the two beleaguered places. It remained undecided until Aḥmad b. Abī Bakr Gāsā, the paternal uncle of the two Gāsā brothers, arrived in support of Zuḫal and expelled ᶜAbbās b. *kabīr* Muḥammad from Warrāba. ᶜAbbās fled to Harär to seek M.'s help. They marched together against Awsa and ended the conflict. In July 1584, M. became the new *imām*.

At the beginning M. was a just ruler. He appointed ᶜAbbās b. *kabīr* Muḥammad as his *wazīr* and commander in-chief. ᶜAbbās promptly used his privileged position to revolt, together with some members of the nobility, and made himself ruler of Awsa on 12 June 1585. M. was captured and sent to the then governor of Harär, Saᶜdaddīn, for detention. On 25 October, M. succeeded in fleeing from Harär. Supported by the ↗Ḥarla people, he occupied Zaylaᶜ on 6 and Awsa on 24 November. ᶜAbbās fled to Harär, but was handed over by Saᶜdaddīn who, now, obeyed to M. The latter cut off the hands and feet of ᶜAbbās and his companions, and made them pay homage to the *imām*. Later on, as they had again conspired, M.

had them transported to a waterless desert where they died of thirst.

After M. firmly established his rule, he started to neglect his subjects and his army. As a result, the strengthened Danākil (↗ᶜAfar) raided the country without opposition from a weak army reluctant to fight them. Several members of the nobility were killed by the Danākil in the ensuing battles.

M.'s death in Farfar was said to have been caused by a spell applied on his stomach. He was succeeded by the *wazīr* ᶜAbbās b. Abōya, during whose rule the decline of the Awsa state began.

Src.: ENRICO CERULLI, "Documenti arabi per la storia dell'Etiopia", *MRALm* ser. 6ª, 4, 1931, 39–101, here 70f. (text) = 74–77 (tr.) [repr. in: *CerIslam* 135–206, here 174ff. (text) = 179–83 (tr.)]; EWALD WAGNER, "Neues Material zur 'Ausa-Chronik'", in: ULRICH HAARMANN – PETER BACHMANN (eds.), *Die islamische Welt zwischen Mittelalter und Neuzeit. Festschrift für Hans Robert Roemer zum 65. Geburtstag*, Beirut – Wiesbaden 1979 (Beiruter Texte und Studien 22), 657–73, here 662–66.

Ewald Wagner

Muḥammad Muḫtār

M.M. *bāšā* (محمد مختار, b. 1835, Būlāq [Cairo], d. 20 November 1897, Cairo) was an Egyptian officer, whose service to the khedivial military forces led him to explore and write about regions of north-east Africa.

Around 1870, M.M. was recruited into the unit charged with the geographical exploration of territories coming under Egyptian control, including those that Egypt aspired to take over. In July 1875 M.M. surveyed the road linking Sinkat and ↗Sawākin in the eastern Sudan, searching for alternative provisions of water for Sawākin. Two months later, having attained the rank of *binbāšī* (Turkish *binbaşı*, Major), he joined the expeditionary force led by ↗Muḥammad Raʾūf *bāšā* for the conquest of ↗Harär. After the town was taken on 11 October 1875, M.M. was granted the fourth class of *maǧīdīya* decoration. In November 1875 M.M. was promoted to the rank of *qāʾimaqām* (Lieutenant-Colonel). M.M. published an invaluable report on the political, economic and social conditions of the town, its inhabitants and the region surrounding it (Mohammed Moktar 1876; cf. DouinIsm III.3A, 604–18, 620). With the help of his collaborators, esp. Major ᶜAbdallāh Fawzī, he drew several maps of ↗Zaylaᶜ, Harär and the region between the town and the coast (cf. Mustafa Amer 1937). M.M. spent twelve months in Harär, after which he conducted surveys in the ↗Gadabuursi area south-west of Zaylaᶜ. In 1878 he surveyed the regions of Cape ↗Gardafui and Rās Ḥafūn in Somalia.

In 1880 M.M. was promoted to the rank of chief of the Egyptian general staff in the Sudan. After the ᶜUrābī revolt (1882) which marked the beginning of the end of Egypt's "African Empire", M.M. served in various posts, first as governor of Massawa (1883), then in the military headquarters in Cairo, before receiving the rank of *liwāʾ* (Brigadier General) in 1886. He was finally appointed to the controllership of the khedivial household, where he served until his death. M.M. published a number of valuable articles between 1876 and 1893. He also published two books: a *General Introduction to Geography* and a concordance between the Gregorian, Coptic and Hiǧrī calendars (1893).

Src.: Lieutenant-Colonel GRAVES, "Le Cap Guardafui", *Bulletin de la Société Khédiviale de Géographie d'Égypte*, 1ère sér., 8, 1881, 29–42, here 42 [M. MOKTAR (MUḤAMMAD MUḪTĀR) "Carte de Cape Guardafui"]; MOHAMMED MOKTAR [MUḤAMMAD MUḪTĀR], "Notes sur le pays de Harrar", *ibid.* 4, 1876, 351–97; ID., "Une reconnaissance au pays des Gadiboursis", *ibid.* 7, 1880, 5–17; ID., *Étude sur l'origine des mesures égyptiennes et leur valeur*, Cairo 1892; ID., *Kitāb at-tawfiqāt al-ilhāmīya fi muqāranat at-tawārih al-Hiǧrīya bis-sanīn al-Ifrankīya wal-Qibṭīya* ('The Book of Revelational Adjustments: on Equating the *Hiǧra* Dates with the Frankish and Coptic Dates'), 2 vols., n.p. 1893; ed. by MUḤAMMAD ᶜIMĀRA, Beirut ²1981; PHILIPP PAULITSCHKE, "Le Harrar sous l'administration égyptienne, 1875–1885", *Bulletin trimestriel de la Société Khédievale de géographie du Caire* 2ème sér., 10, mars 1887, 575–91; LUIGI ROBECCHI-BRICCHETTI, *Nell'Harrar*, Milano ³1896, 28, 114.

Lit.: DouinIsm III.3A, 604–18, 620; ᶜABDARRAḤMĀN ZĀKĪ, *Aᶜlām al-ǧayš wal-baḥrīya fi Miṣr aṯnāʾ al-qarn at-tāsiᶜ ᶜašar* ('The Eminent Personalities of Army and Navy in Egypt during the 19th cent.'), Cairo 1947, 162–66; HillBD 266; JONATHAN MIRAN, "Mohammed Mokhtar, officier égyptien et explorateur", in: ALAIN ROUAUD (ed.), *Les orientalistes sont des aventuriers: guirlande offerte à Joseph Tubiana par ses élèves et ses amis*, Paris 1999, 130–35; MUSTAFA AMER, "Some Unpublished Egyptian Maps of Harrar", *Bulletin de la Société Royale de Géographie d'Égypte* 19, 1937, 289–99 (Lit.); WagHar, s. index.

Jonathan Miran

Muḥammad Nādī

M.N. *bāšā* (محمد نادى, b. 1836) was a high ranking Egyptian army officer who had served in various positions in Egypt's "African Empire" in north-east Africa. After undertaking a mission to Dār Fūr in 1869, M.N. was appointed deputy governor of Khartoum. He participated in the ↗Egyptian-Ethiopian war of 1876. In January 1880 M.N. was promoted *liwāʾ* (Brigadier General)

and appointed Governor General (*ḥukumdār*) of "Harär and its Dependencies", *Harär wa-mulḥaqātihā* (↗Harär, ↗Zaylaᶜ, ↗Berbera and ↗Tağūra), replacing Riḍwān *bāšā* (r. 1878–80).

Taking up his post in Harär in June 1880, M.N.'s chief concern was the restoration of security to the territory and the caravan routes between the coast and Harär, especially in the Somali regions between Zaylaᶜ and ↗Ǧildessa. M.N.'s governorship was characterized by its openness to European trading agencies and commercial entrepreneurs in the area (e.g., Xavier Alfred ↗Bardey), a policy that accounted for the revitalization of Harär as a major commercial hub during these years. It was also under his governorship that French missionary Taurin ↗Cahagne established a Catholic Capuchin mission station in Harär (1881; ↗Capuchins). M.N. was also responsible for major public works in Harär such as the elevation of the walls surrounding the city, the organization of a local police force, and the setting up of an urban civil administration.

Some degree of conflict opposed M.N. to ↗Abū Bakr Ibrāhīm Šaḥīm, Governor of Zaylaᶜ, over matters relating to the latter's implicit role in slave trading activities, that ran counter to official Egyptian policy. Consequently, in late 1881 Zaylaᶜ and Berbera were separated by the Egyptian government from the administration of Harär.

M.N.'s governorship came to an end in December 1882. He was replaced by ᶜAlī Riḍā *bāšā*. Following the British conquest of Egypt earlier that year and the collapse in the Sudan, Harär was to be evacuated in 1885.

Lit.: ᶜAbdarraḥmān Zākī, *Aᶜlām al-ǧayš wal-baḥrīya fī Miṣr aṯnāʾ al-qarn at-tāsiᶜ ᶜašar* ('The Eminent Personalities of Army and Navy in Egypt during the 19th cent.'), Cairo 1947, 181; HillBD 267f.; Jonathan Miran, *L'Occupation égyptienne de Harar (1875–1885)*, Mémoire de diplôme de recherche et d'études appliquées, INALCO, Paris 1993, 89–106; Šawqī ᶜAṭāʾallāh al-Ǧamal, *Siyāsat Miṣr fī l-Baḥr al-Aḥmar fī n-nisf aṯ-ṯānī min al-qarn at-tāsiᶜ ᶜašar* ('The Policy of Egypt in the Red Sea in the Second Half of the 19th cent.'), Cairo 1974, 238–41; WagHar, s. index.

Jonathan Miran

Muḥammad Rātib

M.R. *bāšā* (محمد راتب, b. 1831, d. 1920) was the Commander-in-Chief of the Egyptian army during the battle of ↗Guraᶜ in the ↗Egyptian–Ethiopian war of 1876.

M.R.'s father was a member of the Turco-Circassian elite which had dominated Egyptian society for centuries, and whose descendants went on to serve in the modernized army of ↗Muḥammad ᶜAlī *bāšā* (s. EAE vol. 5). ᶜAbbās *bāšā*, succeeding Muḥammad ᶜAlī as Egypt's ruler, strengthened his reliance on that elite group. M.R. received his early training in a new military school (*Madrasat al-mafrūza*), opened by Muḥammad Saᶜīd *bāšā* in 1849. He was then chosen to pursue further studies in France, where he graduated from the Chasseur Military School. However, when Muḥammad Saᶜīd came to power in 1854, he decided to marginalize the Circassian elite and promote a new generation of native Egyptian officers. He also humiliated M.R. personally, to the extent that the latter tried to commit suicide by shooting himself (his face remained disfigured for the rest of his life). M.R. left to serve in the Ottoman army in Istanbul. When *ḫidīw* ↗Ismāᶜīl *bāšā* succeeded Muḥammad Saᶜīd in 1863, he reversed the latter's policy and chose to rely on the old guard of Circassian officers, and on European and American mercenaries. M.R. was summoned back to Cairo. He was awarded the rank of *liwāʾ* (Brigadier General) in 1864, and in 1867 he was appointed *sirdār* (Commander-in-Chief) of the Egyptian army.

Following the defeat of the Egyptian forces in the battle of ↗Gundät, in November 1875, Ismāᶜīl ordered the dispatching of a substantial army to destroy *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV and ensure Egyptian control of the Massawa–Khartoum route. M.R. was put in command of the expedition, which included a staff of 19 mercenaries, mostly Americans, led by *liwāʾ* William ↗Loring *bāšā*, who considered himself a co-commander. The Egyptian force landed in ↗Massawa in December 1875 and began advancing inland, but on 7–9 March 1876 suffered a most humiliating defeat by Yoḥannəs's army.

The Guraᶜ battle both ensured Yoḥannəs's survival and deprived the Egyptians of the ability to build a modern communication line to their possessions in the Sudan (including Bogos, s. ↗Bilin). The military clash was followed by a heated controversy between American officers and M.R. The officers accused M.R. of incompetence, lack of modern managerial skills, and even of cowardice.

The several middle-rank native Egyptian officers present in the expedition (among them *amīr alāy* [Colonel] Aḥmad ᶜUrābī, in charge of the commissariat between Massawa and the front) were embittered with both the mercenaries and

the Circassians. Returning to Egypt, they ignited a protest movement under the slogan of "Egypt for the Egyptians", which proved to be the first manifestation of modern Egyptian nationalism.

M.R. was removed by Ismāʿīl from the *sirdār*-ship for a mere month, and remained in office, awarded with a promotion to the rank of field marshal. When Ismāʿīl was exiled to Italy in 1879 M.R. left with him to Naples. In 1882, M.R. returned secretly in order to help the Turco-Circassian officers regroup against Aḥmad ʿUrābī's movement, but was exposed and again exiled. After the British quelled the ʿUrābī Revolt and conquered the country in September 1882, the old elite was restored. In 1888 M.R. was appointed Minister of War and Marine Affairs.

One of the decisions M.R. made immediately before the confrontation in Guraʿ had long reaching consequences for Ethiopia and Eritrea. In preparing for the battle he welcomed the defection from the Ethiopian side of *däğğazmač* (later *ras*) ↗Wäldä Mikaʾel Sälomon. After Wäldä Mikaʾel crossed the lines to the Egyptian headquarters, M.R., against the advice of Loring, appointed him to *farīq* (General), enabling Wäldä Mikaʾel to proclaim himself a *ras*. The Egyptians, after retreating to Massawa, continued to subsidize Wäldä Mikaʾel's efforts to maintain his power in Ḥamasen. In response, Yoḥannəs ceased negotiations with the Egyptians in October 1876 and appointed *ras* ↗Alula Ǝngəda over the same region. Only in 1878 Alula managed to destroy the Egyptian-backed Wäldä Mikaʾel in Ḥamasen and sent him to be imprisoned by Yoḥannəs.

Src.: RubActa III, nos. 144f., 148–63, 174f., 178, 181ff., 185, 188ff., 192.

Lit.: ʿABDARRAḤMĀN ZĀKĪ, *Aʿlām al-ğayš wal-baḥrīya fi Miṣr aṯnāʾ al-qarn at-tāsiʿ ʿašar* ('The Eminent Personalities of Army and Navy in Egypt during the 19th cent.'), Cairo 1947; PIERRE CRABITÈS, *Americans in the Egyptian Army,* London 1938; DouinIsm III.3B, 813–1094 and passim; JOHN P. DUNN, *Khedive Ismail's Army*, London – New York 2005; WILLIAM MCENTYRE DYE, *Moslem Egypt and Christian Abyssinia*, New York 1880 [repr. 1969], passim; ErlAlula, ErlAlula²; ErlEth; HAGGAI ERLICH, *The Cross and the River: Ethiopia, Egypt and the Nile*, Boulder, CO 2002; RICHARD HILL, *A Biographical Dictionary of the Sudan*, London ²1967; ILYĀS AL-AYYŪBĪ, *Taʾrīḫ miṣr fi ʿahd al-ḫidīw Ismāʿīl bāšā* ('History of Egypt in the Epoch of *ḫidīw* Ismāʿīl *bāšā*'), Cairo 1923; MUḤAMMAD MAḤMŪD AS-SURŪĞĪ, *Al-Ğayš al-Miṣrī fī l-qarn at-tāsiʿ ʿašar* ('The Egyptian Army in the 19th cent.'), Cairo 1967; MUḤAMMAD RIFʿAT BEK, *Ğabr al-kasr fī l-ḫalāṣ min al-ʿaṣr* ('Recovery from a Disruption for the Liberation from the Age'), Cairo 1896; SVEN RUBENSON, *The Survival of Ethiopian Independence,* London 1976 (Lund Studies in International History 7); ALEXANDER SCHÖLCH, *Egypt for the Egyptians: the Socio-political Crisis in Egypt, 1878–1882*, London 1981.

Haggai Erlich

Muḥammad Raʾūf

M.R. *bāšā* (محمد رؤوف, b. 1832, d. 1888) was one of several high-ranking officers in the Egyptian army who played a major role in Egypt's imperialist enterprise in north-east Africa. He was said to be a Berberine on his father side. His mother, of whom he ever spoke with affection, was Ethiopian (HillBD 270).

Following his service in the Equatorial province, in Unyoro and in Uganda, M.R. was given the command of the expedition charged with the conquest of ↗Harär in September 1875.

Appointed Governor General (*ḫukumdār*) of *Harar wa-mulḥaqātihā*, "Harär and its dependencies" (including the ports of ↗Zaylaʿ and ↗Berbera), with the rank of *farīq* (General), M.R. employed all his efforts in establishing and consolidating Egyptian rule in Harär, its surroundings, and on the routes linking the inland city with the coast. He operated with vigour and harshness in consolidating his authority in the region and confronted resisting and rebellious Oromo and Somali groups with severity. Under M.R., the Egyptian administration devised a set of measures aiming at developing Harär's economy. Considerable efforts were oriented at the enhancement of Harär's commercial vitality and to the development of agriculture. The cultivation of ↗coffee and other crops introduced by the Egyptians was particularly encouraged. M.R. reorganized and established the new local urban administration and its institutions. Communications were improved, a new system of taxation was introduced, and many public works were undertaken during his tenure in office. Several important edifices were built in this period, notably the big Friday mosque *ğāmiʿ* Raʾūf (Paulitschke 1888:206).

Due to a conflict between M.R. and Riḍwān *bāšā*, starting from 19 *Rabīʿ al-awwal* 1293 H. [14 April 1876 A.D.] Berbera and Zaylaʿ were separated from Harär and put under Riḍwān *bāšā*. On 16 *Ṣafar* 1294 H. [1 March 1877 A.D.] Harär, Zaylaʿ, Berbera and ↗Tağūra were united in the general governorate of Sudan (under ↗Gordon *bāšā*); on 12 May 1878 Gordon definitively dismissed M.R. from the government of Harär. Ironically, M.R. succeeded Gordon as Governor

General of ↗Sudan in 1880, but his failure to repress the ↗Mahdist movement, sparked in 1881 by Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Mahdī, led to his replacement in 1882.

Src.: RubActa III, 188–93, nos. 133–35; [MUḤAMMAD] RAʾŪF *bāšā*, "*Ṣūrat al-maktūb al-wārid min saʿādat Raʾūf bāšā fī mā yataʿallaqu bi-fatḥ madīnat Harar*" ('Copy of the Letter Coming from His Excellency Raʾūf *bāšā* concerning the Conquest of the City of Harär'), *Ǧarīdat arkān ḥarb al-ǧayš al-miṣrī* 3, 1, part 1, 1876, 36–43; PHILIPP PAULITSCHKE, *Harar: Forschungsreise nach den Somâl- und Galla-Ländern Ost-Afrikas*, Leipzig 1888, 206.

Lit.: DouinIsm III.3A, 602–27 and passim; HillBD 270; JONATHAN MIRAN, *L'Occupation égyptienne de Harar (1875–1885)*, Mémoire de diplôme de recherche et d'études appliquées, INALCO, Paris 1993, 49–86; ŠAWQĪ ʿAṬĀʾALLĀH AL-ǦAMAL, *Siyāsat Miṣr fī l-Baḥr al-Aḥmar fī n-niṣf aṯ-ṯānī min al-qarn at-tāsiʿ ʿašar* ('The Policy of Egypt in the Red Sea in the Second Half of the 19th cent.'), Cairo 1974, 164–71, 211–42, 346f.; ID., *Al-Waṯāʾiq aṯ-taʾrīḫīya fī siyāsat Miṣr fī l-Baḥr al-Aḥmar (1863–1879)* ('Historical Documents in the Egyptian Policy in the Red Sea [1863–1879]'), Cairo 1959, 195–317; WagHar, s. index.

Jonathan Miran

Muḥammad Šāfī

M.Š. (محمد شافي, Muḥammad Šāfī b. Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir b. *faqīh* Aḥmad, b. ca. 1743, Dure, Wärrä Babbo *wäräda*, Ambassäl *awraǧǧa*, d. 1814/15, Ǧama Nəguś) was one of the earliest and most renowned mystics and militant scholars of 18th-cent. ↗Wällo. He was also known by his sobriquet, *muǧāhid*, in recognition of his promotion of ↗*ǧihād* as an instrument for the consolidation of ↗Islam.

After completing his formal Islamic ↗education, M.Š. was initiated into the *Qādirī* order (↗Islamic brotherhoods) by *faqīh* Zubayr Yaḥyā of Gʷägur in ↗Yäǧǧu, from whom he obtained a teaching license (*iǧāza*). In Gärfa he met the local Muslim hereditary ruler, *imām* Yūsuf b. ʿUmar (d. 1815), to whom he disclosed his mission of reviving and propagating Islam. The *imām* expressed his enthusiastic support for his plans and provided him with financial and material assistance. M.Š. moved to the districts of Reqqe and Arṭumma in south-eastern Wällo where he preached a more rigorous form of Islam among the local Muslims by establishing ↗*zāwiyas* in ↗Dawway as centres for Islamic propagation and education. He also made efforts to convert local Christians to Islam.

M.Š. then moved to Ǧamma in Boräna, western Wällo, where he attempted to revive Islam, by purifying it from popular beliefs. He advocated strict adherence to the ↗*Šarīʿa* and the performance of the obligatory ritual prayers. In 1777/78 M.Š. took part in a religious expedition to Šāfī, Boräna (*šayḫ* Muḥammad Tāǧaddīn 313f.).

During his *ḥaǧǧ* to ↗Mecca (where he stayed for three years looking for spiritual guidance), M.Š. met *as-sayyid* ʿAqīl, the contemporaneous *ġawṯ* (one of the highest-ranking holy men in the *Ṣūfī* hierarchy), who advised him to promote Islam in Ethiopia not through armed *ǧihād* but by *ǧihād an-nafs*, a struggle against passions and bad inclinations of the soul (Muḥammad Tāǧaddīn 316; ʿAqīl's letter to M.Š. is quoted ibid. 313). Towards the end of his stay, M.Š. received authorization to organize the ↗*Mawlid* celebration he saw as a tool of the *ǧihād an-nafs*.

M.Š. finally settled in Albukko, at a place later named Ǧama Nəguś, where he established a community of disciples and taught *fiqh* (jurisprudence), *tawḥīd* (theology) and *ādāb aṭ-ṭarīqa* (proprieties of the Ṣūfī order). He is said to have divided the year into three parts, during which he concentrated on teaching, mysticism and launching of a series of campaigns against the surrounding Muslims who were lax in carrying out their religious duties as prescribed by the Qurʾān and the Sunna. He thus combined both peaceful and coercive methods in the propagation of Islam.

M.Š. possessed a small but well-organized and well-armed volunteer force, recruited from among M.Š.'s disciples, who participated in those campaigns. The strength of the army unit under the command of *bašša* ʿAbdassalām is illustrated by the tradition which claims that M.Š. established an alliance with the ruler of Wärrä Himäno, *imām* ↗Mäḥammäd Ali "Abba Ǧəbo". The *imām* asked for help to resist *aṣe* ↗Täklä Giyorgis I's campaign in Šäwa in 1783/84, claiming that otherwise he might have to consider abandoning Islam. M.Š. provided military support, and the combined forces managed to prevent the imperial army from pillaging the *imām*'s territory. However, Mäḥammäd Ali, who suspected M.Š. of harbouring political ambitions, turned against his former benefactor, and M.Š. had to withdraw his fighters from the area.

M.Š. fell ill and died while returning from one of the annual campaigns that he himself had led, and was buried at Ǧama Nəguś. He was survived by his son, *faqīh* Muḥammad Nūr, who succeeded his father as ↗*ḫalīfa* (leader of the community) and later initiated Ǧamāladdīn Muḥammad al-Annī (d. 1882) into the *Qādirī* order.

M.Š. was considered a ↗*walī* and is believed to

have worked miracles on several occasions. His shrine at Ǧama Nəguś is one of the most important centres of annual ↗pilgrimage, and attracts the faithful from all parts of the country. A festival is held there from the tenth to the twelfth of the month of *Rabiᶜ al-Awwal* on the occasion of the *Mawlid.* M.Š., however, most probably would not have personally permitted some of the lax practices that have been observed in these celebrations after his death (Muḥammad Tāǧaddīn 320).

M.Š. is the author of ca. 30 hitherto-unpublished treatises including *Maᶜūnat al-Faqīr* ('The Succour of the Needy').

Lit.: HUSSEIN AHMED, "Two Muslim Shrines in South Wallo", *Proceedings of the Fifth Seminar of the Department of History,* Addis Abäba 1990, 61–74; HusIslam 69, 83f., 89, 95–100, 136, 138, 177, 194–97; FAQĪH MUḤAMMAD NŪR B. MUHAMMAD ŠĀFĪ, *Naṣīḥat al-murīdīn* ('Advice for Novices'), [hagiography] ms.; *šayḫ* MUḤAMMAD TĀǦADDĪN B. AḤMAD, *Iᶜlām al-aġbiyāʾ bi-ḥayāt ᶜuẓamāʾ Ityūbiyā min al-ᶜulamāʾ wal-awliyāʾ wal-salāṭīn al-islām wa-aṣfiyāʾ*, ('Advice for the Ignorant through the Lives of the Great Men of Ethiopia from among the Scholars, Saints and Rulers of Islam and Sincere Friends'), in preparation, 311–20.

Hussein Ahmed

Muḥammad Ṯānī b. Ḥabīb b. Bašīr

Šayḫ al-ḥāǧǧ M.Ṯ. (محمد ثانى بن حبيب بشير, Amh. Muḥammäd Sani Ḥabib; b. 1913/14, Adola Agär near Ančarro, southern Wällo, d. 30 April 1989 [22 *Miyazya* 1981 A.M. = 23 *Ramaḍān* 1409 H.], Addis Abäba) was undoubtedly the most prominent, popular and charismatic Muslim national and religious figure of 20th-cent. Ethiopia.

M.Ṯ. grew up in ↗Qallu, where his grandfather, originally from ↗Wälqayt in western Təgray, had settled in order to pursue Islamic education. After completing his Islamic studies (according to the *Ḥanafī* school) under such renowned teachers as *šayḫ* Aḥmad b. Bašīr (d. 9 June 1948; master of *naḥw* [grammar] and father of his colleague, *šayḫ al-ḥāǧǧ* Muḥammad Tāǧaddīn) and *šayḫ* Aḥmad Nure (d. 28 April 1948), he settled in ↗Däse. He also acquired secondary-level secular education including good Amharic reading and writing skills. For many years M.Ṯ. taught at the *madrasa* of the Šäwa Bärr mosque and, later, moral education and Islam at the Wäyzäro Səḥin Mikaʾel Secondary School in Däse. In 1938/39 he went on the ↗pilgrimage. On his way to ↗Mecca, he spent some time at ↗Massawa as a religious instructor.

In 1967, M.Ṯ. was appointed one of the two translators (the second being Sayyid Muḥammad Ṣādiq) of the first official translation of the Qurʾān into Amharic, commissioned by Emperor ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I. M.Ṯ. moved to Addis Abäba where he completed the translation in 1968/69. He subsequently served as a teacher at the Däğğazmač ᶜUmar Samatar Elementary and Junior Secondary School situated in the compound of the ↗Ǧāmiᶜ al-Anwar mosque, of which he became deputy ↗*imām* and then full *imām*. He held the latter position until his death. His Friday sermons and lectures during ↗*Ramaḍān* are still remembered for their content and the lucidity of the language.

Apart from the usual tasks of an *imām*, M.Ṯ. played a key role in mobilizing the Muslim community for participation in national relief efforts. He also tutored many students of all ages at his residence and was honoured for his openness and generosity.

After the ↗Revolution in 1974, M.Ṯ. participated in the national ↗literacy campaign, relief and rehabilitation efforts, and several national committees. He also took part in the deliberations on the draft ↗constitution of 1987 and was elected by his local constituency to the national *Šängo* (assembly). In 1976 he became the founding chairman of the Ethiopian Supreme Council for Islamic Affairs. In his capacity as *imām* and chairman of the Supreme Council, he represented the Ethiopian Muslim community in official functions and liased between the state and the community.

M.Ṯ. attended international conferences held in various parts of the Muslim world as well as in the U.S.S.R. Even after two of his sons, suspected of being active members or sympathizers of the outlawed ↗Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Party, were executed by the *Därg* in 1977, M.Ṯ. continued to serve the Muslim community.

M.T. remained active until three weeks before his death. His funeral, the largest ever held for an Ethiopian Muslim public figure, was attended by senior government officials including the deputy prime minister, the patriarch of the Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥədo) Church, and a large number of Muslim residents. He was buried at the Kolfe Muslim cemetery in the capital. He was survived by his wife, four sons and two daughters.

M.Ṯ. wrote a book about the tenets of the Islamic faith with the first full-length Amharic biography of the Prophet ↗Muḥammad, drawing

on several Arabic sources (1982/83), and a book on the *ḥağğ* and *ʿumra* (the greater and the lesser pilgrimage), the latter published posthumously. He also authored shorter pieces including one on the plight of rural students attending the high school in Däse in the early 1960s.

Src.: MUḤAMMÄD SANI ḤABIB, እስልምናና: የታላቁ: ነቢይ: የመሐመድ: ታሪክ (*Əsləmənnanna yätallaqu näbiy yäMuḥammäd tarik*, 'Islam and the History of the Great Prophet Muhammad'), Addis Abäba 1975 A.M. [1982/83 A.D.].

Lit.: ØYVIND M. EIDE, *Revolution & Religion in Ethiopia: the Growth & Persecution of the Mekane Yesus Church 1974–85*, Oxford – Athens, OH – Addis Ababa 2000; ALESSANDRO GORI, "Contemporary and Historical Muslim Scholars as Portrayed by the Ethiopian Islamic Press in the 1990's", *Aethiopica* 8, 2005, 72–94, here 86–89 (Lit.); ID., "Soggiorno di studi in Eritrea ed Etiopia. Brevi annotazioni bibliografiche", *RSE* 29, 1995 [1997], 81–129, here 112f.; HUSSEIN AHMED, "Islam and Islamic Discourse in Ethiopia 1973–1993", in: *PICES* 12, vol. 1, 775–801; ID., "Islamic Literature in Ethiopia: a Short Overview", *Ethiopian Journal of Languages and Literature* 8, 1998, 25–37, here 29; ID., "From Local to National Prominence: the Life and Achievements of *Shaykh al-Hājj* Muhammad Thānī b. Habīb b. Bashīr (1914–1989): Ethiopian Muslim Scholar, Teacher and Spiritual Leader", paper presented at the *16th ICES*, Trondheim 2007; FahLit 58f.; obituaries in *Addis Zämän* (22 *Miyazya* 1981 A.M.), *Ethiopian Herald* (30 April 1989), *al-ʿAlam* (29 *Miyazya* 1981 A.M.), *Bilāl* (September/October 1992).

Hussein Ahmed

Muḥammad Tawfīq

M.T. (محمد توفيق, b. 30 April 1852, Cairo, d. 7 January 1892, Ḥulwān) was *ḫidīw* of ↗Egypt between 1879 and 1892. The son of *ḫidīw* ↗Ismāʿīl, he became the ruler of Egypt in June 1879 after the British and the French, through the Ottoman *sulṭān*, deposed his father. With regard to Ethiopian affairs, his term can be divided into two periods, namely before and after the British conquest of Egypt in September 1882.

During the first period, M.T. was an independent ruler who made at least two historically significant decisions concerning Ethiopia. One was related to the border dispute between Ethiopia and Egypt. M.T. inherited the consequences of the ↗Guraʿ defeat from Ismāʿīl (↗Egyptian–Ethiopian War). After March 1876 the Egyptians found it increasingly difficult to control their occupied territories between ↗Massawa and ↗Kärän, specifically in the region of Bogos (↗Bilin). Egypt had to confine itself to a chain of forts and to subsidizing local anti-Ethiopian rebels, notably *ras* ↗Wäldä Mikaʾel Sälomon, *fitawrari* ↗Däbbäb Arʾaya, and *balambaras* Kəflä Iyäsus. The Ethiopians, led locally by *ras* ↗Alula Əngəda, frequently raided the disputed areas, and the Egyptians suspected them of also preparing a full-fledged war on Massawa.

When M.T. came to power, Egypt's governor-general of the Sudan, the British national Charles ↗Gordon, thought it was high time to resolve the border dispute. When summoned to Cairo in July 1879 he suggested to M.T. to cease aid to the local rebels and relinquish Bogos in favor of a peaceful solution. The *ḫidīw* authorized Gordon to go to Yoḥannəs's court and negotiate a settlement that offered commercial relations but avoided any territorial compromise. Gordon attributed this inflexibility to M.T.'s weak character, to his being "a deceitful creature" who wished to see Gordon fail and to get rid of him. After meeting with *ras* Alula in September 1879 on his way to Yoḥannəs in ↗Däbrä Tabor, Gordon again wrote to M.T. trying to convince him to offer territorial concessions. As M.T. remained inflexible, Gordon's meeting with Yoḥannəs only aggravated the situation. Gordon himself returned to Cairo and resigned from the governorship of the Sudan. The ↗Mahdist uprising in the Sudan as of 1881 further complicated the situation for Egypt, as the Mahdists occupied its resources and allowed *ras* Alula to stabilize Ethiopia's hold in ↗Märäb Məllaš.

M.T.'s other important Ethiopia-related decision was in the religious-political sphere. Once Ismāʿīl had been deposed, Yoḥannəs renewed contacts with the patriarchate in Cairo and also approached *ḫidīw* M.T. asking for four bishops. In November 1881, following the intervention of the *ḫidīw*, four new bishops were sent to Ethiopia (↗Ṗeṭros, ↗Luqas, ↗Matewos and Marqos). While Yoḥannəs was thus temporarily successful with his policy of promoting religious unity and political decentralization, he at the same time enhanced the legitimacy of the Kingdom of Šäwa, thereby preparing the way for it to follow Təgray as the imperial centre.

Following the British occupation of Egypt in September 1882, relations between Ethiopia and Egypt changed course. Tension in the ↗Massawa-Bogos area mounted around 1883. At the same time the Mahdīya forces laid siege to the Egyptian garrisons, and the British decided to force the Egyptians to abandon the entire area. In June 1884 the ↗Hewett Treaty settled the territorial dispute between Ethiopia

and Egypt. Bogos was returned to Ethiopia, and Yoḥannəs undertook to assist the Egyptians in evacuating from eastern Sudan. He thus found himself facing the Italian landing in Massawa (February 1885) while provoking the Mahdīya. However, historical records show that throughout this complex chapter in history, fateful for both Ethiopia and Egypt, *ḫidīw* M.T. had little to say. Egypt's regional strategy was now directly shaped by the British and their Consul General in Cairo, Lord Cromer. Only M.T.'s successors and the emerging Egyptian nationalists would renew active Egyptian interest in the countries of the Upper Nile.

Src.: RubActa III, 228–33.

Lit.: ErlAlula; HAGGAI ERLICH, *The Cross and the River: Ethiopia, Egypt and the Nile*, Boulder 2003; RICHARD HILL, *A Biographical Dictionary of the Sudan*, London 1967; ALICE MOORE-HARELL, *Gordon and the Sudan: Prologue to the Mahdiyya*, London 2001; ROGER OWEN, *Lord Cromer*, Oxford 2004; RubInd; ALEXANDER SCHÖLCH, *Egypt for the Egyptians, The Socio-political Crisis in Egypt, 1878–1882*, Oxford – London 1981; ZewYohan.

Haggai Erlich

Muḥammad ᶜUmar Ḥasano

Sayyid M. (محمد عمر حسن; b. ca. 1925, Aqordät, d. 17 July 1962, Asmära) was a member of Cabinet in the Eritrean government during the ↗Ethiopian–Eritrean Federation. He was born of a prominent Təgre-speaking ↗Sāho (ᶜAsawərta-ᶜIdda) family, which collaborated closely with the Italian authorities. His grandfather was *sayyid* Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Ḥasano (ca. 1867–1933), merchant from ↗Kärän who organized caravans between ↗Massawa and the ↗Nara, and from 1889 was the representative of the Nara at the Italian post of Kärän. His uncle, the merchant al-Ḥasan Muḥammad Ḥasano, was the representative of the Nara and ↗Kunama in ↗Aqordät; his father, ᶜUmar Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Ḥasano, was an interpreter at the Commissariato of Aqordät, later *maʾmūr* of this city (1946) and as such had quelled the ↗Beni ᶜAmər rebellion of ᶜAli Muntaz, and in 1952 became Eritrean Staff Officer (ErDizBio 117, 208, 223).

M. received only basic education in Italian schools. However, during the ↗British Military Administration of Eritrea, he was employed as an "administrative assistant" in the Aqordät district and was in charge of the implementation of the British anti-*šəfta* policy in that area. Linked with the British anti-terrorist department he achieved the surrender of ↗Ḥāmid Idrīs ᶜAwate in 1951. At the same time, his cousin, the Italian, then British, police officer and *maʾmūr* of Kärän Aḥmad al-Ḥasan Muḥammad Ḥasano (ErDizBio 7) was an administrative assistant for the ↗Ḥalḥal and Kärän districts.

During the Federation M. was appointed administrator of the Aqordät division in 1955. In the elections for the second Assembly of Eritrea on 5–6 September 1956 he was elected member of the parliament, together with 19 others for "Keren Division". He, like most of them, was not affiliated with a party. In the same year the head of the Eritrean government, ↗Asfəḥa Wäldä Mikaʾel, appointed him head of the Department of Law and Justice, as the successor of ↗Ḥarägot Abbay. While he administered his ministerial post, the Representative of the Emperor in Eritrea successively transferred competencies of his ministry to the Ethiopian government.

M. lost his life in the ↗Eritrean Liberation Front's hand granade attack against Asfəḥa Wäldä Mikaʾel, other members of the Unionist Party and the Representative of the Emperor. Shortly afterwards the Federation was abolished.

Lit.: ErDizBio 7, 117, 208, 223; TEKESTE NEGASH, *Eritrea and Ethiopia: the Federal Experience*, New Brunswick, NJ 1997, 220.

Medhanie Admasu – Wolbert Smidt

Muḥammad ᶜUṯmān al-Mīrġanī

M.ᶜU. (محمد عثمان الميرغنى; b. *Rabīᶜ al-awwal* 1208 H. [October/November 1793] as-Salāma near at-Ṭāʾif, Ḥiğāz, d. 22 *Šawwāl* 1268 H. [8 August 1852]) was the founder of the *Ḫatmīya* order (↗Islamic brotherhoods) which played a central role in the history of Islam in the Sudan and Eritrea since the early 19th cent. Born into a prominent Šarīfian family, M.ᶜU. began his studies in the exoteric sciences before turning to mysticism. He studied in ↗Mecca under the distinguished Moroccan mystic, *ḥadīṯ* scholar and teacher Aḥmad b. Idrīs (d. 1837), who initiated M.ᶜU. into the final stages of illumination and with whom he later travelled to ↗Egypt. Between the mid-1810s and the 1820s M.ᶜU. conducted missionary tours in the Sudan where he was able to initiate followers and gain success particularly in the northern and eastern Sudan (eg., Sinnār, Šendi, Mätämma, ad-Dāmar, at-Tāka, among other places).

Cursory evidence found in Sudanese *Ḫatmī* sources and an Italian colonial report written in

the late 1920s, suggest that M.ᶜU. conducted several tours in the Eritrean area, including several passages through ↗Massawa on his way back to the ↗Ḥiğaz. M.ᶜU.'s earliest contact with the Eritrean region occurred during a visit to an unidentified place referred to as "Balġa" in ca. 1813. In the early to mid-1820s M.ᶜU. visited the western parts of modern Eritrea, where he had some success in initiating followers from among the Ḥalänga, Säbdärat, Algäden, Beni ᶜAmər, Barya (Nara) and Marya (both branches) groups. In many cases he appointed *ḫalīfas* and *ḫalīfat al-ḫulafāʾ* and hence incorporated them into his growing network of followers in the broader region. Evidence also suggests that M.ᶜU. conducted missionary tours in the Saḥəl and Sämhar regions. Indeed, it appears that M.ᶜU. was also able to build a base of followers on the coast, in Massawa and Ḥərgigo, where he left a wife and three children (all three died). In Massawa several *zāwiya* (Sufi lodges) were established by his representatives and followers. These early contacts and activities sparked and propelled the influence of the *Ḫatmīya* order in the Eritrean region, which would be later developed and consolidated by his descendants.

In the late 1820s M.ᶜU. joined his teacher Aḥmad b. Idrīs in Mecca. They stayed together in the Ḥiğāz and Yemen until the latter's death in 1837. Although there is little information about their relations in the later years, a series of letters from the earlier period seem to reflect some degree of tension arising between the quietist teacher and the more activist M.ᶜU. who had registered notable success in the Sudan and attracted thousands of followers to himself. Aḥmad b. Idrīs warned M.ᶜU. of the conceit that may result from people's attention and focus on his person. But M.ᶜU. continued to devote his time and efforts to the establishment and consolidation of the *Ḫatmīya* and was the only one of all of Aḥmad b. Idrīs's students to have established an independent *ṭarīqa* (order) in his master's lifetime. The *Ḫatmīya*'s emphasis on the spiritual eminence and intercessory powers of M.ᶜU. and the Mīrġanī family gradually distanced itself doctrinally from Aḥmad b. Idrīs and his memory (O'Fahey 1990:107–19, 142–53). In the 1830s M.ᶜU. sent his sons to spread the influence of his order in Yemen, Ḥaḍramawt and the Sudan. The establishment of a centre by his son Muḥammad al-Ḥasan (d. 1286/1869) in Kassala would prove an important factor in solidifying the order's influence over the Eritrean region from the 1840s onwards.

M.ᶜU. was a prolific writer, whose Qurʾānic commentary, *Tāğ at-Tafāsīr li-kalām al-malik al-kabīr* (or *Ḫitām at-Tafāsīr*), is perhaps his best known work in the wider Muslim world. Among his writings one finds his *rātib* (supererogatory exercise of devotion), *al-Anwār al-mutarākima*; a collection of *awrād* (litanies) known as *Mağmūᶜ al-awrād al-kabīr*; various commentaries; hagiographical texts (*manāqib*); poems on *tawḥīd* and poems and prayers in praise of the Prophet; texts on the Sufi notion of *ḫalwa* (retreat), mystical sayings allegedly addressed to M.ᶜU. by the Prophet; as well as works on the principles of spiritual life, or *ḥikam* ("sayings of wisdom"; s. a full list of M.ᶜU.'s writings in FahLit 187–98).

Src.: Aḥmad Ibn Idrīs b. Aḥmad ar-Rubāṭābī, *Al-Ibāna an-nūrīya fī šaʾn ṣāḥib aṭ-ṭarīqa al-ḫatmīya* ('The Shining Explanation on the Issue of the Follower of *Ḫatmīya* Order'), ed. by Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Abū Sālim, Beirut 1991.

Lit.: Ali Salih Karrar, *The Sufi Brotherhoods in the Sudan*, Evanston, IL 1992, 55–72ff.; HillBD 278; Albrecht Hofheinz, "Sons of a Hidden Imam: the Genealogy of the Mirghani Family", *Sudanic Africa* 3, 1992, 9–27; Rex Sean O'Fahey (ed.), *Enigmatic Saint: Ahmad Ibn Idris and the Idrisi Tradition*, London 1990; Id., "Sudanese (and Some Other) Sources for Eritrean History: a Bibliographical Note", *Sudanic Africa* 12, 2001, 131–42; FahLit 187–98 (Lit.); John Spencer Trimingham, *Islam in the Sudan*, London 1949, 231ff.; Bernd Radtke, "Lehrer – Schüler – Enkel: Aḥmad b. Idrīs, Muḥammad ᶜUṯmān al-Mīrġānī, Ismāʾīl al-Walī", *Oriens* 33, 1992, 94–132.

Jonathan Miran

Muḥammad Walī b. Aḥmad b. ᶜUmar

Šayḫ al-ḥāğğ M.W. (محمد ولى بن احمد بن عمر, Amh. Mäḥammäd Wäle; b. October/November 1935 [or 1933, according to a note in the *Kitāb īqāẓ himam al-aġbiyāʾ*], Gända ᶜArab, Därra *wäräda*, north-west Šäwa; d. 10 September 2005, ↗Mecca) was a prominent Ethiopian Muslim scholar. His father, *al-ḥāğğ* Aḥmad b. ᶜUmar b. Mūsā b. Wädağo b. Sahl, also known as *al-ḥāğğ* Aḥmad Därra after the area he was living in, was a highly revered *ᶜālim* (Islamic scholar), related to the ↗Mammädočč dynasty of ↗Wärrä Himäno in ↗Wällo. M.W.'s mother, *wäyzäro* Zubayda bint *šayḫ* Aḥmad b. *al-ḥāğğ* Muḥammad ᶜArab b. Ḥusayn b. *šayḫ faqīh* Nūr, came from a family of well-known clerics both on her paternal and maternal sides.

His traditional education included memorizing the ↗Qurʾān under his father's supervision, the *Ḥanafī* law books as well as *tawḥīd* (Islamic theology), *tağwīd* (the art of reciting the Qurʾān) and astronomy. After his father died in 1952, M.W. continued studying *fiqh* (Islamic jurisprudence) under the instruction of *al-ḥāǧǧ* ʿAlī Ādam of ↗Boräna. He then travelled to Minas to study *naḥw* (grammar) and *ṣarf* (morphology) under the guidance of *al-ḥāǧǧ* ʿAbdalbāsiṭ Muḥammad. Then he studied *muṣṭalaḥāt al-ḥadīṯ* (the study of technical terms and concepts of the *ḥadīṯ*) under *al-ḥāǧǧ* ↗Muḥammad Ṯānī b. Ḥabīb, who was also his teacher in *uṣūl al-fiqh* (the sources of jurisprudence) according to the *Ḥanafī* and *Šāfiʿī* rites, Qurʾān *tafsīr* (exegesis), *manṭiq* (logic) and other related subjects. He got *iǧāza* (certificates) from all his teachers.

Under *šayḫ* Ḥayāt b. ʿAlī, M.W. pursued his studies of the *ḥadīṯ* collections by al-Buḫārī and Muslim and was certified to teach *ḥadīṯ*. He was additionally certified to teach *al-kutub as-sitta* (the six canonical *ḥadīṯ* collections) by *al-ḥāǧǧ* Muḥammad [b.] Rāfiʿ [b. Busayr] and later, during his pilgrimage to ↗Mecca, by the Pakistani *muftī*, *šayḫ* Muḥammad ʿAbdarrašīd Nuʿmān. M.W. also spent several months learning from famous *ʿulamāʾ* at al-Azhar University of Cairo and in Mecca. M.W. obtained certificates in the recitation of ↗*ḏikr* from *šayḫ* Muḥammad Zayn of Dana, Mahdī b. Ḫalīfa of Märsa, Bašīr of Qäṭṭe and Muḥammad Nūr.

For more than 40 years, M.W. taught and served as ↗*imām* and *ḫaṭīb* at the mosque of an-Nūr in ↗Addis Abäba. During this time, he participated in international conferences in the U.S.S.R., the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and Egypt. From 1990, he served as chairman of the Ethiopian *ʿUlamāʾ* Association. From 1991 to 1995 he was active securing legal recognition for the ↗*Šarīʿa* Court. He was one of the founding members of the Ethiopian Supreme Council for Islamic Affairs (the *Maǧlis*) and chairman of the Committee of *daʿwa* and *iftāʾ*. Before the 1995 incident in the ↗Ğāmiʿ al-Anwar, M.W. was chairman of the provisional *Maǧlis*. He was imprisoned after the incident; after his release in 1998 he preferred to leave Ethiopia for Saudi Arabia, also for health reasons.

In the last two years of his life, M.W. lived in Jeddah where he obtained a residence permit and from where he gave online lectures to Ethiopians living in Europe, USA and Canada. In 2004 he was invited to teach at the University of Umm al-Qurā in Mecca. The reputation he had acquired in his life time was reflected in the funeral prayer that was led by the *imām* of the Ḥaram Mosque and attended by thousands of Ethiopian residents of Jeddah, aṭ-Ṭāʾif and other towns. In accordance with his wish, M.W. was buried in Mecca, at the cemetery of Ḫadīğa al-Kubrā, the first wife of the Prophet ↗Muḥammad. He was survived by his wife and eleven children.

M.W. was a prolific author and translator, fluent in both Arabic and Amharic. From 1993 to 1995 he was also the Editor in Chief of *Bilāl*, the monthly magazine published by the Naǧāšī Publishers in Addis Abäba. He translated into Amharic an-Nawawī's *Riyāḍ aṣ-Ṣāliḥīn* (vol. 1, 1994) as well as the booklet on the rituals of the pilgrimage (1991/92) and authored an Amharic booklet *Imanənna Islam* (1994). M.W. also wrote a commentary on a handbook of *Ḥanafī* jurisprudence, where some information about his juridical formation is given (2001). He produced an article in Arabic on religious festivals in ↗Islam, a biographical note on *šayḫ* Muḥammad Ṣādiq ʿAbdalmalik (*Bilāl* 9, 1985 A.M.:37–39), a treatise on the ↗alms (*Ḥikma* [now *Quds*], 15 *Ṭərr* 1990 [23 January 1998]). The first volume of his book on Ethiopian Muslim scholars and saints was published by the Naǧāšī Publishers a few days before his death.

Src.: *aš-šayḫ al-ḥāǧǧ* MUḤAMMAD WALĪ b. *aš-šayḫ al-ḥāǧǧ* AḤMAD B. ʿUMAR, *Kitāb īqāẓ himam al-aġbiyāʾ bi-rašḥ qaṭra min tarāğim al-ʿulamāʾ wal-awliyāʾ fī ğumhūriyat Iṯyūbiyā* ('The Book of Awakening of the Aspirations of the Ignorant through Spraying a Drop of Biographies of the Scholars and Saints in the Ethiopian Republic'), Addis Ababa 2005; ID. [MUḤAMMAD WÂLE] (tr., ed.), **የሐጅና፡ ዑምራ፡ ጉዞ፡ ስነ፡ ስርዓት፡ በአራቱ፡ መዝሀቦች** (*Yäḥaǧǧənna ʿumra guzo sənä sərʿat bäʾarattu mäzhabočč*, 'The Rituals of the Greater and Lesser Pilgrimage according to the Four Legal Schools'), Addis Abäba 1412 H. [1984 A.M. = 1991/92 A.D.]; ID., **ኢማንና፡ ኢስላም** (*Imanənna Islam*, 'Faith and Islam'), Addis Abäba 1994; ID., *al-Muqaddima al-laṭīfa ʿalā maḏhab Abī Ḥanīfa ʿallaqa ʿalayhā aš-šayḫ Muḥammad Walī Aḥmad al-Iṯyūbī* ('The Refined Introduction to Law according to the School of Abū Ḥanīfa on which *aš-šayḫ Muḥammad Walī Aḥmad al-Iṯyūbī* Made his Comments'), Addis Ababa *raǧab* 1422 H. [2001 A.D.].

Lit.: obituaries in *Addis Zämän*, *The Ethiopian Herald*, and *al-ʿAlam*, 16 September 2005; HUSSEIN AHMED, "Islamic Literature and Religious Revival in Ethiopia (1991–1994)", *Islam et Sociétés au Sud du Sahara* 12, 1998, 89–108; ID., "Recent Islamic Periodicals in Ethiopia (1996–1998)", *NEASt* new ser. 5, 2, 1998, 7–21; FahLit 59.

Hussein Ahmed

Muḫər

Muḫər language

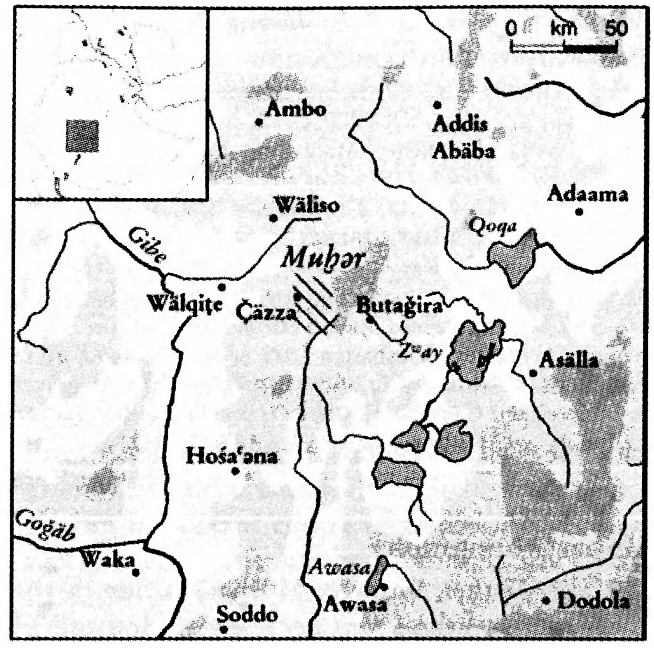
M. [*m*^{w}*äḵər*] is a ↗Gurage language spoken in the region of Č̣äzza in the Gurage Zone, by ca. 90,000 speakers (Gordon 2005:118). Genetically, it belongs to Outer South Ethiopic branch of ↗Ethio-Semitic languages. Leslau (1969) classifies M. as West Gurage (thus, together with ↗Čaha, ↗Ǝža, ↗Geto, ↗Ǝnnämor, ↗Ǝndägañ and ↗Mäsqan), while in Hetzron's classification (1977:17) M. is a separate branch, constituting together with West Gurage the *tt*-group of Outer South Ethiopic. Published texts in M. are found in Hetzron (1977) and Leslau (1981).

M. consonants are: labials *b*, *b*^{w}, *f*, *f*^{w}, *m*, *m*^{w}, *w*; alveolars *t*, *d*, *ṭ*, *s*, *n*, *l*, *r*; palatals *č*, *ǧ*, *č̣*, *š*, *ž*, *ñ*, *y*; velars *k*, *k*^{w}, *k*^{y}, *g*, *g*^{w}, *g*^{y}, *q*, *q*^{w}, *q*^{y}, *ḵ*, *ḵ*^{w}, *ḵ*^{y}; glottals *ʔ*, *ʔ*^{w}. *ḵ* is realized as [*kk*] when geminate. *q* and *q*^{w} reduce to [*ʔ*] and [*ʔ*^{w}] in post-vocalic position. The vowels are *i*, *e*, *a*, *o*, *u*, *ä*, *ə*, *ɔ*, *ɛ*. Consonants can be geminated medially and finally. Stress is normally penultimate. Etymological gutturals and glides *y*/*w* appear as vowels or palatalization/labialization: *däffa-m* ('turn on its side') < **dfʔ*, or *näč̣č̣ä-m*, 'pluck out' < **nṭy*.

There is no indefinite article, plural or gender marking on nouns. The definite marker is *-we*: *äč̣č̣ä-we wəṭṭaʔa* ('the tree fell down'). If the noun is qualified, *-we* appears on the qualifier: *ənəssəyä-we äč̣č̣ä* ('the small tree'). *yä-* marks dative, genitive (possessor) and definite accusatives. Locative is expressed by *bä-*, and comitative by *tä-*. Postpositions can combine with these prefixes: *bä-ṭaräbeza f*^{w}*en* ('on top of a table'). Adjectives, quantifiers, possessors, and demonstratives precede the noun: *bəžä säb* ('many people'). Possessives are suffixed: *bet-äññə* ('my house').

M. has the Semitic root-and-pattern system. Triradical verbs are classified into conjugation "types". Subject markers are suffixes in the perfective and prefixes and suffixes in the non-perfective. The penultimate consonant is geminated in some forms:

	perfective	imperfective	jussive
Type A 'break'	*säbbär-ä-m*	*yə-säbr-u*	*yä-sbər*
Type B 'return'	*žäbbär-ä-m*	*yə-žäbbər-u*	*yä-zäbbər*
Type C 'go away'	*žarräg-ä-m*	*yə-žarrəg-u*	*yä-žarg*
Quadriradical 'injure by stepping on'	*qəräṭṭäm-ä-m*	*yə-ʔräṭṭəm-u*	*yä-ʔärṭəm*



Examples of non-derived reduplicated verbs are *kässäsä-m* ('accuse, sue'), *dəräddärä-m* ('pile up'). Derived reduplicatives have an infix *-a-*: *näkkäsä-m*, 'bite' > *näkakkäs-ä-m*, 'bite repeatedly'. "Main verb markers" occur on the main clause non-negative verb. The imperfective main verb marker has three allomorphs: *-u*, *-t*, *-i* depending on subject marker and object suffix on the verb: *tə-lägd-u* ('you [masc.sg.] touch'); *yə-lägd-ma-t* ('they [fem.] touch'); *tə-lägd-i* ('she touches'), but *tə-lägədd-a-t* ('she touches her'). Object suffixes also have a complex set of allomorphs (Hetzron 1977; Rose 1996). Derivational prefixes include reflexive-passive (*tä-*) and causative (*a-* and *at-*). Negation markers (*an-*/*a-*) precede these prefixes: *q*^{w}*äññ-a-m* ('he roasted') > *tä-ʔ*^{w}*äññ-ä-m* ('it was roasted') > *an-tä-ʔ*^{w}*äññ-ä* ('it was not roasted').

Palatalization or vowel fronting indicates the 2 fem.sg. subject: *kəft* (2 masc. sg.) vs. *kəfč* (2 fem. sg.) ('open!'). Palatalization or labialization mark the impersonal and the 3 masc.sg. object: *läggädä-m* ('he touched') > *läggäǧ-i-m* ('one touched'), *tələgəǧǧ-t* ('you [masc.sg.] touch him/it'); *kättäfä-m* ('he chopped') > *kättäf*^{w}*-i-m* ('one chopped'), *təkätəff*^{w}*-t* ('you [masc.sg.] chop it').

The basic word order is Subject-Object-Verb: *älämu*$_{1}$ *b-äč̣č̣ä*$_{2}$ *əssat-we*$_{3}$ *g*^{w}*əsägg*^{w}*äs-ä-nn-əm*$_{4}$ ('Älämu$_{1}$ poked$_{4}$ the fire$_{3}$ with a stick$_{2}$'). Markers of subordination include *ḵäma* ('that') or *ḵänä* ('because') in final position, and *yä-*, *b*(*ä*)- ('if') and *t-* ('while, when') prefixed to the verb. Relative clauses precede the head noun; relative pronoun *yä-* appears on verb.

The ten-word list is as follows: *att* 'one', *ḵ*^{w}*ett* 'two', *sost* 'three', *əssat* 'fire', *əga* 'water', *č̣et*

'sun', *ṭärraqqa* 'moon', *däm* 'blood', *allämät* 'tongue', *sən* 'tooth'.

Src.: RAYMOND G. GORDON (ed.), *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*, Dallas, TX [15]2005, 118.

Lit.: ROBERT HETZRON, "Main Verb-Markers in Northern Gurage", *Africa. Journal of the International African Institute* 38, 156–72; ID., *The Gunnän-Gurage Languages*, Napoli 1977; WOLF LESLAU, "Toward a Classification of the Gurage Dialects", *JSS* 14, 1969, 96–109 [repr. in: ID., *Gurage Studies: Collected Articles*, Wiesbaden 1992, 246–59]; ID., *Ethiopians Speak: Studies in Cultural Background*, 4: *Muher*, Wiesbaden 1981 (AeF 11), 6–50; SHARON ROSE, "Allomorphy and Morphological Categories in Muher", in: GROVER HUDSON (ed.), *Essays on Gurage Language and Culture*, Wiesbaden 1996, 205–27.

Sharon Rose

Muḫər ethnography

M. (also Muher, Gurage: Mʷäḫər) is one of the sub-groups of the *Säbat bet* ('Seven Houses') of Western ↗Gurage. The M. territory is the highest and the most northern part of Western Gurage. It is located on a high plateau extending from the eastern Great ↗Wabi River to the western summits of Zebidar mountains. M.'s population today is ca. 90,000 and constists of sedentarists practicing mixed farming and to a minor extent cattle-breeding.

The M. territory borders to the south and south-west to the *Säbat bet* groups of ↗Čaha and ↗Ǝža, an area formerly characterized by a religious network of the cults belonging to the autochthonous Gurage folk-religion. To the east, it touches the Kəstane (↗Soddo) region, well known for the old Christianity claimed by its population. Finally, M. has Muslim neighbours: the ↗Qabeena to the west and the ↗Mäsqan to the south-east.

The M. confederation of clans is divided into two parts: *anä bet* ('House of *anä*') and *ädi bet* ('House of *ädi*'). The two names derive from the words they respectively use for the 1st pers. sg., *anä* or *ädi*. The *anä bet* speak M. proper, whereas the *ädi bet* speak a variety of the Kəstane language (Hetzron 1977:3–6). This particular composition can be better understood in the light of M. and Kəstane histories.

Like the Kəstane, the M. people were seen at the end of the 19th cent. as an ancient Christian people (Cecchi 1886:ii, 96). Braukämper (2002:21, 44, 52, 65) established a relation between the name M. and the name Mugär or Mugan of the Christian written sources. If this is true, the contemporary M. population would descend from the Christian population of Mugär, a district mentioned in *aṣe* ↗ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon's (r. 1314–44) chronicle as a part of ↗Šäwa. European maps located this district next to Aymälläl, whose population is supposed to have been the origin of today's Kəstane. Thus, the northern parts of Gurage region could have constituted a common refuge for the two Christian medieval populations. During the *ǧihād* of ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī (Grañ) or during the time of the Oromo migrations, in the 16th cent., the now M. territory could have welcomed a major part of the Mugär population, and have kept a minor part of the Aymälläl population.

An oral tradition refers to an ancient Christianization of the local population, as the fruit of ↗Zena Marqos proselytism (Lebel 1974:101) This saint was allegedly the founder of the monastery of ↗Däbrä Bəśrat in Šäwa (Cerulli 1962). A monastic document redacted in the 16th cent. mentions ↗Morät in Šäwa, as his region of activity (DerDom 126f.). Thus, two hypotheses arise. First, the M. monastery of Gädamä Yäsus (and ↗Muḫər Iyäsus) may have been founded by Zena Marqos, as his *Gädl* claims, or one of his successors, and may have constituted a southern extension of his religious influence. Secondly, the traditions about Zena Marqos may have been imported by refugees from Mugär or Morät.

The Christianization process, or the arrival of a Christian population, can also be deduced from the oral traditions referring to Zena Marqos driving the most powerful spirits of Western Gurage religion: Ogʸät (↗Waq), ↗Dämʷamʷit, and Božžä out of M. (Gebreyesus Haylemariam 1991:141). Nevertheless, other oral sources deny this fact. For example, some present Ǧumʷäd, the first Božžä representative, as coming from ↗Allaaba, while some others declare that she was sacrificed to the river by her M. father, and then became the spirit medium of Božžä in other parts of Western Gurage. This last tradition stresses the integration of M. people to the political and cultural sphere of Western Gurage.

Indeed, from the political point of view, the M. belonged to the initial confederation of the *Aməst bet* ('Five Houses') Gurage, that formed the historical core of the *Säbat bet*. Moreover, the M. war leader *agäz* Šäbäta is well known for his participation in the resistance against Mənilək's conquest of the area, an attitude in stark contrast with the surrender of Kəstane leaders. Then, from the religious point of view, the M. people were completely involved in the religious life of Western Gurage. Similarly to the other Gurage

"houses", unity and solidarity of M. clans were enforced by the common cult rendered to their ↗Waq spirit Mägär Närir (ShGurage 53).

Finally, M. people may be seen as an old Christian population who settled there in 14th or 15th cent., or arrived there after the beginning of the 16th cent. After a possible Christianization of surrounding peoples, they participated fully in what led to the emergence of the Western Gurage culture, which was achieved in the beginning of 19th cent. This process differentiated them from their Kəstane neighbours, and constituted their culture as an interface between the *Säbat bet* and Kəstane regions.

Src.: interviews with *gʷetakuyas* Maläs, Dəmbär, 18 March 1999; Čamora Nəguśe, Dəmbär, 10 January 2003; *gʷetakuyas* Mulu, Gunšəre, 7 November 2003; *Gädlä Zena Marqos;* ENRICO CERULLI, "Gli Atti di Zēnā Mārqos, monaco etiope del sec. XIV", in: *Collectanea Vaticana in honorem Anselmi M. Card. Albareda*, Città del Vaticano 1962 (Studi e Testi 219–220), 191–212.

Lit.: ULRICH BRAUKÄMPER, "Islamic Principalities in Southeast Ethiopia between the Thirteenth and Sixteenth Centuries", in: ID., *Islamic History and Culture in Southern Ethiopia: Collected Essays*, Hamburg 2002, 12–105; CecZeila vol. 2, 76–109; DerDom; GABREYESUS HAILEMARIAM, *The Gurage and their Culture*, New York 1991, 1, 3, 141; ROBERT HETZRON, *The Gunnän-Gurage Languages*, Naples 1977; PHILLIP LEBEL, "Oral Traditional and Chronicles on Guragé Immigration", *JES* 12, 2, 1974, 95–106; ShGurage; WILLIAM A. SHACK – HABTE MARIAM MARCOS, *Gods and Heroes: Oral Traditions of the Gurage of Ethiopia*, Oxford – London 1976.

Arnaud Kruczinsky

Muhər Iyäsus

M.I. (**ሙህር፡ ኢየሱስ**, also Mohər [Gädamä] Iyäsus, Məhur Iyäsus) is a monastery in Korär Muhər (or Məhur) *qäbäle*, ƎŽa-Wäläne *wäräda* (formerly the Šäwa province, now Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples' Region), 200 km south-west of Addis Abäba and 50 km of ↗Wälqiṭe, at an altitude of 2,050 m A.S.L., on the river Käreb.

M.I. is one of the oldest monastic foundations (↗*Gädam*) in the historical southern part of Ethiopia. The local tradition claims that it was founded by *abunä* ↗Zena Marqos in the first half of the 14th cent. According to the late 16th-/early 17th-cent. Acts of the Saint, Zena Marqos established it, allegedly along ca. 150 more churches, to evangelize the population of "Hagärä Məhur" (according to the Vita, the local people had previously worshipped the ancestral spirits "Makos and Gerdan").

With the expansion of ↗Islam, the monastery gradually lost its importance. It remained almost deserted until a certain *abba* Ṭəgabu applied to *aṣe* Mənilək II for support in re-establishing the monastery. The medium-size octagonal church was rebuilt and monks were motivated to reside in the monastery. It is reported that *däğğazmač* ↗Balča Safo gave to the monastery some 100 ha agricultural land, to be used as a source of income.

Currently, along with the churches Soddo Mədrä Käbd (cp. ↗Gäbrä Mänfäs Qəddus) and ƎnorAmanuʾel, the monastery is one of the main Orthodox foundations in ↗Gurage area. It is also an important centre of traditional ↗education. Recently, the number of monks and church students increased, and, thanks to the financial support of the Ethiopian Church, a new clergy training centre was opened, aimed to intensify the Orthodox social and theological mission in the area, enabling it to compete with other religious denominations.

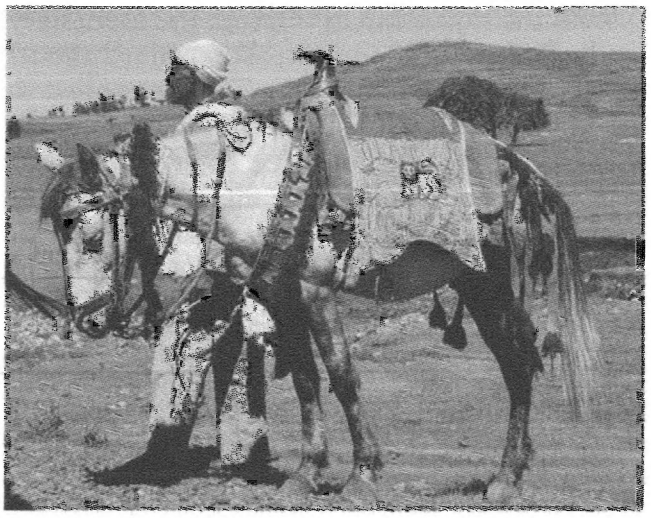
Src.: **ገድለ፡ ዜና፡ ማርቆስ** (*Gädlä Zena Marqos*), ms. kept in Däbrä Bəśrat, fol. 33; ENRICO CERULLI, "Gli Atti di Zēnā Mārqos, monaco etiope del sec. XIV", in: *Collectanea Vaticana in honorem Anselmi M. Card. Albareda*, Città del Vaticano 1962 (Studi e Testi 219–220), 191–212, here 196f., 205.

Lit.: DANƎʾEL KƎBRÄT, **የቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ መረጃዎች** (*Yäbetä krəstiyan märäğawočč*, 'The Information Concerning the Church'), Addis Abäba 1999 A.M. [2006/07 A.D.], 164ff.; DƎNBÄRU ALÄMU et al., **ጎጎት፤ የጉራጌ፡ ብሔረሰብ፡ ታሪክ፡ ባህልና፡ ቋንቋ** (*Gogot: Yägurage bəheräsäb tarik, bahələnna qʷanqʷa*, 'Gogot: the History, Culture and Language of the Gurage People'), Wälqiṭe 1987 A.M. [1994/95 A.D.], 195, 198; MÄRŠA ALLÄḴÄÑÑ, **"ምሁር፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ገዳም"** (*Məhur Iyäsus Gädam*, 'Məhur Iyäsus Monastery'), *Hamär zäʾortodoks täwaḥədo* 5, 5, 2003, 19–20; WÄRQU NIDA, **ጅብዱ። የጉራጌ፡ ሕዝብ፡ ታሪክና፡ ባህል** (*Ğäbdu. Yägurage ḥəzb tarikənna bahəl*, 'Ğäbdu. The History and Culture of the Gurage People'), Addis Abäba 1983 A.M. [1991 A.D.].

Mersha Alehegne

Mule(s)

M. (Amh. **በቅሎ**, *bäqlo*, Tgn. *bäqli*, Orom. *gaangee*) i.e. the offspring of a male donkey and a female ↗horse, were highly prized in traditional Ethiopia (for zoology s. ↗Animals). They were used extensively in the highlands in contrast to ↗camels in the lowlands, both for riding and as pack animals. Ethiopians going to war or on a hunting expedition would travel most of the way on a M., which they would abandon in favour of a horse at the last possible moment. This



Mule in decorative outfit: harness with metal pins and red tufts, saddle cloth with embroidered lion, in Dawənt; photo 2005, courtesy of Ewa Balicka-Witakowska

procedure was followed because the M. was the sturdier and more sure-footed of the two animals whereas the horse had greater maneuverability.

The importance traditionally attached to M. is evident from the early 16th-cent. narrative of Alvares. He stated that the court never travelled with "less than 50,000" of these animals, and that they "might reach 100,000". *Aṣe* Ləbnä Dəngəl used to come out of his tent riding a "dark bay mule [...] as big as a large horse". Covered all over with a M.-cloth it was held by the monarch "in great estimation", as a result of which he travelled with it, wherever he went. In a court ceremony, the ↗*bitwäddäd* of the Emperor emphasized his humility by telling the monarch that he was the lord who "saddles your mules and puts the head stalls on your baggage mules". M. were also paid as ↗tribute. Tribute brought from Goğğam, as witnessed by Alvares, included 30 saddled animals, followed by ca. 3,000 young pack-animals, male and female, as well as a number two or even three years old (BeckHuntAlvar 401, 426f.).

The prevalence of M. in the early 17th cent. was likewise reported by Almeida. He states that there were good she-animals, on which the nobility and "lower classes" both rode, as well as she- and he-M. serving as draught animals. Owners of horses, he confirms, did not travel on them, but rode on their M., which they led to battle with their right hand. *Aṣe* Susənyos usually mounted and dismounted from his M. in his tent, but if he alighted elsewhere his followers would surround him, and hide him from public with their clothes (BeckHuntAlm 50, 81, 94). The court official in charge of the M. was the ↗*baldäras*.

The breeding of M., according to Barradas, was at that time "very widespread" in Təgray, but particularly in ↗Bur and towards the coast. M. there were "reasonably priced": ordinary animals sold for two or three ↗*wäqet*, or ounces, of gold, and special ones for ten *wäqet* (Barradas 1996:29, 34, 72). M. were also used for the transportation of ↗*nägarit*, or drums, which were carried in pairs on either side of the animal. M. were ridden astride by both men and women (BeckHuntAlm 81; Barradas 1996:34, 72).

M.-breeding in the 19th and 20th cent. was a major occupation of the highland peasantry (ChTana 28). Such animals, the price of which rose from around four Maria Theresa thalers per head in 1840 to about 100 in 1900 (PankEcon 211), were extensively used in commercial caravans (Ferret — Galinier 1848:407-11; PankSoc 207ff.), constituted an export article at the port of Massawa, and were kept, together with horses, in every palace and also in houses of the nobility (Parkyns 1853:357; PankHist II, 76). The finest riding-M. continued to be highly regarded. Parkyns (1853:32f.) reported that the price of a M., eight or ten Maria Theresa thalers for an ordinary baggage animal and 120 dollars for a prize specimen, sometimes exceeded that of a horse. M. wore a saddle-cloth, made of leather rather than of cloth, as was the case with horses. M. wore around their neck a band of leather thongs attached with small chains to "a large number of brass plates, the jingling of which makes a pretty noise when the animal is gamboling". M.-cloths belonging to persons of substance were embroidered with a "mosaic of different coloured leathers in grotesque patterns of lions, men, &c". Such M. were often given as presents by rulers to visiting travellers whom they wished to honour (Lockhart 1984:12f.; RasTheo vol. 1, 245). When riding a M., persons of rank sometimes were accompanied by one or two ↗*däggafi*.

The animal remained the principal means of transportation in early 20th cent. Addis Abäba (Vivian 1901:175), and continues so to this day throughout much of the Ethiopian countryside.

Src.: MANOEL BARRADAS, *Tractatus Tre Historico-Geographici (1634). A Seventeenth Century Historical and Geographical Account of Tigray, Ethiopia*, tr. by ELIZABET FILLEUL, ed. by RICHARD PANKHURST, Wiesbaden 1996 (AeF 43), 29, 34, 72; BeckHuntAlvar 401, 426f.; BeckHuntAlm 50, 81, 94; ChTana 28; PIERRE VICTOR ADOLPHE FERRET – JOSEPH GERMAIN GALINIER, *Voyage en Abyssinie dans les provinces du Tigré, Samen et de l'Amhara*, 2 vols., Paris 1847/48, vol. 2, 407–11; WILLIAM FOSTER, *The Red Sea and Adjacent Countries at the Close*

of the Seventeenth Century, London 1949, 96, 110; DONALD MERRIT LOCKHART (ed., tr.), *The Itinerário of Jerónimo Lobo*, London 1984; JOB LUDOLF, *A New History of Ethiopia*, London 1682 [= LudHist]; HUBERT CONWAY MAYDON, *Simen: its Heights and Abysses*, London 1925, 248, s. index; DEVLA MURPHY, *In Ethiopia with a Mule*, London 1968; MANSFIELD PARKYNS, *Life in Abyssinia*, vol. 1, London 1853, 32f., 357; RasTheo vol. 1, 245; AUGUSTUS BLANDY WYLDE, *Modern Abyssinia*, London 1901, 275f.; HERBERT VIVIAN, *Abyssinia: through the Lion-Land to the Court of the Lion of Judah*, London 1901.

Lit.: PankEcon 211; PankHist II, 76; PankSoc.

Richard Pankhurst

Müller, David Heinrich von

M. (b. 6. July 1846, Buczacz/Galicia, d. 21. December 1912, Vienna) was an Austrian Orientalist. He began his studies in 1867 at the Jewish Theological Seminary in Breslau (Wrocław), and in 1869 he entered the University of Vienna, where he spezialized in Semitic languages. His teachers were the most renowned Orientalists of the time, Eduard Sachau in Vienna, Heinrich Leberecht Fleischer in Leipzig and Theodor ↗Nöldeke in Strasbourg. In 1875 M. obtained his doctoral degree in Vienna, in 1876 he got the qualification as lecturer in Semitic philology and in 1885 he was appointed as Full Professor.

M. was a versatile scholar who taught almost all the then known Semitic languages. Moreover, he was the founder of Sabaean studies (↗Epigraphic South Arabian) and encouraged students to go exploring ↗Arabia in search of ancient ↗inscriptions. He was co-founder of the Institute of Oriental Studies in Vienna (Orientalisches Institut, 1886) and co-editor of the *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* (1887). M. contributed a chapter to Bent's book *The Sacred City of the Ethiopians* (1893), in which he discussed a number of pre-Aksumite inscriptions from ↗Yəḥa (RIÉ 33, 36, 38, 40, 42, 43) as well as Aksumite inscriptions from the area of ↗Aksum (RIÉ 185, 186, 188, 189, 202, 270) and investigated their script and language. In 1898 he was elected full member of the Imperial Austrian Academy of Sciences. On behalf of this institution in 1898/99 he led an expedition to South Arabia and the island of ↗Soqoṭra, the aims of which were mainly epigraphic discoveries and linguistic research.

Src.: JAMES THEODORE BENT, *The Sacred City of the Ethiopians, being a Record of Travel and Research in Abyssinia in 1893. With a Chapter by Prof. D.H. MÜLLER on the Inscriptions from Yeha and Aksum*, London 1893; DAVID HEINRICH MÜLLER, *al-Hamdānī's Geographie der Arabischen Halbinsel, nach den Handschriften von Berlin, Constantinopel, London, Paris und Strassburg herausgegeben*, 2 vols., Leiden 1884, 1891; ID., *Epigraphische Denkmäler aus Abessinien nach Abklatschen von J. Theodore Bent*, Wien 1894 (Denkschriften der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Classe 43, 1894, Abh. 3); ID., *Südarabische Alterthümer im Kunsthistorischen Hofmuseum*, Wien 1899; ID., *Die Mehri- und Soqoṭri-Sprache*, 3 vols., Wien 1902, 1905, 1907 (Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Südarabische Expedition 4, 6, 7).

Lit.: MAXIMILIAN BITTNER, "Hofrat Professor Dr. David Heinrich v. Müller", *Almanach der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien* 63, 1913, 476–81; STEPHAN PROCHÁZKA, "Müller, David Heinrich v.", *Neue Deutsche Biographie* 18, 1997, 354–55; G. ROSENMANN, "Hofrat Professor Dr. David Heinrich v. Müller. Ein Lebensbild", *Jahrbuch für jüdische Geschichte und Literatur* 17, 1914, 145–57.

Walter W. Müller

Mulugeta Buli

M.B. (ሙሉጌታ፡ ቡሊ, b. 1917, Sidamo, d. 17. December 1960, Addis Abäba) was an officer and member of *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I's government. He was educated at a mission school and at Täfäri Mäkʷännən School, Addis Abäba. From 1934 to 1936, he attended the ↗Holäta Military Academy, where he was the only Oromo Officer Cadet. After completing his studies, M.B. was gazetted a captain and became chief instructor at the Academy.

M.B. spent the early part of the Italian occupation in Djibouti and Kenya but returned to Ethiopia with Ḫaylä Śəllase I and the ↗Gideon Force and participated in the battle of ↗May Čäw. After Liberation, he served as commander of the ↗Imperial Bodyguard (1941–55). During this period, he established a Public Security Department that reported to the Ministry of the Interior. Ḫaylä Śəllase promoted him to Brigadier after he had thwarted at least two coup attempts.

In 1951, the Emperor ordered M.B. to establish the Kagnew (↗Qañňäw) Battalion that took part in the ↗United Nations operation in Korea (1951–53). The battalion's performance earned him a promotion to Major General. In 1952, some officers urged him to overthrow Ḫaylä Śəllase but he remained loyal to the Emperor.

In the late 1950s, M.B. held several portfolios, including Chief of Staff of the Armed Forces (1956–58), Private Chief of Staff to the Emperor (1958–59), and Minister of National Community Development (1959–60). Additionally, in 1959, he created the Imperial Private Cabinet that became Ḫaylä Śəllase's national security staff. This organization monitored the activities all Minis-

ters as well as others who might pose a threat to the Emperor.

In late 1960s, Ḫaylä Śəllase undertook a state visit to Brazil. On 14 December 1960, the leaders of the ↗Coup d'état 1960 (in EAE vol. 2, 1081–82), Brigadier General ↗Mängəśtu Nəway and his younger brother ↗Gärmame Nəway, announced the formation of a new government under Asfa Wäsän and appointed M.B. Chief of Staff of the Armed Forces. A royalist coalition that included the aristocracy, church, army, air force, and the general population immediately suppressed the coup. Intense fighting in Addis Abäba forced the rebels to take refuge in the ↗Gännätä Ləʿul palace. M.B. and other ministers were held as hostages. On 17 December 1960, loyalist forces attacked the palace but, before the fighting ended, the rebels had executed 18 hostages, one of whom was M.B. In his memoirs, Ḫaylä Śəllase maintained that M.B. had been "a loyalist."

Src.: HSLife 157.

Lit.: CHRISTOPHER CLAPHAM, "The Ethiopian Coup d'Etat of December 1960", *Journal of Modern African Studies* 6, 4, 1968, 495–97; ClaphHS 22–25, 114ff., 120f., 197; RICHARD GREENFIELD, *Ethiopia: a New Political History*, London 1965, 255f., 359f.

Thomas P. Ofcansky

Mulugeta Yəggäzu

M.Y. (ሙሉጌታ ይግዙ; b. 1865, Mänz, d. February 1936, Amba Aradom) was an important early 20th cent. military leader and politician, notable mostly for his part in the ↗Italian war of 1935–36, even if already in 1896 he had been among the commanders during the battle of ↗ʿAdwa. A descendant of the 18th-cent. ruler of ↗Morät, Ṭəddu, M.Y. was related to *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II.

In 1905, M.Y. was appointed secretary of the treasury and in 1907 he joined Mənilək's first cabinet as Minister of Finance. At that time he was bearing the title of *bäğərond*. His proximity to the Emperor can be illustrated by the fact that he was present in August 1908 during Mənilək's medical examination by doctors Vitalien and Mousali Bey after a thrombosis attack. In 1909 he was suspected, by German physicians of the Emperor, Max Steinkühler and Alfred Zintgraff, of having been involved in poisoning Mənilək, and they suggested to depose and arrest him. M.Y. was not arrested but he was demoted by *ləğ* ↗Iyasu, whilst the Regent of Ethiopia *ras* ↗Täsämma Nadäw appointed him Governor of ↗Gimira with the title of *däğğazmač* in 1910.

In 1916, M.Y. again became Minister of Finance and subsequently served as Minister of Foreign Affairs. In 1918, he was sacked, along with other ministers, after they had been accused of corruption. Despite this setback, he remained a politically influential personality. In 1924, M.Y. accompanied *ras* Täfäri on his first European tour. Three years later, he became Minister of War. In January 1931, he became a ↗*ras* and governor of a large part of southern and western Ethiopia, his power base being in ↗Illubabor.

M.Y. commanded the army that Täfäri sent to suppress the rebellion of *ras* ↗Gugsa Wale, who believed a victory against Imperial forces in Gondär and Bägemdər would end the regency. Whilst Gugsa commanded a 10,000-man army equipped with ten machine guns and two field guns, M.Y. left Addis Abäba heading for Yäğğu and Rayya on 23 January 1930, in command of a larger army mostly made up of ↗*näftäñña* settlers of southern provinces, well equipped with 30 machine guns and five field guns. On 31 March 1930, the battle of Ančim (or Zäbiṭ) took place near ↗Č̣äč̣äho, the historic pass connecting the provinces of Bägemdər and Wällo. Apart from the advantage in ground operations, M.Y. had French piloted planes drop bombs and propaganda leaflets on Gugsa's troops and conduct aerial reconnaissance missions. Within a few hours, *ras* Gugsa had been killed and his army defeated.

Ḫaylä Śəllase was, nevertheless, increasingly dissatisfied with the illiterate and obstinate M.Y. who opposed military reforms, lacked knowledge of world affairs, and repeatedly demanded that all foreigners be expelled from Ethiopia. Whilst the Emperor had at least three possible candidates, including *ras* ↗Getačč̣äw Abate, *fitawrari* ↗Bərru Wäldä Gäbrəʾel, and *bäğərond* ↗Täklä Ḫawaryat, he, however, eventually, decided to keep M.Y. on active duty.

Shortly after the outbreak of the Italian war, the Emperor ordered *ras* M.Y. to outflank Italian forces at Mäqälä and to cut their supply lines. Additionally, he instructed *ras* ↗Kaśa Ḫaylu and *ras* ↗Śəyyum Mängäša to attack Tämben, and *ras* ↗Əmməru Ḫaylä Śəllase to capture ↗Šire. On 31 January 1936, the newly arrived General Pietro ↗Badoglio began the "Great Strategical Battle of Təgray". He subjected M.Y.'s forces to two weeks of air and artillery bombardment while monitoring Ethiopian wireless communications.

On 10 February 1936, the decisive battle of ↗Amba Aradom (or of Əndärta) began; it lasted

for nine days. Badoglio had deployed four army divisions and two Blackshirt divisions to the field where M.Y.'s 80,000-man "army of the middle" (*yämahal särawit*) awaited enemy forces. M.Y.'s inventory included 400 machine guns, 18 old medium-calibre field guns, and a few anti-aircraft Oerlikons. Badoglio employed 280 artillery pieces that fired 23,000 rounds and machine guns that expended 30,000 rounds. Additionally, 170 *Regia Aeronautica* aircraft conducted 546 raids and dropped 396 tons of bombs, some of which contained mustard gas, on Ethiopian positions. In the days from 12 to 15 February 1936, well-prepared Italian forces encircled the Amba. Badoglio persuaded the Oromo of Rayya and Qobbo to fight against the Emperor's armies as M.Y.'s troops had looted their villages en route to the battle site. Oromo guerrillas and their Italian partners inflicted heavy casualties on the Emperor's army.

Ras Mulugeta Yəggäzu; photo 1917, collection of Maurice de Coppet, Helsinki University Library, Finland (no. E2424)

M.Y. downplayed this setback by launching a disinformation campaign. He told George Steer, the *Times* (London) correspondent, that there had been no major battle at Amba Aradom but only a series of skirmishes. Whilst Herbert Matthews, the *New York Times* correspondent, had witnessed the Italian victory at Amba Aradom, his editors did not print the story relying on M.Y.'s account as he was an "official" source.

On 15 February 1936, M.Y. abandoned the battlefield. As soon as the news leaked out, the Army of the Middle collapsed as large numbers of Ethiopian troops began the long trek to the south. On 20 February 1936, Oromo fighters killed M.Y.'s son mutilating his body. Shortly thereafter, M.Y., too, was killed in unclear circumstances. Badoglio believed that Azaboo Oromo had killed him, but others maintained that a strike by an Italian plane was responsible for his death. The Emperor unsuccessfully attempted to cover up the cause of M.Y.'s death by reporting that he had died of pneumonia.

Src.: GueCopMen, s. index; HSLife 31; *New York Times*, 31 October 1935, 12; *Los Angeles Times*, 11 March 1936, 2.

Lit.: HAROLD G. MARCUS, *Haile Sellassie I: the Formative Years, 1892–1936*, Berkeley, CA 1987, 94f., 172, 175; ARTHUR JAMES BARKER, *The Civilizing Mission: a History of the Italian–Ethiopian War of 1935-1936*, New York 1968, 179–81, 249, 254, 268; RICHARD GREENFIELD, *Ethiopia: a New Political History*, London, 1965, 203f., 211f.; ANTHONY MOCKLER, *The Italian–Ethiopian Campaign, 1935–1941*, New York 1984, 10f.; PIETRO BADOGLIO, *The War in Abyssinia*, London 1937, 85, 96; MICHAEL B. SALWEN, *Evelyn Waugh in Ethiopia: The Story Behind Scoop*, Lewiston 2001, 239f.; TSEHAI BERHANE SELASSIE, "Mulugeta Yegazu", in: *DicAfrBio* 114–15.

Thomas P. Ofcansky

Munro-Hay, Stuart Christopher

M.-H. (b. as S.C.H. McIlwrath 21 April 1947, Northern Ireland, d. 14 October 2004, Chiang Mai, Thailand) was an archaeologist, numismatist, and researcher of Ethiopian history.

Educated at Liverpool University and the ↗School of Oriental and African Studies in London (SOAS), M.-H. began his career as an Egyptologist, but soon turned his attention to ↗Ethiopian Studies. In 1973–74 M.-H. began work with the British Institute in Eastern Africa (BIEA) excavations at ↗Aksum. Under the direction of Neville Chittick, he served as site supervisor and then as Assistant Director of the BIEA Aksum project. The results of the excavations were published in 1989. M.-H.'s research confirmed Chittick's view that the site's decline dated from the 7th, rather than from the previously estimated 8th-beginning of the 9th, cent. – a significant finding for the history of the region.

In 1978 M-H. received his Ph.D. from the SOAS, with a dissertation entitled *A Reappraisal of the History and Development of the Aksumite State from Numismatic and Archaeological Evi-*

dence, written under the supervision of the then BIEA President Sir Laurence Kirwan.

M.-H. taught at the Universities of Khartoum (1977–80), Nairobi (1980–82), Edinburgh and Cambridge (1985–87), as well as at the Humboldt University Berlin (2001–02).

Starting in 1991, he lived in Paris and Thailand and worked as a free-lance archaeologist, continuing research into Ethiopian history and ↗coinage. A collector of and specialist on Aksumite coins, he wrote extensively on Ethiopian and South Arabian ↗numismatics. Much of M.-H.'s large Ethiopian and South Arabian coin collection was sold to the Ethiopian Government during the 1980s. His extensive library of Æthiopica was bequeathed to the ↗Orbis Aethiopicus society.

M.-H. was the author of over a dozen books and numerous academic and non-academic articles on Ethiopia. Among his important publications are the works on the ↗Ark of the Covenant (1999, 2005) and the Ethiopian Orthodox Church (MHAlex), and especially on Aksum as "a late antique civilization" (MHAksum) – which proved to be a ground-breaking approach.

He also wrote a brief history cum detailed guide book for the visitor to Ethiopia (2002); collaborated with Richard Pankhurst on an annotated bibliography of Ethiopia (1995); and was a leading contributor to the catalogue of an important exhibition on Ethiopian church art (AfrZion).

Src.: AfrZion 91–116, 129–32, 137ff., 176–91, 238–55; MHAksum; MHAlex I, II; STUART MUNRO-HAY, *The Coinage of Aksum*, New Delhi 1984; ID., *The Munro-Hay Collection of Aksumite Coins*, Napoli 1986 (Annali IUO, Suppl. 48); ID., *Excavations at Aksum: an Account of Research at the Ancient Ethiopian Capital Directed in 1972–4 by the Late Dr. Neville Chittick*, London 1989 (Memoirs of the British Institute in Eastern Africa 10); ID. – BENT JUEL-JENSEN, *Axumite Coinage*, London 1995; ID. – RICHARD PANKHURST, *Ethiopia*, Oxford et al. 1995 (World Bibliographical Series 179); ID., *Catalogue of the Aksumite Coins in the British Museum*, London 1999; ID. – RODERICK GRIERSON, *The Ark of the Covenant*, London 1999; ID., *Ethiopia, the Unknown Land: a Cultural and Historical Guide*, London 2002; ID., *Coinage of Arabia Felix: the Pre-Islamic Coinage of the Yemen*, Milano 2003 (Mare Erythraeum 6/Nomismata 5); ID., *The Quest for the Ark of the Covenant: the True History of the Tablets of Moses*, London – New York 2005; ID., *Ethiopia Unveiled: Interaction between Two Worlds*, Hollywood, CA 2006; ID., *Ethiopia: Judaism, Altars and Saints*, Hollywood, CA 2006; GREVILLE STEWART PARKER FREEMAN-GRENVILLE – STUART CHRISTOPHER MUNRO-HAY, *Islam: an Illustrated History*, New York 2002.

Lit.: DAVID PHILLIPSON, "Stuart Munro-Hay", *Azania. Journal of the British Institute in Eastern Africa* 40, 2005; "In Memoriam Stuart Munro-Hay (1947–2004)", *Aethiopica* 9, 2006, 224–29 (Lit.).

Theodore Vestal

Munzinger, Werner

M. *bāšā* (in Ethiopian sources *ato*, later *qʷənsäl* Məsənğər [Mənsəğər], in Tgn. Məstänğär *bašay*, b. 21 April 1832, Olten, d. 15 November 1875, at the ᶜUddúmma lake, ↗Awsa sultanate) was a Swiss Orientalist, ethnographer and Egyptian governor.

His father was the Swiss Minister of Finance Joseph Munzinger, one of the first presidents of the newly created Swiss state. In 1849 M. entered the University of Berne where he studied languages and history, as well as physical geography and chemistry. He continued at Munich and Paris specializing in Oriental languages. In 1852 M. went to Egypt in the services of a trading-agency, and in August 1853 he was sent to the coasts of the Red Sea, and settled at ↗Massawa. For more than one year, he studied the town and its surroundings, whilst making his living as a merchant (with goods from Alexandria) and also trying to make a name for himself as a scholar with first publications in geographical journals. In 1854 he settled at ↗Kärän in the Bogos land of the ↗Bilin as a trader. There he married a local widow, Näffaᶜ (Christian name Wälättä Maryam), adopting her son Kəflä Maryam (Kəflu, later Egyptian commander of Kärän troops Kəfle *bey*, d. mid-1875 Kärän).

M. collected a maximum of ethnographic information from his surroundings. In 1859 his study of the customs and the law of the Bogos was published. In addition, he published a first detailed map of the region, documenting the river-system of the ↗Barka-↗ᶜAnsäba, the exact position of ↗Kassala etc. Later maps of the "northern Abyssinian borderlands" (mainly today's central Eritrea) largely depended on his research as well.

In July 1861 M. participated in the German Africa Expedition (↗Expeditions), funded by Ernst I of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, known also as the Heuglin-expedition to Wadai in search of Dr. Eduard Vogel. The expedition started in Kärän and went to the land of the semi-nomadic ↗Marya (30 August to 15 September). At the end of October it continued into the highlands. Due to interpersonal differences, the expedition split into two groups in the village of May Šeka. Theodor von ↗Heuglin and Hermann Steudner proceeded to southern Ethiopia, following the expedition of Alexine Tinné (1839–69) from the Netherlands to the White Nile, whereas M. and Theodor Kinzelbach (1822–68) went westwards to the land of

the ↗Kunama ("Bazen") and the ↗Nara, where they collected important ethnographical and linguistic data (cp. also ↗Ilit and Sokodas). On 1 March 1862 they arrived at Khartoum. Later, at al-Ubayyiḍ, the capital of Kordofan, M. found confirmation for Vogel's death.

After eleven years in Africa, M. went back to Europe and reported on the results of the expedition in Gotha. On 27 May 1863 he was received by the President of Switzerland, Fornerod, in the Federal Palace Berne, where M. presented the results of his expedition. He reworked his linguistic, ethnographic and geographical notes and quickly published the results. The *Ostafrikanische Studien* (published in 1864, MunSt), later translated into Italian, are his main work. He declined, however, all offers to remain in Switzerland and in the autumn of 1864 he returned to his wife and former life. He continued his scholarly research during the subsequent years (e.g. publishing word lists of ↗Təgre and other languages), even though he became more involved in local politics. His well-researched ethnographic publications remain an important source until today.

In 1864 M. became the acting British vice-consul at Massawa, replacing vice-consul ↗Cameron. In 1865 he additionally became the French vice-consul. In 1867, when the British prepared for the intervention against *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II, M. participated in the reconnaissance party led by the British agent of Aden, Merewether. Their task was to identify a berth and a base for the troops in Egyptian territory on the coast, and adequate routes into the interior. M. served then within the intelligence department with the ↗Napier expedition. His linguistic skills (he spoke at least Arabic, Təgre, Təgrəññña and Amharic), his knowledge of the country and its leaders, and his own family networks helped to find the best routes through the difficult territory, and to successfully negotiate with the different chiefs. Despite his efforts, he did not receive the reward he had hoped for from the British Government. He received the Most Honorable Order of the Bath III, but the Vice-Consulate was thought to have become unnecessary and M. was dismissed without pay. As a French vice-consul, however, he now occupied a political key-position in the region, as several areas, such as ↗Ṣänᶜadäglä in Akkälä Guzay and Bilin of Bogos (Kärän), being close to the French ↗Lazarists' mission, were *de facto* placed under French protection.

In September 1869 he almost became the victim of an assassination attempt on his way from Kärän to Massawa, when a group of local dignitaries decided to reduce foreign influence and to eliminate M. as its most prominent agent. The three bullets nearly killed him, and it took him several months to recover. The leading figure behind the attempt was the Catholic priest *abba* ↗Ǝmnätu, who was expelled to Egyptian territory by Kaśa Mərčа (later *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV) and imprisoned at the French consulate at Massawa by M. From that moment on, M. strictly opposed the rise of Kaśa Mərčа, and went as far as threatening him with foreign intervention in 1871.

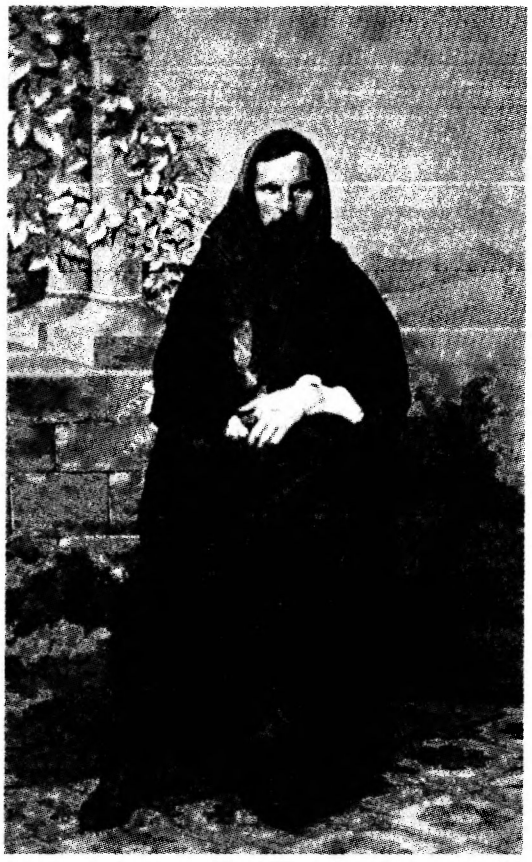
After the defeat of France in the Franco-Prussian war of 1870–71, M. was invited by the Egyptian government to enter into Egyptian services. M. was appointed governor of ↗Massawa Governorate and *bey*. From the beginning, M. energetically undertook reforms and started important investments in his Governorate. He established a telegraph line linking Massawa with the Sudanese interior and Egypt, planned a railway, built the dam (with a water pipeline) linking the island of Baṣəᶜ with the mainland, erected new government buildings at Massawa (e.g., the governor's palace on Ṭəwalät island in 1874), and set up a large-scale cotton production in the Barka lowlands. He supported both the Protestant ↗Swedish mission, at ↗Ǝmbärämi and Gäläb (↗Mänsaᶜ), and the French Lazarist mission, with their centre at Kärän (s. OMahPh). Politically he undertook strict measures against the slave trade (↗Slavery) and assured the allegiance of those tribes linked with the Ottoman Empire by a loose suzerainty or link with France; he planned the integration of the ↗salt plains (↗ᶜAfar Depression) into his Governorate. In July 1872, following an invitation by local Bilin leaders (albeit not by all), he annexed Kärän with its surroundings in the highlands, which became a source of a long history of diplomatic and armed conflicts between Egypt and Ethiopia until 1884 (the "Bogos affair"; cp. ↗Hewett Treaty).

In 1872 M. attained the rank of *bāšā*. In 1873 Massawa was integrated into the new "Governorate of the Eastern Sudan and the Red Sea Coasts" (comprising eastern Sudan from Sawākin to Khartoum, with its core partially corresponding to today's Eritrea; ↗Ottoman Empire), and M. was named as its governor-general. His successor in Massawa, who served under him, was ↗Arakel *bey* Dabroyan, an Austrian-born Egyptian official. M. continued to energetically pursue his politics of economic development. In the

same year M., through his secretary ↗Haggenmacher, presented his Red Sea Governorate and its products at the World Exhibition at Vienna. Following local customs (and allegedly encouraged by his barren wife), M. then married a second wife, the Oromo Tərungo *bint* Arakīl, freed from slave traders in Massawa (Smidt 2005). Their son, Joseph Munzinger, later lived in Cairo, then Switzerland.

In October 1875, M. was ordered by *ḫidīw* ↗Ismāᶜīl *bāšā* to lead a military-cum-settlers expedition to the kingdom of ↗Šäwa via the then still independent sultanate of Awsa, which was to be integrated into the Egyptian sphere of influence. The main aim was the establishment of an Egyptian–Šäwan alliance against *aṣe* Yoḥannəs IV. M. started from Tağūra, then formally belonging to his Red Sea Coasts Governorate as a suzerain territory. He was accompanied by Egyptian officers and soldiers, his intelligence officer Haggenmacher and several settlers, by his first wife and by *nəguś* Mənilək's ambassador to Egypt, *ras* ↗Bərru Wäldä Giyorgis. However, the Awsa *sulṭān*, pretending friendship, led them into an ambush with the help of ↗Ḥúmmad b. Loᶜoytá, and the ᶜAfar warriors annihilated almost the whole party in the night from 14 to 15 November. ᶜAfar oral tradition remembers this event as important; the battle-site is called Fursé ('place of Persians' = i.e. [Muslim] foreigners; Morin 2006:97). During the same period, other Egyptian military expeditions invaded Ḥamasen (battle of ↗Gundät), successfully annexed the Emirate of ↗Harär and also approached Ethiopia from the Sudan (cp. ↗Egyptian–Ethiopian War, 1875–76).

The exact role of M. in the Egyptian politics of expansion still needs to be assessed. Different historical accounts come to diametrically opposite results. His private papers show that he opposed Ismāᶜīl's politics of expansion; according to M., the aim of expedition to Šäwa was to make him perish or at least to remove him from his influential position, as M. planned to enter into the services of Mənilək. However, his letters to *aṣe* Yoḥannəs IV also prove that he followed his own aggressive policies. It might be that he saw his role mainly in the industrial and economical modernization of his territories, which included political measures and limited military action, but excluded full-scale military expansion (which was rather demanded by Arakel, his political adversary).



Werner Munzinger; photo 1864, courtesy of Schweizerische Landesbibliothek, Bern

After his death M. was the subject of many publications (sometimes misspelling his name as Münzinger, due to an erroneous reading of the German script). In historiography writing from an Ethiopian perspective (cp. RubInd), he is usually regarded as an enemy of Ethiopia (and too easily depicted as an "adventurer"). Eritrean historiography sometimes considers him as a precursor of the foundation of Eritrea. He is remembered positively in Kärän oral tradition as Məsənğər *bašša*y; the descendants of his adoptive son played a role as notables in that region. Swiss publications often idealize him, focusing on his life of explorer; several biographies were published in Switzerland (Keller-Zschokke 1891; Van Dovski 1954; Capus 1997, a successful biographic novel).

Src.: BTafA 951; BTafY; MARIA HÖFNER, "Überlieferungen bei Tigrē-Stämmen (I), ᶜAd Šēk", *AE* 4, 1961, 181–203, here 196f.; WERNER MUNZINGER, "Briefe vom Rothen Meere", *Zeitschrift für allgemeine Erdkunde* Neue Folge 1, 1856, 289–305; ID., "Die nordöstlichen Grenzländer von Habesch", *ibid.* 3, 1857, 187–205; ID., "Les contrés limitrophes de l'Habesch", *Nouvelles Annales des voyages, de la géographie et de l'histoire* 6 ser. 4, 2, 1858, 5–55; ID., "Note géographique sur la carte des lieux situés au Nord de l'Abyssinie", *ibid.*; ID., "Die Schohos und die Beduan bei Massaua", *Zeitschrift für allgemeine Erdkunde*, Neue Folge 6, 1859, 89–110; ID., *Ueber die Sitten und das Recht der Bogos*, Winterthur 1859; ID., "Ein Jagdausflug von Keren im Lande der Bogos nach dem Berge Zad'amba am oberen Laufe des Barka-Flusses", *Zeitschrift für allgemeine Erdkunde* Neue Folge 8, 1860, 141–51; ID., "Auszüge aus Werner Munzinger's Tagebuch, mitgetheilt von Dr. H. Barth", *ibid.* 12, 1862, 162–74, 356–63; ID., "Schluss der Expedition

unter W. Munzinger und Th. Kinzelbach, deren Rückkehr nach Europa", *Petermanns geographische Mittheilungen* 1862, 388–90; ID., "Werner Munzinger's Bericht über seine und Th. Kinzelbach's Reise nach El Obed 1862", *ibid.* 1863, 183–90; ID., "Werner Munzinger's Bericht über seine Reise von Massua [sic] nach Kordofan, 1861 und 1862", in: *Die Deutsche Expedition in Ost-Afrika, 1861 und 1862* ..., Gotha 1864 (Ergänzungsheft 13 [Petermanns geographische Mittheilungen]), 1–13; ID., "Narrative of a Journey through the Afar Country", *The Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London* 39, 1869, 188–232; ID., "Die nördliche Fortsetzung des Abessinischen Hochlandes (Neue Forschungen 1871)", *Petermanns geographische Mittheilungen* 18, 1872, 201–06; ID., "Vocabulaire de la langue Tigre", in: *DillmLex*, annex; MunSt.

Lit.: ANTHONY D'AVRAY, *Lords of the Red Sea: the History of a Red Sea Society from the Sixteenth to the Nineteenth Centuries*, Wiesbaden 1996 (AeF 45), s. index; BAIRU TAFLA, *Ethiopia and Austria: a History of their Relations*, Wiesbaden 1994 (AeF 35); ALEX CAPUS, *Munzinger Pasha*, Zürich 1997; DouinIsm III, s. index; LEE VAN DOVSKI, *Ein Leben für Afrika*, Zürich 1954; ErDizBio 215; "Munzinger, Werner", in: DIETMAR HENZE, *Enzyklopädie der Entdecker und Erforscher der Erde*, vol. 3, Graz 1993, 551–53 (Lit.); KilHDic 316; RubActa II, III, s. index; RubInd, s. index; WOLBERT SMIDT, "Before Eritrea, before the Diaspora: Habesha in Exile and on Missions Abroad in the 19th Century", in: TRICIA REDEKER HEPNER – BETTINA CONRAD (eds.), *Eritrea Abroad: Critical Perspectives on the Global Diaspora*, Trenton, NJ 2005 1–36 (= *Eritrean Studies Review* 4, 2); VALTER KELLER-ZSCHOKKE, *Werner Munzinger Pascha*, Aarau 1891; CLEMENTS ROBERT MARKHAM, *A History of the Abyssinian Expedition*, London 1869; MARTIN MÜLLER, *In Afrika verschollen*, Leipzig 1952; OMahPh, s. index; ZewYoh, s. index.

C. Detlef G. Müller – Wolbert G.C. Smidt

Murād

Ḫoǧa M. (b. ca. 1618 [or earlier], near Aleppo [Ottoman empire], d. ca. 1700, Ethiopia) was an Armenian merchant who acted as envoy of several Ethiopian kings. Born in a poor family, M. was illiterate but had a gift for languages (DonMurad 170). He may have been trading in Syria and Egypt before settling in Ethiopia ca. 1652.

Aṣe ↗Fasilädäs is reported to have sent M. regularly to al-Muḫa in Taʿizz province of Yemen to sell slaves and buy Indian merchandise, as well as to the English and Dutch East India Companies (↗United East India Companies; Bernier 1972:133f.).

In 1663 Fasilädäs sent M., accompanied by a Muslim merchant, on an embassy to ↗India, to congratulate the new Mogul emperor Awrangzīb on his ascension to the throne. With rich presents, including 25 selected slaves, horses, a zebra, two elephant's tusks, and a cow's horn filled with ↗zibeth, M. travelled from ↗Gondär via ↗Baylūl and al-Muḫā, where he sold 32 young slaves in order to cover the expenses of the journey. Via Bandar ʿAbbās he reached Surat in September 1663. During his stay there, the town was looted by Šivāǧī, the founder of the Marāṯā dynasty (Hardy in EI²). M. was taken prisoner but bought himself free with the presents. He also intervened successfully with Šivāǧī for the liberation of an Englishman. In 1664 M. and his companion arrived in Delhi. Though unable to offer presents, they were twice received by Awrangzīb, who presented them with costly gifts, including coined money, unknown in Ethiopia, which M. used to buy presents for Fasilädäs and the royal family. M. forwarded the letter in which the Ethiopian ruler allegedly requested a copy of the ↗Qurʾān and some famous Islamic works and promised Awrangzīb that he would press Fasilädäs to rebuild a ↗mosque destroyed by the Portuguese with the money the Indian ruler provided (cp. Manucci 1981:109–14; Bernier 1972:133).

In 1665 M. was on another mission to the Mogul, again bringing presents, among which a golden tree, 2 feet 4 inches high and 5 to 6 inches round the stem, with 10–12 branches (Tavernier 1889:i, XX).

In 1672 *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs I sent M. on an embassy to the Dutch governor-general in Batavia (Jakarta), loaded with presents and carrying a letter from the Emperor, written in Arabic (DonMurad 47f. [tr.] = pl. II–III [text]). M. travelled via Sūrat, the then well-known port in western India, where the Dutch lent him 1,000 rix-dollars (1674). In Malacca, M. asked the Dutch for another 100 rix-dollars. In February 1675 he arrived in Batavia where he was received according to the custom used for ambassadors; the zebras he brought were re-used as a gift to the emperor of Japan. Yoḥannəs's letter was translated into Dutch (DonMurad 46; it was later translated into Latin by ↗Ludolf and corrected by ↗Littmann). M. left in September 1675 with return presents. In November he was back in Sūrat where he also received the letter of response to carry back to Ethiopia.

M. can possibly be identified with the interpreter Murad who assisted during the visit of the Armenian bishop Hovhannes in 1679 (GuiIohan 39).

M. was sent again to Batavia by *aṣe* ↗Iyasu I in 1689, carrying once again a letter introducing the new Emperor (s. DonMurad 62f. [tr.] = pl. III–IV [text]). He arrived in May 1691. The letter was translated and forwarded. M. left in September, a few days after attending the ceremony of the

transfer of the function of governor-general. At M.'s departure, the loan of 1674 was acquitted (s. DonMurad 65ff. [tr.] = pl. V–IX [text]).

During his second stay in Batavia, M. answered the 13 questions regarding Ethiopia formulated by Ludolf and sent to M. via al-Muḫa back in 1685 (DonMurad 55ff.). M.'s answers were recorded by a Dutchman, Paulos de Roo (ibid. 70ff.; they were published by Ludolf in Latin translation in 1693).

In the beginning of 1693 M. was back in Massawa. His merchandise and the presents for the Emperor were confiscated by *nā'ib* Mūsā b. ʿUmar b. Qunnu. On receiving the news, Iyasu I, who was then in Aksum, ordered a food blockade against Massawa, whereupon Mūsā restored the merchandise and submitted to Iyasu (GuiIohan 171). Among the presents M. had received in Batavia were spices and two Dutch bells, which were hung in the church of ↗Däbrä Bərhan Śəllase in Gondär (DonMurad 84ff.).

In 1694 M. set out for Batavia once again, with another letter from Iyasu, apparently a simple letter of thanks accompanied by presents (s. DonMurad 87ff.). He arrived in Batavia in September 1696 travelling via al-Muḫa, Goa, Surat, Malabar, Ceylon and Coromandel. During his long stay in Batavia, he answered another questionnaire with 24 further questions by Ludolf (s. sources in ibid. 89–104). The reply letter M. took with him in 1697 mentions the return presents and expresses the wish to establish trade relations with Ethiopia (ibid. 107–10). Accompanied by the Dutchman Theodorus Zas, an employee of the ↗United East Indies Company who wanted to explore the trade opportunities on the spot, M. arrived in al-Muḫa in May 1698, and travelled on by himself to Massawa. He insisted on taking the presents along to give them to the king but refused to take Zas without the king's explicit permission (an excuse judged open to suspicion by Ludolf and the Dutch, ibid. 149-60). In July, he sent word that he had transmitted the letter from Batavia to the king. Since no further information was received, Zas abandoned the plan of going to Ethiopia and left for Surat in 1699.

M. is not mentioned in foreign sources after 1700/01 (ibid. 148, 168f.); he most probably died of old age around that time (ibid. 168f.). In any case, when Iyasu I needed a messenger to France in 1700, he sent M.'s nephew, ↗Murād b. Madlūm.

↗Armenians

Src.: FRANÇOIS BERNIER, *Travels in the Mogul Empire A.D. 1656–1668*, tr. by IRVING BROCK, ed. by ARCHIBALD CONSTABLE, New Delhi ³1972; GuiIohan 39, [tr.] 171; JOBI LUDOLFI, *Relatio nova de hodierno Habeßiniae statu* ..., Francofurti ad Moenum 1693; JEAN-BAPTISTE TAVERNIER, *Travels in India*, tr. by VALENTINE BALL, 2 vols., London – New York 1889, ed. by WILLIAM CROOKE, ²1925; NICCOLAO MANUCCI, *Storia Do Mogor or Mogul India: 1653–1708*, tr. by WILLIAM IRVINE, New Delhi 1981, vol. 2, 109–14.

Lit.: DonMurad (Lit.); P. HARDY, " Marāthās", in: *EI²*, vol. 6, 534–36; ENNO LITTMANN, "Iets over de betrekkingen tusschen Nederland en Abessinië in de zeventiende eeuw", *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië* 54, 1902, 477–500; RICHARD PANKHURST, "The History of Ethiopian–Armenian Relations" [part I], *Revue des Etudes Arméniennes* 12, 1977, 273–345.

Emeri van Donzel

Murād b. Madlūm

M. (مراد ابن مدلوم, recte b. Maẓlūm, called M. "the younger", also Murād ibn Magdelon, Murad Celebi, b. Diyarbakır, Turkey, d. 1707, al-Muḫā or Muscat) was an Armenian merchant and envoy. The nephew of *ḫoğa* ↗Murād, he came to the fore at ↗Gondär in the spring of 1700, when the French physician Charles ↗Poncet was about to return to France. *Aṣe* ↗Iyasu I decided to seize the occasion to despatch an embassy to King Louis XIV of France. Since the elder Murād was apparently too old to travel, the mission was entrusted to his nephew – of whom he also desired, perhaps, to rid himself as "of a troublsome hanger-on" (Foster 1946:XXVIII; cp. DonMurad 244 n. 99).

M., who left with Poncet, encountered many difficulties. An elephant and horses intended as gifts for the French monarch died before reaching the coast. He thereupon returned to Gondär to procure replacements, while Poncet proceeded to ↗Massawa to arrange the Red Sea passage. M.'s joruney was delayed by the death of the Emperor's favourite son, Fasil, with the result that Poncet arrived in Egypt alone. M. meanwhile succeeded in crossing to Arabia with a number of young slaves, but these were seized by the ruler of Mecca, and he was subsequently ship-wrecked.

M. reached Cairo in 1701. There, he met with the distrust of the French consul, Charles de Maillet, and the enmity of Poncet, but also with the support of the local ↗Jesuits who thought he could help them to facilitate their re-admission to Ethiopia. After some discussions, it was arranged that Poncet and the Jesuit Father Verseau should go to France and present the letter brought by M. to Louis XIV along with some presents. The King accepted the letter and sent

in turn some presents. Back in Cairo Poncet, the Jesuit Father Du Bernat and M. were dispatched to Ethiopia, leaving Suez in November 1703. At Jeddah, Poncet and M. quarrelled and parted company. The latter did not go to Gondär but continued his wanderings. Witness to the authenticity of his mission was subsequently borne by the successor of Iyasu I, ↗Täklä Haymanot. Writing to the *bāšā* of Cairo, he claimed that he could "repay" him to "revenge the insult offered to the man Murād sent on our part".

Src.: BassÉt II, 380 n. 370, 382 n. 385; DonMurad 168, 244 n. 99; WILLIAM FOSTER, *The Red Sea and Adjacent Countries at the Close of the Seventeenth Century*, London 1946, xxviii–xxxiii (s. index); JOACHIM LE GRAND, *Voyage historique d'Abyssinie*, Amsterdam 1728, 163, 173f., 368, 376–79, 402, 412, 434.

Lit.: RICHARD PANKHURST, "The History of Ethiopian–Armenian Relations" [part I], *Revue des Etudes Arméniennes* 12, 1977, 273–345.

Richard Pankhurst

Murād Kāmil

M.K. (مراد كامل, b. 1907, Cairo, d. 16 January 1975, Cairo) was an Egyptian scholar of Semitic and Ethiopian studies. Born in a family of a wealthy Coptic Christian, M.K. studied Arabic literature and Semitic philology at the King Fouad University in Cairo and from 1931 to 1935 at the universities of Berlin and Tübingen. At Tübingen, under the direction of Enno ↗Littmann, he obtained a Ph.D. with a scholarly edition of the Gəᶜəz version of the *Sefer Yosippon* (↗*Zena Ayhud*), based on twelve mss. (BN Paris, d'Abbadie 38).

M.K. taught Aramaic and Ethiopian languages and Arabic literature at the Fouad University in Cairo. From 1943 to 1945, following a call by ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I, he was in charge of a project funded by the Egyptian government to enforce ↗education standards in Ethiopia. With a delegation of Egyptian teachers, he helped setting up elementary and commercial schools, and a Coptic Theologic seminar. Soon he was named vice-secretary of the Ministry of Education in Ethiopia with the title of *liqä maᵓəmməran* ('head of the learned'; ↗*liq*) and helped establishing an academy whose main aim was to standardize Amharic technical terms. During his stay, which he later described in the book *Das Land des Negus* (1953), he also translated Ethiopian historical texts from Gəᶜəz into Amharic.

In 1945, M.K. went back to Cairo and taught Arabic literature and Semitic philology at the Fouad University. In the early 1950s he re-established the Language school of the University College originally founded by Muḥammad ᶜAlī. He was member of several scientific societies. After becoming Emeritus Professor, he was Visiting Professor for Semitic Studies at the University of Freiburg/Breisgau in 1967.

M.K. was a prolific scholar with a wide scope of interests. His most important contribution to general Semitic studies is the analysis of the development of the four radical verbs in the modern Semitic languages, including observations on Amharic, ↗Təgre, ↗Təgrəññña, ↗Harari and ↗Gurage (1963).

In Arabic studies, M.K. edited the 6th vol. of Ibn Sīda's dictionary *Kitāb al-Muḥkam wal-muḥīṭ al-aᶜẓam fī l-luġa* (1972) and Ibn ᶜAbdaẓẓāhir's *Tašrīf al-ayyām wal-ᶜuṣūr fī sīrat al-malik al-Manṣūr* (1961). He described 50 manuscripts from the Littmann Collection in Tübingen (1936), acquired during the latter's travels in Aksum, Jerusalem and Cairo in the beginning of the 20th cent. In addition, he produced a first inventory on the more than 5,000 manuscripts from the Library of St. Catherine's Monastery in Sinai (1970).

In Ethiopian studies, beside his edition of the *Zena Ayhud* (1938), remarkable was his edition of Amharic "royal songs" (1957), which is a modern pendant to the Old Amharic royal songs of the 14th cent., edited by Guidi in 1889 and translated by Littmann in 1914. During his stay in Ethiopia M.K. had collected twelve panegyric songs performed during the celebrations of the birthday of Ḫaylä Śəllase I in 1944 and 1945, which are especially important as a repertory for the grammar and lexicographic study of Amharic. He also wrote an essay in Arabic on ↗*qəne* (1948; tr. into Germ. by Schall).

M.K. contributed to the scholarship of the varied history of Ethiopia and its neighbours by publishing pastoral letters, mostly in Arabic, sent by the 18th and 19th-cent. Alexandrian Patriarchs to Ethiopian metropolitans. He also edited ↗Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-Ḥaymī's *Sīrat al-Ḥabaša* (1958), and used, in addition to the ms. Leiden Or. 2600, a Yemeni manuscript from the library of a descendant of the author, Qāḍī Luṭf Muḥammad al-Ḥaymī (1083 H. [1672 A.D.]). A detailed introduction on the author (pp. 5–90), the itinerary and foreign relations of Ethiopia, is added to the edition. However, he had omitted the concluding section of the text (1958, ²1972). With *ato* Yona Boggalä, M.K. also produced an Amharic translation of Castanhoso's text (1944) using Littmann's German version (1907).

M.K. contributed to the divulgation of Coptic culture and traditions as an important part of the history of Egypt, among which was the publication of the Berlin Academy *Aspects de l'Egypte Copte* (1965). Besides his studies on Syrian and Arabian history, he wrote accounts of his travels to Eritrea and Lake Ṭana in Arabic (1946, 1947).

Src.: MIGUEL DE CASTANHOSO, *Die Heldentaten des Dom Christoph da Gama in Abessinien: Nach dem portugiesischen Bericht des Miguel de Castanhoso*, ed., tr. by ENNO LITTMANN, Berlin 1907; ID., *የፖርቱጋሎች፡ ጀግንነት* (*Yäportugaločč ǧägnənnät*, 'The Valour of the Portuguese'), tr. by MURAD KAMIL – *ato* YONA BOGGALÄ, Addis Abäba 1944; AL-ḤASAN B. AḤMAD al-ḤAYMĪ, *Sīrat al-Ḥabaša* ('The Expedition to Ethiopia'), ed. by MURĀD KĀMIL, Cairo 1958, ²1972; ᶜABDALLĀH IBN ᶜABDAZZĀHIR, *Tašrīf al-ayyām wal-ᶜuṣūr fī sīrat al-malik al-Manṣūr* ('Honouring of Days and Epochs on the Biography of the King Manṣūr'), ed. by MURĀD KĀMIL, Cairo 1961; ᶜALĪ B. ISMĀᶜĪL IBN SĪDA, *Kitāb al-Muḥkam wal-muḥīṭ al-aᶜẓam fī l-luġa* ('The Book of the Precise and of the Huge Ocean on the Language'), vol. 6, ed. by MURĀD KĀMIL, Cairo 1392 H. [1972 A.D.]; MURĀD KĀMIL, *Die abessinischen Handschriften der Sammlung Littmann in Tübingen*, Leipzig 1936 (Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes 21, 8); ID., "Arabischer Einfluß auf die nubische Sprache", *ZDMG* 91, 1937, 616–29; ID., *Des Josef ben Gorion (Josippon) Geschichte der Juden* **ዜና፡ አይሁድ** *nach den Handschriften in Berlin, London, Oxford, Paris und Strassburg*, New York 1938; ID., "Translations from Arabic in Ethiopic Literature", *Bulletin de la Société d'Archéologie Copte* 5, 1939, 61–71; ID., "Letters to Ethiopia from the Coptic Patriarchs, Yoʾannas XVIII (1770–1796) and Morqos VIII (1796–1809)", *ibid.* 8, 1942, 89–143; ID., *Arītrīyā, mušāhadāt wa-āmāl* ('Eritrea, Visions and Hopes'), Cairo 1946; ID., *Ḥawl mašrūᶜ Buḥayrat Ṭānā* ('On the Project of the Lake Ṭana'), Cairo 1947; ID., "*al-Qinī – lawn min aš-šiᶜr al-ḥabašī*" ('Qenē – a Genre of Ethiopian Poetry'), *Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts (Cairo)* 10, 1948, 77–104 (Germ. tr. by ANTON SCHALL, *Zur äthiopischen Verskunst, eine Studie über die Metra des Qenē auf Grund der Abhandlung al-Qenē laun min aš-šiᶜr al-ḥabašī, von Dr. Murad Kamil*, Wiesbaden 1961, 5, 9–137); ID., *Fihrist maktabat Dayr Sant Katrīn bi-ṭūr Sīnāʾ* ('Catalogue of the Library of the Monastery of St. Catherine on the Mountain of Sinai'), Cairo 1951 [s. also ID. 1970 below]; ID., *Das Land des Negus*, Innsbruck 1953; ID., "De certains termes techniques en langue Amharique", *Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts, Cairo* 15, 1953, 189–96; ID., *Zwischen Nil und Euphrat, Auszüge aus den Werken deutscher Schriftsteller und Orientalisten, ausgewählt* ..., Cairo 1955; ID., "Zur Bildung der vierradikaligen Verben in den lebenden semitischen Sprachen", in: *Studi Orientalistici in onore di Giorgio Levi della Vida*, vol. 1, Roma 1956 (Pubblicazioni dell'Istituto per l'Oriente 52), 459–83; ID., *Amharische Kaiserlieder, aufgezeichnet, umschrieben und übersetzt*, Wiesbaden 1957 (Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes 32, 4); ID., *Beiträge zur Entstehung der vierradikaligen Verben in den gesprochenen semitischen Sprachen*, Le Caire 1963 (Mémoires présentés à l'Institut d'Egypte, 57); ID., "An Ethiopic Inscription Found at Mareb", *JSS* 9, 1964, 56–57; ID., *Aspects de l'Égypte copte*, Berlin 1965 (Berliner byzantinistische Arbeiten 31); ID., *Coptic Egypt*, Cairo 1968; ID., *Ḥaḍārat Miṣr fī l-ᶜaṣr al-qibṭī* ('The Civilization of Egypt in the Coptic Epoch'), Cairo 1968; ID., *al-Lahağāt al-ᶜarabīya al-ḥadīṯa fī l-Yaman* ('Modern Arabic Dialects in Yemen'), Cairo 1968; ID., *Catalogue of all Manuscripts in the Monastery of St. Catharine on Mount Sinai*, Wiesbaden 1970.

Lit.: JULIUS ASSFALG, "Totentafel", *OrChr* 61, 1977, 138; KAMAL SABRI KOLTA, "Murad Kamil (1907–1975)", *ZDMG* 127, 1977, 6–7 [with picture].

Franz-Christoph Muth

Murle

Murle language

M. is a South-western ↗Surmic language (↗Nilo-Saharan) which is spoken by people also referred to as M. Most M. speakers live in Sudan's Upper Nile district (60,000), the M. having migrated clockwise around Lake ↗Turkana (Arensen 1992:24). 200 isolated M. left from migration in Ethiopia have mostly changed to the ↗Ñaŋatom language (Tornay 1981). A few other M., still part of M.-speaking society, herded cattle in far western ↗Käfa. Fighting in Sudan displaced hundreds more into Ethiopia. M. is not listed in the 1994 census.

Linguistically M. fits general Surmic patterns (tones, implosives, VSO order). Consonant system is: labials *p*, *b*, *ɓ*, *f*, *v*, *m*, *w*; dentals *t̪*, *d̪*; alveolars *t*, *d*, *ɗ*, *s*, *z*, *n*, *l*, *r*; palatals *č*, *ǧ*, *ñ*, *y*; velars *k*, *g*, *ŋ*. Vowel system is: *i*, *e*, *ɛ*, *a*, *u*, *o*, *ɔ*. Vowel length is phonemic (Arensen 1982:10f.). M. is a tonal language, though the sources available do not mark tones. The canonical maximum syllable is CVVC.

M. has four noun cases, with the accusative unmarked and the rest marked with suffixes: nominative *-i/-ɛ*, genitive *-o*, locative/instrumental *-a* (with various suffixes for plural forms). Nouns are marked for number in a variety of ways, often with separate suffixes for singular and plural forms (according to Arensen 1982:28, there are 18 classes of nouns with regard to number marking).

Adjectival functions are realized by intransitive verbs, often in relative clauses:

k-ačin	*naana*	*eet*	*či*	*amoor*
1SG-see	I	man	REL	sick

'I see the sick man'

The possessives in M. mark the number of the possessed as well as the possessor: *čan* 'my (sg.)', *čigan* 'my (pl.)', *činaaŋ* 'our (sg.)', *čineeŋ* 'our (pl.)', etc.

In verbs, the tense/aspect system differentiates between perfective, imperfective, and subjunctive (Arensen 1982:59). Person and number of

subjects is marked by a combination of prefixes and suffixes. Inclusive/exclusive is distinguished in the 1st pers. pl.

'to ask'	imperfective	perfective	subjunctive
1st sg.	*k-a-ğin*	*k-i-ğin-a*	*k-i-ğin*
2nd sg.	*a-ğin*	*i-ğin-u*	*ğin*
3rd sg.	*a-ğin*	*i-ğin-(un)*	*k-i-ğin*
1st pl. incl.	*k-a-ğin*	*k-i-ğin-it*	*k-i-ğin-it*
1st pl. excl.	*k-a-ğin-na*	*k-i-ğin-t-a*	*k-i-ğin-t-a*
2nd pl.	*a-ğin-nu*	*i-ğin-t-u*	*i-ğin-it*
3rd pl.	*a-ğin*	*i-ğin-it*	*k-i-ğin-it*

Suffixes mark person and number of direct object. Suffixes also mark reciprocal, passive, and direction on verbs. Verbal negation is marked with preverbal *ŋaan* or *alaŋ*.

Independent pronouns differ for case but do not distinguish between inclusive/exclusive (Arensen 1982:89ff.):

	nominative	accusative
1st sg.	*naana*	*aneeta*
2nd sg.	*niina*	*ineeta*
3rd sg.	*niini*	*nɔɔnɔ*
1st pl.	*naaga*	*ageeta*
2nd pl.	*niiga*	*igeeta*
3rd pl.	*niigi*	*nɔɔgɔ*

Demonstrative pronouns are: *ničini* 'this', *ničiğ̌i* 'these', *čo* 'that', *čoğ̌o* 'those'.

The basic word order is V[erb] – S[ubject] – O[bject], which is combined with postpositions, and with final position of question words (a typologically rare combination, s. Unseth 1987):

Awot	*taŋ*	*maam*	*ŋaa*
drink	cow	water	where

'Where is the cow drinking water?'

The ten-word list for M. is: 'one' *adoi*, 'two' *ram*, 'three' *iiyu*, 'fire' *goo*, 'water' *mam*, 'moon' *ñɛlok*, 'sun' *kɔr*, 'blood' *biyi*, 'tongue' *aat*, 'tooth' *ñigitat*, 'tree' *kɛɛt*.

The New Testament in M. was published in 1996.

Src.: RAYMOND G. GORDON (ed.), *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*, Dallas, TX [15]2005, 117.

Lit.: JONATHAN ARENSEN, *Murle Grammar*, Juba 1982 (Occasional Papers in the Study of Sudanese Languages 2); ID., *Mice are Men: Language and Society among the Murle*, Dallas, TX 1992 (International Museum of Cultures Publication 27); SERGE TORNAY, "The Omo Murle Enigma", in: M. LIONEL BENDER (ed.), *Peoples and Cultures of the Ethio-Sudan Borderlands*, East Lansing, MI 1981, 33–60 (Northeast African Studies Monograph 10); PETER UNSETH, "A Typological Anomaly in Some Surma Languages", *Studies in African Linguistics* 18, 1987, 357–61.

Peter Unseth

Murle ethnography

The M. are a Sudanese agro-pastoral population of the White Nile basin, living around Pibor between the Lotilla and Kengen rivers. A minority is located in the Sudan not far from the Ethiopian border, on the Boma Plateau. Early explorers of the Lower Omo Valley, both before and after the conquest of the area by *ras* ↗Wäldä Giyorgis (1898–99), mentioned a third M. group. Since the 1950s, M. is nothing but a place name, on the eastern side of the Omo river and south of the Karo river. Thus the Omo M. had become a "ghost tribe" by the mid-20th cent. Except maybe as Sudanese refugees around ↗Gambella, there is no Ethiopian M. ("Omo Murle") community any more.

In 1895 Donaldson Smith, proceeding upstream along the east bank of the Omo found, to the south of Lake Dipa, just where "M." survives as a place name, three large M. villages of ca. 200 huts each. Smith (1896:228) estimated their population at 10,000, which, although a likely exaggeration, reflects M. prosperity. Only few small stock could be kept in the vicinity of the river, but the M. were experts in riverbank sorghum cultivation. At the turn of the 20th cent. travellers insisted on the disastrous effects of the Ethiopian conquest on the Lower Omo Valley inhabitants. In 1909 Stigand collected the first evidence of sleeping sickness ("sleepiness"). Explorations ceased and the area was forgotten for half a century.

The Sudanese M. – the main body of the tribe – had a very original political system. "Red chiefs", owners of the land, ruled "black commoners". Sacred drums symbolized chieftainship and played a central role in public affairs. M. country was divided into four "drumships" which were the major territorial and political divisions. The Larim are said to originate from the junior drumship of the M. (Lewis 1972). Boma M. and Omo M. had similar institutions. In interviews of the 1970s the ↗Ñaŋatom declared that, a decade or so after the conquest, "sleepiness" wiped out riverain villages, including their own. M. survivors fled to the Boma Plateau, while others took refuge among the pastoral Ñaŋatom of Kibiš to whom they soon assimilated. In that period, only a few old women remembered some M. vocabulary (s. Tornay 1981). But "M." was a clan name in the *Ngi-ngarič* section of the Ñaŋatom. The name *Ngi-ngarič* is clearly derived from *Ngandareč*. According to Lewis (1972:59), "the Murle always say that the Ngandareč are a Longarim

Murle solving a dispute; photo 1975, courtesy of the author

Lit.: CHRISTIAN BADER, *Les guerriers nus aux confins de l'Éthiopie*, Payot 2002; CHARLES GABRIEL SELIGMAN — BRENDA Z. SELIGMAN, *Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan*, London 1932.; A. DONALDSON SMITH, "Expedition through Somaliland to Lake Rudolf", *Geographical Journal* 8, 1896, 221–39; OSAMU HIEDA, "Omo-Murle, a Preliminary Report", *Journal of Swahili and African Studies* 2, 1991, 73–91.

Serge Tornay

clan, and orote, who brought the drum, came from the Ngandareč Murle on the Omo river in Ethiopia". In their ethno-histories the M., like the Larim and the Didinga, claim that in ancient times they came from the East, from places like the Lower Omo Valley which eventually became part of Ethiopia.

A characteristic cultural feature of the M. in the Lower Omo Valley was a large conical lip-plug for women, a piece of wood or of zebu horn, 7–8 cm in diameter. In the 1910s and 1920s the Seligmans found this type of lip-plugs used by Longarim women. Today, neither the Larim nor the M. wear such ornaments any more, no doubt under the influence of the Toposa and the Ñaŋatom whose wives carry tiny plates of twisted copper thread. Ethiopian Surma (↗Surmic), especially the ↗Mursi, keep up to this day impressive lip-plugs. The large, round-shaped disks of terra-cotta of Mursi women, which became a logo for advertising for touristic expeditions, are quite different. The women of the ↗Čai and ↗Tirmaga, living to the West of the Omo, also wear these, in addition to large wooden, duck-bill shaped lip discs up to 18 cm in diameter. Like for the Omo M. of the past, such ornaments keep working as identity markers of Surmic-speakers in south-western Ethiopia (Bader 2002:105).

Src.: BAZETT A. LEWIS, *The Murle, Red Chiefs and Black Commoners*, Oxford 1972; SERGE TORNAY, "The Omo Murle Enigma", in: MARVIN LIONEL BENDER (ed.), *Peoples and Cultures of the Ethio-Sudan Borderlands* (Northeast African Studies Monograph 10), East Lansing, MI 1981, 33–60; LUDWIG VON HÖHNEL, "Ostäquatorial Afrika zwischen Pangani und dem neuentdeckten Rudolf-See", *Petermann's Ergänzungsheft* 99, 1890, 37f.

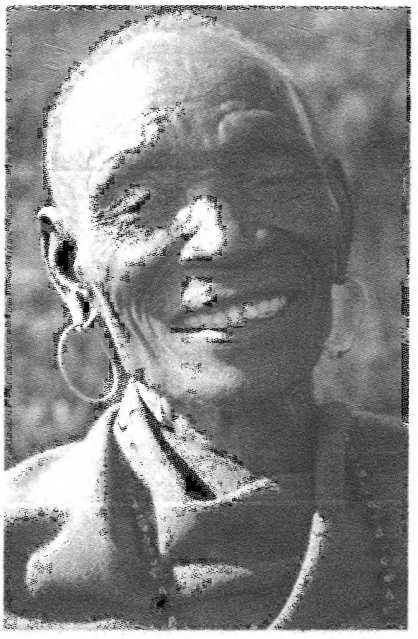
Mursi

The M. (self-name: Mun, sg. Muni) number less than 10,000 (1994 Census, CSA 1996) and live in the Lower Omo Valley. Their territory (2,000 km²), in the South Omo Zone of Ethiopia's Southern Regional State, is bounded by the rivers Omo to the west and Mago to the east, and lies within and between the Omo and Mago National Parks. Their language belongs to the ↗Čai-Tirma-Mursi dialect cluster. Amongst neighbouring groups, their closest cultural and linguistic links are with the more numerous (ca. 25,000) ↗Suri (known as Čai to the M.), who live west of the Omo and south of ↗Maği (Turton 1981).

Often described by highlanders and government officials as pastoral nomads, the M. in fact depend heavily on cultivation, mainly of sorghum and maize. There are two harvests each year, one along the banks of the Omo, where flood retreat cultivation is practiced, and one along the Omo's westward flowing tributaries, where forested areas are cleared for rain-fed cultivation. The flood crop is planted in September and October, as the flood recedes, and harvested in December and January. The rain-fed crop is planted as soon as the main rains have begun, during March and April, and harvested in June or July. The onset, duration and spatial distribution of the rains varies greatly, however, from one year to the next. It is the unpredictability of the rains, coupled with the limited area available for flood retreat cultivation, that makes cattle herding a vital additional resource for the M. Apart from providing an important source of protein, in the form

of milk, blood and meat, cattle and small stock can also be exchanged for grain in the nearby highlands during times of local crop failure and may thus provide a last defence against starvation for many families.

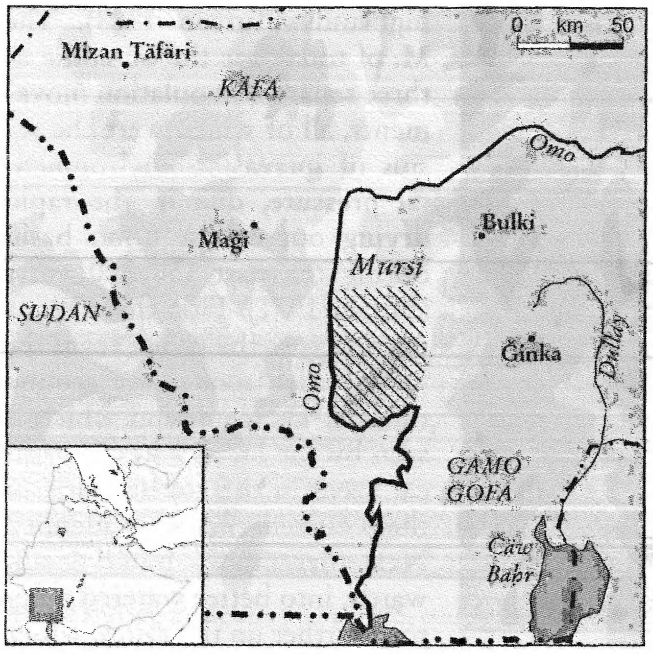
Although not primarily dependent on pastoral products for subsistence, the M. attribute overwhelming cultural importance to cattle, and virtually every significant social relationship – most notably marriage – is marked and validated by the exchange of cattle. Bridewealth (ideally consisting of 38 head of cattle) is handed over by the groom's family to the bride's father, who has to meet the demands of a wide range of relatives, from different clans, who have a right to share in the cattle of bridewealth. As amongst other East African herders, men are formed into named "age sets", and pass through a series of "age grades", from warriorhood to elderhood. Political leadership is exercised by individual elders who have achieved a position of influence in the local community, largely through their oratorical and debating skills. The only formally defined leadership role in the society is that of *komoru*, or Priest, an inherited office which is principally of religious and ritual significance. The priest embodies in his person the well-being of the group as a whole and acts as a means of communication between the community and God (*tumwi*), especially when it is threatened by such events as drought, crop pests and disease. Two distinctive features of M. society are ceremonial duelling (*ṯagine*), engaged in by local teams of young men (Turton 2002) and the large pottery discs or plates (*debiña*) which are worn by women in their lower lips and may reach twelve or more centimetres in diameter (Turton 2004).



Ulikoro Konyonomora, the *komoru* (priest) of the northern Mursi; photo 2004, courtesy of Ben Dome

The M. became part of the Ethiopian state in the last years of the 19th cent., as *aṣe* Mənilək II established his control over what is now the southern region of the country. But they should not be thought of as an historically permanent and territorially bounded "culture" or "society". They are, rather, a relatively recent product of a large scale migratory movement of cattle-herding people in the general direction of the Ethiopian highlands (Turton 1988). The M. of today are the outcome of three separate population movements, all of which were the result of increasing environmental pressure, due to the rapid drying out of the Omo basin during the past 150–200 years (Butzer 1971). First there was a move across the Omo, from the west, which took place around the mid-19th cent. and which is seen by the M. as a key historical event in the construction of their current political identity. Next there was a move northwards, into better watered territory further up the valley, which took place in the early years of the last century. Finally, there was a third move, beginning in the early 1980s, which took the migrants still further into the upland plains of the lower Omo and into close and regular contact with their highland neighbours, the plough-cultivating ↗Aari. Each of these moves was made, initially, by a small group of families who travelled a relatively short distance to a new place on the frontier of the settled area. As the pioneers established themselves, they were followed, over succeeding years, by a drift of individuals and families. Each move was explained by the migrants as a response to environmental pressure and as part of a continuing effort to find and occupy a "cool place", a place blessed with riverside forest for cultivation and well watered grassland for cattle herding.

This search for a "cool place" has been brought to an abrupt halt over the past 20 years, as the M. have come face to face with the much more powerful "place-making" activities of the Ethiopian state (Turton 2005). At the same time, the range of items which have become necessary for a satisfactory lifestyle, but which are beyond their technological capacity to produce, has steadily expanded. These now include plastic gerry cans, aluminium pots, cotton cloth, blankets and commercially produced clothes. They have also come into increasing contact with the emissaries of the world of late modernity, including tourists, missionaries and anthropologists. Tourists are attracted to the Lower Omo by the image presented to them in travel agents' brochures of one of the last "wildernesses" in the world, inhabited



by wild animals, naked warriors and, in the case of the M., by women wearing large lip-plates. But it is their growing dependence on market exchange which drives M. women to play the demeaning part of archetypal primitives, as they line up, wearing lip-plates and elaborate body painting, to be photographed by passing tourists in exchange for a few *bərr* (Turton 2004).

Src.: CSA 1996.

Lit.: KARL BUTZER, *Recent History of an Ethiopian Delta: the Omo River and the Level of Lake Rudolf*, Chicago 1971 (Department of Geography. Research Paper 136); DAVID TURTON, "Le Mun (Mursi)", in: JEAN PERROT (ed.), *Les langues dans le monde ancien et moderne*, Paris, 1981, 335–49; ID., "Looking for a Cool Place: the Mursi, 1890s–1990s", in: DAVID M. ANDERSON – DOUGLAS H. JOHNSON (eds.), *The Ecology of Survival: Case Studies from Northeast African History*, London 1988, 261–82; ID., "The Same Only Different: War and Duelling as Boundary Marking Rituals in Mursiland, Southwestern Ethiopia", in: TIM CORNELL (ed.), *War and Games*, Woodbridge, Suffolk 2002, 171–92; ID., "Lip-plates and the People Who Take Photographs: Uneasy Encounters between Mursi and Tourists in Southern Ethiopia", *Anthropology Today* 20, 3, 2004, 3–8; ID., "The Meaning of Place in a World of Movement: Lessons from Long Term Field Research in Southern Ethiopia", *Journal of Refugee Studies* 18, 3, 2005, 258–80.

David Turton

Mūsā ᶜAlī

M.ᶜA. (موسى علی; ᶜAfar: Musaᶜálli) is an area and a large volcano situated on the borders between Eritrea, ↗Djibouti and Ethiopia. The area, dominated to the north by the volcano, is formed by solidified lava effusions, elevated hills and deep gorges. The M.ᶜA. volcano, situated on the northern border of Djibouti, is of elliptic shape, 35 km in length and 20 km in width. Its origins are recent, between 1 million to 150,000 years ago. Its peak at 2,021 m A.S.L. (12° 27' 55 N, 42° 24' 7 E) is the highest elevation in Djibouti. It stands on the boundary between the "Danakil horst" (ᶜAfar Alps) and the ↗ᶜAfar Depression, in a zone characterized by strong tectonic activities: the "Danakil horst", belonging to the Arabian plate, is slowly moving towards the north-north-east.

The emissions of the volcano are basically trachytes (90 % of the volume) as well as immense lava flows on the south-western foot, bordering the plain of Buya: in Asa Gera, Eger Dag and Ounda Eger Dag. Towards the southeastern slopes cones of volcanic scoria have been formed, the most remarkable being that of Faffahto, composed of porphyry rock and 672 m high.

The M.ᶜA. volcano, though in large part semi-desertic and of no economic interest, has strategic importance. Following the Ciano-Laval agreements of 1935 between Italy and France, the latter integrated the M.ᶜA. into the territory of the Côte française des Somalis. From there the French could control the traffic between ↗ᶜAsäb and Addis Abäba as well as eventual troop movements. In exchange, France ceded part of the western borders of the Côte française des Somalis, in particular the depression formed by Lake Abbe, to Italy. These border arrangements, which were never ratified, are today the source of disputes between Eritrea, Ethiopia and Djibouti.

In 1989, a telecommunications centre was installed on the slope of the volcano, 1,300 A.S.L., which is accessible through a track departing from the Margoyta depression.

Lit.: ANDRÉ-MICHEL BERGER – JEAN-DOMINIQUE PENEL, *Invitation au voyage. Djibouti*, Djibouti 1997; PATRICK FRILET – P. EROUART-SIAD, *Djibouti*, Brumath 1999; MorDicAfar 228f.; PIERRE VELLUTINI – PATRICK PIGUET, *Djibouti. Itinéraires géologiques*, Djibouti 1994, ²2001.

Colette Dubois

Muse ↗Titles for Europeans

Muse

M. (ሙሴ, fl. second half of the 4th cent.?) is traditionally deemed to be a successor of Frumentius (*abba* ↗Sälama Käśate Bərhan) as a metropolitan (↗*Pappas*) of the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox Church. He might have held office in ↗Aksum immediately after ↗Minas, sometimes called "Sälama II" (a name seemingly given, instead, to M. himself

in the *Dərsanä Raguʾel*, ed. Caquot 1957:103), and before the long "vacancy" of the Ethiopian see – until the mid of the 9th cent. (↗Yoḥannes).

The information on M., whose name does not appear in the traditional lists of metropolitans, is yielded by his much later (18th cent.?) Vita, unpublished and hitherto only known from a scant summary: he came to Ethiopia twelve years after Frumentius, and built several churches in ↗Amhara (KinBibl 85, no. 119). An accessible manuscript of this text is kept, however, at the monastery of Yäčəra Mädḫane ᶜAläm in ↗Wadla (↗Wällo). There it is stated that the lenghty hagiography of M. has been compiled at the nearby "Dəbba", clearly referred to in the (Amharic) hagiotoponym ↗Yädəbba Maryam, designating the church at Gärsa in ↗Dawənt (Wällo), ca. 8 km to the north-west of the central market (*gäbäya*), within a monastic complex also named, after him, Däbrä Abunä Muse. Here an exemplar of the Vita seems to have been preserved of which the Yäčəra Mädḫane ᶜAläm manuscript is probably a copy.

In the latter manuscript, among many fabulous details (including a visit of M. to ↗India, so as to get the blessing of St. Thomas's hand), one reads that M. was of Egyptian origin, the son of the nobles Justus ("Yosṭos, son of Yosef") and Priscilla (Ṗeresqela), and became a king with the name of Anastasius (Anəsṭəsəyos, recalling the homonymous Byzantine emperor), abdicated in favour of his son Yonani (also well-known in Ethiopian literature, esp. the ↗*Sənkəssar*, as a Byzantine emperor, s. Marrassini 1983:386f.), and retired then to the desert of Scete (Wādī n-Nāṭrūn), where he took the monastic habit from Macarius the Great; eventually, on the request for a metropolitan by the holy Kings ↗Abrəha and Aṣbəḥa, he was appointed and sent to Ethiopia (*Mängəśta Azeb*, 'The Kingdom of the South') by Patriarch ↗Athanasius of Alexandra.

At the end of the manuscript, there is a series of liturgical commemorations with the obituary of "the abbots [*mämhəran*] of the sanctuary of Mary in the land of Dawənt", i.e. of Yädəbba Maryam. As to M., it is said that on 20 *Säne* he was taken by the angels to the highest heaven, the "feast of his kingship" (*bäᶜalä nəgəśtu*) falling on 12 *Mäskäräm*.

Believed to have been built by M. himself, the rock-hewn church of Yädəbba Maryam has an irregular plan, with a double row of three pillars and ornamented arches; and shows important 16th-cent. paintings – theories of holy men, including *abba* M. himself, with inscriptions repeatedly hinting at "*abunä* Bəʾəse Sälam and his (spiritual) son Habtä Maryam", not mentioned in the clearly more recent obituary – on both the pillars of the nave and the walls and ceiling of a small domed chamber connected by a tunnel-like corridor.

Src.: ms. *Gädlä Muse*, Yäčəra Mädḫane ᶜAläm, Wadla *awraǧǧa*, North Wällo Zone; KinBibl 85, no. 119; EMML VIII, 286, ms. 3472, no. 5 [§ 12: *Gädlä M.*, abstracts]; ANDRÉ CAQUOT, "L'homélie en l'honneur de l'archange Raguel (*Dersāna Rāguʾēl*)", *AE* 2, 1957, 91–122, here 103 (text) = 117 (tr.).

Lit.: ERNST HAMMERSCHMIDT – OTTO A. JÄGER, *Illuminierte äthiopische Handschriften*, Wiesbaden 1968 (VOHD XV), 9f., 14, pls. 7–8; PAOLO MARRASSINI, "Giustiniano e gli imperatori di Bisanzio nella letteratura etiopica (*Riassunto*)", in: *XXX Corso di cultura sull'arte ravennate e bizantina*, Ravenna 1985, 383–89, here 386f.; BEATRICE PLAYNE, *St George for Ethiopia*, London 1954, 189ff., pl. [II]d; ROGER SAUTER, "Où en est notre connaissance des église rupestres d'Éthiopie", *AE* 5, 1963, 235–92, here 273; STEPHEN WRIGHT, "Notes on Some Cave Churches of the Province of Wallo", *ibid.* 2, 1957, 7–13, here 10f., no. 3.

Gianfranco Fiaccadori

Muse

The monk M. (ሙሴ, fl. first half of the 6th cent.) was the brother of King ↗Kaleb ∃llä Aṣbəḥa, and likely the son of King ↗∃lla ᶜAmida (II) – ranging therefore, with his brother, among the very first examples of "Monks and Holy Men of Noble Origin" (s. list in KapMon 133f.).

M. only appears in the 14th-cent. Vita of ↗Ṗänṭälewon (ch. XII): already a monk, he asks for the saint's blessing, and moves to ↗Jerusalem with twelve other fellows, as the "city of his father", i.e. ↗Aksum, is not conducive to his own monastic vocation. Before leaving, M. is requested by Ṗänṭälewon to send him, from Jerusalem, both written information "about the state and measures" of the Holy Places, and "gifts to venerate", i.e. ↗relics (Conti Rossini 1904:59). Another confused mention of M., as "the son of *aṣe* Gäbrä Mäsqäl" who "abandoned this world, become a monk and went to live in Jerusalem", is found in *aläqa* ↗Gäbrä Śəllase chronicle of *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II (ch. LXXII), but the holy man is then mistaken for ↗Moses the Black, with a clear hint at "mount Lebanon" and possibly, thereby, to the Ethiopian community of Mār Mūsā al-Ḥabašī (GueCopMen vol. 2, 512; cp. Conti Rossini 1948:196 and n. 1).

In spite of its much later age, but in keeping with the original 6th-cent. tradition about Kaleb

sending his royal crown as a thank-offering to the Holy Sepulchre, the lore surfacing in these texts might well preserve a much earlier document of the Ethiopian interest and presence in Jerusalem since Aksumite times – long before *nəguś* ↗Armaḥ congratulated the Byzantine emperor ↗Heraclius on recovering the city and the Holy Cross (↗*Mäsqäl*) in ca. 630.

Src.: CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, *Vitae sanctorum antiquiorum*, I. *Acta Yārēd et Panṭalēwon*, Louvain 1904 (CSCO 26, 37 [SAe 9, 10]), 59 (text) = 54f. (tr.) [ch. XII].

Lit.: CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, [review of CerPal vol. 2], *RSE* 7, 1948, 192–98, here 196 and n. 1; GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, "Etiopi in Palestina", in preparation; KapMon 133f.

Gianfranco Fiaccadori

Museums s. vol. 5

Music

The Amharic term for M., ሙዚቃ, *muziqa*, is a relatively recent borrowing from a European language. The term has been widely absorbed into Amharic speech and writing, as well as into everyday discourse, especially in regard to modern (ዘመናዊ, *zämänawi*) M. from the popular domain.

Indigenous concepts of Ethiopian phenomena that an outside observer would term "M." are categorized differently in different regions of the country. Throughout Ethiopia, M. tends to be closely associated with occasions on which it is performed, and is classified accordingly; songs and instrumental pieces are often named according to the ritual orders or festivals of which they are an important part. The situational associations and cultural contexts for M. making also shape broader schemes of classification. For instance, among Christians of several ethnic communities, and the ↗Betä Ǝsraʾel formerly of the central and northern Ethiopian highlands, M. is perceived according to a sacred/secular dichotomy: M. of everyday life, *zäfän* (↗Songs), is contrasted to ↗*zema*, the sacred M. of the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥədo) Church or Betä Ǝsraʾel liturgy.

One further finds marked differences in musical style depending on location, with the primarily unison and heterophonic textures of the northern highland plateau musical traditions giving way to polyphony among peoples in the south and south-west regions.

Different ethnic communities each have some distinctive instruments, play characteristic rhythmic patterns, and perform their own styles of dance. But our understanding of the ways in which M. and its performance vary according to geographical location and ethnic heritage is limited by available research, which is uneven in subject matter and approach according to its dates and different disciplinary orientations. The earliest studies, both those by early observers (such as Mondon-Vidailhet, s. MonVidMus), and the first wave of professional ethnomusicologists (Ashenafi Kebede 1971; Kimberlin 1976; Shelemay 1982, 1986, etc.), focused primarily on the musical traditions of Christian and other communities in the central highland plateau region. After a hiatus in field research during the *Därg* period (↗Provisional Military Administrative Council), a new wave of musical exploration since the 1990s shifted its attention to the M. of Ethiopian communities previously unstudied, giving long overdue attention to peoples of the south and south-west, such as the ↗Arbore (Gabbert in PICES 15) etc. Recent scholarship brings to the fore knowledge of Ethiopian musical traditions previously unstudied and opens possibilities for comparative investigation; thus, study on *zikri* among the ↗Harari (Tarsitani in PICES 15) enables comparison with ↗*ḏikr* ceremonies among Muslim peoples outside Ethiopia (Qureshi 1986).

Much of our data about different Ethiopian regional and ethnic M. is based on sound recordings produced as serendipitous outcomes of research by scholars not trained in musicology. One notable early example is a recording made during a brief field trip to Betä Ǝsraʾel villages by linguist Wolf ↗Leslau (*Religious Music of the Falashas [Jews of Ethiopia]*, Folkways Records, FE 4442, New York 1959). Likewise, sound recordings on 37 wax cylinders were produced by the physician Erich Kaschke during the ↗Deutsche Aksum-Expedition. Other recordings were made by ethiopiasants in collaboration with ethnomusicologists not expert in Ethiopian studies, as is the case of the recording of M. of the ↗Dorze people, produced through collaboration between anthropologist Daniel Sperber, longtime ethnographer of the Dorze, and ethnomusicologist Bernard Lortat-Jacob (1977). Similarly, a recording of M. of the ↗Hamär with detailed notes by anthropologist Ivo Strecker, has been published in collaboration with ethnomusicologist Artur Simon in Berlin (*Musik der Hamar/Südäthiopien*, Museum für Völkerkunde Berlin Staatliche Museen, MC 6, Decca, Hamburg 1979). Numerous other recordings of Ethiopian M. from a variety of ethnic communities have been pro-

duced by ethnorecordists in different media since the 1960s and are widely available commercially (e.g. JEAN JENKINS, *Ethiopia I: Copts*, Bärenreiter Musicaphon BM 30: 2304, Kassel 1965; ID., *Ethiopia*, vols. 1–3, Tangent Records TGM 101–103, 1970 [re-issued by Topic Records, 1994]).

Berta musicians, with pipes of different size, each producing a different tone, in Abramo; photo 2001, courtesy of Christof Herrmann

Ritual musics of Ethiopia

Ethiopian Christian sacred M., *zema* (divided according to three melodic categories: ↗*araray*, ↗*gəᶜəz*, and ↗*ᶜəzəl*) is performed by highly trained clerics (↗*däbtära*). *Zema* is associated primarily with the transmission and performance of the Ethiopian Christian liturgy (↗*Qəddase*), but is also used to designate the sacred M. of other communities such as the Betä Ǝsraʾel. Traditionally attributed to the inspiration of St. ↗Yared in the early centuries of Christian Ethiopia, Ethiopian chant possesses a distinctive modal system, and with the exception of improvization during ↗*qəne* performance, stresses continuity over time rather than innovation. The conceptual breadth of *zema*, subsuming song, instrumental performance, and dance (↗*Aqʷaqʷam*) within the same framework, is a distinctive aspect of Ethiopian Christian musical thought and practice. Ethiopian Christian chant is transmitted by oral tradition as well as by a notational system, ↗*məlәkkәt*, which constitutes the only indigenous system of musical notation in Africa. Based primarily on signs derived from the ↗Gəᶜəz syllabary, the notational system serves as a mnemonic device to prescribe melodies used for the annual Church liturgical cycle (Shelemay – Jeffery 1993).

Many other Ethiopian religious communities have distinctive ritual cycles with distinctive musical content. Some, for instance the Dorze, observe Christian festivals such as ↗*Mäsqäl* and the feast of St. ↗George of Lydda through performing their own musical repertories that enact different moments in the ritual as well as provide settings for celebration by members of the broader community (Lortat-Jacob 1977). Other communities, such as the Betä Ǝsraʾel, maintained in the past their own distinctive liturgical orders that at the same time shared aspects of musical and liturgical organization as well as textual content with Ethiopian Christian rituals (Shelemay 1986).

The ritual M. of Ethiopian Muslims has been little studied to date, although recent work on *zikri* rituals in Harär offers insights into their melodic and rhythmic content and suggest textual influences from Oromo domains (Tarsitani in PICES 15). Dating from the entry of Protestant missions in the 19th cent., and the flowering of 20th cent. evangelical churches, strophic hymnody has exerted strong influence on Christian musical practices throughout Ethiopia (McLeod 2006).

Regional and ethnic musical styles

Ethiopian M. vary greatly in their musical structure and performance styles. M. of Eritrea, the central highland plateau, and Islamic areas of eastern Ethiopia, such as Harär, resemble more closely Middle Eastern M. in their monophonic or heterophonic textures, whether performed by voices or instruments. The vocal and instrumental timbres of these regions tends to be nasal, and both instrumental and vocal styles, highly ornamented. The rhythmic vocabularies of these M. have been little studied. While often driving and syncopated, Ethiopian rhythms rarely approach the metric complexity found throughout other areas of sub-Saharan Africa.

Preliminary research on Ethiopian dance sheds some light on Ethiopian rhythms and temporal organizations. The distinctive movement styles associated with different regions and ethnic communities are performed to different beats, which

An Ethiopian musician with a *bägäna*; photo end 19th cent., from Buchs 1898:140/41

are stylized and serve to characterize a dance. For instance, dance studies suggest that certain ethnic communities privilege specific rhythmic structures, such as triple rhythms among the ↗Təgrəñña and duple rhythms among the ↗Gurage (Vadasy 1971). The shoulder dance (*əskəsta*), which uses a wide range of jerking and springing motions and is closely associated with ↗Amhara culture, is widely dispersed throughout the country, with many variations such as additional body movements among the Gurage and the Amhara of Mənǧar region (Vadasy 1970, 1971). Preliminary dance studies further indicate a wide range of foot motifs and other motions in the Oromo circle and line dances.

Some highland vocal M. that features two voices singing in call-and-response or in alternation (as in the M. of the ↗*lalibäločč*) produces overlap at the end of phrases that occasionally approaches polyphony. The pitch content of M. in greater Ethiopia tends toward pentatonicism of various types; the categories of melody and tuning systems for instruments are called *qəñña* among secular musicians of the highland plateau region. Most musicians identify four main *qəñña*, named *təzzəta*, *bati*, *ančihoye*, and *ambassäl*.

Among the many styles of M. in south and south-western Ethiopia, the M. of the Dorze is notable for its intense polyphonies. Dorze M., termed *yets*, is primarily vocal and divides into more than 30 genres associated with occasions ranging from funerals, saints days, and annual festivals, to work. Polyphony (*edo*) is particularly prominent in Dorze songs of homage to individuals, called *halaqa*, and for celebration of the annual *Mäsqäl* festival (Lortat-Jacob 1977). In contrast to detailed information about Dorze polyphony, however, relatively little research has been carried out on pitch or rhythmic systems among the Dorze or other peoples in adjacent regions.

Musical ↗instruments (lyres, aerophones, membranophones and idiophones) are widespread in Ethiopia, many shared across ethnic and geographic boundaries with small variations in structure. They can be played alone and are also used to accompany singing and dance. Beyond their sound, musical instruments convey important symbolic meanings within Ethiopian culture.

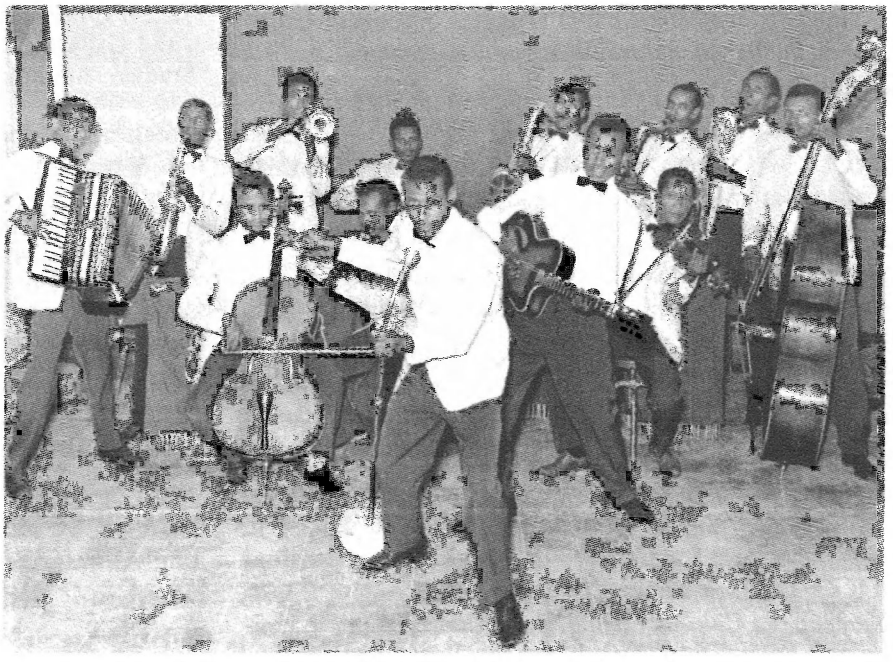
Changing contexts of musical transmission and performance

M. is widely performed in the context of Ethiopian community life to accompany work in rural and urban locales; to mark events in the life cycle ranging from birth, to puberty rites, to weddings, to funerals; and for entertainment. In the past, secret musical codes were sung by messengers to identify positively the sender of a written message (Messing 1971). There exist special song genres such as ↗*šəlläla*, which incite patriotism and fervor for battle, and the ↗*fukkära*, which commemorate or praise prominent warriors. Laments (*läqso*, s. ↗*Ǝngʷərgʷərro*; ↗Burial) are sung at funerals and during periods of mourning.

Some musicians, including the *däbtära* and other types of indigenous ↗healers, use M. to mitigate illness and to exorcize malevolent spirits. M. is also employed by professional musicians, including the ↗*azmari* and the *lalibäločč*, to garner financial support.

Professional musicians so prominent in the highland plateau region, such as the *azmari*, are

not as common in the south, where M. making is distributed more broadly among the general population (Gabbert in PICES 15). Among the Arbore and Hamär peoples in southwest Ethiopia, for instance, songs are sung for recreation, to accompany work, and for occasions of ritual and social commemoration. Among the Hamär, songs of the ancestors (*aeke gadi*) recall occasions of historical importance, transmitting texts that narrate the past and serve to bless the community present at their performance (Simon – Strecker 1979). Songs also document many aspects of everyday life in local environments, such as one Arbore song describing a plane that brought grain and other supplies during a drought in the 1970s (Gabbert in PICES 15).



A modern music group in the 1960s: the Eritrea Police Band; photo 1962/63, courtesy of collection éthiopiques (Francis Falceto)

Since the beginning of the 20th cent., musical ensembles have been organized to both represent the polity and to unify the multi-ethnic state. The ↗Imperial Bodyguard Orchestra, founded in 1929, performed western M. at state events and to welcome visiting dignitaries (Falceto 2001). The 1960s saw the founding of ↗Orchestra Ethiopia, which brought together musicians from all regions and many ethnic groups in the country to perform at official government functions as well as on Ethiopian television and radio (Shelemay in SegBodLes). The ↗Yared Music School, established in 1967 in Addis Abäba, has offered instruction in sacred and secular Ethiopian M. as well as western styles.

The flowering of Ethiopian popular M. has been sparked by influence from diverse sources, e.g. the first European military band sent to Ethiopia by Tsar Nicholas II in 1897, or 40 orphan Armenian youth musicians who arrived in the country in 1924 (Falceto 2001). The second half of the 20th cent. saw the emergence of many new styles of musical performance in Ethiopia, partly due to the impact of radio and commercial recordings.

From the 1950s onward, Ethiopian musicians produced their own original popular M. through processes described as "creative incorporation" (LevWax 15). Early jazz bands such as the Ḫaylä Śəllase I Theatre Orchestra with saxophonist Getaččäw Mäkʷərya synthesized cosmopolitan and Ethiopian sounds that led to what has been called the "golden age" of Ethiopian popular M. during the 1960s and early 1970s. During this period, musicians such as Mahmud Ahmäd, Ṭəlahun Gässäsä, and Bəzunäš Bäqqälä performed and made recordings, many released by producer Amha Ǝšäte's *Amha Records* between 1969 and 1975. In the early 1970s, too, the renown Ethiopian musician Mulatu Astaṭqe, trained abroad, returned to Ethiopia to innovate Ethio-Jazz.

After the ↗Revolution of 1974 and the unraveling of the popular M. scene in Addis Abäba, some musicians who remained in Addis Abäba continued to play, founding bands such as the *Ethio Stars* (cp. *Ethio Stars – Tukul Band*, [*Pi'ra: nha*], Global Music Center, Berlin n.d.) and the *Roha Band*, both of which played in various Ethiopian hotels during the 1980s. By the 1980s, however, musicians began to disperse abroad, many congregating in Washington, D.C., where a large Ethiopian ↗diaspora community took shape. Performers established careers outside Ethiopia, such as Astär Awwäqä (Aster Aweke) who broke through with the release of her album *Aster* by Columbia Records (CD/Cass, Triple Earth, Columbia, 1989), or as Ǝgğəgayyähu Šəbabaw (Ejigayehu "Gigi" Shibabaw) who performed and released recordings abroad (such as *Abyssinia Infinite. Zion Roots*, Network, Frankfurt/Main 2003). Some musicians such as Mulatu

Astaṭqe maintained transnational careers divided between Ethiopia and diaspora communities.

The import of popular M. from abroad and an active local recording industry have both heightened the impact of foreign M. and dispersed Ethiopian M. to an international audience. The growth of large Ethiopian diaspora communities have also brought the live performance of the full range of Ethiopian M. to a growing audience. The release of vintage and new recordings on the *Éthiopiques* series edited by Francis Falceto for the *Buda Musique* label (s., e.g. *Éthiopiques* 17: *Tlahoun Gèssèssè*, Buda Music, Paris 2004) has also contributed to the new life of Ethiopian M. both at home and abroad.

↗Dances; ↗Instruments, musical

Lit.: ASHENAFI KEBEDE, *The Music of Ethiopia: its Development and Cultural Setting*, Ph.D. thesis, Wesleyan University 1971; GUGLIELMO BARBLAN, *Musiche e strumenti musicali dell'Africa orientale italiana*, Napoli 1941; WOLFGANG BENDER, "Initial Research into the Life and Word of Tessema Eshete: the First Ethiopian Singer to Record Commercially", in: *PICES* 15, 403–08; FRANCIS FALCETO, *Abyssinie Swing. A Pictorial History of Modern Ethiopian Music/Images de la musique éthiopienne moderne*, tr. into Engl. by KAREN LOUISE ALBRECHT, Addis Ababa 2001; ID., "Un siècle de musique moderne en Éthiopie (précédé d'une hypothèse *baroque*)", *Cahiers d'études africaines* 168, 2002, 711–38; ECHI CHRISTINA GABBERT, "Arbore Soundscape – Remapping Arbore through Music", in: *PICES* 15, 428–34; KAY KAUFMAN SHELEMAY, "Zema: a Concept of Sacred Music in Ethiopia", *The World of Music* 24, 3, 1982, 52–65; EAD., "A New System of Musical Notation in Ethiopia", in: *SegBodLes* 571–82; EAD., *Music, Ritual, and Falasha History*, East Lansing, MI 1986 (Ethiopian Series Monograph 17); EAD. – CYNTHIA TSE KIMBERLIN, "Ethiopia", in: STANLEY SADIE (ed.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, vol. 8, London 2001, 353–61; KAY KAUFMAN SHELEMAY – PETER JEFFERY, *Ethiopian Christian Liturgical Chant: an Anthology*, 3 vols., Madison, WI 1994–97 (with CD); CYNTHIA TSE KIMBERLIN, *Masinqo and the Nature of Qəññət*, Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, CA 1976; EAD., "'Who Dared?': Twenty-Two Təgrəññа Songs from Mändäfära, Eritrea", in: *PICES* 15, 446–58; WOLF LESLAU, *English–Amharic Context Dictionary*, Wiesbaden 1973, 821; LevWax 15; HUGH MCLEOD (ed.), *World Christianities c. 1914–c. 2000*, Cambridge 2006; SIMON DAVID MESSING, *The Highland-Plateau Amhara of Ethiopia*, Ph.D. thesis, University of Pennsylvania 1971; MonVidMus [repr. in: *AE* 19, 2003, 149–88]; BRUNO NETTL, "Music", in: STANLEY SADIE (ed.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, vol. 17, London 2001, 425–37; REGULA BURCKHARDT QURESHI, *Sufi Music of India and Pakistan: Sound Context and Meaning in Qawwali*, Cambridge 1986; SIMONE TARSITANI, "*Zikri* Rituals in Harar: a Musical Analysis", in: *PICES* 15, 478–84; OLIVIER TOURNY, "Ethiopian Traditional Music, Dances, and Instruments: a Systematic Survey", *ibid.* 507–12; TIBOR VADASY, "Ethiopian Folk-Dance", *JES* 8, 2, 1970, 119–46; ID., "Ethiopian Folk-Dance II: Tegré and Guragé", *ibid.* 9, 2, 1971, 191–217; ID., "Ethiopian Folk-Dance III: Wällo and Galla", *ibid.* 11, 1, 1973, 213–31; EGON WELLESZ, "Studien zur äthiopischen Kirchenmusik", *OrChr* 17, 1920, 74–106.

Discography: *Alemayehu Eshete, Addis Ababa. New Beat Music from Ethiopia*, Shanachie Entertainment Corp, USA, 1993; MULATU ASTATKE [et al.], [*Musik from*] *Broken Flowers, a Film by Jim Jarmusch*, Universal Classics Group, New York 2005; BERNARD LORTAT-JACOB, *Polyphonies Des Dorze*, Le Chant Du Monde, LDX 74646, Collection Du Centre National De la Recherche Scientifique et Du Musée De L'Homme, Paris 1977.

Kay Kaufman Shelemay

Musical instruments ↗Instruments, musical

Muslim League

The M.L. (Arab. *ar-Rābiṭa al-islāmīya*), established in ↗Kärän on 3 December 1946, can be regarded as the first modern, Islamic, institutionalized movement in the Ethiopian–Eritrean historical theatre. It was also a pioneering body in that it combined social struggle with both a religious-Islamic and an Arab cultural program, along with modern Eritrean nationalism.

The first roots of the movement were social and intra-Islamic. After the ↗British liberated ↗Eritrea from Italian colonization in 1941 (↗British Military Administration), the ↗Təgre-speaking serfs began defying their own tribal aristocracy whose feudal privileges had been supported by the Fascists. ↗Ibrāhīm Sulṭān ʿAlī, educated in Kärän and formerly an interpreter for the Italians, began working with the British to emancipate the serfs and reorganize the entire tribal system. He successfully mobilized fellow Muslim urbanites from Kärän, Asmära and other centres, where a Patriotic Association had already been established in 1941. After the British legalized the formation of political organizations in October 1946, Ibrāhīm Sulṭān gathered those activists and announced the establishment of the M.L., appointing himself secretary general.

The M.L. had an obvious religious agenda. Its titular president was *sayyid* Abū Bakr al-Mīrġanī, head of the *Ḫatmīya-Mīrġanīya* Sufi fraternity (↗Islamic brotherhoods) headquartered in nearby Sudanese Kassala, and it adopted Arabic as its official language. In the spirit of modern Islamic politics, the League avoided the term "party", ↗*maḥbär*, which was introduced and used by most Eritrean movements of the time. *Rābiṭa* had the connotation of a comprehensive, social-cultural-economic approach, and the M.L. indeed attempted to fulfil the undertaking. The

League's activists led the socio-economic emancipation of the serfs and the reorganization of the tribes, a process completed with British support by July 1949. Its branches around Eritrea worked to open schools, youth clubs and nurseries, enhance welfare activities, organize both Sufi ceremonies and Sunni orthodox education and law. It also published a newspaper, *Ṣawt arrābiṭa* ('The Voice of the League'), and tried to spread the learning of Arabic among the new generation of Təgre speakers. At its peak in the late 1940s the M.L. claimed to have over 700,000 members and it obtained 40.5 % of the indirect vote in the Four Powers Commission polling. The Commission however estimated the number of M.L. members at half the figure it claimed.

From its very inception the M.L. integrated these social and Islamic dimensions within the Eritrean nationalist agenda. It never advocated Islam in fundamentalist terms, and it refrained from reviving Islamic political concepts. As the future of the ex-Italian colony was debated, the M.L.'s second conference in Kärän, 20 – 21 January 1947, resolved to resist the partition of Eritrea or its unification with Ethiopia, and work for full independence. Naturally opposed to joining a Christian empire, the Eritrean cause was also fuelled by the social struggle. Many of the leading Təgre aristocrats favoured unity with Ethiopia, hoping its imperial regime would restore their privileges. As the unfolding political drama gained momentum, Ibrāhīm Sulṭān channelled his energies to the nationalist sphere. He led missions to the Arab League headquarters in Cairo and to the UN assembly in April 1949, presenting the case for independence, arguing that the majority of Eritreans were Muslims yearning to fulfil Eritrean self-determination. The League opened offices in Egypt, Lebanon, Sudan and Italy, heralding the connection between Eritrean nationalists and Arab and international politics. At home it was involved in escalating violence culminating with the assassination on 31 March 1949 by advocates of unity with Ethiopia of ↗ᶜAbdälqadər Käbirä, the head of the League's Asmära branch, who was supposed to leave with the mission to the UN. The growing emphasis on a nationalist agenda also worked against the unity of the factions within the League. Joining the all-Eritrean cause implied co-operating with Christians, occasionally at the expense of Islamic solidarity. This, together with personal rivalries – Ibrāhīm Sulṭān's domineering character alienated his colleagues – and different regional and social interests, soon led to splits in the League. By April 1947 the National Moslem Party of Massawa, led by Muḥammad ᶜUmar Qāḍī, began challenging the League, while several Eritrean Muslims opted for unity with Ethiopia. On 25 July 1949 ↗Idrīs Muḥammad Ādam's nationalist priority was institutionalized with the establishment of the ↗Independence Bloc, which was initiated and led by himself. The Bloc united Muslims and Christians, co-operated with the pro-Italian Eritrean wing and obtained subsidies from both the British and the Italians. In response, western Eritrea's Təgre speakers established the Muslim League of the Western Province in 1950. This new branch of the League was led by *šayḫ* ↗ᶜAli Mäḥammäd Musa Räd'ay, the head of the M.L.'s Kärän branch and Ibrāhīm Sulṭān's personal rival. The new, seceding League opted first to partition Eritrea and the western region adjoining Sudan, and later joined forces with the Unionist Party to advocate unity with Ethiopia.

By the end of 1950, the tattered Muslim League had lost most of its supporters, and most of its agenda. Many of its activists, together with the remaining leaders of the Independence Bloc, regrouped in a new Eritrean Democratic Front. The Front ran in the elections for the ↗Eritrean Assembly, and were elected in accordance with the federal arrangement with Ethiopia. The League continued to exist under an acting secretary, Sulaymān Aḥmad ᶜUmar, and in 1952 published a new newspaper called *Ṣawt Iritrīya* ('the Voice of Eritrea'). Its articles calling for the preservation of local rights and identity angered the imperial authorities, who sued the editors. On 8 December 1954 the newspaper was closed and five members of the editorial staff were imprisoned. The League's offices were closed and most of its modest achievements – the welfare associations, the spreading of Arabic culture, etc. – were systematically destroyed throughout the 1950s. Ibrāhīm Sulṭān continued to struggle in the Assembly to preserve some degree of autonomy, but finally had to acknowledge defeat and leave the country in 1959, to join the founders of the Eritrean Liberation Front (E.L.F.).

Though failing in the short run, the M.L. heralded the emergence of the liberation fronts of the 1960s. The M.L. was the first movement to combine social, cultural, religious and political dimensions in a modern nationalist movement, and link them all to the spheres of the Arab and the Islamic Middle Eastern worlds.

Src.: *šayḫ* IBRAHIM MUKHTAR AHMAD ʿUMAR, "Hawadith", online ms.; DAVID POOL, *From Guerrillas to Government, the EPLF*, Oxford 2001, online ms.
Lit.: ErDizBio; HAGGAI ERLICH, *The Struggle over Eritrea, 1962–1978*, Stanford, CA 1983; LLOYD ELLIGSON, "The Emergence of Political Parties in Eritrea, 1941 – 1950", *JAH* 1, 1977, 261–81; RUTH IYOB, *The Eritrean Struggle for Independence*, Cambridge 1995; KilHDic; MUḤAMMAD SAʿĪD NAWAD, *Ḥarakat taḥrīr Iritrīya, al-ḥaqīqa wat-taʾrīḫ* ('The Movement of the Liberation of Eritrea, the Truth and the History'), Jedda n.d.; TEKESTE NEGASH, *Eritrea and Ethiopia: the Federal Experience*, Uppsala 1997; GERALD KENNEDY NICHOLAS TREVASKIS, *Eritrea. A Colony in Transition*, Oxford 1960.

Haggai Erlich

Mussolini, Benito

M. (29 July 1883, Dovia di Predappio, Forlì-Cesena, 28 April 1945, Giulino di Mezzegra, Como, known as "il Duce") was prime minister of Italy and the founder of Fascism. He had studied to become a teacher and spent four years in Switzerland as a migrant worker. Upon his return to Italy, he first devoted himself to teaching and then to political activism and journalism. A member of the revolutionary current of the Socialist Party, he was already at the head of the important socialist federation in the Romagna district in 1910.

M.'s first contact with Africa dates back to the Italian invasion of Libya, which he strongly opposed. During World War I, however, he embraced the cause of interventionism, on account of which he was expelled from the Socialist party. In 1919, he founded the *Fasci di combattimento* (a fighting league reviving such symbols of ancient Rome as the fasci, 'bundles [of rods tied around an axis]', suggesting the idea of strength through unity); then, in 1921, the Fascist party. In October 1922, he led the March on Rome, after which he was appointed prime minister. After the elections of 1924, he established a dictatorship in 1925 that was to last until July 1943.

In the beginning, M. saw colonization as a means to obtain power and international prestige. Some of the highest officials of his régime (De ↗Bono, De Vecchi, Balbo and ↗Graziani) were sent to Africa in military campaigns, which had the welcome side-effect of removing several possible competitors of the *Duce* from Rome. M. himself held the Ministry of Colonies *ad interim* in 1928–29.

In this phase, the colonial policy introduced by M. was already marked by a systematic recourse to military force and a practice of direct control from Italy, reducing as much as possible the involvement of Africa-based officials in the management of the colonies. He first considered these campaigns pure military undertakings, but soon realized that a demographic colonization could be a central point in his propaganda.

In November 1932, Italy began preparing an invasion of Ethiopia (↗Italian war 1935–36). M. considered the conflict to be an occasion on which to show the political and military power of Italy, and lavishly devoted men and means to this end. Clearly, he had staked most of his political career and of the prestige of his régime in the Ethiopian endeavour. He then turned the Colonia ↗Eritrea into the main logistics base for the invasion. On 16 January 1935, M. assumed the charge of Minister of the Colonies (till 1936), thus having the preparations and operations of the campaign permanently under his supervision. On 14 November 1935, he dismissed Emilio De Bono of his functions in charge of operations, for his sitting too much on the fence: De Bono had in fact refused to carry out the *Duce*'s order to attack ↗Ambalage. It was always M. who personally authorized the use of gas during the operations. He also took personal care of regularly supervizing, before publications, the daily bulletins dispatched from ↗Asmära.

The quick Italian victory, that resulted in the fall of Addis Abäba (5 May 1936), the proclamation of the empire (9 May) and the creation of ↗Africa Orientale Italiana (AOI), was skilfully turned into a triumph of the régime by the Italian propaganda apparatus. The conquest of Ethiopia became M.'s "political masterpiece" and the peak of consensus to his régime (De Felice 1974:642ff.).

Between 1937 and 1939, M. was Minister of Africa Italiana. He continually invested substantial resources into the creation of infrastructures intended to pave the way to a demographic colonization of the area. At the same time, any cooperation with the Ethiopian ruling class was categorically ruled out, a policy expressed by two popular slogans: "Nessun potere ai ras" ('No power to the *ras*') and "Nessun potere a mezzadria" ('No power as métayage'). Since 1937, the regime promoted an increasingly severe racial legislation, prohibiting mixed marriages and introducing a group of offences against "racial prestige". These measures contributed to the

strenthening of the Ethiopian ↗resistance, which had to be quelled by a permanent involvement of the Italian army in colonial police operations. These operations, coordinated by the *vicerè* of A.O.I., General Graziani, were always closely followed by M., who often inspired Graziani's methods, while not always approving of his crude behaviour (↗Graziani massacre).

Yet, the state of permanent instability of a vast part of Ethiopia frustrated any attempt of economic exploitation and increased the costs of the conquest. Between 1935 and 1939, Ethiopia is reckoned to have absorbed 46 billion of liras, that is 20 to 25% of the State expenditure. Facing the lack of results and the sacrifices imposed on the country, Italy gradually lost enthusiasm in Italian East Africa. Since 1938–39, M. himself waived direct control on the area, and the new *vicerè*, Duke Amedeo di ↗Savoia, seemed to promote a more realistic policy, open to the local political and customary element.

The outbreak of World War II highlighted the utmost fragility of Fascist policy. M. declared that "Italian East Africa had to do by itself", thus ratifying its collapse (1941). On 24 July 1943, M. was removed from office and arrested. Liberated by Germans, he established at Salò the short-lived *Repubblica Sociale Italiana*. While trying to flee to Switzerland, on 27 April 1945, he was arrested by a partisan unit and executed.

Lit.: GIULIA BARRERA, "Mussolini's Colonial Race Laws and State-Settlers Relations in Africa Orientale Italiana (1935–41)", *Journal of Modern Italian Studies* 8, 3, 2003, 425–43; EMILIO DE BONO, *La nuova Italia d'oltremare. L'opera del fascismo nelle colonie italiane, notizie, dati, documenti, raccolti d'ordine*, preface by BENITO MUSSOLINI, Milano 1933; RENZO DE FELICE, *Mussolini il Duce*, vol. 1: *Gli anni del consenso (1929–1936)*, Torino 1974, 597–808; ANGELO DEL BOCA (ed.), *Le guerre coloniali del fascismo*, Roma – Bari 1991; ID., *I gas di Mussolini: il fascismo e la guerra d'Etiopia*, Roma 1996; LUIGI GOGLIA, "Sulla politica coloniale fascista", *Storia Contemporanea* 19, 1, 1988, 35–53; NICOLA LABANCA, "Politica e amministrazione coloniali dal 1922 al 1934", in: ENZO COLOTTI, *Fascismo e politica di Potenza. Politica estera 1922–1933*, Firenze 2000, 81–136; GIORGIO ROCHAT, *Le guerre italiane 1935–1943. Dall'impero d'Etiopia alla disfatta*, Torino 2005, 5–97; ALBERTO SBACCHI, *Legacy of Bitterness: Ethiopia and Fascist Italy, 1935–1941*, Lawrenceville, NJ – Asmara 1997; IRMA TADDIA, *La memoria dell'impero. Autobiografie d'Africa Orientale*, Manduria 1988; SILLANI TOMASO, *L'Affrica Orientale italiana e il conflitto italo-etiopico. Studi e documenti*, Roma 1936.

Massimo Zaccaria

Muṣṭafā ↗Hāšim b. ʿAbdalʿazīz

Muuda

M., the anointment of ritual objects and parts of the human body, especially the head, with butter (↗Milk and milk products), is an integral part of many ↗Oromo ritual performances. It is mainly a blessing, but it can be understood as a gift or offering as well. Additionally, butter is believed to have a healing effect. The term M. became synonymous with the pilgrimages made by representatives of various Oromo groups to holy sites in their respective cradle-lands. During a ceremony after the pilgrims arrived at the holy shrine, the ↗*abbaa muudaa* ('father of anointment'; ↗*qaalluu*), having received gifts of calves from the pilgrims, anointed their heads with butter, and gave them myrrh and blessings.

The M. pilgrimage was closely connected with the Oromo ↗*gadaa* system, for it was the outgoing *gadaa* class who – at the very end of their ruling period – made the pilgrimage. Some members of the next classes joined the pilgrimage in order to be recognized by the *abbaa muudaa* as future office-holders. After their return home the *gadaa* councillors handed over power to the next *gadaa* class, themselves semi-retiring and acquiring a nearly sacred status as ↗*ǧiila*, a term otherwise used to designate festivities as well as the M. pilgrimage itself. Time during and after the pilgrimage was defined by a set of ritual taboos and prescriptions for M. participants.

Lit.: ANTOINE D'ABBADIE, "Sur les Oromo, grande nation africaine, désignée souvent sous le nom de «Galla»", *Annales de la Société Scientifique de Bruxelles* 4, 1880, 167–92; ASMAROM LEGESSE, *Gada: Three Approaches to the Study of African Society*, New York – London 1973; CecZeila vol. 2; CerEt vol. 1; MARTIAL DE SALVIAC, "Les Galla ou Oromo: L'Abba Mouda (Suite), (I)", *Études franciscaines* 3, 1900, 632–52; ID., *Un peuple antique au pays de Ménélik. Les Galla (Dits d'origine gauloise), grande nation africaine*, Paris 1901; IGNAZIO GUIDI, "Strofe e brevi testi amarici", *Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen* 10, 1907, 167–84; KARL ERIC KNUTSSON, *Authority and Change: a Study of the Kallu Institution among the Macha Galla of Ethiopia*, Göteborg 1967; JOSEPH VAN DE LOO, *Guji Oromo Culture: Religious Capabilities in Rituals and Songs*, Berlin 1991; VSAe II, 212–17, 320ff., 390, 396f., 400, 413f., 470–75, 542f.

Andrea Nicolas

Mystagogia ↗Təmhərtä ḫəbuʾat

Naadh ↗Nuer

Näʾakkʷəto Läʾab

N.L. (ነአኩቶ፡ ለአብ, b. 1203/04?, d. 1250?) was a 13th-cent. Ethiopian ruler from the ↗Zagʷe dynasty, believed to have succeeded king ↗Lalibäla to the throne. As to the precise relationship between the two rulers, the Acts of N.L. (ed. and tr. Conti Rossini 1943) are ambiguous. According to the hagiography, N.L. was the son of Lalibäla's brother "Gäbrä Mäsqäl" and a certain Märkeza (ibid. 178). Whilst Gäbrä Mäsqäl is (homonymous with) the regnal name of Lalibäla himself, N.L.'s father is believed to have been Lalibäla's brother ↗Ḥarbay (ibid. 106; Tedeschi 1990:336f.). In a manuscript mentioned by Raffray (1882:345f.), N.L.'s father's and Lalibäla's brother's name is given as Gäbrä Maryam (considered the correct regnal name of Ḥarbay by Belaynesh Mikael [in DicEthBio], but s. Tedeschi 1990:337). Lalibäla is also mentioned as the "carnal and spiritual father" of N.L. (Conti Rossini 1943:183), which might mean that the former was the latter's godfather. In any case, one should not take these texts literally: the confusion reflects the complexity of the succession to the throne after Lalibäla and the will of the author of the Acts to present N.L. as his legitimate heir. N.L. succeeded Lalibäla twice: first, when Lalibäla seems to have abdicated in his favour but taken power back 18 months later, and second, after the death of Lalibäla.

The fact that N.L. succeeded his uncle can be explained by the matrilineal system in the Zagʷe dynasty which could be linked to a specific land donation system in the ↗Lasta region. This matrilineal system could explain the reason why in the Zagʷe dynasty a son could never succeed his father. It is always the brother (Lalibäla after his brother Ḥarbay) or the nephew (N.L. after Lalibäla, Yətbarak after N.L.) to succeed the king (Marrassini 1994:210–14).

According to his hagiography, N.L. was baptised on 29 *Səbaṭ* (the month of ↗*Lədät*) of the year of mercy 338 [= 1153/54 A.D.] (Conti Rossini 1943:184). Tedeschi (1990:339f.) believed 338 to be an error for 388 [1203/04 A.D.] which seemed to him more likely from a chronological point of view. Since N.L., according to his Acts, lived for 47 years, the year of his death would be 1250, which would coincide with the enthronement of ↗Yətbaräk according to the Acts of ↗Iyäsus Moʾa (KurMoa 25, 31 [text]; Tedeschi 1994:512). This could be seen as confirming the calculation of the date of birth, but since the Acts of N.L. mention him retiring to his church at the end of his life, which might mean that Yətbaräk had usurped N.L.'s throne (s. also Tedeschi 1990:338f.), he did not necessarily die in 1250.

Conti Rossini used two manuscripts for his 1943 edition: a copy of the 16th-cent. ms. belonging to the Ethiopian community of ↗Jerusalem (now ANLin, Conti Rossini 113; for the Jerusalem ms. s. Isaac 1984-86:68), and a 17th-cent. one (BN d'Abbadie 29). Two more mss. are in VatLib collection (Cerulli etiop. 148 and 224). At least eight more manuscripts of the Acts have been microfilmed in the Lasta churches by EMML.

Like all Zagʷe hagiographies, the life of N.L. has been dated to the 15th cent. by Conti Rossini, who pointed out that the Trinitarian incipit is very similar to that of the *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*məśtir*, dating from 1425 (Conti Rossini 1943:177 n. 1–2; YaqMis 63). The similarities between the Acts of Lalibäla and those of N.L. are striking, with a tendency of overstatement in the latter (divine election before the birth, ascension to the sky before the age of 3). It seems that the ↗*gädl* of N.L. tries to supersede Lalibäla's hagiography.

Two episodes from N.L.'s life are of some interest. The first concerns the famous "rebel of Goğğam", Ṣärä Qəməs, who refused to submit to the Christian ruler and against whom Lalibäla sent his nephew. N.L. defeated Ṣärä Qəməs and brought him to Lalibäla's court making him swear on the Bible he would submit. On his way back to Goğğam, Ṣärä Qəməs died (Conti Rossini 1943:141–46). The name of Ṣärä Qəməs recalls Zanakəmər in the Acts of the 14th-cent. saint ↗Yafqərännä Ǝgziʾ (Wajnberg 1936:18). It is probable that the episode related in the Acts of N.L. is an anachronism.

The second episode is narrated in one of the two miracles following the *gädl* of N.L. When he succeeded Lalibäla, Egyptians refused to pay the usual tribute. By the saint's prayer, there was no more rain in Egypt, nor flood of the Nile for three years and seven months (Conti Rossini 1943:228). The motif of the Ethiopian superiority over Egypt is characteristic of the 14th and 15th cent., as in the *Gädlä ↗Marqorewos* and the *Visions of ↗Shenuti*. Thus, this might be another anachronistic episode, confirming that the Acts were not written before the second part of the 15th cent.

According to his Acts, N.L. founded several churches: one dedicated to the Virgin in Wägrä Səḫin/Däbrä Səḫin (Conti Rossini 1943:146, 150, 152 etc.), one to Ǝsṭifanos in the land of Dänsa (ibid. 152f.) and one in the region of Qoqḥəna (ibid. 173). He also completed the church of Däbrä Ṣəyon in ↗Ǝšätän, founded by Lalibäla (ibid. 222). Wägrä Səḫin ('Sanctuary of incense') is also mentioned in the Acts of ↗Yəmrəḥannä Krəstos (Marrassini 1995:83, 85f.) and is today considered as another name for the church of Ǝšätän Maryam on the slopes of Mt ↗Ǝšätän (Däbrä Ṣəyon could be the church known as the lower Ǝšätän Maryam, cf. Sauter 1963:269). Local tradition identifies the sanctuary dedicated to Ǝsṭifanos with Mawre Ǝsṭifanos near Gännätä Maryam. The toponym Qoqḥəna indicates a territory above the actual Näʾakkʷəto Läʾab church in ↗Lalibäla, also connected to N.L. by the tradition. Built in a cave at the feet of Ǝšätän (Miquel 1959:145), the church was restored at the beginning of the 20th cent. What the visitor can see today is probably very different from the ancient church.

According to his Acts, N.L. died in Wägrä Səḫin on 3 *Ḫədar*, the day he is commemorated in the Näʾakkʷəto Läʾab church. There is, however, no grave of the king anywhere in Lasta, as his body is believed to have been carried to Heaven.

N.L.'s son by his wife Nəṣəḥt Maryam, Bäḫaylä Mäsqäl, died at the age of 3 (Conti Rossini 1943:163f.). N.L. was succeeded by Lalibäla's son ↗Yətbaräk.

Src.: CARLO CONTI ROSSINI (ed., tr.), *Vitae sanctorum indigenarum*, I. *Acta Marqorēwos*, Louvain 1904 (CSCO 33, 34 [SAe 22]), 42ff. (text) = 55ff. (tr.); ID. (ed., tr.), "Gli Atti di Re Naʾakuěto La-ʾAb", in: *Scritti dedicati alla memoria di Francesco Gallina*, Roma 1943 (= *Annali IUO* nuova ser. 2), 105–232; CRAbb 190f. [Paris, BN, d'Abb. 29]; EMML mss. 1356 [EMML IV, 399], 6937, 7002, 7037, 7050, 7294, 7501, 7511, 7531; ADOLF GROHMANN, "Die im Äthiopischen, Arabischen und Koptischen erhaltenen Visionen Apa Schenute's von Atripe", *ZDMG* 67, 1913, 187–267 here 249–63; KurMoa 25, 31 (text) = 20, 26 (tr.); PAOLO MARRASSINI (ed., tr.), *Il Gadla Yemrehanna Krestos*, Napoli 1995 (Annali IUO 55, 4, Supplemento 85); ISAAC WAJNBERG (ed., tr.), *Das Leben des Hl. Jāfqerana ʾEgzīʾ*, Roma 1936 (OrChrA 106), 18 (text) = 19 (tr.); YaqMis 63 (tr.).

Lit.: LINO BIANCHI BARRIVIERA, "Le chiese in roccia di Lalibelà e di altri luoghi del Lasta", *RSE* 18, 1962, 5–76 and 19, 1963, 5–118; BELAYNESH MIKAEL, "Näʾakweto Läʾab", in: *DicEthBio* 123–24; ANDRÉ CAQUOT, "Aperçu préliminaire sur le *Maṣḥafa Tefut* de Geshen Amba", *AE* 1, 1955, 89–108, here 91f.; CerLett 82–85; SEVIR CHERNETSOV, "On the Question of Royal Succession during Zague Period", *St. Petersburg Journal of African Studies* 4, 1995, 103–17; CRStor 316f.; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Appunti ed osservazioni sui re Zāguē e Takla Hāymānot" [i], *RRALm* ser. 5ª, 4, 1895, 341–59; EPHRAIM ISAAC, "Shelf List of Ethiopian Manuscripts in the Monasteries of the Ethiopian Patriarchate of Jerusalem", *RSE* 30, 1984-86 [1987], 53-80; PAOLO MARRASSINI, "Un caso africano: la dinastia Zague in Etiopia", in: SERGIO BERTELLI – PIETRO CLEMENTE (eds.), *Tracce dei vinti*, Firenze 1994 (Laboratorio di storia 8), 200–29; ANDRÉ MIQUEL, "Reconnaissance dans le Lasta (décembre 1955)", *AE* 3, 1959, 131–70, here 145; ACHILLE RAFFRAY, "Voyage en Abyssinie et au pays des Gallas-Raïas", *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie de Paris* 2, 1882, 324–51, here 345; SerHist 279–84; ROGER SAUTER, "Où en est notre connaissance des églises rupestres d'Éthiopie?", *AE*

Näʾakkʷəto Läʾab (left) with king Lalibäla (right); painting on canvas (detail), 17th cent., the church of Näʾakkʷəto Läʾab, Lasta; photo 2000, courtesy of Michael Gervers

5, 1963, 235–92, here 269; TadTChurch 55–64; SALVATORE TEDESCHI, "Naʾakweto Laʾab", in: *EncSan* vol. 2, 563–64; ID., "La *Vita* del monaco etiope Iyasus Moʾa (sec. XIII): agiografia e storiografia", *OrChrP* 60, 1994, 503–18; ID., "Note sul re etiopico Naʾakweto Laʾab", *Quaderni Utinensi* 8 [15/16], 1990 [1996], 335–43 (Lit.).

Marie-Laure Derat

Näʾakkʷəto Läʾab in art

The visual representations of N.L. seem to appear first in the 17th cent., in the artistic milieu of ↗Lasta and ↗Säqota, the regions connected with the ↗Zagʷe dynasty. In a group of five ↗*sənsul* originating from the ↗Lalibäla area and painted in a distinct "geometric" style, N.L. stands in a row of the Zagʷe kings, all in a strict frontal position and holding a codex. Most probably he is one of the three figures portrayed in the same manner in the manuscript of the Vitae of Zagʷe kings (fol. 3r) kept in the ↗Yəmrəḥannä Krəstos church. The ↗*Täʾammərä Maryam* manuscript in Näʾakkʷəto Läʾab church, which belongs to the same stylistic group, has an added miniature of the first Gondär school of ↗painting showing N.L. riding a brown horse and spearing an armed figure (fol. 66v). Although the accompanying inscription is not related to the event, we may surmise that the scene illustrates N.L.'s campaign against the rebellious chief of Goğğam Ṣärä Qəməs, after which ↗Lalibäla abdicated in N.L.'s favour. N.L. is also depicted on horseback together with three other Zagʷe rulers in the 17th-cent. painting decorating the façade of the rock-cut church of Wəqro Mäsqäl near Säqota.

The church dedicated to N.L. near Lalibäla possesses two large canvas paintings representing various episodes from his life. The older piece, dating to the 18th cent. and belonging to the second Gondärine school of painting shows N.L. sitting on the throne in the centre, encircled by the armed courtiers, and, underneath, the episode with the Goğğam rebel brought by N.L. to king Lalibäla. Two other scenes showing N.L. in prayer and pierced by the swords are related to the penitential period of his life.

The second 1967 painting copies all above mentioned scenes making some additions. The rebel is delivered by N.L. to two enthroned kings, Lalibäla and Yəmrəḥannä Krəstos. In the upper left corner N.L. emerges together with his father from the clouded sky, certainly an allusion to the local tradition telling that the body of N.L. ascended to heaven. The blessing God the Father depicted at the top may express the idea about the holiness of the king, always cloaked in divine grace.

Lit.: AfrZion 247f.; EWA BALICKA-WITAKOWSKA, "The Wall-Paintings of Wuqro Mäsqäl Church near Sokota", *Africana Bulletin* 50, 2002, 115–33, here 122, figs. 1, 19; ChojPaint 493, fig. 253c; EWALD HEIN – BRIGITTE KLEIDT, *Ethiopia. Christian Africa. Art, Churches and Culture*, Ratingen 1999, figs. 139–40; BENT JUEL-JENSEN, "The Ground Hornbill Artist of 17th-Century Ethiopic Manuscript", *The Book Collector* 2, 1977, 61–72, here 64, fig. 2; JACQUES MERCIER, "Magie et tradition: les rouleaux protecteurs", *Les dossiers de l'archéologie* 8 (*Découverte de l'Ethiopie chrétienne*), 1975, 116–27, here 121, fig. 3; ID. (ed.), JACQUES MERCIER (ed.), *L'Arche Éthiopienne. Art chrétien d'Éthiopie 27 septembre 2000–7 janvier 2001, Paris, Pavillon des Arts* [exhibition catalogue], Paris 2000, 142; BEATRICE PLAYNE, *Saint George for Ethiopia*, London 1954, 142, pl. D.

Ewa Balicka-Witakowska

Näʾakkʷəto Läʾab

Wag šum N.L. (**ንአኩቶ፡ ለአብ**, fl. 1746–47) was the son of *wag šum* ↗Arʾayo. In 1746 N.L. assumed power from a rival *wag šum* family that had previously been deposed by his father. Soon after, *aṣe* ↗Iyasu II led an expedition into ↗Wag, forcing N.L. to flee for his life. His house and property along with that of his son ↗Gigar, were sacked during this expedition. N.L. and Gigar later confronted the Emperor at ↗Wäfla, but were defeated and had to flee again. At ↗Säqoṭa, the capital of the *wag šum*, Iyasu discharged N.L. and appointed *wag šum* Täklä Haymanot, the great grandson of the *wag šum* deposed by N.L.'s father.

Src.: GuiIyas 128–32 (text).
Lit.: WUDU TAFETE KASSU, *A Political History of Wag and Lasta, C. 1543–1919*, M.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1995, 87f.

Wudu Tafete Kassu

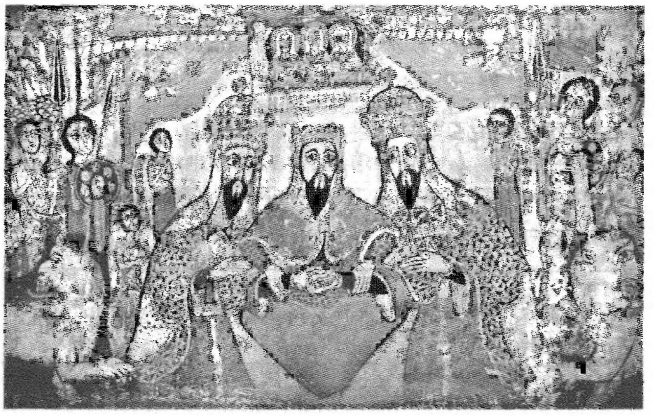
Nabtāb ↗Beni ᶜAmər

Nadäw

Däğğazmač N. (**ናደው**, "horse name" Abba Baḥər; b. 1810?, d. 1888?) was a military commander and a close associate of ↗Mənilək II.

Born into a Šäwan noble family, N. made career as a military leader under Mənilək, the *nəguś* of Šäwa. He had been the tutor of Mənilək first in Tämqe near Ankobär and later during the latter's confinement at Mäqdäla. He later assisted Mənilək in his escape from the fortress and eventually became one of his most trusted advisors.

Few details are known of N.'s life. In the 1870s he was the commander of Mənilək's army, with the title of ↗*fitawrari*. In his role as confidant of Mənilək, N. frequently mediated between him and *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV. In 1878, he was made a



Fitawrari Nadäw mediates between Mənilək II and Yoḥannəs IV; mural on canvas, southern wall of the *mäqdäs*, about 1875, the church of Amanu'el, Balči, eastern Šäwa; photo 1993, courtesy of Michael Gervers

↗*däğğazmač*, after already having been named ↗*abägaz* of the Oromo in Šäwa. In 1885 N. was appointed as governor of the predominantly Oromo-inhabited Č̣älliha district. He was married to *wäyzäro* Qonğit Däbnäh and later to *wäyzäro* Käfäy, daughter of *ras* ↗Wale Bəṭul and empress ↗Ṭaytu's cousin. N. died around 1888–90, and was succeeded by his son ↗Täsämma Nadäw as royal councillor and military leader.

Src.: BTafA 591f., 952; GueCopMen 76, 141, 144, 160, 206.
Lit.: HAROLD GOLDEN MARCUS, *The Life and Times of Menelik II, Ethiopia 1844–1913*, Oxford 1975, 16.

Jon Abbink

Nadäw Abba Wällo

Ras N. (ናደው፡ አባ፡ ወሎ, "horse name" Abba Mäbräq; b. in Šäwa, d. 1929) belonged to the powerful Adisge "clan" of northern Šäwa, and was a prominent politician involved in foreign affairs during ↗Mənilək II's and Empress ↗Zäwditu's time. He was also the governor of Illubabor province for many years until his death.

In 1917 N. acted as the head of the mission sent by Empress Zäwditu and *ras* Täfäri Mäkʷännən (later ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I) to the ↗United Kingdom and the ↗United States, with the task of congratulating the allies upon their victory in World War I as well as underlining Ethiopia's independence and its role on the international scene.

In the period of Ethiopia's efforts to enter the ↗League of Nations, N. acted as Ethiopia's representative. In August 1922 he headed the delegation to Geneva; the group included two other envoys, ↗Ḫəruy Wäldä Śəllase and Fasika.

He also accompanied *ras* Täfäri during the latter's journey to Europe in 1924.

Src.: HerTar 47; HSLife 60, 77, 84; MahHorse 245.
Lit.: HAROLD GOLDEN MARCUS, *A History of Ethiopia*, Berkeley, CA 1994, 121.

Hanna Rubinkowska

Nadel, Siegfried F.

N. (Siegfried Ferdinand [later Frederick, "Fred"] Stephan N.; b. 24 April 1903, Lemberg, Austria [today Lwów, Ukraine], d. 14 January 1956, Canberra, Australia) was an Austrian-born naturalized British universal scholar, whose anthropological interests touched Eritrea.

N. was the son of the lawyer Dr. Moritz Nadel and Adele Hirschsprung, both of Jewish descent. In 1912 the family moved to Vienna. Although N. made a career as a social anthropologist, he was also a fully trained conductor and composer (Musikakademie Wien and Musikhistorisches Institut, 1920–23; he worked as assistant conductor for Düsseldorf Opera House in 1925) and held a Ph.D. in Psychology and Philosophy (Universität Wien, 11 November 1925). In July 1926 he married the Austrian musicologist Lisbeth Braun, with whom he had one daughter. In 1932, after having studied ethnomusicology and African languages in Berlin, N. was awarded a Rockefeller fellowship for studies in African anthropology. The same year he moved to the United Kingdom.

From October 1932 until 1937 N. studied at the London School of Economics (L.S.E.) under Bronisław Malinowski and Charles Gabriel Seligman. He carried out field work on the Nupe culture in Nigeria in 1933–35 and 1935–36 with a field research fellowship from the International African Institute, and on the Nuba in Sudan as government anthropologist for the Anglo–Egyptian Sudan in 1938.

Early in 1941 N. enlisted in the Sudan Defence Force and later that year transferred to the British Army, East African Command. For about a year he was in charge of a frontier post at the Eritrean-Ethiopian border. He subsequently became Secretary of Native Affairs in the ↗British Military Administration (B.M.A.) in Asmära, with the rank of Major. During this period he collected materials on Eritrea and wrote several articles and reports on the ethnic setting in this and the neighbouring countries, as well as on the ↗land tenure in the highlands (NadEr, Nadel 1944, 1945, 1946, 1947).

In 1945 N. was transferred to the Home Establishment, and in May 1945 to Tripolitania with the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel. There he was again Secretary of Native Affairs and also became Deputy Chief Secretary in the B.M.A. In June

1946 he returned to England and was released from the army. In the same year, N. was awarded the Wellcome Medal for the anthropological writings based on his wartime experiences.

N. returned to scholarship and taught social anthropology at such renowned institutions as the L.S.E. (as Senior Lecturer), Durham University (King's College, Newcastle, as Reader in Anthropology and Head of Department, 1948). From 1950 until his death he held the Chair in Anthropology and Sociology at the new Australian National University. His unpublished estate, including his Eritrean diaries and photo collections, is kept in the archive of the L.S.E.

Src.: SIEGFRIED F. NADEL, *Eritrea and her Neighbours*, British Military Administration, Eritrea 1944, 1–17; ID., "Notes on Beni Amer Society", *SNR* 26, 1945, 1–44; ID., "Land Tenure on the Eritrean Plateau", *Africa* 16, 1, 1–22, and 2, 99–109, 1946; ID., [review of Longrigg, *A Short History of Eritrea*], *ibid.* 17, 2, 1947, 145–46; NadEr; British Library of Political and Economic Science, archive: Nadel_14/1–2, _16/1, _18/6, _19/4 and _19/21.

Lit.: RAYMOND FIRTH, "Siegfried Frederick Nadel 1903–1956", *American Anthropologist* 59, 1956, 117–24; MEYER FORTES, "Siegfried Frederick Nadel, 1903–1956. A Memoir", in: SIEGFRIED F. NADEL, *The Theory of Social Structure*, London 1957, IX–XVI; JANA SALAT, *Reasoning as Enterprise. The Anthropology of S. F. Nadel*, Göttingen 1983 (Monographica 2); EAD., "Nadel, Siegfried Ferdinand Stephan (1903–1956)", in: *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford 2004 (online).

Kerstin Volker-Saad

Näfas Mäwçça

N.M. (ነፋስ፡ መውጫ, Amh. 'the place of going forth of the winds'; possibly an allusion to the legend found in the *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*Aksum* about tunnels under stele where winds blew out all lights) is a megalithic structure situated at the western end of the Central Stelae Field, ↗Aksum. The structure is overlain by a recumbent ↗stela (Stela 1) that possibly fell during erection at some point in the early 4th cent., the date providing a terminus post quem for the underlying construction. The structure comprises a massive 360-tonne syenite central capstone supported by an ashlar superstructure. The ↗Deutsche Aksum-Expedition (DAE II, 94ff.) conducted planning and clearance work here in 1906; subsequent archaeological research by Doresse, de Contenson and notably by the British Institute of Eastern Africa (BIEA) expedition led by Neville Chittick expanded on the DAE plans (Munro-Hay 1989:116–20, 165f.).

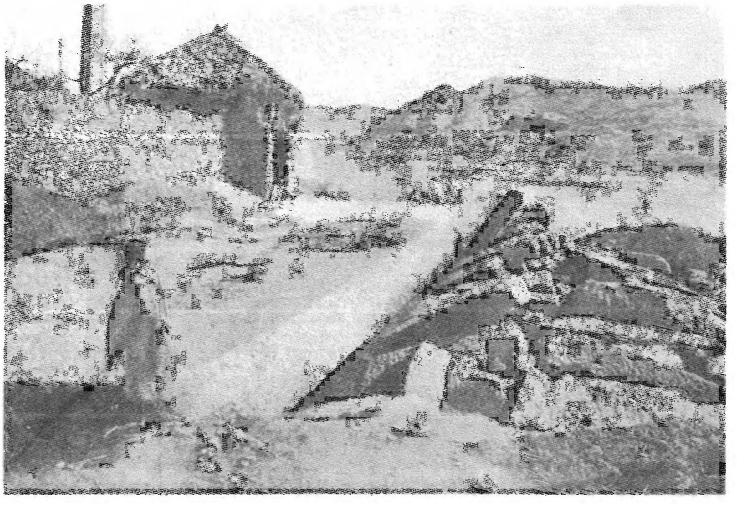
In plan, the building is of rectangular form, approximately 14.5 m wide (north-south axis) and 22.5 m long (west-east axis). A narrow corridor or ambulatory runs around a central "room" flanked itself by two corridors on the northern and southern edges. These areas may have been filled with rubble to better support the weight of the capstone. A sound hypothesis, formulated by Phillipson (2000:481), is that this is a tomb of an elite king or a royal relative. Its scale, monumental construction and proximity to the tomb complexes in the Central Stele Field would support this statement, although it does not seem to be associated with a standing stela (as is the case with the mausoleum and the "east tomb" on the terrace above). In these regards, it closely resembles the "Tomb of the False Door".

Bronze and glass fragments recovered in situ during excavation would initially point perhaps to elite grave goods, but their contextual provenance is doubtful. 35 bronze coins of late Aksumite rulers, mostly from the 6th-7th cent. A.D., have been unearthed at the site, on the second level, formed after the stela had fallen (Contenson 1959:32). Further excavation work is needed in order to furnish stratified material that will help date the structure and yield more concrete clues as to its main function.

A historical settlement by the same name, east of Lake Ṭana, appears in several Ethiopian royal chronicles, including those of Susənyos and Yohannəs I.

Src.: BeckHuntAlvar xcviif.; GuiIyas 244; PerChr 246.

Lit.: HENRI DE CONTENSON, "Les fouilles à Axoum en 1957. Rapport prélimiaire", *AE* 3, 1959, 25–42; DAE II, 94ff., fig. 208 (ill.); HuntGeogr 174, 180, 198; MHAksum; UGO MONNERET DE VILLARD, *Aksum. Ricerche di topografia generale*, Roma 1938 (Analecta orientalia 16), 3f., 13, 34; STUART MUNRO-HAY, *Excavations at Aksum*, Lon-



Ruins of Näfas Mäwçça in 1906; from DAE II, fig. 208

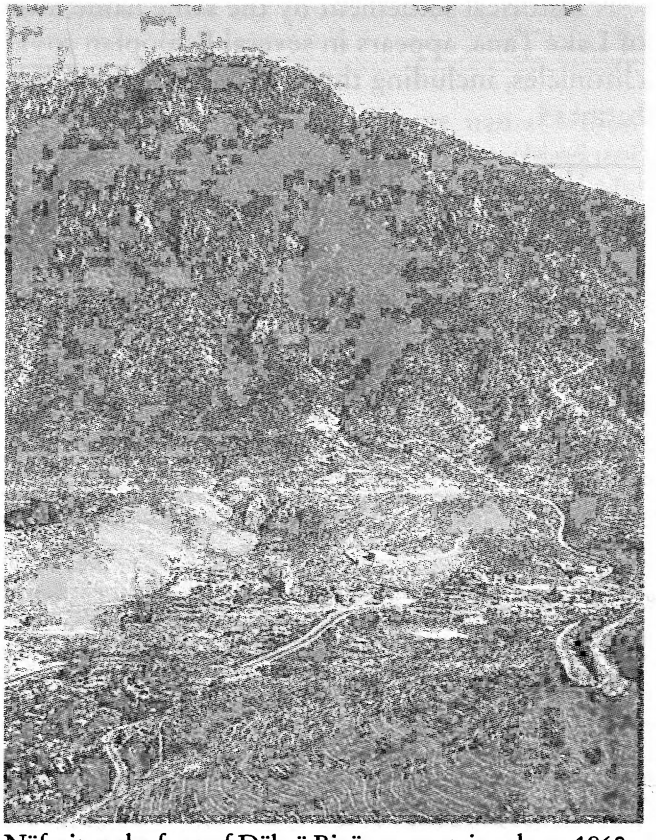
don 1989, 116–20, 165f.; DAVID PHILLIPSON, *Archaeology at Aksum 1993–1997*, London 2000, 481.

Niall Finneran

Näfasit

N. (ንፋሲት, Tgn. 'windy' [fem.]) is a settlement in the escarpments of ↗Ḥamasen, at the traditional border to the lowlands (↗Sämhar), ca. 25 km south-west from ↗Ginda^{c} and 20 km east of ↗Asmära at 1,648 m A.S.L. (15° 2' E, 39° 3' N; for location s. Nägaš). It is situated in a long valley that served as an ancient caravan route between ↗Massawa and the Ḥamasen highlands, surrounded by the mountain massifs of ↗Däbrä Bizän and Däbrä Ləssa.

The toponym N. seems to be older than the town it probably originally signified a small roadside hill at the foot of Däbrä Bizän (s. map of the Colonia Eritrea 1889/90). The settlement was founded during the construction of the ↗railway (littorina) from Massawa to Asmära. A folk etymology connects the name N. with Italian constructors calling their work (particularly difficult in N. and above) "nefasto" ('ill-fated'). From N. the now disused railway rises in serpentines to another small former railway station, Arba^{c} Ruba^{c} (2,064 m A.S.L.), on the namesake steep mountain (2,343 m A.S.L.) and continues to Asmära. A road runs along the railway; another connects N. with ↗Däqqämḥare Ǝggäla via May Ḥabar. The *ruba* ^{c}Addi Ruso, another ancient caravan route, links the N. valley to May Ḥabar, known for its fruit (papaya, mango) plantations.



Näfasit at the foot of Däbrä Bizän mountain; photo 1960s, courtesy of Mike Metras

The vegetation is no longer as abundant as in Ginda^{c}. Most of the rocky area is covered by cactae; ↗euphorbia dominated until the 1960s, replaced today by the ↗*bäläs*, the fruits of which are a source of income for the population. ↗Juniper trees also grow in the valley.

Situated at the crossroads between Ḥamasen, Sämhar and ↗Akkälä Guzay, the N. region is ethnically and culturally diverse. In pre-colonial times it was a lowly populated border area, dominated by semi-pastoralist ↗Təgre. In the 19th cent. it was a Muslim region, with occasional Christian presence. The monks of the monastery traditionally used the spot to keep contact with the road to the sea, and by pilgrims to make a halt. According to oral traditions, during a conflict in the 1840s, the deposed regent of Ḥamasen, ↗Ǝllen, allegedly found refuge in a cave nearby, at the foot of Däbrä Bizän. The first Christians to settle here permanently came during the railway construction (according to a local tradition, some of them came from another N. in Təgray, another possible explanation for the place name). Today, the population is partially Christian Orthodox, partially Muslim; the majority of ca. 9,000 inhabitants speaks ↗Təgrəññña or Təgre. There is also a Catholic mission, but only very few Catholics.

The two churches of N., Ṭaḥanit Mäkina and Abunä Filəppos, have close relationship to Däbrä Bizän and house some of its monks.

Ancient Təgre families in the N. area are the Mäkki, most of them agriculturalists at the *ruba* ^{c}Addi Ruso, and at ^{c}Addi Ḥabab. The seasonal ↗Sāho camp of La^{c}aytän at Däbrä Bizän on the road to May Ḥabar, and administratively part of N., changed into a permanent settlement in the 1990s. The government has given the territory to the Muslim Sāho, against the protests of the Däbrä Bizän monastery, traditionally claiming jurisdiction over all the territories on the mountain down to the valley.

Src.: oral communications of local elders 1993, 1995, 2000; ISTITUTO GEOGRAFICO MILITARE (BORZINI), *Carta della colonia Eritrea*, F4: *Monte Bizen*, 1:50,000, 1889–90 (archives of Giancarlo Stella, Fusignone); *Guida* 192.

Lit.: ALESSANDRO BAUSI – GIANFRANCESCO LUSINI, "Appunti in margine a una nuova ricerca sui conventi eritrei", *RSE* 36, 1992 [1994], 5–36, here 22f.

Wolbert Smidt

Näffaᶜ Wäd ᶜƎtman

N. (ነፋዕ፡ ወድ፡ ዕትማን, b. ca. 1882, northern Eritrea, d. 1909) was a learned man and a writer in his mother tongue, ↗Təgre, as well as ↗Littmann's most important informant for that language.

The son of a ballad singer of noble origin (Tgr.: *šəmagälle*, s. ↗*šəmagəlle*), N. spent his childhood among the ↗Mänsaᶜ, a Təgre-speaking tribe of ↗Sänḥit. Against the wishes of his Muslim family, he decided to be educated at the Protestant school in Gäläb, run at that time by ↗Sundström (s. ↗Swedish Evangelical Mission). Having converted to Christianity, N. himself became a teacher and a missionary in 1901; besides, he began to collect and write down the traditions of his people.

At the end of 1905, Littmann, then head of the ↗Princeton University Expedition to Abyssinia, arrived at Gäläb, and started working with N. on the Təgre language. N. also became his assistant in collecting the tales, dirges and other texts and language materials from Təgre. Two years later, N. was able to go with Sundström to Strasbourg, where he again met Littmann, and stayed with him for two years. During this period, N. studied German, Italian and Arabic. At the same time, he assisted Littmann in the edition and interpretation of the texts previously collected. N. disappeared on his way back to Eritrea, on 16 April 1909, during a ship journey between Naples and Catania.

The texts collected, edited and interpreted with N.'s help, were eventually included in Littmann's *Publications* (LitPEA), the first volume of which appeared in 1910 (when N. had already disappeared). The third volume, a collection of Təgre songs, also contains an introduction composed by N. in his native language (pp. XI–XXIV).

Later, N.'s observations were of primary importance for the publication of the *Wörterbuch der Tigre-Sprache* by Enno Littmann and Maria ↗Höfner (1962). In this dictionary, the abbreviation "Mscr." at the end of a lexical entry indicates that the word and its meaning are taken from Littmann's manuscript notes, in turn based on data orally transmitted by N.

Lit.: ArEvang 358f.; LitPEA vol. 1, XI–XV, vol. 3, XI–XXIV; ENNO LITTMANN, "Erinnerungen an Naffaᶜ Wad ᶜEtmân", *Der Neue Orient* 2, 1918, 587–91 [repr. in: RUDI PARET – ANTON SCHALL (eds.), *Ein Jahrhundert Orientalistik. Lebensbilder aus der Feder von Enno Littman und Verzeichnis seiner Schriften* ..., Wiesbaden 1955, 14–25]; ID. – MARIA HÖFNER, *Wörterbuch der Tigrē-Sprache*, Wiesbaden 1962, V–VI; SHLOMO RAZ, "Source Materials for the Study of the Tigre Language", in: *SegBodLes* 307–22, here 308ff.

Gianfrancesco Lusini

Näfs abbat

N.a. (Amh. [የ]ነፍስ፡ አባት, [*yä*]*näfs abbat*, lit. 'the soul's father'; Gəᶜəz አበ፡ ነፍስ, *abä näfs*) – father confessor – is one of the important institutions of the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥədo) Church since the N.a.'s ministry covers almost all the facets of the pastoral ministry at family, personal and associative levels. Rather informal as it may be, the network of the N.a. is in fact what holds the Christian community together. The N.a. is characterised by his intimate relationship with, and knowledge of, his parish (↗*Aṭbiya*). In this regard, he is often likened to the "family doctor" or the parish priest in rural areas of Western Europe. Ordained presbyters only can become N.a. on account of their participation into the Petrine ministry (*simätä abunä Ṗeṭros*, cf. *Mäṣḥäfä qəddase* 1966/67 , *Anaphora of the Apostles*, § 162; cp. ↗*kəhnät*; ↗*qäsis*). N.a. are usually married clergy, although monks are increasingly involved as N.a. outside the monastery. The *abunä qäsis* (lit. 'our father priest') is the monk in whom a bishop confides and is part of his entourage. Monks confess to their abbot or elder monks.

The N.a. is the priest one normally approaches to receive the sacrament of ↗Penance, i.e. a confessor (and is also called in Gəᶜəz አበ፡ ንስሐ, *abä nəssəḥa*; Amh. የንስሐ፡ አባት, *yänəssəḥa abbat*, lit. 'the father of Penance'). Understandably, one and the same priest is both the spiritual father and the confessor. While the name "spiritual father" describes this priest in his permanent socio-religious role and relationship, the name "confessor" reveals his function in one particular sacramental moment.

The N.a. is almost omnipresent in traditional Ethiopian Christian society. From the age of seven, any person may freely select his/her spiritual father. However, while the choice of the N.a. is free, it may not be changed at will. If dissatisfaction arises between the N.a. and his spiritual son/daughter, the latter may turn to another priest. In any case, before changing, one must ask the leave of the previous N.a., who never refuses it. Travellers may look for a priest while on journey: they introduce themselves and ask for the priest's blessing and absolution before going to sleep so that they can be sure that, in case of sudden death, they will receive a Church ↗burial.

A N.a.'s visit to a family or individual does not have to be a formal procedure, and he makes himself available for various types of advice or reconciling people in conflict. A sure mark of

how much a N.a. is appreciated is the level of support he receives from his spiritual children. Throughout the year two mandatory visits to the N.a. take place. The first is on the feast of *Däbrä Zäyt* (mid-Lent), when the "spiritual children" visit their spiritual father and bring him money (in the case of town dwellers) or grain (for those in the countryside), an income upon which the N.a.'s family is relying. Those who visit the N.a. may be offered ↗*ṭälla*-beer or *ṭəre* (grains) prepared by the priest's wife. The second visit takes place on the feast of *Däbrä Tabor* (the Transfiguration, 13 *Näḥase*). Besides, the N.a. visits those who were not present at the church service of Palm Sunday and were therefore unable to attend the Absolution (↗*Fəṭḥat*) of those who might die during Holy Week. This visit, during which neither food nor drink are offered, is important because no funeral services are held during the Holy Week (cp. ↗*Gəbrä Ḥəmamat*).

The N.a. has an active involvement in all important decisions, and his advice is always taken into consideration. Called after a birth, he purifies the home with holy water and arranges for the infant's ↗baptism. He is involved in ↗wedding arrangements, whether sacramental or not (cp. ↗Marriage; ↗Matrimony). When someone is dying, the N.a. accompanies him, and his family, during his/her last days. During this time he will hear the person's last confession, absolve him/her and may, although extremely rarely, celebrate the Anointing of the Sick (↗*Qändil*). He may administer the last Eucharistic communion, celebrating Liturgy (↗*Qəddase*) in the nearby church and bringing the Eucharist to the person's home with the assistance of a deacon; otherwise, he would celebrate Liturgy in a tent erected near the house by the community. The N.a. is instrumental in receiving the dying person's last will (↗*Nuzaze*) and disclosing it in due time, normally at the ↗*täzkar* of the 40th day.

The ministry of the father confessor may have existed in Ethiopia since the introduction of ↗Christianity or at least since the development of the monastic movement there. Indeed, both spiritual guidance and penance are linked with the monastic tradition. The latter found from the start its evangelizing outlet in the ministry of the holy monks who were consulted by pilgrims eager to obtain an advise that would set them on the right way, or who took spiritual care of newly converted Christians. The ministry is well-described in some writings of the Canon ↗law adopted by the Ethiopians. Four books of the Ethiopic *Senodos* repeat the canon which exhorts bishops, priests and even deacons not to violate Jesus Christ's word saying that there will be great joy in heaven for one sinner who repents (Lk 15:7; cp. Metzger 1985:171ff.). However, it is not known how exactly the institution of N.a. was embedded in the society during the early period. The revival of the ministry is ascribed to *aṣe* Zär'a Ya'əqob, who enforced it to ensure that his religious reforms would reach each family (TadTChurch 238). In the *Mäṣḥäfä* ↗*milad* Zär'a Ya'əqob invokes the ministry referring to both the ↗*Didəsqəlya* (Harden 1920:33f. [ii.20]; Platt 1834:42) and ↗*Senodos* (Horner 1904:5).

Historical sources refer to the ቄስ፡ሐፂ, *qes ḥaṣe* (or /ሐፃይ, *ḥaṣäy*), or the monarch's personal confessor, the position of considerable importance throughout centuries: *qes ḥaṣani* Zäkaryas and Zä'adonay of ↗Lalibäla (CRDLib 13, no. 6; 16, no. 7, resp.); *qes ḥaṣe* (*ḥaṣäy*) Zakaryas of *aṣe* ↗Zär'a Ya'əqob (CRAxum 25, no. 17; Kropp 2005:119, 133; cp. PerrZarY 38); ↗Aśärä Krəstos of *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs I; Matewos of *aṣe* ↗Iyasu I (GuiIohan 63); ∃lfəyos of *aṣe* ↗Iyasu II (GuiIyas 29) etc. (the last having been *abba* ↗Gäbrä Ḥanna Ğimma).

Among the ↗Betä ∃sra'el, every adult has a N.a. who serves as a spiritual guide and confessor.

Src.: BauSen 132f., no. 35; 166, no. 48; 211, no. 47; 262, no. 47 (text); GuiIohan 63 (text) = 62 (tr.); GuiVoc 269; JOHN M. HARDEN, *The Ethiopic Didascalia*, London 1920 (S.P.C.K. Translations of Christian Literature, Ser. IV. Oriental Texts), 34 [ii.20]; GuiIyas 29, 40, 143 (text) = 28, 41, 154 (tr.); FRIEDRICH HEYER, *Die Kirche Äthiopiens: Eine Bestandsaufnahme*, Berlin 1971 (Theologische Bibliothek Töpelmann 22), s. index; GEORGE WILLIAM HORNER (ed.), *The Statutes of the Apostles, or Canones Ecclesiastici*, London 1904, 5 (text) = 131f. (tr.) [statute 11]; MANFRED KROPP, "«Antiquae restitutio legis». Zur Alimentation des Hofklerus und einer Zeugenliste als *imago imperii* und *notitia dignitatum* in einer Urkunde des Kaisers Zär'a Ya'qob im *Condaghe* der Hs. BM Or. 481, fol. 154", in: DENIS NOSNITSIN et al. (eds.), *Varia Aethiopica: in Memory of Sevir B. Chernetsov (1943–2005)*, St. Petersburg 2005 (= Scrinium 1), 115–47, here 119, 133; MARCEL METZGER, *Les Constitutions apostoliques*, T. 1: *Livres I et II*, Paris 1985 (Sources chrétiennes 320), 167, 171ff.; መጽሐፈ፡ቅዳሴ (*Mäṣḥafä qəddase*, 'The Book of the Hallowing [Missal]'), Addis Abäba 1959 A.M. [1966/67 A.D.], 250f.; THOMAS PELL PLATT, *The Ethiopic Didascalia: or, the Ethiopic Version of the Apostolical Constitutions, Received in the Church of Abyssinia*, London 1834, 42; KURT WENDT, *Das Maṣḥafa Milād (Liber Nativitatis) und Maṣḥafa Sellāsē (Liber Trinitatis) des Kaisers Zar'a Yā'qob*, II, Louvain 1963 (CSCO 235, 236 [SAe 43, 44]), 25ff. (text) = 23 (tr.).
Lit.: ETHIOPIAN ORTHODOX TÄWAḤƎDO CHURCH (ed.), መርሐ፡ጽድቅ፡ባህለ፡ሃይማኖት፡ (*Märḥa ṣədəq bahlä*

haymanot, 'The Guide of Righteousness, Ways of Religion'), Addis Abäba 1988 A.M. [1995/96 A.D.], 48ff., 93ff.; ID. (ed.), *The Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Church Faith, Order of Worship and Ecumenical Relations*, Addis Ababa 1988 A.M. [1995/96 A.D.], 40, 43f.; *liqä səlṭanat* HABTÄ MARYAM WÄRQƏNÄH, ትምህርተ፡ አበ፡ ነፍስ (*Təmhərtä abä näfs*, 'The Teaching of the Soul's Father'), Addis Abäba 1953 A.M. [1960/61 A.D.]; STEVEN KAPLAN, *Les Falāshās*, Turnhout 1990, 186; TadTChurch 238.

Emmanuel Fritsch

Näfṭäññä

The Amharic term N. (ነፍጠኛ) means originally: 'someone carrying a muzzle-loaded rifle', i.e., a soldier in *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II's army in the 1890s. The word probably derives from the older Arabic word *näfṭ* for what was then called "Greek" or "liquid" fire (explosives) and subsequently for rifles (Ferrier in EI² vol. 7, 884ff.; Pankhurst 1971:48). The term N. was known under the 17th-cent. *aṣe* ↗Susənyos (s. Strelcyn 1964:262) and was also used in the 18th cent. by *aṣe* ↗Bäkaffa, who was said to have used Muslim N. in his army (Pankhurst 1971:51). It came in vogue in the last decade of the 19th cent., although it was also used for *aṣe* ↗Tewodros's rifle soldiers (cf. GueCop-Men 103). Its popular meaning in the 20th cent. became: descendant of soldier-settlers or armed immigrants associated with the invading imperial army and living in the conquered southern parts of Ethiopia (cf. KaneDic 1086). So this included non-gun bearing people (women and children) who happened to be born in the area after their fathers' migration. In pre-19th-cent. sources, settlers or migrants from northern Ethiopia moving to the south in earlier times were not called N., as they were mostly religious functionaries (Orthodox priests and monks, Muslim preachers) and traders. Its contemporary meaning, especially since 1991 when a new regime came to power in Ethiopia, has become very pejorative and polemic, indicating something like "violent, illegal northern settlers on southern Ethiopian lands not theirs, mostly Amhara, with a domineering/arrogant attitude". The use of the term N. in ideological, ethnicized discourse, especially on website polemics and in partisan literature, has become widespread, but is a largely sterile term of insult. As a result, the historical complexity of the phenomenon of N. is conveniently forgotten, and a now diffuse and pan-ethnic category of people tends to be labelled thus in terms of "collective guilt".

Historically then, the N. were the Ethiopian emperor's riflemen, usually of different ethnocultural background, who secured the conquest and manned the state's garrisons (↗*Kätäma*, which later evolved into villages and towns), receiving tributary rights over people (↗*gäbbar*, for forced *corvée* labour and produce) or land, either expropriated from local people or claimed from vacant, unused space. In pastoral areas, however, this system did not successfully take hold. The N.-*gäbbar* relationship was fundamentally exploitative and deeply resented (cf. McClellan 1988:72; Alexander Naty 2002:60). The number of *gäbbars* per N. household differed; it could be from two to ten for a common soldier, but might rise to 30 to 80 for an officer or district chief (BrHad 307). For the ↗Gide'o area even higher numbers were reported (McClellan 1988:64f.). N. land rights were based on grants allocated by the Emperor, as owner of all conquered or newly incorporated areas. There was a variety of forms, and land was also bought.

As the army of *aṣe* Mənilək had soldiers from many regions, but especially from central Ethiopia, mainly N. of ↗Amhara, ↗Oromo, ↗Gurage and ↗Təgray and Orthodox-Christian background settled in the south. Being mostly Orthodox, they cherished their own civilizational identity as above that of the local people, who adhered to traditional-local religions or cults.

The original numbers of N. in the South are difficult to determine exactly, but in view of the size of the various imperial armies led by, e.g., *ras* ↗Täsämma Nadäw, *ras* ↗Wäldä Giyorgis Aboyye and others (each ca. 20,000 to 30,000 men), they counted probably not more than a 100,000 people, expanding steadily as new arrivals came and families were established. Their position of power, buttressed by armed force and exploitation especially in the early decades after the conquest, was highly unpopular and contested – but only occasionally by collective armed revolts (cf. Abbink 1992:81; Garretson 1986:205; cf. McClellan 1988:73). Only in later years a *modus vivendi* evolved whereby patterns of co-operation, incorporation or accommodation developed between local people and settlers. In the wake of the armed settlers other groups, like traders, farmers, Orthodox priests, administrators, etc. also arrived, and were by implication reckoned as "N." as well. This second wave of settlers, however, faced conflict with the established N. in several places (cf. McClellan 1998:187f.). The more important land-holding elite among the N. became known as ↗*mälkäññä*, and many of the lo-

cal indigenous elite were integrated into the new system of power. Over the years, N. were partly "indigenized" – there was inter-marriage with local people (often with members of leading families), they adopted the local language and became well-rooted in local society, although politically and economically they remained the power elite.

The record of the N. in southern Ethiopia varied widely, with some having a reputation of gross abuse and arbitrary exploitation, while others integrated and co-operated with local people. In some areas, like ↗Arsi, ↗Mağı, Gideʾo and ↗Dime, rule by state agents and N. in the era up to World War II was severe, leading to great human suffering, economic and social crisis, and depopulation in some areas (cf. Haberland 1993:13, 188; Todd 1979:215f.). Similarly oppressive conditions, however, also existed in parts of north- and central Ethiopia, like in the Goğğam Amhara region under *ras* ↗Ḫaylu Täklä Haymanot.

In the wake of the Italian conquest of Ethiopia, many N. were attacked or forced out by their *gäbbars* and members of the indigenous-local elites. After the Italians left in 1941, various patriots (*arbäññočč*) were rewarded by *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I with land grants in southern areas (not in those where they had fought) and became 'landlords' (↗*Balabbats*) in their own right, but they differed from the N. in regard to social background, ambitions and power position.

In Ḫaylä Śəllase's reign since 1930, marked by centralization and state reform, the reign of N. and their leaders was curtailed, and abuse discouraged and sometimes sanctioned by fines and demotion. N. were gradually replaced by salaried police and army forces. In 1941 the N.-*gäbbar* system was formally abolished. The feudalist system of patron-client labour relations, however, did not fundamentally change. Most former *gäbbars* became tenants, often in a much worse position. Local *balabbats*, many of northern N. descent, remained the pivotal power brokers. In the post-war years up to the Ethiopian revolution, people of N. background, due to their knowledge of Amharic and their wealth or better educational profile, were often the contact people for the national government in the peripheral areas, as administrators, civil servants, teachers, entrepreneurs, etc., but the N. as such disappeared.

After the demise of the Empire in 1974, the revolutionary-Marxist *Därg* regime (↗Provisional Military Administrative Council) decried the record of the "exploitative feudal class" to which the descendants of N. were seen to belong (often as *balabbat*) and their gradual decline of fortune became visible. Many were forcefully dispossessed, especially after the 1975 land reform (leading to nationalization and expropriation). Their social decline accelerated after 1991, when the new government intensified an ideological campaign against perceived northern ("Amhara") "oppressive classes" or elites in newly defined "ethnic" areas, notably in the south. In statements read to local ethnic communities after the take-over of power, the N. were explicitly mentioned as the former "oppressive class" from which the new regime had come to liberate the people. Despite the tide turning against them and their being vilified on often unspecified, ideological grounds, descendants of N. have survived and adapted, and the majority of them still live in their areas of birth, forming a diffuse category of people.

Src.: R.W. FERRIER, "Nafṭ", in: *EI²* vol. 7, 884–90; ALEXANDER BULATOVITCH, *Ethiopia through Russian Eyes: Country in Transition, 1896–1898*, tr. by RICHARD SELTZER, Lawrenceville, NJ – Asmara 2000; GueCopMen 103, 613; KaneDic 1086.

Lit.: JON ABBINK, "Economy and Society in Southwest Ethiopia: the Emergence of the 'Tishana'", in: JON ABBINK – HANS VERMEULEN (eds.), *History and Culture: Essays on the Work of Eric Wolf*, Amsterdam 1992, 71–94; BrHad 307; DONALD LEWIS DONHAM, "Old Abyssinia and the New Ethiopian Empire: Themes in Social History", in: WENDY JAMES – DONALD LEWIS DONHAM (eds.), *The Southern Marches of Imperial Ethiopia, Essays in History and Social Anthropology*, Cambridge 1986, 3–48; PETER P. GARRETSON, "Vicious Cycles: Ivory, Slaves, and Arms on the New Maji Frontier", *ibid.* 196–218; EIKE HABERLAND, *Hierarchie und Kaste: Zur Geschichte und politischen Struktur der Dizi (Südwest-Äthiopien)*, Wiesbaden 1993; CHARLES W. MCCLELLAN, *State Formation and National Integration: Gedeo and the Ethiopian Empire, 1895–1935*, East Lansing, MI 1988; ID., "Coffee in Centre-Periphery Relations: Gedeo in the Early Twentieth Century", in: JAMES – DONHAM 1986, 175–95; ALEXANDER NATY, "Memory and the Humiliation of Men: the Revolution in Aari", in: WENDY JAMES et al. (eds.), *Remapping Ethiopia: Socialism and After*, Oxford 2002, 59–73; RICHARD PANKHURST, "Linguistic and Cultural Data on the Penetration of Fire-arms into Ethiopia", *JES* 9, 1, 47–82; DAVE TODD, "War and Peace between the Bodi and Dime of South-western Ethiopia", in: KATSUYOSHI FUKUI – DAVID TURTON (eds.), *Warfare among East African Herders*, Osaka 1979, 211–25.

Jon Abbink

Nägädä Iyäsus

N.I. (ንገደ፡ ኢየሱስ, b. 15th cent., d. 15/16 February 1534), according to a note in the Kəbran Gospel, was a *liqä liqawənt* (↗*Liq*) when Tewologos was

↗*ᶜaqqabe säᶜat* of Däbrä Ḥayq Ǝsṭifanos during the reign of *aṣe* Naᶜod (ms. Kebrān 1, fol. 4v); N.I. became *ᶜaqqabe säᶜat* under *aṣe* ↗Ləbnä Dəngəl (CRAxum 29–41).

A contemporary of the Portuguese mission, N.I. met Francisco ↗Alvares, and was still at Ləbnä Dəngəl's court during the war against ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī "Grañ" (BassHist 326f.). N.I. held a high position at the royal court, and Alvares reports that one of N.I.'s sons married the Emperor's sister Romanä Wärq – an indication that, while being an *ᶜaqqabe säᶜat*, N.I. belonged to the married clergy and was not a monk (BeckHuntAlvar 108, 270f., 286, 305, 326f.).

During the 16th cent., the *ᶜaqqabe säᶜat* seems to have had scant links with his own Ḥayq community, N.I. spending most of his time at the royal court. However, he kept his control over the community as attested by the two documents preserved in the so-called Gospel book of Iyäsus Moᵓa (EMML 1832, fol. 184v, 269r). Most probably his authority was held by his representative at the monastery, the *afä ᶜaqqabe säᶜat*. During his charge there were at least two *afä ᶜaqqabe säᶜat*: Luqas and Kəflä Yoḥannəs (Ṗāwlos Ṣādwā 1952:25; EMML 1832, fol. 184v).

A powerful ecclesiastic and courtier, he was also one of the main opponents of *əčč̌äge* ↗ᶜƎnbaqom of Däbrä Libanos of Šäwa (RicEnbYoh IV, 85, 130f.).

The career of N.I. came to an end in 1532 when Däbrä Ḥayq Ǝsṭifanos was sacked by the soldiers of Aḥmad Grañ. N.I. fled together with *aṣe* Ləbnä Dəngəl. Finally, N.I. was captured and killed by Grañ's soldiers on 21/22 *Yäkkatit* 1526 A.M. [15/16 February 1534], according to the "Short Chronicle" and the first chapter of the Chronicle Śärṣa Dəngəl (KrLebD 14; DombrChr 163; BassÉt 105). The name of his successor is unknown. It could have been be a certain *ᶜaqqabe säᶜat* Yoḥannəs who was in charge during Ləbnä Dəngəl's reign (EMML 1942, fol. 85r).

Src.: BassÉt 14 (text) = 105 (tr.); BassHist 326f., 331–37 (tr.); BeckHuntAlvar 108, 270f., 286, 305, 326f.; CRAxum 29–41 (text) = 33–48 (tr.); DombrChr 162; EMML mf. 1832, fol. 184v, 269r and mf. 1942, fol. 85r; HamTana I, 84–91, ms. Kebrān 1 = Ṭānāsee 1; KrLebD 14f. (text) = 14 (tr.); ṖĀWLOS ṢĀDWĀ, "Un manoscritto etiopico degli Evangeli", *RSE* 11, 1952 [1953], 9–28, here 25; RicEnbYoh IV, 86 and n. 225 (130f.).

Lit.: STEFAN STRELCYN, "Matériaux pour l'étude de l'ancien amharique", in: *PICES* 2, 257–64; TADDESSE TAMRAT, "The Abbots of Däbrä Hayq 1248–1535", *JES* 8, 1, 1970, 87–117, here 114–17.

Marie-Laure Derat

Naǧāḥids

The N. were a dynasty of Ethiopian slaves with their capital in Zabīd in Tihāma, the Red Sea coastal plain of ↗Yemen, where they ruled between the years 1022 and 1158. Their history is best described in the account of ᶜUmāra (d. 1174), though this author confuses facts and fiction and seldom provides precise dates. Other Arab writers largely depend upon ᶜUmāra's text.

The N. history begins with the arrival of Naǧāḥ in Zabīd in 1022. Naǧāḥ, previously a slave governor of the Ziyādids, a dynasty in control of Tihāma during the 9th and early 10th cent., took over affairs outside Zabīd, while his brother, Nafīs, ruled within the town. The latter, however, was soon ousted by the former and Naǧāḥ received a diploma from the Abbasid caliph in Baghdad and was able to assume the insignia of royalty, strike his own coins and have his name inserted in the *ḫuṭba*. N. territory expanded northwards as far as Ḥaraḍ. The highlands remained in the hands of various other ruling houses, such as the Šīᶜī Ismāᶜīlī Ṣulayḥids of Ṣanᶜāᵓ and Ḏū Ǧibla, that rose to particular prominence in ca. 1047. Their history is closely connected to that of the N. The first Ṣulayḥid, ᶜAlī, is said to have poisoned Naǧāḥ in 1060 and, in the ensuing confusion, occupied Zabīd. Two sons of Naǧāḥ fled to the ↗Dahlak islands in the Red Sea. Two other sons, Saᶜīd (nicknamed al-Aḥwal, 'the cross-eyed') and Ǧayyāš, decided to regain power. They emerged in Zabīd killing ᶜAlī the Ṣulayḥid and kidnapping his wife, Asmāᵓ, in 1081. The large number of Ethiopian slave troops rallied to Saᶜīd and he was recognized as lord. ᶜAlī's son, al-Mukarram, rescued his mother in 1083 and the N. were once again compelled to flee to Dahlak; Ǧayyāš fled further to ↗India. In 1086, Saᶜīd was able to return as ruler, but he was put to death in 1088 at the instigation of the Ṣulayḥid queen, as-Sayyida Arwā, al-Mukarram's wife. Ǧayyāš returned to regain power in Zabīd in 1089. With his death in 1105 or 1107, the information becomes even more scanty and confused as power over Tihāma swung to and fro between the N. and the Ṣulayḥids. Ǧayyāš's son, Fātik I, died young in 1109 and, after a period of rule by a *wazīr*, when Fātik's grandson Fātik II became ruler. Killed in 1137, he was followed by his cousin, Fātik III. The N. asked other parties for assistance in the Tihāma affairs, including the Zaydīs whose territory was centred in the northern highlands of Yemen. They agreed to help on condition that

Fātik III be deposed and the Zaydī *imām* be recognized as lord of Zabīd. The N. gave their consent, but in 1156 another local Tihāmī dynasty, the Mahdids, entered Zabīd and murdered the last N. slave minister, essentially putting an end to the house. The dynasty itself finished with the death of Fātik III in 1158.

Other aspects of N. political history and social life in Tihāma under them are undocumented. It is known that, like the Ziyādids before them, the N. constantly brought over shiploads of Ethiopian slaves to Yemen to join their armies and populate the potentially fertile Tihāma. A 13th-cent. source (Ibn al-Muğāwir ed. 1954:235) mentions that the new town of Ḥays was populated almost exclusively by Ethiopians brought in specifically for that purpose.

No great caches of N. coins have been found, but Lowick (1976) has described four, all minted in Zabīd, and undoubtedly N.

Src: IBN AL-MUĞĀWIR, *Taʾrīḫ al-Mustabṣir*, ed. by OSCAR LÖFGREN, Leiden 1954, 66, 71, 235 [= tr. by GERALD REX SMITH, *A Traveller in Thirteenth-century Arabia: Ibn Al-mujawir's Tarikh Al-mustabsir*, London 2008 (Hakuyt Society Third series)]; YAḤYĀ B. AL-ḤUSAYN, *Ġāyat al-amānī fī aḫbār al-Quṭr al-Yamānī* ('The Maximum of what one Aspires to Know about the Historical Information on the Yemenite Territory'), ed. by ʿABDALFATTĀḤ ʿĀŠŪR, Cairo 1968; ʿUMĀRA B. ʿALĪ AL-YAMANĪ, *Taʾrīḫ al-Yaman / al-mufīd fī aḫbār Ṣanʿāʾ wa-Zabīd*, ed., tr. by HENRY CASSELS KAY, *Yaman: its Early Mediaeval History*, London 1892 [repr. 2004], here esp. 14ff., 81–123, 152–58, 169.

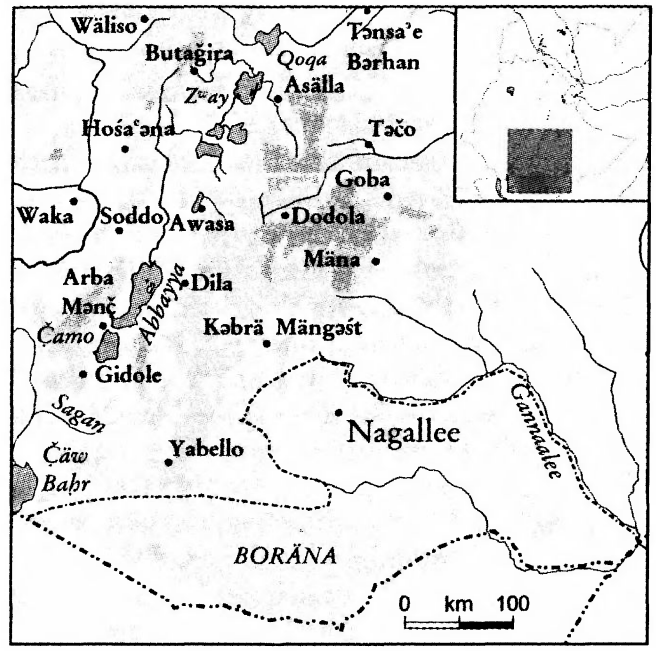
Lit.: ḤUSAYN B. FAḌLALLĀH AL-HAMDĀNĪ, *aṣ-Ṣulayḥīyūn wal-ḥaraka l-Fāṭimīya fī l-Yaman* ('The Ṣulayḥids and the Fāṭimid Movement in Yemen'), Cairo 1955 (Lit.); NICHOLAS LOWICK, "Coins of the Najāḥids of Yemen: a Preliminary Investigation", in: *Actes du 8ème congrès international de numismatique 1973*, Paris 1976; RUDOLF STROTHMANN – [GERALD REX SMITH], "Nadjāḥids", in: *EI²* vol. 7, 1993, 861–62 (Lit.).

G. Rex Smith

Nagallee

The town of N. (Nageellee, Amh. ነጋሌ, Nägale, 05° 17' N, 39° 42' E, 1,449 m A.S.L.) is located on the interfluve of the ↗Ganaalee river and the Dawa river, where plateau and highland meet.

N. was already a small town in 1936, when, after *ras* ↗Dästa Damṭäw attacked the Italians at ↗Dolo Odo in October 1935 and was defeated, Graziani counter-attacked and with the support of heavy bombing, took and razed the town to the ground on 20 January (Guida 597; Gentizon 1936:12–32). N. served as a sanctuary for the regular army during the Bale revolt led by Waqoo Gutu (Gebru Tareke 1991:125–59; Gilkes 1975:214–26). In early 1974, the garrison stationed there to keep an eye on the activities of the Western Somalia Liberation Front rebelled, at the same time as the troops engaged in Eritrea.



Until the 1987 reform N. was the capital of the Boräna *awraǧǧa* of the Sidamo region, up to 1991 it was the capital of the Boräna region. For some years it was then the capital of the Libän *wäräda* and of Boräna zone, Oromiyaa *kəllәl*. Today N. belongs to Guǧǧi *wäräda*, while the capital of Boräna zone shifted to ↗Yabello.

Between 1970 and 1984 the Boräna *awraǧǧa*, affected by Oromo and Somali guerrilla warfare and droughts, saw its population decline from 122,500 to 104,113 inhabitants. In 1984 N. was only a small administrative centre with a population of 11,997 inhabitants, an inflated figure because of the presence of soldiers. With peace progressing in the region since 1991 the population has been expanding quickly and it is now roughly 25 % of the total figure for the Libän *wäräda*. It rose from 32,289 inhabitants in 2000 to over 39,000 inhabitants in 2004 and even 47,763 inhabitants in 2005. This urban growth caused by the influx of pastoralists has been accelerated by an improved road network and better administrative framework.

Src.: CSA 2000, 2004; CENTRAL STATISTICAL AUTHORITY, *Ethiopia. Statistical Abstract 2005*, Addis Ababa 2005; CENTRAL STATISTICAL OFFICE (Provisional Military Government of Ethiopia), *Results of the National Sample Survey, 2nd Round*, vol. 5: *Land Area and Utilization*, Addis-Ababa 1975; EMAtlas; OFFICE OF THE POPULATION AND HOUSING CENSUS COMMISSION, *Ethiopia 1984. Population & Housing Census Preliminary Report*, Addis Ababa, vol. 1, no. 1, September 1984.

Lit.: JEAN GALLAIS, *Une géographie politique de l'Éthiopie: Le poids de l'État*, Paris 1989; GasEth; GEBRU

TAREKE, *Ethiopia: Power and Protest. Paesants Revolts in the Twentieth Century*, Cambridge 1991 (African Studies Series 71), 125–59; PAUL GENTIZON, *La conquête de l'Éthiopie*, Paris 1936, 12–32; PATRICK GILKES, *The Dying Lion. Feudalism and Modernisation in Ethiopia*, London 1975, 214–26; *Guida* 597; J. HOLT, "Looking Beyond the Towns: Facts and Conjectures about Rural Returnees in the Ogaden and 'Somaliland'", in: TIM ALLEN (ed.), *In Search of Cool Ground: War, Flight and Homecoming in Northeast Africa*, Trenton, NJ – Asmara 1996, 143–52; RICHARD HOGG, "Changing Mandates in the Ethiopian Ogaden. The Impact of Somali 'Refugees and Returnees' on the UNHCR", *ibid.* 153–63; MesfAtlas; MesfGeogr.

Alain Gascon

Nägärä haymanot

N.h. (**ነገረ፡ ሃይማኖት**, 'The Account of the Faith') is an Amharic treaty synthesizing the ↗*Karra* views of the history and doctrines of the Unctionist (↗*Qəbat*) and Adoptionist (↗*Ṣägga ləğ* or ↗*Śost lədät*) religious movements. It was most probably written after the council of ↗Boru Meda in 1878.

Seven copies of the N.h. are known, in private possession of ecclesiastics and intellectuals (mss. EMML 1710, 2906, 2950, 4641), or in monastic libraries (↗Moṭa Giyorgis in Goğğam; churches in Šäwa: mss. EMML 1533, 1648). Extracts sometimes appear under other titles (e.g., *Nägärä guba'e zä'abäw*, 'Account of the Council of the Fathers'; s. Berhanou Abebe 1994). The N.h. has not been edited; summaries have been published by Gäbre-Yesus Haylu (in PICES 1, after ms. EMML 2906) and Kindeneh Endeg (2004, ch. 1, after the ms. from Moṭa Giyorgis).

The N.h. narrates how, ever since the time of Pope Leo I, it was the Alexandrian Church alone (including the Ethiopian Church) that preserved the true doctrine of two births and one nature of Christ. It was the only belief in Ethiopia throughout the Aksumite times, after the ↗"Nine Saints", during the ↗Zag^{w}e era, under *abba* ↗Gäbrä Mänfäs Qəddus, and in the age of ↗Ewosṭatewos, until the Europeans came and preached one person and two natures. According to the N.h., Alfonso ↗Mendes (here "Awfänyos"), after being expelled by ↗Fasilädäs, stopped at ↗Fəremona on his way to the Red Sea and indoctrinated two Ethiopians from Goğğam: "Dəhu" Ewosṭatewos from Sänk^{w}a Giyorgis, Mäčča, and "Qurenč" Täklä Haymanot from Ğärr Gäbrə'el. They introduced the foreign teaching to their home areas, the former teaching the *Qəbat* and the latter the *Śost lədät* doctrine. They were defeated by *əčč̌äge* Bäträ Giyorgis in an oral dispute at Gondär, but went on teaching, making Goğğam the motherland of Ethiopian Orthodox heresies.

The N.h. then tells of the success of the *Qəbat* during *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs I's reign. Such doctrine is said to have been written down in the text referred to as **አዕማደ፡ ምሥጢር** (*A^{c}əmadä məśṭir*, 'Pillars of Mystery'). This work should not be confused with the ↗*Amməstu a^{c}əmadä məśṭir*, a well-known *Täwaḥədo* writing, but can probably be identified with the text known in Goğğam as *Mäṣḥafä məśṭir*, one of the few *Qəbat* versions of the history of the theological schools from the 16th to the 18th cent., which is attributed to *abba* ↗Zəkrä Maryam and *abba* ↗Ṗawli. The N.h. states that ↗Dawit III also supported the *Qəbat* party and persecuted the *Täwaḥədo* supporters.

Concerning the *Ṣägga ləğ*, or *Śost lədät*, party, the N.h. narrates how the 18th-cent. Šäwan ruler ↗Ammənḫa Iyäsus protected three *Ṣägga* monks from Tädbabä Maryam. His son ↗Asfa Wäsän grew up with their teaching and, on coming to power, imposed the *Ṣägga* doctrine on Däbrä Libanos, promising the monks to give them back their lands, which constituted one third of the Šäwan territory. All churches and monasteries in Däbrä Libanos's influence zone were thus expected to accept the *Śost lədät* doctrine as taught by "Qurenč" Täklä Haymanot, as the true doctrine of *abba* ↗Täklä Haymanot. A *qəne* teacher of Tädbabä Maryam taught the doctrine to *^{c}aqqabe sä^{c}at* Käbte (fl. ca. 1760–80), who in turn spread it to Gondär. It was *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II who eventually put an end to this dissent by choosing the *karra* doctrine as the one and only true faith (cp. ↗*Hulätt lədät*).

The reception of the N.h. by *Qəbat* and *Ṣägga* traditions has to be further investigated. *Qəbat* traditions claim that the character of "Dəhu" Ewosṭatewos (whom they call *kähadi* ['the apostate'] Ewosṭatewos) was invented by their adversaries to dismiss the sanctity of their spiritual leader St. ↗Ewosṭatewos.

Src.: ms. Moṭa Giyorgis Illinois//IES 89.VIII.25–27 (*Mäṣḥafämänäkosat/Nägärähaymanot*); mss. EMML 1533, 1648, 1710, 2906, 2950, 4641; ms. BritLib Orient. 11294.

Lit.: BERHANOU ABEBE, "Un procès en recherche de paternité au XVIIIe s.", in: *PICES* 10, 399–410; GÄBRE-YESUS HAYLU, "Un manoscritto amarico sulle verità della fide", in: *PICES* 1, 345–51; GETATCHEW HAILE, "Materials on the Theology of Qeba't or Unction", in: *PICES* 6, 205–50, here 245, n. 32; KINDENEH ENDEG, *The Role of Qebatoč in the Christological Controversy within the Ethiopian Orthodox Church (1620–1764)*, M.A. thesis, History Department, Addis Ababa University 2004, 20ff.

Anaïs Wion

Nagärä Maryam s. vol. V

Nägärä Muse

N.M. (**ነገረ: ሙሴ**, 'The Colloquy of Moses [with God on Mount Sinai]', sometimes called *Gädlä Muse*) is the Ethiopic title of the apocryphon known as the *Colloquy of Moses with God on Mount Sinai*.

An English translation of the Arabic version, based on one ms., has been published by Curzon (1855), but many more mss. exist (s. GrafLit I, 207f.). A Syriac version of the *Colloquy*, with an English translation, was published by Hall (1891). Manuscript evidence shows that the apocryphon (ca. 4,000 words long in translation) originated earlier than the 15th cent.

The *Colloquy* is written in the form of a *Responsa*: Moses asks and God answers. The first part describes God's rewards for those who behave well – read prayers, give alms, take care of orphans etc. (cp. ↗*Kidan*) – and punishment for those who commit evil. The second part, beginning with God lifting up Mount Sinai and showing Moses the whole world, is devoted to the discussion of the nature of God.

N.M. was translated into Gəᶜəz from an Arabic *Vorlage*. In Ethiopic tradition, two versions exist; Christian and ↗Betä Ǝsraʾel. Differences between them are, however, minor. The Christian Gəᶜəz text, translated presumably by the 17th-cent. *abunä* ↗Krəstodolu, was published with a German translation by Goldschmidt (1897). A new German translation was made by Duensing (1958). Zuurmond (in StudAeth) published a general introduction to the *Colloquy*, with a partial English translation of the Gəᶜəz, Arabic and Syriac versions in three synoptic columns. A French translation of the Betä Ǝsraʾel text with a short introduction appeared in Kaplan (1990). An edition of the Betä Ǝsraʾel text does not exist but several manuscripts containing it are known: Paris BN d'Abbadie 232 (19th cent.), Tel Aviv Faitlovich nos. 8 and 14 (18th cent.), and at least one more in private hands.

Compared with the Arabic and the Syriac, the Ethiopic version is about one fifth shorter. A large addition in the Arabic and Syriac versions is of obvious Christian character. Numerous allusions to the ↗New Testament in the Ethiopic version make it likely that the text was originally introduced within the Christian context and was later adapted by the Betä Ǝsraʾel tradition. However, the ethics and theology of the Ethiopic version of the N.M. fit in with ↗Judaism and ↗Islam as well.

Texts with similar structure and contents exist in the traditions of Muslims of Mozambique (the known text in Swahili possibly originating in Kenya) and of 16th-cent. Spain (in Spanish in Arabic characters).

Src.: mss. Paris, BN d'Abbadie 232 [CRAbb no. 220; ChAbb 133]; Tel Aviv, Faitlovitch 8, 14; LAZARUS GOLDSCHMIDT, *Die abessinischen Handschriften der Stadtbibliothek zu Frankfurt am Main (Rüppell'sche Sammlung)*, Berlin 1897, Anhang III, 91–101; ISAAC H. HALL, "The Colloquy of Moses on Mount Sinai", *Hebraica* 7, 1891, 161–71; STEVEN KAPLAN, *Les Falāshās*, Turnhout 1990, 97–105; ROCHUS ZUURMOND, "The Colloquy of Moses with God on Mount Sinai", in: *StudAeth* 127–38.

Lit.: ROBERT CURZON, "The Book of the Prophet Moses", *Miscellanies of the Philobiblon Society* 2, 1855–56, 7–24; HUGO DUENSING, "Ein Mosesapokryphon", *Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* 49, 1958, 251–58; GrafLit I, 207f., II, 487; KARLA R. SUOMALA, "The Colloquy of Moses on Mount Sinai: Where Syriac Christianity Meets Islamic Spain and Africa between the 16th and 19th Centuries", *Hugoye: Journal of Syriac Studies* 8, 1, 2005.

Rochus Zuurmond

Nägarit

N. (Amh., Tgn. **ነጋሪት**, Tgr. **ንጋሪት**, *nəggarät*; Orom. *nagaariita*) is a kettledrum, the name of which is considered to derive from Amh. **ነገረ**, *näggärä*, 'to speak' (Ashenafi Kebede 1995:63; LesCDic 392). Alternatively, it can be related to the Arab. *naqqāra*, which is also a term for kettledrum (cf. BassHist 61, n. 2 [tr.]); a double kettledrum called *naqqara* is known in North Africa, e.g. among the Tuareg of the Sahara.

There appears to be two main types of N. in Ethiopia. One is the large cauldron shaped N. usually made of copper (sometimes gilded), or other metal. The drumhead, having a diameter of up to 92 cm, is struck with softheaded wooden drumsticks (one or two) or mallets. The N. has a head consisting of a stretched membrane hide mounted on a hoop held in place by a ring (counterhoop); through the ring pass threaded screws or rods that allow one to alter the pitch by adjusting the skin's tension. Sometimes an L-shaped turnkey is fitted to the screw for loosening or tightening the stretched membrane on the head. The N. were placed across the backs of mules with the players walking alongside striking them with mallets (Tesfaye Lemma 1975:28).

The N. of the other type are bowl-shaped, usually smaller and made from carved wood or hollowed tree trunks although the body can also be

made of clay, leather, or metal. The bowl-shape has a diameter ranging from 15 to 25 cm. The drum head uses prepared animal skin (or parchment) such as ox stretched over the head, but the skin can cover the entire instrument and be sewn together with cross cords tied round the middle of the lacing to increase its tension and alter its pitch (Marcuse 1975:357). These N. were played with beaters/sticks by men riding on horseback, where N. were placed at the player's waist and secured by a belt or harness (Tesfaye Lemma 1975:28).

The N. of both types utilize a basic rounded curved (bowl or cauldron) shape and have the capacity to have their drum heads tuned. The stretched head is attached to the top of the head or in the case of the second type, covers the head or the entire body. Size and materials determine the overall sound of the N.

Nägarit in Harär, announcing the arrival of Ḫaylä Śəllase I, 1934; from the Wochenschau film of Martin Rikli

The N. of the ↗Betä Ǝsraʾel, structurally identical to the Christian N., was a double-headed drum struck directly with the hands while the player was standing. Together with a small bell called ↗*qaṭ̌əl*, it could accompany religious service chanting (Shelemay 1986:76f., 184f.).

Historically, N. in Ethiopia belonged to the insignia of royalty and symbols of political power, alongside with ↗*mäläkät* and ↗*əmbilta* (also, the instrument known as *qända* – a small drum held under the arm and beaten with the hand – has been included as one of the royal insignia). N. accompanied every imperial proclamation or announcement and were often left standing near the throne. When a new emperor ascended to the throne, and when proclamations of national concern (↗*ʿAwağ*) were made, the N., together with the *mäläkät* and the *əmbilta*, would summon the people and proclaim the news. N. also heralded the approach of royalty or a person invested with political authority (like provincial governors). The kings and rulers sometimes donated their N. to churches and monasteries, as in the case of ↗crowns (CRHist 79 [text]). Finally, N. were war drums, used to summon the troops and to encourage them during combat; they were considered symbols of military honour (s., e.g. GueCopMen 28, n. 1, 431, 436, 444).

N.'s shape, size and material could often indicate the rank of their possessor. The N. belonging to princes had silver shells, and those of high officials were made of copper, whereas the N. of lesser persons were made of wood (Powne 1968:13f.). In the Ethiopian royal chronicles, a drum called ድብ፡ አንበሳ, *dəbb anbäsa*, obviously a kind of N. (s. Bairu Tafla in PICES 7, 366; DTWDic 327), is frequently mentioned as the emperor's largest drum (lit. 'bear-lion', PerrZarY 45, 61; CRHist 79, 130, 135 [text]; PerChron vol. 1, 332 [text]; cp. *dəbb wäʾanbäsa*, 'bear and lion', in LudHist II, 14, 18; Ludolphus 1682:218; cp. also HabKön 117, where it is derived from *dibbe*, a term for drum among many southern Ethiopian peoples; s. also LesCDic 119). Alongside with the *dəbb anbäsa*, a blown instrument called *məsr qana* or *nəsr qana* (probably a kind of *mäläkät* or *əmbilta*, cf. LesCDic 403; DTWDic 823) was usually played. The royal silver N. played a major role on occasions of state in the Gondärine kingdom in the early 17th cent. Thus, James ↗Bruce describes "... two kettle-drums of large size placed one on each side of the outer gate of the king's house [i.e. palace]", called "the lion and the lamb". "The lion is beat at the proclamations which regard war, attainders of conspiracies and rebellions, promotions to supreme commands... The lamb is heard only on beneficent, pacific occasions, of gifts from the crown, of general amnesties, of private pardons, and reversals of penal ordinances". The drum called the lamb was "...

of beaten silver; the Abyssinians say, that this metal alone is capable of conveying the sweet sound contained in a proclamation of peace" (BruNile vol. 1, 602).

Generally, the Ethiopian ruler gave a N. to a newly appointed governor or a tribal chief confirmed by him. Thus, after *aṣe* ↗Iyasu II granted Həbtes, the head of the ↗Ḥabab in Northern Eritrea, the title of *käntebay* (s. ↗*Käntiba*) and presented him with an N. and other insignia of this rank, N. came to be a symbol of the *käntebay*'s power, and its possession an essential element in the struggle for the title (d'Avray 1996:50f., 2000:19). Likewise, N. or similar drums were symbols of the king's power among the southern peoples, e.g., *nägara* among Šeko (VSAe III, 46). N. (one of silver and another of copper) were among the symbols of power of the king of ↗Käfa (s. GueCopMen 463). The Oromo and Somali also used N., and among them it also served as a symbol of power (Paulitschke 1893:148). In the ↗Təgre-speaking tribe of ↗Mänsaᶜ, N. could be used to accompany important announcements such as the declaration of a slave becoming a free man (s. Höfner 1952:658; Rodén 1913:101).

Today, the instrument's function is primarily ceremonial (Ashenafi Kebede 1995:63).

↗Instruments, musical; ↗Music;

Src.: BassHist 61, n. 2 [tr.]; BruNile vol. 1, 602; BTafY 131; CRHist 79, 130, 135 [text], 90f., 148, 154 [tr.], 188f.; DTWDic 327, 823; GueCopMen 28, n. 1, 189, 431, 436, 444, 463; HabKön 117; MARIA HÖFNER, *Das* Feteḥ Maḥārī: *Sitten und Recht der Mänsaᶜ*, Wiesbaden 1951 (= *Abhandlungen der Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse, Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur in Mainz* 8, 1951, 647–746), 14 (658); LesCDic 119, 392, 403; LudHist II, 14, 18; JOB LUDOLPHUS, *A New History of Ethiopia*, tr. by J.P. GENT, Book 2, London 1682, 218; PerChron vol. 1, 332 [text], vol. 2, 258 [tr.]; PerrZarY 45, 61; KARL GUSTAV RODÉN, *Le Tribù dei Mensa: Storia, legge e costumi*, A: *Testo originale in Tigré*, Asmara 1913, 101; PHILIPP PAULITSCHKE, *Ethnographie Nordost-Afrikas: Die Materielle Cultur der Danâkil, Galla und Somâl*, Berlin 1893, 148; VSAe III, 46.

Lit.: ASHENAFI KEBEDE, *The Music of Ethiopia: its Development and Cultural Setting*, Ph.D. thesis, Wesleyan University 1971, 161f.; ID., *Roots of Black Music: the Vocal, Instrumental, and Dance Heritage of Africa and Black America*, Trenton, NJ 1995, 63; ANTHONY D'AVRAY, *Lords of the Red Sea. The History of a Red Sea Society from the Sixteenth to the Nineteenth Century*, Wiesbaden 1996 (AeF 45), 50f.; ID., *The Nakfa Documents: the Despatches, Memoranda, Reports, and Correspondence ...*, Wiesbaden 2000 (AeF 53), 19; BAIRU TAFLA, "The ᶜ*Awäg*: an Institution of Political Culture in Traditional Ethiopia", in: *PICES* 7, 365–72, 366f.; ANDRÉ CAQUOT, "La royauté sacrale en Éthiopie", *AE* 2, 205–18, here 216; INSTITUTE OF ETHIOPIAN STUDIES, *Musical Instruments of Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 1999, 24; SIBYL MARCUSE, *Musical Instruments: a Comprehensive Dictionary*, New York ²1975, 357; RICHARD PANKHURST, "The Mystery of Two Ethiopian Drums. Historical Features. Ethiopia's Missing Treasures", *Addis Tribune*, November 28, 2003; MICHAEL POWNE, *Ethiopian Music: an Introduction. A Survey of Ecclesiastical and Secular Ethiopian Music*, London – New York – Toronto 1968, 13f.; MARTIN RIKLI, *Wie ich Abessinien sah*, Berlin 1935, 60 (ill.); KAY KAUFMAN SHELEMAY, *Music, Ritual, and Falasha History*, East Lansing, MI 1986 (Ethiopian Series Monograph 17), 76f., 184f.; HENRY MORTON STANLEY, *Coomassie and Magdala: the Story of Two British Campaigns in Africa*, London 1874, 457ff.; TESFAYE LEMMA, *Ethiopian Musical Instruments*, Addis Abäba 1975, 28; JOSEPH VARENBERGH, "Studien zur abessinischen Reichsordnung (*Šerᶜata Mangešt*)", *ZA* 30, 1915/16, 1–45, here 3, 16f., 19f. [text] = 31f., 35f. [tr.].

Cynthia Tse Kimberlin

Nägarit Gazeṭa

The N.G. (**ነጋሪት፡ ጋዜጣ**, 'Gazette of the ↗*nägarit*') was the official journal of the Ethiopian government from 1942 to 1974. Previously, during the rules of *aṣe* Mənilək II and *ras* Täfäri Mäkʷännən (↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I), various imperial edicts were sporadically published (↗*Bərhanənna Sälam*), and some edicts were stuck to the gates of the municipality or made known to the people through the governors of various districts (cp. ↗ᶜ*Awäg*).

The N.G. published the official laws of the government in Amharic and English. The first issue appeared on 21 *Mäggabit* 1934 A.M. [30 March 1942 A.D.] and ratified its authority, containing a provision that no law or by-law would be valid or come into force until it was published in the N.G. The new publication, required by the proclamation to be monthly, was not without problems: some regulations having the force of law never appeared in it (cp. ↗Customary law), and many laws did not appear in print until long after their promulgation. Nevertheless, the N.G. was an important step forward in the codification of Ethiopian laws according to modern practice. Having government actions officially proclaimed and immediately verifiable in print was a significant change for a monarchy where much political information was secretive or by word of mouth.

From 1942 to 1974, all major legislation, proclamations, appointments, and legal notices of the Imperial Ethiopian Government were published in the N.G. Among the first laws appearing in the publication were those setting out the pow-

ers and responsibilities of the various ministers; a law creating and defining the provincial administration of Ethiopia; the establishment of the State Bank of Ethiopia; and "The Slavery (Abolition) Proclamation" of 21 *Näḥase* 1934 A.M. [27 August 1942 A.D.] that made it an offence punishable either with imprisonment or death for any person to deal with, or to transport a slave, or to prevent one from asserting his freedom.

The N.G. chronicled the development of modern, post-restoration institutions in Ethiopia in their founding proclamations: e.g., the Administration of Justice Proclamation setting up the court system; the Imperial Army Proclamation; the organization of the Defence Ministry and the Imperial Board of Telecommunications of Ethiopia; the setting up of the Ethiopian Airlines Corporation, the Addis Ababa Chamber of Commerce, and the Ethiopian Red Cross Society. Among public policies announced in the N.G. were: the "Currency and Legal Tender Proclamation" introducing a new Ethiopian currency in place of the East African Shilling and ↗Maria Theresia Thaler (the N.G. of 8 *Ḥamle* 1937 A.M. [15 July 1945 A.D.]); the first revised customs schedule in 1943; and the first (1944–45), and succeeding national budgets. Changes in government structure such as the ↗Ethiopian–Eritrean Federation of 1952 were also made public by "The Federal Legislation" printed in N.G.

With the restoration of Parliament in 1942, laws passed by both houses and approved by the Emperor were published in the N.G. preceded by the preamble: "Conquering Lion of the Tribe of Judah, Haile Selassie I, Elect of God, Emperor of Ethiopia. In accordance with Article 34 of Our Constitution We approve the resolutions of Our Senate and the Chamber of Deputies and We proclaim as follows: (...)" The end of the proclamation then was signed by the Minister of the Pen (*↗Säḥafe təʾəzaz*). All bylaws were published above the signature of the Minister concerned.

The Minister of the Pen was empowered to publish the N.G. by the Ministers' Order of 1943. When ↗Aklilu Habtäwäld became deputy Prime Minister as well as Minister of Pen, he used his supervision of the N.G. to advance his own purposes. For example, in 1958, instead of going through the Council of Ministers, Aklilu used the N.G. to announce an increase in the powers of his brother Mäkʷännən Habtäwäld – to the surprise of the other ministers concerned.

The Government of the Federal Republic of Ethiopia recovered the name of the N.G. for its official journal, the *Federal Nägarit Gazeṭa* (1st issue in August 1995). Ethiopian regions may have their own official journals (e.g., *Nägarit Gazeṭa Təgray).* In independent Eritrea, the function of the N.G. is carried out by the *Gazeṭa Awağat Erətra.*

↗Law and judiciary

Src.: *Nägarit Gazeṭa* 1942–74 issues.
Lit.: ClapHS; *Guide Book of Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 1954; ERNEST W. LUTHER, *Ethiopia Today*, Stanford, CA 1958; PerGov 414f.; DAVID ABNER TALBOT, *Haile Selassie I Silver Jubilee*, The Hague 1955.

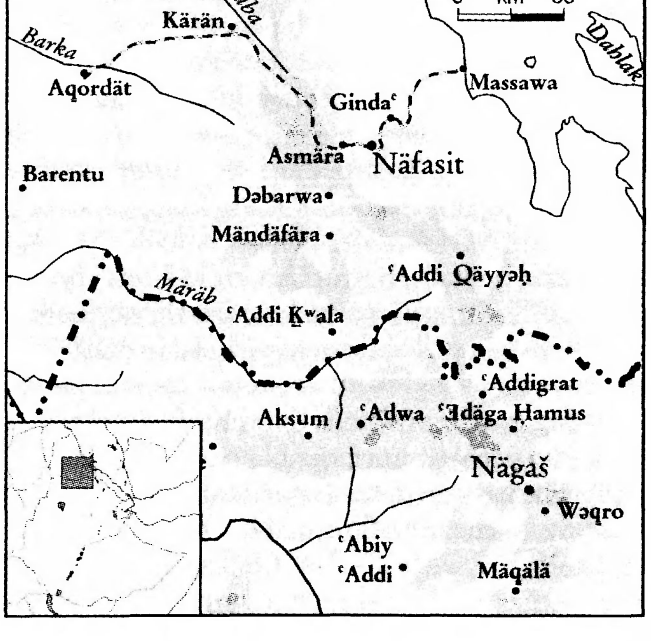
Theodor Vestal

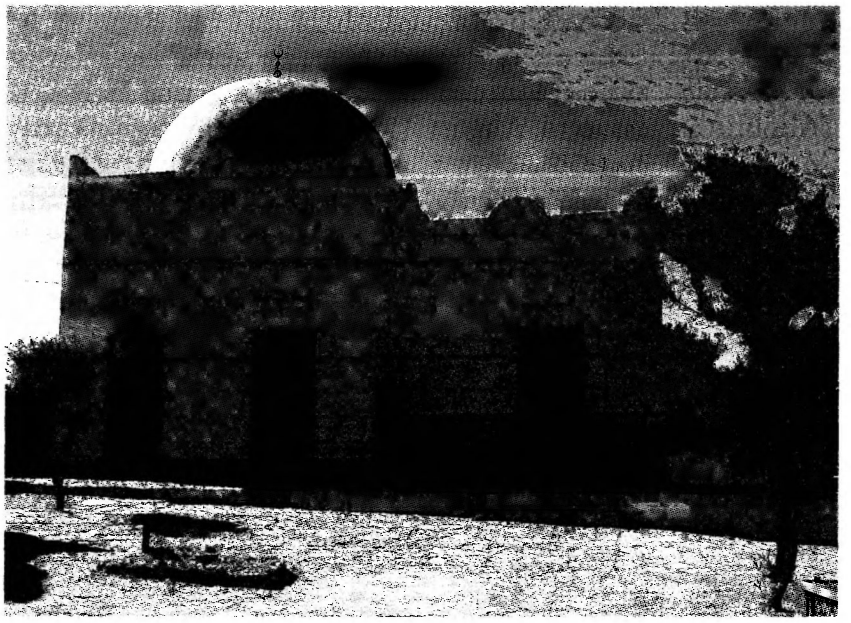
Nägaš

N. (ናጋሽ, 13° 53' N, 39° 36' E) is a small village lying along the main Mäqälä–ᶜAddigrat road ca. 10 km north from ↗Wəqro, in a mountain pass dominating the Gunfäl valley (s. Guida 300) in historical ↗Ǝndärta.

The village has ca. 1,500 inhabitants, half of them Muslim and half Christian. There is a local tradition of the Italian presence in N.; most probably it was used as a camp during the military campaign. On top of the N. pass, a rock still shows an Italian inscription "Passo Negasc anno XIV E.F." ('N. pass. 14th year of the Fascist Era [= 1936]').

N. is perhaps the most important holy place (*↗Zāwiya*) for Muslims not only of Ethiopia, but also of the entire ↗Horn of Africa, as it hosts the shrine of the *↗Nağāšī* and the tombs of twelve of ↗Muḥammad's companions (*ṣaḥāba* or *aṣḥāb*) in the first *↗hiğra* of 615. The asylum





Mausoleum of the *Nağāšī* at Nägaš; photo 2006, courtesy of Alessandro Gori

that the righteous king of al-Ḥabaša (i.e. Ethiopia; s. ↗Abyssinia), in whose kingdom "no one suffers injustice" – as underscored in *as-Sīra an-nabawīya*, granted the Muslim refugees led by ↗Ğaᶜfar b. Abī Ṭālib, and the subsequent conversion of the king to ↗Islam is the most revered tradition north-east African Muslims have about their origins (Ahmäd Ahmädin n.d.; Muḥammäd Šakir 1995/96, Muḥammäd Ṭoyyəb 1998/99; Sayyid b. Muḥammad Ṣādiq 2001:91–135). This tradition gives Muslims of the Horn the confirmation of the antiquity of their presence *vis à vis* the Christian state and, simultaneously, it allows for a certain prestige in the eyes of their co-religionists in the Arabian Peninsula (↗Arabia), as it makes their home the second region in the world to have been touched by the Islamic message.

The existence of this holy site is mentioned for the first time in the ↗*Futūḥ al-Ḥabaša. Imām* ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī, during his conquest of Təgray in 1533, in pursuit of the *šum ᶜagame* (the Ethiopian governor of ↗ᶜAgamä), passed by the tomb of Aḥmad an-Nağāšī (which was also the name he had given to his child born shortly before). The troops wanted to visit the shrine but the *imām* compelled them to proceed to meet their enemy, promising that they would come back the next day for the *ziyāra* (↗Pilgrimage) – a promise that was perhaps not possible to keep (BassHist 318). The passage in the *Futūḥ* is also important as it attests to the use of the name Aḥmad attributed to *an-Nağāšī*, instead of al-↗Aṣḥam [or Aṣḥama] b. al-Abğar, which is the name currently preserved in Arabic sources. As Basset remarks (BassHist 318 n. 7), the name Aḥmad has been glossed, in the margin of the *Futūḥ* manuscripts, with *al-maᶜrūf Aṣḥama an-Nağāšī* ('the famous Aṣḥama an-Nağāšī'): this comment seems to prove that Aḥmad was not the universally known name of the *Nağāšī*, and one can surmise that this name originates from a local tradition. Ahmäd Ahmädin (n.d.:3) says that, in one of Muḥammad's letters, the *Nağāšī* was called *wändəmme Ahmäd* ('my brother Aḥmad'), but this seems rather to be a corrupted reference to the incipit of the first letter sent by the Prophet to Aṣḥama, *Aḥmadu ilayka Allāh* ('I commend God to you').

The holy place is presently contained in a wide compound with two green domed buildings. Both are recent, no trace of older remnants is found. The bigger building hosts the shrine of the *Nağāšī*, the smaller one that of the *ṣaḥābī* ᶜUday b. Naḍla (whose name is variously spelled in the sources), the first Muslim refugee to die in Ethiopia.

In the yard between and in front of the two buildings, other scattered ground tombs are those of the companions of the Prophet. An inscription on the left side of the main building, dated 1418 H. [1997/98 A.D.], gives the name of ᶜAbdarraḥmān al-Ğabartī as that of the person buried in a covered tomb.

Outside the holy graveyard, a big ↗mosque has been built with the financial support of the Ethio-Yemeni-Saudi millionaire Muḥammad Ḥusayn al-ᶜAmūdī.

The *ziyārat an-Nağāšī* is on the ᶜ*Āšūrāʾ* day (10 *Muḥarram*), when thousands of pilgrims come to show their reverence to the king from all over the Horn of Africa and the Sudan.

The village also has another Islamic holy place: the tomb of *šarīf* ᶜAbdī (or ᶜAmday), a recently built or re-built anonymous shrine on the right side of the main road from Wəqro, some 300 m from the *Nağāšī* area. Every Thursday night a ceremony is performed in honour of the holy man whose epithet *šarīf* points to a noble descendant of the Prophet, but apparently no periodical *ziyāra* is performed for him.

There are two churches inside the village of N., one dedicated to the Lord and one (under con-

struction in 2006) to *abunä* Täklä Haymanot. Some 5 km outside the village, to the left of the road to ᶜAddigrat, on top of a hill, the monastery of Amanuʾel Maᶜagʷä dominates the valley. Some 2 km outside the village, the church of St. Mary stands on a slope, to the left of a bend on the road descending to Wəqro. Islamic sources (Sayyid b. Muḥammad Ṣādiq 2001:134) mention that this church was built on the site of the grave of the wife of the *Nağāšī*, who died as soon as she heard about her husband's conversion to Islam.

Src.: BassHist 318 (text) = 419 (tr.).
Lit.: *ḥağğ* AHMÄD AHMÄDIN, *Däggu nəgus Ahmäd Alnäğaši – Al-malik aṣ-ṣāliḥ Aḥmad an-Nağāši* ('The Kind King Ahmad *Nağāšī* [Amh., Arab.]'), Addis Abäba [n.d.]; GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, "ʾElla Gabaz/(ʾElla) Ḥētāzā", *La Parola del Passato* 61, 2006 [2007], 115–41, here 117ff.; *Guida* 300; MÄḤMUD ŠAKIR, *Yäḥabäšaw hiğranna muhağiročč – Maᶜa l-hiğra ilā l-ḥabaša* ('The Ethiopian *Hiğra* and the Muhajirs [Amh.] – With the *Hiğra* to the Land of Ethiopia [Arab.]'), Addis Abäba 1988 A.M./1416 H. [1995/96 A.D.]; MUḤAMMÄD ṬOYYƎB, **ሃበሻና፡ ኢስላም። ንጉስ፡ ነጃሺ** (*Habäšanna islam*: *Nəgus Näğaši*, 'Ethiopia and Islam: the King *Näğašī*'), Addis Ababa 1991 A.M. [1998/99 A.D.]; SAYYID B. MUḤAMMAD ṢĀDIQ, *Manhal al-ᶜaṭšān fī taʾrīḫ al-Ḥubšān* ('The Spring of the Thirsty on the History of the Abyssinians'), [Ṣanᶜāʾ] 1422 H. [2001 A.D.], 91–135.

Alessandro Gori

Nägaš Bäzzabbəh

Däğğazmač N.B. (**ንጋሽ፡ በዛብህ**, b. 1908, d. 1964, Nähase) was a ↗resistance fighter and political figure. His grandfather was *ras* ↗Bäzzabbəh Täklä Haymanot. During the ↗Italian war 1935–36, N.B. fought against the Italians with other Goğğame patriots. Some saw him as a weak leader who failed to control his sub-chiefs. When ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I and his British allies selected Goğğam as the region to begin an offensive against the Italians (1940), N.B. joined the united front that worked for Ḫaylä Śəllase's restoration.

After the Emperor's return to power, N.B. became vice minister in the Prime Minister's office and then President of the Senate (1942–43). In 1951, he became involved in an unsuccessful conspiracy to assassinate Ḫaylä Śəllase. Some of the plotters hoped to enthrone N.B. while others advocated the creation of a republic under *ras* ↗Əmməru Ḫaylä Śəllase, who at the time had been Ethiopia's ambassador to Washington D.C. and had nothing to do with the attempted *coup*. The conspiracy was uncovered and N.B. was arrested, tried by the Emperor's Special Court and condemned to death. He subsequently received a pardon from Ḫaylä Śəllase and lived in exile in Ǧimma.

Src.: HSLife² 87 n. 171, 147 n. 247, 153.
Lit.: MockWar 258f., 400; DAVID SHIRREFF, *Bare Feet and Bandoliers*, London – New York 1995, 302; RICHARD GREENFIELD, *Ethiopia: a New Political History*, London 1965, 293ff.; SELTENE SEYOUM, *A History of Resistance in Gojjam (Ethiopia)*, Ph.D. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1999, 59ff.

Thomas P. Ofcansky

Nağāšī

N. (Arab. النجاشي, always with the definite article) is a loanword borrowed by Arabic from ↗Gəᶜəz *nägaśi* (cp. also the borrowing into ↗Epigraphic South Arabian, *ngs²y*, which stood for 'the king [of Aksum]'; s. Beeston et al. 1983:93, s.v. *ngs²*). For the detailed discussion of the term s. ↗*Nəguś*.

In Islamic texts, N. is specifically used for the king of Aksum at the time of the first ↗*hiğra* of ca. 615, indeed ↗Aṣḥam[a] b. Abğar (i.e. b. *al-Ḥataza, 'son of [Ǝllä] ↗Ḥataz'?) or ↗Ǝllä Ṣäḥam (r. ca. 603–23; cp. SerHist 185; Hartmann 1895; cp. ↗Armaḥ). The most detailed information about this N. is found in the biography of the Prophet Muḥammad (*Sīra*) by Ibn Isḥāq (d. ca. 770 A.D.), revised and completed by ↗Ibn Hišām (tr. by Guillaume 1955).

According to the *Sīra*, the N. received the newly converted Muslims hospitably, and refused to expel them, as the ↗Qurayš wanted. At an audience, he questioned the Muslims as to what this religion, for which they had forsaken their own people without embracing Christianity or any other religion, was. In his answer, ↗Ǧaᶜfar b. Abī Ṭālib praised Muḥammad's achievements and underlined that Muslims worship God alone without associating anything with Him (referring to polytheism, but also to the ↗Trinity, cp. Qurʾān, *sūra* 112). By an evident *vaticinium post factum*, Ǧaᶜfar, in order to show that Muḥammad had received a divine revelation, recited a few verses from Qurʾān's *sūra* 19 (alluding to the same tradition as Lk 1), and the N. and his bishops were deeply moved. But ᶜAmr b. al-ᶜĀṣ, one of the two messengers from Mecca, told the N. in private that the Muslims consider Jesus, son of Mary, as a creature (i.e. not as the son of God). During another public audience, Ǧaᶜfar said that Jesus is the slave of God, His apostle, His spirit, and His word

which He cast into Mary. The N. took a stick and said that Jesus does not exceed what Ǧaᶜfar had said by the length of a stick, meaning that there is only a small difference between ↗Islam and ↗Christianity as far as Jesus is concerned. The Abyssinian generals were not happy about this, but the N. said that the Muslims would be safe in his country.

Ibn Isḥāq further relates about a rebellion against the N., which he suppressed, fortunately for the Muslims. There is also an account as to how the N. became king: his father, once king, was killed, and the N. had been sold as a slave by his uncle but had later regained his throne.

Ibn Isḥāq also narrates that the Abyssinians blamed the N. for having betrayed his religion and therefore revolted against him; the N. then had ships prepared for Ǧaᶜfar and his companions to flee in case he would be defeated. It did not happen, since the N. was able to appease his subjects: putting his hand upon his breast, he publicly testified that Jesus is the Son of God. By that gesture of confirmation he was referring, however, to a "paper" he had put in his gown on which he had written that Jesus, the son of Mary, was no more than God's slave, apostle etc. His trick was understood by no one but by the Muslims. The Prophet was informed about this; when the N. died, the Prophet prayed that his sins might be forgiven.

The Arab historian aṭ-↗Ṭabarī (d. 923, s. Ibn Isḥāq 1955:657) gives the text of two letters allegedly exchanged between the Prophet and N. al-Aṣḥam b. Abǧar (cp. Caetani 1905:736; Montgomery Watt 1956:345f.; Muhammad Hamidullah 1935, vol. 1, 205ff.). In the incipit of the letters, the N. apparently uses Islamic formulas that let the reader think that he was converted to Islam. The contents of the letters are almost identical with those of the conversation of Ǧaᶜfar with the N. according to the *Sīra*. One subsequently reads that the N. sent his son Arhā (i.e. Armaḥ) to the Prophet, with the significant remark that he had control only over himself (i.e. not over his subjects, at least as far as Islam is concerned), and that he will come to the Prophet if the latter wishes him to do so. The historian was further told that the N. had sent 60 Abyssinians with his son to the Prophet, but that they all had perished when crossing the sea.

The N. represented at Quṣayr ᶜAmra (Jordan, before 711/12), together with the Byzantine emperor and the Persian emperor Chosroes, is traditionally seen as an enemy of Islam, more recently however as a respected ruler – probably Ǝllä Ṣäḥam – to whom the Prophet also had sent an embassy in 628 (Ettinghausen 1977:39ff.; ErlEth 193 n. 30; s, now Di Branco 2007).

Ibn Isḥāq's implicit statement that the N. became Muslim has been made quite explicit by Muslim authors after him. Yet, no independent source seems to be available to confirm this (cp. Hussein Ahmad 1992:21f.; Cuoq 1981:35; ErlEth 16ff.).

Src.: ALFRED FELIX LANDON BEESTON et al., *Sabaic Dictionary (English–French–Arabic). Dictionnaire sabéen (anglais–français–arabe)*, Louvain-la-Neuve – Beyrouth 1982, 93; ABŪ MUḤAMMAD ᶜABDALMALIK IBN HIŠĀM, *The Life of Muhammad. A Translation of Isḥāq's Sīrat Rasūl Allāh*, tr. by ALFRED GUILLAUME, Oxford 1955, ²1968, 146–55, 657; LesCDic 392.

Lit.: ALFRED FELIX LANDON BEESTON, *Sabaic Grammar*, Manchester 1984 (JSS Monographs 6), 9f.; LEONE CAETANI (ed.), *Annali dell'Islam*, vol. 1, Milano 1905, 736; JOSEPH CUOQ, *L'islam en Éthiopie des origines au XVIe siècle*, Paris 1981, 35; MARCO DI BRANCO, "I sei prìncipi di Quṣayr ᶜAmrah: fra tardoantico, ellenismo ed Islam", *RRALm* ser. 9ª, 18, 2007, in preparation; EMERI VAN DONZEL, "al-Nadjāshī", in: *EI²* vol. 7, 862–69 (Lit.); ErlEth 193 n. 30; RICHARD ETTINGHAUSEN, *Arab Painting*, Geneva – New York 1977, 39ff.; GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, "ʾElla Gabaz/(ʾElla) Ḥētāzā", *La Parola del Passato* 61, 2006 [2007], 115–41; MARTIN HARTMANN, "Der Nağāšī Aṣḥama und sein Sohn Armā", *ZDMG* 49, 1895, 299–300; HUSSEIN AHMAD, "The Historiography of Islam in Ethiopia", *Journal of Islamic Studies* 3, 1992, 15–46, here 21f.; MUHAMMAD HAMIDULLAH, *Documents sur la diplomatie musulmane à l'époque du Prophète et des Khalifes Orthodoxes*, Paris 1935, vol. 1, 205ff.; MANFRED KROPP, "Ein Gegenstand und seine Aufschrift. RIE = JE 5", in: *EtRicci* 129–44; WILLIAM MONTGOMERY WATT, *Muḥammad at Madina*, Oxford 1956, 345f.; THEODOR NÖLDEKE, *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft*, Strassburg 1910, 47; SerHist 185.

Emeri van Donzel

Nägaśi Krəstos

Abeto N.K. (ነጋሢ ክርስቶስ, also Nägaśe Krəstos, d. ca. 1703 or 1705, Gondär) was the ruler of ↗Šäwa from ca. 1682 to 1703. He was thus a contemporary of *aṣe* ↗Iyasu I.

Most of the scanty information on N.K. comes from 19th–early 20th-cent. sources. Some indicate that he was related to the ↗Solomonic dynasty through his mother *wäyzäro* Sänbält, who was of royal descent, while his father was a rich landowner from Anga(n)ča (AWTarik 67f.; cp. LevWax 31), in the district Gera(mədər) of ↗Mänz. Some state that his paternal line ascends to *aṣe* Ləbnä Dəngəl's son *abeto* ↗Yaᶜəqob, via

N.K.'s father *ras* Faris (HarAeth vol. 3, 7; CecZeila vol. 1, 235ff.), or via Səgwä Qal, Wärädä Qal and Ləbsä Qal (cp. GueCopMen 56; AWTarik 67f.; TSTarik IV, 431; s. also LevWax 289 n. 24). Still other sources leave the question of N.K.'s Solomonic link open (cp. BTafA 499; Taddäsä Zäwälde 1955/56:15ff.; LevWax 289, n. 24). N.K. is traditionally considered the founder of the Šäwan branch of the Solomonids, from which both *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II and ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I were descended (TSTarik IV, 431; LevWax 32).

N.K. succeeded in uniting some districts of the Amhara, which, fragmented after the 16th-cent. Muslim wars, had found themselves surrounded by large ↗Oromo enclaves and at odds with each other (AbPrince 144f.). He thus started the Šäwan expansion.

As a young man N.K. received high recognition for the valour proved in many battles. His military success brought him many followers who helped him to accumulate possessions. N.K. established his base in Angača where he founded the church of Kidanä Məḥrät (s. Levine in PICES 2, 209). He started his campaigns in the regions settled by the Oromo, south of Mänz, where he achieved a victory over ↗Arsi-Oromo and set the cornerstone for the town of ↗Ayne in ca. 1683 (BTafA 501f.; AWTarik 73; CecZeila vol. 1, 237). N.K. also fought ↗Wälloand ↗Yäğğu-Oromo. Apparently on behalf of *aṣe* ↗Iyasu I and in alliance with the ↗*wälasma* he waged war on the Oromo who were trying to penetrate ↗Yəfat (BTafA 501f.; AbPrince 146). N.K. also led his army to such districts as Däbdäbo, Mängəst, ↗Mafud, Asändabe and ↗Doqaqit (CecZeila vol. 1, 237), and established settlements and churches in the places he took over from the Oromo (BTafA 503ff.). Unable to prevent the encroachment of the Oromo in ↗Tägulät, he chose ↗Däbrä Bərhan for his capital. There, N.K. is said to have re-established the old palace of *aṣe* ↗Zärʾa Yaᶜəqob (PankHist I, 185).

By the end of the 17th cent. N.K. had emerged as the most important Amhara chief of the area. He proclaimed himself ruler of Šäwa, overpowering all those who disputed this claim (including, according to some traditions, Gera, one of the founders of Mänz, s. AWTarik 71; Levine in PICES 2, 208). Around 1700 N.K. arrived at ↗Gondär to offer tribute to *aṣe* Iyasu I and receive the official recognition of his rule from the Emperor (whose Chronicle, however, does not mention this episode). Traditions differ as to what happened next. N.K. is said to have been rewarded by Iyasu I with twelve ↗*nägarit*s and a seal ("*mahtam*", s. CecZeila vol. 1, 238 [describing, in fact, a ↗*matäb*, not seal]; HarAeth vol. 3, 8; BTafA 505; AWTarik 73). It seems that N.K., however, never returned to Šäwa, but rather died in Gondär in 1703, probably of smallpox. He is said to have been buried with great honours at Gondär, at the church Fit Abbo (BTafA 505). The site of his camp in Gondär is still called Nägaśi Meda.

N.K. fathered six children, Akawa, Dana, Səbəste (↗Səbəstyanos), Šänko, Yonaʾel and Wärqitu (AWTarik 71). After his death, an internal fight broke out. Səbəste eventually prevailed, to become later the first Šäwan ↗*märəd azmač* (BTafA 507; LevWax 32f.; EgeClass 22, 25).

Src.: AWTarik 66–73 (Lit.); BTafA 449, 501–05, 952f., 989f.; CecZeila vol. 1, 237f.; HarAeth vol. 3, 7f.; GueCopMen 56; ROCHET D'HÉRICOURT, *Voyage sur la côte orientale de la Mer Rouge, dans le pays d'Adel et la royaume de Choa*, Paris 1841, 202, 214; ID., *Second voyage sur les deux rives de la mer Rouge dans le Pays des Adels et le royaume de Choa*, Paris 1846, 242; TADDÄSÄ ZÄWÄLDE, **የአቤቶሁን፡ ያዕቆብ፡ ትውልድና፡ አጭር፡ ታሪክ** (*Yäʾabetohun Yaᶜəqob təwləddənna aṭṭər tarik*, 'The Genealogy and Short Story of *abetohun* Yaᶜəqob'), Addis Abäba 1948 A.M. [1955/56 A.D.].

Lit.: AbPrince 144–47; EgeClass 20ff., 25, s. index; KOFI DARKWAH, *Shewa, Menilek and the Ethiopian Empire: 1813–1889*, London 1975, 6f., 9 (Lit.); DONALD N. LEVINE, "On the History and Culture of Manz", in: *PICES* 2, 204–10; LevWax 31ff., 289 nn. 23, 24 (Lit.); PankHist I, 185 (Lit.); TSTarik IV, 430–34; ZewYohan 20, 298.

Sophia Dege

Nägga Tägäññ

Major General N.T. (**ነጋ፡ ተገኝ**, b. 24 July 1930, Šäme Maryam, Gondär, d. 2002, London) was a military officer. Born to *ato* Tägäññ Yəggäzu and *wäyzäro* Assälläfäčč Bälačč'äw, during the Italian invasion he had to flee into the woods with his parents until the liberation in 1940. Shortly after, his uncle, *qäññazmač* Daññäw Dästa, took him to Addis Abäba and in 1943 he began his primary education at the ↗Mənilək II Elementary School. He then enrolled for two years in the Technical School of Addis Abäba. In 1946, he joined the ↗Imperial Bodyguard Cadet School lead by the Swedish Military Team, graduating in 1949 as a Deputy Lieutenant with distinction.

From 1951–53, N.T. served as Captain for approximately 18 months in Korea, with the Ethiopian ↗Qañňäw contingent under the ↗United

Nations command. Upon return, he studied at the Commercial School of Addis Abäba, earning a Diploma in Commerce. As a Major (1954–59), he was sent to India for further training at Willington Staff College, and completed the Maow Senior Officers Course. In 1960, he joined the ↗Harär Military Academy as an instructor. In 1961–63, he served as a Battalion and Brigade Commander for the eastern region of Ethiopia.

N.T. was involved in several international missions in Nigeria, Congo and Angola on behalf of the ↗Organization of African Unity. In 1971, he was sent to the United Kingdom for further training at the Royal College of Defence Studies. In 1972, he was appointed as the Head of the Third Division in Eastern Ethiopia and in 1973, now Major General, he was appointed governor of Gondär.

At the onset of the 1974 Revolution, N.T. emigrated to the Sudan and with General Iyasu Mängäša and *ras* Mängäša Śəyyum formed the Ethiopian Democratic Union. From 1975 to 1978 he led resistance activities against the *Därg* (↗Provisional Military Administrative Council). He then fell out with his colleagues and withdrew from public positions. From 1989 till his death in 2002, N.T. lived in the United Kingdom. Whilst there, he was engaged in research and consultation on Ethiopian politics and military development. He was one of the most highly decorated military figures in Ethiopian military history, receiving numerous promotions and awards, including 22 medals. He was married three times: to Blandina Philip, with whom he had a son, Täkle Nägga; to Princess Ḫirut Dästa, daughter of *ras* ↗Dästa Damṭäw and Princess ↗Tänañña Wärq Ḫaylä Śəllase; and to *wäyzäro* Nəgəśt Ḫayle, who bore him Rahel and Ḫəbrät Nägga.

Src.: NÄGGA TÄGÄÑÑ, የኢትዮጵያውያን፡ የረጅም፡ ዘመናት፡ ትግልና፡ የዘመናዊ፡ ሠራዊት፡ አመሰራረት 1855–1974 (*Yä'ityopyawəyan yäräğğam zämänat təgələnna yäzämänawi śärawit amäsärarät: 1855–1974*, 'The Protracted Struggle of the Ethiopians and the Formation of a Modern Army: 1855–1974'), Toronto 2001; ID., የኦጋዴን፡ አንበሳ፡ ወታደራዊ፡ መጽሔት (*Yä'ogaden anbäsa: wätadärawi mäṣḥet*, 'The Lion of Ogaden: Military Journal'), Addis Abäba 11th year, 83, 1965 A.M. [1972/73 A.D.], 18–22; ID., ትዕይንተ፡ ጎንደር (*Tə'əyəntä Gondär*, 'The Panorama of Gondär'), Gondär 1967 A.M. [1974/75 A.D.], 2, 6ff.; የሜጀር፡ ጄኔራል፡ ነጋ፡ ተገኝ፡ አጭር፡ የሕይወት፡ ታሪክ (*Yämeğär ğeneral Nägga Tägäññ aṭṭər yähəywät tarik*, 'A Short Biography of Major General Nägga Tägäññ'). obituary read at memorial service, Washington, DC 2002.

Fentahun Tiruneh

Näggadras

The word N. (ነጋድራስ, lit. 'head of the merchants', from Amh. *näggade*, 'merchant, trader', and ↗*ras*) was originally designated to the leaders of long-distance trading caravans which carried trading goods throughout Ethiopia and to the coast. The use of the office of N. as a primary means of commerce control and as a means to unify Ethiopia seems to have begun in the period of the ↗Gondärine kingdom and later expanded and developed in ↗Addis Abäba, the new capital, and throughout Ethiopia.

By the 19th and 20th cent., it was the N. who specifically controlled and organized customs collection throughout most of the country (cp. ↗*Kella*). They were appointed over local and regional markets (Amh. ገበያ, *gäbäya*) by a local aristocrat or the emperor to control ↗trade. Often they also judged local commercial cases at the market. *Aṣe* ↗Mənilək II was the first emperor who successfully began to control the expanding commercial life of the Empire through his network of N. *Ras* Täfäri Mäkʷännən (later *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I) expanded the N.'s role and made them more efficient at extracting revenue. The most famous N. of Ethiopia was N. ↗Ḫaylä Giyorgis, who became the first N. of Addis Abäba and the person to whom *aṣe* Mənilək II delegated most of the responsibility for dealing with foreigners. Thus, it was logical in 1907 to make him the first Minister of Commerce and Foreign Affairs – a position which also had responsibility for customs. Ḫaylä Giyorgis exploited these positions to become one of the richest men in the whole of Ethiopia, with respect to liquid assets, and also during *ləğ* ↗Iyasu's reign to become Ethiopia's first Prime Minister. The increasing importance of the office of the N. coincided with the growth of Ethiopia's small middle class. The N.'s efflorescence was from the late 19th cent. to the ↗Italian war 1935–36.

A number of leading Ethiopian intellectuals held the title of N., such as ↗Gäbrä Ḫəywät Baykädañ and ↗Afäwärq Gäbrä Iyäsus. Both were appointed over ↗Dərre Dawa which, after Addis Abäba, was the most lucrative position for a N. to hold. Both had control over and organized customs revenue which brought in the most income. Other significant N. during Mənilək's and Ḫaylä Śəllase's reign were at ↗Gambella, ↗Gondär, ↗Harär, ↗Mätämma and ↗Wälläga. After 1918 the role of ↗*käntiba* of Addis Abäba seems to have absorbed that of the N. of Addis

Abäba. Although the title remained in existence after the Liberation of 1941, N. were no longer as powerful and influential as they had been during the latter part of Mənilək's and the beginning of Ḫaylä Śəllase's reign.

Src.: DTWDic 672; KaneDic 1068; GuiVoc 400; KWKDic 837.

Lit.: BZHist 98f.; PETER GARRETSON, *A History of Addis Ababa, 1886–1910*, Hamburg 2001 (AeF 49), 36–41; ID., "The Naggadras, Trade, and Selected Towns in Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century Ethiopia", *IJAHS* 12, 3, 1979, 416–39; HAROLD GOLDEN MARCUS, *A History of Ethiopia*, Berkeley, CA 1994, 119; PankEcon 519f., 524f.; PerGov 86, 150.

Peter Garretson

Naggiar, Joseph Paul

N. (born Yūsuf an-Naǧǧār; b. 1854, Cairo, d. January 1923, Palma de Mallorca) was a French diplomat. He was born into an Egyptian Christian family (the an-Naǧǧār were dragomans at the French Consulate in Alexandria). In 1869, N. began to work at the French consulate in Cairo. In 1884, he was naturalized French. He married Cécile Maksud, a Christian Syrian, with whom he fathered four children.

In 1887, N. was named to replace Lucien Labosse in the French consulate in Ismailia, Egypt, when Labosse left for a mission to ↗Zayla^{c}. After some years of duty in Greece, in 1906 he was appointed to diplomatic service in ↗Harär. He spent much time in ↗Dərre Dawa assisting in the works by the Compagnie de Chemin de fer franco-éthiopien (↗Railway). From December 1908 to June 1909 he was also head of the provisional administration of the Chemin de fer in Ethiopia. On two occasions he had to travel to France: in 1908, to receive the Légion d'Honneur and in 1911 for a health cure.

N.'s relations with the Ethiopian authorities, and with *ras* Täfäri Mäkʷännən (↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I) in particular, were excellent. In agreement with Antony ↗Kłobukowski, he reorganized the French diplomatic services in Ethiopia, especially in Harär: transformation of the vice-consulate into a consulate etc. In 1911 he left Ethiopia for Zanzibar, where he stayed until 1913. In 1916, though retired, he administered the French consulates in Syva and, from 1919 until his death, in Palma de Mallorca.

Src.: *Annuaire diplomatique*, 1869–1923; MAE, personal dossier, 2nd series, 1117; "Mouvement commercial de l'Ethiopie en 1907–08 par Diré Daoua et Djibouti", *Moniteur officiel du commerce*, 799, supplément, 1 July 1909 (BN : Fol Lc5 142); JOSEPH PAUL NAGGIAR, *Éthiopie. Mouvement commercial de l'Ethiopie en 1907 et 1908 par Dirré-Daoua et Djibouti*, Paris 1909 (Rapports commerciaux des agents diplomatiques et consulaires de France, Année 1909, fasc. no. 799); ID., *Éthiopie: Mouvement commercial de l'Ethiopie en 1909 par Diré Daoua et Djibouti*, Paris 1910 (Rapports commerciaux des agents diplomatiques et consulaires de France, Année 1910, fasc. no. 911); ID., "Mouvement commercial de l'Ethiopie en 1910 par Diré Daoua et Djibouti", in: *Moniteur officiel du commerce*, supplément, Paris 1911 [BN : Fol Lc5 142].

Lit.: LUKIAN PRIJAC, *La mission Klobukowski et le traité franco-éthiopien de 1908*, Paris 2003 (INALCO, Aresae, Conférences et documents 17), 56.

Lukian Prijac

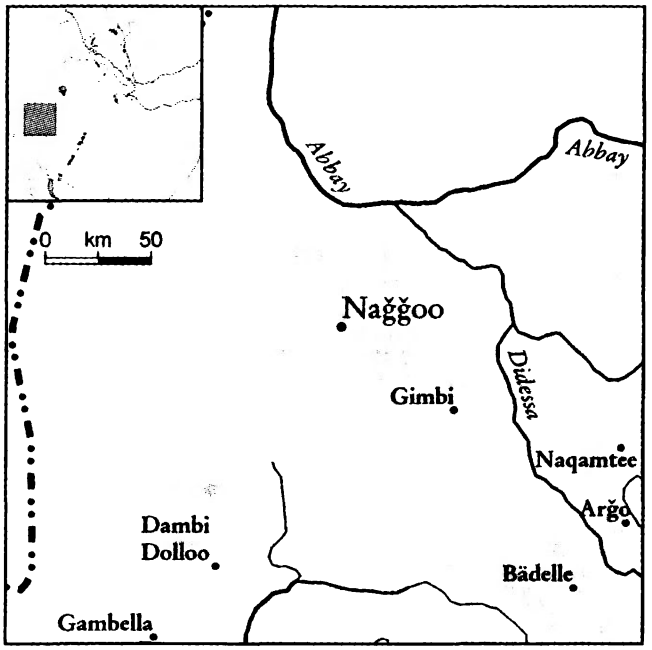
Naǧǧoo

N. (Orom. sp.: Najjoo; Amh.: ነጆ) is an important commercial town in ↗Wälläga. Its location at the historical crossroads between the Sudan, Wänbära, ↗Qälləm and ↗Illubabor contributed significantly to N.'s economic development.

In the 17th cent., a group of Sibuu Oromo under Naǧǧoo Muraram took control of the area, which was later named after the *gadaa* leader. Other Oromo clans were gradually incorporated by the N. chiefs and the name extended to the surrounding area.

Similar to Odaa Nabee and Odaa Bisil, N. served as a traditional centre for the ↗*buttaa* ceremony, ↗*čaffee* assembly, and promulgation of laws and conflict resolutions before it developed into a modern town. A wide plain at the top of the hill to the south-west of present-day N. was chosen by the Sibuu at Tulluu Yaaʾi ('Mountain of assembly') for the traditional assembly which served all the Oromo living in the vast territory west of the Dabbus river until the 1950s.

The site gained economic importance as people began to frequent it for *gadaa* rituals. On that occasion, they also bartered their produce and exchanged ideas. The most important trade goods were ↗gold and ↗iron items. Locally produced iron tools were considered of particularly high quality and attracted many traders from outside, including Beni Šangul and Goǧǧam. Eventually trade routes assumed a greater importance throughout the region, and the settlement grew into a town. Traders from the Sudan, Goǧǧam, Šäwa, Illubabor (Gore) and other places frequented N. market at Minyaʾa. It was this prosperity, and particularly gold, which might have instigated *mootii* ↗Moroda Bakaree of Leeqaa Naqamtee to occupy the region in the late 1880s.



The gold deposit at Kattaa Qammi near N. was not only coveted by the Leeqaa rulers but also by *aṣe* Mənilək II, who sent Alfred ↗Ilg in 1898 to explore N. for gold. In the early 20th cent., N. was described as the principal market centre, exporting, according to local engineers, £ 80,000 gold a year, with the tribute to the Emperor constituting up to one half of this quantity (Weld Blundell 1906:544). The locally made gold rings enjoyed a regional renown; travellers compared them with those of the monuments of Senusret Usitersen and Thutmosis (ibid. 544f.).

At the beginning of the 19th cent., the ↗Mahdists attempted to take control over the prosperous area but were defeated at the battle of Guutee Dilii near N. in 1888. Subsequently, the victorious Bakaree family made N. the administrative centre for Leeqaa Naqamtee. Moroda Bakaree's son Kumsaa (later ↗Gäbrä Ǝgziʾabəḥer), who took office in 1889, had his *masaraa* ('palace') built at N. Court and ecclesiastic officials were given land to build houses at N. The market place was moved from Minyaʾa a little to the south of the palace. As the market grew, they transferred it again to the centre of the town where it is still situated today. N. played an important role not only as a residence of governors but also as a second capital of Wälläga after Naqamtee (cp. ZerÉth 397).

In the early 20th cent., Protestant missions spread in the area (cp. ↗Nasiisee Liiban).

In 1982, N. had a total population of 6,904.

Src.: interview with Naǧǧoo elders at Kattaa, 1972, by Wondimu Ummata, IES, ms. no. 1888.

Lit.: ALMAZ TAFFESSE, *History of Nedjo Town: Foundation, Growth and Development up to 1941*, Senior Essay, History, Addis Ababa University 1987; HERBERT WELD BLUNDELL, "Exploration in the Abai Basin, Abyssinia", *The Geographical Journal* 27, 6, 1906, 528–53; ZerÉth 397; ALESSANDRO TRIULZI, "The Epic of Gute Dili in Macha Traditions of Western Wallaga", paper presented at the *International Symposium of History and Ethnography in Ethiopian Studies*, Addis Ababa,18–25 November 1982.

Tsega Endalew

Nägh ↗Səbḥatä nägh

Naǧrān

N. (Arab. نجران, Gəʿəz ናግራን, Nagran), already mentioned in Old Sabaic inscriptions of the 7th cent. B.C. as NGRN (cp. von Wissmann 1964), also known as RGMTM (cp. Müller 1974:186), at present a semi-autonomous province of Saudi Arabia along the border with Yemen, is the historical name of a group of oases at the northwestern end of the ancient South Arabian kingdom of ↗Ḥimyar. Located at the intersection of North and South Arabian civilizations, in later times N. was probably one of the most ancient outposts of Christian missionary activity in the area (↗Arabia), as indicated by the *Gädlä ↗Azqir* (originally a Syriac text, according to Conti Rossini 1910, it has survived only in an Arabic-based Gəʿəz version). This text focuses on the ↗martyrdom in N. of a Christian priest by order of king Šaraḥbiʾil Yakkuf, instigated by the local Jewish community, during the reign of the Byzantine emperor Anastasius I, i.e. in 490–518 (according to Bowersock 2004:269ff.), or some decades earlier (ca. 455–75, if the South Arabian king is to be identified with that of epigraphic sources, cp. EAE vol. 1, 421f.).

Already a battle-field during early confrontations between Sabaeans and Aksumites in the first half of the 3rd cent. A.D., N. was directly controlled by an Aksumite prefect (ʿQB, not a Gəʿəz term) named S¹BLQᵐ in Epigraphic South Arabian evidence (cp. Robin in PICES 8, 150ff.) ca. 240/250. The main historical event of relevance to Ethiopian history connected with N. is the persecution of Christians (including Aksumite troops in the capital Ẓafār) during the first decades of the 6th cent. (dates vary from 518 to 523, and previous persecutions are likely to have taken place) by order of the Jewish king ↗Yūsuf Asʾar Yaṯʾar (YWS¹F ʾS¹ʾR YṮʾR in South Arabian ↗inscriptions, Ḏū-Nuwās in Islamic tradition, Masrūq in Syriac sources, Finḥas in Arabic and

Gəᶜəz hagiographical texts, Δουναάς and similar forms in Greek). The dramatic siege and slaughter of the inhabitants of N. was the climax of a Jewish anti-Christian persecution that extended to all the areas of the kingdom of Ḥimyar. The exceptional echo of the persecution in a large part of the Christian world caused the Emperor Justin (518–27), through the Patriarch of Alexandria, to formally ask ↗Kaleb/Ǝllä Aṣbəḥa, then king of ↗Aksum, to launch a punitive military expedition against Ḥimyar. The subsequent invasion finally ended with the complete defeat of the Ḥimyarite king and the conquest of South Arabia by the Aksumites, who then governed it for some time. The events can be reconstructed from sources and first-hand reports (a series of South Arabian and Gəᶜəz inscriptions, the *Letter* of ↗Simeon of Beth Arsham), as well as more literary developed texts such as the so-called *Second Letter* (by the same Simeon according to Shahîd 1971) and a number of Byzantine sources. Among the main ones is a Greek hagiographical text, the *Martyrdom of ↗Arethas* (cp. Detoraki 2000), transmitted in Arabic and in Gəᶜəz, where, under the title of *Gädlä Ḫirut*, it is included in the collection *Gädlä sämaᶜətat* (cp. Bausi – Gori 2006), but also translated into Armenian and Georgian; a shorter Gəᶜəz version of the story is also incorporated into the *Gädlä ↗Ṗänṭälewon*. The Martyrdom is named after the most famous martyr of the persecution, the alleged head of N., al-Ḥāriṯ b. Kaᶜb (a name under which the tribe of the Banū Ḥāriṯ can be recognized), and relates the events up to the final defeat of the South Arabian king. So does the *Book of the ↗Ḥimyarites* (cp. Moberg 1924), where some information on the antefacts may be found. A probable echo of the persecution of N. is the mention of the *aṣḥāb al-Uḫdūd*, traditionally identified with the martyrs of N. burnt in a pit, in the Qurᵓān (85,4–9; cp., however, Paret in EI²).

During the Persian (since 570 A.D.) and the subsequent Islamic dominations, N. faced a gradual decadence; its inhabitants were also obliged to move to Iraq, where an-Naǧrānīya, not far from al-Kūfa, was founded, although it seems that part of the population still remained in the historical N. till the 10th cent. at least (cp. Shahîd in EI²).

The enduring memory of the events connected to N. can be appreciated from several echoes in Ethiopian tradition, probably all depending upon the *Gädlä Ḫirut* and/or the *Gädlä Ṗänṭälewon*, namely, in a few texts of the hagiographic cycle of the "Nine Saints" and in the last chapters of the ↗*Kəbrä nägäśt* (chs. 116f.). According to the latter text, while the first son of Kaleb, ↗Gäbrä Mäsqäl, succeeds his father to the throne of Ethiopia, the second one, ↗Ǝsraᵓel, is here called "king of N.", an evident allusion to the Ethiopian sovereignty over South Arabia (cp. BezKebr 169bff. [text] = 136ff. [tr.]). The speech of the Ethiopians who took part in the Council of ↗Florence in 1441, transmitted by Biondo Flavio (↗Italy), also refers to the tradition on the persecution in N. and the subsequent events (cp. Cerulli 1933:350ff.; Bausi – Gori 2006:5f.).

A monastery or a region by the name of N. is traditionally located in Eritrea, "on the northern border, on the Haggär mountains" (cp. Conti Rossini 1938:432), owing likely, as stated by some authors (cp. Caquot 1955:63), to confusion with the South Arabian place where the Jewish anti-Christian persecution of the 6th cent. took place.

Src.: ALESSANDRO BAUSI – ALESSANDRO GORI (ed., tr.), *Tradizioni orientali del «Martirio di Areta»*, Firenze 2006 (Quaderni di Semitistica 27) (Lit.); BezKebr; FRANÇOIS BRON, "Inscriptions et gravures rupestres d'al-Uḫdūd (Naǧrān)", *Annali IUO* 30, 1970, 259–62; ANDRÉ CAQUOT, "L'homélie en l'honneur de l'archange Ouriel (*Dersāna Urā'ēl*)", *AE* 1, 1955, 61–88; ENRICO CERULLI, "Eugenio IV e gli Etiopi al Concilio di Firenze nel 1441", *RRALm* ser. 6ª, 9, 1933, 347–68; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI (ed., tr.), "Un documento sul cristianesimo nello Iemen ai tempi del re Šarāḥbīl Yakkuf", *ibid.* ser. 5ª, 19, 1910, 705–50; ID., "Note di agiografia etiopica ('Abiya-Egzi', 'Arkalēdes e Gabra-Iyasus)", *RSO* 17, 1938, 409–52; MARINA DETORAKI (ed., tr.), *Le Martyre grec de s. Aréthas et de ses compagnons* (BHG *166*). *Édition critique et histoire du texte*, Ph.D. thesis, Université de Paris-Sorbonne 2000; IGNAZIO GUIDI (ed., tr.), "La lettera di Simeone vescovo di Bêth-Arśâm sopra i martiri omeriti", *RRALm* ser. 3ª, 7, 1880–81, 471–515 (repr. in: ID., *Raccolta di scritti*, vol. 1: *Oriente Cristiano* I, Roma 1945, 1–60); AXEL MOBERG (ed., tr.), *The Book of the Himyarites: Fragments of a Hitherto Unknown Syriac work*, Lund 1924 (Skrifter Utgivna av. Kungl. Humanistiska Vetenskapssamfundet i Lund. VII. Acta Reg. Societatis Humaniorum Litterarum Lundensis. VII); IRFAN SHAHÎD (ed., tr.), *The Martyrs of Najrân. New Documents*, Bruxelles 1971 (Subsidia hagiographica 49) (Lit.).

Lit.: JOËLLE BEAUCAMP – FRANÇOISE BRIQUEL-CHATONNET – CHRISTIAN JULIEN ROBIN, "La persécution des chrétiens de Nagrān et la chronologie ḥimyarite", *ARAM Periodical* 11–12, 1999–2000, 15–83 (Lit.); GLEN W. BOWERSOCK, "The Ḥaḍramawt between Persia and Byzantium", in: *La Persia e Bisanzio. Convegno internazionale* (*Roma, 14–18 ottobre 2002*), Roma 2004 (Atti dei convegni lincei 201), 263–73; GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, "Gregentios in the Land of the Homerites", in: ALBRECHT BERGER (ed., tr.), *Life and Works of Saint Gregentios, Archbishop of Taphar*, Berlin – New York 2006 (Mil-

lennium-Studien 7), 48–82 (Lit.); WALTER W. MÜLLER, [review of Shahîd 1971], *OrChr* 58, 1974, 177–90; RUDY PARET, "Aṣḥāb alUkhdūd", in: *EI²* vol. 1, 692*b*; CHRISTIAN JULIEN ROBIN, "La première intervention Abyssine en Arabie meridionale (de 200 a 270 de l'ère chrétienne environ)", in: *PICES* 8, vol. 2, 147–62; ID., "Le judaïsme de Ḥimyar", *Arabia* 1, 2003, 97–172; IRFAN SHAHÎD, "Nadjrān", in: *EI²* vol. 7, 873*a*–874*a*; RENÉ TARDY, *Najrân. Chrétiens d'Arabie avant l'Islam*, Beyrouth 1999 (Recherches Publiées sous la direction de L'Institut de Lettres Orientales de Beyrouth. Faculté des Lettres et de Sciences Humaines, Université Saint-Joseph. Nouvelle sér.: b. Orient chrétien 8); HERMANN VON WISSMANN, *Zur Geschichte und Landeskunde von Alt-Südarabien*, Wien 1964 (Sammlung Eduard Glaser III / Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Sitzungsberichte 246), 79–206 ("Das Land und Volk der ʾAmīr und ihr Gott Ḏū-Samāwī; Nagrān und der Norden").

Alessandro Bausi

Nägś ↗Hymns; ↗Ǝgziʾabəḥer nägśä

Näḥase ↗Calendar

Nāʾib

N. (نائب, Arab., Ottoman Turkish 'deputy', 'substitute', Tgn./Amh. ናይብ, *nayb*) was the local official governing the Eritrean coastal and eastern areas from the 17th cent. until mid-19th cent. The local dynasty which held this office, the N. family, originated from the ↗Balaw. The term N. was also used as a title by the office holders (including former ones, cp. the 19th-cent. *nāʾib* ↗Muḥammad Abdarraḥmān).

The N. family was an influential local dynasty of power brokers and regional rulers who were able to effectively control and impose their authority on Təgre and Sāho-speaking societies. The office of N. became *de facto* hereditary in the same family, and from the Italian colonial period onwards it has been used as a family name among descendants, following the example of old families of the nearby port of ↗Massawa, such as Käkkiya (descendants of Ottoman military office holders, the *kaḥya*), or the Sardal, Šawiš, Afandi (names derived from Ottoman and Egyptian military ranks and titles). The two politically most important branches of the N. family were Bet (Bayt) ʿUṯmān and the Bet Ḥasan, tracing their descent to the two sons of ʿAmər b. ʿAlī, himself a descendant of Ḥaməd b. ʿAmər "Qanʿ", who ruled the ↗Sämhar region in the 17th cent. (Abdu Ali Habib 1973:1, 3 and n. 16).

The Balaw group the N. family originates in was formed as the result of a gradual ethno-cultural fusion of Beğa-speaking nomads and Arabs in the eastern Sudan. According to Balaw historical traditions, several families migrated to the coastal strip of Sämhar around the 15th cent. They established a power base at ↗Ḥərgigo and exercized influence around the port of Massawa and in the coast area.

In 1557 ↗Özdemir *paša* occupied Massawa and the coast for the Ottoman empire and established the province of ↗Ḥabeš. Several unsuccessful attempts to gain a foothold on the highland plateau led the Ottomans to withdraw their forces to the coast and abandon their expansionist ambitions in the region. Leaving only a modest force in Massawa, the Ottomans devolved power to a N. The exact date of the transfer of power does not seem clear from available sources: many estimate the date of appointment of the first N. as the late 17th cent.; some have, however, suggested the 16th. The N.'s basic duties included the maintaining of order in Massawa's close hinterlands, providing security on the trading routes connecting the inland with the coast, and thus securing the commercial vitality of the port of Massawa. In return, the Ottoman authorities presented the N. with the paraphernalia symbolizing their power and authority (a silk robe and a golden-handled sword) as well as a monthly payment from the Massawa customs.

The N. were often successful in manoeuvring their way through imperialist and regional politics, whilst carefully preserving the viable power balance in their relations with the rulers of the highland province of ↗Təgray. While promoting their own autonomy and hegemony, highland Ḥabäša rulers engaged in power politics vis-à-vis the N., usually vacillating between various degrees of forceful intimidation and interested/useful collaboration. In the mid-18th cent., e.g., N. ʿUṯmān ʿĀmir (r. 1741–81) received from highland rulers 44 *gʷəlt* lands in exchange for firearms. The lands were located in localities near ʿAddi Qäyyəḥ, to the west of Ḥalay, Ǝmba Dərho, Bäläza, Bet Maḳa (↗Ḥamasen) as well as other lands in ↗Säraye and in the proximity of ʿAdwa. All in all, the conjunction of the state of political instability in the central and northern highlands (↗*Zämänä mäsafənt*), and the decline of Ottoman interest in their province of Ḥabeš provided a fertile ground for the expansion and consolidation of N. dominance in the coastland regions and beyond.

The authority of the N. under Ottoman indirect rule grew significantly in the mid-18th cent.,

and in the second half of the 18th cent. they were the most powerful rulers of the region between the sea and the highlands. The precise geographic limitations of N. influence fluctuated over time. At the peak of their power they extended their authority or influence over the vast majority of Təgre-speaking pastoral and agro-pastoral populations in the regions of Sämhar, Saḥəl, and the northern coasts as far as Aqiq, ca. 300 km north of Massawa. The most important groups (numerically) were the Ḥabab, the Mänsaᶜ, and segments of the Bet Ṭaqʷe (↗Bilin). In various periods the N. also spread their influence over Saho-speaking pastoralists in the foothills of Təgray, Akkälä Guzay and Ḥamasen, of which the ᶜAsawərta (↗Asaorta) and the ↗Ṭarūᶜa were the most significant groups. Other ᶜAfar, Sāho and Təgre-speaking societies, who came in certain periods under N. influence, inhabited the ↗Buri peninsula, the ↗Zula area, and regions on the ᶜAfar coast as south as ↗ᶜƎdd, as well as the ↗Dahlak islands.

The most important sources of power that N. supremacy and hegemony rested upon was their control of an organized semi-military apparatus composed of Turks, Kurds, Arabs, Ottoman soldiers from Bosnia and Albania as well as local coastal, mostly Təgre- and Sāho-speaking militiamen. As in other parts of the Ottoman Empire, these mixed forces gradually developed into relatively powerful military households (e.g. Bet Kaḥya, Bet Sardal, Bet Šawiš, Bet Askär). N. Idrīs ᶜUṯmān (r. 1801–31), e.g., received 1,005 thalers per month from the Massawa customs administration to keep a force of approximately 400 soldiers and provide for his militias. Other sources of N. authority were rooted in their role in the regional political economy. The N. and their associates controlled valuable grazing lands, caravan stations and routes, transportation means, strategic market villages and centres of commercial exchange in Massawa's orbit (e.g. ᶜAylät, ᶜAsus, Gumhot). The N. also collected tribute from those societies coming under their influence and were heavily involved in "tribal" politics by investing chiefs, administering justice and through marriage alliances. They also operated energetically in spreading Islam among mostly Təgre-speaking communities through their alliances with several holy families such as the Bet Šek Maḥmud, the ↗ᶜAd Šek, the ↗ᶜAd Mäᶜallim and the ᶜAd Dərqi.

The N. were able to maintain their autonomy under Ottoman indirect control until the middle decades of the 19th cent. During the tumultuous and tortuous 1840s, the N. found themselves in the midst of escalating power struggles between Ottomans, Egyptians and Ethiopians over the domination of Massawa and the coast. Egyptian advances from their Sudanese dominions prompted a "scramble for the coast", which culminated in several violent skirmishes involving the forces of *däğğazmač*↗Wəbe Ḥaylä Maryam, the Egyptians and the N. until the mid-19th cent. It was in this period that N. Ḥasan Idrīs famously defied one of the Ottoman governors of Massawa by declaring that "the Sultan rules in Istanbul, the Pasha in Egypt, and N. Ḥasan in Massawa!" Aspiring to develop its empire in north-east Africa and the Red Sea area, Egypt, under Muḥammad ᶜAlī and his descendants, constantly challenged Ottoman supremacy in the region. These trials of power progressively increased Egyptian dominance and culminated in *ḫidīw* Ismāᶜīl *bāšā*'s acquisition of Massawa and Sawākin from the Porte in 1865 (↗Massawa Governorate). The establishment of direct Egyptian administration in Massawa and the coastlands significantly eroded the power of the N. and transformed their political status and influence. For some time the N. were charged with collecting taxes for the Egyp-

The early 19th cent. *nāʾib* of Ḥərgigo Ḥasan Idrīs; from LefAbyss vol. 1, 204

tian administration, often placing them under substantial pressure both from the authorities and inland societies.

The Egyptian administration (1865–85) made efforts to hold a tighter grip on the populations of their dominions in Massawa's hinterlands, and in the process co-opted the N. whose political, economic and social networks in the region were deemed instrumental for mobilizing local populations and securing their loyalty to the government. In the early 1870s the Egyptian administration awarded N. Idrīs Ḥasan (ca. 1825–1905) the honorary military title of Major (*ṣāġ qōl āġāsī*) and appointed him *nāẓir* of Sämhar. But such gestures were more symbolic than anything else. Much like in the 18th cent. under the Ottomans, both the Egyptians and the Italians (from 1885) capitalized on the historic rivalry between two factions of the N. family, the Bet Ḥasan (cp. ↗Muḥammad ʿAbdarraḥīm) and Bet ʿUṯmān, and manipulated contesting holders to the office of the N. and its privileges, to employ "divide and rule" tactics.

Under the Italian colonial period, the N. worked with the administration in various capacities, received government subventions and maintained some administrative autonomy in their villages in Massawa's suburbs (esp. Ḥərgigo, ƎmkuIlu). Accommodation to Italian colonial rule was instrumental in promoting some local municipal and economic interests but their former politically powerful position remained a symbolic vestige of the past. In 1888 the Italian authorities formally divided the office of the N. between the two family lines. The Bet Ḥasan preserved Ḥərgigo under ʿAbdalkarīm ʿAbdarraḥīm and the Bet ʿUṯmān took charge of ƎmkuIlu and Ḥəṭumlo under Idrīs Ḥasan. Members of the N. family fought and died alongside Italian forces in Ǝmba Alage, Sägänäyti and ʿAdwa in the campaigns of 1895–96.

In the 20th cent. the N. family maintained some social and political influence in Sämhar while some members of the family were involved in nationalist politics and the Eritrean liberation struggle. Many also fled the country in the 1970s.

Src.: AbbSéjour; ANTHONY D'AVRAY, *The Nakfa Documents: the Despatches Memoranda, Reports and Correspondence ...*, Wiesbaden 1999 (AeF 53); GUILLAUME LEJEAN, *Voyage aux deux Nils ...*, Paris 1865; ID., *Voyage en Abyssinie ...*, Paris 1868; WERNER MUNZINGER, *Studi sull'Africa Orientale*, Roma 1890 (= MunSt); ID., "Les contrées limitrophes de l'Habesch", *Nouvelles Annales des Voyages* 6e ser., 4, avril 1858, 5–55; DANTE ODORIZZI, *Il Commissariato Regionale di Massaua al 1° Gennaio 1910*, Asmara 1911, 132–52 and passim; G. SALVADEI, "Massaua" [Allegato N. 110], in: *Atti Parlamentari. Legislazione XXIII-sessione 1909–13, Camera dei Deputati, allegati alla relazione sulla Colonia Eritrea, dal r. commissario Ferdinando Martini per gli esercizi 1902–1907 presentato dal ministro delle colonie (Bertolini) nella seduta del 14 giugno 1913*, Roma 1913.

Lit.: ABDU ALI HABIB, *History of Massawa from Early Nineteenth Century to the Coming of the Italians*, B.A. thesis, Haile Sellassie 1 University, 1973, 1–14; AbPrince; DouinIsm III.1, 234–58; ErDizBio; KilHDic, 320f.; KolTrad; LefAbyss 204 (ill.); JONATHAN MIRAN, "Power without Pashas: the Anatomy of *Na'ib* Autonomy in Ottoman Eritrea (17th–19th c.)", *Eritrean Studies Review* 5, 1, 2007, 33–88 (Lit.); MuhTarih 281–84, 304f.; PollEr 217ff. and passim; RubInd; TrIslam, s. index.

Jonathan Miran – Emeri van Donzel

Nallino, Carlo Alfonso

N. (b. 16 February 1872, Turin, d. 25 July 1938, Rome) was an Italian Arabist and Islamicist.

Having taught himself Arabic as a schoolboy, N. studied Oriental studies at the University of Turin from 1889 to 1893, under the guidance of the Iranist Italo Pizzi and the geographer Guido Cora. From 1894 to 1902 he taught Arabic at the Regio Istituto Orientale (↗Istituto Universitario Orientale) of Naples, and then at the University of Palermo until 1913, when he was transferred to the University of Rome as professor of History and Institutions of the Islamic world. N. also served the Ministry of the Colonies and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs as an expert of Islamic matters, especially after the conquest of Libya and in the aftermath of World War I.

N. was a member of the most prestigious academies in Italy and abroad: Accademia dei Lincei (1916), Accademia d'Italia (1932), honorary fellow of the Royal Asiatic Society (1923), the Royal Academy of the Arabic Language in Cairo (1933) and of the Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft (1934). For a while he directed the Scuola Orientale dell'Università di Roma and edited its journal, the *Rivista degli studi orientali*. In 1921 he was elected scientific director of the newly founded Istituto per l'Oriente in Rome (which has borne N.'s name since 1982) and chief editor of its still current journal, *Oriente Moderno* (Rossi 1938; Vacca 1973).

N. made numerous extended trips to various Arab countries. Upon his graduation, he spent five months in Egypt on a scholarship from the Ministry of Education; later he was also a visiting professor at the Egyptian University in 1909,

1910–11 and 1911–12. He was regularly invited to teach in Cairo from 1927 to 1931. He also visited Algeria, Tunisia, Libya, Syria, Mesopotamia and Saudi Arabia (the results of his 1938 trip to Ǧidda and aṭ-Ṭā'if were published in 1939).

N.'s mastery of Arabic and direct knowledge of Arab countries enabled him to deal with all the different and contradictory aspects of the Arab world and its culture. He edited several important texts; the major part of the huge corpus of his articles, reviews and notes were collected and republished posthumously by N.'s daughter Maria (1939–48). Among his main fields of interest were Arab astronomy (cp. ed. of al-Battānī, 1899–1907); Qur'ān (the anthology he published in 1893, at the age of 20, remains a fundamental reference); Islamic theology, law and philosophy; as well as the history of the Arabs. He catalogued the Oriental manuscripts of the National Library and the Royal Academy of Sciences in Turin (1900), and wrote a detailed description of Egyptian Arabic with a series of dialogues (1900, repr. 1913, 1939 [enlarged]; Sarnelli Cerqua 1973).

N.'s works of particular use for those specializing in ↗Ethiopian studies are his summary (1933) of the results of ↗Cerulli's Ethiopian journey of 1927–28 (CerEt) as well as his articles on Ancient ↗Arabia (1930) and ↗Epigraphic South Arabian (1931, a review of ↗Conti Rossini's *Chrestomathia Arabica meridionalis epigraphica*). N.'s numerous studies of Christian Oriental law are also important for scholars of Ethiopian juristic literature, not unknown to N. (he refers to the ↗*Fəṯḥa nägäśt*, 1921:73f.). In his contribution on Saudi Arabia (= vol. 1 of the *Raccolta* ..., 109f.) N. speaks about the Italian-built hostels in ↗Mecca and Medina for Muslim pilgrims from ↗Africa Orientale Italiana, including Ethiopia and Eritrea. In the entries *qāḍī* and *muftī* he wrote for the Italian law encyclopaedia *Nuovo digesto italiano* (1937, 1939) he speaks in detail about these legal institutions in the Italian colonies.

Src.: CARLO ALFONSO NALLINO, *Chrestomathia Qorani Arabica* ..., Lipsiae 1893; ID. (ed., tr.), *Al-Battānī sive Albatenii Opus astronomicum, ad fidem codicis Escurialensis arabice editum*, 3 vols., Roma – Milano 1899–1907; ID., "I manoscritti arabi, persiani, siriaci e turchi della Biblioteca Nazionale e della Regia Accademia delle Scienze di Torino", *Memorie della Accademia delle Scienze di Torino* ser. 2ª, 50, 1900, 1–104; ID., *L'arabo parlato in Egitto* ..., Milano 1900 (repr. 1913, 1939); ID., "Il poema mistico arabo d'Ibn al-Fāriḍ in una recente traduzione italiana", *RSO* 8, 1919, 1–106; ID., "Gli studi di E. Carusi sui diritti orientali", *ibid.* 9, 1921, 55–182; ID., "Libri giuridici bizantini in versioni arabe cristiane dei secoli XII–XIII", *RRALm* ser. 6ª, 1, fasc. 3–4, 1925, 101–65; ID., "L'Égypte avait-elle des relations directes avec l'Arabie méridionale avant l'âge des Ptolémées?", *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'Archéologie Orientale*, 30, 1930, 465–75; ID., "Due recenti pubblicazioni italiane sull'arabo meridionale preislamico", *Oriente Moderno* 11, 1931, 395–405; ID., "I principali risultati del viaggio di Enrico Cerulli nell'Etiopia occidentale nel 1927–1928", *ibid.* 13, 1933, 430–36; ID., "Cadi", in: *Nuovo digesto italiano*, vol. 2, Roma 1937, 606–09; ID., "Muftī", *ibid.* vol. 8, Roma 1939, 789; ID., *Raccolta di scritti editi e inediti*, ed. by MARIA NALLINO, 6 vols., Roma 1939–48 [with most articles republished] (Lit.).

Lit.: ENRICO CERULLI, "Ricordo di Carlo Alfonso Nallino", *Levante* 20, 1973 (*Centenario della nascita di Carlo Alfonso Nallino*), 7–10; FRANCESCO GABRIELI, "Ricordi su Carlo Alfonso Nallino", in: ID., *Arabeschi e studi islamici*, Napoli 1973, 273–82 [repr. in: ID., *Orientalisti del Novecento*, Roma 1993, 3–13]; ID., *La storiografia arabo-islamica in Italia*, Napoli 1975, 75ff.; MICHELANGELO GUIDI, "Carlo Alfonso Nallino", *RRALm* ser. 6ª, 15, 1939, 80–93; ID., "Carlo Alfonso Nallino", *RSO* 18, 1939, 155–62; GIORGIO LEVI DELLA VIDA, "Carlo Alfonso Nallino (1872–1938)" and "Bibliografia degli scritti di Carlo Alfonso Nallino", *Oriente Moderno* 18, 1938, 459–78 and 479–82 [repr. in: *Raccolta di Scritti* ..., vol. 6, 408–34 and 435–46 (revised)]; ENNO LITTMANN, "Carlo Alfonso Nallino", *ZDMG* 92, 1938, 633–52 [repr. in: *Ein Jahrhundert Orientalistik*, Wiesbaden 1955, 110–27]; MARIA NALLINO, "Momenti essenziali nella vita e nella carriera scientifica di mio padre", *Levante* 20, 1973, 11–23; UMBERTO RIZZITANO, "C.A. Nallino e i Musulmani di Sicilia", *ibid.* 78–84; CLELIA SARNELLI CERQUA, "Carlo Alfonso Nallino e il dialetto egiziano", *ibid.* 54–59; VIRGINIA VACCA, "Nallino e l'Istituto per l'Oriente", *ibid.* 60–66; ETTORE ROSSI, "Come il Nallino dirigeva l'«Oriente Moderno»", *Oriente Moderno* 18, 1938, 483–86; ID., "Nel primo anniversario della morte di Carlo Alfonso Nallino", *ibid.* 19, 1939, 408–13.

Alessandro Gori

Name(s)

N. and naming in Ethiopia and Eritrea is a complex topic which has yet to be the subject of systematic cross-cultural study. Generally speaking, N. are verbal means of identification and mark a person's identity as an individual and often as a member of a group or category of people. Thus, N. and systems of naming may reflect social status, religious affiliation or dignity, ethnicity and moral values but also individual characteristics or coincidental events related to the person. Every culture and historical period has its own traditions as to how N. are chosen and constructed, in which contexts N. are given or changed and what rules of combination are valid.

1. Pre-Aksumite and Aksumite names
2. Regnal names
3. Islamic names
4. Ethnographical overview
5. Horse names

[For toponymy s. ↗Topography, historical]

Pre-Aksumite and Aksumite names

A number of personal N. have been transmitted in historical sources on pre-Aksumite and Aksumite periods: ↗Inscriptions (in Epigraphic South Arabian, Greek and Gəᶜəz) and coins (↗Coinage), as well as, to a much lesser extent, literary texts, mainly in Greek (the ↗*Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, with the famous ↗*Zoskálēs*, and the *Christian Topography* by ↗Cosmas Indicopleustes), and in Syriac (the *Letter of Simeon of Beth Arsham* and other texts related to the persecution in ↗Nağrān).

Later indigenous post-Aksumite traditions recorded in Gəᶜəz chronicles, hagiographies and in the king lists, as well as, occasionally, in other foreign writings, such as the Greek dossier on St. ↗Gregentios or the Arabic chronicles, equally deemed to refer to the earliest stages of Aksumite civilization, also conceal N. more or less allegedly traceable to the pre-Aksumite and Aksumite periods. Yet, in the absence of other corroborating elements, the chronology itself of those traditions and sources – as far as the indigenous ones are concerned, not prior to the 13th/14th cent. – makes them a scarcely reliable witness.

The study of pre-Aksumite and Aksumite N., albeit relatively few in number (no more than 200 personal N. appear in well-defined epigraphic and/or numismatic corpora), is hardened by the nature of the available evidence: one may think here of the irregular linguistic correspondences (e.g., ᶜ = ḥ, cp. Drewes 1998:129; ᶜ as *mater lectionis*: ibid. 134, 137); of such ancient Semitic N. as MLGʾ, arguably applied to the ↗[Adkämä] Məlgaʾ who claim their origins, instead, from Lasta (ibid. 130); and, as a more general problem, of verbal forms, i.e. the basic onomastic elements in Semitic personal N., only approximatively distinguishable in consonantal inscriptions (ibid. 131f.). In addition, any linguistic hypothesis bears immediate implications to the early history of Ethiopian peopling.

Pre-Aksumite N. attested in Sabaic inscriptions found in Ethiopia definitely reflect mainly Semitic patterns, and are extensively built on roots attested in Semitic languages (for a panorama of N. studies in Semitic, cp. Streck – Weninger 2002). If comparisons with N. attested in Sabaic inscriptions found in South Arabia (among the several studies on that, cp. at least Ryckmans 1934–35, Avanzini 1989, Tairan 1992, al-Said 1995, Hayajneh 1998, Sholan 1999, Arbach 2002) are not always satisfactory, those with Epigraphic North Arabian languages (esp. Ṯamudic, Liḥyanic and Safaitic, cp. Harding 1971) are in many cases more fitting, to a degree that sensibly varies according to the different scholarly opinions (cp., e.g., the only available systematic studies by Marrassini 1985, 2003; Drewes 1998, 2000; partial list also in DicEthBio).

It should also be stressed that royal personal N. in Sabaic inscriptions found in Ethiopia normally consist of only one onomastic element, instead of two as in Sabaic N.: along with other linguistic features (esp. characteristic for the so-called second group of Ethiopian Sabaic inscriptions), this is one of the peculiarities (not only linguistic, but also cultural) that has long been called upon for assuming the independence of ancient Ethiopian civilization from the South Arabian one (cp., e.g., Drewes 1998:127ff.). Yet, even if pre-Aksumite N. are indeed formed in accordance with Semitic patterns and typology, their meaning is often a reflection of that according to Ethio-Semitic roots. In short, the linguistic and ethnic complexity of pre-Aksumite Ethiopia is fully mirrored in personal N., but in spite of detailed contributions and proposals (cp. above), and in the absence of a complete indexing of all known inscriptions, is still waiting for systematic treatment.

Aksumite N. include N. of both the pre-Christian and the Christian periods. Notwithstanding language shifts in the course of time, a number of N. adopted since the introduction of Christianity are continuously attested throughout Ethiopian history, up to modern times: they dramatically show the pivotal importance of the Gəᶜəz language at every level of Christian Ethiopia's social life. This is obviously due to Ethiopian Christian culture using Gəᶜəz language since the very beginning. In quite a few cases, however, Aksumite N. are better explained by way of comparison with modern languages than with Gəᶜəz (cp., e.g., ʾBʾBWT in the *Book of the* ↗*Ḥimyarites*, according to Müller 1978, recalling Amh. Abbäbäčč, or Old-Amh. Abbäbut/Abbäbät). Yet, the survival of ancient Christian N. in Gəᶜəz through post-Aksumite, modern and contemporary times, has not been without adaptations in the vernacular languages through complex linguistic processes: on the formal level, chiefly by borrowings, phonetic adaptations and developments, loan translations or partial replacements of Gəᶜəz onomastic elements with terms from modern languages (e.g., *Barya*, *Gila*,

instead of Gəᶜəz *Gäbrä* as the first element in a construct state); on the semantic level, by a different understanding of the original grammatical sequence, to be supposed in some cases, although to which extent is not always easy to detail, for lack of systematic and comparative surveys (first attempt in Meaza Haile Revol-Tissot 1999).

However, alongside Aksumite N. surviving for centuries until modern times (such as Barok, Danəʾel, Dawit, Fəśśəḥa, Mamas, Mängäśa, Wäldä Ǝgziʾabəḥer, Zäkrəstos, Zäyoḥannəs, etc.: cp. Drewes 1998:130f.), a long series of Aksumite N. of minor or major importance exist (in particular, royal N. found in legends on coins) that are not etymologically perspicuous (cp. the case of ↗MḤDYS; for brief treatment of problems in monetary royal N. cp. Bausi 2003).

Some other N. instead, quite clear in their linguistic origin, are far different from later types, and did not survive through subsequent times; this also applies to a number of Jewish and Greek N., which form a substantial part of Aksumite onomastics (cp. Meaza Haile Revol-Tissot 1999). On the other hand, a few scholars (e.g., Kropp 1994) tend to emphasize the importance of the non-Semitic component in Aksumite N. Yet, the same considerations expressed for pre-Aksumite N. are also valuable for Aksumite N., the linguistic and ethnic stratification of coeval Ethiopia being, here too, fully reflected – which confirms that Aksumite N. do not simply depend upon a common Semitic heritage, and strongly attest to genuine Ethiopian "innovations" and complex cultural relationships (cp., as to be expected, the non-Semitic N. of the king of Agʷəzat, Ab[b]äʾalkəᶜo, in RIÉ no. 187.5, 9).

Within the bulk of Aksumite N., a fundamental distinction should be drawn between "speaking" and "non-speaking" N. While the semantic and grammatical meaning of the former is more or less immediately clear, as they are composed according to grammar rules (cp. above), the latter are essentially foreign N. derived from Christian tradition: Jewish N. from the O.T. and N.T., N. from Christian literary texts, i.e., Semitic but also Greek (and Latin) N. in particular. Meanings of foreign N. may in some cases have been eloquent enough in the respective cultures, while generally – apart from Semitic N. – this was no more the case for their transference into Gəᶜəz within the Ethiopian framework.

A problem of its own is that of supposed Syriac N. in the Aksumite period (N. of the ↗"Nine Saints" etc.), to be dealt with under the general heading of "↗Syriac influences" in Aksumite and/or Ethiopian culture.

Some royal Aksumite N. known from inscriptions and/or from coins (Ǝllä ᶜAmida, Kaleb, Gäbrä Mäsqäl, Ǝllä Gäbäz) appear to have been preserved in hagiographic traditions on Ethiopia's early Christianization (e.g., those of the Nine Saints and the ↗*Ṣadəqan*). As to royal N., two specific problems may be mentioned: (1) several N. are characterized by the presence of an *əllä*-element that is generally interpreted as a plural relative pronoun (for an alternative hypothesis, cp. Lusini in StudAeth), also attested in a variously explained *əlle*-variant (cp. Bausi 2005a, 2005b; Bulakh 2007); a surprising modern survival of this onomastic type is Tgn. *Ǝlläqal*, 'Those of the Word' (cp. Moreno 1931:42, on which Meaza Haile Revol-Tissot 1999); (2) the structure of the royal Aksumite N. – at least in some cases, a complete sequence being rarely known – seems to have been threefold, as in the epigraphic titlary of Kaleb: KLB/ʾL ʾṢBḤ WLD TZN/BʾS LZN (RIÉ no. 191.7f.), where the probable throne N. (KLB) is followed by the personal N. (ʾL ʾṢBḤ) with patronymic (WLD TZN), and then by a third element introduced by the word *bʾsy* (in non-vocalized writing)/*bəʾəsəyä* (in vocalized texts, archaic form for the later *bəʾəse*)/*bʾs* (in non-vocalized text, certainly representing later *bəʾəse*)/BIΣI (on coins with Greek legends), i.e., in Gəᶜəz 'man (of)', followed by a variously explained problematic element (cp. Schneider 1987:605ff.). The *bəʾəse*-N. are different in all eight attested occurrences (and the king lists), in spite of the fact that the Aksumite kings cannot all have been unrelated to each other. Moreover, Kaleb's son in RIÉ no. 192.7, WᶜZB, is BʾS ḤDFN (probably to be read ḤDQN, cp. below), while his father was BʾS LZN (cp. above). Different explanations have been offered. Some scholars (de Blois 1984) believe that it would be a sort of "matronymic" or "matrilinear clanic" N. (↗Kinship). References to special N. of ↗military units (s. EAE vol. 5), organized on a regional basis, have been also suggested. More recently, a new tentative proposal has been advanced (cp. Manzo 1995:74ff., proposing, in this perspective, the alternative reading ḤDQN for ḤDFN, cp. above), according to which the onomastic element 'man (of)' would introduce South Arabian place-names – the possibility of connections with N. of military units and/or clanic matrilinear descents remaining open as well.

The *bəʾəsi*-element reappears in the early 13th-cent. feudal deeds of *aṣe* Lalibäla, who is styled as *bəʾəsi ʿazal* in two documents of the "Golden Gospel" of Däbrä Libanos (cp. CRDLib; Bausi 2007:84f.). The segment, meaning here '*vir fortis*, strong man' (DillmLex 791; LesCDic 52*b*), is probably an awkward imitation of the original Aksumite expression and only a hint to the glorious past. The same *bəʾəsi ʿazal* epithet (probably borrowed from the "Golden Gospel") was later used by the chronicler for ʿAmdä Ṣəyon (cp. MarAmdS 46f., 142f.; KrAmdS 48 [text], 52 [tr.]); a repetition never registered for Aksumite kings.

Src.: MOUNIR ARBACH, *Inventaire des inscriptions sud-arabiques*, VII: *Les noms propres du Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, 4: *Inscriptiones Ḥimyariticas et Sabaeas continens*, Paris – Rome 2002; ALESSANDRA AVANZINI (ed.), *Problemi di onomastica semitica meridionale*, Pisa 1989 (Seminari di Orientalistica 1); DAE IV [with N. index, 85, 92ff.]; DicEthBio; DillmLex 791; ABRAHAM JOHANNES DREWES, *Inscriptions de l'Éthiopie antique*, Leiden 1962 [with N. index, 112]; HANI HAYAJNEH, *Die Personennamen in den qatabanischen Inschriften: Lexikalische und grammatische Analyse im Kontext der semitischen Anthroponomastik*, Hildesheim 1998 (Texte und Studien zur Orientalistik 10); KrAmdS 48 [text] = 52 [tr.]; LesCDic 52b; GERALD LANKESTER HARDING, *An Index and Concordance of Pre-Islamic Arabian Names and Inscriptions*, Toronto – Buffalo 1971 (Near and Middle Eastern Series 8); MarAmdS 46f., 142f.; MARTINO MARIO MORENO, *Norme per la trascrizione dei nomi personali tigrini*, Asmara 1931; RIÉ; GONZAGUE RYCKMANS, *Les noms propres sud-sémitiques*, Louvain 1934–35 (Bibliothèque du Muséon 2); SAID F. AL-SAID, *Die Personennamen in den minäischen Inschriften: Eine etymologische und lexikalische Studie im Bereich der semitischen Sprachen*, Wiesbaden 1995 (Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur – Mainz. Veröffentlichungen der Orientalischen Kommission 41); AMIDA SHOLAN, *Frauennamen in den altsüdarabischen Inschriften*, Hildesheim 1999 (Texte und Studie zur Orientalistik 11); MICHAEL P. STRECK – STEFAN WENINGER (ed.), *Altorientalische und semitische Onomastik*, Münster 2002 (Alter Orient und Altes Testament 296) (Lit.); SALEM A. TAIRAN, *Die Personennamen in den altsabäischen Inschriften: Ein Beitrag zur altsüdarabischen Namengebung*, Hildesheim 1992 (Texte und Studien zur Orientalistik 8).

Lit.: ALESSANDRO BAUSI, "Numismatica aksumita, linguistica e filologia", *Istituto Italiano di Numismatica. Annali* 50, 2003 [2005], 157–75; ID., "Etiopico *'ellē*: a proposito di un'ipotesi recente", in: DENIS NOSNITSIN (ed.), *Varia Aethiopica: In Memory of Sevir B. Chernetsov (1943–2005)*, St. Petersburg 2005a (= Scrinium 1), 3–11; ID., "Ancient Features of Ancient Ethiopic", *Aethiopica* 8, 2005b, 149–69; ID., "Un indice dell'*Evangelo d'oro* di Dabra Libānos (Šemazānā, Akkala Guzāy, Eritrea)", *ibid.* 10, 2007, 81–91; FRANÇOIS DE BLOIS, "Clan-Names in Ancient Ethiopia", *Die Welt des Orients* 15, 1984, 123–25; MARIA BULAKH, "Lexicon and Grammar of Epigraphic Geez: nota genitivi *za-* in Epigraphic Geez", paper presented at the *16th ICES*, Trondheim 2007; ABRAHAM JOHANNES DREWES, "Noms propres dans les documents épigraphiques de l'Éthiopie", *Semitica* 48, 1998 [1999], 127–43; ID., "La fonction grammaticale des noms royaux dans les inscriptions axoumites", *ibid.* 49, 1999 [2000], 179–90; ID., "Noms propres dans les documents épigraphiques de l'Éthiopie, II", *ibid.* 50, 2000 [2001], 199–210; GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, "'Ella Gabaz/('Ella) Ḥētāzā", *La Parola del Passato* 61, 2006 [2007], 115–41; SERGEJ A. FRANTSUZOV, "'Čto značit imja?' (o proishoždenii i značenii imeni Abraha: razrušenie stereotipa)" ['«What's in a Name?» (On the Origin and Meaning of the Name Abraha: Refutation of a Stereotype)'], *Hristianskij Vostok* new ser. 2 [8], 2000 [2001], 102–15; MANFRED KROPP, "Ein Gegenstand und seine Aufschrift. RIE 180 = JE 5", in: *EtRicci* 129–44; ID., "Ethiopian Names in Sabaic and the Question of *Matres Lectionis* in Epigraphic South Arabian", in: CARMEL MCCARTHY – JOHN F. HEALY (eds.), *Biblical and Near Eastern Essays: Studies in Honour of Kevin J. Cathcart*, London – New York 2004 (*Journal for the Study of the Old Testament*. Supplement Ser. 375), 258–63; GIANFRANCESCO LUSINI, "Note linguistiche per la storia dell'Etiopia antica", in: *StudAeth* 67–77; ANDREA MANZO, "Su alcuni recenti rinvenimenti a Ona Nagast (Bieta Giyorgis)", *RSE* 39, 1995 [1997], 71–79, here 74ff.; PAOLO MARRASSINI, "Ancora sulle 'origini' etiopiche", in: SANDRO FILIPPO BONDÌ et al. (eds.), *Studi in onore di Edda Bresciani*, Pisa 1985, 303–15; ID., "The Semites in Abyssinia: Onomastic and Lexicographical Notes", in: LEONID KOGAN (ed.), *Studia Semitica*, Moscow [2003] (Orientalia: Papers of the Oriental Institute III), 141–51; MEAZA HAILE REVOL-TISSOT, *Étude anthroponimique dans l'aire tigrignaphone: approche comparative des formes guèze et tigrigna*, Ph.D. thesis, Université de Paris III 1999; EAD., "Dieu le Père vous appelle, ou l'incarnation continuée en tigrigna", in: JÉRÔME LENTIN – ANTOINE LONNET (eds.), *Mélanges David Cohen*, Paris [2003], 563–68; CHRISTIAN JULIEN ROBIN, "La première intervention Abyssine en Arabie meridionale (de 200 a 270 de l'ère chrétienne environ)", in: *PICES* 8, vol. 2, 147–62; WALTER W. MÜLLER, "Abessinier und ihre Namen und Titel in vorislamischen südarabischen Texten", *Neue Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik* 3, 1978, 159–68 (= PICES 5b, 309–14); ROGER SCHNEIDER, "Notes sur les inscriptions royales aksumites", *BiOr* 44, 1987, 599–616.

Alessandro Bausi

Regnal names

From the 14th cent. onwards, a duality in the N. of Ethiopian monarchs is increasingly documented, and around 1500 at the latest a royal onomastic dualism appears as fully fledged. From *aṣe* ↗Naʿod up to the so-called ↗*Zämänä mäsafənt*, all Ethiopian monarchs of the 16th and 17th cent., as well as most of the 18th, are attested in the sources as having borne, in addition to their baptismal N. of an explicitly Christian nature, a so-called regnal N., the ስመ፡ መንግሥት (*səmä mängəśt*, pl. *asmatä mängəśt*), which emphasized their worldly prowess. While the future emperors received their baptismal N. shortly after their births, they adopted or were assigned their regnal N. only upon their accession to the throne, or even only after they had already governed for some period.

With the exception of Naᶜod, whose regnal N. was Anbäsä Bäṣär ('A lion against the enemy'), all the other *asmatä mängəśt* of the 16th to 18th cent. followed the pattern *X sägäd* (or: *säggäd*, depending on whether one reads ሰገድ as Gəᶜəz or Amharic) = 'X has submitted/submits [to the monarch in question]'. The terms standing in for X normally designated either territories, or one or a group of enemies. Regnal N. with a territorial reference for instance are Aṣnaf Sägäd ('The furthest borderlands submit to him', regnal N. of both ↗Gälawdewos and ↗Zädəngəl), Adyam Sägäd ('[All] the provinces submit to him', regnal N. of ↗Iyasu I, ↗Iyasu II [in addition to Bərhan Sägäd] and ↗Iyoᵓas) and even ᶜAläm Sägäd ('The [whole] world submits to him', regnal N. of *aṣe* ↗Fasilädäs). Regnal N. claiming the submission/subjugation of enemies on the other hand are, e.g., Wänag Sägäd ('The lion has submitted to him', i.e. to ↗Ləbnä Dəngəl; since *wanāg* is a ↗Harari word, a reference probably to the ᶜAdalite general ↗Maḥfūẓ b. Muḥammad whom Ləbnä Dəngəl vanquished); Mäläk Sägäd ('The king submitted to him', i.e. ↗Śärṣä Dəngəl; since *mäläk* is derived from Arabic *malik*, a reference possibly to ↗Özdemir *paša* who at the time temporarily occupied parts of Eritrea for the Ottoman *sulṭān*); Mäsiḥ Sägäd ('The anointed one has submitted to him', i.e. ↗Bäkaffa; *mäsiḥ* here refers not to Christ but to the counter-king Wäldä Giyorgis, a brother of Bäkaffa whom he had to subdue before he could effectively assume the reins of power); or a more generic Aᵓəlaf Sägäd ('Countless myriads have submitted to him', i.e. ↗Yoḥannəs I) and Aśrar Sägäd ('The enemies have submitted to him', i.e. ↗Tewoflos). In the 18th cent. we also encounter regnal N. like Ṣäḥay Sägäd ('The sun has submitted to him', i.e. ↗Yosṭos), Bərhan Sägäd ('The light has submitted to him', i.e. Iyasu II), Ṭəbäb Sägäd ('Wisdom has submitted to him', i.e. ↗Täklä Haymanot II) and Fəqr Sägäd ('Love has submitted to him', i.e. ↗Täklä Giyorgis). Such extravagant and particularly grandiloquent *asmatä mängəśt* are perhaps best understood as compensatory reactions to the decline in real power suffered by the monarchs of that time. Overall though the use of regnal N. during the *Zämänä mäsafənt* slowly diminished and appears to have come to an end by the beginning of the 19th cent. From this time onwards horse N. (s. subarticle) perhaps at least partially assumed the function of extolling the martial virtues of monarchs that previously had been fulfilled by the regnal N.

Imperial spouses also bore regnal N. that regularly echoed the *X Sägäd* pattern of their husbands' regnal N. as *X Mogäsa* ('X is her grace/dignity/happiness'). If *aṣe* ↗Minas, e.g., was Admas Sägäd ('The [entire] horizon submits to him'), his ↗*ətege*, baptized as Śəllus Ḫayla, automatically acquired the regnal N. of Admas Mogäsa. This pattern of female *asmatä mängəśt* formation is best interpreted as elliptic, namely as shortened from the full regnal N. of her husband + *mogäsa*. Admas Mogäsa would thus be shorthand for *Admas Sägäd Mogäsa, i.e. 'In [her husband] Admas Sägäd resides her grace/dignity/happiness'. Without the supposition of ellipsis, such female regnal N. as Mäläk Mogäsa, Səlṭan Mogäsa (*səlṭan*, 'the Sulṭān') or Abrak Mogäsa (*abrak*, 'knees') would be rather bizarre and make little to no sense.

The clear-cut dualism in royal nomenclature observable from the 16th to 18th cent., during which period grandiloquent and martial regnal N. complemented the monarchs' baptismal N. (which implied their bearers' creatural subordination to God and thus in this respect their commonality with their subjects), had antecedents in earlier times. In the 14th and 15th cent. monarchs like ↗ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon I and ↗Yəsḥaq bore the additional regnal N. of Gäbrä Mäsqäl ('Servant of the Cross'), while ↗Dawit II, ↗Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob and ↗Ǝskəndər were also known as Qʷäsṭanṭinos (i.e. Constantine). In these cases, however, there is no, or at least no pronounced, antinomy between baptismal and regnal N., as the latter is equally Christian in character – even if a N. like Qʷäsṭanṭinos also carries martial overtones. Yet already in the 14th and 15th cent. we here and there encounter baptismal-regnal N. pairs which are marked by the pronounced dualism characteristic of the 16th to 18th cent. Cases in point are Nəwayä Krəstos – ↗Säyfä Arᶜad ('Vessel of Christ' – 'He who makes the [enemy's] sword tremble'), ↗Nəwayä Maryam – Wəddəm Asfäre ('Vessel of Mary' – 'Settler of the wilderness') or ↗Täklä Maryam – Ḥəzbä Nañ ('Plant of Mary' – 'Disperser of the [enemy] people'). Some late 13th-/early 14th-cent. monarchs such as, e.g., Ḥəzbä Asgäd ('He who subjected the [enemy] people') or ↗Wəddəm Räᶜad (or Arᶜad; 'He who made the wilderness tremble') are even only known by secular martial N. Yet since these early Solomonids (↗Solomonic dynasty) were already programmatically Christian, one must assume that they had baptismal N. as well. Thus the full-fledged onomastic complementarity of the 16th

to 18th cent. apparently has roots reaching back to the earliest Solomonid times. One cannot even exclude that this dualism was already operative, at least sporadically, under the ↗Zagʷe monarchs or in late Aksumite times.

The most easily accessible comprehensive list of the royal N., baptismal as well as regnal, can be found in GuiSLett. Also to be consulted are such publications as WrBriMus, Littmann (1909), Tekle-Tsadik Mekouria (1966) and Bartnicki –Mantel-Niećko (1978).

Lit.: ANDRZEJ BARTNICKI – JOANNA MANTEL-NIEĆKO, *Geschichte Äthiopiens. Von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart*, 2 vols., [East] Berlin 1978 [original Polish ed. Wrocław 1971], vol. 2, 375–77; GuiSLett 98[–100], n. 2; MICHAEL KLEINER, "Zu den mit ሰገደ (*sägäd*) gebildeten Namen äthiopischer Kaiser sowie anderer hoher Würdenträger des Reiches", *Aethiopica* 7, 2004, 54–73; ENNO LITTMANN, "Geschichte der äthiopischen Litteratur", in: CARL BROCKELMANN et al., *Geschichte der christlichen Litteraturen des Orients*, Leipzig 1909 [¹1907], 185–268, here 201, 241; TEKLE-TSADIK MEKOURIA, *Les noms propres, les noms de baptême et l'étude généalogique des rois d'Éthiopie (XIIIe–XXe siècles) à travers leur noms patronymes*, Belgrade 1966, 19, 69f., 105–09; WrBriMus VI–IX.

Michael Kleiner

Islamic names

Ethiopian Muslims typically conform to the general Islamic ways with some local peculiarities. The theological basis for naming is formed by some prophetic sayings that indicate how and when a child should be correctly named according to the tradition (s. Ibn Qayyim al-Ǧawzīya 1988). It is a recommendable practice to name a child on the seventh day after birth though some *aḥādīṯ* allow the N. to be given on the very day of birth. As on the Judgement Day every creature will be called by his N., it is recommended that even the miscarried foetus receive a N.

N. is usually chosen by the parents but also strangers to the family may be consulted occasionally. Unacceptable N. include the 99 *al-asmāʾ al-ḥusnā* reserved for God only (e.g., Raḥmān, 'the Merciful'; Raḥīm, 'the Beneficient') and those which have a polytheistic connotation (e.g., ʿAbdalʿuzzā, 'servant of [the goddess] ʿUzzā'). Preferable N. are (1) theophorous N. made up by *ʿabd* ('servant') and one of the designations of God (e.g. ʿAbdallāh, fem. Amatallāh; ʿAbdarrahmān); (2) N. related to the Prophet ↗Muḥammad (his cognates and all the prophetical epithets, Aḥmad; Maḥmūd; Muṣṭafā; Bašīr, etc.); (3) N. related to other prophets accepted by Islam (Ibrāhīm; Ismāʿīl; Dāwūd; Sulaymān; Yaḥyā; ʿĪsā) and (4) to the great personages of Islamic sacred history (Hāǧar; Maryam; Āmina; Ḫadīǧa; Abū Bakr; ʿUmar; ʿUṯmān; ʿAlī). N. borrowed from the ancient national history and mythology of the Islamic peoples are also used, as well as N. (predominantly in Arabic but also in local languages or in phonetically modified Arabic) carrying a positive meaning of well-being (Saʿd, 'good luck, satisfaction'), harmony (Ǧamīl/a, 'beautiful'); piety (ʿAfīf/a, 'chaste'); bravery (Fāris, 'horseman'; Niḍāl, 'fight') or taken from flora and fauna (Usāma, Asad, 'lion'; Ṣaqr, Šāhīn, 'falcon'); they all are considered as well-wishing.

Arabic name structure

Ethiopian Muslims incline to use N. of Arabic origin (due to the special status of the ↗Arabic language in ↗Islam). The typical Arabic N. is normally composed of several elements: (1) *ism* (or *ism ʿalam*), the personal N.; (2) *kunya*, tecnonym; N. of the first-born normally preceded by *abū* ('father of') or *umm* ('mother of') – this element may take the sense of a nickname (e.g., Umm Ḥabība; [Saʿdaddīn] Abū l-Barakāt); (3) *nasab*, patronymic (or series) introduced by *ibn* ('son of') or *bint* ('daughter of'); (4) *laqab* (Bosworth in EI²), sobriquet, nickname or descriptive N. related to the profession, a physical characteristic or defect (e.g. al-Ġāzī, 'the warrior'); and, finally, (5) *nisba*, relative adjective linking the person with a relevant element in his or her life: a place, a family, a descent group, a school of law, a mystical brotherhood etc. (e.g., al-Ḥabašī, 'the Abyssinian', al-ʿUmarī, descendant of ʿUmar the second caliph, al-Qādirī, etc.). The complete set of elements is rarely used, normally one or two of the components are quoted to refer to a person (s. EI², vol. 4, 179ff.; Caetani – Gabrieli 1915).

Ethiopia-specific features

The N. of the Ethiopian Muslims possess most of the general characteristics of Islamic N. giving (as also examples above show). The lack of a proper extensive prosopographical repertoire of Islamic Ethiopia hinders a serious onomastical analysis of Ethiopian Muslims but some observations can be safely made. Arabic N. are often adapted to the phonetics of the local languages (Mähammäd, Mahamud, Säyəd, Bäšir, Ṭolha, Sadiq, Kaltuma, Firdawsa, etc.). N. made up by *ʿabd*+N. of God (ʿAbdaššakūr, ʿAbdallāh, ʿAbdalfattāḥ) are wide-spread; N. originally

derived from ancient dynastic *laqab*s (Kramers 1926; Dietrich 1961) made up by a common propitiatory N. and a fixed second element *-dīn* ('religion', i.e. Islam, e.g., Saᶜdaddīn, Ṣabraddīn, Ǧamāladdīn, Ḥaqqaddīn, and also, more peculiarly, Aḥmaddīn, Aẓharaddīn, Asmāʾaddīn, and ᶜUmardīn); N. composed from a famous personal N. with a eulogical epithet (Nūr Ḥusayn; Muḥammad Amān; ᶜUmar ar-Riḍāʾ) and, particularly among the Təgre, "double names" of different origin (e.g., Ḥamad-lul, Maḥamud-ker; s. LitPEA vol. 2, 178f.). When an identical onomastic form is available in the local language, the Arabic version of the N. is preferred, and in the Amharic translation of the Qurʾān all prophets are called according to the Arabic-Islamic form of their N. (*Qəddus Qurʾan* 11).

Hypocoristic or apparently hypocoristic forms (on Arabic hypocoristica s. Littmann 1953) are attested in written sources and in practical use (ᶜAbdoš, Aḥmadūš, Amano [probably from Amanallāh], Mumme [likely from Muḥammede], Amade, Faṭuma). The Təgre usually give a boy a second N. (*səqrat*) to be used only by women of his family (LitPEA vol. 2, 190–93).

In sources, persons are usually identified through *ism ᶜalam* and *nasab*; the *nisba* is also widespread, especially in more religion-focused literature (e.g., Muḥammad Wale 2005).

In Harär, the *laqab* is often added to the patronymic sequence (s. the list in Abduraḥman Maḥammad Qorram 1986: appendix).

Name-giving and conversion

Converts are recommended to assume a new N., though there is no general legal obligation to do so, unless their pre-Islamic N. had some clear anti-Islamic connotation. In earlier phases of Islamization local pre-Islamic N. continued to be used (e.g., N. used in the sultanates of Šäwa and Ifāt, such as Badīt bint Māyā; Dilgāmis; Dunyāḥūz, Baziyū, Goodanaa Babboo). With the deepening of Islamic consciousness, Muslim N. were often combined with non-Islamic or pre-Islamic ones (e.g., Aḥmad Ḥarb Arᶜad, Aḥmad Badlāy; Muḥammad Gāsā). This is also the trend in areas of more recent Islamization (e.g., among the Muslims of Wällo and Gurage one finds such N. as ᶜUmar Wadāǧo Ǧaᶜfar Bukko, ᶜUmar Bäqsa, etc.). Some N. of apparently Christian origin (e.g., Tīdros; Abādir – on this last example s. CerIslam 321ff.; CerStud I, 48–51) were seldom used by Muslims.

Individuals passing from Islam to Christianity almost always changed N.: in Gəᶜəz hagiography the conversion of a Muslim is completed by the Christianization of his N. (Marrassini 1981:LXXV [lit.]). More recently, among the Mammädoččˇ, Mäḥammäd ᶜAli became ↗Mikaʾel, Amäde Kolase became ↗Wäldä Gäbrəʾel. The N. of the Christian father is normally kept in the *nasab* (e.g., ᶜUmar Mäkʷännən, Maḥmūd Nūr Ḥusayn Bərhanu).

Src.: ABDURAḤMAN MAḤAMMAD QORRAM, ጩቅቲ፡ ክታብ። የአደርኛ፡ አማርኛ፡ መዝገበ፡ ቃላት (*Ċuqti kətab: yäʾadärəñña-amarəñña mäzgäbä qalat*, 'Harari-Amharic Dictionary'), Addis Abäba 1978 A.M. [1986 A.D.]; BassHist; CerIslam, s. esp. 207–43 and index of names; CerStud I; *Qəddus Qurʾan*, Addis Abäba 1961 A.M. [1968/69 A.D.]; LitPEA vol. 2; PAOLO MARRASSINI, *Gadla Yohannes Mesraqawi – Vita di Yohannes l'Orientale*, Firenze 1981 (Quaderni di Semitistica 10); *aš-šayḫ al-ḥāǧǧ* MUḤAMMAD WALĪ b. *aš-šayḫ al-ḥāǧǧ* AḤMAD b. ᶜUMAR, *Kitāb īqāẓ himam al-aġbiyāʾ bi-rašḥ qaṭra min tarāǧim al-ᶜulamāʾ wal-awliyāʾ fī ǧumhūrīyat Ityūbiyā* ('The Book of Awakening of the Aspirations of the Ignorant through Spraying a Drop of Biographies of the Scholars and Saints in the Ethiopian Republic'), Addis Ababa 2005; YÄWÄLÄNE ŠÄH [i.e. *šayḫ* ᶜUMAR b. *šayḫ* BAŠĪR], ጥሮነ – የኢትዮጵያ፡ ቀደምትና፡ ታላላቅ፡ ዑለማዎች፡ ታሪክ (*Ṭəronä – Yäʾityopya qäddämtənna talallaq ᶜulämawočč tarik*, 'Ṭərənä – the History of the Great Scholars of the Past'), Addis Abäba 1998 A.M. [2005/06 A.D.]; FahLit.

Lit.: CLIFFORD EDMUND BOSWORTH, "Laqab", in: *EI²*, vol. 5, 618–31; LEONE CAETANI – GIUSEPPE GABRIELI, *Onomasticon Arabicum, ossia repertorio alfabetico dei nomi di persona e di luogo contenuti nelle principali opere storiche, biografiche e geografiche stampate e manoscritte, relative all'Islam*, 2 vols., Roma 1915; "Ism", in: *EI²* vol. 4, 179–81; ALBERT DIETRICH, "Zu den mit *addīn* zusammengesetzten islamischen Personennamen", *ZDMG* 110, 1961, 45–54; IBN QAYYIM AL-ǦAWZĪYA, *Tuḥfat al-wadūd bi-aḥkām al-mawlūd* ('The Gift of the Beloved concerning the Rules for the Newborns'), Beirut 1988; THEODOR W. JUYNBOLL – JOHANNES PEDERSEN, "ᶜAḳīḳa", in: *EI²* vol. 1, 337; JOHANNES H. KRAMERS, "Les noms musulmans composés avec Dīn", *Acta Orientalia* 5, 1926, 53–67; ENNO LITTMANN, "Arabische Hypokoristika", in: *Studia Orientalia Iohanni Pedersen septuagenario dicata*, Copenhagen 1953, 193–99; ANNEMARIE SCHIMMEL, *Islamic Names*, Edinburgh 1989.

Alessandro Gori

Ethnographical overview

Traditions of construction and choosing of N. often reflect the idea that a N. is not merely an arbitrary designation, but determines the character of the thing being named. Individuals often have multiple N. (e.g., a person may have a baptismal N., a mundane N., a nickname and a horse N.) in some cases reflecting changing circumstances over time; in some cases, different functions or

relationships at a given moment (e.g., religious conversion, initiation etc.).

Name-giving

Among Ethiopian Orthodox Christians N. are given on the 40th (boy) or 80th (girl) day after ↗birth, when the child is baptized (↗Baptism). This N. is often chosen referring to the saints' day on which the naming takes place. It may also refer to a Biblical figure, religious concept or attribute of God. The baptismal N. will normally only be used at communion, church weddings, burial and confession. It is usually not used in daily mundane interactions. For these purposes another N. is given, usually based on an event or other propitious indicator (especially among Amhara); the latter N. is the one under which someone is publicly known.

The ↗Betä Ǝsraʾel follow a pattern similar to Christians, both in the timing and meaning of N., and may even refer to the ceremony as *krəstənna*. The ↗Kəmant perform a ceremony called *kenona* 20 to 30 days after the birth of a child, in which the infant is given several N., including a "religious name" (Gamst 1969:101).

Among the ↗Đáasanač (Almagor 1978:119ff.) a new born is given a "pot-N." at a ceremony called *lil-meč meto* which takes place after the umbilical cord has dropped off. Only close kin attend. The father of the infant and the "name-giver", usually a distinguished older person, drink coffee and blow it over the child. The N.-giver becomes the child's confidant because "they have the same name". He becomes something like a god-parent, although the relationship is depicted as that of siblings. This is the strongest form of "bond-partnership".

According to the ↗Oromo tradition, children were brought to the ↗*qaalluu* for the *(h)ammačiisaa* N.-giving ritual in which the *ayyaana* divinity was asked to choose a N. or approve the N. given by the parents. This usually took place 2–4 years after birth, whether the child had been given a baptismal N or not. Among the ↗Boorana the final N. was given, connected to the shaving of the head, when entering into the fifth class (*gamme*) of the ↗*gadaa* system. Among the ↗Arsi, after the decline of the *gadaa* system, children were named before their mothers stopped to breast-feed them (VSAe II, 196, 233ff., 327, 484). Among the Šangama, a N. is given by the paternal grandfather in the sixth month after birth (VSAe I, 143).

N. are sometimes taken from the circumstances of the birth or events that took place on the day of birth. This is the case among, e.g., the Baka (↗Aari), ↗Basketo, ↗Ubamer, ↗Dime and ↗Kunama. The Kunama, e.g., may name someone whose birth was difficult Anši ('difficulty') or a baby born after a victorious battle Kuuya ('victory'). Within the Christian culture the saint's N. to whom the day of birth (or baptism) was dedicated often influences the choice of a N. (e.g., someone born on the 12th of a month called Mikaʾel). N. were chosen in many cultures according to the time of day the bearer was born, after the place of birth, after their appearance or after an ancestor's N. While in some cultures the N. of living relatives had to be avoided, in others (e.g., Oromo) the eldest grandson could be named after his grandfather even while he was alive (VSAe I, 80ff., 181, 220, 234f., 260f.). Among some ethnic groups almost every word can become a N., such as Klašni ('Kalashnikov') among the Kunama, meaning strength. N. can also contain hidden allusions, political, religious, or related to personal events.

Name formation

People are commonly addressed by their first N., usually headed by a polite form of address (e.g., ↗*ato* Baḥru, ↗*wäyzäro* Sara) or a title (e.g., Professor Taddäsä; ↗*abägaz* Ḫaylu; cp. ↗Titles).

Among most of the peoples of northern Ethiopia and Eritrea, a personal N. is formed using the individual's personal (first) N. and his or her father's first N. Thus Taddäsä Täsfa is Taddäsä, the son of Täsfa. Taddäsä's son Baḥru would be called Baḥru Taddäsä. Accordingly, there is, with some exceptions (s. below), no cross-generational "family N." as is common in many cultures with European heritage. Indeed, while the Ethiopian ↗Civil Code of 1960 stipulated that "Every Ethiopian [...] must have a family name ..." (Vanderlinden 1969:23), this never materialized. Modern bureaucratic rules established both in Ethiopia and Eritrea now require that the ID card of an individual contains his N. together with his father's and grandfather's N.

In addition, among Christians compound personal N. based on Gəʿəz vocabulary and grammar such as Täklä X ('Plant of X'), Zärʾa X ('Seed of X'), Ḫaylä X ('Might of X'), Gäbrä X ('Servant of X'), Wäldä X ('Son of X'), Täsfa X ('Hope of X') are common. These elements are followed by the N. of God, Jesus, the Holy Spirit, Mary, an Arch-

angel or even other saints (e.g., Täklä Maryam, Gäbrä Mikaʾel, Täsfa Iyäsus). Such names could undergo phonetic changes in the spoken languages. Thus, in eastern Təgray, Gäbrä Mikaʾel can be called Gärä[n]čäʾal (abbreviated as Gäre), while the proper form is used in official contexts. In Eritrea, the same N. would be Gäränkəʾel (abbreviated as Gäbrä). Wäldä Mikaʾel would be Wälläńčäʾal in eastern Təgray and Wäldänkəʾel in Eritrea (abbreviated Wälday or Wällay).

Naming rules reflect the importance of genealogical knowledge (↗Genealogy). N. are simplified genealogies: the traditional question of "your seven names", important particularly at marriage, has to be answered with a list of N. of at least seven (paternal) generations. In cases when the father was less known than the grandfather, or if the grandfather's N. would underline a political claim, the grandfather's N. was often preferred to the father's N. (cp. *ras* ↗Alula [Ǝngəda] Qubbi). This grandfather's N. could even be that of the mother's father (*ləǧ* ↗Iyasu [Mikaʾel] Mənilək, *ras* ↗Kaśa [Ḫaylu] Darge).

The Konta also have both a personal N. and the N. of the father or grandfather (CerPeople 102). Among the ↗Konso (Hallpike 1972:101) all siblings share the same second N. as their father, but only the eldest son passes this N. on to the next generation. Thus both of AB's sons would be named CB and DB. However, while the children of CB would be named EB and FB, those of DB would be named GD and HD.

Nicknames and hypocoristics

N. used in a private or family context often differ from the full N. as used in documents. Thus, a child is often given a pet N., such as Mamuš (literally referring to a baby), or nickname (Amh. *yäqəṭṭəl səm*). Such a N. frequently refers to some traits of its bearer (e.g., Afənčo, 'snubnosed'; Ṭoṭa, 'monkey') and is used in order to tease him (s. Leslau 1995:877). Among the Təgre, each child is given a second N. (Tgr. *səm səqrät*), by which the women of his family call him. Apart from a *səqrät* N., a nickname (Tgr. *atkaras*) can be given according the person's peculiarities, sometimes eventually becoming his normal N. (LitPEA vol. 1, 136, vol. 2, 149f., 190; Littmann – Höfner 1962:181, 399). Among Oromo, various nicknames can be given to each other by the ↗*hariyyaa* members (s. VSAe II 184).

Abbreviated forms of the full N. are widespread and sometimes replace the official N. in daily use. The formation of hypocorisms depends on the local context. In Amharic, the suffixes are usually employed, such as *-š*, even for non-Amharic N. (e.g., Käbbəš for Käbbädä; Zäriš for the Tgn. N. Zärʾi Sənnay), *-əyye* (e.g., Gäbrəyye [from Gäbrʸe] for Gäbrä X), *-u* (e.g., Gäbru for Gäbrä X, Säyfu for Säyfä X), *-e* (Damṭe for Damṭačč̣äw, Kəfle for Kəflä X), *-o* (e.g., Täklo for Täklä Iyäsus). Among the Təgre, diminutive suffixes can be attached to N. in the same way as to common nouns (Elosay < Elos; Näffəᶜetay < Näffaᶜ, LitPEA vol. 1, 146).

In an urban context, nicknames, especially in communication among youngsters, are more and more oriented towards the west, Dawit becoming "Dave", Yoḥannəs "John", etc. A special case are the N. used only among family members if the family lives in a "foreign" context. An individual might officially bear a N. common in the surrounding culture, but be called with another N. by his family members (e.g., an Ethiopian Christian may be called Muḥammad in the Sudan, but Gäbrä Ǝgziʾabəḥer ['Servant of God'], or Gäräzgəher, at home).

Cattle names and additional names

Among many peoples in north-east Africa, mostly pastoralists, it is common for a man to take an "ox N." or "cattle N." based on the N. or colouring of his favourite beast. This phenomenon, similar to that of the highland Ethiopian "horse names" (s. below), is classically described by Evans-Pritchard (1956:252) among the ↗Nuer. It is common in Ethiopia among not only the Nuer and ↗Añwaa, but a variety of other groups, such as the ↗Suri who derive all personal N. from the colours or patterns of cattle coat (Abbink 2003:347). While the first N. in ↗Banna and ↗Hamär are those of ancestors or, in some cases, related to events which took place at the day of birth, a young man gets a second N. according to the N. of the first cow he jumped over during the leap-upon-the-cattle initiation (VSAe I, 330, 335, 343f.).

A teenage Đáasanač boy selects a new N. as he begins to form his own herd within that of his family. After the birth of his first child, a Đáasanač man will be referred to as the "Father of [N. of child]", and a woman, the "Mother of [N. of child]" (cp. also, e.g., *abū / umm* in Islamic N.).

Names of families and lineages

While common people do not have family N., there are a few exceptions among Muslim ur-

ban families in Eritrea, especially of ↗Massawa, whose family N. result from the heritage of an old title (such as ↗Nāʾib) or refer to a foreign origin (such as Kurdi, Turki, Hindi; cp. ↗Ottoman empire). Similar to medieval European leading families, several ancient Ethiopian and Eritrean families also possess a "kinship N.", like ʿAd Azzaž for the family of the traditional bearers of the title *azzaž* in Təgray, ʿAd Däggiyat for the rulers of Ḥamasen (who beared the title *däggiyat*), [ʿAd] Nāʾib for the local dynasty of the *nāʾibs* of ↗Ḥərgigo, and Käkkiya (from Ottoman *kaḫya*) for another family of Ottoman administrators in Eritrea. Today the latter two are especially used as real family N. These N. reflected the families' claim for heritable titles and offices, supported by genealogies. They are to be distinguished from other denominations used for kinship groups and lineages, which are never used as personal N. (e.g., ↗*ənda X*, *däqqi/däqqä X*, *betä X*, *beni X* and other kinship terms which sometimes encompass large groups).

Even if family N. are rare in the Horn of Africa, another N. system documented especially from aristocratic families approaches the idea of a family N., transmitting N. or N. particles from one generation to the next. In 14th- to 18th-cent. Təgray and ↗Säraye, a leading family of overlords bore N. ending with ∃gziʾ; every member of the family could be recognized by this. Similarly, some leading families often transmit the same first N. to following generations (e.g., *ras* Mängäša Śəyyum being the son of *ras* ↗Śəyyum Mängäša; ↗∃ndalkačč̣äw Mäkwännən the son of ↗Mäkwännən ∃ndalkačč̣äw; Mäkʷännən or Asfa Wäsän in the family of *aṣe* Ḫaylä Śəllase I).

Name changes

Changes in status are commonly marked by a change in N. Thus, rulers and even smaller chiefs (e.g., in Basketo [VSAe I, 200]) often took a regnal N. after enthronement (s. sub-article on regnal N.). Likewise, a secular person who became monk assumed a new N. along with his or her monastic garb. Similarly, converts, whether to Christianity or Islam, usually accepted a new N. when they accepted their new faith (↗Conversion; a prominent example being *ras* ↗Mikaʾel ʿAlī, the former *imām* Muḥammad ʿAlī). Throughout Ethiopian history, princes assumed a royal N. with the ascension to the throne. In N. changes, the choice of a N. is often intended to make a statement regarding the person's new identity. Thus monks would carry such N. as: Gabrä Mänfäs Qəddus, 'Servant of the Holy Spirit', Täklä Haymanot, 'Plant of Faith', Iyäsus Moʾa, 'Jesus has Conquered'. Throughout Ethiopian history, princes assumed a royal N. with the ascension to the throne. Emperors chose N. which recalled past glories: Tewodros, recalling the messianic ruler awaited by Christian Ethiopians, or Mənilək II referring to the son of Solomon and the Queen of Sheba (↗Mənilək I). In other cases, the N. was meant to convey the sense of royal power: Adyam Sägäd, 'the periphery [of the kingdom] bowed'. A specific case are regnal N. of Muslim Oromo kings in the Gibe states. In the moment they accessed the throne, their personal N. could not be used any more, having become "sacred". Instead, their "war N." (i.e. the horse N., preceded by "Abbaaa") became the only one to be used in public discourse. In addition, they assumed another, Muslim, N. for use in official documents in Arabic. For example, the ruler of Gimma, ↗Abbaa Ǧifaar II (i.e., 'Father of the brindled [horse]'), sealed with the N. "Muḥammad b. Dawūd" (CerEt 73f.; seal s. Borelli 1890:159).

Although Ethiopian women do not take on their husband's N. (father's personal N.), there are bridal N. (*yädabbo səm*, lit. 'bread N.'). This N. is given at a ceremony on the evening of the wedding at which the bride presents her in-laws with a large round loaf of bread. Before the bread is sliced, various N. are proposed until a consensus is reached. Each person in turn then calls the bride by this new N. before receiving a slice of bread. Traditionally, the family of the groom will always refer to his wife by this N. (Leslau 1995:877; Elias Yemane 2004:184–88).

In the context of Protestant and Catholic ↗mission starting from the 19th cent., a number of new naming rules appeared. Protestant converts sometimes combined personal N. and baptismal N. (the latter not being "secret" any more), like ↗Mikaʾel Arägawi or ↗Gäbrä ∃gziʾabəḥer [Gobbaw] Dästa. N. changes after (re-)baptism also occurred. While Christian highlanders normally did not change their N. upon conversion, others did, such as early Catholic or Protestant Oromo converts (e.g., Pauline ↗Fathme; ↗Onesimos Näsib; ↗Ruufoo). A peculiarity are the N. of those who entered the Capuchin mission (s. Metodio da Nembro 1953). A Capuchin generally does not keep his secular N., which is replaced with a religious N. combined with the place of origin (Mario da ʿAbiy-ʿAddi, or briefly P. Mario, is *abba* ↗Ayyälä Täklä Haymanot;

abba Agostino da Hebo is *abba* ↗Agoṣṭinos Tädla [also "Agoṣṭinos Zäḥebo"]; cp. also Léon des ↗Avanchers, Francesco da ↗Bassano, ↗Mauro da Leonessa).

As enslavement meant a change to a new, in this case inferior, status, there were special N. which were only applied to slaves, such as Säṭṭäñ, 'He [God] gave me [this slave]'. Sometimes a slave was given a N.-phrase, so that he was called by the first part of the phrase, and had to respond by the second half of the phrase to complete the meaning of the N. For example, a girl called *ləkʷəra bähullu*, 'Let me have a reason to be proud towards everyone', had to respond with the words *əmmete sallu* 'as long as my mistress is there', or 'because of my mistress' (MolTrad 27; Elias Yemane 2004:178–82). Slaves "exported" from Ethiopia into Muslim countries were generally given a Muslim N. (e.g., Fāṭimah in the case of Pauline Fathme). 19th cent. Massawa registers contain long lists of freed slaves, who assumed the N. of their "liberators" as a second N., instead of a father's N.

Whereas in the cases mentioned above the change of N. takes place to mark a change of status, the process can in some instances be reversed. Thus, if a child is sick, parents may decide to change its N. in the hope that this will bring about a change in his or her fortune. This custom relates the widespread belief that disease might be linked with evil ↗spirits, who "know" a person by one N. This N., as a consequence, is changed to divert the spirits' attention.

Name avoidance

In some relationships one or both of the parties involved are forbidden to address the other by N. In many cultures a man does not use the birth N. of his in-laws. Rather he uses their ancestral N., battle N., or even cattle N. Among the Gurage a newly married woman will not use her husband's N., substituting it with a similar sounding word (Leslau 1959). Among the Oromo, the custom known as *laguu* or *lagača* prohibits husbands, wives and in-laws from using each other's N. Various strategies are used, including pronouns, familiar descriptions "father or mother of [N. of child]", cattle N., references to the person's appearance, and rhyming or other similar words (Mbaya 2002).

Magic and names

For divination in the Christian Orthodox context a diviner needs a person's (usually baptismal) N. as well as the N. of his/her mother and perhaps father (MolTrad 102; ↗*Asmat*). For ↗magic purposes the baptismal N. is especially needed. There is a common belief that someone who knows someone's baptismal N. can use it to gain influence over that person (ibid. 115). A "personalized" ↗magic scroll consequently contains the baptismal N. of a person, same as sacral objects donated to churches. Divination is often performed by assigning a numerical value to each letter in the person's N., thus following a method also known in the Jewish Kabbala tradition.

Modern developments

During the period of Amharization, in the time of Ḫaylä Śəllase I's reign, it was common for people of non-Christian and non-Muslim backgrounds seeking to be accepted by the elite to take on more Christian-sounding N. In recent years, as ethnic diversity has become more politically accepted, people not only retain but also re-assume their original N. Modern political developments have strongly influenced naming. N. might refer to revolutionary struggle (Tgn. male N. ᶜAwät, 'victory', female N. Ḥurrīya, from Arab. 'freedom', Näṣannät, 'independence') or to nationalistic pride (female N. Ityoṗya, Erətra).

In recent years, ↗migration has disrupted traditional patterns as the bureaucratic demands of host countries have demanded a single "family N." ignoring the migrants' cultures. Often the father's second N. i.e. the paternal grandfather's first N. serves this purpose. In very few cases an ethnic subgroup's or clan N. is also used (especially among non-Christian migrants). Over the course of time, N., particularly first N. tend to become either formally or informally adapted to those of the host countries. In Israel many Ethiopians had their N. officially Hebraicized upon their arrival, although they continued to use their traditional N. among family members and within the Ethiopian community (Anteby 1999). Thus, N. used within the community often differ from those used outside, in the context of the host country.

Src.: JULES BORELLI, *Éthiopie méridionale*, Paris 1890, 159; ENNO LITTMANN – MARIA HÖFNER, *Wörterbuch der Tigrē-Sprache: Tigrē – Deutsch – Englisch*, Wiesbaden 1962, 181, 399; LitPEA vol. 1, 136–63, vol. 2, 149–93.

Lit.: JON ABBINK, "Love and Death of Cattle", *Ethnos* 3, 2003, 341–64; URI ALMAGOR, *Pastoral Partners: Affinity and Bond-Partnership among the Dassenetch of Southwest Ethiopia*, Manchester 1978, 119ff.; LISA ANTEBY, "Of Names, Amulets and Movies: Some Patterns of Oral, Written and Non-verbal Negotiation among the Ethiopian Jews in Israel", in: TUDOR PARFITT – EMANUELA TREVISAN SEMI

(eds.), *The Beta Israel in Ethiopia and Israel: Studies on the Ethiopian Jews*, Richmond 1999, 201–08, here 202f.; CerEt 73f.; DEJENE GEMECHU, *Thematic Comparison of Proper Names in Oromo, Amhara and Wolaita Linguistic Groups*, M.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 2000; CerPeople; ELIAS YEMANE, *Amharic and Ethiopic Onomastics: a Classical Ethiopian Legacy, Concept and Ingenuity*, Lewston – Queenston – Lampeter 2004; EDWARD EVANS-PRITCHARD, *The Nuer*, Oxford 1956, 252; FREDERICK C. GAMST, *The Qemant: a Pagan-Hebraic Peasantry of Ethiopia*, New York 1969, 101; CHRISTOPHER ROBERT HALLPIKE, *The Konso: a Study of the Values of a Cushitic People*, Oxford 1972, 101; WOLF LESLAU, "Taboo Expressions in Ethiopia", *American Anthropologist* 61, 1959, 105–08 [repr. in ID., *Fifty Years of Research: Selection of Articles on Semitic, Ethiopian Semitic and Cushitic*, Wiesbaden 1988, 466–68]; ID., "Amharic Names", in: ERNST EICHLER et al. (eds.), *Name Studies: an International Handbook of Onomastics*, vol. 1, Berlin – New York 1995 (Handbook of Linguistics and Communication Science 11), 875–79; MAWEJA MBAYA, "Linguistic Taboo in African Marriage Context: a Study of the Oromo *Laguu*", *Nordic Journal of African Studies* 11, 2, 2002, 224–35; MARTINO MARIO MORENO, *Norme per la trascrizione dei nomi personali tigrini*, Asmara 1931; METODIO DA NEMBRO, *La Missione dei Minori Capuccini in Eritrea (1894–1952)*, Roma 1953 (Bibliotheca Seraphico-Capuccina 13); MolTrad; RITA PANKHURST, "Personal Names in Ge'ez and Amharic. A Categorization", in: *PICES* 14, vol. 3, 947–74; MEAZA H. REVOL-TISSOT, "Dieu le Père vous appelle ou l'incarnation continuée en tigrigna", in: JÉRÔME LENTIN – ANTOINE LONNET (eds.), *Mélanges David Cohen*, Paris 2003, 563–68; LANFRANCO RICCI, "Nomi personali fra genti a lingua tigrina", *RSE* 21, 1966, 111–61; SAYFU MATTAFARIYA FREW, **የባርያ፡ ስም፡ በአማራው፡ ባሕል** (*Yäbarya səm bä'amaraw baḥəl*, 'The Slave-name in Amhara Culture'), *JES* 10, 2, 1972, 127–200; MICHAEL P. STRECK – STEFAN WENINGER (eds.), *Altorientalische und semitische Onomastik*, Münster 2002 (Alter Orient und Altes Testament 296); PAOLO TABLINO, "Nomi personali usati dai Gabra del Kenya", *RSE* 28, 1980–81 [1981], 77–98; J.A. THOMOPOULOS, "Contribution à la bibliographie onomastique d'Ethiopie", *Onoma* 11, 1964–65, 294–97; JOSEPH TUBIANA, "Noms falacha", *Nouvelles de l'aresae* 96, 1995, 3f.; JACQUES VANDERLINDEN, *The Law of Physical Persons (Art. 1–393). Commentaries upon the Ethiopian Civil Code*, Addis Ababa 1969, 21–32; RAINER VOIGT, "Zur Anthroponomastik des Amharischen" [review of Elias Yemane 2004], *Orientalische Literaturzeitung* 102, 3, 2007, 270–75; STEFAN WENINGER, [review of Elias Yemane 2004], *Aethiopica* 8, 2005, 251–57, here 255ff. (Lit.); YILMA KEBEDE, "Yadabbo sim: a Wedding Custom in Ethiopia", *Africa* [Roma] 44, 1, 1989, 95–101; VSAe I, 80ff., 181, 220, 260f.; VSAe II, 184.

Steven Kaplan – Wolbert Smidt

Horse names

The ↗horse N. (Amh.: **የፈረስ፡ ስም**, *yäfäräs səm*; Gəᶜəz: **ስመ፡ ፈረስ**, *səmä färäs*) was a significant cultural feature in the Christian, Muslim as well as "animistic" sections of the Ethiopian highland society, particularly in the period ca. 1750–1935. In the earlier periods (especially 13th to 17th cent.), there were some occurrences of connotatively horse-name-like compounds such as Haräb Asfärre, Wədəm Asfärre, Wədəm Arᶜad, Säyfä Arᶜad etc.; but we cannot assert with certainty at this stage that they were of the same nature as the horse N. of later periods. They are generally assumed to have been royal appellations (s. subarticle on regnal N.) or bynames.

In spite of the abundant references to horse N. in internal and external literary sources, and in spite of the superb nomenclatural samples compiled by Maḫtämä Śəllase (MahHorse 195–303) and of the equestrian sporting association of Ethiopia, no taxonomic and/or semantic study of horse N. has so far been made. The same applies to the historical origin and spread of the horse in the region. Although the use of horses in Egypt, South Arabia and the Byzantine empire prompted some historians to speculate the existence of horses in the Aksumite empire (e.g., PankIntro 30; HabKön 132; MHAksum 259), neither the Greek, the Roman and the Arabic documents nor the numismatic, epigraphical and archaeological sources have as yet hinted to the existence of any type of equid in northeast Africa in contrast to the evident presence of tamed ↗elephants.

The German scholar Haberland, who researched in southern Ethiopia, found out (cf. HabKön 132ff.) that the horse and the appellations for its paraphernalia spread to the south, particularly among the Oromo and the western Cushitic speakers, in the 16th cent. The sovereigns used the ↗mule for travel, though a decorated horse always accompanied the royal hybrid.

The underlying concept of horse N. was that the horse and its rider were strongly identified with each other. Both executed their duties in warfare, game hunting and sports so harmoniously that one could not attribute the achievements to one of them without being unfair to the other. Apparently, this conception developed out of the cultural assimilation of the Semitic- and Cushitic-speaking peoples, particularly the Oromo and the Amhara, whose interactions were intensified with the decline of the monarchy's power in the second half of the 18th cent. The use of horse N. culminated after the middle of the next century. The notion was expressed through the combination of ↗*abba* or ↗*abbaa* and the N. of a distinguished or most favoured horse. By custom, every horse was given a N., but it was only the one most favoured by the owner and groomed for a particular purpose whose N. was taken as a component of the owner's horse N. In exceptional cases, some owners had two or more horses to whose N. *abba/abbaa* was at-

tached. At times two or more contemporaries also used identical horse N., apparently without any conflict resulting thereof. Although the use of horse N. was by no means restricted to any social group, the samples so far collected belonged entirely to the notabilities. Examples: "Abba Qañňäw" = *ras* ↗Mäkʷännən Wäldä Mikaʾel, "Abba Mäla" = *fitawrari* ↗Habtä Giyorgis Dinagde, "Abba Fänqəl" = *däğğazmač* ↗Asfa Wäsän Kaśa, etc. No woman has been included in the list. The compilers have included the sovereigns in their lists, apparently having overlooked the significance of the change of N., rank and prestige through coronation. As long as they counted among the *mäkʷanənt* (↗Aristocracy) or *mäsafənt* (as the case may be) and retained their mundane N., the would-be sovereigns had horse N. of their choice. For instance, "Abba Taṭäq" Kaśa = *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II, "Abba Gahid" Gobäze = *aṣe* ↗Täklä Giyorgis II, "Abba Bäzbəz" Kaḥśay (also Kaśa) = *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV, "Abba Daňňäw" Mənilək = Śahlä Maryam (= *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II), and "Abba Ṭäqəll" Täfäri = *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I. None of the available sources combines the horse N. and the regnal N.

The conceptual terms used to form the N. of a horse may roughly be categorized in the following three groups: (1) colours of the horse: *sanqo* or *gurračča*, 'black'; *dama* or *dima*, 'reddish'; *daläč* or *dales*, 'grey '; *sənde*, 'wheat-coloured' etc.; (2) nominals with certain implications understandable for contemporary society: *dina*, 'enemy' (usually referring to the Oromo); *təntag*, 'firebrand'; *ğahid* or *ğəhad*, *'ğihād'* (allusion to Muslims); *mäla*, 'unriddling'; *ṭəggu*, 'refuge'; *baḥər*, 'sea'; *mädoša*, 'hammer'; *šäyṭan*, 'Satan, demon' etc.; (3) imperative forms of verbs of motion or action: *səbär*, 'break ... [it, them, etc.]'; *daňňäw*, 'administer justice'; *bäzbəz*, 'rob, plunder'; *gässəṭ*, 'rebuke, censure'; *qañňäw*, 'survey, spy' etc. It should be emphasized that it was the owner (and not the horse) that was referred to by the composite appellation ("Abba" + "..."), though one is at the same time reminded that a particular horse was involved in the uttered sobriquet. Hence, the second component (i.e. the actual N. of the horse) was carefully chosen to reflect the character, achievements, prestige or ambitions of the owner (cf. MahHorse 195–202; Čä Färäsä 2005:73–87), for it was a custom for poets and singers to speak praising, critical or inciting lines in relation to the horse N. In fact, it appears in many cases that the first horse N. was attached by the artists and the public at large, though probably not without the approval of or even the surreptitious initiative of the notable in question.

When, how and under what circumstances the chosen horse N. was made public has not been recorded. An oral tradition collected from Šäwa in the late 1960s alleges that occasionally groups of youths underwent a kind of ↗initiation to manhood in which they demonstrated their horsemanship and in which each announced his horse N. On the other hand, a chronicler of Goğğam recalls an anecdote (cf. Girma Getahun 1991, ch. 24) which alleges that *däğğazmač* Kaśa (later *aṣe* Tewodros II) requested a notable of Goğğam either to give up his horse N. in his favour or to suggest a horse N. which he could use, although he was no longer a youth. The arrogant notable suggested a term which implied that the ruler's political attempt was futile, an incident which enraged Kaśa violently and prompted him to undertake a military campaign against the notable.

Src.: ETHIOPIAN HORSE-SPORT ASSOCIATION, ČÄ FÄRÄSÄ, **ኢትዮጵያውያን፡ ፈረሰኞችና፡ ፈረሶቻቸው** (*Ityopyawəyan Färäsäñňoččənna Färäsoččačč'äw*, 'Ethiopian Equestrians and their Horses'), Addis Abäba, *Gənbot* 1997 A.M. [May–June 2005 A.D.], 1–230; MahZekr 866f.; GIRMA GETAHUN (ed., tr.), *The Goğğam Chronicle by Aläqa Täklä Iyäsus Waqgera*, Ph.D. thesis, Oxford University 1991, ch. 24 and nn. 1, 16.

Lit.: CRStor, ch. 6; MHAksum 259; TadTChurch 88; HabKön 98–102, 132ff., 145 and passim; MahHorse 195–303; PankIntro 30; RICHARD PANKHURST, "The Horsemen of Old-Time Ethiopia", *EthObs* 13, 1, 1970, 2–7; ID., "The Early History of Ethiopian Horse-names", *Paideuma* 35, 1989, 197–206; TAĞĞÄBÄ BÄYYÄNÄ, **የጠቅል፡ ፈረስ፡ በድል፡ ሲመለስ** (*Yäṭäqəll färäs bädəl simmälläs*, 'When the Horse of Ṭäqəll Returns from Victory'), Addis Abäba 1965 A.M. [1975 A.D.].

Bairu Tafla

Ñaŋatom

Ñaŋatom language

Ñ. (Nyangatom, also known as Donyiro, Dongiro, or Bume) is an Eastern ↗Nilotic (↗Nilo-Saharan) language spoken by ca. 14,000 people in south-western Ethiopia and the neighbouring Sudan. It is part of a dialect cluster known as the Teso-Turkana group (also "Karimoğoŋ cluster"), which further includes varieties like Dodoth [*Dodoṯ*], Ğie, Karimoğoŋ, Toposa, ↗Turkana and the more distantly related Teso language.

Ñ. consonants are: labials *p*, *b*, *m*, *w*; alveolars *t*, *d*, *s*, *n*, *l*, *r*; palatals *č*, *ğ*, *ñ*, *y*; velars *k*, *g*, *ŋ*.

Ñ. has a terraced-level tone system with high and low tone, downstep, and downdrift. As is common with languages in the area, it employs

how much a N.a. is appreciated is the level of support he receives from his spiritual children. Throughout the year two mandatory visits to the N.a. take place. The first is on the feast of *Däbrä Zäyt* (mid-Lent), when the "spiritual children" visit their spiritual father and bring him money (in the case of town dwellers) or grain (for those in the countryside), an income upon which the N.a.'s family is relying. Those who visit the N.a. may be offered ↗*ṭälla*-beer or *ṭəre* (grains) prepared by the priest's wife. The second visit takes place on the feast of *Däbrä Tabor* (the Transfiguration, 13 *Näḥase*). Besides, the N.a. visits those who were not present at the church service of Palm Sunday and were therefore unable to attend the Absolution (↗*Fəṭḥat*) of those who might die during Holy Week. This visit, during which neither food nor drink are offered, is important because no funeral services are held during the Holy Week (cp. ↗*Gəbrä Ḥəmamat*).

The N.a. has an active involvement in all important decisions, and his advice is always taken into consideration. Called after a birth, he purifies the home with holy water and arranges for the infant's ↗baptism. He is involved in ↗wedding arrangements, whether sacramental or not (cp. ↗Marriage; ↗Matrimony). When someone is dying, the N.a. accompanies him, and his family, during his/her last days. During this time he will hear the person's last confession, absolve him/her and may, although extremely rarely, celebrate the Anointing of the Sick (↗*Qändil*). He may administer the last Eucharistic communion, celebrating Liturgy (↗*Qəddase*) in the nearby church and bringing the Eucharist to the person's home with the assistance of a deacon; otherwise, he would celebrate Liturgy in a tent erected near the house by the community. The N.a. is instrumental in receiving the dying person's last will (↗*Nuzaze*) and disclosing it in due time, normally at the ↗*täzkar* of the 40th day.

The ministry of the father confessor may have existed in Ethiopia since the introduction of ↗Christianity or at least since the development of the monastic movement there. Indeed, both spiritual guidance and penance are linked with the monastic tradition. The latter found from the start its evangelizing outlet in the ministry of the holy monks who were consulted by pilgrims eager to obtain an advise that would set them on the right way, or who took spiritual care of newly converted Christians. The ministry is well-described in some writings of the Canon ↗law adopted by the Ethiopians. Four books of the Ethiopic *Senodos* repeat the canon which exhorts bishops, priests and even deacons not to violate Jesus Christ's word saying that there will be great joy in heaven for one sinner who repents (Lk 15:7; cp. Metzger 1985:171ff.). However, it is not known how exactly the institution of N.a. was embedded in the society during the early period. The revival of the ministry is ascribed to *aṣe* Zär'a Ya'əqob, who enforced it to ensure that his religious reforms would reach each family (TadTChurch 238). In the *Mäṣḥäfä* ↗*milad* Zär'a Ya'əqob invokes the ministry referring to both the ↗*Didəsqəlya* (Harden 1920:33f. [ii.20]; Platt 1834:42) and ↗*Senodos* (Horner 1904:5).

Historical sources refer to the ቄስ፡ሐፂ, *qes ḥaṣe* (or /ሐፃይ, *ḥaṣäy*), or the monarch's personal confessor, the position of considerable importance throughout centuries: *qes ḥaṣani* Zäkaryas and Zä'adonay of ↗Lalibäla (CRDLib 13, no. 6; 16, no. 7, resp.); *qes ḥaṣe* (*ḥaṣäy*) Zakaryas of *aṣe* ↗Zär'a Ya'əqob (CRAxum 25, no. 17; Kropp 2005:119, 133; cp. PerrZarY 38); ↗Aśärä Krəstos of *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs I; Matewos of *aṣe* ↗Iyasu I (GuiIohan 63); ∃lfəyos of *aṣe* ↗Iyasu II (GuiIyas 29) etc. (the last having been *abba* ↗Gäbrä Ḥanna Ǧimma).

Among the ↗Betä ∃sra'el, every adult has a N.a. who serves as a spiritual guide and confessor.

Src.: BauSen 132f., no. 35; 166, no. 48; 211, no. 47; 262, no. 47 (text); GuiIohan 63 (text) = 62 (tr.); GuiVoc 269; JOHN M. HARDEN, *The Ethiopic Didascalia*, London 1920 (S.P.C.K. Translations of Christian Literature, Ser. IV. Oriental Texts), 34 [ii.20]; GuiIyas 29, 40, 143 (text) = 28, 41, 154 (tr.); FRIEDRICH HEYER, *Die Kirche Äthiopiens: Eine Bestandsaufnahme*, Berlin 1971 (Theologische Bibliothek Töpelmann 22), s. index; GEORGE WILLIAM HORNER (ed.), *The Statutes of the Apostles, or Canones Ecclesiastici*, London 1904, 5 (text) = 131f. (tr.) [statute 11]; MANFRED KROPP, "«Antiquae restitutio legis». Zur Alimentation des Hofklerus und einer Zeugenliste als *imago imperii* und *notitia dignitatum* in einer Urkunde des Kaisers Zär'a Ya'qob im *Condaghe* der Hs. BM Or. 481, fol. 154", in: DENIS NOSNITSIN et al. (eds.), *Varia Aethiopica: in Memory of Sevir B. Chernetsov (1943–2005)*, St. Petersburg 2005 (= Scrinium 1), 115–47, here 119, 133; MARCEL METZGER, *Les Constitutions apostoliques*, T. 1: *Livres I et II*, Paris 1985 (Sources chrétiennes 320), 167, 171ff.; መጽሐፈ፡ቅዳሴ (*Mäṣḥafä qəddase*, 'The Book of the Hallowing [Missal]'), Addis Abäba 1959 A.M. [1966/67 A.D.], 250f.; THOMAS PELL PLATT, *The Ethiopic Didascalia: or, the Ethiopic Version of the Apostolical Constitutions, Received in the Church of Abyssinia*, London 1834, 42; KURT WENDT, *Das Maṣḥafa Milād (Liber Nativitatis) und Maṣḥafa Sellāsē (Liber Trinitatis) des Kaisers Zar'a Yā'qob*, II, Louvain 1963 (CSCO 235, 236 [SAe 43, 44]), 25ff. (text) = 23 (tr.).

Lit.: ETHIOPIAN ORTHODOX TÄWAḤƎDO CHURCH (ed.), መርሐ፡ ጽድቅ፡ ባህለ፡ ሃይማኖት፡ (*Märḥa ṣədəq bahlä*

haymanot, 'The Guide of Righteousness, Ways of Religion'), Addis Abäba 1988 A.M. [1995/96 A.D.], 48ff., 93ff.; ID. (ed.), *The Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Church Faith, Order of Worship and Ecumenical Relations*, Addis Ababa 1988 A.M. [1995/96 A.D.], 40, 43f.; *liqä səlṭanat* HABTÄ MARYAM WÄRQƏNÄH, ትምህርተ፡ አበ፡ ነፍስ (*Təmhərtä abä näfs*, 'The Teaching of the Soul's Father'), Addis Abäba 1953 A.M. [1960/61 A.D.]; STEVEN KAPLAN, *Les Falāshās*, Turnhout 1990, 186; TadTChurch 238.

Emmanuel Fritsch

Näfṭäññä

The Amharic term N. (ነፍጠኛ) means originally: 'someone carrying a muzzle-loaded rifle', i.e., a soldier in *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II's army in the 1890s. The word probably derives from the older Arabic word *näfṭ* for what was then called "Greek" or "liquid" fire (explosives) and subsequently for rifles (Ferrier in EI² vol. 7, 884ff.; Pankhurst 1971:48). The term N. was known under the 17th-cent. *aṣe* ↗Susənyos (s. Strelcyn 1964:262) and was also used in the 18th cent. by *aṣe* ↗Bäkaffa, who was said to have used Muslim N. in his army (Pankhurst 1971:51). It came in vogue in the last decade of the 19th cent., although it was also used for *aṣe* ↗Tewodros's rifle soldiers (cf. GueCop-Men 103). Its popular meaning in the 20th cent. became: descendant of soldier-settlers or armed immigrants associated with the invading imperial army and living in the conquered southern parts of Ethiopia (cf. KaneDic 1086). So this included non-gun bearing people (women and children) who happened to be born in the area after their fathers' migration. In pre-19th-cent. sources, settlers or migrants from northern Ethiopia moving to the south in earlier times were not called N., as they were mostly religious functionaries (Orthodox priests and monks, Muslim preachers) and traders. Its contemporary meaning, especially since 1991 when a new regime came to power in Ethiopia, has become very pejorative and polemic, indicating something like "violent, illegal northern settlers on southern Ethiopian lands not theirs, mostly Amhara, with a domineering/arrogant attitude". The use of the term N. in ideological, ethnicized discourse, especially on website polemics and in partisan literature, has become widespread, but is a largely sterile term of insult. As a result, the historical complexity of the phenomenon of N. is conveniently forgotten, and a now diffuse and pan-ethnic category of people tends to be labelled thus in terms of "collective guilt".

Historically then, the N. were the Ethiopian emperor's riflemen, usually of different ethnocultural background, who secured the conquest and manned the state's garrisons (↗*Kätäma*, which later evolved into villages and towns), receiving tributary rights over people (↗*gäbbar*, for forced *corvée* labour and produce) or land, either expropriated from local people or claimed from vacant, unused space. In pastoral areas, however, this system did not successfully take hold. The N.-*gäbbar* relationship was fundamentally exploitative and deeply resented (cf. McClellan 1988:72; Alexander Naty 2002:60). The number of *gäbbars* per N. household differed; it could be from two to ten for a common soldier, but might rise to 30 to 80 for an officer or district chief (BrHad 307). For the ↗Gideʾo area even higher numbers were reported (McClellan 1988:64f.). N. land rights were based on grants allocated by the Emperor, as owner of all conquered or newly incorporated areas. There was a variety of forms, and land was also bought.

As the army of *aṣe* Mənilək had soldiers from many regions, but especially from central Ethiopia, mainly N. of ↗Amhara, ↗Oromo, ↗Gurage and ↗Təgray and Orthodox-Christian background settled in the south. Being mostly Orthodox, they cherished their own civilizational identity as above that of the local people, who adhered to traditional-local religions or cults.

The original numbers of N. in the South are difficult to determine exactly, but in view of the size of the various imperial armies led by, e.g., *ras* ↗Täsämma Nadäw, *ras* ↗Wäldä Giyorgis Aboyye and others (each ca. 20,000 to 30,000 men), they counted probably not more than a 100,000 people, expanding steadily as new arrivals came and families were established. Their position of power, buttressed by armed force and exploitation especially in the early decades after the conquest, was highly unpopular and contested – but only occasionally by collective armed revolts (cf. Abbink 1992:81; Garretson 1986:205; cf. McClellan 1988:73). Only in later years a *modus vivendi* evolved whereby patterns of co-operation, incorporation or accommodation developed between local people and settlers. In the wake of the armed settlers other groups, like traders, farmers, Orthodox priests, administrators, etc. also arrived, and were by implication reckoned as "N." as well. This second wave of settlers, however, faced conflict with the established N. in several places (cf. McClellan 1998:187f.). The more important land-holding elite among the N. became known as ↗*mälkäññä*, and many of the lo-

cal indigenous elite were integrated into the new system of power. Over the years, N. were partly "indigenized" – there was inter-marriage with local people (often with members of leading families), they adopted the local language and became well-rooted in local society, although politically and economically they remained the power elite.

The record of the N. in southern Ethiopia varied widely, with some having a reputation of gross abuse and arbitrary exploitation, while others integrated and co-operated with local people. In some areas, like ↗Arsi, ↗Mağı, Gideʾo and ↗Dime, rule by state agents and N. in the era up to World War II was severe, leading to great human suffering, economic and social crisis, and depopulation in some areas (cf. Haberland 1993:13, 188; Todd 1979:215f.). Similarly oppressive conditions, however, also existed in parts of north- and central Ethiopia, like in the Goğğam Amhara region under *ras* ↗Ḫaylu Täklä Haymanot.

In the wake of the Italian conquest of Ethiopia, many N. were attacked or forced out by their *gäbbars* and members of the indigenous-local elites. After the Italians left in 1941, various patriots (*arbäññočč*) were rewarded by *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I with land grants in southern areas (not in those where they had fought) and became 'landlords' (↗*Balabbats*) in their own right, but they differed from the N. in regard to social background, ambitions and power position.

In Ḫaylä Śəllase's reign since 1930, marked by centralization and state reform, the reign of N. and their leaders was curtailed, and abuse discouraged and sometimes sanctioned by fines and demotion. N. were gradually replaced by salaried police and army forces. In 1941 the N.-*gäbbar* system was formally abolished. The feudalist system of patron-client labour relations, however, did not fundamentally change. Most former *gäbbars* became tenants, often in a much worse position. Local *balabbats*, many of northern N. descent, remained the pivotal power brokers. In the post-war years up to the Ethiopian revolution, people of N. background, due to their knowledge of Amharic and their wealth or better educational profile, were often the contact people for the national government in the peripheral areas, as administrators, civil servants, teachers, entrepreneurs, etc., but the N. as such disappeared.

After the demise of the Empire in 1974, the revolutionary-Marxist *Därg* regime (↗Provisional Military Administrative Council) decried the record of the "exploitative feudal class" to which the descendants of N. were seen to belong (often as *balabbat*) and their gradual decline of fortune became visible. Many were forcefully dispossessed, especially after the 1975 land reform (leading to nationalization and expropriation). Their social decline accelerated after 1991, when the new government intensified an ideological campaign against perceived northern ("Amhara") "oppressive classes" or elites in newly defined "ethnic" areas, notably in the south. In statements read to local ethnic communities after the take-over of power, the N. were explicitly mentioned as the former "oppressive class" from which the new regime had come to liberate the people. Despite the tide turning against them and their being vilified on often unspecified, ideological grounds, descendants of N. have survived and adapted, and the majority of them still live in their areas of birth, forming a diffuse category of people.

Src.: R.W. FERRIER, "Nafṭ", in: *EI²* vol. 7, 884–90; ALEXANDER BULATOVITCH, *Ethiopia through Russian Eyes: Country in Transition, 1896–1898*, tr. by RICHARD SELTZER, Lawrenceville, NJ – Asmara 2000; GueCopMen 103, 613; KaneDic 1086.

Lit.: JON ABBINK, "Economy and Society in Southwest Ethiopia: the Emergence of the 'Tishana'", in: JON ABBINK – HANS VERMEULEN (eds.), *History and Culture: Essays on the Work of Eric Wolf*, Amsterdam 1992, 71–94; BrHad 307; DONALD LEWIS DONHAM, "Old Abyssinia and the New Ethiopian Empire: Themes in Social History", in: WENDY JAMES – DONALD LEWIS DONHAM (eds.), *The Southern Marches of Imperial Ethiopia, Essays in History and Social Anthropology*, Cambridge 1986, 3–48; PETER P. GARRETSON, "Vicious Cycles: Ivory, Slaves, and Arms on the New Maji Frontier", *ibid.* 196–218; EIKE HABERLAND, *Hierarchie und Kaste: Zur Geschichte und politischen Struktur der Dizi (Südwest-Äthiopien)*, Wiesbaden 1993; CHARLES W. MCCLELLAN, *State Formation and National Integration: Gedeo and the Ethiopian Empire, 1895–1935*, East Lansing, MI 1988; ID., "Coffee in Centre-Periphery Relations: Gedeo in the Early Twentieth Century", in: JAMES – DONHAM 1986, 175–95; ALEXANDER NATY, "Memory and the Humiliation of Men: the Revolution in Aari", in: WENDY JAMES et al. (eds.), *Remapping Ethiopia: Socialism and After*, Oxford 2002, 59–73; RICHARD PANKHURST, "Linguistic and Cultural Data on the Penetration of Fire-arms into Ethiopia", *JES* 9, 1, 47–82; DAVE TODD, "War and Peace between the Bodi and Dime of South-western Ethiopia", in: KATSUYOSHI FUKUI – DAVID TURTON (eds.), *Warfare among East African Herders*, Osaka 1979, 211–25.

Jon Abbink

Nägädä Iyäsus

N.I. (ንገደ፡ ኢየሱስ, b. 15th cent., d. 15/16 February 1534), according to a note in the Kəbran Gospel, was a *liqä liqawənt* (↗*Liq*) when Tewologos was

↗*ᶜaqqabe säᶜat* of Däbrä Ḥayq Ǝsṭifanos during the reign of *aṣe* Naᶜod (ms. Kebrān 1, fol. 4v); N.I. became *ᶜaqqabe säᶜat* under *aṣe* ↗Ləbnä Dəngəl (CRAxum 29–41).

A contemporary of the Portuguese mission, N.I. met Francisco ↗Alvares, and was still at Ləbnä Dəngəl's court during the war against ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī "Grañ" (BassHist 326f.). N.I. held a high position at the royal court, and Alvares reports that one of N.I.'s sons married the Emperor's sister Romanä Wärq – an indication that, while being an *ᶜaqqabe säᶜat*, N.I. belonged to the married clergy and was not a monk (BeckHuntAlvar 108, 270f., 286, 305, 326f.).

During the 16th cent., the *ᶜaqqabe säᶜat* seems to have had scant links with his own Ḥayq community, N.I. spending most of his time at the royal court. However, he kept his control over the community as attested by the two documents preserved in the so-called Gospel book of Iyäsus Moᵓa (EMML 1832, fol. 184v, 269r). Most probably his authority was held by his representative at the monastery, the *afä ᶜaqqabe säᶜat*. During his charge there were at least two *afä ᶜaqqabe säᶜat*: Luqas and Kəflä Yoḥannəs (Ṗāwlos Ṣādwā 1952:25; EMML 1832, fol. 184v).

A powerful ecclesiastic and courtier, he was also one of the main opponents of *əčč̌äge* ↗ᶜƎnbaqom of Däbrä Libanos of Šäwa (RicEnbYoh IV, 85, 130f.).

The career of N.I. came to an end in 1532 when Däbrä Ḥayq Ǝsṭifanos was sacked by the soldiers of Aḥmad Grañ. N.I. fled together with *aṣe* Ləbnä Dəngəl. Finally, N.I. was captured and killed by Grañ's soldiers on 21/22 *Yäkkatit* 1526 A.M. [15/16 February 1534], according to the "Short Chronicle" and the first chapter of the Chronicle Śärṣa Dəngəl (KrLebD 14; DombrChr 163; BassÉt 105). The name of his successor is unknown. It could have been be a certain *ᶜaqqabe säᶜat* Yoḥannəs who was in charge during Ləbnä Dəngəl's reign (EMML 1942, fol. 85r).

Src.: BassÉt 14 (text) = 105 (tr.); BassHist 326f., 331–37 (tr.); BeckHuntAlvar 108, 270f., 286, 305, 326f.; CRAxum 29–41 (text) = 33–48 (tr.); DombrChr 162; EMML mf. 1832, fol. 184v, 269r and mf. 1942, fol. 85r; HamTana I, 84–91, ms. Kebrān 1 = Ṭānāsee 1; KrLebD 14f. (text) = 14 (tr.); ṖĀWLOS ṢĀDWĀ, "Un manoscritto etiopico degli Evangeli", *RSE* 11, 1952 [1953], 9–28, here 25; RicEnbYoh IV, 86 and n. 225 (130f.).

Lit.: STEFAN STRELCYN, "Matériaux pour l'étude de l'ancien amharique", in: *PICES* 2, 257–64; TADDESSE TAMRAT, "The Abbots of Däbrä Hayq 1248–1535", *JES* 8, 1, 1970, 87–117, here 114–17.

Marie-Laure Derat

Nağāḥids

The N. were a dynasty of Ethiopian slaves with their capital in Zabīd in Tihāma, the Red Sea coastal plain of ↗Yemen, where they ruled between the years 1022 and 1158. Their history is best described in the account of ᶜUmāra (d. 1174), though this author confuses facts and fiction and seldom provides precise dates. Other Arab writers largely depend upon ᶜUmāra's text.

The N. history begins with the arrival of Nağāḥ in Zabīd in 1022. Nağāḥ, previously a slave governor of the Ziyādids, a dynasty in control of Tihāma during the 9th and early 10th cent., took over affairs outside Zabīd, while his brother, Nafīs, ruled within the town. The latter, however, was soon ousted by the former and Nağāḥ received a diploma from the Abbasid caliph in Baghdad and was able to assume the insignia of royalty, strike his own coins and have his name inserted in the *ḫuṭba*. N. territory expanded northwards as far as Ḥaraḍ. The highlands remained in the hands of various other ruling houses, such as the Šīᶜī Ismāᶜīlī Ṣulayḥids of Ṣanᶜāᵓ and Ḏū Ǧibla, that rose to particular prominence in ca. 1047. Their history is closely connected to that of the N. The first Ṣulayḥid, ᶜAlī, is said to have poisoned Nağāḥ in 1060 and, in the ensuing confusion, occupied Zabīd. Two sons of Nağāḥ fled to the ↗Dahlak islands in the Red Sea. Two other sons, Saᶜīd (nicknamed al-Aḥwal, 'the cross-eyed') and Ǧayyāš, decided to regain power. They emerged in Zabīd killing ᶜAlī the Ṣulayḥid and kidnapping his wife, Asmāᵓ, in 1081. The large number of Ethiopian slave troops rallied to Saᶜīd and he was recognized as lord. ᶜAlī's son, al-Mukarram, rescued his mother in 1083 and the N. were once again compelled to flee to Dahlak; Ǧayyāš fled further to ↗India. In 1086, Saᶜīd was able to return as ruler, but he was put to death in 1088 at the instigation of the Ṣulayḥid queen, as-Sayyida Arwā, al-Mukarram's wife. Ǧayyāš returned to regain power in Zabīd in 1089. With his death in 1105 or 1107, the information becomes even more scanty and confused as power over Tihāma swung to and fro between the N. and the Ṣulayḥids. Ǧayyāš's son, Fātik I, died young in 1109 and, after a period of rule by a *wazīr*, when Fātik's grandson Fātik II became ruler. Killed in 1137, he was followed by his cousin, Fātik III. The N. asked other parties for assistance in the Tihāma affairs, including the Zaydīs whose territory was centred in the northern highlands of Yemen. They agreed to help on condition that

Fātik III be deposed and the Zaydī *imām* be recognized as lord of Zabīd. The N. gave their consent, but in 1156 another local Tihāmī dynasty, the Mahdids, entered Zabīd and murdered the last N. slave minister, essentially putting an end to the house. The dynasty itself finished with the death of Fātik III in 1158.

Other aspects of N. political history and social life in Tihāma under them are undocumented. It is known that, like the Ziyādids before them, the N. constantly brought over shiploads of Ethiopian slaves to Yemen to join their armies and populate the potentially fertile Tihāma. A 13th-cent. source (Ibn al-Muğāwir ed. 1954:235) mentions that the new town of Ḥays was populated almost exclusively by Ethiopians brought in specifically for that purpose.

No great caches of N. coins have been found, but Lowick (1976) has described four, all minted in Zabīd, and undoubtedly N.

Src: IBN AL-MUĞĀWIR, *Taʾrīḫ al-Mustabṣir*, ed. by OSCAR LÖFGREN, Leiden 1954, 66, 71, 235 [= tr. by GERALD REX SMITH, *A Traveller in Thirteenth-century Arabia: Ibn Al-mujawir's Tarikh Al-mustabsir*, London 2008 (Hakuyt Society Third series)]; YAḤYĀ B. AL-ḤUSAYN, *Ġāyat al-amānī fī aḫbār al-Quṭr al-Yamānī* ('The Maximum of what one Aspires to Know about the Historical Information on the Yemenite Territory'), ed. by ʿABDALFATTĀḤ ʿĀŠŪR, Cairo 1968; ʿUMĀRA B. ʿALĪ AL-YAMANĪ, *Taʾrīḫ al-Yaman / al-mufīd fī aḫbār Ṣanʿāʾ wa-Zabīd*, ed., tr. by HENRY CASSELS KAY, *Yaman: its Early Mediaeval History*, London 1892 [repr. 2004], here esp. 14ff., 81–123, 152–58, 169.

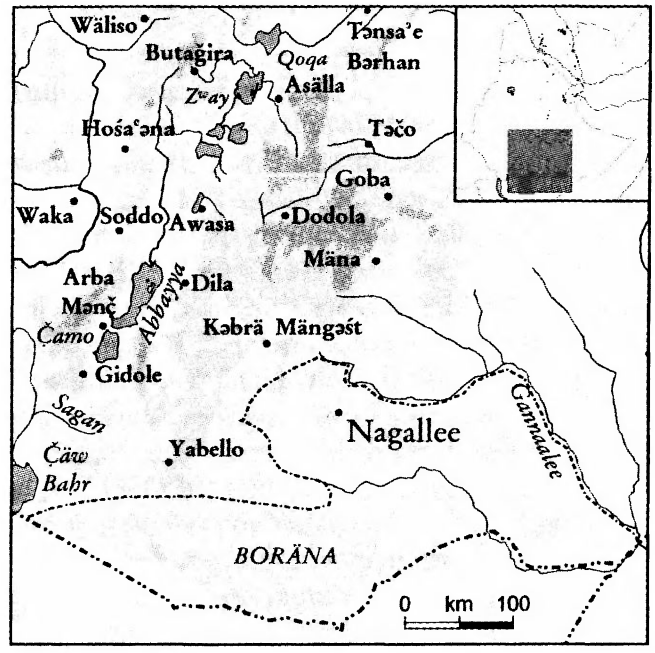
Lit.: ḤUSAYN B. FAḌLALLĀH AL-HAMDĀNĪ, *aṣ-Ṣulayḥīyūn wal-ḥaraka l-Fāṭimīya fī l-Yaman* ('The Ṣulayḥids and the Fāṭimid Movement in Yemen'), Cairo 1955 (Lit.); NICHOLAS LOWICK, "Coins of the Najāḥids of Yemen: a Preliminary Investigation", in: *Actes du 8ème congrès international de numismatique 1973*, Paris 1976; RUDOLF STROTHMANN – [GERALD REX SMITH], "Nadjāḥids", in: *EI²* vol. 7, 1993, 861–62 (Lit.).

G. Rex Smith

Nagallee

The town of N. (Nageellee, Amh. ነጋሌ, Nägale, 05° 17' N, 39° 42' E, 1,449 m A.S.L.) is located on the interfluve of the ↗Ganaalee river and the Dawa river, where plateau and highland meet.

N. was already a small town in 1936, when, after *ras* ↗Dästa Damṭäw attacked the Italians at ↗Dolo Odo in October 1935 and was defeated, Graziani counter-attacked and with the support of heavy bombing, took and razed the town to the ground on 20 January (Guida 597; Gentizon 1936:12–32). N. served as a sanctuary for the regular army during the Bale revolt led by Waqoo Gutu (Gebru Tareke 1991:125–59; Gilkes 1975:214–26). In early 1974, the garrison stationed there to keep an eye on the activities of the Western Somalia Liberation Front rebelled, at the same time as the troops engaged in Eritrea.



Until the 1987 reform N. was the capital of the Boräna *awraǧǧa* of the Sidamo region, up to 1991 it was the capital of the Boräna region. For some years it was then the capital of the Libän *wäräda* and of Boräna zone, Oromiyaa *kəllәl*. Today N. belongs to Guǧǧi *wäräda*, while the capital of Boräna zone shifted to ↗Yabello.

Between 1970 and 1984 the Boräna *awraǧǧa*, affected by Oromo and Somali guerrilla warfare and droughts, saw its population decline from 122,500 to 104,113 inhabitants. In 1984 N. was only a small administrative centre with a population of 11,997 inhabitants, an inflated figure because of the presence of soldiers. With peace progressing in the region since 1991 the population has been expanding quickly and it is now roughly 25 % of the total figure for the Libän *wäräda*. It rose from 32,289 inhabitants in 2000 to over 39,000 inhabitants in 2004 and even 47,763 inhabitants in 2005. This urban growth caused by the influx of pastoralists has been accelerated by an improved road network and better administrative framework.

Src.: CSA 2000, 2004; CENTRAL STATISTICAL AUTHORITY, *Ethiopia. Statistical Abstract 2005*, Addis Ababa 2005; CENTRAL STATISTICAL OFFICE (Provisional Military Government of Ethiopia), *Results of the National Sample Survey, 2nd Round*, vol. 5: *Land Area and Utilization*, Addis-Ababa 1975; EMAtlas; OFFICE OF THE POPULATION AND HOUSING CENSUS COMMISSION, *Ethiopia 1984. Population & Housing Census Preliminary Report*, Addis Ababa, vol. 1, no. 1, September 1984.

Lit.: JEAN GALLAIS, *Une géographie politique de l'Éthiopie: Le poids de l'État*, Paris 1989; GasEth; GEBRU

TAREKE, *Ethiopia: Power and Protest. Paesants Revolts in the Twentieth Century*, Cambridge 1991 (African Studies Series 71), 125–59; PAUL GENTIZON, *La conquête de l'Éthiopie*, Paris 1936, 12–32; PATRICK GILKES, *The Dying Lion. Feudalism and Modernisation in Ethiopia*, London 1975, 214–26; *Guida* 597; J. HOLT, "Looking Beyond the Towns: Facts and Conjectures about Rural Returnees in the Ogaden and 'Somaliland'", in: TIM ALLEN (ed.), *In Search of Cool Ground: War, Flight and Homecoming in Northeast Africa*, Trenton, NJ – Asmara 1996, 143–52; RICHARD HOGG, "Changing Mandates in the Ethiopian Ogaden. The Impact of Somali 'Refugees and Returnees' on the UNHCR", *ibid.* 153–63; MesfAtlas; MesfGeogr.

Alain Gascon

Nägärä haymanot

N.h. (**ነገረ፡ ሃይማኖት**, 'The Account of the Faith') is an Amharic treaty synthesizing the ↗*Karra* views of the history and doctrines of the Unctionist (↗*Qəbat*) and Adoptionist (↗*Ṣägga ləğ* or ↗*Śost lədät*) religious movements. It was most probably written after the council of ↗Boru Meda in 1878.

Seven copies of the N.h. are known, in private possession of ecclesiastics and intellectuals (mss. EMML 1710, 2906, 2950, 4641), or in monastic libraries (↗Moṭa Giyorgis in Goğğam; churches in Šäwa: mss. EMML 1533, 1648). Extracts sometimes appear under other titles (e.g., *Nägärä guba'e zä'abäw*, 'Account of the Council of the Fathers'; s. Berhanou Abebe 1994). The N.h. has not been edited; summaries have been published by Gäbre-Yesus Haylu (in PICES 1, after ms. EMML 2906) and Kindeneh Endeg (2004, ch. 1, after the ms. from Moṭa Giyorgis).

The N.h. narrates how, ever since the time of Pope Leo I, it was the Alexandrian Church alone (including the Ethiopian Church) that preserved the true doctrine of two births and one nature of Christ. It was the only belief in Ethiopia throughout the Aksumite times, after the ↗"Nine Saints", during the ↗Zag^{w}e era, under *abba* ↗Gäbrä Mänfäs Qəddus, and in the age of ↗Ewosṭatewos, until the Europeans came and preached one person and two natures. According to the N.h., Alfonso ↗Mendes (here "Awfänyos"), after being expelled by ↗Fasilädäs, stopped at ↗Fəremona on his way to the Red Sea and indoctrinated two Ethiopians from Goğğam: "Dəhu" Ewosṭatewos from Sänk^{w}a Giyorgis, Mäčča, and "Qurenč" Täklä Haymanot from Ğärr Gäbrə'el. They introduced the foreign teaching to their home areas, the former teaching the *Qəbat* and the latter the *Śost lədät* doctrine. They were defeated by *əčč̌äge* Bäträ Giyorgis in an oral dispute at Gondär, but went on teaching, making Goğğam the motherland of Ethiopian Orthodox heresies.

The N.h. then tells of the success of the *Qəbat* during *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs I's reign. Such doctrine is said to have been written down in the text referred to as **አዕማደ፡ ምሥጢር** (*A^{c}əmadä məśṭir*, 'Pillars of Mystery'). This work should not be confused with the ↗*Amməstu a^{c}əmadä məśṭir*, a well-known *Täwaḥədo* writing, but can probably be identified with the text known in Goğğam as *Mäṣḥafä məśṭir*, one of the few *Qəbat* versions of the history of the theological schools from the 16th to the 18th cent., which is attributed to *abba* ↗Zəkrä Maryam and *abba* ↗Ṗawli. The N.h. states that ↗Dawit III also supported the *Qəbat* party and persecuted the *Täwaḥədo* supporters.

Concerning the *Ṣägga ləğ*, or *Śost lədät*, party, the N.h. narrates how the 18th-cent. Šäwan ruler ↗Ammənḫa Iyäsus protected three *Ṣägga* monks from Tädbabä Maryam. His son ↗Asfa Wäsän grew up with their teaching and, on coming to power, imposed the *Ṣägga* doctrine on Däbrä Libanos, promising the monks to give them back their lands, which constituted one third of the Šäwan territory. All churches and monasteries in Däbrä Libanos's influence zone were thus expected to accept the *Śost lədät* doctrine as taught by "Qurenč" Täklä Haymanot, as the true doctrine of *abba* ↗Täklä Haymanot. A *qəne* teacher of Tädbabä Maryam taught the doctrine to *^{c}aqqabe sä^{c}at* Käbte (fl. ca. 1760–80), who in turn spread it to Gondär. It was *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II who eventually put an end to this dissent by choosing the *karra* doctrine as the one and only true faith (cp. ↗*Hulätt lədät*).

The reception of the N.h. by *Qəbat* and *Ṣägga* traditions has to be further investigated. *Qəbat* traditions claim that the character of "Dəhu" Ewosṭatewos (whom they call *kähadi* ['the apostate'] Ewosṭatewos) was invented by their adversaries to dismiss the sanctity of their spiritual leader St. ↗Ewosṭatewos.

Src.: ms. Moṭa Giyorgis Illinois//IES 89.VIII.25–27 (*Mäṣḥafämänäkosat/Nägärähaymanot*); mss. EMML 1533, 1648, 1710, 2906, 2950, 4641; ms. BritLib Orient. 11294.

Lit.: BERHANOU ABEBE, "Un procès en recherche de paternité au XVIIIe s.", in: *PICES* 10, 399–410; GÄBRE-YESUS HAYLU, "Un manoscritto amarico sulle verità della fide", in: *PICES* 1, 345–51; GETATCHEW HAILE, "Materials on the Theology of Qeba't or Unction", in: *PICES* 6, 205–50, here 245, n. 32; KINDENEH ENDEG, *The Role of Qebatoč in the Christological Controversy within the Ethiopian Orthodox Church (1620–1764)*, M.A. thesis, History Department, Addis Ababa University 2004, 20ff.

Anaïs Wion

Nagärä Maryam s. vol. V

Nägärä Muse

N.M. (ነገረ፡ ሙሴ, 'The Colloquy of Moses [with God on Mount Sinai]', sometimes called *Gädlä Muse*) is the Ethiopic title of the apocryphon known as the *Colloquy of Moses with God on Mount Sinai.*

An English translation of the Arabic version, based on one ms., has been published by Curzon (1855), but many more mss. exist (s. GrafLit I, 207f.). A Syriac version of the *Colloquy*, with an English translation, was published by Hall (1891). Manuscript evidence shows that the apocryphon (ca. 4,000 words long in translation) originated earlier than the 15th cent.

The *Colloquy* is written in the form of a *Responsa*: Moses asks and God answers. The first part describes God's rewards for those who behave well – read prayers, give alms, take care of orphans etc. (cp. ↗*Kidan*) – and punishment for those who commit evil. The second part, beginning with God lifting up Mount Sinai and showing Moses the whole world, is devoted to the discussion of the nature of God.

N.M. was translated into Gəᶜəz from an Arabic *Vorlage*. In Ethiopic tradition, two versions exist; Christian and ↗Betä Ǝsraʾel. Differences between them are, however, minor. The Christian Gəᶜəz text, translated presumably by the 17th-cent. *abunä* ↗Krəstodolu, was published with a German translation by Goldschmidt (1897). A new German translation was made by Duensing (1958). Zuurmond (in StudAeth) published a general introduction to the *Colloquy*, with a partial English translation of the Gəᶜəz, Arabic and Syriac versions in three synoptic columns. A French translation of the Betä Ǝsraʾel text with a short introduction appeared in Kaplan (1990). An edition of the Betä Ǝsraʾel text does not exist but several manuscripts containing it are known: Paris BN d'Abbadie 232 (19th cent.), Tel Aviv Faitlovich nos. 8 and 14 (18th cent.), and at least one more in private hands.

Compared with the Arabic and the Syriac, the Ethiopic version is about one fifth shorter. A large addition in the Arabic and Syriac versions is of obvious Christian character. Numerous allusions to the ↗New Testament in the Ethiopic version make it likely that the text was originally introduced within the Christian context and was later adapted by the Betä Ǝsraʾel tradition. However, the ethics and theology of the Ethiopic version of the N.M. fit in with ↗Judaism and ↗Islam as well.

Texts with similar structure and contents exist in the traditions of Muslims of Mozambique (the known text in Swahili possibly originating in Kenya) and of 16th-cent. Spain (in Spanish in Arabic characters).

Src.: mss. Paris, BN d'Abbadie 232 [CRAbb no. 220; ChAbb 133]; Tel Aviv, Faitlovitch 8, 14; LAZARUS GOLDSCHMIDT, *Die abessinischen Handschriften der Stadtbibliothek zu Frankfurt am Main (Rüppell'sche Sammlung)*, Berlin 1897, Anhang III, 91–101; ISAAC H. HALL, "The Colloquy of Moses on Mount Sinai", *Hebraica* 7, 1891, 161–71; STEVEN KAPLAN, *Les Falāshās*, Turnhout 1990, 97–105; ROCHUS ZUURMOND, "The Colloquy of Moses with God on Mount Sinai", in: *StudAeth* 127–38.

Lit.: ROBERT CURZON, "The Book of the Prophet Moses", *Miscellanies of the Philobiblon Society* 2, 1855–56, 7–24; HUGO DUENSING, "Ein Mosesapokryphon", *Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* 49, 1958, 251–58; GrafLit I, 207f., II, 487; KARLA R. SUOMALA, "The Colloquy of Moses on Mount Sinai: Where Syriac Christianity Meets Islamic Spain and Africa between the 16th and 19th Centuries", *Hugoye: Journal of Syriac Studies* 8, 1, 2005.

Rochus Zuurmond

Nägarit

N. (Amh., Tgn. ነጋሪት, Tgr. ንጋሪት, *nəggarät*; Orom. *nagaariita*) is a kettledrum, the name of which is considered to derive from Amh. ነገረ, *näggärä*, 'to speak' (Ashenafi Kebede 1995:63; LesCDic 392). Alternatively, it can be related to the Arab. *naqqāra*, which is also a term for kettledrum (cf. BassHist 61, n. 2 [tr.]); a double kettledrum called *naqqara* is known in North Africa, e.g. among the Tuareg of the Sahara.

There appears to be two main types of N. in Ethiopia. One is the large cauldron shaped N. usually made of copper (sometimes gilded), or other metal. The drumhead, having a diameter of up to 92 cm, is struck with softheaded wooden drumsticks (one or two) or mallets. The N. has a head consisting of a stretched membrane hide mounted on a hoop held in place by a ring (counterhoop); through the ring pass threaded screws or rods that allow one to alter the pitch by adjusting the skin's tension. Sometimes an L-shaped turnkey is fitted to the screw for loosening or tightening the stretched membrane on the head. The N. were placed across the backs of mules with the players walking alongside striking them with mallets (Tesfaye Lemma 1975:28).

The N. of the other type are bowl-shaped, usually smaller and made from carved wood or hollowed tree trunks although the body can also be

made of clay, leather, or metal. The bowl-shape has a diameter ranging from 15 to 25 cm. The drum head uses prepared animal skin (or parchment) such as ox stretched over the head, but the skin can cover the entire instrument and be sewn together with cross cords tied round the middle of the lacing to increase its tension and alter its pitch (Marcuse 1975:357). These N. were played with beaters/sticks by men riding on horseback, where N. were placed at the player's waist and secured by a belt or harness (Tesfaye Lemma 1975:28).

The N. of both types utilize a basic rounded curved (bowl or cauldron) shape and have the capacity to have their drum heads tuned. The stretched head is attached to the top of the head or in the case of the second type, covers the head or the entire body. Size and materials determine the overall sound of the N.

Nägarit in Harär, announcing the arrival of Ḫaylä Śəllase I, 1934; from the Wochenschau film of Martin Rikli

The N. of the ↗Betä Ǝsraʾel, structurally identical to the Christian N., was a double-headed drum struck directly with the hands while the player was standing. Together with a small bell called ↗*qaṭ̌əl*, it could accompany religious service chanting (Shelemay 1986:76f., 184f.).

Historically, N. in Ethiopia belonged to the insignia of royalty and symbols of political power, alongside with ↗*mäläkät* and ↗*əmbilta* (also, the instrument known as *qända* – a small drum held under the arm and beaten with the hand – has been included as one of the royal insignia). N. accompanied every imperial proclamation or announcement and were often left standing near the throne. When a new emperor ascended to the throne, and when proclamations of national concern (↗*ʿAwağ*) were made, the N., together with the *mäläkät* and the *əmbilta*, would summon the people and proclaim the news. N. also heralded the approach of royalty or a person invested with political authority (like provincial governors). The kings and rulers sometimes donated their N. to churches and monasteries, as in the case of ↗crowns (CRHist 79 [text]). Finally, N. were war drums, used to summon the troops and to encourage them during combat; they were considered symbols of military honour (s., e.g. GueCopMen 28, n. 1, 431, 436, 444).

N.'s shape, size and material could often indicate the rank of their possessor. The N. belonging to princes had silver shells, and those of high officials were made of copper, whereas the N. of lesser persons were made of wood (Powne 1968:13f.). In the Ethiopian royal chronicles, a drum called ድብ፡ አንበሳ, *dəbb anbäsa*, obviously a kind of N. (s. Bairu Tafla in PICES 7, 366; DTWDic 327), is frequently mentioned as the emperor's largest drum (lit. 'bear-lion', PerrZarY 45, 61; CRHist 79, 130, 135 [text]; PerChron vol. 1, 332 [text]; cp. *dəbb wäʾanbäsa*, 'bear and lion', in LudHist II, 14, 18; Ludolphus 1682:218; cp. also HabKön 117, where it is derived from *dibbe*, a term for drum among many southern Ethiopian peoples; s. also LesCDic 119). Alongside with the *dəbb anbäsa*, a blown instrument called *məsr qana* or *nəsr qana* (probably a kind of *mäläkät* or *əmbilta*, cf. LesCDic 403; DTWDic 823) was usually played. The royal silver N. played a major role on occasions of state in the Gondärine kingdom in the early 17th cent. Thus, James ↗Bruce describes "... two kettle-drums of large size placed one on each side of the outer gate of the king's house [i.e. palace]", called "the lion and the lamb". "The lion is beat at the proclamations which regard war, attainders of conspiracies and rebellions, promotions to supreme commands... The lamb is heard only on beneficent, pacific occasions, of gifts from the crown, of general amnesties, of private pardons, and reversals of penal ordinances". The drum called the lamb was "...

of beaten silver; the Abyssinians say, that this metal alone is capable of conveying the sweet sound contained in a proclamation of peace" (BruNile vol. 1, 602).

Generally, the Ethiopian ruler gave a N. to a newly appointed governor or a tribal chief confirmed by him. Thus, after *aṣe* ↗Iyasu II granted Həbtes, the head of the ↗Ḥabab in Northern Eritrea, the title of *käntebay* (s. ↗*Käntiba*) and presented him with an N. and other insignia of this rank, N. came to be a symbol of the *käntebay*'s power, and its possession an essential element in the struggle for the title (d'Avray 1996:50f., 2000:19). Likewise, N. or similar drums were symbols of the king's power among the southern peoples, e.g., *nägara* among Šeko (VSAe III, 46). N. (one of silver and another of copper) were among the symbols of power of the king of ↗Käfa (s. GueCopMen 463). The Oromo and Somali also used N., and among them it also served as a symbol of power (Paulitschke 1893:148). In the ↗Təgre-speaking tribe of ↗Mänsaᶜ, N. could be used to accompany important announcements such as the declaration of a slave becoming a free man (s. Höfner 1952:658; Rodén 1913:101).

Today, the instrument's function is primarily ceremonial (Ashenafi Kebede 1995:63).

↗Instruments, musical; ↗Music;

Src.: BassHist 61, n. 2 [tr.]; BruNile vol. 1, 602; BTafY 131; CRHist 79, 130, 135 [text], 90f., 148, 154 [tr.], 188f.; DTWDic 327, 823; GueCopMen 28, n. 1, 189, 431, 436, 444, 463; HabKön 117; MARIA HÖFNER, *Das* Feteḥ Maḥārī: *Sitten und Recht der Mänsaᶜ*, Wiesbaden 1951 (= *Abhandlungen der Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse, Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur in Mainz* 8, 1951, 647–746), 14 (658); LesCDic 119, 392, 403; LudHist II, 14, 18; JOB LUDOLPHUS, *A New History of Ethiopia*, tr. by J.P. GENT, Book 2, London 1682, 218; PerChron vol. 1, 332 [text], vol. 2, 258 [tr.]; PerrZarY 45, 61; KARL GUSTAV RODÉN, *Le Tribù dei Mensa: Storia, legge e costumi*, A: *Testo originale in Tigré*, Asmara 1913, 101; PHILIPP PAULITSCHKE, *Ethnographie Nordost-Afrikas: Die Materielle Cultur der Danâkil, Galla und Somâl*, Berlin 1893, 148; VSAe III, 46.

Lit.: ASHENAFI KEBEDE, *The Music of Ethiopia: its Development and Cultural Setting*, Ph.D. thesis, Wesleyan University 1971, 161f.; ID., *Roots of Black Music: the Vocal, Instrumental, and Dance Heritage of Africa and Black America*, Trenton, NJ 1995, 63; ANTHONY D'AVRAY, *Lords of the Red Sea. The History of a Red Sea Society from the Sixteenth to the Nineteenth Century*, Wiesbaden 1996 (AeF 45), 50f.; ID., *The Nakfa Documents: the Despatches, Memoranda, Reports, and Correspondence ...*, Wiesbaden 2000 (AeF 53), 19; BAIRU TAFLA, "The *ᶜAwāǧ*: an Institution of Political Culture in Traditional Ethiopia", in: *PICES* 7, 365–72, 366f.; ANDRÉ CAQUOT, "La royauté sacrale en Éthiopie", *AE* 2, 205–18, here 216; INSTITUTE OF ETHIOPIAN STUDIES, *Musical Instruments of Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 1999, 24; SIBYL MARCUSE, *Musical Instruments: a Comprehensive Dictionary*, New York ²1975, 357; RICHARD PANKHURST, "The Mystery of Two Ethiopian Drums. Historical Features. Ethiopia's Missing Treasures", *Addis Tribune*, November 28, 2003; MICHAEL POWNE, *Ethiopian Music: an Introduction. A Survey of Ecclesiastical and Secular Ethiopian Music*, London – New York – Toronto 1968, 13f.; MARTIN RIKLI, *Wie ich Abessinien sah*, Berlin 1935, 60 (ill.); KAY KAUFMAN SHELEMAY, *Music, Ritual, and Falasha History*, East Lansing, MI 1986 (Ethiopian Series Monograph 17), 76f., 184f.; HENRY MORTON STANLEY, *Coomassie and Magdala: the Story of Two British Campaigns in Africa*, London 1874, 457ff.; TESFAYE LEMMA, *Ethiopian Musical Instruments*, Addis Abäba 1975, 28; JOSEPH VARENBERGH, "Studien zur abessinischen Reichsordnung (*Šerᶜata Mangešt*)", *ZA* 30, 1915/16, 1–45, here 3, 16f., 19f. [text] = 31f., 35f. [tr.].

Cynthia Tse Kimberlin

Nägarit Gazeṭa

The N.G. (ነጋሪት፡ ጋዜጣ, 'Gazette of the ↗*nägarit*') was the official journal of the Ethiopian government from 1942 to 1974. Previously, during the rules of *aṣe* Mənilək II and *ras* Täfäri Mäkʷännən (↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I), various imperial edicts were sporadically published (↗*Bərhanənna Sälam*), and some edicts were stuck to the gates of the municipality or made known to the people through the governors of various districts (cp. ↗*ᶜAwağ*).

The N.G. published the official laws of the government in Amharic and English. The first issue appeared on 21 *Mäggabit* 1934 A.M. [30 March 1942 A.D.] and ratified its authority, containing a provision that no law or by-law would be valid or come into force until it was published in the N.G. The new publication, required by the proclamation to be monthly, was not without problems: some regulations having the force of law never appeared in it (cp. ↗Customary law), and many laws did not appear in print until long after their promulgation. Nevertheless, the N.G. was an important step forward in the codification of Ethiopian laws according to modern practice. Having government actions officially proclaimed and immediately verifiable in print was a significant change for a monarchy where much political information was secretive or by word of mouth.

From 1942 to 1974, all major legislation, proclamations, appointments, and legal notices of the Imperial Ethiopian Government were published in the N.G. Among the first laws appearing in the publication were those setting out the pow-

ers and responsibilities of the various ministers; a law creating and defining the provincial administration of Ethiopia; the establishment of the State Bank of Ethiopia; and "The Slavery (Abolition) Proclamation" of 21 *Näḥase* 1934 A.M. [27 August 1942 A.D.] that made it an offence punishable either with imprisonment or death for any person to deal with, or to transport a slave, or to prevent one from asserting his freedom.

The N.G. chronicled the development of modern, post-restoration institutions in Ethiopia in their founding proclamations: e.g., the Administration of Justice Proclamation setting up the court system; the Imperial Army Proclamation; the organization of the Defence Ministry and the Imperial Board of Telecommunications of Ethiopia; the setting up of the Ethiopian Airlines Corporation, the Addis Ababa Chamber of Commerce, and the Ethiopian Red Cross Society. Among public policies announced in the N.G. were: the "Currency and Legal Tender Proclamation" introducing a new Ethiopian currency in place of the East African Shilling and ↗Maria Theresia Thaler (the N.G. of 8 *Ḥamle* 1937 A.M. [15 July 1945 A.D.]); the first revised customs schedule in 1943; and the first (1944–45), and succeeding national budgets. Changes in government structure such as the ↗Ethiopian–Eritrean Federation of 1952 were also made public by "The Federal Legislation" printed in N.G.

With the restoration of Parliament in 1942, laws passed by both houses and approved by the Emperor were published in the N.G. preceded by the preamble: "Conquering Lion of the Tribe of Judah, Haile Selassie I, Elect of God, Emperor of Ethiopia. In accordance with Article 34 of Our Constitution We approve the resolutions of Our Senate and the Chamber of Deputies and We proclaim as follows: (...)" The end of the proclamation then was signed by the Minister of the Pen (↗*Ṣäḥafe təʾəzaz*). All bylaws were published above the signature of the Minister concerned.

The Minister of the Pen was empowered to publish the N.G. by the Ministers' Order of 1943. When ↗Aklilu Habtäwäld became deputy Prime Minister as well as Minister of Pen, he used his supervision of the N.G. to advance his own purposes. For example, in 1958, instead of going through the Council of Ministers, Aklilu used the N.G. to announce an increase in the powers of his brother Mäkʷännən Habtäwäld – to the surprise of the other ministers concerned.

The Government of the Federal Republic of Ethiopia recovered the name of the N.G. for its official journal, the *Federal Nägarit Gazeṭa* (1st issue in August 1995). Ethiopian regions may have their own official journals (e.g., *Nägarit Gazeṭa Təgray).* In independent Eritrea, the function of the N.G. is carried out by the *Gazeṭa Awağat Erətra.*

↗Law and judiciary

Src.: *Nägarit Gazeṭa* 1942–74 issues.
Lit.: ClapHS; *Guide Book of Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 1954; ERNEST W. LUTHER, *Ethiopia Today*, Stanford, CA 1958; PerGov 414f.; DAVID ABNER TALBOT, *Haile Selassie I Silver Jubilee*, The Hague 1955.

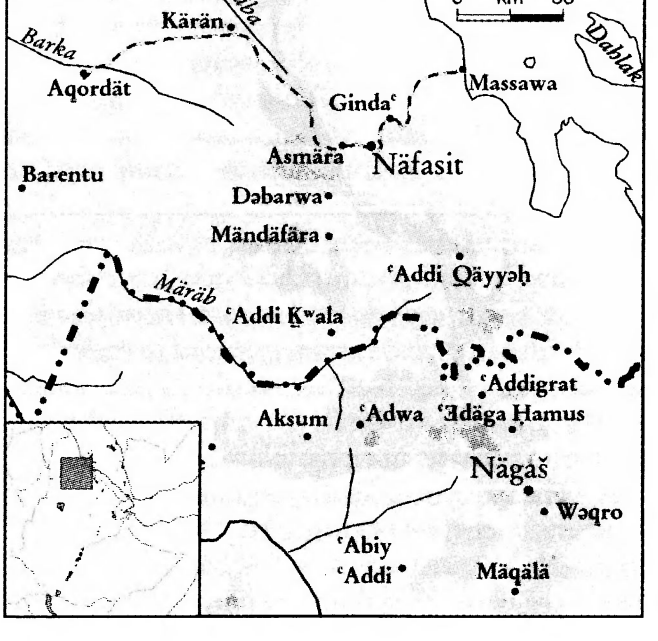
Theodor Vestal

Nägaš

N. (ናጋሽ, 13° 53' N, 39° 36' E) is a small village lying along the main Mäqälä–ᶜAddigrat road ca. 10 km north from ↗Wəqro, in a mountain pass dominating the Gunfäl valley (s. Guida 300) in historical ↗Ǝndärta.

The village has ca. 1,500 inhabitants, half of them Muslim and half Christian. There is a local tradition of the Italian presence in N.; most probably it was used as a camp during the military campaign. On top of the N. pass, a rock still shows an Italian inscription "Passo Negasc anno XIV E.F." ('N. pass. 14th year of the Fascist Era [= 1936]').

N. is perhaps the most important holy place (↗*Zāwiya*) for Muslims not only of Ethiopia, but also of the entire ↗Horn of Africa, as it hosts the shrine of the ↗*Nağāšī* and the tombs of twelve of ↗Muḥammad's companions (*ṣaḥāba* or *aṣḥāb*) in the first ↗*hiğra* of 615. The asylum



Mausoleum of the *Nağāšī* at Nägaš; photo 2006, courtesy of Alessandro Gori

that the righteous king of al-Ḥabaša (i.e. Ethiopia; s. ↗Abyssinia), in whose kingdom "no one suffers injustice" – as underscored in *as-Sīra an-nabawīya*, granted the Muslim refugees led by ↗Ğaᶜfar b. Abī Ṭālib, and the subsequent conversion of the king to ↗Islam is the most revered tradition north-east African Muslims have about their origins (Ahmäd Ahmädin n.d.; Muḥammäd Šakir 1995/96, Muḥammäd Ṭoyyəb 1998/99; Sayyid b. Muḥammad Ṣādiq 2001:91–135). This tradition gives Muslims of the Horn the confirmation of the antiquity of their presence *vis à vis* the Christian state and, simultaneously, it allows for a certain prestige in the eyes of their co-religionists in the Arabian Peninsula (↗Arabia), as it makes their home the second region in the world to have been touched by the Islamic message.

The existence of this holy site is mentioned for the first time in the ↗*Futūḥ al-Ḥabaša. Imām* ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī, during his conquest of Təgray in 1533, in pursuit of the *šum ᶜagame* (the Ethiopian governor of ↗ᶜAgamä), passed by the tomb of Aḥmad an-Nağāšī (which was also the name he had given to his child born shortly before). The troops wanted to visit the shrine but the *imām* compelled them to proceed to meet their enemy, promising that they would come back the next day for the *ziyāra* (↗Pilgrimage) – a promise that was perhaps not possible to keep (BassHist 318). The passage in the *Futūḥ* is also important as it attests to the use of the name Aḥmad attributed to *an-Nağāšī*, instead of al-↗Aṣḥam [or Aṣḥama] b. al-Abğar, which is the name currently preserved in Arabic sources. As Basset remarks (BassHist 318 n. 7), the name Aḥmad has been glossed, in the margin of the *Futūḥ* manuscripts, with *al-maᶜrūf Aṣḥama an-Nağāšī* ('the famous Aṣḥama an-Nağāšī'): this comment seems to prove that Aḥmad was not the universally known name of the *Nağāšī*, and one can surmise that this name originates from a local tradition. Ahmäd Ahmädin (n.d.:3) says that, in one of Muḥammad's letters, the *Nağāšī* was called *wändəmme Ahmäd* ('my brother Aḥmad'), but this seems rather to be a corrupted reference to the incipit of the first letter sent by the Prophet to Aṣḥama, *Aḥmadu ilayka Allāh* ('I commend God to you').

The holy place is presently contained in a wide compound with two green domed buildings. Both are recent, no trace of older remnants is found. The bigger building hosts the shrine of the *Nağāšī*, the smaller one that of the *ṣaḥābī* ᶜUday b. Naḍla (whose name is variously spelled in the sources), the first Muslim refugee to die in Ethiopia.

In the yard between and in front of the two buildings, other scattered ground tombs are those of the companions of the Prophet. An inscription on the left side of the main building, dated 1418 H. [1997/98 A.D.], gives the name of ᶜAbdarraḥmān al-Ğabartī as that of the person buried in a covered tomb.

Outside the holy graveyard, a big ↗mosque has been built with the financial support of the Ethio-Yemeni-Saudi millionaire Muḥammad Ḥusayn al-ᶜAmūdī.

The *ziyārat an-Nağāšī* is on the *ᶜĀšūrāʾ* day (10 *Muḥarram*), when thousands of pilgrims come to show their reverence to the king from all over the Horn of Africa and the Sudan.

The village also has another Islamic holy place: the tomb of *šarīf* ᶜAbdī (or ᶜAmday), a recently built or re-built anonymous shrine on the right side of the main road from Wəqro, some 300 m from the *Nağāšī* area. Every Thursday night a ceremony is performed in honour of the holy man whose epithet *šarīf* points to a noble descendant of the Prophet, but apparently no periodical *ziyāra* is performed for him.

There are two churches inside the village of N., one dedicated to the Lord and one (under con-

struction in 2006) to *abunä* Täklä Haymanot. Some 5 km outside the village, to the left of the road to ᶜAddigrat, on top of a hill, the monastery of Amanuʾel Maᶜagʷä dominates the valley. Some 2 km outside the village, the church of St. Mary stands on a slope, to the left of a bend on the road descending to Wəqro. Islamic sources (Sayyid b. Muḥammad Ṣādiq 2001:134) mention that this church was built on the site of the grave of the wife of the *Nağāšī*, who died as soon as she heard about her husband's conversion to Islam.

Src.: BassHist 318 (text) = 419 (tr.).

Lit.: *ḫağğ* AHMÄD AHMÄDIN, *Däggu nəgus Ahmäd Alnäğaši – Al-malik aṣ-ṣāliḥ Aḥmad an-Nağāšī* ('The Kind King Ahmad *Nağāšī* [Amh., Arab.]'), Addis Abäba [n.d.]; GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, "ʾElla Gabaz/(ʾElla) Ḥētāzā", *La Parola del Passato* 61, 2006 [2007], 115–41, here 117ff.; *Guida* 300; MÄḤMUD ŠAKIR, *Yäḫabäšaw hiğranna muhağiročč – Maᶜa l-hiğra ilā l-ḥabaša* ('The Ethiopian *Hiğra* and the Muhajirs [Amh.] – With the *Hiğra* to the Land of Ethiopia [Arab.]'), Addis Abäba 1988 A.M./1416 H. [1995/96 A.D.]; MUḤAMMÄD ṬOYYƎB, ሃበሻና፡ ኢስላም፡ ንጉስ፡ ነጃሺ (*Habäšanna islam: Nəgus Näğaši*, 'Ethiopia and Islam: the King *Näğaši*'), Addis Ababa 1991 A.M. [1998/99 A.D.]; SAYYID B. MUḤAMMAD ṢĀDIQ, *Manhal al-ᶜaṭšān fī taʾrīḫ al-Ḥubšān* ('The Spring of the Thirsty on the History of the Abyssinians'), [Ṣanᶜāʾ] 1422 H. [2001 A.D.], 91–135.

Alessandro Gori

Nägaš Bäzzabbəh

Däğğazmač N.B. (ንጋሽ፡ በዛብህ, b. 1908, d. 1964, Nähase) was a ↗resistance fighter and political figure. His grandfather was *ras* ↗Bäzzabbəh Täklä Haymanot. During the ↗Italian war 1935–36, N.B. fought against the Italians with other Goğğame patriots. Some saw him as a weak leader who failed to control his sub-chiefs. When ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I and his British allies selected Goğğam as the region to begin an offensive against the Italians (1940), N.B. joined the united front that worked for Ḫaylä Śəllase's restoration.

After the Emperor's return to power, N.B. became vice minister in the Prime Minister's office and then President of the Senate (1942–43). In 1951, he became involved in an unsuccessful conspiracy to assassinate Ḫaylä Śəllase. Some of the plotters hoped to enthrone N.B. while others advocated the creation of a republic under *ras* ↗Ǝmməru Ḫaylä Śəllase, who at the time had been Ethiopia's ambassador to Washington D.C. and had nothing to do with the attempted *coup*. The conspiracy was uncovered and N.B. was arrested, tried by the Emperor's Special Court and condemned to death. He subsequently received a pardon from Ḫaylä Śəllase and lived in exile in Ǧimma.

Src.: HSLife² 87 n. 171, 147 n. 247, 153.

Lit.: MockWar 258f., 400; DAVID SHIRREFF, *Bare Feet and Bandoliers*, London – New York 1995, 302; RICHARD GREENFIELD, *Ethiopia: a New Political History*, London 1965, 293ff.; SELTENE SEYOUM, *A History of Resistance in Gojjam (Ethiopia)*, Ph.D. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1999, 59ff.

Thomas P. Ofcansky

Nağāšī

N. (Arab. النجاشي, always with the definite article) is a loanword borrowed by Arabic from ↗Gəᶜəz *nägaśi* (cp. also the borrowing into ↗Epigraphic South Arabian, *ngs²y*, which stood for 'the king [of Aksum]'; s. Beeston et al. 1983:93, s.v. *ngs²*). For the detailed discussion of the term s. ↗*Nəguś*.

In Islamic texts, N. is specifically used for the king of Aksum at the time of the first ↗*hiğra* of ca. 615, indeed ↗Aṣḥam[a] b. Abğar (i.e. b. *al-Ḥataza, 'son of [Ǝllä] ↗Ḥataz'?) or ↗Ǝllä Ṣäḥam (r. ca. 603–23; cp. SerHist 185; Hartmann 1895; cp. ↗Armaḥ). The most detailed information about this N. is found in the biography of the Prophet Muḥammad (*Sīra*) by Ibn Isḥāq (d. ca. 770 A.D.), revised and completed by ↗Ibn Hišām (tr. by Guillaume 1955).

According to the *Sīra*, the N. received the newly converted Muslims hospitably, and refused to expel them, as the ↗Qurayš wanted. At an audience, he questioned the Muslims as to what this religion, for which they had forsaken their own people without embracing Christianity or any other religion, was. In his answer, ↗Ǧaᶜfar b. Abī Ṭālib praised Muḥammad's achievements and underlined that Muslims worship God alone without associating anything with Him (referring to polytheism, but also to the ↗Trinity, cp. Qurʾān, *sūra* 112). By an evident *vaticinium post factum*, Ǧaᶜfar, in order to show that Muḥammad had received a divine revelation, recited a few verses from Qurʾān's *sūra* 19 (alluding to the same tradition as Lk 1), and the N. and his bishops were deeply moved. But ᶜAmr b. al-ᶜĀṣ, one of the two messengers from Mecca, told the N. in private that the Muslims consider Jesus, son of Mary, as a creature (i.e. not as the son of God). During another public audience, Ǧaᶜfar said that Jesus is the slave of God, His apostle, His spirit, and His word

which He cast into Mary. The N. took a stick and said that Jesus does not exceed what Ğaᶜfar had said by the length of a stick, meaning that there is only a small difference between ↗Islam and ↗Christianity as far as Jesus is concerned. The Abyssinian generals were not happy about this, but the N. said that the Muslims would be safe in his country.

Ibn Isḥāq further relates about a rebellion against the N., which he suppressed, fortunately for the Muslims. There is also an account as to how the N. became king: his father, once king, was killed, and the N. had been sold as a slave by his uncle but had later regained his throne.

Ibn Isḥāq also narrates that the Abyssinians blamed the N. for having betrayed his religion and therefore revolted against him; the N. then had ships prepared for Ğaᶜfar and his companions to flee in case he would be defeated. It did not happen, since the N. was able to appease his subjects: putting his hand upon his breast, he publicly testified that Jesus is the Son of God. By that gesture of confirmation he was referring, however, to a "paper" he had put in his gown on which he had written that Jesus, the son of Mary, was no more than God's slave, apostle etc. His trick was understood by no one but by the Muslims. The Prophet was informed about this; when the N. died, the Prophet prayed that his sins might be forgiven.

The Arab historian aṭ-↗Ṭabarī (d. 923, s. Ibn Isḥāq 1955:657) gives the text of two letters allegedly exchanged between the Prophet and N. al-Aṣḥam b. Abğar (cp. Caetani 1905:736; Montgomery Watt 1956:345f.; Muhammad Hamidullah 1935, vol. 1, 205ff.). In the incipit of the letters, the N. apparently uses Islamic formulas that let the reader think that he was converted to Islam. The contents of the letters are almost identical with those of the conversation of Ğaᶜfar with the N. according to the *Sīra*. One subsequently reads that the N. sent his son Arhā (i.e. Armaḥ) to the Prophet, with the significant remark that he had control only over himself (i.e. not over his subjects, at least as far as Islam is concerned), and that he will come to the Prophet if the latter wishes him to do so. The historian was further told that the N. had sent 60 Abyssinians with his son to the Prophet, but that they all had perished when crossing the sea.

The N. represented at Quṣayr ᶜAmra (Jordan, before 711/12), together with the Byzantine emperor and the Persian emperor Chosroes, is traditionally seen as an enemy of Islam, more recently however as a respected ruler – probably ƎllÄ Ṣäḥam – to whom the Prophet also had sent an embassy in 628 (Ettinghausen 1977:39ff.; ErlEth 193 n. 30; s, now Di Branco 2007).

Ibn Isḥāq's implicit statement that the N. became Muslim has been made quite explicit by Muslim authors after him. Yet, no independent source seems to be available to confirm this (cp. Hussein Ahmad 1992:21f.; Cuoq 1981:35; ErlEth 16ff.).

Src.: ALFRED FELIX LANDON BEESTON et al., *Sabaic Dictionary (English–French–Arabic). Dictionnaire sabéen (anglais–français–arabe)*, Louvain-la-Neuve – Beyrouth 1982, 93; ABŪ MUḤAMMAD ᶜABDALMALIK IBN HIŠĀM, *The Life of Muhammad. A Translation of Isḥāq's Sīrat Rasūl Allāh*, tr. by ALFRED GUILLAUME, Oxford 1955, ²1968, 146–55, 657; LesCDic 392.

Lit.: ALFRED FELIX LANDON BEESTON, *Sabaic Grammar*, Manchester 1984 (JSS Monographs 6), 9f.; LEONE CAETANI (ed.), *Annali dell'Islam*, vol. 1, Milano 1905, 736; JOSEPH CUOQ, *L'islam en Éthiopie des origines au XVIe siècle*, Paris 1981, 35; MARCO DI BRANCO, "I sei prìncipi di Quṣayr ᶜAmrah: fra tardoantico, ellenismo ed Islam", *RRALm* ser. 9ª, 18, 2007, in preparation; EMERI VAN DONZEL, "al-Nadjāshī", in: *EI²* vol. 7, 862–69 (Lit.); ErlEth 193 n. 30; RICHARD ETTINGHAUSEN, *Arab Painting*, Geneva – New York 1977, 39ff.; GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, "ʾElla Gabaz/(ʾElla) Ḥētāzā", *La Parola del Passato* 61, 2006 [2007], 115–41; MARTIN HARTMANN, "Der Nağāšī Aṣḥama und sein Sohn Armā", *ZDMG* 49, 1895, 299–300; HUSSEIN AHMAD, "The Historiography of Islam in Ethiopia", *Journal of Islamic Studies* 3, 1992, 15–46, here 21f.; MUHAMMAD HAMIDULLAH, *Documents sur la diplomatie musulmane à l'époque du Prophète et des Khalifes Orthodoxes*, Paris 1935, vol. 1, 205ff.; MANFRED KROPP, "Ein Gegenstand und seine Aufschrift. RIE = JE 5", in: *EtRicci* 129–44; WILLIAM MONTGOMERY WATT, *Muḥammad at Madina*, Oxford 1956, 345f.; THEODOR NÖLDEKE, *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft*, Strassburg 1910, 47; SerHist 185.

Emeri van Donzel

Nägaśi Krəstos

Abeto N.K. (ነጋሢ ክርስቶስ, also Nägaśe Krəstos, d. ca. 1703 or 1705, Gondär) was the ruler of ↗Šäwa from ca. 1682 to 1703. He was thus a contemporary of *aṣe* ↗Iyasu I.

Most of the scanty information on N.K. comes from 19th–early 20th-cent. sources. Some indicate that he was related to the ↗Solomonic dynasty through his mother *wäyzäro* Sänbält, who was of royal descent, while his father was a rich landowner from Anga(n)ča (AWTarik 67f.; cp. LevWax 31), in the district Gera(mədər) of ↗Mänz. Some state that his paternal line ascends to *aṣe* Ləbnä Dəngəl's son *abeto* ↗Yaᶜəqob, via

N.K.'s father *ras* Faris (HarAeth vol. 3, 7; CecZeila vol. 1, 235ff.), or via Səgwä Qal, Wärädä Qal and Ləbsä Qal (cp. GueCopMen 56; AWTarik 67f.; TSTarik IV, 431; s. also LevWax 289 n. 24). Still other sources leave the question of N.K.'s Solomonic link open (cp. BTafA 499; Taddäsä Zäwälde 1955/56:15ff.; LevWax 289, n. 24). N.K. is traditionally considered the founder of the Šäwan branch of the Solomonids, from which both *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II and ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I were descended (TSTarik IV, 431; LevWax 32).

N.K. succeeded in uniting some districts of the Amhara, which, fragmented after the 16th-cent. Muslim wars, had found themselves surrounded by large ↗Oromo enclaves and at odds with each other (AbPrince 144f.). He thus started the Šäwan expansion.

As a young man N.K. received high recognition for the valour proved in many battles. His military success brought him many followers who helped him to accumulate possessions. N.K. established his base in Angača where he founded the church of Kidanä Məḥrät (s. Levine in PICES 2, 209). He started his campaigns in the regions settled by the Oromo, south of Mänz, where he achieved a victory over ↗Arsi-Oromo and set the cornerstone for the town of ↗Ayne in ca. 1683 (BTafA 501f.; AWTarik 73; CecZeila vol. 1, 237). N.K. also fought ↗Wälloand ↗Yäğğu-Oromo. Apparently on behalf of *aṣe* ↗Iyasu I and in alliance with the ↗*wälasma* he waged war on the Oromo who were trying to penetrate ↗Yəfat (BTafA 501f.; AbPrince 146). N.K. also led his army to such districts as Däbdäbo, Mängəst, ↗Mafud, Asändabe and ↗Doqaqit (CecZeila vol. 1, 237), and established settlements and churches in the places he took over from the Oromo (BTafA 503ff.). Unable to prevent the encroachment of the Oromo in ↗Tägulät, he chose ↗Däbrä Bərhan for his capital. There, N.K. is said to have re-established the old palace of *aṣe* ↗Zärʾa Yaʿəqob (PankHist I, 185).

By the end of the 17th cent. N.K. had emerged as the most important Amhara chief of the area. He proclaimed himself ruler of Šäwa, overpowering all those who disputed this claim (including, according to some traditions, Gera, one of the founders of Mänz, s. AWTarik 71; Levine in PICES 2, 208). Around 1700 N.K. arrived at ↗Gondär to offer tribute to *aṣe* Iyasu I and receive the official recognition of his rule from the Emperor (whose Chronicle, however, does not mention this episode). Traditions differ as to what happened next. N.K. is said to have been rewarded by Iyasu I with twelve ↗*nägarits* and a seal ("*mahtam*", s. CecZeila vol. 1, 238 [describing, in fact, a ↗*matäb*, not seal]; HarAeth vol. 3, 8; BTafA 505; AWTarik 73). It seems that N.K., however, never returned to Šäwa, but rather died in Gondär in 1703, probably of smallpox. He is said to have been buried with great honours at Gondär, at the church Fit Abbo (BTafA 505). The site of his camp in Gondär is still called Nägaśi Meda.

N.K. fathered six children, Akawa, Dana, Səbəste (↗Səbəstyanos), Šänko, Yonaʾel and Wärqitu (AWTarik 71). After his death, an internal fight broke out. Səbəste eventually prevailed, to become later the first Šäwan ↗*märəd azmač* (BTafA 507; LevWax 32f.; EgeClass 22, 25).

Src.: AWTarik 66–73 (Lit.); BTafA 449, 501–05, 952f., 989f.; CecZeila vol. 1, 237f.; HarAeth vol. 3, 7f.; GueCopMen 56; ROCHET D'HÉRICOURT, *Voyage sur la côte orientale de la Mer Rouge, dans le pays d'Adel et la royaume de Choa*, Paris 1841, 202, 214; ID., *Second voyage sur les deux rives de la mer Rouge dans le Pays des Adels et le royaume de Choa*, Paris 1846, 242; TADDÄSÄ ZÄWÄLDE, **የአቤቶሁን፡ ያዕቆብ፡ ትውልድና፡ አጭር፡ ታሪክ** (*Yäʾabetohun Yaʿəqob təwləddənna aṭṭər tarik*, 'The Genealogy and Short Story of *abetohun* Yaʿəqob'), Addis Abäba 1948 A.M. [1955/56 A.D.].

Lit.: AbPrince 144–47; EgeClass 20ff., 25, s. index; KOFI DARKWAH, *Shewa, Menilek and the Ethiopian Empire: 1813–1889*, London 1975, 6f., 9 (Lit.); DONALD N. LEVINE, "On the History and Culture of Manz", in: *PICES* 2, 204–10; LevWax 31ff., 289 nn. 23, 24 (Lit.); PankHist I, 185 (Lit.); TSTarik IV, 430–34; ZewYohan 20, 298.

Sophia Dege

Nägga Tägäññ

Major General N.T. (**ነጋ፡ ተገኝ**, b. 24 July 1930, Šäme Maryam, Gondär, d. 2002, London) was a military officer. Born to *ato* Tägäññ Yəggäzu and *wäyzäro* Assälläfäčč Bälačč'äw, during the Italian invasion he had to flee into the woods with his parents until the liberation in 1940. Shortly after, his uncle, *qäññazmač* Daññäw Dästa, took him to Addis Abäba and in 1943 he began his primary education at the ↗Mənilək II Elementary School. He then enrolled for two years in the Technical School of Addis Abäba. In 1946, he joined the ↗Imperial Bodyguard Cadet School lead by the Swedish Military Team, graduating in 1949 as a Deputy Lieutenant with distinction.

From 1951–53, N.T. served as Captain for approximately 18 months in Korea, with the Ethiopian ↗Qañňäw contingent under the ↗United

Nations command. Upon return, he studied at the Commercial School of Addis Abäba, earning a Diploma in Commerce. As a Major (1954–59), he was sent to India for further training at Willington Staff College, and completed the Maow Senior Officers Course. In 1960, he joined the ↗Harär Military Academy as an instructor. In 1961–63, he served as a Battalion and Brigade Commander for the eastern region of Ethiopia.

N.T. was involved in several international missions in Nigeria, Congo and Angola on behalf of the ↗Organization of African Unity. In 1971, he was sent to the United Kingdom for further training at the Royal College of Defence Studies. In 1972, he was appointed as the Head of the Third Division in Eastern Ethiopia and in 1973, now Major General, he was appointed governor of Gondär.

At the onset of the 1974 Revolution, N.T. emigrated to the Sudan and with General Iyasu Mängäša and *ras* Mängäša Śəyyum formed the Ethiopian Democratic Union. From 1975 to 1978 he led resistance activities against the *Därg* (↗Provisional Military Administrative Council). He then fell out with his colleagues and withdrew from public positions. From 1989 till his death in 2002, N.T. lived in the United Kingdom. Whilst there, he was engaged in research and consultation on Ethiopian politics and military development. He was one of the most highly decorated military figures in Ethiopian military history, receiving numerous promotions and awards, including 22 medals. He was married three times: to Blandina Philip, with whom he had a son, Täkle Nägga; to Princess Ḫirut Dästa, daughter of *ras* ↗Dästa Damṭäw and Princess ↗Tänañña Wärq Ḫaylä Śəllase; and to *wäyzäro* Nəgəśt Ḫayle, who bore him Rahel and Ḫəbrät Nägga.

Src.: NÄGGA TÄGÄÑÑ, የኢትዮጵያውያን፡ የረጅም፡ ዘመናት፡ ትግልና፡ የዘመናዊ፡ ሠራዊት፡ አመሰራረት 1855–1974 (*Yä'ityopyawəyan yäräğğəm zämänat təgələnna yäzämänawi śärawit amäsärarät: 1855–1974*, 'The Protracted Struggle of the Ethiopians and the Formation of a Modern Army: 1855–1974'), Toronto 2001; ID., የኦጋዴን፡ አንበሳ፡ ወታደራዊ፡ መጽሔት (*Yä'ogaden anbäsa: wätadärawi mäṣḥet*, 'The Lion of Ogaden: Military Journal'), Addis Abäba 11th year, 83, 1965 A.M. [1972/73 A.D.], 18–22; ID., ትዕይንተ፡ ጎንደር (*Tə'əyəntä Gondär*, 'The Panorama of Gondär'), Gondär 1967 A.M. [1974/75 A.D.], 2, 6ff.; የሜጀር፡ ጄኔራል፡ ነጋ፡ ተገኝ፡ አጭር፡ የሕይወት፡ ታሪክ (*Yämeğär ğeneral Nägga Tägäññ aṭṭər yähəywät tarik*, 'A Short Biography of Major General Nägga Tägäññ'). obituary read at memorial service, Washington, DC 2002.

Fentahun Tiruneh

Näggadras

The word N. (ነጋድራስ, lit. 'head of the merchants', from Amh. *näggade*, 'merchant, trader', and ↗*ras*) was originally designated to the leaders of long-distance trading caravans which carried trading goods throughout Ethiopia and to the coast. The use of the office of N. as a primary means of commerce control and as a means to unify Ethiopia seems to have begun in the period of the ↗Gondärine kingdom and later expanded and developed in ↗Addis Abäba, the new capital, and throughout Ethiopia.

By the 19th and 20th cent., it was the N. who specifically controlled and organized customs collection throughout most of the country (cp. ↗*Kella*). They were appointed over local and regional markets (Amh. ገበያ, *gäbäya*) by a local aristocrat or the emperor to control ↗trade. Often they also judged local commercial cases at the market. *Aṣe* ↗Mənilək II was the first emperor who successfully began to control the expanding commercial life of the Empire through his network of N. *Ras* Täfäri Mäkʷännən (later *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I) expanded the N.'s role and made them more efficient at extracting revenue. The most famous N. of Ethiopia was N. ↗Ḫaylä Giyorgis, who became the first N. of Addis Abäba and the person to whom *aṣe* Mənilək II delegated most of the responsibility for dealing with foreigners. Thus, it was logical in 1907 to make him the first Minister of Commerce and Foreign Affairs – a position which also had responsibility for customs. Ḫaylä Giyorgis exploited these positions to become one of the richest men in the whole of Ethiopia, with respect to liquid assets, and also during *ləğ* ↗Iyasu's reign to become Ethiopia's first Prime Minister. The increasing importance of the office of the N. coincided with the growth of Ethiopia's small middle class. The N.'s efflorescence was from the late 19th cent. to the ↗Italian war 1935–36.

A number of leading Ethiopian intellectuals held the title of N., such as ↗Gäbrä Ḫəywät Baykädañ and ↗Afäwärq Gäbrä Iyäsus. Both were appointed over ↗Dərre Dawa which, after Addis Abäba, was the most lucrative position for a N. to hold. Both had control over and organized customs revenue which brought in the most income. Other significant N. during Mənilək's and Ḫaylä Śəllase's reign were at ↗Gambella, ↗Gondär, ↗Harär, ↗Mätämma and ↗Wälläga. After 1918 the role of ↗*käntiba* of Addis Abäba seems to have absorbed that of the N. of Addis

Abäba. Although the title remained in existence after the Liberation of 1941, N. were no longer as powerful and influential as they had been during the latter part of Mənilək's and the beginning of Ḫaylä Śəllase's reign.

Src.: DTWDic 672; KaneDic 1068; GuiVoc 400; KWKDic 837.

Lit.: BZHist 98f.; PETER GARRETSON, *A History of Addis Ababa, 1886–1910*, Hamburg 2001 (AeF 49), 36–41; ID., "The Naggadras, Trade, and Selected Towns in Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century Ethiopia", *IJAHS* 12, 3, 1979, 416–39; HAROLD GOLDEN MARCUS, *A History of Ethiopia*, Berkeley, CA 1994, 119; PankEcon 519f., 524f.; PerGov 86, 150.

Peter Garretson

Naggiar, Joseph Paul

N. (born Yūsuf an-Naǧǧār; b. 1854, Cairo, d. January 1923, Palma de Mallorca) was a French diplomat. He was born into an Egyptian Christian family (the an-Naǧǧār were dragomans at the French Consulate in Alexandria). In 1869, N. began to work at the French consulate in Cairo. In 1884, he was naturalized French. He married Cécile Maksud, a Christian Syrian, with whom he fathered four children.

In 1887, N. was named to replace Lucien Labosse in the French consulate in Ismailia, Egypt, when Labosse left for a mission to ↗Zayla^{c}. After some years of duty in Greece, in 1906 he was appointed to diplomatic service in ↗Harär. He spent much time in ↗Dərre Dawa assisting in the works by the Compagnie de Chemin de fer franco-éthiopien (↗Railway). From December 1908 to June 1909 he was also head of the provisional administration of the Chemin de fer in Ethiopia. On two occasions he had to travel to France: in 1908, to receive the Légion d'Honneur and in 1911 for a health cure.

N.'s relations with the Ethiopian authorities, and with *ras* Täfäri Mäkʷännən (↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I) in particular, were excellent. In agreement with Antony ↗Kłobukowski, he reorganized the French diplomatic services in Ethiopia, especially in Harär: transformation of the vice-consulate into a consulate etc. In 1911 he left Ethiopia for Zanzibar, where he stayed until 1913. In 1916, though retired, he administered the French consulates in Syva and, from 1919 until his death, in Palma de Mallorca.

Src.: *Annuaire diplomatique*, 1869–1923; MAE, personal dossier, 2nd series, 1117; "Mouvement commercial de l'Ethiopie en 1907–08 par Diré Daoua et Djibouti", *Moniteur officiel du commerce*, 799, supplément, 1 July 1909 (BN : Fol Lc5 142); JOSEPH PAUL NAGGIAR, *Éthiopie. Mouvement commercial de l'Ethiopie en 1907 et 1908 par Dirré-Daoua et Djibouti*, Paris 1909 (Rapports commerciaux des agents diplomatiques et consulaires de France, Année 1909, fasc. no. 799); ID., *Éthiopie: Mouvement commercial de l'Ethiopie en 1909 par Diré Daoua et Djibouti*, Paris 1910 (Rapports commerciaux des agents diplomatiques et consulaires de France, Année 1910, fasc. no. 911); ID., "Mouvement commercial de l'Ethiopie en 1910 par Diré Daoua et Djibouti", in: *Moniteur officiel du commerce*, supplément, Paris 1911 [BN : Fol Lc5 142].

Lit.: LUKIAN PRIJAC, *La mission Klobukowski et le traité franco-éthiopien de 1908*, Paris 2003 (INALCO, Aresae, Conférences et documents 17), 56.

Lukian Prijac

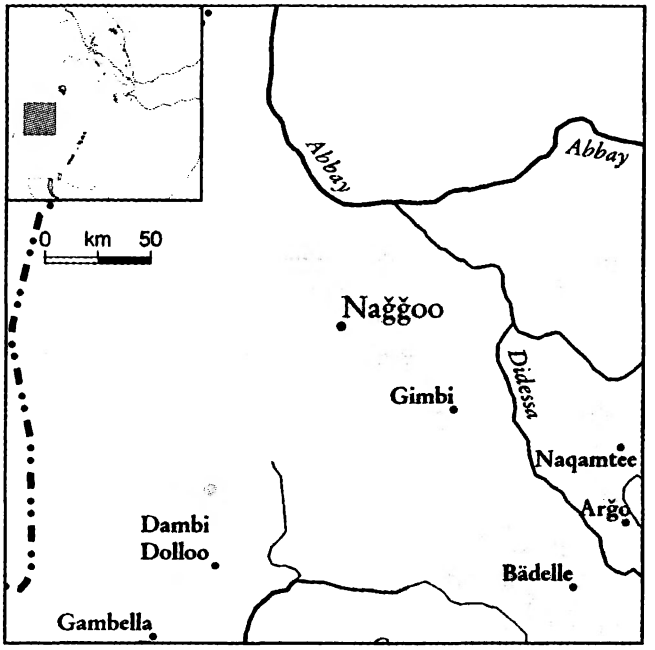
Naǧǧoo

N. (Orom. sp.: Najjoo; Amh.: ነጆ) is an important commercial town in ↗Wälläga. Its location at the historical crossroads between the Sudan, Wänbära, ↗Qälləm and ↗Illubabor contributed significantly to N.'s economic development.

In the 17th cent., a group of Sibuu Oromo under Naǧǧoo Muraram took control of the area, which was later named after the *gadaa* leader. Other Oromo clans were gradually incorporated by the N. chiefs and the name extended to the surrounding area.

Similar to Odaa Nabee and Odaa Bisil, N. served as a traditional centre for the ↗*buttaa* ceremony, ↗*čaffee* assembly, and promulgation of laws and conflict resolutions before it developed into a modern town. A wide plain at the top of the hill to the south-west of present-day N. was chosen by the Sibuu at Tulluu Yaaʾi ('Mountain of assembly') for the traditional assembly which served all the Oromo living in the vast territory west of the Dabbus river until the 1950s.

The site gained economic importance as people began to frequent it for *gadaa* rituals. On that occasion, they also bartered their produce and exchanged ideas. The most important trade goods were ↗gold and ↗iron items. Locally produced iron tools were considered of particularly high quality and attracted many traders from outside, including Beni Šangul and Goǧǧam. Eventually trade routes assumed a greater importance throughout the region, and the settlement grew into a town. Traders from the Sudan, Goǧǧam, Šäwa, Illubabor (Gore) and other places frequented N. market at Minyaʾa. It was this prosperity, and particularly gold, which might have instigated *mootii* ↗Moroda Bakaree of Leeqaa Naqamtee to occupy the region in the late 1880s.



The gold deposit at Kattaa Qammi near N. was not only coveted by the Leeqaa rulers but also by *aṣe* Mənilək II, who sent Alfred ↗Ilg in 1898 to explore N. for gold. In the early 20th cent., N. was described as the principal market centre, exporting, according to local engineers, £ 80,000 gold a year, with the tribute to the Emperor constituing up to one half of this quantity (Weld Blundell 1906:544). The locally made gold rings enjoyed a regional renown; travellers compared them with those of the monuments of Senusret Usitersen and Thutmosis (ibid. 544f.).

At the beginning of the 19th cent., the ↗Mahdists attempted to take control over the prosperous area but were defeated at the battle of Guutee Dilii near N. in 1888. Subsequently, the victorious Bakaree family made N. the administrative centre for Leeqaa Naqamtee. Moroda Bakaree's son Kumsaa (later ↗Gäbrä Ǝgziʾabəḥer), who took office in 1889, had his *masaraa* ('palace') built at N. Court and ecclesiastic officials were given land to build houses at N. The market place was moved from Minyaʾa a little to the south of the palace. As the market grew, they transferred it again to the centre of the town where it is still situated today. N. played an important role not only as a residence of governors but also as a second capital of Wälläga after Naqamtee (cp. ZerÉth 397).

In the early 20th cent., Protestant missions spread in the area (cp. ↗Nasiisee Liiban).

In 1982, N. had a total population of 6,904.

Src.: interview with Naǧǧoo elders at Kattaa, 1972, by Wondimu Ummata, IES, ms. no. 1888.

Lit.: ALMAZ TAFFESSE, *History of Nedjo Town: Foundation, Growth and Development up to 1941*, Senior Essay, History, Addis Ababa University 1987; HERBERT WELD BLUNDELL, "Exploration in the Abai Basin, Abyssinia", *The Geographical Journal* 27, 6, 1906, 528–53; ZerÉth 397; ALESSANDRO TRIULZI, "The Epic of Gute Dili in Macha Traditions of Western Wallaga", paper presented at the *International Symposium of History and Ethnography in Ethiopian Studies*, Addis Ababa,18–25 November 1982.

Tsega Endalew

Nägh ↗Səbḥatä nägh

Naǧrān

N. (Arab. نجران, Gəᶜəz ናግራን, Nagran), already mentioned in Old Sabaic inscriptions of the 7th cent. B.C. as NGRN (cp. von Wissmann 1964), also known as RGMTM (cp. Müller 1974:186), at present a semi-autonomous province of Saudi Arabia along the border with Yemen, is the historical name of a group of oases at the northwestern end of the ancient South Arabian kingdom of ↗Ḥimyar. Located at the intersection of North and South Arabian civilizations, in later times N. was probably one of the most ancient outposts of Christian missionary activity in the area (↗Arabia), as indicated by the *Gädlä* ↗*Azqir* (originally a Syriac text, according to Conti Rossini 1910, it has survived only in an Arabic-based Gəᶜəz version). This text focuses on the ↗martyrdom in N. of a Christian priest by order of king Šaraḥbiʾil Yakkuf, instigated by the local Jewish community, during the reign of the Byzantine emperor Anastasius I, i.e. in 490–518 (according to Bowersock 2004:269ff.), or some decades earlier (ca. 455–75, if the South Arabian king is to be identified with that of epigraphic sources, cp. EAE vol. 1, 421f.).

Already a battle-field during early confrontations between Sabaeans and Aksumites in the first half of the 3rd cent. A.D., N. was directly controlled by an Aksumite prefect (ᶜQB, not a Gəᶜəz term) named S¹BLQᵐ in Epigraphic South Arabian evidence (cp. Robin in PICES 8, 150ff.) ca. 240/250. The main historical event of relevance to Ethiopian history connected with N. is the persecution of Christians (including Aksumite troops in the capital Ẓafār) during the first decades of the 6th cent. (dates vary from 518 to 523, and previous persecutions are likely to have taken place) by order of the Jewish king ↗Yūsuf Asʾar Yaṯʾar (YWS¹F ʾS¹ʾR YṮʾR in South Arabian ↗inscriptions, Ḏū-Nuwās in Islamic tradition, Masrūq in Syriac sources, Finḥas in Arabic and

Gəᶜəz hagiographical texts, Δουναάς and similar forms in Greek). The dramatic siege and slaughter of the inhabitants of N. was the climax of a Jewish anti-Christian persecution that extended to all the areas of the kingdom of Ḥimyar. The exceptional echo of the persecution in a large part of the Christian world caused the Emperor Justin (518–27), through the Patriarch of Alexandria, to formally ask ↗Kaleb/Ǝllä Aṣbəḥa, then king of ↗Aksum, to launch a punitive military expedition against Ḥimyar. The subsequent invasion finally ended with the complete defeat of the Ḥimyarite king and the conquest of South Arabia by the Aksumites, who then governed it for some time. The events can be reconstructed from sources and first-hand reports (a series of South Arabian and Gəᶜəz inscriptions, the *Letter* of ↗Simeon of Beth Arsham), as well as more literary developed texts such as the so-called *Second Letter* (by the same Simeon according to Shahîd 1971) and a number of Byzantine sources. Among the main ones is a Greek hagiographical text, the *Martyrdom of ↗Arethas* (cp. Detoraki 2000), transmitted in Arabic and in Gəᶜəz, where, under the title of *Gädlä Ḫirut*, it is included in the collection *Gädlä sämaᶜətat* (cp. Bausi – Gori 2006), but also translated into Armenian and Georgian; a shorter Gəᶜəz version of the story is also incorporated into the *Gädlä ↗Ṗänṭälewon*. The Martyrdom is named after the most famous martyr of the persecution, the alleged head of N., al-Ḥāriṯ b. Kaᶜb (a name under which the tribe of the Banū Ḥāriṯ can be recognized), and relates the events up to the final defeat of the South Arabian king. So does the *Book of the ↗Ḥimyarites* (cp. Moberg 1924), where some information on the antefacts may be found. A probable echo of the persecution of N. is the mention of the *aṣḥāb al-Uḫdūd*, traditionally identified with the martyrs of N. burnt in a pit, in the Qurᵓān (85,4–9; cp., however, Paret in EI²).

During the Persian (since 570 A.D.) and the subsequent Islamic dominations, N. faced a gradual decadence; its inhabitants were also obliged to move to Iraq, where an-Naǧrānīya, not far from al-Kūfa, was founded, although it seems that part of the population still remained in the historical N. till the 10th cent. at least (cp. Shahîd in EI²).

The enduring memory of the events connected to N. can be appreciated from several echoes in Ethiopian tradition, probably all depending upon the *Gädlä Ḫirut* and/or the *Gädlä Ṗänṭälewon*, namely, in a few texts of the hagiographic cycle of the "Nine Saints" and in the last chapters of the ↗*Kəbrä nägäśt* (chs. 116f.). According to the latter text, while the first son of Kaleb, ↗Gäbrä Mäsqäl, succeeds his father to the throne of Ethiopia, the second one, ↗Ǝsraᵓel, is here called "king of N.", an evident allusion to the Ethiopian sovereignty over South Arabia (cp. BezKebr 169bff. [text] = 136ff. [tr.]). The speech of the Ethiopians who took part in the Council of ↗Florence in 1441, transmitted by Biondo Flavio (↗Italy), also refers to the tradition on the persecution in N. and the subsequent events (cp. Cerulli 1933:350ff.; Bausi – Gori 2006:5f.).

A monastery or a region by the name of N. is traditionally located in Eritrea, "on the northern border, on the Haggär mountains" (cp. Conti Rossini 1938:432), owing likely, as stated by some authors (cp. Caquot 1955:63), to confusion with the South Arabian place where the Jewish anti-Christian persecution of the 6th cent. took place.

Src.: ALESSANDRO BAUSI – ALESSANDRO GORI (ed., tr.), *Tradizioni orientali del «Martirio di Areta»*, Firenze 2006 (Quaderni di Semitistica 27) (Lit.); BezKebr; FRANÇOIS BRON, "Inscriptions et gravures rupestres d'al-Uḫdūd (Naǧrān)", *Annali IUO* 30, 1970, 259–62; ANDRÉ CAQUOT, "L'homélie en l'honneur de l'archange Ouriel (*Dersāna Urā'ēl*)", *AE* 1, 1955, 61–88; ENRICO CERULLI, "Eugenio IV e gli Etiopi al Concilio di Firenze nel 1441", *RRALm* ser. 6ª, 9, 1933, 347–68; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI (ed., tr.), "Un documento sul cristianesimo nello Iemen ai tempi del re Šarāḥbīl Yakkuf", *ibid.* ser. 5ª, 19, 1910, 705–50; ID., "Note di agiografia etiopica ('Abiya-Egzi', 'Arkalēdes e Gabra-Iyasus)", *RSO* 17, 1938, 409–52; MARINA DETORAKI (ed., tr.), *Le Martyre grec de s. Aréthas et de ses compagnons* (BHG *166*). *Édition critique et histoire du texte*, Ph.D. thesis, Université de Paris-Sorbonne 2000; IGNAZIO GUIDI (ed., tr.), "La lettera di Simeone vescovo di Bêth-Arśâm sopra i martiri omeriti", *RRALm* ser. 3ª, 7, 1880–81, 471–515 (repr. in: ID., *Raccolta di scritti*, vol. 1: *Oriente Cristiano* I, Roma 1945, 1–60); AXEL MOBERG (ed., tr.), *The Book of the Himyarites: Fragments of a Hitherto Unknown Syriac work*, Lund 1924 (Skrifter Utgivna av. Kungl. Humanistiska Vetenskapssamfundet i Lund. VII. Acta Reg. Societatis Humaniorum Litterarum Lundensis. VII); IRFAN SHAHÎD (ed., tr.), *The Martyrs of Najrân. New Documents*, Bruxelles 1971 (Subsidia hagiographica 49) (Lit.).

Lit.: JOËLLE BEAUCAMP – FRANÇOISE BRIQUEL-CHATONNET – CHRISTIAN JULIEN ROBIN, "La persécution des chrétiens de Nagrān et la chronologie ḥimyarite", *ARAM Periodical* 11–12, 1999–2000, 15–83 (Lit.); GLEN W. BOWERSOCK, "The Ḥaḍramawt between Persia and Byzantium", in: *La Persia e Bisanzio. Convegno internazionale* (*Roma, 14–18 ottobre 2002*), Roma 2004 (Atti dei convegni lincei 201), 263–73; GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, "Gregentios in the Land of the Homerites", in: ALBRECHT BERGER (ed., tr.), *Life and Works of Saint Gregentios, Archbishop of Taphar*, Berlin – New York 2006 (Mil-

lennium-Studien 7), 48–82 (Lit.); WALTER W. MÜLLER, [review of Shahîd 1971], *OrChr* 58, 1974, 177–90; RUDY PARET, "Aṣḥāb alUkhdūd", in: *EI²* vol. 1, 692*b*; CHRISTIAN JULIEN ROBIN, "La première intervention Abyssine en Arabie meridionale (de 200 a 270 de l'ère chrétienne environ)", in: *PICES* 8, vol. 2, 147–62; ID., "Le judaïsme de Ḥimyar", *Arabia* 1, 2003, 97–172; IRFAN SHAHÎD, "Nadjrān", in: *EI²* vol. 7, 873*a*–874*a*; RENÉ TARDY, *Najrân. Chrétiens d'Arabie avant l'Islam*, Beyrouth 1999 (Recherches Publiées sous la direction de L'Institut de Lettres Orientales de Beyrouth. Faculté des Lettres et de Sciences Humaines, Université Saint-Joseph. Nouvelle sér.: b. Orient chrétien 8); HERMANN VON WISSMANN, *Zur Geschichte und Landeskunde von Alt-Südarabien*, Wien 1964 (Sammlung Eduard Glaser III / Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Sitzungsberichte 246), 79–206 ("Das Land und Volk der ʾAmīr und ihr Gott Ḏū-Samāwī; Nagrān und der Norden").

Alessandro Bausi

Nägś ↗Hymns; ↗Ǝgziʾabəḥer nägśä

Näḥase ↗Calendar

Nāʾib

N. (نائب, Arab., Ottoman Turkish 'deputy', 'substitute', Tgn./Amh. ናይብ, *nayb*) was the local official governing the Eritrean coastal and eastern areas from the 17th cent. until mid-19th cent. The local dynasty which held this office, the N. family, originated from the ↗Balaw. The term N. was also used as a title by the office holders (including former ones, cp. the 19th-cent. *nāʾib* ↗Muḥammad Abdarraḥmān).

The N. family was an influential local dynasty of power brokers and regional rulers who were able to effectively control and impose their authority on Təgre and Sāho-speaking societies. The office of N. became *de facto* hereditary in the same family, and from the Italian colonial period onwards it has been used as a family name among descendants, following the example of old families of the nearby port of ↗Massawa, such as Käkkiya (descendants of Ottoman military office holders, the *kaḥya*), or the Sardal, Šawiš, Afandi (names derived from Ottoman and Egyptian military ranks and titles). The two politically most important branches of the N. family were Bet (Bayt) ʿUṯmān and the Bet Ḥasan, tracing their descent to the two sons of ʿAmər b. ʿAlī, himself a descendant of Ḥaməd b. ʿAmər "Qanʿ", who ruled the ↗Sämhar region in the 17th cent. (Abdu Ali Habib 1973:1, 3 and n. 16).

The Balaw group the N. family originates in was formed as the result of a gradual ethno-cultural fusion of Beğa-speaking nomads and Arabs in the eastern Sudan. According to Balaw historical traditions, several families migrated to the coastal strip of Sämhar around the 15th cent. They established a power base at ↗Ḥərgigo and exercized influence around the port of Massawa and in the coast area.

In 1557 ↗Özdemir *paša* occupied Massawa and the coast for the Ottoman empire and established the province of ↗Ḥabeš. Several unsuccessful attempts to gain a foothold on the highland plateau led the Ottomans to withdraw their forces to the coast and abandon their expansionist ambitions in the region. Leaving only a modest force in Massawa, the Ottomans devolved power to a N. The exact date of the transfer of power does not seem clear from available sources: many estimate the date of appointment of the first N. as the late 17th cent.; some have, however, suggested the 16th. The N.'s basic duties included the maintaining of order in Massawa's close hinterlands, providing security on the trading routes connecting the inland with the coast, and thus securing the commercial vitality of the port of Massawa. In return, the Ottoman authorities presented the N. with the paraphernalia symbolizing their power and authority (a silk robe and a golden-handled sword) as well as a monthly payment from the Massawa customs.

The N. were often successful in manoeuvring their way through imperialist and regional politics, whilst carefully preserving the viable power balance in their relations with the rulers of the highland province of ↗Təgray. While promoting their own autonomy and hegemony, highland Ḥabäša rulers engaged in power politics vis-à-vis the N., usually vacillating between various degrees of forceful intimidation and interested/useful collaboration. In the mid-18th cent., e.g., N. ʿUṯmān ʿĀmir (r. 1741–81) received from highland rulers 44 *gʷəlt* lands in exchange for firearms. The lands were located in localities near ʿAddi Qäyyəḥ, to the west of Ḥalay, Ǝmba Dərho, Bäläza, Bet Maḳa (↗Ḥamasen) as well as other lands in ↗Säraye and in the proximity of ʿAdwa. All in all, the conjunction of the state of political instability in the central and northern highlands (↗*Zämänä mäsafənt*), and the decline of Ottoman interest in their province of Ḥabeš provided a fertile ground for the expansion and consolidation of N. dominance in the coastland regions and beyond.

The authority of the N. under Ottoman indirect rule grew significantly in the mid-18th cent.,

and in the second half of the 18th cent. they were the most powerful rulers of the region between the sea and the highlands. The precise geographic limitations of N. influence fluctuated over time. At the peak of their power they extended their authority or influence over the vast majority of Təgre-speaking pastoral and agro-pastoral populations in the regions of Sämhar, Saḥəl, and the northern coasts as far as Aqiq, ca. 300 km north of Massawa. The most important groups (numerically) were the Ḥabab, the Mänsaᶜ, and segments of the Bet Ṭaqʷe (↗Bilin). In various periods the N. also spread their influence over Saho-speaking pastoralists in the foothills of Təgray, Akkälä Guzay and Ḥamasen, of which the ᶜAsawərta (↗Asaorta) and the ↗Ṭarūᶜa were the most significant groups. Other ᶜAfar, Sāho and Təgre-speaking societies, who came in certain periods under N. influence, inhabited the ↗Buri peninsula, the ↗Zula area, and regions on the ᶜAfar coast as south as ↗ᶜƎdd, as well as the ↗Dahlak islands.

The most important sources of power that N. supremacy and hegemony rested upon was their control of an organized semi-military apparatus composed of Turks, Kurds, Arabs, Ottoman soldiers from Bosnia and Albania as well as local coastal, mostly Təgre- and Sāho-speaking militiamen. As in other parts of the Ottoman Empire, these mixed forces gradually developed into relatively powerful military households (e.g. Bet Kaḥya, Bet Sardal, Bet Šawiš, Bet Askär). N. Idrīs ᶜUṯmān (r. 1801–31), e.g., received 1,005 thalers per month from the Massawa customs administration to keep a force of approximately 400 soldiers and provide for his militias. Other sources of N. authority were rooted in their role in the regional political economy. The N. and their associates controlled valuable grazing lands, caravan stations and routes, transportation means, strategic market villages and centres of commercial exchange in Massawa's orbit (e.g. ᶜAylät, ᶜAsus, Gumhot). The N. also collected tribute from those societies coming under their influence and were heavily involved in "tribal" politics by investing chiefs, administering justice and through marriage alliances. They also operated energetically in spreading Islam among mostly Təgre-speaking communities through their alliances with several holy families such as the Bet Šek Maḥmud, the ↗ᶜAd Šek, the ↗ᶜAd Mäᶜallim and the ᶜAd Dərqi.

The N. were able to maintain their autonomy

The early 19th cent. *nāʾib* of Ḥərgigo Ḥasan Idrīs; from LefAbyss vol. 1, 204

under Ottoman indirect control until the middle decades of the 19th cent. During the tumultuous and tortuous 1840s, the N. found themselves in the midst of escalating power struggles between Ottomans, Egyptians and Ethiopians over the domination of Massawa and the coast. Egyptian advances from their Sudanese dominions prompted a "scramble for the coast", which culminated in several violent skirmishes involving the forces of *däğğazmač* ↗Wəbe Ḥaylä Maryam, the Egyptians and the N. until the mid-19th cent. It was in this period that N. Ḥasan Idrīs famously defied one of the Ottoman governors of Massawa by declaring that "the Sultan rules in Istanbul, the Pasha in Egypt, and N. Ḥasan in Massawa!" Aspiring to develop its empire in north-east Africa and the Red Sea area, Egypt, under Muḥammad ᶜAlī and his descendants, constantly challenged Ottoman supremacy in the region. These trials of power progressively increased Egyptian dominance and culminated in *ḫidīw* Ismāᶜīl *bāšā*'s acquisition of Massawa and Sawākin from the Porte in 1865 (↗Massawa Governorate). The establishment of direct Egyptian administration in Massawa and the coastlands significantly eroded the power of the N. and transformed their political status and influence. For some time the N. were charged with collecting taxes for the Egyp-

tian administration, often placing them under substantial pressure both from the authorities and inland societies.

The Egyptian administration (1865–85) made efforts to hold a tighter grip on the populations of their dominions in Massawa's hinterlands, and in the process co-opted the N. whose political, economic and social networks in the region were deemed instrumental for mobilizing local populations and securing their loyalty to the government. In the early 1870s the Egyptian administration awarded N. Idrīs Ḥasan (ca. 1825–1905) the honorary military title of Major (*ṣāġ qōl āġāsī*) and appointed him *nāẓir* of Sämhar. But such gestures were more symbolic than anything else. Much like in the 18th cent. under the Ottomans, both the Egyptians and the Italians (from 1885) capitalized on the historic rivalry between two factions of the N. family, the Bet Ḥasan (cp. ↗Muḥammad ʿAbdarraḥīm) and Bet ʿUṯmān, and manipulated contesting holders to the office of the N. and its privileges, to employ "divide and rule" tactics.

Under the Italian colonial period, the N. worked with the administration in various capacities, received government subventions and maintained some administrative autonomy in their villages in Massawa's suburbs (esp. Ḥərgigo, ∃mkullu). Accommodation to Italian colonial rule was instrumental in promoting some local municipal and economic interests but their former politically powerful position remained a symbolic vestige of the past. In 1888 the Italian authorities formally divided the office of the N. between the two family lines. The Bet Ḥasan preserved Ḥərgigo under ʿAbdalkarīm ʿAbdarraḥīm and the Bet ʿUṯmān took charge of ∃mkullu and Ḥəṭumlo under Idrīs Ḥasan. Members of the N. family fought and died alongside Italian forces in ∃mba Alage, Sägänäyti and ʿAdwa in the campaigns of 1895–96.

In the 20th cent. the N. family maintained some social and political influence in Sämhar while some members of the family were involved in nationalist politics and the Eritrean liberation struggle. Many also fled the country in the 1970s.

Src.: AbbSéjour; ANTHONY D'AVRAY, *The Nakfa Documents: the Despatches Memoranda, Reports and Correspondence ...*, Wiesbaden 1999 (AeF 53); GUILLAUME LEJEAN, *Voyage aux deux Nils ...*, Paris 1865; ID., *Voyage en Abyssinie ...*, Paris 1868; WERNER MUNZINGER, *Studi sull'Africa Orientale*, Roma 1890 (= MunSt); ID., "Les contrées limitrophes de l'Habesch", *Nouvelles Annales des Voyages* 6e ser., 4, avril 1858, 5–55; DANTE ODORIZZI, *Il Commissariato Regionale di Massaua al 1° Gennaio 1910*, Asmara 1911, 132–52 and passim; G. SALVADEI, "Massaua" [Allegato N. 110], in: *Atti Parlamentari. Legislazione XXIII-sessione 1909–13, Camera dei Deputati, allegati alla relazione sulla Colonia Eritrea, dal r. commissario Ferdinando Martini per gli esercizi 1902–1907 presentato dal ministro delle colonie (Bertolini) nella seduta del 14 giugno 1913*, Roma 1913.

Lit.: ABDU ALI HABIB, *History of Massawa from Early Nineteenth Century to the Coming of the Italians*, B.A. thesis, Haile Sellassie 1 University, 1973, 1–14; AbPrince; DouinIsm III.1, 234–58; ErDizBio; KilHDic, 320f.; KolTrad; LefAbyss 204 (ill.); JONATHAN MIRAN, "Power without Pashas: the Anatomy of *Na'ib* Autonomy in Ottoman Eritrea (17th–19th c.)", *Eritrean Studies Review* 5, 1, 2007, 33–88 (Lit.); MuhTarih 281–84, 304f.; PollEr 217ff. and passim; RubInd; TrIslam, s. index.

Jonathan Miran – Emeri van Donzel

Nallino, Carlo Alfonso

N. (b. 16 February 1872, Turin, d. 25 July 1938, Rome) was an Italian Arabist and Islamicist.

Having taught himself Arabic as a schoolboy, N. studied Oriental studies at the University of Turin from 1889 to 1893, under the guidance of the Iranist Italo Pizzi and the geographer Guido Cora. From 1894 to 1902 he taught Arabic at the Regio Istituto Orientale (↗Istituto Universitario Orientale) of Naples, and then at the University of Palermo until 1913, when he was transferred to the University of Rome as professor of History and Institutions of the Islamic world. N. also served the Ministry of the Colonies and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs as an expert of Islamic matters, especially after the conquest of Libya and in the aftermath of World War I.

N. was a member of the most prestigious academies in Italy and abroad: Accademia dei Lincei (1916), Accademia d'Italia (1932), honorary fellow of the Royal Asiatic Society (1923), the Royal Academy of the Arabic Language in Cairo (1933) and of the Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft (1934). For a while he directed the Scuola Orientale dell'Università di Roma and edited its journal, the *Rivista degli studi orientali*. In 1921 he was elected scientific director of the newly founded Istituto per l'Oriente in Rome (which has borne N.'s name since 1982) and chief editor of its still current journal, *Oriente Moderno* (Rossi 1938; Vacca 1973).

N. made numerous extended trips to various Arab countries. Upon his graduation, he spent five months in Egypt on a scholarship from the Ministry of Education; later he was also a visiting professor at the Egyptian University in 1909,

1910–11 and 1911–12. He was regularly invited to teach in Cairo from 1927 to 1931. He also visited Algeria, Tunisia, Libya, Syria, Mesopotamia and Saudi Arabia (the results of his 1938 trip to Ǧidda and aṭ-Ṭāʾif were published in 1939).

N.'s mastery of Arabic and direct knowledge of Arab countries enabled him to deal with all the different and contradictory aspects of the Arab world and its culture. He edited several important texts; the major part of the huge corpus of his articles, reviews and notes were collected and republished posthumously by N.'s daughter Maria (1939–48). Among his main fields of interest were Arab astronomy (cp. ed. of al-Battānī, 1899–1907); Qurʾān (the anthology he published in 1893, at the age of 20, remains a fundamental reference); Islamic theology, law and philosophy; as well as the history of the Arabs. He catalogued the Oriental manuscripts of the National Library and the Royal Academy of Sciences in Turin (1900), and wrote a detailed description of Egyptian Arabic with a series of dialogues (1900, repr. 1913, 1939 [enlarged]; Sarnelli Cerqua 1973).

N.'s works of particular use for those specializing in ↗Ethiopian studies are his summary (1933) of the results of ↗Cerulli's Ethiopian journey of 1927–28 (CerEt) as well as his articles on Ancient ↗Arabia (1930) and ↗Epigraphic South Arabian (1931, a review of ↗Conti Rossini's *Chrestomathia Arabica meridionalis epigraphica*). N.'s numerous studies of Christian Oriental law are also important for scholars of Ethiopian juristic literature, not unknown to N. (he refers to the ↗*Fəṯḥa nägäśt*, 1921:73f.). In his contribution on Saudi Arabia (= vol. 1 of the *Raccolta* ..., 109f.) N. speaks about the Italian-built hostels in ↗Mecca and Medina for Muslim pilgrims from ↗Africa Orientale Italiana, including Ethiopia and Eritrea. In the entries *qāḍī* and *muftī* he wrote for the Italian law encyclopaedia *Nuovo digesto italiano* (1937, 1939) he speaks in detail about these legal institutions in the Italian colonies.

Src.: CARLO ALFONSO NALLINO, *Chrestomathia Qorani Arabica* ..., Lipsiae 1893; ID. (ed., tr.), *Al-Battānī sive Albatenii Opus astronomicum, ad fidem codicis Escurialensis arabice editum*, 3 vols., Roma – Milano 1899–1907; ID., "I manoscritti arabi, persiani, siriaci e turchi della Biblioteca Nazionale e della Regia Accademia delle Scienze di Torino", *Memorie della Accademia delle Scienze di Torino* ser. 2ª, 50, 1900, 1–104; ID., *L'arabo parlato in Egitto* ..., Milano 1900 (repr. 1913, 1939); ID., "Il poema mistico arabo d'Ibn al-Fāriḍ in una recente traduzione italiana", *RSO* 8, 1919, 1–106; ID., "Gli studi di E. Carusi sui diritti orientali", *ibid.* 9, 1921, 55–182; ID., "Libri giuridici bizantini in versioni arabe cristiane dei secoli XII–XIII", *RRALm* ser. 6ª, 1, fasc. 3–4, 1925, 101–65; ID., "L'Égypte avait-elle des relations directes avec l'Arabie méridionale avant l'âge des Ptolémées?", *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'Archéologie Orientale*, 30, 1930, 465–75; ID., "Due recenti pubblicazioni italiane sull'arabo meridionale preislamico", *Oriente Moderno* 11, 1931, 395–405; ID., "I principali risultati del viaggio di Enrico Cerulli nell'Etiopia occidentale nel 1927–1928", *ibid.* 13, 1933, 430–36; ID., "Cadi", in: *Nuovo digesto italiano*, vol. 2, Roma 1937, 606–09; ID., "Muftī", *ibid.* vol. 8, Roma 1939, 789; ID., *Raccolta di scritti editi e inediti*, ed. by MARIA NALLINO, 6 vols., Roma 1939–48 [with most articles republished] (Lit.).

Lit.: ENRICO CERULLI, "Ricordo di Carlo Alfonso Nallino", *Levante* 20, 1973 (*Centenario della nascita di Carlo Alfonso Nallino*), 7–10; FRANCESCO GABRIELI, "Ricordi su Carlo Alfonso Nallino", in: ID., *Arabeschi e studi islamici*, Napoli 1973, 273–82 [repr. in: ID., *Orientalisti del Novecento*, Roma 1993, 3–13]; ID., *La storiografia arabo-islamica in Italia*, Napoli 1975, 75ff.; MICHELANGELO GUIDI, "Carlo Alfonso Nallino", *RRALm* ser. 6ª, 15, 1939, 80–93; ID., "Carlo Alfonso Nallino", *RSO* 18, 1939, 155–62; GIORGIO LEVI DELLA VIDA, "Carlo Alfonso Nallino (1872–1938)" and "Bibliografia degli scritti di Carlo Alfonso Nallino", *Oriente Moderno* 18, 1938, 459–78 and 479–82 [repr. in: *Raccolta di Scritti* ..., vol. 6, 408–34 and 435–46 (revised)]; ENNO LITTMANN, "Carlo Alfonso Nallino", *ZDMG* 92, 1938, 633–52 [repr. in: *Ein Jahrhundert Orientalistik*, Wiesbaden 1955, 110–27]; MARIA NALLINO, "Momenti essenziali nella vita e nella carriera scientifica di mio padre", *Levante* 20, 1973, 11–23; UMBERTO RIZZITANO, "C.A. Nallino e i Musulmani di Sicilia", *ibid.* 78–84; CLELIA SARNELLI CERQUA, "Carlo Alfonso Nallino e il dialetto egiziano", *ibid.* 54–59; VIRGINIA VACCA, "Nallino e l'Istituto per l'Oriente", *ibid.* 60–66; ETTORE ROSSI, "Come il Nallino dirigeva l'«Oriente Moderno»", *Oriente Moderno* 18, 1938, 483–86; ID., "Nel primo anniversario della morte di Carlo Alfonso Nallino", *ibid.* 19, 1939, 408–13.

Alessandro Gori

Name(s)

N. and naming in Ethiopia and Eritrea is a complex topic which has yet to be the subject of systematic cross-cultural study. Generally speaking, N. are verbal means of identification and mark a person's identity as an individual and often as a member of a group or category of people. Thus, N. and systems of naming may reflect social status, religious affiliation or dignity, ethnicity and moral values but also individual characteristics or coincidental events related to the person. Every culture and historical period has its own traditions as to how N. are chosen and constructed, in which contexts N. are given or changed and what rules of combination are valid.

1. Pre-Aksumite and Aksumite names
2. Regnal names
3. Islamic names
4. Ethnographical overview
5. Horse names

[For toponymy s. ↗Topography, historical]

Pre-Aksumite and Aksumite names

A number of personal N. have been transmitted in historical sources on pre-Aksumite and Aksumite periods: ↗Inscriptions (in Epigraphic South Arabian, Greek and Gəᶜəz) and coins (↗Coinage), as well as, to a much lesser extent, literary texts, mainly in Greek (the ↗*Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, with the famous ↗*Zoskálēs*, and the *Christian Topography* by ↗Cosmas Indicopleustes), and in Syriac (the *Letter of Simeon of Beth Arsham* and other texts related to the persecution in ↗Naǧrān).

Later indigenous post-Aksumite traditions recorded in Gəᶜəz chronicles, hagiographies and in the king lists, as well as, occasionally, in other foreign writings, such as the Greek dossier on St. ↗Gregentios or the Arabic chronicles, equally deemed to refer to the earliest stages of Aksumite civilization, also conceal N. more or less allegedly traceable to the pre-Aksumite and Aksumite periods. Yet, in the absence of other corroborating elements, the chronology itself of those traditions and sources – as far as the indigenous ones are concerned, not prior to the 13th/14th cent. – makes them a scarcely reliable witness.

The study of pre-Aksumite and Aksumite N., albeit relatively few in number (no more than 200 personal N. appear in well-defined epigraphic and/or numismatic corpora), is hardened by the nature of the available evidence: one may think here of the irregular linguistic correspondences (e.g., ᶜ = ḥ, cp. Drewes 1998:129; ᶜ as *mater lectionis*: ibid. 134, 137); of such ancient Semitic N. as MLGʾ, arguably applied to the ↗[Adkämä] Məlgaʾ who claim their origins, instead, from Lasta (ibid. 130); and, as a more general problem, of verbal forms, i.e. the basic onomastic elements in Semitic personal N., only approximatively distinguishable in consonantal inscriptions (ibid. 131f.). In addition, any linguistic hypothesis bears immediate implications to the early history of Ethiopian peopling.

Pre-Aksumite N. attested in Sabaic inscriptions found in Ethiopia definitely reflect mainly Semitic patterns, and are extensively built on roots attested in Semitic languages (for a panorama of N. studies in Semitic, cp. Streck – Weninger 2002). If comparisons with N. attested in Sabaic inscriptions found in South Arabia (among the several studies on that, cp. at least Ryckmans 1934–35, Avanzini 1989, Tairan 1992, al-Said 1995, Hayajneh 1998, Sholan 1999, Arbach 2002) are not always satisfactory, those with Epigraphic North Arabian languages (esp. Ṯamudic, Liḥyanic and Safaitic, cp. Harding 1971) are in many cases more fitting, to a degree that sensibly varies according to the different scholarly opinions (cp., e.g., the only available systematic studies by Marrassini 1985, 2003; Drewes 1998, 2000; partial list also in DicEthBio).

It should also be stressed that royal personal N. in Sabaic inscriptions found in Ethiopia normally consist of only one onomastic element, instead of two as in Sabaic N.: along with other linguistic features (esp. characteristic for the so-called second group of Ethiopian Sabaic inscriptions), this is one of the peculiarities (not only linguistic, but also cultural) that has long been called upon for assuming the independence of ancient Ethiopian civilization from the South Arabian one (cp., e.g., Drewes 1998:127ff.). Yet, even if pre-Aksumite N. are indeed formed in accordance with Semitic patterns and typology, their meaning is often a reflection of that according to Ethio-Semitic roots. In short, the linguistic and ethnic complexity of pre-Aksumite Ethiopia is fully mirrored in personal N., but in spite of detailed contributions and proposals (cp. above), and in the absence of a complete indexing of all known inscriptions, is still waiting for systematic treatment.

Aksumite N. include N. of both the pre-Christian and the Christian periods. Notwithstanding language shifts in the course of time, a number of N. adopted since the introduction of Christianity are continuously attested throughout Ethiopian history, up to modern times: they dramatically show the pivotal importance of the Gəᶜəz language at every level of Christian Ethiopia's social life. This is obviously due to Ethiopian Christian culture using Gəᶜəz language since the very beginning. In quite a few cases, however, Aksumite N. are better explained by way of comparison with modern languages than with Gəᶜəz (cp., e.g., ʾBʾBWT in the *Book of the* ↗*Ḥimyarites*, according to Müller 1978, recalling Amh. Abbäbäčč, or Old-Amh. Abbäbut/Abbäbät). Yet, the survival of ancient Christian N. in Gəᶜəz through post-Aksumite, modern and contemporary times, has not been without adaptations in the vernacular languages through complex linguistic processes: on the formal level, chiefly by borrowings, phonetic adaptations and developments, loan translations or partial replacements of Gəᶜəz onomastic elements with terms from modern languages (e.g., *Barya*, *Gila*,

instead of Gəᶜəz *Gäbrä* as the first element in a construct state); on the semantic level, by a different understanding of the original grammatical sequence, to be supposed in some cases, although to which extent is not always easy to detail, for lack of systematic and comparative surveys (first attempt in Meaza Haile Revol-Tissot 1999).

However, alongside Aksumite N. surviving for centuries until modern times (such as Barok, Danəʾel, Dawit, Fəśśəḥa, Mamas, Mängäśa, Wäldä Ǝgziʾabəḥer, Zäkrəstos, Zäyoḥannəs, etc.: cp. Drewes 1998:130f.), a long series of Aksumite N. of minor or major importance exist (in particular, royal N. found in legends on coins) that are not etymologically perspicuous (cp. the case of ↗MḢDYS; for brief treatment of problems in monetary royal N. cp. Bausi 2003).

Some other N. instead, quite clear in their linguistic origin, are far different from later types, and did not survive through subsequent times; this also applies to a number of Jewish and Greek N., which form a substantial part of Aksumite onomastics (cp. Meaza Haile Revol-Tissot 1999). On the other hand, a few scholars (e.g., Kropp 1994) tend to emphasize the importance of the non-Semitic component in Aksumite N. Yet, the same considerations expressed for pre-Aksumite N. are also valuable for Aksumite N., the linguistic and ethnic stratification of coeval Ethiopia being, here too, fully reflected – which confirms that Aksumite N. do not simply depend upon a common Semitic heritage, and strongly attest to genuine Ethiopian "innovations" and complex cultural relationships (cp., as to be expected, the non-Semitic N. of the king of Agʷəzat, Ab[b]äʾalkəᶜo, in RIÉ no. 187.5, 9).

Within the bulk of Aksumite N., a fundamental distinction should be drawn between "speaking" and "non-speaking" N. While the semantic and grammatical meaning of the former is more or less immediately clear, as they are composed according to grammar rules (cp. above), the latter are essentially foreign N. derived from Christian tradition: Jewish N. from the O.T. and N.T., N. from Christian literary texts, i.e., Semitic but also Greek (and Latin) N. in particular. Meanings of foreign N. may in some cases have been eloquent enough in the respective cultures, while generally – apart from Semitic N. – this was no more the case for their transference into Gəᶜəz within the Ethiopian framework.

A problem of its own is that of supposed Syriac N. in the Aksumite period (N. of the ↗"Nine Saints" etc.), to be dealt with under the general heading of "↗Syriac influences" in Aksumite and/or Ethiopian culture.

Some royal Aksumite N. known from inscriptions and/or from coins (Ǝllä ᶜAmida, Kaleb, Gäbrä Mäsqäl, Ǝllä Gäbäz) appear to have been preserved in hagiographic traditions on Ethiopia's early Christianization (e.g., those of the Nine Saints and the ↗*Ṣadəqan*). As to royal N., two specific problems may be mentioned: (1) several N. are characterized by the presence of an *əllä*-element that is generally interpreted as a plural relative pronoun (for an alternative hypothesis, cp. Lusini in StudAeth), also attested in a variously explained *əlle*-variant (cp. Bausi 2005a, 2005b; Bulakh 2007); a surprising modern survival of this onomastic type is Tgn. *Ǝlläqal*, 'Those of the Word' (cp. Moreno 1931:42, on which Meaza Haile Revol-Tissot 1999); (2) the structure of the royal Aksumite N. – at least in some cases, a complete sequence being rarely known – seems to have been threefold, as in the epigraphic titlary of Kaleb: KLB/ʾL ʾṢBḤ WLD TZN/BʾS LZN (RIÉ no. 191.7f.), where the probable throne N. (KLB) is followed by the personal N. (ʾL ʾṢBḤ) with patronymic (WLD TZN), and then by a third element introduced by the word *bʾsy* (in non-vocalized writing)/*bəʾəsəyä* (in vocalized texts, archaic form for the later *bəʾəse*)/*bʾs* (in non-vocalized text, certainly representing later *bəʾəse*)/BIΣI (on coins with Greek legends), i.e., in Gəᶜəz 'man (of)', followed by a variously explained problematic element (cp. Schneider 1987:605ff.). The *bəʾəse*-N. are different in all eight attested occurrences (and the king lists), in spite of the fact that the Aksumite kings cannot all have been unrelated to each other. Moreover, Kaleb's son in RIÉ no. 192.7, WᶜZB, is BʾS ḤDFN (probably to be read ḤDQN, cp. below), while his father was BʾS LZN (cp. above). Different explanations have been offered. Some scholars (de Blois 1984) believe that it would be a sort of "matronymic" or "matrilinear clanic" N. (↗Kinship). References to special N. of ↗military units (s. EAE vol. 5), organized on a regional basis, have been also suggested. More recently, a new tentative proposal has been advanced (cp. Manzo 1995:74ff., proposing, in this perspective, the alternative reading ḤDQN for ḤDFN, cp. above), according to which the onomastic element 'man (of)' would introduce South Arabian place-names – the possibility of connections with N. of military units and/or clanic matrilinear descents remaining open as well.

The *bəʾəsi*-element reappears in the early 13th-cent. feudal deeds of *aṣe* Lalibäla, who is styled as *bəʾəsi ʿazal* in two documents of the "Golden Gospel" of Däbrä Libanos (cp. CRDLib; Bausi 2007:84f.). The segment, meaning here *'vir fortis*, strong man' (DillmLex 791; LesCDic 52*b*), is probably an awkward imitation of the original Aksumite expression and only a hint to the glorious past. The same *bəʾəsi ʿazal* epithet (probably borrowed from the "Golden Gospel") was later used by the chronicler for ʿAmdä Ṣəyon (cp. MarAmdS 46f., 142f.; KrAmdS 48 [text], 52 [tr.]); a repetition never registered for Aksumite kings.

Src.: MOUNIR ARBACH, *Inventaire des inscriptions sud-arabiques*, VII: *Les noms propres du Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, 4: *Inscriptiones Ḥimyariticas et Sabaeas continens*, Paris – Rome 2002; ALESSANDRA AVANZINI (ed.), *Problemi di onomastica semitica meridionale*, Pisa 1989 (Seminari di Orientalistica 1); DAE IV [with N. index, 85, 92ff.]; DicEthBio; DillmLex 791; ABRAHAM JOHANNES DREWES, *Inscriptions de l'Éthiopie antique*, Leiden 1962 [with N. index, 112]; HANI HAYAJNEH, *Die Personennamen in den qatabanischen Inschriften: Lexikalische und grammatische Analyse im Kontext der semitischen Anthroponomastik*, Hildesheim 1998 (Texte und Studien zur Orientalistik 10); KrAmdS 48 [text] = 52 [tr.]; LesCDic 52b; GERALD LANKESTER HARDING, *An Index and Concordance of Pre-Islamic Arabian Names and Inscriptions*, Toronto – Buffalo 1971 (Near and Middle Eastern Series 8); MarAmdS 46f., 142f.; MARTINO MARIO MORENO, *Norme per la trascrizione dei nomi personali tigrini*, Asmara 1931; RIÉ; GONZAGUE RYCKMANS, *Les noms propres sud-sémitiques*, Louvain 1934–35 (Bibliothèque du Muséon 2); SAID F. AL-SAID, *Die Personennamen in den minäischen Inschriften: Eine etymologische und lexikalische Studie im Bereich der semitischen Sprachen*, Wiesbaden 1995 (Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur – Mainz. Veröffentlichungen der Orientalischen Kommission 41); AMIDA SHOLAN, *Frauennamen in den altsüdarabischen Inschriften*, Hildesheim 1999 (Texte und Studie zur Orientalistik 11); MICHAEL P. STRECK – STEFAN WENINGER (ed.), *Altorientalische und semitische Onomastik*, Münster 2002 (Alter Orient und Altes Testament 296) (Lit.); SALEM A. TAIRAN, *Die Personennamen in den altsabäischen Inschriften: Ein Beitrag zur altsüdarabischen Namengebung*, Hildesheim 1992 (Texte und Studien zur Orientalistik 8).

Lit.: ALESSANDRO BAUSI, "Numismatica aksumita, linguistica e filologia", *Istituto Italiano di Numismatica. Annali* 50, 2003 [2005], 157–75; ID., "Etiopico *'ellē*: a proposito di un'ipotesi recente", in: DENIS NOSNITSIN (ed.), *Varia Aethiopica: In Memory of Sevir B. Chernetsov (1943–2005)*, St. Petersburg 2005a (= Scrinium 1), 3–11; ID., "Ancient Features of Ancient Ethiopic", *Aethiopica* 8, 2005b, 149–69; ID., "Un indice dell'*Evangelo d'oro* di Dabra Libānos (Šemazānā, Akkala Guzāy, Eritrea)", *ibid.* 10, 2007, 81–91; FRANÇOIS DE BLOIS, "Clan-Names in Ancient Ethiopia", *Die Welt des Orients* 15, 1984, 123–25; MARIA BULAKH, "Lexicon and Grammar of Epigraphic Geez: nota genitivi *za-* in Epigraphic Geez", paper presented at the *16th ICES*, Trondheim 2007; ABRAHAM JOHANNES DREWES, "Noms propres dans les documents épigraphiques de l'Éthiopie", *Semitica* 48, 1998 [1999], 127–43; ID., "La fonction grammaticale des noms royaux dans les inscriptions axoumites", *ibid.* 49, 1999 [2000], 179–90; ID., "Noms propres dans les documents épigraphiques de l'Éthiopie, II", *ibid.* 50, 2000 [2001], 199–210; GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, "'Ella Gabaz/('Ella) Ḥētāzā", *La Parola del Passato* 61, 2006 [2007], 115–41; SERGEJ A. FRANTSUZOV, "'Čto značit imja?' (o proishoždenii i značenii imeni Abraha: razrušenie stereotipa)" ['«What's in a Name?» (On the Origin and Meaning of the Name Abraha: Refutation of a Stereotype)'], *Hristianskij Vostok* new ser. 2 [8], 2000 [2001], 102–15; MANFRED KROPP, "Ein Gegenstand und seine Aufschrift. RIE 180 = JE 5", in: *EtRicci* 129–44; ID., "Ethiopian Names in Sabaic and the Question of *Matres Lectionis* in Epigraphic South Arabian", in: CARMEL MCCARTHY – JOHN F. HEALY (eds.), *Biblical and Near Eastern Essays: Studies in Honour of Kevin J. Cathcart*, London – New York 2004 (*Journal for the Study of the Old Testament*. Supplement Ser. 375), 258–63; GIANFRANCESCO LUSINI, "Note linguistiche per la storia dell'Etiopia antica", in: *StudAeth* 67–77; ANDREA MANZO, "Su alcuni recenti rinvenimenti a Ona Nagast (Bieta Giyorgis)", *RSE* 39, 1995 [1997], 71–79, here 74ff.; PAOLO MARRASSINI, "Ancora sulle 'origini' etiopiche", in: SANDRO FILIPPO BONDÌ et al. (eds.), *Studi in onore di Edda Bresciani*, Pisa 1985, 303–15; ID., "The Semites in Abyssinia: Onomastic and Lexicographical Notes", in: LEONID KOGAN (ed.), *Studia Semitica*, Moscow [2003] (Orientalia: Papers of the Oriental Institute III), 141–51; MEAZA HAILE REVOL-TISSOT, *Étude anthroponimique dans l'aire tigrignaphone: approche comparative des formes guèze et tigrigna*, Ph.D. thesis, Université de Paris III 1999; EAD., "Dieu le Père vous appelle, ou l'incarnation continuée en tigrigna", in: JÉRÔME LENTIN – ANTOINE LONNET (eds.), *Mélanges David Cohen*, Paris [2003], 563–68; CHRISTIAN JULIEN ROBIN, "La première intervention Abyssine en Arabie meridionale (de 200 a 270 de l'ère chrétienne environ)", in: *PICES* 8, vol. 2, 147–62; WALTER W. MÜLLER, "Abessinier und ihre Namen und Titel in vorislamischen südarabischen Texten", *Neue Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik* 3, 1978, 159–68 (= PICES 5b, 309–14); ROGER SCHNEIDER, "Notes sur les inscriptions royales aksumites", *BiOr* 44, 1987, 599–616.

Alessandro Bausi

Regnal names

From the 14th cent. onwards, a duality in the N. of Ethiopian monarchs is increasingly documented, and around 1500 at the latest a royal onomastic dualism appears as fully fledged. From *aṣe* ↗Naʿod up to the so-called ↗*Zämänä mäsafənt*, all Ethiopian monarchs of the 16th and 17th cent., as well as most of the 18th, are attested in the sources as having borne, in addition to their baptismal N. of an explicitly Christian nature, a so-called regnal N., the ስመ መንግሥት (*səmä mängəśt*, pl. *asmatä mängəśt*), which emphasized their worldly prowess. While the future emperors received their baptismal N. shortly after their births, they adopted or were assigned their regnal N. only upon their accession to the throne, or even only after they had already governed for some period.

With the exception of Naᶜod, whose regnal N. was Anbäsä Bäṣär ('A lion against the enemy'), all the other *asmatä mängəśt* of the 16th to 18th cent. followed the pattern *X sägäd* (or: *säggäd*, depending on whether one reads ሰገድ as Gəᶜəz or Amharic) = 'X has submitted/submits [to the monarch in question]'. The terms standing in for X normally designated either territories, or one or a group of enemies. Regnal N. with a territorial reference for instance are Aṣnaf Sägäd ('The furthest borderlands submit to him', regnal N. of both ↗Gälawdewos and ↗Zädəngəl), Adyam Sägäd ('[All] the provinces submit to him', regnal N. of ↗Iyasu I, ↗Iyasu II [in addition to Bərhan Sägäd] and ↗Iyoᵓas) and even ᶜAläm Sägäd ('The [whole] world submits to him', regnal N. of *aṣe* ↗Fasilädäs). Regnal N. claiming the submission/subjugation of enemies on the other hand are, e.g., Wänag Sägäd ('The lion has submitted to him', i.e. to ↗Ləbnä Dəngəl; since *wanāg* is a ↗Harari word, a reference probably to the ᶜAdalite general ↗Maḥfūẓ b. Muḥammad whom Ləbnä Dəngəl vanquished); Mäläk Sägäd ('The king submitted to him', i.e. ↗Śärṣä Dəngəl; since *mäläk* is derived from Arabic *malik*, a reference possibly to ↗Özdemir *paša* who at the time temporarily occupied parts of Eritrea for the Ottoman *sulṭān*); Mäsiḥ Sägäd ('The anointed one has submitted to him', i.e. ↗Bäkaffa; *mäsiḥ* here refers not to Christ but to the counter-king Wäldä Giyorgis, a brother of Bäkaffa whom he had to subdue before he could effectively assume the reins of power); or a more generic Aᵓəlaf Sägäd ('Countless myriads have submitted to him', i.e. ↗Yoḥannəs I) and Aṣrar Sägäd ('The enemies have submitted to him', i.e. ↗Tewoflos). In the 18th cent. we also encounter regnal N. like Ṣäḥay Sägäd ('The sun has submitted to him', i.e. ↗Yosṭos), Bərhan Sägäd ('The light has submitted to him', i.e. Iyasu II), Ṭəbäb Sägäd ('Wisdom has submitted to him', i.e. ↗Täklä Haymanot II) and Fəqr Sägäd ('Love has submitted to him', i.e. ↗Täklä Giyorgis). Such extravagant and particularly grandiloquent *asmatä mängəśt* are perhaps best understood as compensatory reactions to the decline in real power suffered by the monarchs of that time. Overall though the use of regnal N. during the *Zämänä mäsafənt* slowly diminished and appears to have come to an end by the beginning of the 19th cent. From this time onwards horse N. (s. subarticle) perhaps at least partially assumed the function of extolling the martial virtues of monarchs that previously had been fulfilled by the regnal N.

Imperial spouses also bore regnal N. that regularly echoed the *X Sägäd* pattern of their husbands' regnal N. as *X Mogäsa* ('X is her grace/dignity/happiness'). If *aṣe* ↗Minas, e.g., was Admas Sägäd ('The [entire] horizon submits to him'), his ↗*ətege*, baptized as Śəllus Ḫayla, automatically acquired the regnal N. of Admas Mogäsa. This pattern of female *asmatä mängəśt* formation is best interpreted as elliptic, namely as shortened from the full regnal N. of her husband + *mogäsa*. Admas Mogäsa would thus be shorthand for *Admas Sägäd Mogäsa, i.e. 'In [her husband] Admas Sägäd resides her grace/dignity/happiness'. Without the supposition of ellipsis, such female regnal N. as Mäläk Mogäsa, Səlṭan Mogäsa (*səlṭan*, 'the Sulṭān') or Abrak Mogäsa (*abrak*, 'knees') would be rather bizarre and make little to no sense.

The clear-cut dualism in royal nomenclature observable from the 16th to 18th cent., during which period grandiloquent and martial regnal N. complemented the monarchs' baptismal N. (which implied their bearers' creatural subordination to God and thus in this respect their commonality with their subjects), had antecedents in earlier times. In the 14th and 15th cent. monarchs like ↗ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon I and ↗Yəsḥaq bore the additional regnal N. of Gäbrä Mäsqäl ('Servant of the Cross'), while ↗Dawit II, ↗Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob and ↗Ǝskəndər were also known as Qʷäsṭanṭinos (i.e. Constantine). In these cases, however, there is no, or at least no pronounced, antinomy between baptismal and regnal N., as the latter is equally Christian in character – even if a N. like Qʷäsṭanṭinos also carries martial overtones. Yet already in the 14th and 15th cent. we here and there encounter baptismal-regnal N. pairs which are marked by the pronounced dualism characteristic of the 16th to 18th cent. Cases in point are Nəwayä Krəstos – ↗Säyfä Arᶜad ('Vessel of Christ' – 'He who makes the [enemy's] sword tremble'), ↗Nəwayä Maryam – Wəddəm Asfäre ('Vessel of Mary' – 'Settler of the wilderness') or ↗Täklä Maryam – Ḥəzbä Nañ ('Plant of Mary' – 'Disperser of the [enemy] people'). Some late 13th-/early 14th-cent. monarchs such as, e.g., Ḥəzbä Asgäd ('He who subjected the [enemy] people') or ↗Wəddəm Räᶜad (or Arᶜad; 'He who made the wilderness tremble') are even only known by secular martial N. Yet since these early Solomonids (↗Solomonic dynasty) were already programmatically Christian, one must assume that they had baptismal N. as well. Thus the full-fledged onomastic complementarity of the 16th

to 18th cent. apparently has roots reaching back to the earliest Solomonid times. One cannot even exclude that this dualism was already operative, at least sporadically, under the ↗Zagʷe monarchs or in late Aksumite times.

The most easily accessible comprehensive list of the royal N., baptismal as well as regnal, can be found in GuiSLett. Also to be consulted are such publications as WrBriMus, Littmann (1909), Tekle-Tsadik Mekouria (1966) and Bartnicki –Mantel-Niećko (1978).

Lit.: ANDRZEJ BARTNICKI – JOANNA MANTEL-NIEĆKO, *Geschichte Äthiopiens. Von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart*, 2 vols., [East] Berlin 1978 [original Polish ed. Wrocław 1971], vol. 2, 375–77; GuiSLett 98[–100], n. 2; MICHAEL KLEINER, "Zu den mit ሰገድ (*sägäd*) gebildeten Namen äthiopischer Kaiser sowie anderer hoher Würdenträger des Reiches", *Aethiopica* 7, 2004, 54–73; ENNO LITTMANN, "Geschichte der äthiopischen Litteratur", in: CARL BROCKELMANN et al., *Geschichte der christlichen Litteraturen des Orients*, Leipzig 1909 [¹1907], 185–268, here 201, 241; TEKLE-TSADIK MEKOURIA, *Les noms propres, les noms de baptême et l'étude généalogique des rois d'Éthiopie (XIIIe–XXe siècles) à travers leur noms patronymes*, Belgrade 1966, 19, 69f., 105–09; WrBriMus VI–IX.

Michael Kleiner

Islamic names

Ethiopian Muslims typically conform to the general Islamic ways with some local peculiarities. The theological basis for naming is formed by some prophetic sayings that indicate how and when a child should be correctly named according to the tradition (s. Ibn Qayyim al-Ǧawzīya 1988). It is a recommendable practice to name a child on the seventh day after birth though some *aḥādīṯ* allow the N. to be given on the very day of birth. As on the Judgement Day every creature will be called by his N., it is recommended that even the miscarried foetus receive a N.

N. is usually chosen by the parents but also strangers to the family may be consulted occasionally. Unacceptable N. include the 99 *al-asmāʾ al-ḥusnā* reserved for God only (e.g., Raḥmān, 'the Merciful'; Raḥīm, 'the Beneficient') and those which have a polytheistic connotation (e.g., ᶜAbdalᶜuzzā, 'servant of [the goddess] ᶜUzzā'). Preferable N. are (1) theophorous N. made up by *ᶜabd* ('servant') and one of the designations of God (e.g. ᶜAbdallāh, fem. Amatallāh; ᶜAbdarrahmān); (2) N. related to the Prophet ↗Muḥammad (his cognates and all the prophetical epithets, Aḥmad; Maḥmūd; Muṣṭafā; Bašīr, etc.); (3) N. related to other prophets accepted by Islam (Ibrāhīm; Ismāᶜīl; Dāwūd; Sulaymān; Yaḥyā; ᶜĪsā) and (4) to the great personages of Islamic sacred history (Hāǧar; Maryam; Āmina; Ḫadīǧa; Abū Bakr; ᶜUmar; ᶜUṯmān; ᶜAlī). N. borrowed from the ancient national history and mythology of the Islamic peoples are also used, as well as N. (predominantly in Arabic but also in local languages or in phonetically modified Arabic) carrying a positive meaning of well-being (Saᶜd, 'good luck, satisfaction'), harmony (Ǧamīl/a, 'beautiful'); piety (ᶜAfīf/a, 'chaste'); bravery (Fāris, 'horseman'; Niḍāl, 'fight') or taken from flora and fauna (Usāma, Asad, 'lion'; Ṣaqr, Šāhīn, 'falcon'); they all are considered as well-wishing.

Arabic name structure

Ethiopian Muslims incline to use N. of Arabic origin (due to the special status of the ↗Arabic language in ↗Islam). The typical Arabic N. is normally composed of several elements: (1) *ism* (or *ism ᶜalam*), the personal N.; (2) *kunya*, tecnonym; N. of the first-born normally preceded by *abū* ('father of') or *umm* ('mother of') – this element may take the sense of a nickname (e.g., Umm Ḥabība; [Saᶜdaddīn] Abū l-Barakāt); (3) *nasab*, patronymic (or series) introduced by *ibn* ('son of') or *bint* ('daughter of'); (4) *laqab* (Bosworth in EI²), sobriquet, nickname or descriptive N. related to the profession, a physical characteristic or defect (e.g. al-Ġāzī, 'the warrior'); and, finally, (5) *nisba*, relative adjective linking the person with a relevant element in his or her life: a place, a family, a descent group, a school of law, a mystical brotherhood etc. (e.g., al-Ḥabašī, 'the Abyssinian', al-ᶜUmarī, descendant of ᶜUmar the second caliph, al-Qādirī, etc.). The complete set of elements is rarely used, normally one or two of the components are quoted to refer to a person (s. EI², vol. 4, 179ff.; Caetani – Gabrieli 1915).

Ethiopia-specific features

The N. of the Ethiopian Muslims possess most of the general characteristics of Islamic N. giving (as also examples above show). The lack of a proper extensive prosopographical repertoire of Islamic Ethiopia hinders a serious onomastical analysis of Ethiopian Muslims but some observations can be safely made. Arabic N. are often adapted to the phonetics of the local languages (Mähammäd, Mahamud, Säyəd, Bäšir, Ṭolha, Sadiq, Kaltuma, Firdawsa, etc.). N. made up by *ᶜabd*+N. of God (ᶜAbdaššakūr, ᶜAbdallāh, ᶜAbdalfattāḥ) are wide-spread; N. originally

derived from ancient dynastic *laqab*s (Kramers 1926; Dietrich 1961) made up by a common propitiatory N. and a fixed second element *-dīn* ('religion', i.e. Islam, e.g., Saᶜdaddīn, Ṣabraddīn, Ǧamāladdīn, Ḥaqqaddīn, and also, more peculiarly, Aḥmaddīn, Aẓharaddīn, Asmāʾaddīn, and ᶜUmardīn); N. composed from a famous personal N. with a eulogical epithet (Nūr Ḥusayn; Muḥammad Amān; ᶜUmar ar-Riḍāʾ) and, particularly among the Təgre, "double names" of different origin (e.g., Ḥamad-lul, Maḥamud-ker; s. LitPEA vol. 2, 178f.). When an identical onomastic form is available in the local language, the Arabic version of the N. is preferred, and in the Amharic translation of the Qurʾān all prophets are called according to the Arabic-Islamic form of their N. (*Qəddus Qurʾan* 11).

Hypocoristic or apparently hypocoristic forms (on Arabic hypocoristica s. Littmann 1953) are attested in written sources and in practical use (ᶜAbdoš, Aḥmadūš, Amano [probably from Amanallāh], Mumme [likely from Muḥammede], Amade, Faṭuma). The Təgre usually give a boy a second N. (*səqrat*) to be used only by women of his family (LitPEA vol. 2, 190–93).

In sources, persons are usually identified through *ism ᶜalam* and *nasab*; the *nisba* is also widespread, especially in more religion-focused literature (e.g., Muḥammad Wale 2005).

In Harär, the *laqab* is often added to the patronymic sequence (s. the list in Abduraḥman Maḥammad Qorram 1986: appendix).

Name-giving and conversion

Converts are recommended to assume a new N., though there is no general legal obligation to do so, unless their pre-Islamic N. had some clear anti-Islamic connotation. In earlier phases of Islamization local pre-Islamic N. continued to be used (e.g., N. used in the sultanates of Šäwa and Ifāt, such as Badīt bint Māyā; Dilgāmis; Dunyāḥūz, Baziyū, Goodanaa Babboo). With the deepening of Islamic consciousness, Muslim N. were often combined with non-Islamic or pre-Islamic ones (e.g., Aḥmad Ḥarb Arᶜad, Aḥmad Badlāy; Muḥammad Gāsā). This is also the trend in areas of more recent Islamization (e.g., among the Muslims of Wällo and Gurage one finds such N. as ᶜUmar Wadāǧo Ǧaᶜfar Bukko, ᶜUmar Bäqsa, etc.). Some N. of apparently Christian origin (e.g., Tīdros; Abādir – on this last example s. CerIslam 321ff.; CerStud I, 48–51) were seldom used by Muslims.

Individuals passing from Islam to Christianity almost always changed N.: in Gəᶜəz hagiography the conversion of a Muslim is completed by the Christianization of his N. (Marrassini 1981:LXXV [lit.]). More recently, among the Mammädočč, Mäḥammäd ᶜAli became ↗Mikaʾel, Amäde Kolase became ↗Wäldä Gäbrəʾel. The N. of the Christian father is normally kept in the *nasab* (e.g., ᶜUmar Mäkʷännən, Maḥmūd Nūr Ḥusayn Bərhanu).

Src.: ABDURAḤMAN MAḤAMMAD QORRAM, ጩቅቲ፡ ክታብ። የአደርኛ፡ አማርኛ፡ መዝገበ፡ ቃላት (*Ċuqti kətab: yäʾadärəññña-amarəññña mäzgäbä qalat*, 'Harari-Amharic Dictionary'), Addis Abäba 1978 A.M. [1986 A.D.]; BassHist; CerIslam, s. esp. 207–43 and index of names; CerStud I; *Qəddus Qurʾan*, Addis Abäba 1961 A.M. [1968/69 A.D.]; LitPEA vol. 2; PAOLO MARRASSINI, *Gadla Yohannes Mesraqawi – Vita di Yohannes l'Orientale*, Firenze 1981 (Quaderni di Semitistica 10); *aš-šayḫ al-ḥāǧǧ* MUḤAMMAD WALĪ b. *aš-šayḫ al-ḥāǧǧ* AḤMAD b. ᶜUMAR, *Kitāb īqāẓ himam al-aġbiyāʾ bi-rašḥ qaṭra min tarāǧim al-ᶜulamāʾ wal-awliyāʾ fī ǧumhūrīyat Ityūbiyā* ('The Book of Awakening of the Aspirations of the Ignorant through Spraying a Drop of Biographies of the Scholars and Saints in the Ethiopian Republic'), Addis Ababa 2005; YÄWÄLÄNE ŠÄH [i.e. *šayḫ* ᶜUMAR b. *šayḫ* BAŠĪR], ጥሮነ – የኢትዮጵያ፡ ቀደምትና፡ ታላላቅ፡ ዑለማዎች፡ ታሪክ (*Ṭəronä – Yäʾityopya qäddämtənna talallaq ᶜulämawočč tarik*, 'Ṭərənä – the History of the Great Scholars of the Past'), Addis Abäba 1998 A.M. [2005/06 A.D.]; FahLit.

Lit.: CLIFFORD EDMUND BOSWORTH, "Laqab", in: *EI²*, vol. 5, 618–31; LEONE CAETANI – GIUSEPPE GABRIELI, *Onomasticon Arabicum, ossia repertorio alfabetico dei nomi di persona e di luogo contenuti nelle principali opere storiche, biografiche e geografiche stampate e manoscritte, relative all'Islam*, 2 vols., Roma 1915; "Ism", in: *EI²* vol. 4, 179–81; ALBERT DIETRICH, "Zu den mit *addīn* zusammengesetzten islamischen Personennamen", *ZDMG* 110, 1961, 45–54; IBN QAYYIM AL-ǦAWZĪYA, *Tuḥfat al-wadūd bi-aḥkām al-mawlūd* ('The Gift of the Beloved concerning the Rules for the Newborns'), Beirut 1988; THEODOR W. JUYNBOLL – JOHANNES PEDERSEN, "ᶜAḳīḳa", in: *EI²* vol. 1, 337; JOHANNES H. KRAMERS, "Les noms musulmans composés avec Dīn", *Acta Orientalia* 5, 1926, 53–67; ENNO LITTMANN, "Arabische Hypokoristika", in: *Studia Orientalia Iohanni Pedersen septuagenario dicata*, Copenhagen 1953, 193–99; ANNEMARIE SCHIMMEL, *Islamic Names*, Edinburgh 1989.

Alessandro Gori

Ethnographical overview

Traditions of construction and choosing of N. often reflect the idea that a N. is not merely an arbitrary designation, but determines the character of the thing being named. Individuals often have multiple N. (e.g., a person may have a baptismal N., a mundane N., a nickname and a horse N.) in some cases reflecting changing circumstances over time; in some cases, different functions or

relationships at a given moment (e.g., religious conversion, initiation etc.).

Name-giving

Among Ethiopian Orthodox Christians N. are given on the 40th (boy) or 80th (girl) day after ↗birth, when the child is baptized (↗Baptism). This N. is often chosen referring to the saints' day on which the naming takes place. It may also refer to a Biblical figure, religious concept or attribute of God. The baptismal N. will normally only be used at communion, church weddings, burial and confession. It is usually not used in daily mundane interactions. For these purposes another N. is given, usually based on an event or other propitious indicator (especially among Amhara); the latter N. is the one under which someone is publicly known.

The ↗Betä Ǝsraʾel follow a pattern similar to Christians, both in the timing and meaning of N., and may even refer to the ceremony as *krəstənna*. The ↗Kəmant perform a ceremony called *kenona* 20 to 30 days after the birth of a child, in which the infant is given several N., including a "religious name" (Gamst 1969:101).

Among the ↗Đáasanač (Almagor 1978:119ff.) a new born is given a "pot-N." at a ceremony called *lil-meč meto* which takes place after the umbilical cord has dropped off. Only close kin attend. The father of the infant and the "name-giver", usually a distinguished older person, drink coffee and blow it over the child. The N.-giver becomes the child's confidant because "they have the same name". He becomes something like a god-parent, although the relationship is depicted as that of siblings. This is the strongest form of "bond-partnership".

According to the ↗Oromo tradition, children were brought to the ↗*qaalluu* for the (*h*)*ammačiisaa* N.-giving ritual in which the *ayyaana* divinity was asked to choose a N. or approve the N. given by the parents. This usually took place 2–4 years after birth, whether the child had been given a baptismal N or not. Among the ↗Boorana the final N. was given, connected to the shaving of the head, when entering into the fifth class (*gamme*) of the ↗*gadaa* system. Among the ↗Arsi, after the decline of the *gadaa* system, children were named before their mothers stopped to breast-feed them (VSAe II, 196, 233ff., 327, 484). Among the Šangama, a N. is given by the paternal grandfather in the sixth month after birth (VSAe I, 143).

N. are sometimes taken from the circumstances of the birth or events that took place on the day of birth. This is the case among, e.g., the Baka (↗Aari), ↗Basketo, ↗Ubamer, ↗Dime and ↗Kunama. The Kunama, e.g., may name someone whose birth was difficult Anši ('difficulty') or a baby born after a victorious battle Kuuya ('victory'). Within the Christian culture the saint's N. to whom the day of birth (or baptism) was dedicated often influences the choice of a N. (e.g., someone born on the 12th of a month called Mikaʾel). N. were chosen in many cultures according to the time of day the bearer was born, after the place of birth, after their appearance or after an ancestor's N. While in some cultures the N. of living relatives had to be avoided, in others (e.g., Oromo) the eldest grandson could be named after his grandfather even while he was alive (VSAe I, 80ff., 181, 220, 234f., 260f.). Among some ethnic groups almost every word can become a N., such as Klašni ('Kalashnikov') among the Kunama, meaning strength. N. can also contain hidden allusions, political, religious, or related to personal events.

Name formation

People are commonly addressed by their first N., usually headed by a polite form of address (e.g., ↗*ato* Baḥru, ↗*wäyzäro* Sara) or a title (e.g., Professor Taddäsä; ↗*abägaz* Ḫaylu; cp. ↗Titles).

Among most of the peoples of northern Ethiopia and Eritrea, a personal N. is formed using the individual's personal (first) N. and his or her father's first N. Thus Taddäsä Täsfa is Taddäsä, the son of Täsfa. Taddäsä's son Baḥru would be called Baḥru Taddäsä. Accordingly, there is, with some exceptions (s. below), no cross-generational "family N." as is common in many cultures with European heritage. Indeed, while the Ethiopian ↗Civil Code of 1960 stipulated that "Every Ethiopian [...] must have a family name ..." (Vanderlinden 1969:23), this never materialized. Modern bureaucratic rules established both in Ethiopia and Eritrea now require that the ID card of an individual contains his N. together with his father's and grandfather's N.

In addition, among Christians compound personal N. based on Gəʿəz vocabulary and grammar such as Täklä X ('Plant of X'), Zärʾa X ('Seed of X'), Ḫaylä X ('Might of X'), Gäbrä X ('Servant of X'), Wäldä X ('Son of X'), Täsfa X ('Hope of X') are common. These elements are followed by the N. of God, Jesus, the Holy Spirit, Mary, an Arch-

angel or even other saints (e.g., Täklä Maryam, Gäbrä Mikaʾel, Täsfa Iyäsus). Such names could undergo phonetic changes in the spoken languages. Thus, in eastern Təgray, Gäbrä Mikaʾel can be called Gärä[n]čäʾal (abbreviated as Gäre), while the proper form is used in official contexts. In Eritrea, the same N. would be Gäränkəʾel (abbreviated as Gäbrä). Wäldä Mikaʾel would be Wälläńčäʾal in eastern Təgray and Wäldänkəʾel in Eritrea (abbreviated Wälday or Wällay).

Naming rules reflect the importance of genealogical knowledge (↗Genealogy). N. are simplified genealogies: the traditional question of "your seven names", important particularly at marriage, has to be answered with a list of N. of at least seven (paternal) generations. In cases when the father was less known than the grandfather, or if the grandfather's N. would underline a political claim, the grandfather's N. was often preferred to the father's N. (cp. *ras* ↗Alula [Ǝngəda] Qubbi). This grandfather's N. could even be that of the mother's father (*ləǧ* ↗Iyasu [Mikaʾel] Mənilək, *ras* ↗Kaśa [Ḫaylu] Darge).

The Konta also have both a personal N. and the N. of the father or grandfather (CerPeople 102). Among the ↗Konso (Hallpike 1972:101) all siblings share the same second N. as their father, but only the eldest son passes this N. on to the next generation. Thus both of AB's sons would be named CB and DB. However, while the children of CB would be named EB and FB, those of DB would be named GD and HD.

Nicknames and hypocoristics

N. used in a private or family context often differ from the full N. as used in documents. Thus, a child is often given a pet N., such as Mamuš (literally referring to a baby), or nickname (Amh. *yäqəṭṭəl səm*). Such a N. frequently refers to some traits of its bearer (e.g., Afənčo, 'snubnosed'; Ṭoṭa, 'monkey') and is used in order to tease him (s. Leslau 1995:877). Among the Təgre, each child is given a second N. (Tgr. *səm səqrät*), by which the women of his family call him. Apart from a *səqrät* N., a nickname (Tgr. *atkaras*) can be given according the person's peculiarities, sometimes eventually becoming his normal N. (LitPEA vol. 1, 136, vol. 2, 149f., 190; Littmann – Höfner 1962:181, 399). Among Oromo, various nicknames can be given to each other by the ↗*hariyyaa* members (s. VSAe II 184).

Abbreviated forms of the full N. are widespread and sometimes replace the official N. in daily use. The formation of hypocorisms depends on the local context. In Amharic, the suffixes are usually employed, such as *-š*, even for non-Amharic N. (e.g., Käbbəš for Käbbädä; Zäriš for the Tgn. N. Zärʾi Sənnay), *-əyye* (e.g., Gäbrəyye [from Gäbrʸe] for Gäbrä X), *-u* (e.g., Gäbru for Gäbrä X, Säyfu for Säyfä X), *-e* (Damṭe for Damṭaččäw, Kəfle for Kəflä X), *-o* (e.g., Täklo for Täklä Iyäsus). Among the Təgre, diminutive suffixes can be attached to N. in the same way as to common nouns (Elosay < Elos; Näffəʿetay < Näffaʿ, LitPEA vol. 1, 146).

In an urban context, nicknames, especially in communication among youngsters, are more and more oriented towards the west, Dawit becoming "Dave", Yoḥannəs "John", etc. A special case are the N. used only among family members if the family lives in a "foreign" context. An individual might officially bear a N. common in the surrounding culture, but be called with another N. by his family members (e.g., an Ethiopian Christian may be called Muḥammad in the Sudan, but Gäbrä Ǝgziʾabəḥer ['Servant of God'], or Gäräzgəher, at home).

Cattle names and additional names

Among many peoples in north-east Africa, mostly pastoralists, it is common for a man to take an "ox N." or "cattle N." based on the N. or colouring of his favourite beast. This phenomenon, similar to that of the highland Ethiopian "horse names" (s. below), is classically described by Evans-Pritchard (1956:252) among the ↗Nuer. It is common in Ethiopia among not only the Nuer and ↗Añwaa, but a variety of other groups, such as the ↗Suri who derive all personal N. from the colours or patterns of cattle coat (Abbink 2003:347). While the first N. in ↗Banna and ↗Hamär are those of ancestors or, in some cases, related to events which took place at the day of birth, a young man gets a second N. according to the N. of the first cow he jumped over during the leap-upon-the-cattle initiation (VSAe I, 330, 335, 343f.).

A teenage Đáasanač boy selects a new N. as he begins to form his own herd within that of his family. After the birth of his first child, a Đáasanač man will be referred to as the "Father of [N. of child]", and a woman, the "Mother of [N. of child]" (cp. also, e.g., *abū / umm* in Islamic N.).

Names of families and lineages

While common people do not have family N., there are a few exceptions among Muslim ur-

ban families in Eritrea, especially of ↗Massawa, whose family N. result from the heritage of an old title (such as ↗Nāʾib) or refer to a foreign origin (such as Kurdi, Turki, Hindi; cp. ↗Ottoman empire). Similar to medieval European leading families, several ancient Ethiopian and Eritrean families also possess a "kinship N.", like ᶜAd Azzaž for the family of the traditional bearers of the title *azzaž* in Təgray, ᶜAd Däggiyat for the rulers of Ḥamasen (who beared the title *däggiyat*), [ᶜAd] Nāʾib for the local dynasty of the *nāʾibs* of ↗Ḥərgigo, and Käkkiya (from Ottoman *kaḫya*) for another family of Ottoman administrators in Eritrea. Today the latter two are especially used as real family N. These N. reflected the families' claim for heritable titles and offices, supported by genealogies. They are to be distinguished from other denominations used for kinship groups and lineages, which are never used as personal N. (e.g., ↗*ənda X*, *däqqi/däqqä X*, *betä X*, *beni X* and other kinship terms which sometimes encompass large groups).

Even if family N. are rare in the Horn of Africa, another N. system documented especially from aristocratic families approaches the idea of a family N., transmitting N. or N. particles from one generation to the next. In 14th- to 18th-cent. Təgray and ↗Säraye, a leading family of overlords bore N. ending with Ǝgziʾ; every member of the family could be recognized by this. Similarly, some leading families often transmit the same first N. to following generations (e.g., *ras* Mängäša Śəyyum being the son of *ras* ↗Śəyyum Mängäša; ↗Ǝndalkačč̣äw Mäkwännən the son of ↗Mäkwännən Ǝndalkačč̣äw; Mäkʷännən or Asfa Wäsän in the family of *aṣe* Ḫaylä Śəllase I).

Name changes

Changes in status are commonly marked by a change in N. Thus, rulers and even smaller chiefs (e.g., in Basketo [VSAe I, 200]) often took a regnal N. after enthronement (s. sub-article on regnal N.). Likewise, a secular person who became monk assumed a new N. along with his or her monastic garb. Similarly, converts, whether to Christianity or Islam, usually accepted a new N. when they accepted their new faith (↗Conversion; a prominent example being *ras* ↗Mikaʾel ᶜAlī, the former *imām* Muḥammad ᶜAlī). Throughout Ethiopian history, princes assumed a royal N. with the ascension to the throne. In N. changes, the choice of a N. is often intended to make a statement regarding the person's new identity. Thus monks would carry such N. as: Gabrä Mänfäs Qəddus, 'Servant of the Holy Spirit', Täklä Haymanot, 'Plant of Faith', Iyäsus Moʾa, 'Jesus has Conquered'. Throughout Ethiopian history, princes assumed a royal N. with the ascension to the throne. Emperors chose N. which recalled past glories: Tewodros, recalling the messianic ruler awaited by Christian Ethiopians, or Mənilək II referring to the son of Solomon and the Queen of Sheba (↗Mənilək I). In other cases, the N. was meant to convey the sense of royal power: Adyam Sägäd, 'the periphery [of the kingdom] bowed'. A specific case are regnal N. of Muslim Oromo kings in the Gibe states. In the moment they accessed the throne, their personal N. could not be used any more, having become "sacred". Instead, their "war N." (i.e. the horse N., preceded by "Abbaaa") became the only one to be used in public discourse. In addition, they assumed another, Muslim, N. for use in official documents in Arabic. For example, the ruler of Gimma, ↗Abbaa Ǧifaar II (i.e., 'Father of the brindled [horse]'), sealed with the N. "Muḥammad b. Dawūd" (CerEt 73f.; seal s. Borelli 1890:159).

Although Ethiopian women do not take on their husband's N. (father's personal N.), there are bridal N. (*yädabbo səm*, lit. 'bread N.'). This N. is given at a ceremony on the evening of the wedding at which the bride presents her in-laws with a large round loaf of bread. Before the bread is sliced, various N. are proposed until a consensus is reached. Each person in turn then calls the bride by this new N. before receiving a slice of bread. Traditionally, the family of the groom will always refer to his wife by this N. (Leslau 1995:877; Elias Yemane 2004:184–88).

In the context of Protestant and Catholic ↗mission starting from the 19th cent., a number of new naming rules appeared. Protestant converts sometimes combined personal N. and baptismal N. (the latter not being "secret" any more), like ↗Mikaʾel Arägawi or ↗Gäbrä Ǝgziʾabəḥer [Gobbaw] Dästa. N. changes after (re-)baptism also occurred. While Christian highlanders normally did not change their N. upon conversion, others did, such as early Catholic or Protestant Oromo converts (e.g., Pauline ↗Fathme; ↗Onesimos Näsib; ↗Ruufoo). A peculiarity are the N. of those who entered the Capuchin mission (s. Metodio da Nembro 1953). A Capuchin generally does not keep his secular N., which is replaced with a religious N. combined with the place of origin (Mario da ᶜAbiy-ᶜAddi, or briefly P. Mario, is *abba* ↗Ayyälä Täklä Haymanot;

abba Agostino da Hebo is *abba* ↗Agoṣtinos Tädla [also "Agoṣtinos Zäḥebo"]; cp. also Léon des ↗Avanchers, Francesco da ↗Bassano, ↗Mauro da Leonessa).

As enslavement meant a change to a new, in this case inferior, status, there were special N. which were only applied to slaves, such as Säṭṭäñ, 'He [God] gave me [this slave]'. Sometimes a slave was given a N.-phrase, so that he was called by the first part of the phrase, and had to respond by the second half of the phrase to complete the meaning of the N. For example, a girl called *ləkʷəra bähullu*, 'Let me have a reason to be proud towards everyone', had to respond with the words *əmmete sallu* 'as long as my mistress is there', or 'because of my mistress' (MolTrad 27; Elias Yemane 2004:178–82). Slaves "exported" from Ethiopia into Muslim countries were generally given a Muslim N. (e.g., Fāṭimah in the case of Pauline Fathme). 19th cent. Massawa registers contain long lists of freed slaves, who assumed the N. of their "liberators" as a second N., instead of a father's N.

Whereas in the cases mentioned above the change of N. takes place to mark a change of status, the process can in some instances be reversed. Thus, if a child is sick, parents may decide to change its N. in the hope that this will bring about a change in his or her fortune. This custom relates the widespread belief that disease might be linked with evil ↗spirits, who "know" a person by one N. This N., as a consequence, is changed to divert the spirits' attention.

Name avoidance

In some relationships one or both of the parties involved are forbidden to address the other by N. In many cultures a man does not use the birth N. of his in-laws. Rather he uses their ancestral N., battle N., or even cattle N. Among the Gurage a newly married woman will not use her husband's N., substituting it with a similar sounding word (Leslau 1959). Among the Oromo, the custom known as *laguu* or *lagača* prohibits husbands, wives and in-laws from using each other's N. Various strategies are used, including pronouns, familiar descriptions "father or mother of [N. of child]", cattle N., references to the person's appearance, and rhyming or other similar words (Mbaya 2002).

Magic and names

For divination in the Christian Orthodox context a diviner needs a person's (usually baptismal) N. as well as the N. of his/her mother and perhaps father (MolTrad 102; ↗*Asmat*). For ↗magic purposes the baptismal N. is especially needed. There is a common belief that someone who knows someone's baptismal N. can use it to gain influence over that person (ibid. 115). A "personalized" ↗magic scroll consequently contains the baptismal N. of a person, same as sacral objects donated to churches. Divination is often performed by assigning a numerical value to each letter in the person's N., thus following a method also known in the Jewish Kabbala tradition.

Modern developments

During the period of Amharization, in the time of Ḫaylä Śəllase I's reign, it was common for people of non-Christian and non-Muslim backgrounds seeking to be accepted by the elite to take on more Christian-sounding N. In recent years, as ethnic diversity has become more politically accepted, people not only retain but also re-assume their original N. Modern political developments have strongly influenced naming. N. might refer to revolutionary struggle (Tgn. male N. ᶜAwät, 'victory', female N. Ḥurrīya, from Arab. 'freedom', Näṣannät, 'independence') or to nationalistic pride (female N. Ityopya, Erətra).

In recent years, ↗migration has disrupted traditional patterns as the bureaucratic demands of host countries have demanded a single "family N." ignoring the migrants' cultures. Often the father's second N. i.e. the paternal grandfather's first N. serves this purpose. In very few cases an ethnic subgroup's or clan N. is also used (especially among non-Christian migrants). Over the course of time, N., particularly first N. tend to become either formally or informally adapted to those of the host countries. In Israel many Ethiopians had their N. officially Hebraicized upon their arrival, although they continued to use their traditional N. among family members and within the Ethiopian community (Anteby 1999). Thus, N. used within the community often differ from those used outside, in the context of the host country.

Src.: JULES BORELLI, *Éthiopie méridionale*, Paris 1890, 159; ENNO LITTMANN – MARIA HÖFNER, *Wörterbuch der Tigrē-Sprache: Tigrē – Deutsch – Englisch*, Wiesbaden 1962, 181, 399; LitPEA vol. 1, 136–63, vol. 2, 149–93.

Lit.: JON ABBINK, "Love and Death of Cattle", *Ethnos* 3, 2003, 341–64; URI ALMAGOR, *Pastoral Partners: Affinity and Bond-Partnership among the Dassenetch of Southwest Ethiopia*, Manchester 1978, 119ff.; LISA ANTEBY, "Of Names, Amulets and Movies: Some Patterns of Oral, Written and Non-verbal Negotiation among the Ethiopian Jews in Israel", in: TUDOR PARFITT – EMANUELA TREVISAN SEMI

(eds.), *The Beta Israel in Ethiopia and Israel: Studies on the Ethiopian Jews*, Richmond 1999, 201–08, here 202f.; CerEt 73f.; DEJENE GEMECHU, *Thematic Comparison of Proper Names in Oromo, Amhara and Wolaita Linguistic Groups*, M.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 2000; CerPeople; ELIAS YEMANE, *Amharic and Ethiopic Onomastics: a Classical Ethiopian Legacy, Concept and Ingenuity*, Lewston – Queenston – Lampeter 2004; EDWARD EVANS-PRITCHARD, *The Nuer*, Oxford 1956, 252; FREDERICK C. GAMST, *The Qemant: a Pagan-Hebraic Peasantry of Ethiopia*, New York 1969, 101; CHRISTOPHER ROBERT HALLPIKE, *The Konso: a Study of the Values of a Cushitic People*, Oxford 1972, 101; WOLF LESLAU, "Taboo Expressions in Ethiopia", *American Anthropologist* 61, 1959, 105–08 [repr. in ID., *Fifty Years of Research: Selection of Articles on Semitic, Ethiopian Semitic and Cushitic*, Wiesbaden 1988, 466–68]; ID., "Amharic Names", in: ERNST EICHLER et al. (eds.), *Name Studies: an International Handbook of Onomastics*, vol. 1, Berlin – New York 1995 (Handbook of Linguistics and Communication Science 11), 875–79; MAWEJA MBAYA, "Linguistic Taboo in African Marriage Context: a Study of the Oromo *Laguu*", *Nordic Journal of African Studies* 11, 2, 2002, 224–35; MARTINO MARIO MORENO, *Norme per la trascrizione dei nomi personali tigrini*, Asmara 1931; METODIO DA NEMBRO, *La Missione dei Minori Capuccini in Eritrea (1894–1952)*, Roma 1953 (Bibliotheca Seraphico-Capuccina 13); MolTrad; RITA PANKHURST, "Personal Names in Ge'ez and Amharic. A Categorization", in: *PICES* 14, vol. 3, 947–74; MEAZA H. REVOL-TISSOT, "Dieu le Père vous appelle ou l'incarnation continuée en tigrigna", in: JÉRÔME LENTIN – ANTOINE LONNET (eds.), *Mélanges David Cohen*, Paris 2003, 563–68; LANFRANCO RICCI, "Nomi personali fra genti a lingua tigrina", *RSE* 21, 1966, 111–61; SAYFU MATTAFARIYA FREW, የባርያ፡ ስም፡ በአማራው፡ ባሕል (*Yäbarya səm bä'amaraw baḥəl*, 'The Slave-name in Amhara Culture'), *JES* 10, 2, 1972, 127–200; MICHAEL P. STRECK – STEFAN WENINGER (eds.), *Altorientalische und semitische Onomastik*, Münster 2002 (Alter Orient und Altes Testament 296); PAOLO TABLINO, "Nomi personali usati dai Gabra del Kenya", *RSE* 28, 1980–81 [1981], 77–98; J.A. THOMOPOULOS, "Contribution à la bibliographie onomastique d'Ethiopie", *Onoma* 11, 1964–65, 294–97; JOSEPH TUBIANA, "Noms falacha", *Nouvelles de l'aresae* 96, 1995, 3f.; JACQUES VANDERLINDEN, *The Law of Physical Persons (Art. 1–393). Commentaries upon the Ethiopian Civil Code*, Addis Ababa 1969, 21–32; RAINER VOIGT, "Zur Anthroponomastik des Amharischen" [review of Elias Yemane 2004], *Orientalische Literaturzeitung* 102, 3, 2007, 270–75; STEFAN WENINGER, [review of Elias Yemane 2004], *Aethiopica* 8, 2005, 251–57, here 255ff. (Lit.); YILMA KEBEDE, "Yadabbo sim: a Wedding Custom in Ethiopia", *Africa* [Roma] 44, 1, 1989, 95–101; VSAe I, 80ff., 181, 220, 260f.; VSAe II, 184.

Steven Kaplan – Wolbert Smidt

Horse names

The ↗horse N. (Amh.: የፈረስ፡ ስም, *yäfäräs səm*; Gəᶜəz: ስመ፡ ፈረስ, *səmä färäs*) was a significant cultural feature in the Christian, Muslim as well as "animistic" sections of the Ethiopian highland society, particularly in the period ca. 1750–1935. In the earlier periods (especially 13th to 17th cent.), there were some occurrences of connotatively horse-name-like compounds such as Haräb Asfärre, Wədəm Asfärre, Wədəm Arᶜad, Säyfä Arᶜad etc.; but we cannot assert with certainty at this stage that they were of the same nature as the horse N. of later periods. They are generally assumed to have been royal appellations (s. subarticle on regnal N.) or bynames.

In spite of the abundant references to horse N. in internal and external literary sources, and in spite of the superb nomenclatural samples compiled by Maḫtämä Śəllase (MahHorse 195–303) and of the equestrian sporting association of Ethiopia, no taxonomic and/or semantic study of horse N. has so far been made. The same applies to the historical origin and spread of the horse in the region. Although the use of horses in Egypt, South Arabia and the Byzantine empire prompted some historians to speculate the existence of horses in the Aksumite empire (e.g., PankIntro 30; HabKön 132; MHAksum 259), neither the Greek, the Roman and the Arabic documents nor the numismatic, epigraphical and archaeological sources have as yet hinted to the existence of any type of equid in northeast Africa in contrast to the evident presence of tamed ↗elephants.

The German scholar Haberland, who researched in southern Ethiopia, found out (cf. HabKön 132ff.) that the horse and the appellations for its paraphernalia spread to the south, particularly among the Oromo and the western Cushitic speakers, in the 16th cent. The sovereigns used the ↗mule for travel, though a decorated horse always accompanied the royal hybrid.

The underlying concept of horse N. was that the horse and its rider were strongly identified with each other. Both executed their duties in warfare, game hunting and sports so harmoniously that one could not attribute the achievements to one of them without being unfair to the other. Apparently, this conception developed out of the cultural assimilation of the Semitic- and Cushitic-speaking peoples, particularly the Oromo and the Amhara, whose interactions were intensified with the decline of the monarchy's power in the second half of the 18th cent. The use of horse N. culminated after the middle of the next century. The notion was expressed through the combination of ↗*abba* or ↗*abbaa* and the N. of a distinguished or most favoured horse. By custom, every horse was given a N., but it was only the one most favoured by the owner and groomed for a particular purpose whose N. was taken as a component of the owner's horse N. In exceptional cases, some owners had two or more horses to whose N. *abba/abbaa* was at-

tached. At times two or more contemporaries also used identical horse N., apparently without any conflict resulting thereof. Although the use of horse N. was by no means restricted to any social group, the samples so far collected belonged entirely to the notabilities. Examples: "Abba Qañňäw" = *ras* ↗Mäkʷännən Wäldä Mikaʾel, "Abba Mäla" = *fitawrari* ↗Habtä Giyorgis Dinagde, "Abba Fänqəl" = *däğğazmač* ↗Asfa Wäsän Kaśa, etc. No woman has been included in the list. The compilers have included the sovereigns in their lists, apparently having overlooked the significance of the change of N., rank and prestige through coronation. As long as they counted among the *mäkʷanənt* (↗Aristocracy) or *mäsafənt* (as the case may be) and retained their mundane N., the would-be sovereigns had horse N. of their choice. For instance, "Abba Taṭäq" Kaśa = *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II, "Abba Gahid" Gobäze = *aṣe* ↗Täklä Giyorgis II, "Abba Bäzbəz" Kaḥśay (also Kaśa) = *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV, "Abba Dañňäw" Mənilək = Śahlä Maryam (= *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II), and "Abba Ṭäqəll" Täfäri = *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I. None of the available sources combines the horse N. and the regnal N.

The conceptual terms used to form the N. of a horse may roughly be categorized in the following three groups: (1) colours of the horse: *sanqo* or *gurračča*, 'black'; *dama* or *dima*, 'reddish'; *daläč* or *dales*, 'grey '; *sənde*, 'wheat-coloured' etc.; (2) nominals with certain implications understandable for contemporary society: *dina*, 'enemy' (usually referring to the Oromo); *təntag*, 'firebrand'; *ğahid* or *ğəhad*, '*ğihād*' (allusion to Muslims); *mäla*, 'unriddling'; *ṭəggu*, 'refuge'; *baḥər*, 'sea'; *mädoša*, 'hammer'; *šäyṭan*, 'Satan, demon' etc.; (3) imperative forms of verbs of motion or action: *səbär*, 'break ... [it, them, etc.]'; *dañňäw*, 'administer justice'; *bäzbəz*, 'rob, plunder'; *gässəṭ*, 'rebuke, censure'; *qañňäw*, 'survey, spy' etc. It should be emphasized that it was the owner (and not the horse) that was referred to by the composite appellation ("Abba" + "..."), though one is at the same time reminded that a particular horse was involved in the uttered sobriquet. Hence, the second component (i.e. the actual N. of the horse) was carefully chosen to reflect the character, achievements, prestige or ambitions of the owner (cf. MahHorse 195–202; Čä Färäsä 2005:73–87), for it was a custom for poets and singers to speak praising, critical or inciting lines in relation to the horse N. In fact, it appears in many cases that the first horse N. was attached by the artists and the public at large, though probably not without the approval of or even the surreptitious initiative of the notable in question.

When, how and under what circumstances the chosen horse N. was made public has not been recorded. An oral tradition collected from Šäwa in the late 1960s alleges that occasionally groups of youths underwent a kind of ↗initiation to manhood in which they demonstrated their horsemanship and in which each announced his horse N. On the other hand, a chronicler of Goğğam recalls an anecdote (cf. Girma Getahun 1991, ch. 24) which alleges that *däğğazmač* Kaśa (later *aṣe* Tewodros II) requested a notable of Goğğam either to give up his horse N. in his favour or to suggest a horse N. which he could use, although he was no longer a youth. The arrogant notable suggested a term which implied that the ruler's political attempt was futile, an incident which enraged Kaśa violently and prompted him to undertake a military campaign against the notable.

Src.: ETHIOPIAN HORSE-SPORT ASSOCIATION, ČÄ FÄRÄSÄ, **ኢትዮጵያውያን፡ ፈረሰኞችና፡ ፈረሶቻቸው** (*Ityopyawəyan Färäsäñňoččənna Färäsoččačč'äw*, 'Ethiopian Equestrians and their Horses'), Addis Abäba, *Gənbot* 1997 A.M. [May–June 2005 A.D.], 1–230; MahZekr 866f.; GIRMA GETAHUN (ed., tr.), *The Goğğam Chronicle by Aläqa Täklä Iyäsus Waqgera*, Ph.D. thesis, Oxford University 1991, ch. 24 and nn. 1, 16.

Lit.: CRStor, ch. 6; MHAksum 259; TadTChurch 88; HabKön 98–102, 132ff., 145 and passim; MahHorse 195–303; PankIntro 30; RICHARD PANKHURST, "The Horsemen of Old-Time Ethiopia", *EthObs* 13, 1, 1970, 2–7; ID., "The Early History of Ethiopian Horse-names", *Paideuma* 35, 1989, 197–206; TAĞĞÄBÄ BÄYYÄNÄ, **የጠቅል፡ ፈረስ፡ በድል፡ ሲመለስ** (*Yäṭäqəll färäs bädəl simmälläs*, 'When the Horse of Ṭäqəll Returns from Victory'), Addis Abäba 1965 A.M. [1975 A.D.].

Bairu Tafla

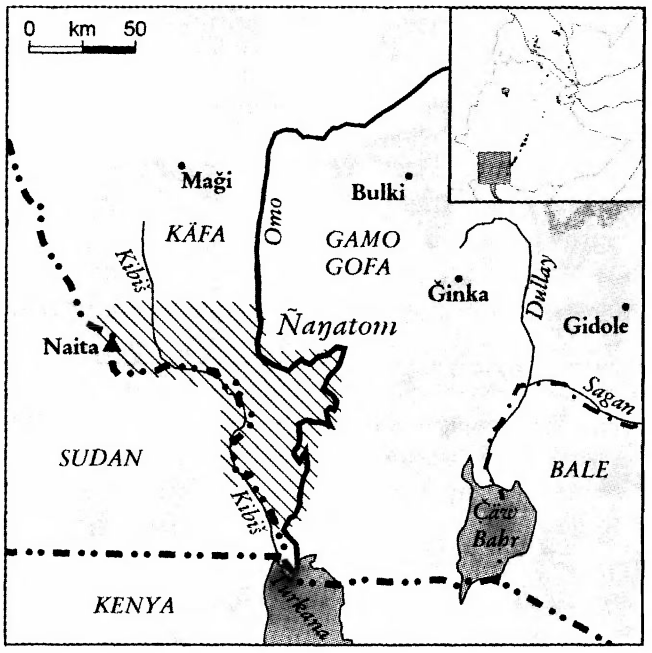
Ñaŋatom

Ñaŋatom language

Ñ. (Nyangatom, also known as Donyiro, Dongiro, or Bume) is an Eastern ↗Nilotic (↗Nilo-Saharan) language spoken by ca. 14,000 people in south-western Ethiopia and the neighbouring Sudan. It is part of a dialect cluster known as the Teso-Turkana group (also "Karimoğoŋ cluster"), which further includes varieties like Dodoth [*Dodoṯ*], Ğie, Karimoğoŋ, Toposa, ↗Turkana and the more distantly related Teso language.

Ñ. consonants are: labials *p*, *b*, *m*, *w*; alveolars *t*, *d*, *s*, *n*, *l*, *r*; palatals *č*, *ğ*, *ñ*, *y*; velars *k*, *g*, *ŋ*.

Ñ. has a terraced-level tone system with high and low tone, downstep, and downdrift. As is common with languages in the area, it employs



a system of "advanced tongue root (ATR)" harmony restricting the co-occurrence of specific vowels within the same word. Vowels are: *i*, *e*, *o*, *u* [+ATR], *ɪ*, *ɛ*, *a*, *ɔ*, *ʊ* [-ATR]. Vowel length is distinctive in Ñ., as in *ǧík* 'completely' vs. *ǧíík* 'always'. Before a pause, short vowels carrying a single (as opposed a complex) tone are devoiced: *é-tál(i)* [*étál̥i̥*] 'custom'; such voiceless word-final vowels (here written between parentheses) are realized as extra-short voiced vowels before another word.

Apart from an extensive set of plural-marking suffixes (e.g. 'tongue' *á-ŋáǧép* [sg.] – *ŋá-ŋàǧèp-á* [pl.]), Ñ. also uses singulatives ('Ñaŋatom man' *é-ñáŋàtɔ́mé-ít* [sg.] – *ŋí-ñáŋàtɔ́m(è)* [pl.]), as well as replacement (i.e., marking of number on singular as well as plural forms: 'diviner' *é-múró-n(i)* [sg.] – *ŋí-múró-k* [pl.]). Most nouns carry a masculine, feminine, or neuter gender prefix. Cp. *é-ñáŋàtɔ́mé-ít* 'Ñaŋatom man'; *á-ñáŋàtɔ́mé-ít* 'Ñaŋatom woman'; *ŋá-ñáŋàtɔ́m(è)* 'Ñaŋatom language'. Gender is also shown on nominal modifiers, e.g., adjectives or numerals, but not in pronouns or in verbal morphology. Compounding is relatively rare in Ñ.; it occurs, e.g., in the ethnonym *-ñáŋà-tɔ́m(è)*, lit. 'yellow-guns'. Case is marked by way of tonal inflection on noun phrases and pronouns: 'stomach' *ákɔ̀ɔ́k(ì)* (Nom.) vs. *ákɔ́ɔ́k(ì)* (Acc.); 'I' *áyɔ̀ŋ* (Nom.) vs. *áyɔ́ŋ* (Acc.). Ñ. makes a distinction between 'we (inclusive)' (*sʊ̀á*) and 'we (exclusive)' (*ŋwɔ̀ní*) with independent pronouns, but not with a pronominal subject (or object) marking on the verb.

Ñ. has a complex verb morphology, involving stacking and fusion of morphemes marking person, number, causative, ventive, itive, dative, instrumental, frequentive, habitual, as well as various modality forms.

Ñ. is a verb-initial language (both Verb-Subject-Object and Verb-Object-Subject sentences are possible): *kà-ryéb-ì*$_1$ *áyɔ́ŋ*$_2$ *ákɔ̀ɔ́k(ì)*$_3$, 'I have a stomach ache' (lit. 'the stomach$_3$ hurts$_1$ me$_2$'), *kà-ràm-í*$_1$ *ŋésì*$_2$ *áyɔ́ŋ*$_3$ '(s)he$_2$ hit$_1$ me$_3$'.

The ten-word list is as follows: *á-péy* 'one', *ŋá-árév* 'two', *ŋá-úní* 'three', *á-kìm(í)* 'fire', *ŋá-kípǐ* 'water', *á-kɔ̀lɔ́ŋ* 'sun', *é-láp* 'moon', *ŋá-ákɔ́t* 'blood', *á-ŋáǧép* 'tongue', *é-kɛ́lá-í* 'tooth'.

Src.: RAYMOND G. GORDON (ed.), *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*, Dallas, TX [15]2005, 117; GROVER HUDSON, "Linguistic Analysis of the 1994 Ethiopian Census", *NEASt* 6, 3, 1999, 89–107.

Lit.: SERGE LOKORINYANG TORNAY – JOSEPH LOYOLO LOTENG, *Adiktionari na Igiritae ka Akituk a Nginyangatom/A Short Lexicon of Nyangatom Culture and Society*, ms., Addis Abäba [ca. 1990].

Gerrit J. Dimmendaal

Ñaŋatom ethnography

Known in Ethiopia as the "Bume", the Ñ. inhabit the south-western corner of Ethiopia, the Lower Omo Valley. Ecologically, the region is a ↗Rift Valley lowland: its climate is hot, rainfall is low; the area thus offers a sharp contrast to the Ethiopian highlands. The Ñ. and their neighbours are semi-nomadic agro-pastoralists. They live on sorghum, maize, soja beans and tobacco cultivation, but their cultural preference is zebu cattle and small stock raising. They also keep donkeys as beasts of burden for their migrations from wet season to dry season pastures.

The Ñ. are a part of a larger group, the Karimoǧoŋ cluster, which is spread over four countries: Uganda with the Karimoǧoŋ, Ǧie and Dodoth; Kenya with the Turkana; Sudan with the Toposa and Ǧie; and Ethiopia with the Ñ. Ethno-history suggests that the Ñ. are rather recent incomers (mid 19th cent.) into the Lower Omo Valley, as a result of a late-18th cent. migration from the Koten-Magos area in Karamoǧa, Uganda, which brought the Ñ. and the Sudanese Toposa to their present locations. The Lower Omo Valley is a cultural melting pot: two of the four major African linguistic families are represented in the area: Nilo-Saharan (Ñ., Turkana, ↗Mursi); Afro-Asiatic, with its Omotic (↗Hamär) and Cushitic branches (↗Ðáasanač).

The Ñ. have their settlements in the centre of the Lower Omo Valley, on the western banks of the Omo and on the Kibiš river which consti-

tutes the Ethio–Sudanese border, and thus they nomadize more or less freely into the south-eastern corner, known as the "Ilemi Triangle", of the Eastern Equatoria Province of the Sudan. There they meet their best allies, the Toposa, but also traditional rivals like the Turkana on the southern, Kenyan side, of the Triangle and the ↗Suri or Surma to the north of it. Since the 1990s they have pushed the Suri to the north and established, together with the Toposa, an important pastoral and military settlement at the foot of Mount Naita, on Ethiopian territory and/or on the Ethio–Sudanese border. Even in the Lower Omo Valley, proximate neighbours are potential enemies, such as the Mursi to the north, the Đáasanač to the south, the Karo (↗Kara) and the Hamär to the east, on the left bank of the river. But fortunately the chronical state of intergroup raiding is mitigated by strong ties of "personal friendship" between members of opposed, and also complementary, groups.

The area was included into the empire of Mənilək II by the armies of *ras* ↗Wäldä Giyorgis in 1898/99. Except for a brief Italian episode (1938–40) the Ñ. and their neighbours became Ethiopians, although living on the margins of the country and drawing very little from its administration. It was not until the 1960s that anthropological study of the area really started, with a large number of publications on the Đáasanač, the Hamär, the Mursi, the Ñ. and others. Under the *Därg*, the Ñ. and their neighbours were recognized, under their self denomination, as full members of the national community.

The demography of the Ñ. remains difficult to evaluate. They were less than 5,000 in the early 1970s, when the present author started his study, but they might have been over 14,000 on the eve of the third millenium. The demographic expansion was connected with health and relief assistance dispensed for 30 years (1972–2002) by the Swedish Philadelphia Church Mission (↗Sweden). But such a lasting assistance might have enhanced the dependency of a people living in an area of scarce resources. The NGO's withdrawal from the area is bitterly felt by the population.

In the course of their early migration from Uganda, the pastoral ancestors of the Ñ. had been scorned as "Elephant-eaters" (*Ñam-etom*), a nickname which they aptly transformed into "Yellow Guns" (*Ñaŋ-atom*), thus underlining the martial intentions of their emerging community. The Ñ. share with other peoples of the Karimoǧoŋ cluster the main features of their social organization. They are divided into about 20

Ñaŋatom women restoring a warrior into civil society; photo 1970s, courtesy of Serge Tornay

patrilineal descent groups or clans, half of them being well attested in the rest of the cluster. The size of such clans varies from a few individuals to several hundred. The clans are no political units; these are formed by "territorial sections". Given names of migratory birds such as *Storks, Flamingos, Ibises*, but also ethnic (*Kumam, ŋaric*) or common names (*Castor trees*), such sections have no fixed boundaries, but they express the relative positions of the settlements and reflect the nomadic routines of their members. The main originality of Ñ. society is a generation-set system which, embracing men and women alike, allowed the Ñ. to separate from their parent stock, which included the Toposa, and to become an autonomous polity. The males of one generation – originally just those of the age-set of the "Founders" of the new independent polity – procreate all the members of the generation to come, that of their sons, who procreate their own sons, and so on. Each generation is given a social identity through the name of a species: thus, Ñ. ethno-history is recording the "Founders", their sons the "Wild dogs", then the "Zebras", the "Tortoises", the "Mountains" (extinct generations), then the "Elephants", the "Ostriches", the "Antelopes", and the "Buffaloes" (living generations). As of 2000, the name of the children of the "Buffaloes" was unknown. Any generation is given one of only

two statuses: their members, whatever their age, are considered to be either the "Fathers" or the "Sons of the Country". Alternate generations, that is grandfathers and grandchildren, share a common status. In the daily routine, the sons slaughter oxen in feasts dedicated to feeding their fathers. This is the first stage of initiation. The second stage, the transmission of sovereignty from the "Fathers" to the "Sons of the Country", occurs only once in 50 to 55 years. It requires a barely disguised human sacrifice: after the ceremony, the *asapan-man*, medium of the regeneration of the society, loses, like his generation-mates, his status of "Father", but he also loses his mind, so that his fate is to perish in the bush. This custom, recorded solely among Ñ., is an unparalleled paradigm of the regicide reported for other Nilotes. The *asapan* ceremony was outlawed under Mängəstu's regime and the Ñ. today are paving their way to modernity through their adhesion to Pentacostalism and their political and economic integration into the regional community of the "Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples' Region", with the headquarters in Ǧinka.

Lit.: SERGE TORNAY, "The Omo Murle Enigma", in: DONALD LEWIS DONHAM – WENDY JAMES (eds.), *The Southern Marches of Imperial Ethiopia ...*, Cambridge 1980, 123–46; ID., "More Chances on the Fringe of the State? The Growing Power of the Nyangatom, a Border People of the Lower Omo Valley, Ethiopia (1970–1992)", in: TERJE TVEDT (ed.), *Conflicts in the Horn of Africa: Human and Ecological Consequences of Warfare*, Uppsala 1993, 143–63; ID., "Structure et événement: le système générationnel des peuples du cercle karimojong", *L'Homme* 134, 1995, 51–80; ID., "Generation Systems on the Threshold of the Third Millenium: an Anthropological Perspective", in: EISEI KURIMOTO – SIMON SIMONSE (eds.), *Conflict, Age and Power in North East Africa*, Oxford 1998, 98–120; ID., *Les Fusils Jaunes. Générations et politique en pays nyangatom (Ethiopie)*, Nanterre 2001, 363 and s. index; JOHN LAMPHEAR, *The Traditional History of the Jie of Uganda*, Oxford 1976.

Serge Tornay

Nao

↗Nayi

Naᶜod

N. (ናዖድ, also Naʾod [Eth. version of the name of the biblical judge Aod, or Ehud (Judg 3:12–30)], Qäläyoṗa, Anbäsa Bäṣär ['Lion for the enemies'], r. 1494–1508) was a son of *aṣe* ↗Bäʾədä Maryam and queen Romna (presumably hypocoristic for Romanä Wärq; s. PerrEsk 346 [text]; Cerulli 1933:104) who succeeded his brother ↗Ǝskəndər and the latter's son ↗ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon II to the throne in 1494.

N.'s rise to power put an end to a succession struggle caused by two dignitaries, Täka (or Täklä) Krəstos and Zäśəllus, each supporting a different candidate to the throne after Ǝskəndər's death. According to the only known extract of N.'s chronicle (PerrEsk, using mss. Oxford 29 and BN éth. 143), the ↗*ṭäwa* from ↗Ifat supported N., however hard Täka Krəstos tried to use them against him. After Täka Krəstos was defeated and exiled, the new monarch promulgated a general amnesty in the kingdom in order to restore peace.

Like his brother Ǝskəndər and his mother Romna before him, N. had a close relationship with the monastery of ↗Däbrä Libanos in Šäwa and its head, *abba* ↗Märḥa Krəstos. One cannot exclude that this ↗*əṭṭäge* played a role in power legitimization in this period of deep political crisis.

Several sources mention a ↗Betä Ǝsraʾel revolt in ↗Səmen that N. suppressed at the beginning of his reign, and the bloody repression that followed (PerrEsk 51f.; the *Mäṣḥafä ↗kidanä məḥrät* in Conti Rossini 1910:599f. [text]; the Acts of Märḥa Krəstos in Kur 1972:101f. [text]). Some other texts also present N. as the rescuer from the power of the Jews (Miracle of Mary, EMML 1874, fol. 150r; the Acts of N.'s confessor ↗Habtä Maryam, EMML 2142, fol. 24v).

In ↗Bale, N.'s army fought the rebellious forces of Wänag Žan, a convert to Islam. The latter was captured. However, through the intercession of his brother, Wäsän Sägäd, he was spared, converted back to Christianity and after a while even appointed governor of Bale. Wänag Žan, however, betrayed the Christian kingdom a second time, had the Christian notables of Bale massacred and tried to hand over the province to the ᶜAdalite Muslims. This second betrayal, which, like the first, ultimately did not produce the desired results, may have taken place only much later, in the early years of Ləbnä Dəngəl's reign (BassHist 164ff.).

Whilst during the first years of N.'s reign the ↗Stephanites were still suppressed, the ruler's attitude towards them changed drastically around 1499. At that time he asked an ecclesiastic council to examine the Stephanite faith. The church officials around *abba* Sinoda of Saf (Ṭana) questioned ↗ᶜƎzra of Gundä Gunde. As a result, N. decided to leave the followers of ↗Ǝsṭifanos in peace (Beylot 1991:10). He was also benevolent to ᶜƎzra who remained at the court until N.'s death in 1508 (Caquot 1961:79–90 [text]).

N. continued the policy of his predecessors

↗Dawit and ↗Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob with regard to the cult of St. ↗Mary. According to the text of a miracle (↗*Täᵓammərä Maryam*), he established the monthly commemorations for the annual feasts of her Nativity (↗*Lədäta*, 1 *Gənbot*), Dormition (↗ᶜƎräfta, 21 *Ṭərr*) and Assumption (↗*Fəlsäta*, 16 *Näḥase*). He is also credited with the authorship of many texts dedicated to the Virgin, including the ↗*Mälkəᵓa Maryam*, the ↗*Wəddäse Maryam*, a *sälam* in honour of Mary, *Täfäśśəḥi Maryam* and some other hymns (BassÉt 103; Cerulli 1933:107; Caquot 1955:108). The manuscript BritLib Orient. 706, containing a collection of ↗*śəllase qəne* ascribed to N., probably dates from N.'s reign (Turaev 1904).

Two churches are believed to have been founded by N. One is mentioned only in the ↗*Futūḥ al-Ḥabaša* (BassHist 217), whereas the other, ↗Mäkanä Śəllase, also in Christian texts; Alvares mentions it as the church completed by N.'s son and successor ↗Ləbnä Dəngəl (BassHist 284f.; BeckHuntAlvar 378f.; Derat 2003:342f.).

According to Alvares, N. had five wives in total (BeckHuntAlvar 410), though apparently mostly before he became emperor and perhaps even then successively and not simultaneously. In any case, his *ətege* ↗Naᶜod Mogäsa is the only one whom we know by name. In addition to N.'s successor Ləbnä Dəngəl, we know of two daughters of the royal couple, Wälättä Qälämsis (Amätä Wəṭən, wife of ↗Dägälhan) and ↗Romanä Wärq (apparently named after her paternal grandmother).

Another daughter of N., Amätä Ṣəyon, is commemorated in the ↗*Sənkəssar* (ColSyn XIII, 267). She was buried in ↗Daga Ǝsṭifanos. The link between N. and Daga Ǝsṭifanos is further illustrated by an episode found in some versions of the "short chronicles" and in a copy of the monastery's own chronicle (in BN éth. 143 but not in Oxford 29; DombrChr 157). Moreover, in the third year of his reign, N. allegedly translated the body of *aṣe* Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob to Daga.

N. died on 7 *Näḥase* (30 July) 1508 during a military expedition against Muslims in Ifat (BassÉt 13; Taddesse Tamrat 1972:296). The sources differ on the place of his burial. According to the "short chronicle", he was buried on ↗Amba Gəšän (BassÉt 13; BegCron 14), and according to Alvares and the *Futūḥ*, near Mäkanä Śəllase (BeckHuntAlvar 360f.; BassHist 284f.). On 12 January 1521 his body was translated into the completed church, in a solemn ceremony attended by the metropolitan *abunä* ↗Marqos, N.'s successor Ləbnä Dəngəl and the dowager queen Naᶜod Mogäsa.

Src.: BassÉt 13 (text) = 103 (tr.); BassHist 164ff., 217, 284f. (tr.); BeckHuntAlvar 241, 254, 256f., 360f., 410; BegCron 14; ROBERT BEYLOT, "Les actes de Gäbrä Masih I", *RSE* 35, 1991, 5–11; ANDRE CAQUOT, "Les actes d'Ezrā de Gundā-Gundē", *AE* 4, 1961, 69–121; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Il convento di Tsana in Abissinia e le sue laudi alla Vergine", *RRALm* ser. 5ª, 19, 1910, 581–621, here 581, 614ff.; ENRICO CERULLI, "L'Etiopia del secolo XV in nuovi documenti storici", *Africa Italiana* 2, 1933, 57–112, here 103–07; CerMaria 24; ColSyn XIII 267; DillmLex 999; DombrChr 157; EMML 1874, 150r; 2142, 24v; STANISLAS KUR, *Actes de Marḥa Krestos*, Louvain 1972 (CSCO 330, 331 [SAe 62, 63]), here 89f., 98–103 (text) = 82, 89–93 (tr.); PerrEsk 347–51 (text) = 363–66 (tr.); BORIS TURAEV (ed., tr.), ሥላሴ፡ ዘንጉሥ፡ ናኦድ። *Virši tsarja Naoda* ('*Śəllase zänəguś Naᵓod*. The Poems by King Naᶜod'), St. Petersburg 1904 (Pamjatniki efiopskoj pismennosti 2).

Lit.: ANDRÉ CAQUOT, "Aperçu préliminaire sur le Mashafa Tefut de Geshen Amba", *AE* 1, 1955, 89–108, here 108; DerDom 290–96, 302–07, 342f.; MANFRED KROPP, "La réédition des chroniques éthiopiennes: perspectives et premiers résultats", *Abbay* 12, 1983–84, 49–69, here 51; JAMES QUIRIN, *The Evolution of the Ethiopian Jews. A History of the Beta Israel (Falasha) to 1920*, Philadelphia 1992, here 59–60, 235–236; TADDESSE TAMRAT, "Problems of Royal Succession in Fifteenth Century Ethiopia: a Presentation of the Documents", in: *PICES* 4, vol. 1, 515–35, here 528–33; TadTChurch 285, 292–96.

Marie-Laure Derat

Naᶜod Mogäsa

N.M. (ናዖድ፡ ሞገሳ) was a 15th/16th-cent. empress. The wife of *aṣe* ↗Naᶜod and mother of *aṣe* ↗Ləbnä Dəngəl, she was a native of Təgray, according to the ↗*Futūḥ al-Ḥabaša* (BassHist 82; Basset erroneously identified the "mother of the king" as the queen ↗Ǝleni). N.M. was a member of the regency council of her son, along with Ǝleni. In all probability, the latter was pre-eminent in this council, as indicated in the introductory chapter of the chronicle of Ləbnä Dəngəl (Conti Rossini 1894:622; KrLebD 3).

The historical sources are quite silent about N.M. She does not appear in the fragment of the Naᶜod chronicle known to us (PerrEsk). Nor is her name mentioned by Alvares who only hints at her in connection with the translation of her husband's body to the church of ↗Mäkanä Śəllase in 1521 (BeckHuntAlvar 360f.).

N.M. is traditionally credited with the foundation of at least three royal churches: ↗Getesemane Maryam in Goğğam (Sergew Hable Selassie 1993:40f.; there exists, however, an oral tradition claiming foundation by Bäᵓədä Maryam, s. Spencer in PICEA 1, 53f.); the church of Badəqe,

near the royal residence situated in ↗Fäṭägar, destroyed by the armies of ↗Aḥmad Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī ("Grañ"; BassHist 82f., 114); and Betä Sämayat in Amhara, where she was buried. Her body is reported to have remained there until Grañ's invasion, when the priests transferred it to ↗Amba Gəšän just before the destruction of the church (BassHist 313).

Src.: BassHist 82f., 114, 313 (tr.); BeckHuntAlvar 360f.; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Storia di Lebna Dengel re d'Etiopia sino alle prime lotte contro Ahmad ben Ibrahim", *RRALm* ser. 5ª, 3, 1894, 617–40; KrLebD 3 (tr.); PerrEsk; SERGEW HABLE SELASSIE, "Sources for the History of Däbrä Libanos", *Journal of the Archives of Ethiopia* 1, 2, 1993, 1–107, here 40f.

Lit.: ChojPaint 388–92; DerDom 270f., 328, 343; DIANA SPENCER, "Travels in Gojjam: Saint Luke Ikons and Brancaleon Rediscovered", *JES* 12, 2, 1974, 201–19; EAD., "The Discovery of Brancaleone's Paintings", in: *PICEA* 1, 53–54.

Marie-Laure Derat

Napata

The name N. (Gr. τὰ Νάπατα [pl.; Strab. XVII, 1, 54], ἡ Ναπάτη [Cass. Dio LIV, 5, 4], Lat. Napata/ [Na]bata [Plin., *Nat. hist.* VI 189]) represents Egyptian *npt* (the first time occurring in Urk. IV, 1297). The city- or mountain-determinative poit to N.'s location near Ǧabal Barkal, the water-determinative to the Nile and to a pun with Egyptian *np* , 'moisten' and Meroitic *ato* 'water' (Zibelius 1972:138; Yoyotte 1954–57; s. map to ↗Kush for location). The exact meaning of this indigenous toponym is obscure, but sun- and god-determinatives suggest a Proto-Meroitic (?) connection (Dunham 1949:378–88; cp. ↗Meroë). The Meroitic form is *napate-te* (McAdam 1949:53), with *-te* as locative; the Egyptian name is *ḏw-wʿb*, 'high/holy mountain', referring to Ǧabal Barkal – an important center of the cult of Amun.

The cult of this Theban god was introduced during the Middle Kingdom, as shown by the middle-Egyptian vocalization of his name there: *ʾImn(.w)*, 'Amun' – *amani* – (New Kingdom > *amun*). Having incorporated aspects of an indigenous ram cult, the ram-shape was the prominent representation of Amun even when Alexander the Great visited Sīwa (Kendall 1997:76–81). In the 25th dynasty, Amun of N. – amalgamated to *Amanapa/Manapa* (Peust 1999:214) – became the central god in the kingdom of Kush, and was thought to reside in the mountain itself (*ḫr.ỉ ỉb ḏw wʿb*), while the great temple of Amun (B500) was built right at the foot of this 90 m steep massif. A formerly gold-covered inscription of Pharaoh Taharqa suggests that the characteristic pinnacle of the massiv (75 m) was interpreted as a royal *uraeus* or rearing cobra (Kendall 1996:161–71).

In 1820–21, Frédéric Cailliaud was the first to note and describe the ruins of N., situated 15 km north of the 4th cataract. Following preliminary examinations by Budge and Breasted, George Andrew Reisner excavated 18 pyramids, seven temples and two palaces in 1916 and 1920 (Dunham 1970; Reisner 1917–21, 1931). Since 1972 and 1986, three teams led by Sergio Donadoni and Alessandro Roccati (Rome; temples, palace B1500), Timothy Kendall (Boston; Gebel, temples) and Francesca Berenguer (Barcelona; necropolis), respectively, continue to explore N. The actual city (residential buildings, cemetery) probably situated between the temples and the bank of the Nile, has not yet been located (Donadoni – Bosticco 1982), as some other well-known structures (B1700–2400; B3000) still await excavation. The site has been occupied from the prehistoric times onwards, especially in the Kerma period. The origins of the Egyptian city however, are probabely to be found in the up to now not located fort built by pharao Thutmosis III, who conquered Nubia reaching the 5th cataract and destroyed the empire of Kerma (Ǧabal Barkal stela Urk. IV:1127–43). During the Egyptian domination of ↗Kush, N. was not an administrative but merely a trade and religious centre and southern border town.

Under the Kushite dynasty (↗Ethiopian dynasty), N. became residence, coronation and burial place of the Napatan and Meroitic kings (before that, ancestrial burial places were al-Kurru and Nuri near N.). After the move of the capital to Meroë under king Ergamenes (ca. 270 B.C.), N. lost much of its political significance, but remained one of the religious centres of Kush. Due to a partly parallel use of the pyramid fields of N. and Meroë, it has been suggested that the "royal" burials in N. belong to a dynasty of "anti-kings" (Reisner 1923; Hintze 1973:134f.), but their royal nature is far from clear. Similarly disputed is whether the Egyptian pharao Psammetik II, in 591 B.C. (s. the Shellal stelae and Herod. II, 161; for destruction level, Kendall 1990), and the Roman prefect C. Petronius, in 23/22 B.C., during his campain against the ↗Candace (Sauneron – Yoyotte 1952; Hofmann 1977), reached and conquered N.

The temple of Amun B500 with 150 m in length is the largest "Egyptian" temple in Nubia (Dunham 1970; Kendall 1994, 2004). Its origins go back into the Thutmoside and Ramesside eras, but

the cult, possibly ceased, was revived in the Kushite period – which lead to large renovations and extensions of the complex especially under Piankhy and Taharqa. Most of the historic inscriptions of Kushite rulers were found here ("victory-, dream- and election-stela", etc. [FHN]). The nearby temple B800 was likewise enlarged in brick by some Pre-Kushite ruler and, like B500, rebuilt in stone by Piankhy. It seems that two different aspects of Amun were worshipped here, corresponding to Amun of N. and Amun of Thebes. Striking features of temple B300 ("Typhonium"), erected by Taharqa, are the pillars in form of the dwarfshaped god Bes and hathoriform capitals. Smaller temples are B1100, B700 (kings Atlanersa and Senkamanisken) and B600, where foundation deposits of Thutmosis IV were found.

The Napatan palace B1200, repeatedly enlarged, has its origins in the Pre-Kushite era, as proved by the stray blocks bearing the cartouches of Ramses II that are found beneath its lowest level (Kendall 1990, 1997:13). Stairs suggest the existence of a second floor. The huge "palace of Natakamani" B1500 was even built on a platform nearly 2 m high (Donadoni 1993). N. was used as a royal residence as late as the Meroitic times (B100).

Some two dozen "Barkal" pyramids (Bar.) (Dunham 1957) are concentrated in two main areas (South [Bar. 1–8] & West [Bar. 9–25]); they were occupied in two phases (Bar. 11, 14, 15 ca. 315–270 B.C.; Bar. 2, 4, 6 ca. 90–50 B.C.). Having the very steep angle of 60°–73°, the Napatan pyramids follow Egyptian models of the New Kingdom. The burial chambers lie structurally independent under the pyramids, in the east front of which offering chapels with pylons are erected. The surface of the pyramids is terraced, with exception of a rim at the border. The best-preserved monument (Bar. 3) is 13 m high.

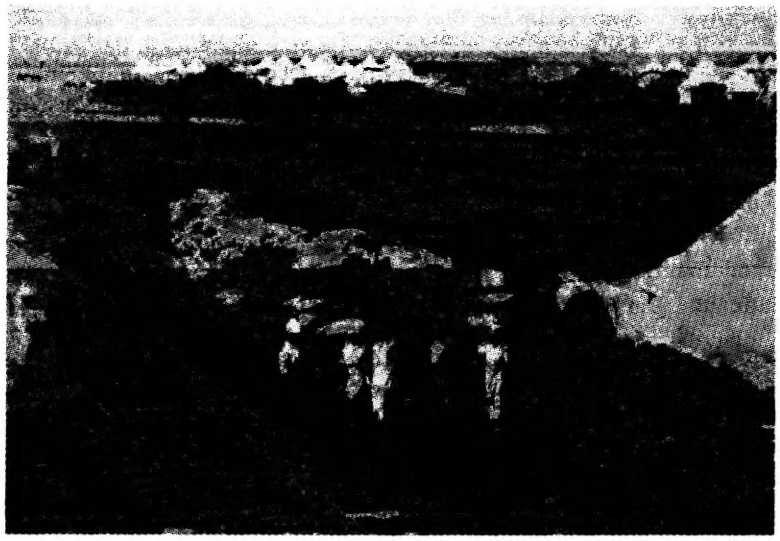
Lit.: FRANCESCA BERENGUER, *En busca de los faraones negros*, Barcelona 2001; EAD., "El yacimiento de Djebel Barkal-Napata", in: EAD. et al. (ed.), *Nubia: los reinos del Nilo en Sudán*, Barcelona 2003; SERGIO DONADONI – SERGIO BOSTICCO, "Scavi italiani al Gebel Barkal", in: NICHOLAS B. MILLET - ALLYN L. KELLEY (eds.), *Meroitic Studies: Proceedings of the Third International Meroitic Conference, Toronto 1977*, Berlin 1982 (Meroitica 6), 291–301; SERGIO DONADONI, "Preliminary Report: Excavations of the University of Rome at 'Natakamani Palace', Jebel Barkal", *Kush* 16, 1993, 101–05; DOWS DUNHAM, "Notes on the History of Kush", *American Journal of Archaeology* 1, 1949, 378–88; ID., *Royal Tombs at Meroe and Barkal*, Boston, MA 1957; ID., *The Barkal Temples*, Boston, MA 1970; FHN I–IV; FRITZ HINTZE, "Meroitic Chronology: Problems and Prospects", in: ID., *Sudan in Altertum*, Berlin 1973 (Meroitica 1), 127–44, here 134f.; INGE HOFMANN, "Der Feldzug des C. Petronius nach Nubien und seine Bedeutung für die meroitische Chronologie", in: ERIKA ENDESFELDER et al. (eds.), *Ägypten und Kusch*, Berlin 1977, 189–205; TIMOTHY KENDALL, "The Gebel Barkal Temples 1989–1990: a Progress Report on the Work of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Sudan Mission", handout, 7th *International Conference for Nubian Studies*, Genf 1990; ID., "The Napatan Palace at Gebel Barkal: a First Look at B1200", in: W. VIVIAN DAVIES (ed.), *Egypt and Africa*, London 1990, 203–13; ID., "A New Map of the Gebel Barkal Temples", in: CHARLES BONNET (ed.), *Études Nubiennes* II, Genf 1994, 139–45; ID., "Die Könige vom Heiligen Berg: Napata und die Kuschiten-Dynastie", in: DIETRICH WILDUNG – JÜRGEN LIEPE (eds.), *Sudan: Antike Königreiche am Nil*, München 1996, 161–71; ID., "Excavations at Gebel Barkal, 1996", *Kush* 17, 1997, 320–54; ID., *Kerma and the Kingdom of Kush*, Washington, DC 1997; ID., "Jebel Barkal", in: DEREK A. WELSBY – JULIE R. ANDERSON (ed.), *Sudan: Ancient Treasures*, London 2004, 158–64; MILES FREDERICK LAMING MACADAM, *The Temples of Kawa*, vol. 1: *The Inscriptions*, London 1949, 53; CARSTEN PEUST, *Das Napatanische*, Göttingen 1999, 214; GEORGE ANDREW REISNER, "The Barkal Temples in 1916 I–III", *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 4–6, 1917–20, 99–112, 213–27, 247–64; ID., "Historical Inscriptions from Gebel Barkal", *SNR* 4, 1921, 59–75; ID., The Meroitic Kingdom of Ethiopia: a Chronological Outline", *Journal of Egytian Archaeology* 9, 1923, 75ff.; ID., "Inscribed Monuments from Gebel Barkal", *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 66, 1931, 76–100; SERGE SAUNERON – JEAN YOYOTTE, "La campagne nubienne de Psammétique II et sa signification historique", *Bulletin de l'Institut française d'archéologie orientale* 50, 1952, 157–207; [FRIEDRICH] WINDBERG, "Napata", in: [PAULYS] *Realencyclopädie der klassischen Altertuswissenschaften*, vol. 16, 1, Stuttgart 1935 [repr. 1957], 1686f.; JEAN YOYOTTE, "Le toponyme 'Napata' comme témoin linguistique", *Comptes rendus du groupe linguistique d'études chamito-sémitiques* 7, 1954–57, 106–08; KAROLA ZIBELIUS, *Afrikanische Orts- und Völkernamen in hieroglyphischen und hieratischen Texten*, Wiesbaden 1972 (Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients, Reihe B, n. 1), 138.

Francis Breyer

Napier expedition

The N.e. of 1867–88 resulted in the suicide of *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II and the collapse of his attempts at modernization. It was undertaken by the British Government (↗United Kingdom) to liberate a number of European hostages, including a British consul, a special envoy of Queen Victoria, and a score of Swiss and German Protestant missionaries.

The dispute between Tewodros and the British began in 1862 when the Ethiopian monarch wrote to the British Government, proposing to send an ambassador to England, and requesting Britain to protect the latter in accordance with a previous agreement between the two countries. The British, wishing to remain on cordial terms with the Ottoman empire, then expanding into Ethiopian territory, vouchsafed no reply. Tewo-



The installations of the British-Indian army at Zula Bay; photo 1867/68, cortesy of the Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, Köln

dros, a proud man, considered this a slight to his own – and Ethiopia's – dignity. He blamed the British consul, Duncan ↗Cameron, who had disobeyed his instruction to take the letter to Britain in person, and had instead sent it only through a messenger. The Emperor accordingly arrested Cameron, together with several Swiss and German missionaries, the most prominent of whom was Henry ↗Stern. The British responded by despatching a second envoy, Hormuzd ↗Rassam, whom Tewodros likewise detained. This high-handed action, and the failure of negotiations between the two sides, led the British Government to decide on launching a military expedition against the Emperor, whose power was then rapidly declining.

Around the middle of April 1867, the British Government began seriously considering the practicability of such a military expedition. The best starting-point for the proposed intervention was judged to be the west Indian port of Bombay. The commander-in-chief of the British Bombay army, Sir Robert Napier (b. 1810, d. 1890), was therefore appointed leader of the proposed expedition, on 30 August 1867, after which extensive preparations for the operation were undertaken. The N.e. consisted of 14,700 fighting men, two-thirds of them Indian, plus 27,000 camp-followers, 19,000 mules or horses, 1,700 donkeys, over 5,700 camels, and 44 elephants. The force was exceptionally well-armed, with 16 cannons, two mortars, and 16 rocket-launchers, as well as numerous Snider breech-loading rifles not previously used in war. The N.e. was also equipped with a small photographic unit, which enabled it to take the first ever shots of Ethiopia. The expedition was also accompanied by the German explorer Gerhard ↗Rohlfs who served as an interpreter; as well as Count Seckendorff of the Prussian Guards and K.K. Major Kodolitsch on behalf of the Austrian-Hungarian Emperor in Vienna (s. Smidt 2005).

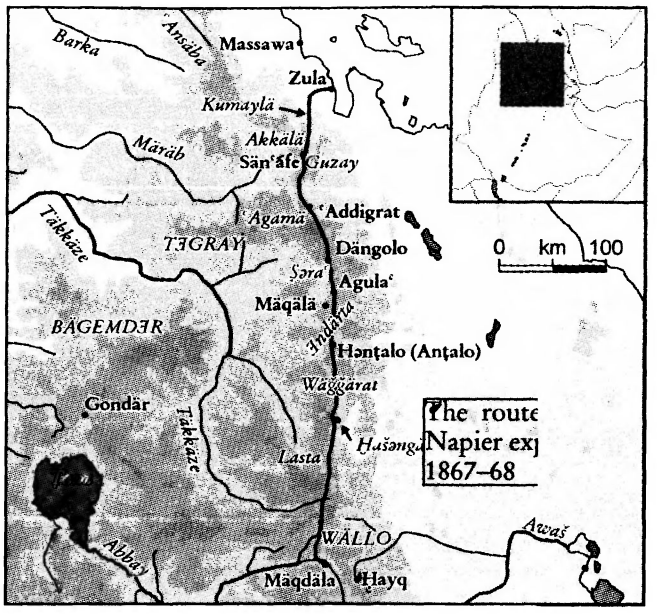
The advance force landed on 30 October 1867 at Zula, at a place known to the expedition as Annesley Bay, so called after the early 19th-cent. British traveller of that name. This was the starting point for an arduous 650-km march through rugged terrain, which took the N.e. to Tewodros's principal fortress at ↗Mäqdäla. Ten days earlier, the Ethiopian monarch, then residing further south at ↗Däbrä Tabor, had started a much shorter though scarcely less difficult march to Mäqdäla, which took him eastwards to confront the British invaders there. British intervention was carried out with the agreement of the Egyptian government, which dominated the port of ↗Massawa and the nearby Red Sea coast. The N.e. also negotiated a modus vivendi through ↗Mərčа Wärqe with *däğğazmač* Kaśa Mərčа of Təgray (↗Yoḥannəs IV), who regarded Tewodros as a usurper, and agreed to facilitate the British purchase of supplies. Support was also obtained from *däğğazmač* ↗Mäšäša Tädla of Lasta and the Oromo queen ↗Mästawät, who together were posed to cut off the monarch's possible line of retreat.

The British began by building a short 17-km railway from the coast, after which they rode or marched inland, making ᶜAddigrat their advance base, and succeeded in crossing the whole of northern Ethiopia without encountering any armed opposition. Welcomed by Kaśa Mərčа and most of the chiefs through whose territories they passed, and supplied with vast quantities of ↗Maria Theresa dollars, specially minted for the expedition, they were able to purchase adequate supplies of grain and cattle.

The first, and principal, battle with Tewodros's forces took place on the afternoon of Good Friday, 10 April 1868, when the Emperor, encamped on the mountain, opened fire with his artillery on the invaders who had advanced to a lower mountain spur called Fala. Tewodros's locally-made guns, fired by untrained men, proved worthless. The invaders by contrast displayed overwhelming superiority of fire-power. Over 700 Ethiopian troops, including many chiefs, were

killed, and over 1,000 were wounded, many of them seriously. The N.e. suffered only two fatal casualties, and 20 wounded. The Emperor, realising that further resistance was useless, attempted on 11 April to sue for peace. He released most of his European prisoners, beginning with Rassam, Cameron, Martin ↗Flad, Pauline Flad and their three children, Lieutenant Prideaux, Dr. Blanc, both from the Bombay Army and sent emissaries down to the British camp to negotiate. Napier, however, insisted on his enemy's unconditional surrender. This Tewodros refused. On Sunday 12 April he attempted, unsuccessfully, to commit suicide after which he offered Napier a gift of cattle as an Easter and peace offering. Napier seems at first to have accepted this gift, which consisted of 1,000 cattle and 500 sheep. This caused the Emperor to believe that peace had been concluded. Napier, however, then rejected the cattle, and hence the monarch's peace initiative. Tewodros naturally felt deceived. On 13 April the N.e. shelled and opened deadly fire on Mäqdäla for several hours after which it successfully stormed the citadel, whereupon Tewodros finally placed a pistol to his head, and committed suicide.

Troops of the N.e. immediately looted the citadel, including the palace and church of Mädḫane ᶜAläm. The booty was then auctioned to raise "prize money" for the troops. This loot, most of which was taken to the British Museum (and later assigned to the ↗British Library), the Royal Library in Windsor Castle and other British libraries, included two royal ↗crowns, numerous ↗crosses and almost 500 ↗manuscripts, some of which were later published in Europe by ↗Budge and others. British troops then set fire to the town, and destroyed all but two of Tewodros's pieces of artillery. The British thereupon withdrew from Ethiopia, in accordance with promises they had earlier made both to the Egyptian government and to *däğğazmač* Kaśa Mərčа, whose friendly co-operation they rewarded with a gift of 850 muskets and a good supply of ammunition. The N.e., and the loot it took back, increased European interest in Ethiopia, and was followed by publications on the country by geographers, archaeologists, zoologists, meteorologists, and geologists. The expedition was widely acclaimed in Britain, where many streets and public houses were named after both Napier (who received the victory title and a hereditary peerage as the "1st Baron of Magdala") and "Magdala", i.e. Mäqdäla. Others, however, considered the £12 million



spent on the N.e. excessive, while then-emerging Indian nationalists were also critical.

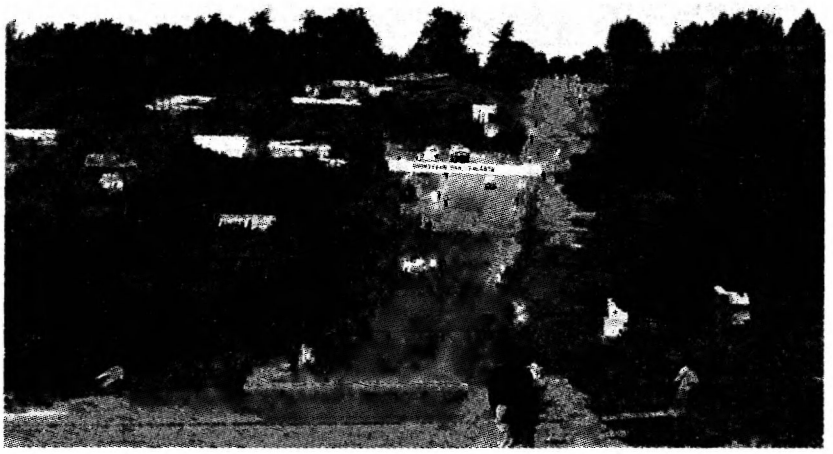
Src.: ROGER ACTON, *The Abyssinian Expedition and the Life and Reign of King Theodore*, London 1872; THOMAS HOLLAND – HENRY MONTAGUE HOZIER, *Record of the Expedition to Abyssinia*, London 1870; HENRY MONTAGUE HOZIER, *The British Expedition to Abyssinia*, London 1869; CLEMENTS ROBERT MARKHAM, *A History of the Abyssinian Expedition*, London 1869; FusTeod VIFF.; WILLIAM SIMPSON, *Diary of a Journey to Abyssinia, 1868*, Hollywood, CA 2002.

Lit.: PERCY ARNOLD, *Prelude to Magdala; Emperor Theodore of Ethiopia and British Diplomacy*, London 1992; DIETMAR HENZE, *Enzyklopädie der Entdecker und Erforscher der Erde*, vol. 4, Graz 2000, 653; RICHARD PANKHURST, "Popular Opposition in Britain to British Intervention against Emperor Tewodros of Ethiopia (1867–1868)", *EthObs* 16, 1973, 141–203; WALTER RAUNIG, "Die erste Eisenbahn in Nordostafrika", in: STEFAN BRÜNE - HEINRICH SCHOLLER (eds.), *Auf dem Weg zum modernen Äthiopien. Festschrift für Bairu Tafla*, Münster – Berlin 2005 (Recht und Politik in Afrika 3), 173–79; KARL HEINRICH RENGSTORF, "Der Brief des Bischofs Samuel Gobat von Jerusalem an den Kaiser Theodoros II. von Äthiopien vom 28. November 1865", *OrChr* 48, 1964, 221–34; RubInd 256ff.; WOLBERT SMIDT, "Teilnehmer und Beobachter bei der britischen Intervention in Abessinien 1867/68 nach dem österreichischen Beobachter k.u.k. Major Kodolitsch", in: WITOLD WITAKOWSKI – LAURA ŁYKOWSKA (eds.), *Wälättä Yohanna. Ethiopian Studies in Honour of Joanna Mantel-Niećko on the Occasion of the 50th Year of her Work at the Institute of Oriental Studies*, Warsaw 2006 (= *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* 59), 224–54.

C. Detlef G. Müller – Richard Pankhurst

Naqamtee

N. (Orom., also Laqamtee; Amh. ነቀምቴ, Näqämte, also Läqämt(e); 2,101 m A.S.L.) is the historical capital of ↗Wälläga (for location s. Nonno). From 1942 to 1987, N. was the capital



Main street of Naqamtee, view of the site of the former *gəbbi* (i.e. the compound on the forested hill in the left background), with the slogan *Oromiyaan Maa Lalistu* ('May Oromiyaa flourish!') on the arch; photo 1995, courtesy of the author

of the Wälläga governorate-general (later region). Since 1991, N. has served as the capital of both the Guto Wayu *wäräda* and the East Wälläga zone, which are subdivisions of the Oromiyaa *kəlləl*.

N. was built on an interfluve between tributaries of the Didessa. The town developed around the site of the former ↗*mooti* palace (↗*Gəbbi*), built on a small forested hill. In the compound of the former palace there was a church and offices of the regional administration. A network of large avenues, mapped out by the Italians, still serves the principal districts. N. was the *masaara* or district of the ↗Leeqaa *mooti*. In 1881 ↗Moroda Bakaree, the last king, was subdued by *ras* ↗Gobäna Dači and paid tribute to *nəguś* Mənilək of Šäwa (future *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II). When his possessions had been confirmed by the Ethiopian king, Moroda left ↗Nağğoo and moved to the city of N. After he was baptized and promoted to *däğğazmač*, he ordered workmen to build the church in his *gəbbi*. In 1885, he sent his son Kumsaa (*däğğazmač* ↗Gäbrä Ǝgziʾabəḥer) to Mənilək's court. In 1889, *aṣe* Mənilək appointed Gäbrä Ǝgziʾabəḥer governor of Wälläga. In 1924 he was succeeded by his son, ↗Habtä Maryam. As descendants of a sovereign, these two relatively autonomous governors developed their capital and gave permission for the ↗Swedish Evangelical Mission to establish a base in their province. Up until the ↗Revolution, members of the former royal family had been in charge over the Wälläga region at the different government levels.

In spring 1991 the Wäyyane fighters (↗Tigray People's Liberation Front, with some elements of the Oromo Liberation Front), came from ↗Goğğam via the Bure Bridge and captured N. They forced the regular army, which defended Addis Abäba along the Abbay Canyon, to open a second front. The rebels, after briefly rolling back, took the town again and pushed the army back to the national capital.

N. now stands at a major crossroad: to the south, since the completion of the Didessa Bridge, Ǧimma is now accessible; to the north, since the construction of the new Abbay Bridge, Goğğam can now be reached.

The coffee harvested in Wälläga has ensured N.'s growth. Many lorries loaded with sacks of coffee, cereal, and animal hides carry their goods to Addis Abäba. Numerous garages, workshops, bars and hotels are being set up because of the constantly improving road transportation network. A regular air service links N. to the national capital. As a regional capital, N. hosts various administrations, a hospital, state and mission schools, and the second Ethnographic Museum in Ethiopia. A bishop of the Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church is located there, in addition to various Protestant and Catholic missions.

The growth of N. is similar to the expansion of the other regional capitals, which form a circle of more than 300 km around Addis Abäba. Its population grew from 10,000 in 1938 to 16,105 in 1970 to 28,500 in 1984. The growth sped up after the improvement of the Addis Abäba–Gimbi–Gambella road. Today, N. is a bursting town with the population estimated at 65,518 in 2000 and at 80,260 in 2004.

Src.: EMAtlas; *Guida*; ZerEth; CSA 2004.

Lit.: ALESSANDRO TRIULZI, "Nekemte and Addis Abeba: Dilemmas of Provincial Rule", in: DONALD LEWIS DONHAM – WENDY JAMES (eds.), *The Southern Marches of Imperial Ethiopia: Essays in History and Anthropology*, Cambridge 1986 (African Studies Series 51), 51–68; MARC FONTRIER, *La chute de la junte militaire éthiopienne (1987–1991)*, Paris 1999, 294, 302, 309ff., 319, 392; GasEth; JOHN MARKAKIS, *Ethiopia, Anatomy of a Traditional Polity*, Oxford 1974; MesfGeogr; PankHist II, 242ff. (Lit.); PerGov.

Alain Gascon

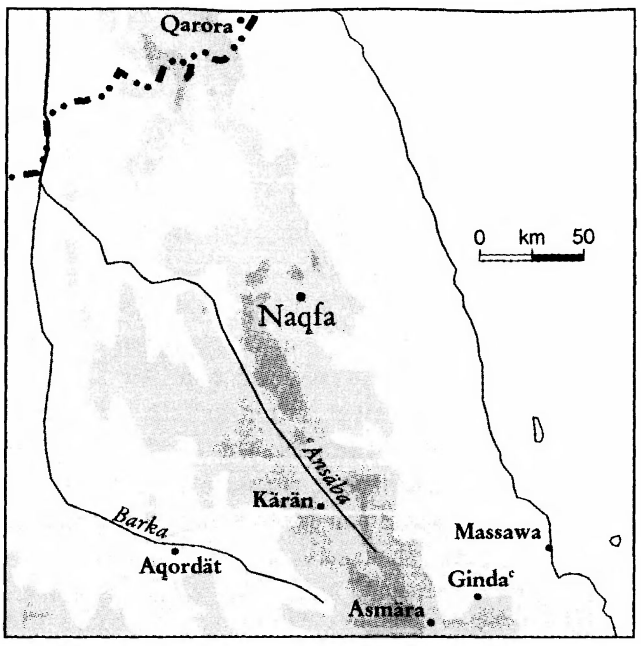
Naqfa

N. (Tgn. ናቕፋ, Tgr. ንቕፋ, Näqfa, Arab. نقفة, Naqfa; 16° 40' N 38° 29' E; 1,750 m A.S.L.) is a small Eritrean town situated on the northernmost edge of the Asgäde plateau, between ↗Qarora in the north (to which it is connected by the wadi Falkat) and ↗Kärän in the south, and between the mountain range Rora ↗Ḥabab and the Häday river valley (Maydon 1924:48, 54). It lies in the area historically populated by ↗Təgre-speaking peoples.

In August 1902, N. became an Italian administrative and military post (Residenza del Sahel) whose area of jurisdiction extended to the ↗ᶜAd Təmaryam, ᶜAd Tawra, ↗ᶜAd Mäᶜalləm, ↗ᶜAd Šek, ᶜAd Ḥasəri and ↗Rašāʾida (d'Avray 2000:2, 142, 287f.; Martini 1946:429; Maydon 1924:54). In 1905, Littmann described it as a village of the ᶜAd Həbtes (LitPEA vol. 1, 281; vol. 2, 338). By 1929, N. had a big marketplace and was considered the main commercial centre of the Ḥabab. It had 650 inhabitants (Bertarelli 1929:636), but the number had decreased by 1938, when only 300 people are counted (Guida 215). An ancient "Abyssinian" tomb is mentioned "at the foot of a hill where the offices of the Residenza are".

N. played a prominent role in the Eritrean struggle for independence. After early attacks by the ↗Eritrean Liberation Front (E.L.F.), N. became an Ethiopian garrison in 1967. In late August 1976, combat brigades of the Eritrean People's Liberation Forces (later ↗Eritrean Peoples' Liberation Front, E.P.L.F.) under the to-be Foreign Minister ᶜAlī Saᶜīd ᶜAbdallāh surrounded N., which was defended by experienced Ethiopian troops under Colonel Mammo, among them Ḫaylä Śəllase's former ↗imperial bodyguards. The besieged town depended entirely on air supply, while the E.P.L.F. brought in supplies on camelback from Faḥ, Bläqat and Mərsä Täḵlay in the coastal plains through rugged terrain, and was able to provide a simple but effective Front Surgical Unit at nearby Tänas. During the months-long siege, exhausting Ethiopian troops as well as the rivalling E.P.L.F. and E.L.F. forces, the fighters said *Naqfa, menqūfa, mā tiḡihā wa mā tišūfhā*! (vernacular Arab. for 'N. the cursed, do not visit it and do not see it!', cf. Tekeste Fekadu 2002:94). The town was taken on 22–23 March 1977, opening the way for the temporary liberation of such Eritrean towns as ↗Afᶜabät and Kärän and the siege of Asmära and Massawa.

The U.S.S.R.'s extensive military support of Mängəśtu Ḫaylä Maryam's *Därg*, however, forced the E.P.L.F. to its strategic withdrawal – a 'long march' of armed forces, public administration staff, mass organization officials and pupils of the Zero Revolutionary School back to N., following the strategic principles of Mao Zedong's people's war (cp. ↗China, relations with), thus securing its military and political survival in a rear base area. Thousands of fighters, including some troops from the ↗Tigray People's Liberation Front (T.P.L.F.) in 1982, defended the town and its surroundings in an extended trench network around Mount Dändän against the overwhelming manpower and weaponry of the *Därg*'s eight major offensives launched from the Afᶜabät road and the coastal plains between July 1979 and November 1985. The defenders were supplied through a corridor linking N. to the Sudanese border in the north. Several thousand Eritreans and tens of thousands of Ethiopian soldiers died during this period around N. Ethiopian air force and artillery levelled N., with the exception of the ↗mosque (funded by Ḫaylä Śəllase, with the help of two Italians, according to local traditions) which became as much a symbol of the E.P.L.F.'s steadfastness in a period of growing international isolation as N. itself. The stalemate finally ended with a counteroffensive in December 1987, leading to the battle of Afᶜabät 17–19 March 1988.



Up to the administrative reform of 1995, N. was the provincial capital of Saḥəl, now part of Zoba Səmenawi Baḥri ('Northern Red Sea Administrative Region'), with the capital in ↗Massawa. Due to its climate the area is locally called Umm Burud (from Arab., lit. 'mother of coldness').

The inhabitants of N. are Təgre petty traders and craftsmen, as well as Təgrəññña speakers from Asmära assigned to local administration or running business in the vastly war-damaged but gradually re-constructed town. N. is an important local marketplace for the Təgre agro-pastoralists of the surrounding countryside. It also houses the Winna Technical College.

The Eritrean currency *naqfa* (Engl. sp. "Nakfa", abbr. Nfa), named so in remembrance of the town's strategic and symbolic role for Eritrean independence, was first issued in late 1997, after the E.P.L.F. had chosen N. for its 3rd congress in March 1994, where it transformed itself into the People's Front for Democracy and Justice (P.F.D.J.; cf. KilHDic 321f.).

Src.: ANTHONY D'AVRAY (ed.), *The Nakfa Documents: the Despatches, Memoranda, Reports ...*, Wiesbaden 2000 (AeF 53); LitPEA vol. 1, 281, vol. 2, 338; FERDINANDO MARTINI, *Il diario eritreo*, vol. 2, Firenze 1946, 429.

Lit.: ALEMSEGED TESFAI, *Two Weeks in the Trenches: Reminiscences of Childhood and War in Eritrea*, Lawrenceville, NJ – Asmara 2002; DAN CONNELL, *Against All Odds: a Chronicle of the Eritrean Revolution.* Lawrenceville, NJ – Asmara [1993] 1997; LUIGI VITTORIO BERTARELLI, *Guida d'Italia del Touring Club Italiano. Possedimenti e colonie. Isole Egee, Tripolitania, Cirenaica, Eritrea, Somalia*, Milano 1929; *Guida* [1938]; KilHDic 321f.; HUBERT CONWAY MAYDON, "Across Eritrea", *The Geographical Journal* 63, 1, 1924, 45–56; DAVID POOL, *From Guerrilla to Government: the Eritrean People's Liberation Front*, Oxford 2001; TÄḴÄSTÄ FÄQADU GÄBRÄHƎYWÄT, ጉዕዞ፡ ካብ፡ ና ፋ፡ ናብ፡ ና ፋ፡ ኣብ፡ ብሕሊ፡ ብብሕሊ፡ 1976–1979 (*Gʷəᶜzo kab Naqfa nab Naqfa, ab bəlḥi bəbəlḥi 1976–1979*, 'Journey from Naqfa to Naqfa, in Shrewdness with Shrewdness') Asmära 2006 (tr. as: TEKESTE FEKADU, *Journey from Nakfa to Nakfa, Back to Square One, 1976–1979: Inside Eritrea's War for Independence*, [Asmara] 2002).

Selahadin Abdela – Magnus Treiber

Naqīs

↗Yaᶜqūbī, al-

Nara

N. (also Nera; self-name: *Nara-Bana*, lit. 'sky-talk') is a ↗Nilo-Saharan language spoken in western Eritrea, in and to the north-west of the town of ↗Barentu in the ↗Gaš-↗Barka region. In the past, the language and the people were also referred to as ↗Barya.

While Tucker and Bryan (1956:78) had left N. as an "isolated unit", Greenberg (1963) placed it within the Eastern Sudanic family of Chari-Nile (his former Macro-Sudanic). Bender (2000:56) groups it with Nubian, Nyimang, and Tama in his "Ek" branch of Eastern Sudanic (marked by the "*aka*" 1st pers. sg. pronouns, as distinguished from the "En" branch which has "*ani*" forms). He notes, however, that because the "*aka*" pronoun is a Nilo-Saharan retention, this grouping does not necessarily constitute a genetic family. Rilly (2005:6) prefers the term Northern East Sudanic to Bender's "Ek" family and includes Meroitic (↗Meroë) in it. He argues for the close proximity of N. to Nubian. *Ethnologue* (Gordon 2005:112) places N. (with Eastern Jebel, Nubian, and Surmic) under the Eastern branch of Eastern Sudanic.

N. is surrounded by the ↗Cushitic languages ↗Beğa and ↗Bilin (to the north and east, resp.), and the ↗Ethio-Semitic languages ↗Təgre and ↗Təgrəññña (to the north and south, resp.). The only other Nilo-Saharan language spoken in Eritrea, ↗Kunama (to the south), bears little resemblance to N. and is not included in Eastern Sudanic. Bender (1976:475) found only 9 % lexical cognates with Kunama and even these may be due to its geographical proximity.

There are four dialects of N.: two major, Higir and Mogareb, and two smaller ones, Koyta and Santora (which may be their respective sub-varieties). There are considerable differences among the dialects, both grammatical and lexical. So far, only the Higir dialect has been described. Many N. speakers are bilingual in ↗Arabic as well as Təgre, and there are many loanwords from both languages in N. Some, especially Koyta speakers, are bilingual in Kunama. Government statistics from 1993 put the total number of N. speakers at 41,000. A sizable portion of the population is living as refugees in Sudan.

Since 1993, shortly after Eritrean independence, N. has been used as a medium of instruction in elementary schools for grades one to five. A N. Language Panel, set up by the Ministry of Education, is responsible for the training of N. language teachers and the preparation of textbooks. The orthography uses Latin script. Tones are introduced in the new school books only in words with possible misunterstanding, e.g., *bàllà*, 'leg' vs. *bàllá*, 'legs'. The Higir dialect, spoken as a mother tongue by about half the N. population and well understood by the other speakers, has been chosen as the standard variety. There are two half-hour radio programs in N. per week.

N. consonant phonemes are as follows: labials *b*, *f*, *ᵐb*, *m*, *w*; coronals *t*, *d*, *s*, *ⁿd*, *n*, *l*, *r*; palatals *č*, *ǧ*, *š*, *ñ*, *y*; velars *k*, *g*, *ᵑg*, *ŋ*, *kʷ*, *ᵑgʷ*. The vowel system has five vowels: *i*, *e*, *a*, *o*, and *u*. Length is contrastive for vowels (*kito* 'blood' vs. *kiito* 'he arrived'), as well as for all consonants except the prenasalized and labialized stops and *h* (*kale*

'I will eat' vs. *kalle* 'I ate'). N. has two phonemic level tones: high and low. Postvocalic sonorants (glides, liquids, and nasals) may bear an independent tone (e.g. *sùḿ*, 'grass'). High tone occurs only once in the tone melody of a word, but not necessarily in a metrically strong position (for which reason N. is not [yet] a tonal accent language). This constraint also applies in certain head-final syntactic constructions, leading to the dropping of any subsequent high tones after the first. Examples include possessive constructions of the type possessor-possessed (*àbbàá* 'father' + *tòòkú* 'wife' > *àbbàá tòòkkù* 'father's wife') and postpositional phrases (*káàlà* 'porcupine' + *láábí gí* 'near to' > *káàlà lààbì gì* 'near to the porcupine').

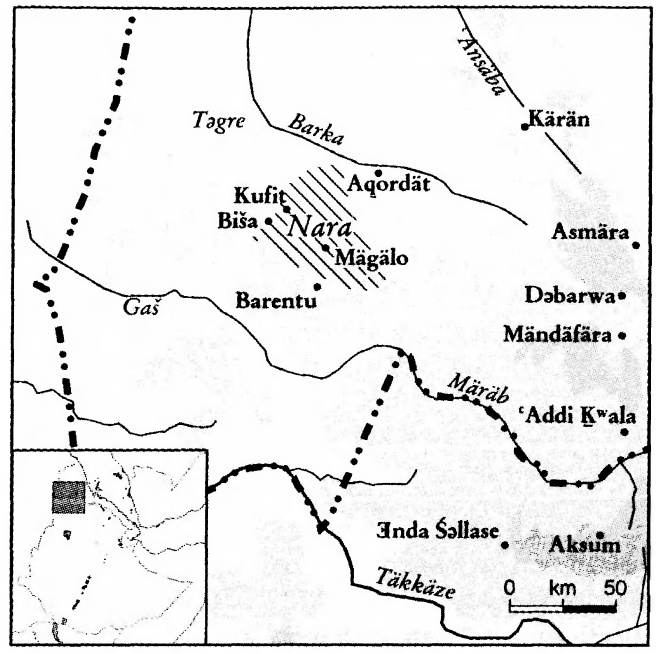
There are various morphological classes of plural suffix forms, all of which end in *-a*: e.g. 'eye' *no* (sg.) – *no-ta* (pl.); 'horse' *fara* (sg.) – *fara-tta* (pl.), 'sword' *sayif* (sg.) – *sayif-ka* (pl.). Nouns may be inflected for case: *-nu*, *-n* (subject, but not always used), *-go* and variants (direct object, indirect object, locative, allative), *-gi* and variants (ablative), and *-ga*/*-(a)mma* (genitive). E.g. *da-gi woto*, village-ABL he.came, 'he came from village'. Differential object marking may apply in N., an areal feature also known to exist, e.g., in Tama, Təgrəññña, and Amharic.

Adjectives are formed with the verbal relative suffix *-ku*/*-gu* (sg.): *dub-ku* 'big (sg.)', *murga-gu* 'old (sg.)'. The plural suffix *-ti* precedes it: *murga-ti-gu* 'old (pl.)'. Adjectives follow the noun they modify: *kotaade murgatigu* 'old people'. Postpositions are grammaticalized body parts, e.g. *kofa kela-gi* 'mountain head-from' > 'from top of mountain'.

Verbs are inflected for tense and aspect: e.g. *aye* 'I do/make' (future/habitual), *ayde* 'I am doing/making' (present/continuous), *ayte* 'I did/made' (past). For each of these there is an indicative, interrogative, and subordinate form.

As in the other "Ek" languages, the neutral word order in N. is Subject-Object-Verb (e.g., $agga_1$ $soldi_2$ dag_3 'We_1 $have_3$ $money_2$'), which may be a retention from Nilo-Saharan. There are two types of possessives: 1) possessor followed by the possessed (*hasan horge* 'Hasan's donkey') and 2) possessed preceding the possessor, which is then marked by the genitive suffix *-ga* (*horge hasanga* 'Hasan's donkey'). In coordinate structures, *da* 'and' is repeated after each noun (e.g. *ku da aninda* 'man and woman').

The personal pronouns are:



	subject		object/possessive	
	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
1st pers.	*ag*	*agga*	*wo*	*awa*
2nd pers.	*iŋŋa*	*iŋŋa*	*ⁿga*	*ⁿgʷa*
3rd pers.	*tib*/*teb*	*tiba*	*te*	*tee*, *tibo*

The 3rd pers. object/possessive *te*, when used postpositionally, is a definite article: *te wal* 'his house' vs. *wal te* 'the/that house'. Some further pronouns and question words are: *woga* 'independent possessive'; *yi*/*yigu* 'this/these'; *te*/*tegu* 'that/those'; *na*/*naanan* 'who?' (sg.); *nakita* 'who?' (pl.); *hessi* 'when?'.

The ten word list is as follows: 'one': *túŕ* (pre-noun), *dókkù* (post-noun); 'two': *àrí* (pre-noun), *àrígà* (post-noun); 'three': *sàáǹ* (pre-noun), *sàánà* (post-noun); 'fire': *šítì*; 'water': *mbàà*; 'sun'/'day': *kòòs*; 'moon'/'month': *fèètà*; 'blood': *kìtò*; 'tongue': *hàggà*; 'tooth': *nìhì*.

Src.: personal communication from Constance Kutsch Lojenga 2007; DANIEL TECLEMARIAM et al. (The Ministry of Education, Department of General Education [DGE]), *Eritrea Dialect Survey, December 1996–May 1997, Report*, Asmara 1997; DGE CURRICULUM DEPARTMENT, *Pre-Final Draft, Orthography and Transliteration Guide*, Asmara 1998; RAYMOND G. GORDON (ed.), *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*, Dallas, TX [15]2005, 112.

Lit.: M. LIONEL BENDER, "Analysis of a Barya Word List", *Anthropological Linguistics* 10, 9, 1968, 1–24; ID., "Nilo-Saharan Overview", in: *BendNonSLang* 439–83; ID., "Nilo-Saharan", in: BERND HEINE – DEREK NURSE (eds.), *African Languages: an Introduction*, Cambridge 2000, 43–73; DAWD ABUSHUSH – RICHARD J. HAYWARD, "Nara", *Journal of the International Phonetic Association* 32, 2, 2002, 249–55; JOSEPH H. GREENBERG, *The Languages of Africa*, Bloomington 1963; RICHARD J. HAYWARD, "Observations on Tone in the Higir Dialect of Nara", in: RAINER VOSSEN – ANGELIKA MIETZNER – ANTJE MEISSNER (eds.), "*Mehr*

als nur Worte ...": Afrikanistische Beiträge zum 65. Geburtstag von Franz Rottland, Köln 2000, 247–67; MunSt 467f.; KARL LANG, "Barea und Nuba", *Folia Ethno-Glossica* 2, 2, 1926, 21–26; LEO REINISCH, *Die Barea-Sprache: Grammatik, Text und Wörterbuch*, Wien 1879 (Sprachen von Nordost-Afrika 1); CLAUDE RILLY, "The Classification of Nara Language", *Journal of Eritrean Studies* 4, 1–2, 2005, 1–27; E. DAVID THOMPSON, "Nera", in: *BendNonSLang* 484–94; ARCHIBALD NORMAN TUCKER – MARGARET A. BRYAN, *The Non-Bantu Languages of North-Eastern Africa*, London 1956, 78 (Lit.).

Dirk Kievit

Nara

The N. are one of the most ancient population groups in present-day Eritrea. Their traditional settlement area lies in western Eritrea north of the Mogareb river, between ↗Aqordät and ↗Barentu, north of the ↗Kunama areas in Gaš-Barka province. The N. live in small village communities, mainly practising sedentary agriculture. Local market towns are Mägälo (Mogälo), Biša and Haykota. Today, N. are predominantly Muslim.

The ethnonym "N." (Nere) was recorded by Munzinger as referring to one of the two major N. groups, that of Higir (MunSt 453; cf. also Reinisch 1874:3f., where "Mogoréb" is given as self-name of the second N. group). Grottanelli (1943:11) quotes "Aarà Barà" and "Barà Ocurà" as the self-names of the N. of Higir and Mogareb respectively. Today, the ethnonym "N." embraces both N. groups and some smaller communities. Historically, the name ↗"Barya" was used in Tgr. in reference to the N., and in Tgn. and Amh. in reference to the N. and/or as a broader term for a number of related groups (now considered pejorative and not used any more). In Tgn. and Amh. the term has the general meaning 'slave' (attested in Amh. at least from the 17th cent.; Ludolf 1698:40). The semantics of the term *barya* is complicated, *inter alia*, due to its usage in the texts of the ↗magic literature (cp. ↗*Asmat*).

Historical overview

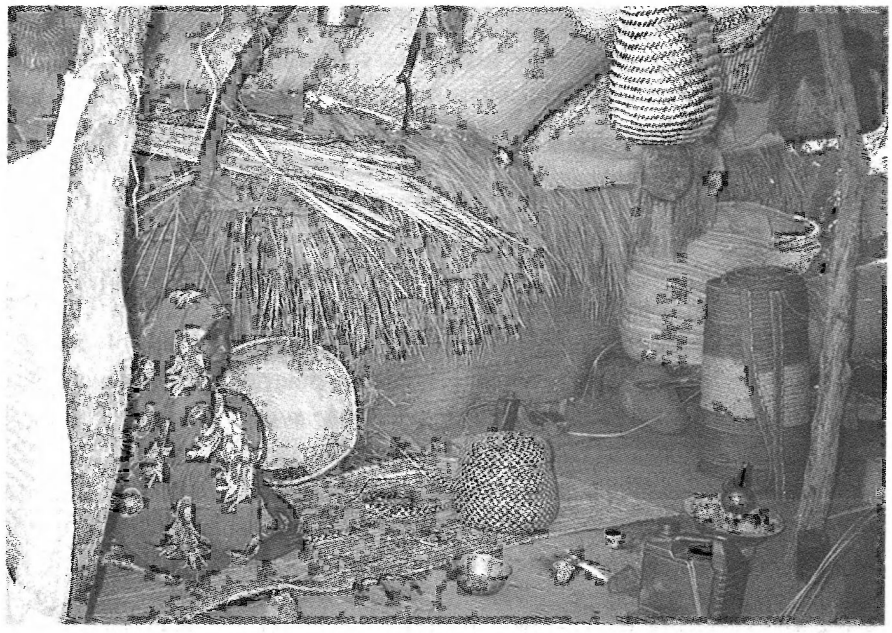
A hypothesis has been offered (s. Dimmendaal 2007; Rilly 2004) suggesting northern Sudanic origin (region of an ancient river known as Wadi Howar, now dried up) for the Eastern Sudanic language group, which includes also the N. language, whose closest relatives are considered Meroitic, Nubian and Tama. The reconstruction implies that after this subgroup separated from the Eastern Sudanic branch (3rd millennium B.C. according to Rilly), the N. migrated eastwards to the Nile, and later went up the Atbara river, eventually arriving in the territory of modern Eritrea. N.'s oral tradition claims the region of Kärän as their former settlement area (Thompson in BendNonSLang 598; cf. also Reinisch 1874:3).

It is assumed that the N. can be identified with the ancient people referred to in historical texts as "Barya", probably mentioned in some Greek sources (CRStor 58f., 72; Conti Rossini 1913:392–99). The "Barya" appear in an inscription of the 4th-cent. King ↗ᶜEzana (RIÉ 189:9; DAE 11:9 [cp. RIÉ 271:24–25]; ca. 330–60 A.D.) as victims of the ↗Noba, who had rebelled against Aksumite claims of dominance (cp. DAE IV, 37), as well as in the late Aksumite inscription of *ḫaśani* ↗Danəʾel (DAE 12:19, but cp. RIÉ 194:19). Of unclear value is the reference to the "Barya of Dəmaḫ" in the *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*Aksum* (CRAxum 18; PankBord 28).

The 10th-cent. Arab geographer ↗Ibn Ḥawqal mentions the "Bāriya(h)" as cattle-raising peasants who pull out their foreteeth and slit their ears (tr. 1964:53). He places them (as well as the "Bazen" [Bāzīn], i.e. Kunama) on the borders of the Christian ᶜAlwa (Alodia) Kingdom in the Nile valley (↗Nubia), near ↗Kassala, about 150 km west of today's Barentu, which supports the idea of a later migration (Murdock 1959:170). "Bāriyā" is mentioned as a non-Muslim region of Abyssinia by al-↗Maqrīzī in the *Ilmām* (MaqIlmam² 2), and by al-Qalqašandī (1915:303). The Italian map ↗*Egyptus Novelo* indicates the area of "Baria silaus" (probably meaning the 'flat-nosed', Lat. *silanus*). In 1523 the inhabitants of the "province of Baria" are described as "blacks with curly hair" (CrawItin 166; s. Pankhurst 1977).

A few Ethiopian medieval sources mention the "Barya". It can not be excluded that the group had occupied a wider territory which was later lost to the ↗Adkämä Məlgaʾ under ↗Wärasinä Ǝgziʾ in the 14th cent. (LusStud 61; Conti Rossini 1942:154, 176; cp. also reference to [↗Däbrä?] Dəmaḥ above). The "[Ḥarb] Barya" under the commander Angotay of the History of *aṣe* ↗ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon I's campaign in 1329 (MarAmdS 114; KrAmdS 34 [text]) can be understood as either an ethnic military unit composed of the "Barya" (i.e. N.), typical for the then military organization of the Emperor's army (MarAmdS 115 [tr.]), or as a "slave corps" (s. KrAmdS 40 [tr.]). The *mədrä Barya*, 'land of Barya', is mentioned in the Acts of the 15th-cent. ↗Filəppos of Däbrä Bizän who sent monks there to search for hon-

ey (Conti Rossini 1901:107). Whilst an edict of *aṣe* ↗Zärʾa Yaᶜəqob from ca. 1455–57 assigns "the land of Barya who are Dubane" to ↗Däbrä Maryam Qʷäḥayn (Conti Rossini 1923; LusStud 92), the Acts of Filəṗṗos describe Dubane as a territory and people separate from (though neighbouring upon) the "Barya" (Conti Rossini 1901:81, 157; LusStud 99). In the next centuries, the N. became formally tributaries of the ↗Funǧ, whose domination ended by 1821, when the Egyptians occupied ↗Sinnār (Pollera 1913:18f.)



Nara woman in her basketry shop at the market of Barentu; photo December 1997, courtesy of Wolbert Smidt

The geopolitical front-line position of the N. in the borderland between the rivalling powers of the region turned them into both victims and assailants. Whilst they suffered from slave raids and claims for tribute, they also exploited regional powers in their own interests, competing for fertile land and livestock with their neighbours in the south, the Kunama, the ↗Beni ᶜAmər pastoralists in the north, the people of Wälqayt in the west and the highlanders.

In 1844–45, ca. 1,000 N. were sold at ↗Massawa after the raids of *däğğazmač* ↗Wəbe Ḫaylä Maryam's officers (DouinIsm III.1, 263; cp. AbPrince 120). In 1856 N. warriors burnt down the Beni ᶜAmər village of ↗Kufit, after the Egyptians had left their garrison nearby. Since then the N. became formal subjects to Ottoman Egypt, but remained unreliable tax payers. Around that time, the inhabitants of Mägälo converted to ↗Islam (Lejean quoted in TrIslam 217; cf. also DouinIsm III.1, 44f., n. 4).

In 1861, Kunama scouts led troops of Wäldä Ṣadəq Märrač, the governor of ↗Adyabo, to Mägälo, which was then destroyed and its population enslaved (DouinIsm III.1, 44). The Egyptian governor-general of Sudan, Ğaᶜfar *bāšā* Maẓhar, fearing an Ethiopian take-over of his governorate of ↗Taka, complained in a letter to *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II. He also urged local *šayḫs* to form a military alliance, which stopped the troops of Wäldä Ṣadəq who was killed in 1866 (Pankhurst in PICES 9, vol. 4). An unsuccessful French settlement project ended in 1864, when Comte de Bisson did not manage to get his troops beyond "Barea", but established a fortified camp there, before being forced back to Kassala by a strong Egyptian force. Tewodros sensed a conspiratorial plot and sent his French advisor Bardel to investigate this project (Hozier 1864:27f.).

After the emergence of ↗Mahdist forces and the fall of Kassala on 30 July 1885, British and Egyptian envoys urged *ras* ↗Alula Ǝngəda, the governor of the ↗Märäb Məllaš, to march against the army of ᶜUṯmān Diqna, awaiting Alula in the N. area. ᶜUṯmān failed to mobilize the local population, probably because pro-Egyptian *šayḫ* ᶜUṯmān al-Mīrġanī had spread rumours among the local Beni ᶜAmər and N. groups about an expected heavily armed Ethiopian force. So the N. *šayḫ* Aray Agaba moved cattle and warriors away, escaping both armies, who finally met at Kufit on 23 September 1885. When the defeat of the Mahdists became imminent, the N. warriors joined the battle pursuing and massacring them (Pollera 1913:47; ErlAlula² 70). Later *šayḫ* Aray managed to repel the raid of *baša* Käbret of Adyabo and the Mahdists who sought revenge. He ordered that cattle be prepared for Alula's troops, but did not meet their expectations, and they devastated the N. country (Pollera 1913:51f.). The famine of 1888 (↗*Kəfu qän*) further diminished the N. They welcomed the Italian colonizers, who recognized their local administration and brought the slave raids to an end (KilHDic 323).

Under the Italians, the N. were administratively grouped with the Kunama, with the capital in Barentu. Their first governor, Alberto ↗Pollera,

named the *residenza* he established within the Barka Commissariat at Aqordät "Gasc e Setit". The administrative unit was later kept, as Gaš-Setit *awraǧǧa*, by the Ethiopian government. The Italian railway, which connected Massawa to Aqordät, was extended to the N. town of Biša in 1932, but the line was terminated by the ↗British Military Administration soon afterwards. A highway has since been built to connect Asmära with Täsänäy via Barentu, Biša and Aqordät.

During the British Administration period 1941–52, the N. together with Beni ᶜAmər were possibly engaged in raids against the Kunama (Lussier 1997). The latter sought protection of the Ethiopian state and army during the periods of federation and annexation, while the N. joined the ↗Eritrean Liberation Front (E.L.F.), after 1961. The father of the first E.L.F. leader, ↗Ḥamid Idris ᶜAwate, was a N. Many N. were then driven into Sudanese refugee camps by the *Därg* and the ↗Eritrean People's Liberation Front (E.P.L.F.). A group of N. E.L.F. fighters around Ibrāhīm Idris Totil, founding member of the Marxist-oriented Eritrean Labour Party, returned as "E.L.F.-SAGEM" (E.L.F.-C.L.) back to the field and finally joined the E.P.L.F. in 1987. A lot of N. successfully integrated into Sudanese society, some of them engaged in Eritrean Islamic Jihad's activities in Mägälo in 1989 and around Sawa in 1991, then backed by the Sudanese government (KilHDic 254, 277). In the new Eritrean administrative division the N. are in Gaš-Barka province (Alexander Naty 2002:569ff.).

The N. take part in the work of the Ministry of Information's Department of Languages in today's independent Eritrea. However, the N. and their culture remain widely unknown in the capital Asmära and marginalized in national politics, administration and resource distribution.

One of the few N.-singers commonly known in today's Eritrea is Adem Fayd Amir.

Ethnographical overview

The first extensive description of the N. is given in the 1860s, by Munzinger, who sees them as only loosely intertwined with the Kunama in the south, while in friendly cohabitation with the ↗Algäden in the west (MunSt 4). He described a village-based agricultural society in transition, characterized by matrilineal descent and acephalous rule of elders, divided into two independent districts, Mogareb in the west and Higir in the east, linked through intermarriage and a paramount war chief. The Higir were practising a village-based jurisdiction placing the individual above family and goods, disregarding wealth or poverty. Five villages, collectively called "Tembáderé", practised a local "Barea-religion". The Islamization of the Mogareb, however, had been already completed, and Muslim marriage and heritage law as well as more conservative gender concepts had been introduced (MunSt 474f.). A local N. rainmaker, *alfai*, used to live outside the village settlements and served the neighbouring Algäden as well (MunSt 474).

In the 1940s, ↗Nadel sketched a clan-based society of patrilinear descent with Islamic conceptions overlaying more traditional features of culture and social structure, with strengthened clans and leaders – the *nāẓir* at paramount level, *mašinge* (Arab. *ᶜumda*) and deputy *nada* (Arab. *wakīl*) at district levels (NadEr 24–27).

The N. population has grown considerably since colonial times: they counted 5,531 in 1905, 9,749 in 1931 and 10,502 in 1939 (Tekeste Negash 1987). They officially count ca. 41,000 in Eritrea, and 63,000 mother tongue N. speakers altogether (Bender 2000). They are known for their local beer production, their ploughing holiday, *Kina Farda*, and their harvest festivals, *Maškela* (cp. ↗*Mäsqäl*) and *Uwa* (Denison – Paice 2002:176; also "*Thijot*" in MunSt 473, *tiyot* in Reinisch 1874:8).

Src.: AbPrince 120, 135; CrawItin 166; CONTI ROSSINI, "Il Gadla Filpos e il Gadla Yoḥannes di Dabra Bizan", *RRALm* ser. 5ª, 8, 1901, 61–170; ID., "Studi su popolazioni dell'Etiopia. IV", *RSO* 6, 1913, 392–403; ID., "Aethiopica (I)", *ibid.* 9, 1923, 365–468, here 452–55; ID., *Proverbi, tradizioni e canzoni tigrine*, Roma 1942, s. index; CRAxum 18 (text) = 20 (tr.); CRStor 58f., 72; DAE IV, nos. 11, 12; DouinIsm III.1, 42ff., 263; IBN ḤAWQAL, *Configuration de la terre*, tr. by JOHANNES HENDRIK KRAMERS – GASTON WIET, vol. 1, Beyrouth, Paris 1964, 53; KrAmdS 34 (text) = 40 (tr.); HIOB LUDOLF, *Lexicon Amharico–Latinum* ..., Frankfurt 1698, coll. 11, 40; MaqIlmam² 2; MarAmdS 114 (text) = 115 (tr.); ABŪ L-ᶜABBĀS AḤMAD AL-QALQAŠANDĪ, *Kitāb Ṣubḥ al-aᶜšā* ('The Book of the Dawn of the Blind'), vol. 5, Cairo 1915, 303; RIÉ 189, 271.

Lit.: ALEXANDER NATY, "Environment, Society and the State in Western Eritrea", *Africa* [London] 72, 4, 2002, 569–97; M. LIONEL BENDER, "Nilo-Saharan", in: BERND HEINE – DEREK NURSE (eds.), *African Languages: an Introduction*, Cambridge 2000, 43–73; BudHist 249–55; CESARE CALCATI – LUIGI BRACCIANI, *Nel Paese dei Cunama: Missione Corni-Calciati-Bracciani in Eritrea, 1922–1923*, Milano 1927; ENRICO CERULLI, "La Nubia cristiana, i Baria ed i Cunama, nel X secolo a. Cr. secondo Ibn Hawqal, geografo arabo", *Annali IUO* 3, 1949, 215–22; DAWD ABUSHUSH, "A Nara Tale", *Ethnorema* 3, 2007 [online]; GERRIT DIMMENDAAL, "Eastern Sudanic and the Wadi Howar Diaspora", in: WILHELM J.G. MÖHLIG (ed.), *Cultural Change in the Prehistory of Arid Africa: Perspec-*

tives of Archaeology and Linguistics (= Sprachen und Geschichte in Africa 18), 37–67; EDWARD DENISON – EDWARD PAICE, *Eritrea*, Bucks 2002, 176; ErlAlula², s. index; VINIGI GROTTANELLI – CLAUDIA MASSARI (ed.), *Missione di studio al Lago Tana*, 6: *I Baria, i Cunama e i Beni Amer*, Roma 1943; M. THEODOR v. HEUGLIN, *Karte von Aethiopien*, Jena 1867; HENRY MONTAGUE HOZIER, *Der Britische Feldzug nach Abessinien: Aus officiellen Aktenstücken*, Berlin 1870; KilHDic 323; DOMINIQUE LUSSIER, "Local Prohibitions, Memory and Political Judgement among the Kunama: an Eritrean Case Study", in: *PICES* 13, vol. 2, 441–55; MunSt 452–536; GEORGE PETER MURDOCK, *Africa: its Peoples and their Culture History*, New York 1959, 170–80; NadEr; RICHARD PANKHURST, "The History of Bareya, Šanqella and other Ethiopian Slaves from the Borderlands of the Sudan", *SNR* 58, 1977, 1–43 (Lit.); RITA PANKHURST, "An Unpublished Letter of King of Kings Téwodros II to the Egyptian Governor of the Sudan", in: *PICES* 9, vol. 4, 167–76; ALBERTO POLLERA, *I Baria e i Cunama*, Roma 1913; PollEr 236–47; LEO REINISCH, *Die Barea-Sprache: Grammatik, Text und Wörterbuch*, Wien 1874; CLAUDE RILLY, "The Linguistic Position of Meroitic", *ARKAMANI Sudan Electronic Journal of Archaeology and Anthropology*, March 2004; E. DAVID THOMPSON, "Languages of Northern Eritrea", in: *BendNonSLang* 597–603; TEKESTE NEGASH, *Italian Colonialism in Eritrea, 1882–1941: Policies, Praxis and Impact*, Uppsala 1987 (Studia Historica Upsaliensia 148); TrIslam 217f.

Magnus Treiber

Naretti, Giacomo

N. (b. 29 August 1831, Parella, Ivrea [Torino], d. 8 May 1899, Asmära) was an Italian craftsman who was in the service of *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV from 1871 till 1886.

N. and his younger brother Giuseppe (b. 4 June 1839, Parella, d. August 1881, Mäqälä) came from a family of peasants and received training as carpenters. In 1856 they both moved to Marseilles and in 1864 to Alexandria, Egypt.

In 1870, N. joined a group of 13 young European craftsmen invited by an envoy of *däğğazmač* Kaśa Mərčə of Təgray. They reached ↗ᶜAdwa on 21 April 1871. The company soon dissolved but N. stayed and won Kaśa's trust and benevolence. For Kaśa, crowned in 1872 as Yoḥannəs IV, N. carried out many important works that revealed his practical skills as well as a certain architectural talent. He completed the construction of the ↗Däbrä Bərhan Śəllase church in ᶜAdwa, built a house for the Emperor at ↗Aksum, the churches of Ḫəruy Giyorgis at ↗Däbrä Tabor and Ǝnda Kidanä Məḥrät in ↗Mäqälä, and the scenic imperial palace at Mäqälä (possibly with the help of Wilhelm [Ǝngədašät] Schimper, the mixed-race son of the German botanist Wilhelm ↗Schimper). N. also produced furniture, such as the splendid imperial "Solomonic" throne for the Emperor, which can still be seen in the Mäqälä palace, now a museum of Yoḥannəs IV. For the completion of the throne, the Emperor awarded N. after the coronation with the Order of Solomon.

In 1876, at Däbrä Tabor, N. married the 14-year-old Teresa Zander, also locally known as Abozzänäčč, a daughter of the German Eduard ↗Zander by his Ethiopian wife. From this time on, Teresa, educated by Swedish missionaries in ↗Ḥamasen, always accompanied her husband.

Apart from a short break (1877–78), N. followed the Emperor in all his movements. His diaries (publ. 2004) give valuable information on Yoḥannəs's campaigns against the ↗Yäğğu Oromo (1874 and 1879), on the victorious battles of the

Inscription on the throne (detail): *Yoḥannəs nəguśä nägäśt zä'ityopya wäkʷəllu adyamiha 1867 Naretti 1874*, 'Yoḥannəs, king of kings of Ethiopia and all its borderlands, 1867. Naretti 1874'; photo 2006 by James W. Kinley

The throne of *aṣe* Yoḥannəs in his palace in Mäqälä, 1874, work by Naretti; photo 2006, courtesy of Thomas Rave

↗Egyptian-Ethiopian war (↗Gundät and ↗Guraᶜ in 1874–75), on the meeting between the Emperor and ↗Mənilək of Šäwa in December 1879 to April 1880), and on the coronation of *nəguś* ↗Täklä Haymanot of Goğğam in January 1881.

In December 1877, N. returned to Alessandria where he reunited with Giuseppe, who had been supervising carpentry work there. In August 1878, both returned to Ethiopia but had to stop at Massawa for a while, the road to ᶜAdwa being blocked by the armies of the rebellious *ras* ↗Wäldä Mikaʾel. Here they encountered the expedition of Pellegrino ↗Matteucci and took their fellow-countrymen to Däbrä Tabor so that they could receive a travel permit for the rest of the country from the Emperor.

N. was also able to help other explorers (Pietro ↗Antonelli, Sebastiano ↗Martini, Gerhard ↗Rohlfs, Leopoldo ↗Traversi, Giuseppe ↗Vigoni etc.) due to his prominent position at the court. He played a decisive role in ensuring Yoḥannəs's action to liberate Antonio ↗Cecchi when the latter was kept prisoner by the queen of ↗Geeraa Gummiti Gane.

In 1886, following the Italian occupation of Massawa, the relationship between N. and the Emperor deteriorated, and N. received permission to temporarily return to Italy. On arrival, he was received with honours (in Rome by the Minister of foreign affairs and war). Until December 1887, N. stayed in his home Parella.

In early 1888, N. returned to Massawa in the service of the colonial government. His wife, too, was employed by the administration of the Colonia Eritrea as a translator and tutor of local languages. Here their first daughter, Angelina, was born in 1891. After they moved to Asmära, in 1895, the second daughter Margherita followed. About that time Teresa advanced to Oreste ↗Baratieri's personal interpreter. She remained in colonial services long after her husband's sudden death in 1899, up until 1924, and died in Asmära in 1948.

Another Naretti, Luigi, a professional photographer, stayed in Massawa from 1885 till his death in 1922. He contributed a lot to the image of colonial Eritrea (including parts of Təgray) among the Italians (↗Photography).

Src.: GUSTAVO BIANCHI, *Alla terra dei Galla*, Milano 1884, 44, 55, 61; MasMis XI, 151; PELLEGRINO MATTEUCCI, *In Abissinia*, Milano 1880, 81ff., 87f.; GERHARD ROHLFS, *L'Abissinia*, Milano 1885, 153ff., 174ff.; ALBERTO SBACCHI – GINO VERNETTO (eds.), *Giacomo Naretti alla corte del negus Giovanni IV d'Etiopia. Diari 1856–1881*, Ivrea 2004 (Lit.).

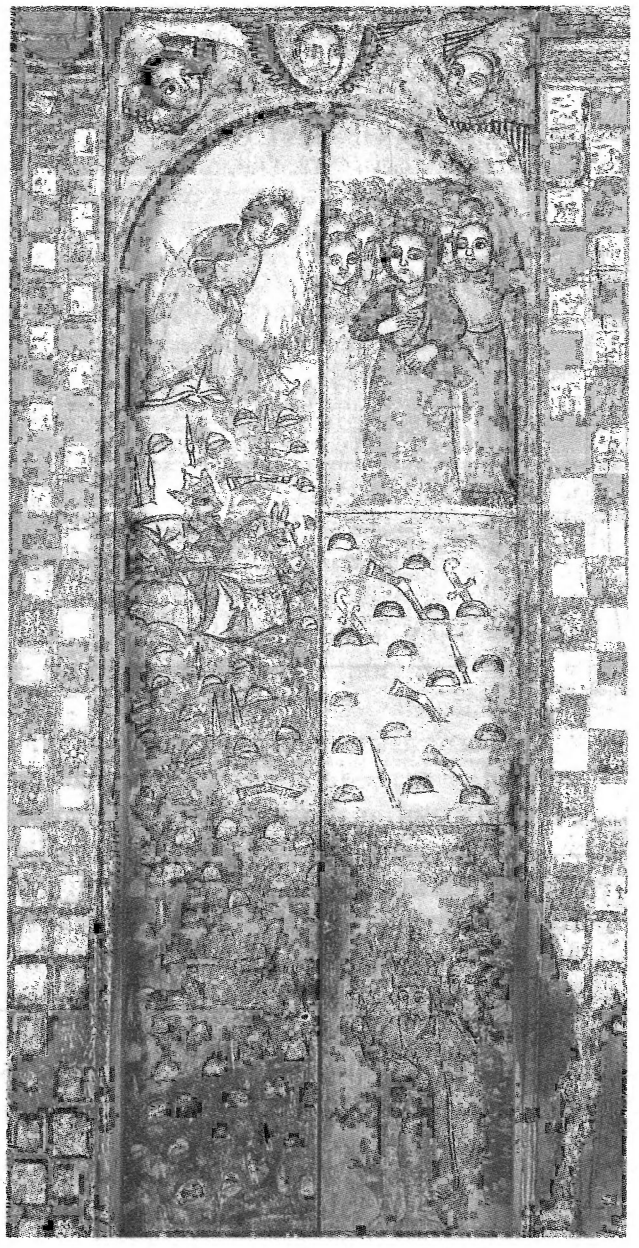
Lit.: ANGELO DEL BOCA, *Gli Italiani in Africa Orientale: Dall'Unità alla marcia su Roma*, Roma – Bari 1979; ALBERTO SBACCHI, "Le memorie di Giacomo Naretti alla corte dell'imperatore Giovanni IV d'Etiopia", *Studi Piacentini* 31, 2002, 117–35; SILVANA PALMA, "Fotografia di una colonia: l'Eritrea di Luigi Naretti (1885/1910)", *Quaderni storici* 37, [109], 1, 2002, 83–148; PankHist II, 77f., 91f., 102, 108, 121f., 356 (Lit.).

Gino Vernetto

Narga Śəllase

N.Ś. (ናርጋ: ሥላሴ) is the church on the islet of Narga, east of Däq island at the centre of Lake ↗Ṭana (for location s. Mändäbba). It was founded in 1737/38 by *ətege* Məntəwwab (↗Bərhan Mogäsa). The *Zena Narga* describes this event as the organization of the church of N.Ś. Däbrä Ǝsraʾel (Di Salvo et al. 1999:211–18). A *mämhər* was appointed head of this royal foundation and he received the title of *mälʾakä Ǝsraʾel*. The church's incomes were enumerated in the foundation's text and revised on several occasions. These incomes were divided between the clerics who officiated at N.Ś., and the official holders of the land tenures. Members of the *ətege*'s family, her allies and the ↗Ewosṭatean clerics were the main beneficiaries of the repartition. As a tool of political and economic control in the hands of the *ətege*, the lists of these persons have evolved throughout the years (Guidi 1905:253–60; Euringer 1933:307–11; 1935:105–14; Bosc-Tiessé 2001:255–86, 526–50). *Ǝtege* Məntəwwab and her son ↗Iyasu II also richly endowed the church with books (some microfilmed by EMML but not yet catalogued) and liturgical articles (Guidi 1905:242–47; Euringer 1933:294–301; Bosc-Tiessé 2000:260; 2001:319–27, 568–73).

The construction of the whole complex took more than a decade, up until 1750 (Bosc-Tiessé 2001:231–38). A large round centrally-planned church built of stones and lime is located at the centre of the compound (Bosc-Tiessé 2000:256f.; Di Salvo 1999:97–120). Under the supervision of Məntəwwab, the church was adorned with engravings on wood and stone (Bosc-Tiessé 2003), and with murals on the external walls of what was then the main part of the *mäqdäs* (integral reproduction in Di Salvo et al. 1999:146–89). The painters working at N.Ś. took their inspiration from several types of documents: the illuminated manuscripts from the reign of *aṣe* ↗Bäkaffa; the paintings of ↗Qʷəsqʷam; the occidental engravings, especially the copies of the collection book conceived by the Jesuit Nadal; and also the



Wall-paintings on the western door of the *mäqdäs* of Narga Śəllase; photo from Di Salvo et al. 1999:147

Dutch earthenware tiles used in the ornamentation of the Qʷəsqʷam royal church (↗Däbrä Ṣäḥay Qʷəsqʷam) and residence. Certain parts of the church were later repainted, and the church was partially restored under the reign of ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I during the 1950s (Bosc-Tiessé 2001:329–436, 577, 579–607; 2002; in PICEA 5).

Src.: IGNAZIO GUIDI (ed.), "Il ዜና፡ ናርጋ («Il Racconto di Nârgâ»)", *RRALm* ser. 5ª, 14, 1905, 233–67; SEBASTIAN EURINGER, "Die Geschichte von Narga: Ein Kapitel aus der abessinischen Kulturgeschichte des 18 Jhdts", *ZSem* 8, 1932; *ibid.* 9, 1933–34, 281–311; *ibid.* 10, 1935, 105–62; OSCAR LÖFGREN (ed.) – SEBASTIAN EURINGER (tr.), "Die beiden äthiopischen Anaphoren 'des heiligen Cyrillus, Patriarchen von Alexandrien'", *ibid.* 8, 1932, 210–34; *ibid.* 9, 1933–34, 44–86; MARIO DI SALVO – STANISŁAW CHOJNACKI – OSVALDO RAINERI (eds.), *Churches of Ethiopia: the Monastery of Nārgā Śellāsē*, Milano 1999.

Lit.: CLAIRE BOSC-TIESSÉ, "Notes sur l'histoire et l'art des églises du lac Tana. Rapport de mission (27 décembre 1997 – 28 janvier 1998)", *AE* 16, 2000, 207–70, here 256–60 (Lit.); EAD., *Art, Église et royauté en Éthiopie aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles: écriture de l'histoire et 'fabrique des images' dans les églises du lac Ṭānā*, Ph.D. thesis, Université de Paris-I 2001, 228–436, 577–607 (Lit.); EAD., "The Use of Occidental Engravings in Ethiopian Painting in the 17th and 18th Centuries", in: *PICEA* 5, 83–102; EAD., "Musée de l'Homme: la décoration de carreaux de faïence hollandais d'une église royale éthiopienne au XVIIIe siècle (Qʷesqʷam, Gondar)", *La Revue du Louvre* 3, 2002, 54–59; ID., "Fumer dans l'Éthiopie chrétienne au XVIIIe siècle: des mœurs de païen? Témoignage et contre-témoignage d'une image", paper at the Conference *Identités composées: Dynamiques linguistiques et religieuses en Afrique*, Centre de Recherches Africaines, Université de Paris-I, 24–26 novembre 2003.

Claire Bosc-Tiessé

Nasi, Guglielmo

N. (b. 21 February 1879, Civitavecchia, d. 20 October 1971, Modena) was an Italian general and governor in Somalia and Ethiopia. In 1896, he joined the military academy in Turin, graduating in 1898 as a second lieutenant of artillery. In 1911 he participated in the war against Turkey and stayed in Libya until 1913. Between 1915 and 1918, he participated in ↗World War I as a Major and later Lieutenant colonel. Afterwards, he served in Tripoli as Head of Staff in Tripolitania until 1925. Promoted to Colonel, he worked in Paris at the Italian embassy. In 1935, as Brigadier General he commanded the Italian troops in Cyrenaica and in Libya. In 1936, he left for Somalia (↗Italian Somaliland) with the "Libia" colonial division and was promoted to Major General.

In Ethiopia, N. was an advocate of reforming the Italian administration, persecuting abuses against the local population and fighting corruption. Nevertheless, in 1936–37, as governor and commander in ↗Harär, he used terror methods to "pacify" the land. He also supported, for political reasons, the policies of Amedeo di ↗Savoia against Rodolfo ↗Graziani. In 1938, he was promoted to Lieutenant General. He was then nominated Vice-Governor of ↗Africa Orientale Italiana and, simultaenously, governor of Šäwa and, starting from 1941, Amhara. In 1941, he was promoted to General and on 27 November the same year, after fierce resistence, surrendered with his troops in Gondär. He spent four years in prison in Kenya and was released on 1946. In 1949, he was named head of the provisory Italian Somali administration, but he was dismissed due

to protests by the Ethiopian government, who accused him of war crimes.

↗Italian war 1935–36

Src.: GUGLIELMO NASI, *Il mio credo*, Addis Abeba 1939.
Lit.: ALBERTO ROVIGHI, *La famiglia Nasi di Modena*, Modena 1999.

Gian Carlo Stella – Red.

Näsibu Mäsqälo

Afä nəguś N.M. (ነሲቡ፡ መስቀሎ, horse name "Abba Damo"; d. July 1908) was one of the most influential personalities at *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II's court. Born in a simple family in Ankobär, Šäwa, he became the Imperial Chief Justice in 1881 or 1882. During his long service, N.M. was believed to be just but severe. He introduced the habit of burning signs on thieves' foreheads to mark them as a law-breakers, and was in favour of cutting limbs as a form of punishment.

In October 1907 N.M. entered the first Cabinet of Ministers as the Minister of Justice (Amh. *yäfərd ministär*). He was made the chairman of the Council. At that time, of all the ministers, only himself and the Minister of War, *fitawrari* ↗Habtä Giyorgis, were important in their own right. N.M. was also one of the eleven Emperor's closest officials who, as *Maḫbär zämaryam* took part in the monthly celebration of the feast of St. Mary together with Mənilək.

N.M. participated in the battle of ↗ᶜAdwa having, together with his son *däğğazmač* (later *ras*) Däməssäw, 3,000 men of Mənilək under his orders and 2,000 of his own troops.

N.M. died in his house in Addis Abäba, which still stands on a hill overlooking the *Gəbbi*, from poisoning induced by the mercury fumes he was using as a treatment for syphilis. He was buried in the Qəddəst Śəllase Cathedral and was succeeded as the Minister of Justice by his assistant ↗Ǝsṭifanos.

N.M.'s wife, *wäyzäro* Dästa, was of Gurage origin and one of the most respected women of this period. After her husband's death she retired to ↗Dayr as-Sulṭān in Jerusalem.

N.M.'s son Däməssäw Näsibu was governor of Leeqaa and Wälläga. He participated in the coup d'état against Mənilək's spouse, *ətege* ↗Ṭaytu, in 1910. He died in 1918.

Src.: ALEXANDER BULATOVITCH, *Ethiopia through Russian Eyes: Country in Transition, 1896–1898*, tr. by RICHARD SELTZER, Lawrenceville, NJ – Asmara 2000; EDWARD GLEICHEN, *With the Mission to Menelik, 1897*, London 1898, 125, 239ff.; GueCopMen 300ff., 461, 503, 518, 527, 537, pl. XXVIII, fig. 45; MahHorse 244; MÄRSƎᶜE HAZÄN WÄLDÄ QIRQOS, የዘመን፡ ታሪክ፡ ትዝታዬ፡ በዳግማዊ ፡ ምኒልክ፡ ዘመነ፡ መንግሥት (*Yäzämän tarik təzzətaye bädagmawi Mənilək zämänä mängəśt*, 'My Memories of the History of the Period of Reign of Mənilək II'), Addis Abäba 2002, 34ff., 43, 50f., 57; GIUSEPPE PIAZZA, *Alla corte di Menelik*, Ancona 1912, 174f.
Lit.: ANDRZEJ BARTNICKI – JOANNA MANTEL-NIEĆKO, *Historia Etiopii*, Wrocław 1987, 334f.; MILENA BATISTONI – GIAN PAOLO CHIARI, *Old Tracks in the New Flower. A Historical Guide to Addis Ababa*, Addis Ababa 2004, 141f.; PETER P. GARRETSON, *A History of Addis Abäba from its Foundation in 1886 to 1910*, Wiesbaden 2000, 20, 45ff., 49, 155; RICHARD CAULK, *"Between the Jaws of Hyenas": a Diplomatic History of Ethiopia (1876–1896)*, ed. by BAHRU ZEWDE, Wiesbaden 2002, 487; CHRIS PROUTY, *Empress Taitu and Menelik II, Ethiopia 1883–1910*, Trenton, NJ 1986, 295.

Hanna Rubinkowska

Näsibu Zäʾamanuʾel

Däğğazmač N.Z. (ነሲቡ፡ ዘአማኑኤል; b. 1893, d. 16 October 1936, Davos, Switzerland) was an important government official of the first half of the 20th cent. He was the son of *azzaž* Zäʾamanuʾel, a senior palace official of the end of ↗Mənilək II's reign. He was educated at Addis Abäba's ↗Mənilək II School, where he learned French; he later became proficient in Italian. Throughout his career, he received several senior level appointments, including consul in Asmära (1918), mayor of Addis Abäba (1921), governor of Gurage and Soddo, director general in the Ministry of Defense, and Governor of Bale (1932). In 1931 he received the title of *däğğazmač*.

Many old-guard court officials disliked N.Z. and accused him of being "un-Ethiopian" because of his missionary education, his habit of wearing western clothes, and, most importantly, his determination to reform the monarchy.

Despite this opposition, N.Z. quickly established himself as a valuable confidant of *ras* Täfäri (later *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I). On 18 February 1928, 2,300 policemen, commanded by N.Z., surrounded *däğğazmač* ↗Balča's camp outside Addis Abäba. As leader of the Young Ethiopians, N.Z. organized the 1928 palace revolution that marginalized Empress ↗Zäwditu who, on 22 September 1928, re-confirmed *ras* Täfäri as "heir to the throne and Regent Plenipotentiary", thus paving the way for his eventual emergence as Emperor. As governor of Bale, N.Z. established security, supported the construction of clinics, markets, roads, and schools, and helped the Belgian mission to train the ↗Imperial Bodyguard.

After the outbreak of the ↗Italian war (1935–36) on 3 October 1935, N.Z. assumed command of the Ogaden Army. The Imperial Army suffered from a lack of arms and ammunition, good communications, and adequate food supplies. Despite these difficulties, N.Z. slowed the Italian offensive in the ↗Ogaden. Credit for this achievement also must be shared with N.Z.'s three foreign military advisors, Wehib *paša* who had fought at Gallipoli in 1915; Ṭāriq *bey*, a Sudanese who had fought the Italians in Libya; and Major Fārūq *bey* who had served in Athens as Turkey's military attaché. All three gave him sound military advice.

Däğğazmač Näsibu Zäʾamanuʾel; photo from Ministry of Information 1963:6

N.Z.'s troops camped near Harär and ↗Ğiğiga while his advanced columns were in the Wälwäl-Gerlogubi-Qorrahe region. In November 1935, using chemical weapons, Italian forces captured Qorrahe but heavy rains interrupted their progress. Nevertheless, General Rodolfo ↗Graziani sought to continue the offensive by deploying motorized columns against the Ethiopians. However, N.Z.'s troops successfully attacked Italian forces south of Sassabaneh. On 11 November 1935, the Emperor arrived in Ğiğiga and then visited Dägah Bur, where he conferred with N.Z. about the campaign against the Italians. Among other things, N.Z. complained about numerous desertions and told the Emperor that he had ordered the execution of three officers for cowardice. However, the Emperor countermanded N.Z.'s order and instead ordered them to be flogged. Despite such problems, nearly all Italian advances on the northern and southern fronts had ground to a halt by early 1936, a development that proved to be short-lived.

Preparations for the final battle of the Ogaden began on 14 April 1936, after Wehib *paša* had established a defensive line between Sassabaneh and Dägah Bur and had threatened Italian forces with a static warfare with a high number of casualties. His warning proved to be an empty threat. Wehib had organized the construction of 15 miles of trenches to block the Ğiğiga road, but they lacked parapets and fire steps. Moreover, Ethiopian troops in the trenches had less than 60 cartridges apiece. On 16 April 1936, hostilities began but after three hours of fighting Ethiopian troops broke and fled, leaving some 5,000 of their compatriots dead on the battlefield. N.Z.'s departure to Djibouti, from where he travelled to Europe in exile, enabled remnants of his army to sack Harär for three days.

After arriving in Europe, N.Z. became head of the Ethiopian delegation at the ↗League of Nations. Among other things, he informed the member states that the Emperor had renounced none of his rights and that he claimed to continue exercising them. N.Z. also forwarded two resolutions to the Secretary-General. The first urged the League of Nations to refuse to lift sanctions against Italy. However, the member states voted 44 "yes", one "no", and four abstentions. The second resolution sought the League of Nations' approval for a £10,000,000 loan to help Ethiopia continue its war against Italy. Sadly for N.Z., the final tally showed 23 nations had voted "no", with one "yes" vote, and 25 abstentions. These failures marked the end of a great career. N.Z. died in the same year, while undergoing treatment for tuberculosis at a clinic in Davos, Switzerland.

Lit.: GOVERNMENT OF ETHIOPIA (ed.), *Liberation Silver Jubilee 1941–1966*, Addis Ababa 1966, 13f., 17, 30ff.; JOHN H. SPENCER, *Ethiopia at Bay: a Personal Account of the Haile Sellassie Years*, Algonac, MI 1987, 44f.; HSLife II, 4; HAROLD GOLDEN MARCUS, *Haile Sellassie I: the Formative Years, 1892–1936*, Berkeley, CA 1987, 114f., 158, 168f.; ARTHUR J. BARKER, *The Civilizing Mission: a History of the Italian-Ethiopian War*, New York 1968, 284f.; RICHARD GREENFIELD, *Ethiopia: a New Political History*, London 1965, 181, 195, 200, 221, 225f.; MINISTRY OF INFORMATION (ed.), *Harar's Progress and Development*, Addis Ababa 1963, 6 (ill.); ANTHONY MOCKLER, *The Italian-Ethiopian Campaign, 1935–1941*, 50ff., 91f., 127, 129, 139, 141, 152, 365.

Thomas P. Ofcansky

Naṣīr b. ʿUṯmān b. Badlāy

N. (نصير بن عثمان بن بدلاى; r. 1571–73, d. 1573) became the *sulṭān* of ↗Harär after the deposition of the *sulṭān* ↗Ṭalḥa b. ʿAbbās on 2 May 1571. With N., rule again switched over from the family of ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī to that of ↗Nūr b. Muğāhid's Ethiopian slave – ↗ʿUṯmān b. Badlāy, N.'s father.

N. died after two years of rule. He was succeeded by his son ↗Muḥammad b. Naṣīr b. ʿUṯmān.

Src.: ENRICO CERULLI, "Documenti arabi per la storia dell'Etiopia", *MRALm* ser. 6ª, 4, 1931, 39–101, here 54, 64 (text) = 60, 69 (tr.) [repr. in: *CerIslam* 135–206, here 154, 167 (text) = 161, 173 (tr.)].
Lit.: TrIslam 96.

Ewald Wagner

Nasisee Liiban

N.L. (or Haḍa Gammaččʉ; b. ca. 1900, d. ca. 1986), an Oromo from ↗Naǧǧoo in Central ↗Wälläga, became known as matron of the ↗Swedish Evangelical Mission boarding school in her home town. For boys, for whom there was no room in the boarding house and who lived too far away to attend school as daypupils, she provided lodging in her own house. N.L. attended a confirmation course and was confirmed on 7 March 1936 by the Protestant pastor Martin Nordfeldt.

After the Italians occupied Naǧǧoo, the boarding school and the Evangelical church were closed down. N.L. opened a small "trattoria" (restaurant) in town. She became a fervent evangelist and the spokeswoman of the Evangelical movement in the area. An Italian resident at Naǧǧoo, Lieutenant Mario, nicknamed her *capo protestanti.*

Every rainy season N.L., who suffered from asthma, spent some weeks at Čalliya Eka in the house of her relative *balambaras* Gamada Urgessa. There she taught some women and children to read, and in the evenings she instructed the members of the household and neighbours in the Christian faith.

N.L. was active, among others, in founding the Čalliya Eka congregation. She spoke openly against the traditional religion practiced in the area and its priests (↗*Qaalluu*), among them the influential Abbaa Magaal, whose son Olanaa later was converted to Christianity. She also went to Teegii were Ašanaa Naggaadee had started preaching. After a while five *qaalluu*-priests converted to Christianity.

After the Swedish missionaries left the country during the Italian occupation, N.L. invited the German missionaries from Aʾira to preach and administer the sacraments at Boǧi and Naǧǧoo. Concerned that the German missionaries might also have to leave the country, N.L. asked pastor Wassmann to ordain ↗Dafaa Ǧammoo for the ministry. Thus ordained on 17 April 1941, Dafaa Ǧammoo became the pastor for the then four congregations with confirmed members, namely for Boǧi, Naǧǧoo, Aʾira, and Teegii.

N.L. later moved to Addis Abäba where her daughter had married a colonel. They were all active members of the ↗Ethiopian Evangelical Church Mekane Yesus in Addis Abäba.

Lit.: ArEvang.

Johannes Launhardt

Naṣraddīn b. Aḥmad

N. (نصر الدين بن احمد; d. 1542), ↗*gärad* of ↗Däwaro, was the second of the three sons of *imām* ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī ("Grañ"). He should not be confused with the *gärad* of ↗Gänäzo called Naṣraddīn by the Ethiopian "short chronicles" (BassÉt, BégCron, DombrChr), whose actual name appears to be Samraddīn (KrLebD 22, n. 105 [tr.]).

N. was, according to the chronicle of *aṣe* ↗Gälawdewos, the governor of Däwaro in the Emperor's first year of reign (1540). Considering his father's alleged birth year (ca. 1506), N. must then have been younger than 20 years. He was attacked by the likewise young Gälawdewos with a rather insignificant troop, but was able to achieve an overwhelming victory and Gälawdewos had to flee. Soon after, N. had to deal with high losses after fighting renegades, who had fled to the highlands after the Ethiopian Church of ↗Ifat succeeded in its missionary work.

Two years later, in September 1542, N. attacked the Ethiopians, but they received help from Gälawdewos, and defeated N.

Among the thousands of dead Muslims there were also high-ranking officers. N. himself died suddenly after the battle through poison, or as it is also reported through the consequences of a mental illness.

Src.: ConzGal XVIII–XIX, XXI; 12ff., 19f. (text); 128f., 131f. = ch. X, XIV (tr.); BassÉt 18 (text) = 110 (tr.); BegCron 26f.; DombrChr 45 (text) = 169 (tr.); KrLebD 21 and n. 35 (text) = 22 and n. 105 (tr.).
Lit.: PankBord 181f., 196, 223f.

Franz-Christoph Muth

National Archives and Library of Ethiopia

National Library of Ethiopia

The first N.L. of Ethiopia ([ብሄራዊ፡] ቤተ፡ መጻሕፍት፡ ወመዘክር, [*bəherawi*] *betä mäṣaḥəft wämäzäkkər*) opened on 5 May 1944, in a building located near Black Lion Hospital in ↗Addis Abäba and constructed by the Italians during

the occupation of Ethiopia (1936–41). The first books and the first 200 manuscripts were granted by *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I; the majority of the first 15,000 volumes were inherited from the Italian Government Library which operated in Addis Abäba during the occupation. The first librarian was Śäräqä Bərhan Gäbrä'əgzer, an Eritrean church scholar who had studied in ↗Greece. The first keeper of the manuscripts was *abba* ↗Jérôme Gäbrä Muse (until 1964). The N.L. was then directly answerable to the Ministry of Education. It was managed by state clerks and sometimes advised by foreign experts (Hans Wilhelm ↗Lockot, Stephen ↗Wright, Rita Pankhurst).

The collection of books published in European languages steadily increased, particularly thanks to donations from embassies and, occasionally, such institutions as the British Council. Apart from current issues of magazines published in Ethiopia and Eritrea, the N.L. received some foreign periodicals. During the 1950s, the very active policy of the director ↗Käbbädä Mika'el greatly contributed to N.L. expansion. In 1952, the Institut Éthiopien d'Études et de Recherche, dedicated mainly to archaeological researches and run by French scholars, was created and attached to the N.L.

In 1967, the Department of National Library and Archives of Ethiopia was created under the Ministry of Culture and Sports. The N.L. has since been the initiator and co-ordinator of public library service throughout the country. The N.L. itself functioned additionally as a public library. The reading hall, first named after ↗Ḫəruy Wäldä Śəllase and in 1958 renamed "Public Division", collected books for school students and for the growing modern-educated public. The part of the N.L. devoted to the collection, cataloguing and preservation of *Ethiopica* was named "Research Division". The *Därg* (↗Provisional military administrative council) left the N.L. under the Ministry of Culture and Sports, recognizing the Public Division's role in the Public Library system. In 1976 a Legal Deposit Proclamation (No. 50) gave the N.L. the right to three copies of all materials published in the country. By the beginning of the 21st cent. ca. 26,000 books, as well as newspapers, audio-visual and computer materials, had been acquired through legal deposit. A national bibliography was first produced in mimeographed form in 1980 under the title *Ethiopian Publications* and continues to appear annually – since the 1990s as a digital printout. It is distributed to government and international agencies and associations.

In 1999, the Ethiopian National Archives and Library Proclamation (no. 179) grouped together, under a single Agency, the old N.L. and the newly formed National Archives, each with its own Director responsible to the same Director-General of the Ministry of Information and Culture. In anticipation of their further development and as an acknowledgment of the differences between their respective tasks, types of materials and required professional skills, it was declared that "where found necessary the National Archives and the National Library may be established separately and have their respective autonomous body". According to the proclamation, the National Archives and Library of Ethiopia (NALE, **ብሄራዊ፡ ቤተመዛግብትና፡ ቤተመጻሕፍት፡ ድርጅት**, *bəherawi betämäzagəbtənna betämäṣaḥəft dərəǧǧət*) has the objective of "collecting, systematically organizing, preserving, and making the information resources of the country accessible for study and research activities".

The public reading room has about 23,000 reference works, of which over 7,000 are in ↗Amharic. Four manual card catalogues are in use: catalogue of reference books; of the main reading room; of the World Bank, UNESCO and Food and Agriculture Organization of UN deposits; and of Amharic books. Currently the Library also serves as a national registry of ISBN and ISSN numbers.

The Ethiopian Studies section, among other things, can boast one of the most complete collection of travellers' accounts. The Manuscripts section contains ↗incunabula and ancient books printed in Europe and Ethiopia (e.g., ↗Potken's 1513 Psalter; the first edition of *Ṭobya* / ↗*Ləbb wälläd tarik*), the first Ethiopian newspaper ↗*A'əmərо*, and 835 ↗Gə'əz, Amharic and ↗Arabic mss. 617 mss. are briefly described in a card catalogue, 272 of them were catalogued in the 1970s by Mängəśtu Abägaz. Among the valuable ancient mss. are the illuminated Gospel of Täsfanä Krəstos from ↗Ḫayq (no. 28; 14th–15th cent.); the ↗*Rətu'a Haymanot* (15th cent.); the Pauline ↗Epistles (no. 27; 15th cent.). Eight manuscripts have been in the UNESCO World register since 1997, together with four letters from Ethiopian emperors. Modern Amharic mss., including many historical texts, form a large part of the collection.

The microfilm collection of almost 10,000 items is mainly inherited from the former ↗EMML project. NALE possesses the only complete set of EMML microfilms, as numbers 7454 to 9238

were not duplicated and transferred to Collegeville, USA and the ↗Institute of Ethiopian Studies (IES), as was the case for the 7,500 first copies. In October 2005, a technical team from Collegeville digitized part of this missing part and deposited the digitized copies in NALE and IES. The Microfilm section of NALE possesses also microfilms from the ↗British Library and 111 microfilms of Ethiopian mss. preserved in Jerusalem and Tel-Aviv.

National Archives of Ethiopia

In 1908 *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II created a modern ministerial system of administration, laying down detailed regulations about the archives, kept in each ministry in sections called "Archives", under the control of the Ministry of Pen. Later ministries continued the same tradition, registering incoming and outgoing papers and keeping files in a centralized way. National Archives (N.A.), however, were not properly launched until much later. The need for having institutionalized and accessible archives was especially recognized during the 1960s, in part due to the concern of historians and experts of ↗Addis Ababa University, the IES and the Ethiopian Management Institute. In 1979, a separate Division of Archives (called N.A.) was established within the Department of National Library and Archives of Ethiopia. It was initially accommodated in the N.L. building and charged with collecting archives from the former Imperial ↗government. Space and qualified staff were lacking. Surveys conducted between 1975 and 1995, some with the participation of UNESCO and the International Council of Archives, were aimed at the nationalization of N.A. activities. Among the results were the creation of the NALE and the Proclamation no. 179/1999.

The N.A. are in charge of the current record management. Dead files, extracted and stored separately, have been protected by two directives issued after the 1974 and 1991 changes of government prohibiting the destruction of the former administration's documents.

The N.A. historical collections include: documents from the Grand Palace, mainly originated from the Ministry of Pen (↗*Ṣähafe təʾəzaz*); documents from the Residence of the Crown Prince ↗Asfa Wäsän Ḫaylä Śəllase; private documents of *däğğazmač* Zäwde Gäbrä Śəllase, one of the Imperial Government authorities. Among important new acquisitions are (I) private papers of prominent personalities of the Imperial period such as *däğğazmač* ↗Käbbädä Täsämma, *aläqa* ↗Tayyä Gäbrä Maryam, *blattengeta* ↗Märsəᶜe Ḫazän; (II) documents from the *Därg* Department of Censorship; (III) archives concerning the community in ↗Jerusalem (↗Dayr as-Sulṭān).

The archive collections also include letters, chronicles, historical documents and photographs, articles and research papers, maps, and materials concerning law and judiciary, as well as transcripts and recordings of ↗oral literature, such as poems, hymns or proverbs.

A new building in the same compound has recently been constructed to house the collections, offices and various reading rooms of NALE.

Src.: *www.nale.gov.et/index.html*, last retrieved Sept. 2007; Proclamation no. 50, *Nägarit Gazeta* 1976; Proclamation no. 179, *ibid.* 1999; MINISTRY OF CULTURE AND SPORTS (ed.), *Bibliography on Ethiopian Literature of the Legal Deposit and Bibliography Section*, Addis Ababa 1982; 1962; KIROS ADERA, "The National Archives of Ethiopia: an Overview of the Collections", paper presented at the 2nd *International Littmann Conference*, Aksum, January 2006; [MÄNGƎSTU ABÄGAZ], *Catalogue of the Ethiopian Manuscripts in the National Library of Ethiopia*, Addis Abeba, Imperial Ethiopian Government, Antiquities administration, ms.; SERGEW HABLE SELASSIE, *Bulletin of Ethiopian Manuscripts. Trimester Publication of Ethiopian Manuscript Microfilm Library*, Addis Abeba 1974–93.

Lit.: BƎZUWÄRQ TÄSFAYE, "Bäbəḥerawi betä mäzagəbtənna betä mäṣaḥəft dərəğğət yämmingäññäw yätəntawi ṣəḥufoččənna yämaykrofilm kəməčč ət" ('The Collection of Manuscripts and Microfilms Found in the National Archives and Libraries'), in: *Proceedings of the First International Symposium on Ethiopian Philology*, Department of Linguistics, Addis Ababa University 2006, 102–06; STANISŁAW CHOJNACKI – EPHRAIM HAILE SELLASIE, *List of Current Periodical Publications in Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 1964; STANISŁAW CHOJNACKI – MERGIA DIRO, *Ethiopian Publications, Books, Pamphlets, Annuals and Periodical Articles Published in 1962 Ethiopian and 1970 Gregorian Year*, Addis Ababa 1971; SUDATTA CHOWDHURY, "Library and Information Science Education in Ethiopia: an Overview of the Program at Addis Ababa University", *Herald of Library Science* 36, 1–2, 1997, 21–27; DEGIFE GABRE TSADIK, "A National Archives for Ethiopia – What Hopes?", *African Journal of Library, Archives and Information Science* 1–2, Oct. 1991, 71–82; DEREJE HAILU WELDEYES, *The Destruction of Non-Current Paper Records in the Ministries or Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 1993; RITA ELDON [PANKHURST], "The National Library of Ethiopia", *EthObs* 11, 1957, 369–70; EZEKIEL GEBISSA, "The Archives of Ethiopia: a Preliminary Report", in: *PICES* 10, 62–76; LockMis; WILHELM LENZ, *Visit to Ethiopia, 24–30 March 1976*, Paris 1976, ms.; ALFRED W. MABBS, *The National Archives*, Restricted Technical Report, UNESCO, Paris 1982; GAIL NORDSTROM, "Libraries in Ethiopia: a Review of Recent Literature", *Thirld World Libraries* 5, 2, 1995, 47–58; RITA PANKHURST, "Leadership in Ethiopian Post-War Library Development: the National Library vs. the University Library", in: *PICES* 5b, 601–11; SEREKE BIRHAN GABRE EGZIABHER, "The National Ethiopian Library", *Ethiopian Review* 1, June 1945, 17; STEFAN STRELCYN, "La connaissance des incunables éthiopiens dix

ans après la parution de l'ouvrage de Stephen Wright", in: *PICES* 5a, 35–51; SUSHMA GUPTA, "The National Bibliography of Ethiopia: Current Status", *International Information and Library Review* 24, 1992, 45–56; ID., "The National Bibliography of Ethiopia: State of Affair", *International Information and Library Review* 24, 1992, 45–56; M. SWIFT, *UNESCO/ICA Mission to Addis Ababa, Ethiopia on the Subject of Legislation pertaining to the National Archives and the National Library of Ethiopia*, 1996, mimeographed; ANAÏS WION – CLAIRE BOSC-TIESSÉ – MARIE-LAURE DERAT, *Inventaire des bibliothèques et des catalogues de manuscripts éthiopiens*, 2006, 35–38 (*www.ext.upmc.fr/urfist/menestrel/medethiopie.htm*); STEPHEN WRIGHT, "Book and Manuscript Collection in Ethiopia", *JES* 11, 1, 1964, 11–24; ID., *Ethiopian Incunabula from the Collections in the National Library of Ethiopia and the Haile Sellassie I University, Addis Abeba*, Addis Abäba 1967.

Katarzyna Hryćko – Anaïs Wion

National Bank of Ethiopia ↗Banks

National Parks s. vol. V

Navy

The Ethiopian N. was only developed following the ↗United Nations decision of 11 August 1952 to federate ↗Eritrea as an internally self-governing entity with Ethiopia, which gave Ethiopia a 544-mile long coastline. On 25 September 1953, *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I approved Proclamation 136 that established the Imperial Ethiopian Coast Guard as part of the Department of Marine within the Ministry of National Defence. Under the Proclamation, the Emperor appointed the Commanding Officer while the Minister for National Defense appointed all other officers, warrant officers, petty officers, cadets and coast guards.

In January 1954, a Norwegian Admiral became the Imperial Ethiopian Coast Guard's commanding officer. In October 1954, the American military attaché reported that the Emperor had sent a contingent of potential Ethiopian instructors for the Marine Academy to naval schools in Yugoslavia, ↗Germany, and the ↗United States of America. In November 1954, the Emperor visited Norway to secure aid to help facilitate the establishment of the Ethiopian Imperial N. Commodore Leif Lund served as the principal adviser to Prince ↗Ǝskəndər Dästa, a grandson of Ḫaylä Śəllase and a graduate of the Royal Naval College at Dartmouth.

In September 1955, the first 47 cadets started training to become officers in the newly established Imperial Ethiopian N. The N.'s training wing eventually included the Imperial Naval College at ↗Massawa, which offered courses in the executive, administrative and engineering branches of seamanship, frogman/diving, and marine commando training. The Petty Officer's School, which was located in Ǝmbatkala near ↗Näfasit, operated a five-year basic training course. There was also a Ratings School that taught basic seamanship to boys who had at least six years of elementary education. Norwegian officers operated these facilities.

On 1 January 1956, the Emperor authorized the creation of the Haile Selassie I Naval Base and Naval College near Massawa port. A month later, a Dutch destroyer, *Kortenaer*, called at Massawa and took a group of Naval College cadets on a cruise. In late 1956, Yugoslavia donated a yacht and subsequently two torpedo boats (1960) to the N. On 31 January 1957, Ḫaylä Śəllase inaugurated the Petty Officers' School. In June 1957, the U.S. Navy transferred its French-built Submarine Chaser PC-1616 to the Imperial Ethiopian N. under its Military Assistance Program.

During the 1958–74 period, *commodore* Ǝskəndər Dästa served as Commander of the Imperial Ethiopian N. In 1958, the N. became an autonomous branch of the armed forces while 45 Norwegian naval officers and 90 Ethiopian civilians worked at the Naval Base and the Naval School. British, French and Israeli military personnel also helped to train Ethiopian naval personnel. Additionally, the Navy Section of the U.S. Military Advisory Assistance Group provides training in the use of U.S. equipment.

On 22 January 1959, the first group of naval officers graduated from the Imperial Naval College. Six ↗Imperial Bodyguard officers provided military instruction to naval recruits. Captain D.T. Halvorsen served as the principal officer for the Naval Base and Naval School. Commander E.I.A. Biarne was his first assistant. By 1960, some 300 personnel were enrolled in the Imperial Naval College as cadets, apprentice petty officers and ordinary seamen. On 26 January 1961, 50 non-commissioned officers graduated from the Petty Officers School after five years of study. The Imperial Ethiopian N.'s inventory included two Yugoslav torpedo boats, five American coastal patrol boats, and a American seaplane tender called the USS Orca but renamed HMS Ethiopia after the US Navy spent some US-$ 3 million in February 1962 to convert the ship into a state vessel for the Emperor. The principal naval bases were at ↗ᶜAsäb and Massawa. On 8 September 1967, the *Chicago Tribune* reported that US Congressman Otto Passman complained that Washington was paying US-$ 80,000 a year to keep Ḫaylä Śəllase's

"fancy" seaplane tender operational. However, U.S. Rear Admiral L.C. Heinz maintained that the vessel was "a training ship for the Ethiopian N.".

In early September 1971, Israeli chief of Staff General Haim Bar-Lev proposed to provide the Ethiopian Imperial N. with patrol boats, missile launchers, and a radar system for use along the ↗Red Sea coast. Addis Abäba denied that any such offer had been made but never disputed the Bar-Lev visit.

By 1974, the Imperial Ethiopian N. included some 1,700 men, about 190 officers, and 125 marines, nearly all of whom were stationed at Massawa. During the waning months of the monarchy, the armed forces became increasingly restive. On 26 February 1974, ↗Army and ↗Air Force personnel seized control of Asmära. The rebels pledged their loyalty to the Emperor but they made 24 economic demands, including a 50% pay raise. The mutinous troops imprisoned Eritrea's Governor General, Lieutenant General Däbbäbä Ḫaylä Maryam. The following day, enlisted naval personnel joined the revolt at Massawa naval base.

On 28 February 1974, Deputy Commander Ǝskəndər Dästa fled to sea in an Ethiopian mine sweeper but the vessel ran out of fuel. A French minesweeper rescued him and transported him to the French Territory of "Afars et Issas" (↗Djibouti), supposedly "on a personal visit". A group calling itself the "Command Force" subsequently met with a military delegation, headed by Ethiopia's Chief of Staff General Asäffa Däməsse and including four generals, a colonel, two majors, and seven enlisted men. However, the two sides failed to resolve the dispute. As a result, the "Command Force" detained General Asäffa Däməsse and ordered the rest of the delegation to return to Addis Abäba. Ḫaylä Śəllase accused the rebels of supporting the "enemies of Ethiopia" but agreed to a pay raise of 25% rather than the 50 % the mutineers had demanded.

On 3 March 1974, Ḫaylä Śəllase bowed to demands by naval personnel and sacked Ǝskəndər Dästa who subsequently returned safely to Addis Abäba. On the same day, the Emperor appointed Commodore Ṭasäw Dästa as Commander of the Ethiopian Imperial N. The Emperor also accepted the resignations of several cabinet ministers while the mutineers freed Däbbäbä Ḫaylä Maryam.

The downfall of the monarchy ended an important chapter in country's naval history. Despite extensive foreign support, the Ethiopian Imperial N. remained the least developed of the military services.

After Eritrea's independence in 1991, the Ethiopian N. was dissolved. Some of the ships were shold for scrap in Djibouti. Eritrea kept one of the Osa-class missile boats. In September 1996, Asmära announced that it would not purchase any additional former Ethiopian ships as it would excerbate relations with Yemen.

Src.: MINISTRY OF INFORMATION, IMPERIAL ETHIOPIAN GOVERNMENT, *Ethiopia: the Official Handbook*, Nairobi 1969, 108f.

Lit.: JACK M. ARONSON, "The Imperial Ethiopia Navy", *U.S. Naval Institute Proceedings* 92, 4, 1966, 165–67; ATNAFU MAKONNEN, *Ethiopia To-Day*, Tokyo 1960, 97f.; PHILIP DODD, "US Doles 20 Guns and 21,000 Shells", *Chicago Trinune*, 9 September 1967, D-13; SYLVIA E. PANKHURST, "Ethiopia's Young Navy", *EthObs* 3, 9, 1959, 281–91; DAVID ABNER TALBOT, *Ethiopia: Liberation Silver Jubilee*, Addis Ababa 1966, 343f.; ID., *Haile Selassie I Silver Jubilee*, The Hague 1955, 282ff.

Thomas P. Ofcansky

Nay Erətra Sämunawi Gazeṭa ↗Eritrean Weekly News

Nayi

Nayi language

The N. (also Nayʾi; previously known as Naʾo, Nao) language is the mother tongue for only 3,636 people (1994 Census). Another 1,873 stated that they use N. as a second language. From all N. mother tongue speakers, 1,137 claim to be monolinguals. The area which they mainly inhabit is the Deča *wäräda* in the ↗Käfa region. Only a few N. live scattered in other parts of that region. The nearest town to the N. language area is ↗Bonga (for location s. Maale). The ↗Käfa language serves as a trade language for the older N. people, whereas the younger N. speak only Käfa. Thus, N. is on the brink of language death; only in remote N. villages like Guši and Goda the language might survive (s. Aklilu Yilma – Ralph Siebert 1995).

The linguistic affiliation of N. is ↗Afro-Asiatic, ↗Omotic, ↗Dizoid. N.'s close linguistic relationship to ↗Dizi and ↗Šeko, the other two languages in the Dizoid family, is undisputed.

The linguistic data presented below are drawn from the grammatical sketch by Aklilu Yilma (1994). The sound system has 29 consonant phonemes and 6 vowels. The six places of consonant articulation are labial, alveolar, palatal, retroflex, velar and glottal. The consonant phonemes are as follows: stops *b*, *d*, *g*, *t*, *k*, *ʾ*; ejective stops *p̓*, *t̓*, *q̓*; fricatives *f*, *z*, *ʒ*, *ž*, *s*, *ʂ*, *š*, *h*; affricates *ʦ*, *ʂ*, *ʧ*, *č*, *ʧ̓*, *č̓*; nasals *m*, *n*; lateral *l*; trill *r*; semivowels *w*, *y*. The phonemes *l*, *č*, and *č̓* are not found word-initially.

Unlike Dizi and Šeko, N. has phonemic gemination, e.g. *wəla* 'dove' vs. *wəlla* 'blind'. The N. vowels *i*, *e*, *a*, *o*, *u* can be both short or long, but the mid-central vowel *ə* appears to be only short. The status of this vowel, however, "needs further checking and investigations" (Aklilu Yilma 1994). All vowels in N. are retroflexed before or after retroflex consonants. Phonological processes of palatalization (before the front vowels) and labialization (before the back vowels) of consonants are attested (s. Aklilu Yilma in PNCES 1). N. has three phonemic tones: high (´), mid (unmarked), and low (`). Syllabic *m̩* and *n̩* occur.

Some of the N. noun morphology features are the plural marker *-kis* (e.g., 'boy' *dòdù* [sg.] – *dòdùkis* [pl.]); the gender marking suffixes *-u* (masc.; e.g., *áku* 'grandfather') and *-i* (fem.; e.g., *égì* 'grandmother'); the definite markers *-s* (masc.; e.g., *ʾi:* 'house' – *ʾi:s* 'the house') and *-n* (fem.; e.g., *ba:yì* 'mother' – *ba:yn̩* 'the mother'). The case markers are nominative *-i*, accusative *-a*/*-na*, genitive *-kn*, dative *-iš*/*-ič*, locative *-qa*, directional *-ta* and vocative *-e*/*-yo*. Agent nouns can be derived from nouns by suffixing the morphemes *kəba* (masc.)/*kəbe* (fem.).

Pronouns distinguish gender in 3rd pers.: *isi* 'he', *iši* 'she'. N. has vocative pronouns *neá* (masc.) and *ne* (fem.), and the honorific pronouns *itì* (2nd pers.) and *ʾuši* (3rd pers.). The demonstrative pronouns of proximity are 'this/these' *ha:s* (masc.) and *ha:yìn* (fem.) respectively, while the pronouns denoting distance are 'that/those' *neás* (masc.) and *neyìn* (fem.). N. reflexive pronouns are formed by prefixing the pronominal morphemes and suffixing the dative case marker *-iš* to the word *mò:t* 'head', e.g. *n̩-mò:t-iš* 'myself'.

The verb in N. has three tenses (past, marked by *-a*; present, marked by *-am*; and present-progressive, marked by *-ki*), and six aspect-like distinctions (pluperfect, present perfect, future perfect, past progressive, future progressive, and immediate). Apart from indicative, two moods – imperative and jussive – are distinguished. The copula *téna* (present) / *tokn̩* (past), which does not inflect for person, number, or gender, can be used to form different types of verbal aspects.

The basic word order in N. is Subject-Object-Verb: e.g, *bà:yàs*$_1$ *keónùsa*$_2$ *wuššа*$_3$ 'the lion$_1$ killed$_3$ the dog$_2$'.

The ten-word list for N. is: 'one' *yisn̩*, 'two' *ta:gn*, 'three' *kəddu*, 'fire' *ta:mu*, 'water' *a:ì*, 'sun' *šaž*, 'moon' *ʾátsn̩*, 'blood' *yarbn̩*, 'tongue' *iyalbu*, 'tooth' *ʾáču*.

Src.: AKLILU YILMA, "A Sketch of the Nayi Grammar", *S.L.L.E Linguistic Reports* 16, March 1994 [repr. as *SIL Electronic Survey Reports* 2002–010, 2002]; ID. – RALPH SIEBERT, "Survey of Chara, Dime, Melo and Nayi, part 1", *ibid.* 25, 1995 [repr. as *SIL Electronic Survey Reports* 2002–029, 2002]; CSA 1996, 163, 204; RAYMOND G. GORDON (ed.), *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*, Dallas, TX [15]2005, 117.

Lit.: AKLILU YILMA, "Two Phonological Processes in Nayi: Palatalization and Labialization", in: *PNCES* 1, 433–48; M. LIONEL BENDER, "The Languages of Ethiopia. A New Lexicostatistic Classification and Some Problems of Diffusion", *Anthropological Linguistics* 13, 4, 165–288, here 262; ID., *Comparative Morphology of the Omotic Languages*, München 2000 (Lincom Studies in African Linguistics 19); ID., *Omotic Lexicon and Phonology*, Carbondale, IL 2003; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Sui linguaggi dei Naa e dei Ghimira (Sce) nell' Etiopia meridionale", *RRALm* ser. 6[a], 1, 612–36.

Ralph Siebert

Nayi ethnography

The N. (or Nayʾi; previously known as Naʾo or Nao) are a small group of Omotic (Dizoid)-speaking people, living in about twelve villages south of ↗Bonga town in the region of Čiri and Deča, in the former ↗Käfa region of Southern Ethiopia. The 1994 Ethiopian census counts 4,005 "Nao" (CSA 1998:66), but this is probably an underestimate, because in the 1984 census they were still 12,177. Probably, many N. identified themselves as "Käfa/Käfiččo", and ethnolinguistic borders are blurring due to migration and intermarriage.

The N. oral tradition states they were settled in the area before the Käfa, resented these newcomers and fought them. Historically and culturally the N. are related to the ↗Dizi, ↗Šeko, and ↗Čara, but have remained a little known group. Apart from Lange (1975), hardly any research has been done on their ethno-history and relationship with other peoples. The N. have a historically tense relation with the ↗Meʾen people, living to their south, along the Šorum River, and oral tradition records many armed conflicts between them.

The N. have patrilineal clans and are all farmers. They cultivate *ənsät*, barley, *tef*, maize, wheat, sorghum, spices, coffee and garden crops. They also keep cattle and goats, and practise some apiculture, fishing, and trade.

In the past N. was a society stratified in several layers: ruling clans, high clans, low clans and occupational groups. These distinctions are still remembered, e.g., in descent reckoning and for marriage choice, but their significance is eroding. The land was cultivated by commoner clan farmers. It is not known whether the N. society had slaves, like the neighbouring groups.

Little is known of the traditional religion of the N., although Lange (1975) writes about certain spirit beliefs and community rituals. Since the mid-19th cent., Käfa and N. religious representations have become similar (with a belief in the upper god Yero), and in recent decades Christianity has expanded. In local society the N. were, however, known for their powerful spirit mediums. N. are prominent in the ↗*Gäramanǧo* cult, which may have originated from their area.

The N. had an independent polity until the middle of the 19th cent. Ruling clans among them were the Hammo, and since the mid-19th cent. the endogamous Nao Bušašo clan. Their divine chief or "king" was called the *naʾotato* (or *kyaz*; ↗Kingship, divine; ↗*Tato*), and six of his councillors were from the leading Bušašo clan, with one from the Gayskes clan. The N. king was usually secluded and did not eat in public with others; his food was handed to him while seated behind a curtain. The king led a yearly sacrificial rite (*deza*) to secure the fertility and productivity of land and cattle.

The N. came to be politically dominated by the Käfiččo after the latter's expansion and in the 19th cent. were tributary to the Käfa kings. The Käfa kingdom also took (female) slaves from the N. A strained relationship marked the two peoples. The N. also kept a peculiar relationship to the Käfa court. A new N. king could only be installed after the Käfa king had given his blessing and when a member of the Gaykes clan had invested him with the N. royal insignia (golden ring, bracelet, silver necklace, and black hat with a silver *kallač* [↗*Kallačča*], or phallus-shaped decoration) at the court of the Käfa king in the Käfa capital ↗Andaračа. Lange (1975:63f.) states that the Käfa people symbolically saw the N. as a whole as "their children" (in Käfa *naʾo* means 'children').

After the conquest of Käfa and adjacent areas in 1897 by the Ethiopian imperial troops, the N., like their neighbours, suffered economic and demographic decline due to northern depredations. The reputation of *ləǧ* ↗Iyasu is particularly bad: although the N. king Gulli (or Gäbrä Mädḫən) submitted to Iyasu, the latter perpetrated a massacre among them during his stay in the Käfa region (probably in 1913) and took away many slaves.

At present, assimilation of N. into Käfa society is proceeding. They are bilingual in N. and Käfa, and often also speak Amharic. In recent decades, many have moved away to other parts of Käfa, to Šeko and to towns, for education and work.

Src.: author's own field notes, Käfa 1989 (ms.); CSA 1998.

Lit.: WERNER JÜRGEN LANGE, *Gimira: Remnants of a Vanishing Culture*, Bamberg 1975, 59–126; ID., *Dialectics of "Divine" Kingship in the Kafa Highlands*, Los Angeles, CA 1975, 19, 22, 34.

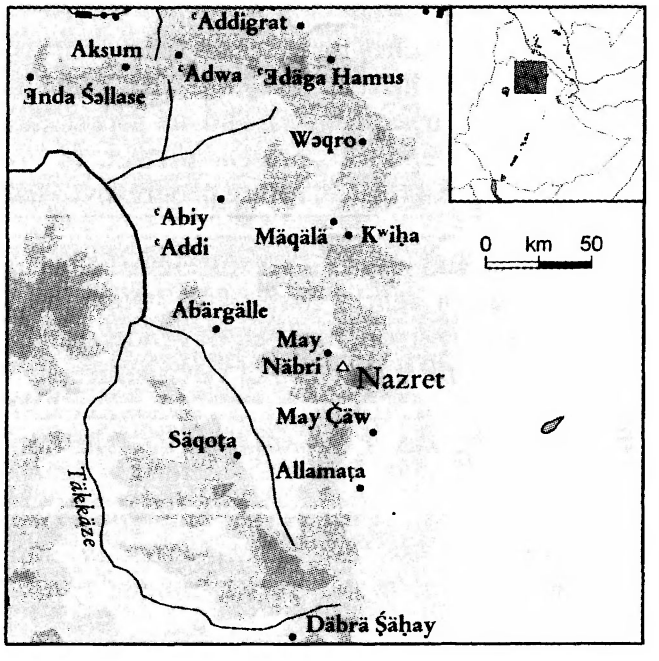
Jon Abbink

Nazret

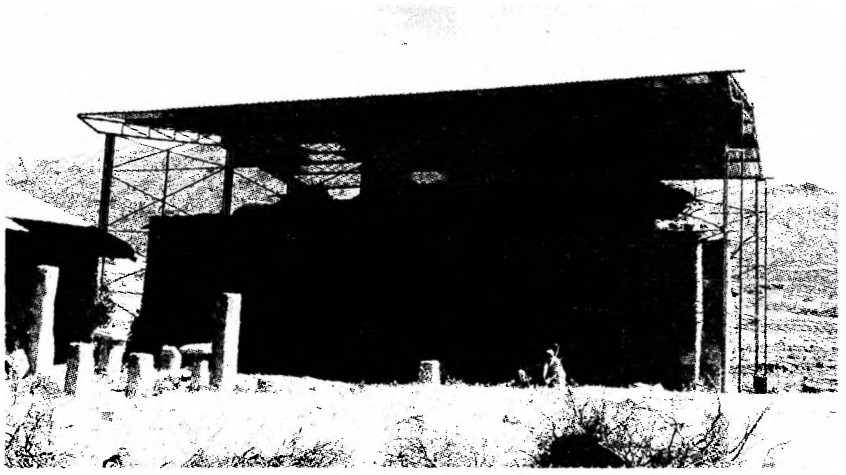
N. (ናዝሬት, or Nazre) is a historical settlement and an archaeological site in ᶜAddi Abbona, southern ↗Ǝndärta, Təgray, 12 km south-east of May Näbri. Its fame is mostly due to the building structure, which until the late 1990s was used as a church dedicated to St. ↗Mary, and therefore known as Maryam Nazre(t). It is sometimes also referred to as ᶜAddi Abona [Abunä] N. or simply N.

The long rectangular building of Maryam N., ca. 29 x 8 m, and 5–6 m high, bears traces of possibly Aksumite ↗architecture. It sits on solid foundations of unmortared stone. There is evidence of other structures bearing features characteristic of the Aksumite period; columns and other cut stones in the vicinity have been partially incorporated into the structure as a result of repeated rebuildings.

The site has been described by Mordini (1946) and Anfray (1970). The former, whose attention to the site was drawn by ↗Conti Rossini, provided a brief description of the site and published a photo of the Maryam N. church and of an unvocalized Gəᶜəz ↗inscription on the stone basin (Mordini 1946:150; figs. 3f.). He also reported finding a few coins of Aksumite kings ↗Ḥataz and ↗Gersem in a trench dug near the build-



ing. He suggested that the site could have served as a patriarchal residence in the late Aksumite and early Zagʷe periods, identifying the name ᶜAddi Abona with "ᶜAddi Abun" mentioned in the lists of metropolitans and in the ↗*Kəbrä nägäśt* (Mordini 1946:150 n. 2). Anfray (1970:36ff.) published a detailed description of the building of Maryam N., arguing that although it retained Aksumite-style features it was of a later date (ca. 15th cent.), whereas the stone basin, the surrounding ruins and, possibly, the foundation were, indeed, Aksumite. Collecting scraps of evidence, Munro-Hay (MHAlex vol. 1, 43f.; vol. 2, 5, 11) supports the local claim already noted by Mordini that N. could have been the residence of some of the earliest Ethiopian metropolitans, and that metropolitans Sinoda, Luqas, Yoḥannəs and Matyas had perhaps been buried there. The name ᶜAddi Abona, which has remained attached to the village, could be evidence of an enduring metropolitan connection (cp. ↗*Pappas*).



The historical building of Maryam Nazret with Aksumite remains in front; photo June 2005, courtesy of Paul Henze

According to local tradition, Maryam N. was an Aksumite palace rebuilt in the 14th cent. by *aṣe* ↗ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon I out of respect for the famous Zagʷe king ↗Lalibäla, who allegedly took refuge here when he was being persecuted by his brother ↗Ḥarbay. It is claimed that, while Lalibäla travelled to ↗Jerusalem, his wife ↗Mäsqäl Kəbra waited at N. Evidence of extensive rebuilding, allegedly under ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon's direction, includes an unusual series of five high cupola-roofed chambers on the east side of the building with distinct Islamic features. There is speculation that builders from Egypt or the Yemen may have been employed.

ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon is believed to have been killed in this region, campaigning against Muslim lowlanders (cp. Anfray 1970:36). In 1954 villagers in ᶜAddi Qäläbäs, 4 km east of May Näbri and 7 km north-west of N., reportedly discovered an intact, sealed stone sarcophagus containing a male body while rebuilding their derelict church. The sarcophagus, it was later claimed, also contained some gold objects which were sent to May Čäw and disappeared. Near the sarcophagus, a plaque inscribed "*aṣe*" was found. Villagers concluded that it was the body of the Emperor and reburied his bones. The place name ᶜAddi Qäläbäs is said to derive from *qäy ləbs* (Amh. for 'red clothes', i.e. 'Village of [those] of Red Clothes'),apparently referring to a group of loyal vassals of ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon "who dressed in red".

Another local tradition claims that the church of St. Mary was used by the Portuguese during the battle of Christovão da ↗Gama against ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī; the tradition seems supported by the report of ↗Bermudez (1875:33) who mentions N. as the battle site.

A protective metal roof has been constructed over Maryam N. by the Tigray Culture and Tourism Commission in anticipation of further professional archaeological investigation. In spring 2007 the Commission arranged to have the purported tomb of ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon in ᶜAddi Qäläbäs identified and the sarcophagus exposed.

Src.: communications from local elders; JOÃO BERMUDES, *Breve relação da embaixada que o patriarcha d. João Bermudez trouxe do imperador da Ethiopia ...*, Lisboa 1875, 33; BezKebr 138.

Lit.: FRANCIS ANFRAY, "Notes archéologiques", *AE* 8, 1970, 31–56, here 36–39, fig. 18, pls. VII–IX; ERIC GODET, "Repertoire de sites pre-Axoumites et Axoumites du Tigre (Éthiopie)", *Abbay* 8, 1977, 19–58, here 55; PAUL B. HENZE – KEBEDE AMARE, "Mysteries of Maryam Nazre", paper presented at the *Second International Littmann Conference*, Aksum, January 2006; ANTONIO MORDINI, "Informazioni preliminari sui risultati delle mie ricerche in Etiopia dal 1939 al 1944", *RSE* 4, 1944–45, 145–54, here 150 and n. 2, figs. 3–4; MHAlex vol. 1, 43f., vol. 2, 5, 11.

Paul B. Henze

Nəbab bet

N.b. (ንባብ፡ ቤት, lit. 'house of reading') is the school of the first level within the traditional ↗education system, in which the student learns to read.

The children can start at the age of ca. seven years. The very first stage, at which the students

learn the *fidäl* syllabary (↗*Abugida* and *hahu*), is also called ቍጥር፡ ትምህርት (*qʷəṭər təmhərt*, lit. 'learning of numbers') because the student is taught to "count" the letters of the syllables by indicating them with a long stalk of grass and naming each of them aloud. The letters are repeated until they are memorized.

The next stage consists in memorizing passages of the ↗Gəᶜəz Bible, even though the students do not understand the language yet. The passages used are taken from the first Epistle of John (↗Epistles: The Catholic Epistles), and therefore this stage is often called ፊደለ፡ ሐዋርያ (*fidälä ḥawarya*, 'the Apostle's alphabet').

Nəbab bet students reading the Pauline Epistles, Ǝnda Abba Ṣəḥma, ᶜAdwa; photo January 2006, courtesy of Evgenia Sokolinskaia

The *fidälä ḥawarya* can be read in four styles or methods of articulation, depending on the level of the students' proficiency: 1) *qʷəṭər*, i.e. letter-by-letter; 2) *gəᶜəz* style, when the student is able to connect letters into words or even short phrases; 3) ወርድ፡ ንባብ (*wərd nəbab*, lit. 'descending reading') or ንኡስ፡ ንባብ (*nəʾus nəbab*, 'minor reading'), when students can read with some confidence; for its sing-song mode of reading this method is also called ዜማ፡ ንባብ፡ ዘውእቱ፡ ወርድ፡ ንባብ (*zema nəbab zäwəʾətu wərd nəbab*, lit. 'chant reading which is descending reading'); 4) ቍም፡ ንባብ (*qʷəm nəbab*, 'reciting reading'), or (ᶜ*abiy nəbab*, ዐቢይ፡ ንባብ, 'major reading'), the stage of fluent reading. At this point the student is able to read during the religious services without making any mistakes in any passage. He can thus read what is called ገበታ፡ ሐዋርያ (*gäbäta ḥawarya*), i.e. selected passages from the Pauline Epistles, Catholic Epistles, as well as from St. John's Gospel, hagiographic and other books during the services.

The booklet used as a textbook throughout the N.b. and containing the *fidäl*, the *Abugida* and the *fidälä ḥawarya* texts is usually called by the epithet ርእሰ፡ መጻሕፍት (*Rəʾəsä mäṣaḥəft*, 'the head of the books'), or, more commonly, simply *Fidäl*.

In N.b. the pupils have to learn certain prayers by heart. This part of schooling is known as ቃል፡ ትምህርት (*qal təmhərt*, 'lesson of the word'), or የማታ፡ ትምህርት (*yämata təmhərt*, 'evening lessons') because they are studied in the evening. The students also have to study such important catechetical books as the ↗*Amməstu aᶜəmadä məśṭir*.

Finally, the students have to master the *Dawit*, i.e. the ↗Psalter, the text which concludes the elementary education. Once the student has memorized the entire Psalter, one refers to him saying "he has repeated the Psalter" (ዳዊት፡ ደገመ, *Dawit däggämä*), or "he has learnt the Psalms of the Psalter" (መዝሙረ፡ ዳዊት፡ ተማረ, '*Mäzmurä Dawit tämarä*'), which means "he became literate". Thereafter, the pupil has the right to continue education at the next stage, the ↗*zema bet*. After the conclusion of the N.b., the family of the student usually organizes a feast to mark the event.

The teacher of N.b. is esteemed for his knowledge of traditional phonology, important for other church disciplines; he is often consulted by teachers of other schools including the ↗*qəne bet*. The pupils of N.b. are welcome at the church where they perform plenty of services: they are sent to ↗ᶜ*əqa bet* to fetch books, distribute passages of ↗*Mälkəʾa Iyasus* or ↗*Mälkəʾa Maryam* around the choir etc.

Historically, N.b. was and to a large extent still is the most accessible form of basic education, available at many churches and monasteries. Today, more and more children go to governmental schools; still, especially in rural areas, N.b. seems to be the only chance to get any access to learning and ↗literacy for many of them. In many areas, the boys go to the governmental schools, but during the rainy season flock to the church school.

N.b. is exclusively for boys. Girls, starting from the age of ca. 12, can follow a similar course in ↗nunneries.

Lit.: CHRISTINE CHAILLOT, *The Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Church Tradition*, Paris 2002, 83–100; JEAN DORESSE, *La vie quotidienne des Ethiopiens Chrétiens aux XVII et XVIII siècles*, Hachette 1972; HAILE GABRIEL DAGNE, "The Ethiopian Orthodox Church School Sys-

tem", in: *The Church of Ethiopia: a Panorama of History and Spiritual Life*, Addis Ababa 1970, 81–97; HabTent; KAY KAUFMAN SHELEMAY, "The Musician and Transmission of Religious Tradition: The Multiple Roles of the Ethiopian Däbtära", *Journal of Religion in Africa* 22, 3, 1992, 242–60; MICHAEL POWNE, *Ethiopian Music: an Introduction: a Survey of Ecclesiastical and Secular Ethiopian Music*, London – New York – Toronto 1968.

Habtemichael Kidane

Nəburä əd

N.ə. (ንቡረ፡ እድ, also *nəburäᵓəd*, Gəᶜəz lit. 'the one on whom the hands are/have been laid/placed', pl. *nəburanä əd*; Amh., Tgn.: *näbrid*, *näbrəd*) is a traditional Ethiopian ecclesiastic title, usually said to refer to the senior administrator of ↗Aksum (*yaksum aläqa*, i.e. 'the ↗*aläqa* of Aksum', s. KWKDic 621), or "governor of Aksum" (s. GuiVoc 386), in charge of both ecclesiastic and lay matters.

The origin of the office of N.ə., which has no parallel in Canon ↗law, is unknown. According to both the early 16th-cent. version of the Acts of *abunä* ↗Täklä Haymanot and the monastic ↗genealogies, the title was established by the 14th-cent. *abunä* ↗Yaᶜəqob, who sent twelve *mämhəran* (s. ↗*mämhər*), including their head *abunä* ↗Filəppos of Šäwa (cp., e.g., mss. EMML 2852, fol. 56; 2136, fol. 16b) as missionaries to southern Ethiopia, to found new monasteries and evangelize the local population. Since Yaᶜəqob could not consecrate them as bishops (cp. ↗*Eppisqoppos*), he made them N.ə. (AmhChurchD vol. 5, 29f.). These *mämhəran* were blessed for their mission by the Metropolitan – similar to the Apostles blessed by Christ. The "imposition of the hands" (i.e. አንብሮተ፡ እድ, *anbərotä əd*) is a part of the ritual of ↗Ordination, and "the prayer of the imposition/laying of the hands" is usually performed at the end of Mass (↗*Qəddase*). The twelve *mämhəran* were thus dispatched to their missionary task with special prerogatives, through the imposition of the hands and blessing by the head of the Church (which does not include receiving the Holy Orders). The tradition of Däbrä Ḥayq also elaborated the notion of the disciples of *abunä* ↗Iyäsus Moᵓa as N.ə. (cp. ms. EMML 2093, fols. 85v–86r).

The office of N.ə. in Aksum seems to be ancient. The documents from the *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*Aksum* list quite a number of N.ə., as well as their "spokesmen" (*afä nəburä əd*; s. Bausi 2006:132). ↗Alvares reports of two N.ə. in the cathedral of ↗Aksum Ṣəyon, in charge of clerics and monks resp. (BeckHuntAlvar 160). A historical text included in the *Mäṣḥafä Aksum* relates the edict issued by *aṣe* ↗Śärṣä Dəngəl who, on the occasion of his ↗coronation, "revived" the old order of Aksum Ṣəyon established by *aṣe* Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob, who had "equated" the dignitaries *liqä* [*kahənat* of] *Aksum* (s. ↗*Liq*) and N.ə. of Aksum (both designated N.ə. by Alvares; the former as "nebret of the monks"), putting them, in the court order, "to the right and to the left" (cp. DAE II, 50), and entrusting them with the office of the Hours during day and night, respectively (*gəbrä däbtära zämäᶜalt*; *säᶜatat wägəbrä lelit*, s. CRAxum 73). Bruce reports that the office of N.ə. in Aksum ("high priest", "keepers of the Church of Axum") belongs to the descendats of Azaria, who came to Ethiopia with ↗Mənilək I (BruNile I, 476).

Traditions which date it to the 14th cent. notwithstanding, the office of N.ə. seems to have been an ancient feature of the country's administration, rooted in the practice of the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥədo) Church, and not limited to Aksum. Under *aṣe* ↗Yəkunno Amlak, the office of N.ə. of Aksum was held by the abbot of ↗Däbrä Libanos of Ham (ᶜ*aqqabe säᶜat zäbetä Mäṭaᶜ* Täkäśtä Bərhan, CRDLib nos. 10, 11), but by 1319 the two offices were held by two different persons (ibid. no. 17). A few major monasteries were administered by a N.ə., who apparently did not belong to the local community and was sent and imposed by the supreme ecclesiastic or/and secular authority (i.e., the metropolitan or the emperor). In the early 15th cent., ↗Ǝnda Abba Gärima was administered by N.ə. Gäbrä Iyäsus, who was not brought up in the monastery and, prior to this appointment, had resided in another place, where he acquired "much gold". He had enough authority to launch an investigation into the theft of the church's sacred possessions, committed by a deacon, and could rely upon the support of the powerful *təgre mäkʷännən* ↗Akḥadom (Bausi 2003, nos. 229–42). The monastery of ↗Däbrä Damo was administered, at least at times, by a N.ə. (cp. CRDLib no. 17); *abba* Giyorgis of Sägla was sent there as N.ə. by *aṣe* ↗Dawit II (Colin 1987:23, cp. 14). The Chronicle of Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob mentions that the important ecclesiastic *abba* ↗Nob was appointed N.ə. in Däbrä Damo and held the position ca. 1450 (PerrZarY 11f.). In the 14th–15th cent. at least, another N.ə. was resident in the area of Lake Ṭana, probably based in ↗Ṭana Qirqos (for N.ə. Krəstos Mädḫən and Tewodros, s. HamTana I, 87 and n. 189, 90). In the 15th cent. and especial-

ly under *aṣe* Zär'a Ya'əqob, there was a number of N.ə. in Ethiopia who seem to have formed, probably together with ↗*liqä kahənat*, a kind of ecclesiastic administration, the importance of which was emphasized by this emperor (s., e.g., CRRicBerhan). According to the Chronicle of *aṣe* ↗Bä'ədä Maryam, on one occasion the latter honoured *liqä kahənat*s and N.ə. "having appointed each one for his respective country" (PerrZarY 112). Later, according to Barradas, there was a diffusion of the title among the nobility, though only the N.ə. of Aksum enjoyed exceptional privileges (Barradas 1996:124).

As to Aksum, apart from the N.ə. known from different documents, the local tradition lists 63 N.ə. starting approximately from the 15th cent. until 1967 (AmhChurchD vol. 5, 31f.). Some 14 N.ə. lived and were active in the 20th cent. (ibid.). By the late 19th/early 20th cent., a laic dignitary could also be appointed N.ə. of Aksum. After serving a number of years, the N.ə. could resign from office but keep the title. Though the authority of the N.ə. had been somewhat curtailed by the 20th cent., being "the guardian of the Tablets of the Law", he was considered one of the top Church officials, alongside the ↗*əčč̣äge* (GueCopMen 450 no. 7; cp. MahZekr 651). The title could be conferred only by the emperor himself. Among the 20th-cent. N.ə., such remarkable personalities can be mentioned as, e.g., *däğğazmač* ↗Gäbrä Śəllase or *mämhər* ↗Mäk^{w}əriya. Presently, the N.ə. of Aksum deals with a wide range of ecclesiastic and civil affairs. ↗Addis 'Aläm is the only other place in which the head of the church (St. Mary) is N.ə., but this is probably only a honorary title (AmhChurchD vol. 5, 32).

Src.: AmhChurchD vol. 5, 29–32; MANOEL BARRADAS, *Tractatus Tres Historico-Geographici (1634). A Seventeenth-Century Historical Account of Tigray, Ethiopia*, tr. by ELIZABETH FILLEUL, ed. by RICHARD PANKHURST, Wiesbaden 1996 (AeF 43), 124, s. index; ALESSANDRO BAUSI, *La «Vita» e i «Miracoli» di Libānos*, Lovanii 2003 (CSCO 595, 596 [SAe 105, 106], s. index; ID., "Un indice del *Liber Aksumae*", *Aethiopica* 9, 2006, 49–63, here 132; BeckHuntAlvar vol. 1, 160, vol. 2, 557f., s. index; JAMES THEODORE BENT, *The Sacred City of the Ethiopians*, London 1896 [repr. 2005], 152–61; BruNile I, 476; CRDLib nos. 10, 11, 17; CRRicBerhan s. index; GÉRARD COLIN, *Vie de Georges de Saglā*, Louvain 1987 (CSCO 492, 493 [SAe 81, 82]) 19, 23 (text) = 14, 17 (tr.); CRAxum 73f. (text) = 87ff. (tr.); DillmLex 653a; EMML nos. 2093, 2136, 2852; GuiVoc 386; GueCopMen 450 no. 7 (Lit.), s. index; HamTana I, 87 and n. 189, 90; KWKDic 621; LesCDic 384; MahZekr 651, 653; PerrZarY 11f., 49, 112.

Lit.: BTafA 954 (Lit.); DAE II, 50; DerDom, s. index; TadTChurch, s. index.

Denis Nosnitsin

Nəgəśt ↗Nəguś

Nəgəśtä Azeb ↗Makədda

Nəguś

N. (ንጉሥ, Gə'əz 'king', but also 'ruler, chief, head, commander', s. DillmLex 687), the traditional title of the Ethiopian monarch, is morphologically a passive participle of the verb *nägśä*, 'become king, ruler' and 'rule, reign', with a regular "nomen agentis" *nägaśi* ('king'), vs. which N. is used as an alternative form (cp. *təguh/tägahi*, 'watcher', etc., Ségéral 2000:269–73). Its plural, *nägäśt* (and *nägäśtat*, redetermined), instead of the expected **nəguśan*, is actually usurped from that of *nägaśi*.

Two major explanations have been put forward to mark the difference between these concurrent titles, as they are found already in the Ethiopic ↗Bible: first, on stylistic grounds, by Dillmann, arguing that *nägaśi* belongs to higher prose, and quoting thereby the Biblical exclamation *ḥəyäw abä nägaśi*, 'Long live the king!' (e.g., 1 Sam 10:24), which suggests that the king of ↗Aksum might have been referred to as *nägaśi* (DillmLex 687f.; cp. Caquot – Drewes 1955:35f., and Vycichl 1957:201 and n. 1).

Within the framework of his reconstruction of Ethiopia's past versus South ↗Arabia's, Conti Rossini (1925:481ff., cp. CRStor 110) assumed instead that *nägaśi* was the name of the envoy(s) or tax gatherer(s) sent by the Sabaean ruler to the colonies on other side of the Red Sea: in the progress of time, one *nägaśi*, prevailing over his fellow *nägäśt*, would have been distinctively called N., and then *nəguśä nägäśt*, 'head of chiefs' or, later, 'king of kings' (s. also Caquot 1957:206f.) – according to Ricci (1988:155), 'the one elected N. from among the *nägäśt*'.

For both *nägaśi* and *nəguś* an original fiscal meaning is definitely suggested by the akin South Arabian root *ngś*, 'impose (tribute)' (Beeston 1982:93), as well as by the cognate Hebrew *nāgaś*, 'exact tribute, drive to work, press' (s. LesCDic 393f.; cp. also, e.g., the *nogesîm* of Ex 5:6, ἐργοδιῶκται, *ergodiôktai*, 'taskmasters', in the Greek ↗Bible, *exactores*, 'overseers', but also 'tax collectors', in the Latin Vulgata). A similar semantic shift from rather a material or practical meaning to a more general one – here, of power and authority – can be equally surmised for the title *ḥaśani*, 'tutor' (↗*Aṣe*), and then 'king', born first by (the monk) ↗Danə'el towards the

end of the 10th cent., and alternating with N. in the time of the ↗Zagʷe dynasty: e.g., for ↗Lalibäla (CRDLib no. 6; s. Marquart 1913:CCCIX, on which Littmann 1915:265; Cerulli 1943:274ff. and 1960:8f.; RicEnbYoh II, 94f., n. 108). Witness to that shift is also the title ↗*ṣäḥafe la(ḥ)m*, 'recorder, registrar of (a monarch's) cattle', later attributed, among others, to the governors of Amhara, Angot, Qəda, and then of Šäwa and Damot, as initially charged with levying the cattle dime for the king (Conti Rossini 1925:482; Cerulli in PICES 1, 8).

A parallel development of the forms *nägaśi* and *nəguś*, to a certain extent interchangeable (as they are, much later, in ↗Giyorgis of Sägla, YaqMist I, 120f., to whom, however, Aksumite sources were still available), has been more recently proposed by Kropp (in EtRicci 136f.; cp. Kropp 2005:136 and n. 82). As a matter of fact, in such ancient unvocalized inscriptions as those of ↗Safra (RIÉ 183.III.2), Ḥənzät (Ricci 1988:146, F.12) or even ᶜAnza (RIÉ 218.1-2), it cannot be distinguished which one is used: there, *ngś* could be understood as either **nägaśi* or **nəguś* (Ricci 1988:147 and 155). In principle, though, the former is likely to have come first; and this might lead back to the hypothesis of Conti Rossini, in terms of a local chief (originally a collector of taxes?) emerging from among and over the others – obviously, with no South Arabian connection.

Both forms are soon rendered in Arabic with ↗*naǧāšī*. Thus, the (posthumous) Greek and, resp., Arabic labels of ΝΙΓΟC, *Nigos* (i.e. N.), and *Naǧāšī* are appended to the Ethiopian king (most probably ↗Ǝllä Ṣäḥam) represented next to the Byzantine and Persian emperors, and the Patriarch of Egypt (*al-Muqawqis*: in the Arabic tradition, the "lord of Alexandria" and "head of the Copts [and Greeks]"), in the first layer of paintings at Quṣayr ᶜAmra (Jordan, before 711/12): a scene that originally referred to a celebrated event of early Islamic history, i.e. the embassies sent by ↗Muḥammad to the six "kings of the earth" in the year 6 H. [= 628 AD] (s. ErlEth 193 n. 30, and Kropp in EtRicci 137 n. 2, but cp. now Di Branco 2007).

The earliest clear attestation of *nägaśi* is found in a Gəᶜəz inscription from ↗ᶜAddi Gälämo, towards the end of the 2nd cent. A.D. (RIÉ 180): ↗GDR(T) is there *ngśy ʾksm*, 'king of Aksum', with *nägaśi* in the construct state, **nägaś(ə)yä* (cp. Kropp 136f. and n. 1). As to N., no safe instances are known prior to King ↗ᶜEzana's vocalized inscriptions, in which it refers either to him (RIÉ 188.2: *nəguśä Aksum*) or to rulers subjected to him (e.g., RIÉ 187.5 and 9-11: *Abäʾalkəᶜo nəguśä Agʷezat*, 'Abäʾalkəᶜo king of the Agʷezat'; RIÉ 186.10-11: *ngśᵐ gbzᵐ sblᵐ*, 'Sbl king of ↗Gäbäz', i-e. ↗Adulis, s. Fiaccadori 2004a:137), or else, possibly, to the 'commanders of [his] troops' (187.13: *nägäśtä särawit*, where *nägäśtä* could also be, however, pl. of *nägaśi*).

In these inscriptions, the expression *nəguśä nägäśt*, lit. 'king of kings', appears for the first time too, always at the end of ᶜEzana's titlary, neither ethnic nor territorial definition being attached to it (cp. Cerulli in PICES 1, 7f.): e.g., RIÉ 189:4; cp. *ngś ngśt* in 185 II.3 and 185bis II[B].3 (replaced by "Pseudo-Sabaic" *mlk mlkn*, with Ethiopicized pl. ending, in RIÉ 185 I.2 and 185bis I.3). In the corresponding Greek version, *nəguśä nägäśt* is exactly matched by βασιλεύς βασιλέων, *basiléus basiléōn*, 'king of kings' (RIÉ 270bis.4), already used for the pharaos as a calque of their Egyptian title *n-sw.t ny-w-sw.t*, which was to be in fact revived under the Ptolemies (Vycichl 1957:196f., 201, 203).

Equally based on a rhetorical (paronomastic) device – the so called superlative genitive as found, e.g., in the Bible: "vanity of vanities", "heaven of heavens", etc. (s. Vycichl 1957:194f. and Alfrink 1964:1f.) – are quite a few expressions akin: Old Persian *xšāyaṯiya xšāyaṯiyanam*, Middle Persian *šāhān šāh*, always rendered with μέγας βασιλεύς, *mégas basiléus*, 'great king', in the Greek sources; Sanskrit *rājatirāja*, Prakrit *rājadirāja*, in turn translating Greek *mégas basiléus* in the 2nd cent. A.D., and showing next to *maharāja* in the Kusāṇā titlary (of Middle Eastern inspiration); Arab. *sulṭān as-salāṭīn*, 'Sultan of Sultans' (s. van den Oudenrijn 1949:38, with further biblical examples; cp. Vycichl 1957:196ff. and de Blois in EI², 190).

Against this background, given the Hellenistic bias of ancient Ethiopian civilization (Fiaccadori 2004a), it could be safely concluded that *nəguśä nägäśt*, if not precisely modelled on the Ptolemaic *basiléus basiléōn*, was likewise aimed at achieving the meaning of 'king among(st) kings', i.e. 'king par excellence', rather than 'king of kings' (cp. HabKön 27f.). Such a superlative predicate is somehow forestalled, at the end of the 2nd/beginning of the 3rd cent. A.D., in the otherwise different inscription of ↗Sembrouthes, βασιλεύς ἐκ βασιλέων ʾΑξωμειτῶν μέγας, *basiléus ek basiléōn Axōmeitôn mégas*, 'great(est) from among the kings of (the) Aksum(ites)', i.e. his predecessors (RIÉ 275.1–3, s. Fiaccadori 2004a:106f.). A pure

title with no technical bearing in terms of imperial sovereignty, *nəguśä nägäśt/basiléus basiléōn* (never found on ↗coinage, where *ngś ʾksm/*βασιλεύς ʾΑξωμιτῶν, *basiléus Axōmitôn*, 'king of [the] Aksum[ites]', occurs instead) could then be symptomatically replaced by such an opposite as the belittling δοῦλος τοῦ Χριστοῦ, *doûlos toû Christoû*, 'servant of Christ', in ʿEzana's Christian inscription (RIÉ 271.10) – betraying a different understanding of his ↗monarchy (s. EAE vol. 5), triggered by the new religion he had just openly embraced, and then followed by his successors (cp. *gbr krsts*, 'servant of Christ', for ↗Kaleb and his son Wʿzb [i.e. ↗Gäbrä Mäsqäl?], RIÉ 191.11 and 192A.7 resp.).

Unlike for India or Iran (with a *šāhān šāh* only distinguished from family members also called *šāh*: namely, his sons, assigned the [honorific] titles of the former rulers of the outlying provinces, s. de Blois in EI², 190), there is indeed evidence of other "kings" (or rulers) within the Ethiopian "empire" in Aksumite times (e.g., the aforesaid Abäʾalkəʿo and Sbl; cp. also the ↗Monumentum Adulitanum) and much later (e.g., the *nägaśi* of ↗Goğğam or ↗Wäläqa, and the *baḥər nägaśi* or ↗*baḥər nägaš*, s. TadTChurch 97 and n. 7, and Fiaccadori 2006:115f., n. 1), as noticed in the chronicles (↗Historiography) since the age of *aṣe* ↗ʿAmdä Ṣəyon I (KrAmdS 3 [text]; MarAmdS 98). Yet, the title *nəguśä nägäśt* would seem to be unrelated to that, with no implications for the Ethiopian monarch to reign over other sub-kings, as more often understood.

In the chronicles, the rulers of provinces or other political entities, including those unfriendly to the Christian state, were also called N. and described as "kings" (cp. also, e.g., *betä nəguś*, lit. 'king palace', but later 'round shaped house', possibly as the local residence of such provincial rulers as the *təgre mäkʷännən*, s. Conti Rossini 1938:406 and n. 4). This is more or less constantly reflected in subsequent Ethiopic sources and foreign writings, by travellers and scholars, on the land of ↗Prester John and its rather peculiar monarchy, holding suzerainty on a variable number of "kings" who represent as many ethnic groups or "nations" (cp. Pollera 1926:49ff.; Vycichl 1957:200f.): 99, seven of them Muslim, e.g., for Ibn Faḍlallāh al-↗ʿUmarī in 1340/41 A.D., speaking of the "king of kings of Abyssinia" (*Taʿrīf*, ed. 1924:30, s. Davis 1969:70ff.).

This provides a *terminus ante quem* to the revival of the ancient title of ʿEzana: possibly by ↗ʿAmdä Ṣəyon himself, in keeping with his leaning for the Aksumite past – also reflected in the title *nəguśä Ityopya*, 'king of Ethiopia', given to him by his chronicler (KrAmdS 1; MarAmdS 50f.).

The idea of the superiority of the Christian kingdom and ↗kingship of Ethiopia was being expressed, then, in the ↗*Kəbrä nägäśt*, with the legend of ↗Mənilək I and ↗Makəda, bound to the monarch's claim for ↗Zion, i.e. the ↗Arch of the Covenant preserved in, and ultimately identified with, ↗Aksum. The head of the Solomonic state became first and foremost *nəguśä Ṣəyon*, as evident, e.g., in the ↗coronation rituals, with all relevant symbolic implications for the Ethiopian monarchy (cp. Smidt 2007 on *nəguś* ↗Mikaʾel).

Accordingly, the title *nəguśä nägäśt* (*zäʾityopya*), 'king of kings (of Ethiopia)', was only occasionally to surface (e.g., for ↗Ləbnä Dəngəl, in ↗Ǝleni's disputed letter to king ↗Manuel of Portugal, ed. Sergew Hable-Selassie in PICES 4, vol. 1, 558, on which s. Fiaccadori 2004b:689 and n. 63) until the "restoration" of the ↗Gondärine kingdom, when it was definitely resumed (by ↗Susənyos, s. PerChron 3 [text]), but kept interchanging with the simpler *nəguśä Ityopya* and, esp. later, ↗*aṣe*. The former occurs also in Amharic garb, *yäḥabäša nəguś*, during the ↗*Zämänä mäsafənt* (s., e.g., RubActa I, 193). Then provincial rulers also bore the title *nəguś* (BeckHuntAlvar 509), while *ras* ↗Mikaʾel Səḥul styled himself as *rəʾəsä rəʾusan*, '↗*ras* of *rases*' (BTafY 81 [123vb]) – a title also known, e.g., for the abbot of ↗Märṭulä Maryam, but here possibly an emulative calque of *nəguśä nägäśt*.

The same interpretation applies, a fortiori, to the comparatively recent, and clearly imitative, title *nəgəśtä nəgəśtat* (*zäʾityopya*), 'queen of queens (of Ethiopia)', that occurs first in Manoel ↗d'Almeida: "Neguesta neguestat, Rainha das Rainhas" (*Hist. Aeth.* I, 1, in BecRASO II, 6), and was only later reinterpreted as *nəgəśtä nägäśtat*, 'queen of kings', which accounts for the use of the redetermined pl. form instead of *nägäśt* (cp. van den Oudenrijn 37, misunderstood by Vycichl 1957:193, 201, with reference to Cleopatra, βασιλίς βασιλίδων, *basilís basilídōn*, 'queen of kings'). As such, this title was last bore by empress ↗Zäwditu (s. her seal in GueCopMen 796), also simply referred to as *nəgəśt* (e.g., GebMolIyas 67), like *ətege* ↗Ṭaytu (s. GueCopMen 344 and n. 3).

In 1879, *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV – whose retrospective coronation ceremony, as described in his chronicle, included the phrase *aklilä aklilat*, 'crown of crowns' (BTafY 136 [137va]) – conceded the title of N. to be valid for the rulers

of Šäwa and Goğğam, a practice followed by *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II and *ləğ* ↗Iyasu, raising to N. former *ras* Wäldä Giyorgis and, resp., Mikaʾel (Pollera 1926:51f.; Cerulli 1934). As a matter of fact Mənilək called himself *nəguśä nägäśt* (as a claim for sovereignty) already under the reign of Yoḥannəs IV, and only renounced this title when the Emperor recognized him as N. of Šäwa.

Since then, the popular idea spread again that *nəguśä nägäśt* alluded to the relative independence of the several "kings" of the provinces from the "emperor" of the Ethiopian state as a whole – simply N. in his own province (Pollera 1926:54f.). All the more so, as the term N. had already entered such titles of Ethiopian traditional rulers as *ʿafar nugus* (Reinisch 1885:5, with reference to Bilál *nugus*, "König der Buru-Afar", i.e. from the Bôri Peninsula, met by the author in November 1875 at Massawa; cp. MorDicAfar 58, 117: Bilál's lineage was called "Nugusá", indicating the ancient allegiance of the local dynasty of Ankalá, since 1690, to the Christian kingdom), or even applied to a few chiefs of the Gurage clans of Ǝndägañ called *nugs* – and then *azmač*, after the incorporation into the Ethiopian empire by Mənilək II (Bustorf 2005:14).

In 1928, the last N., i.e. Täfäri, the later ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I, was crowned: breaking tradition, with no association to a particular province, so that he was generally perceived as a "king" immediately under the "empress" of Ethiopia; he himself never appointed any N., but created the new title ↗*ləʿul ras* for those from the lineages of the N. of Goğğam, Təgray, Šäwa.

The title *nəguśä nägäśt* was eventually inserted by him into the 1931 Ethiopian Constitution, where it clearly stands for 'Emperor', exactly in the same way as in the official documents with foreign destination, mostly written in French before 1935, it is always rendered with "Empereur" (van den Oudenrijn 1949:37).

Src.: DillmLex 687f.; LesCDic 392; ALFRED F.L. BEESTON et al., *Sabaic Dictionary (English–French–Arabic). Dictionnaire sabéen (anglais–français–arabe)*, Louvain-la-Neuve – Beyrouth 1982, 93; RIÉ 180, 183, 185-89, 191, 192; 270–71, 275; CRDLib 186f., no. 6; IBN FAḌL ALLĀH AL-ʿUMARĪ, *Taʿrīf bil-muṣṭalaḥ aš-šarīf* ('Instruction on the Noble Protocol'), Cairo 1913 H. [1924 A.D.]; KrAmdS 1, 3 (text) = 1, 6 (tr.); MarAmdS 50, 98 (text) = 51, 99 (tr.), cp. 53 and nn. 4-7, 11; YaqMist I, 120f. (text) = 72 (tr.); BecRASO II, 6; GebMolIyas; GueCopMen 344 and n. 3, 796; LEO REINISCH, *Die ʿAfar-Sprache*, vol. 1, Wien 1885 (Sitzungsberichte der phil.-hist. Classe der kais. Akademie der Wissenschaften 111, 1), 5, and vol. 2, Wien 1887 (Sitzungsberichte der phil.-hist. Classe der kais. Akademie der Wissenschaften 113, 2), p. 97; PerChron 3 (text) = 2 (tr.): BTafY 80 [123vb], 136 [137va] (text) = 81, 137 (tr.).

Lit.: BERNARD ALFRINK, "L'expression «šamaim ou šemei haš-šamaim» dans l'Ancien Testament»", in: *Mélanges Eugène Tisserant*, vol. 1, Città del Vaticano 1964 (Studi e Testi 231), 1–7, here 1f.; ALFRED F.L. BEESTON, *Sabaic Grammar*, Manchester 1984 (JSS Monographs 6), 9f.; DIRK BUSTORF, "Some Notes on the Traditional Religious System of the Ǝndägañ Gurage", in: DENIS NOSNITSIN et al. (eds.), *Varia Aethiopica: In Memory of Sevir B. Chernetsov (1943–2005)*, St. Petersburg 2005 (= Scrinium 1), 12-34; ANDRÉ CAQUOT, "La royauté sacrale en Éthiopie", *AE* 2, 1957, 205–18, here 206f.; ENRICO CERULLI, "Negus", in: *Enciclopedia Italiana di Scienze, lettere e arti*, 24, 1934, 532; ID., "L'Etiopia medievale in alcuni brani di scrittori arabi", *RSE* 3, 1943, 272–94, here 274f. [repr. in: *CerIslam* 257–80, here 259ff.]; ID., "Punti di vista sulla storia dell'Etiopia", in: *PICES* 1, 5–27, here 7ff.; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Aethiopica (II[a] Serie)", *RSO* 10, 1925, 481-520, here 481ff. [§27. "Negús"]; ID., "Necropoli musulmana e antica chiesa cristiana presso Uogrì Haribà nell'Enderta", *RSO* 17, 1938, 399–408, here 436 and n. 4; CRStor 110; DAE IV 7; ASA A. DAVIS, "The Relevance of Negusa Nagast (King of Kings) in an Arabic Text", *Ibadan* 26, 1969, 68–72, here 70ff.; FRANÇOIS C. DE BLOIS, "Shāh", in: *EI*[2] vol. 9, 190–91; MARCO DI BRANCO, "I sei prìncipi di Quṣayr ʿAmrah: fra tardoantico, ellenismo ed Islam", *RRALm* ser. 9[a], 18, 2007, in preparation; ErlEth 193 n. 30; GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, "Sembrouthes 'gran re' (*DAE* IV 3 = *RIÉth* 275). Per la storia del primo ellenismo aksumita", *La Parola del Passato* 59, 2004a [2005], 103-57, here 106f. and 137; ID., "Sul ms. Parigi, B.n.F., d'Abb. 78 (C.R. 38) e i metropoliti Yesḥaq, Yāʿqob e Mārqos d'Etiopia (sec. XV-XVI)", *RRALm* ser. 9[a], 15, 2004b [2005], 679–90, here 689 and n. 63; ID., "ʾElla Gabaz/(ʾElla) Ḥētāzā", *La Parola del Passato* 61, 2006 [2007], 115–41, here 115f., n. 2 (Lit.); HabKön 27f.; MANFRED KROPP, "Ein Gegenstand und seine Aufschrift. RIE = JE 5", in: *EtRicci* 129–44; ID., "«Antiquae restitutio legis». Zur Alimentation des Hofklerus und einer Zeugenliste als *imago imperii* und *notitia dignitatum* in einer Urkunde des Kaisers Zär'a Yaʿqob im Condaghe der Hs. BM Or. 481, fol. 154", in: Nosnitsin et al. op. cit. 2005, 115–47, here 136 and n. 82; ENNO LITTMANN, [review of Marquart 1913], *Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie* 22, 1915, 258–67, here 265; JOSEPH MARQUART, *Die Benin-Sammlung des Reichmuseum für Volkerkunde in Leiden*, Leiden 1913 (Veröffentlichungen des Reichmuseum für Volkerkunde in Leiden, Ser. II, 7), LXVIIf., LXXVIIff., CCCIX: MorDicAfar 58, 117; THEODOR NÖLDEKE, *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft*, Strassburg 1910, 47; MARCUS-ANTONIUS VAN DEN OUDENRIJN, [review of PerGov], *BiOr* 6, 1949, 37f.; ALBERTO POLLERA, *Lo Stato etiopico e la sua Chiesa*, Roma – Milano 1926, 49ff.; RicEnbYoh II 94f., n. 108; LANFRANCO RICCI, "Appunti archeologici", *RSE* 32, 1988 [1990], 130–65, here 146f. and 155; PHILIPPE SÉGÉRAL, "Théorie de l'apophonie et organisation des schèmes en sémitique", in: JACQUELINE LECARME – JEAN LOWENSTAMM – UR SHLONSKY (eds.), *Research in Afroasiatic Grammar. Papers from the Third Conference on Afroasiatic Languages. Sophia Antinopolis, France, 1996*, Amsterdam – Philadelphia, PA 2000 (Amsterdam Studies in the Theory and History of Linguistic Science, Ser. IV. Current Issues in Linguistic Theory 202), 263–99, here 269–73; SERGEW HABLE-SELASSIE, "The Ge'ez Letters of Queen Eleni and Libne Dingil to John, King of Portugal", in: *PICES* 4, vol. 1, 547-66,

here 558; WOLBERT SMIDT, "The Coronation of Negus Mikael, King of Wollo and Tigray, in May 1914: New Findings", *AE* 23, 2007; TadTChurch 97 and n. 7; WERNER VYCICHL, "Le titre de Rois des Rois (ንጉሥ ነገሥት). Étude historique et comparative sur la monarchie en Éthiopie", *AE* 2, 1957, 193–203, here 199ff.

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Nəguśe Tädla Gʷalu ↗Dästa Tädla Gʷalu

Nəguśe Wäldä Mikaʾel

Däğğazmač N. (ንጉሤ ወልደ ሚካኤል, "horse name" Abba Nəkäs; b. about 1820/25, ↗Səmen, d. January 1861), better known as "Agäw" Nəguśe, was the nephew and political heir of *däğğazmač* ↗Wəbe Ḫaylä Maryam.

N.'s mother was Wəbe's sister. N.'s father "Agäw" Wäldä Mikaʾel belonged to the Agäw of the Səmen and descended from a line of petty nobility: he was a follower of Wəbe and died in his services in 1843 (RubActa I, 58). N.'s older brother *abeto* Däräs was Wəbe's commercial agent. After ↗Tewodros II captured Wəbe in 1855 and crowned himself emperor, N. took over his uncle's claim to the throne of Ethiopia. He and his brother ↗Täsämma Wäldä Mikaʾel organized alliance of most rulers in Təgray and assured that Tewodros's control could not be established in the north.

During 1855–60, N. was the main political leader north of the Täkkäze, claiming the rulership of the kingdom (*mängəśt*) of Təgray, Səmen, Wäggära, Wälqayt, Ṭägäde (Ṣägäde), Dämbəya, Bäläsa, Agäw, Lasta and Säläwwa, "from Massawa to Gondär" (full list in RubActa II, 92f.). He aspired to replace Tewodros as the ruler of entire Ethiopia.

In November 1855 N. captured Gondär and was able to keep it for some time. By 1858 N. controlled the Täkkäzä Məllaš ('this side of the Täkkäzä'); after battles in ᶜAgamä he submitted ↗Akkälä Guzay, burning the border town ↗Dəgsa, and then engaged in a battle with the leader of Ḫamasen, *däggiyat* ↗Ḫaylu Täwäldä Mädḫən, who, however, first inflicted a defeat on N. (cp. KolTrad II, 139f.); only afterwards N. could establish his overlordship (RubActa II, 62f.). In oral tradition in Eritrea the "heroic" battle of "*nəguśä* N." in Akkälä Guzay is still reported as a crucial event.

In his first diplomatic letter of 1856 to Napoléon III, N. still styled himself *däğğazmač*, but in his 1858 letter to Pope Pius IX he featured already as *nəguśä Ityopya* ('king of Ethiopia', RubActa II, 23, 56; ↗*Nəguś*) and *yäʾityopya nəguś* in 1859 (s. RubActa II, 92) and used a royal seal showing a ↗lion. From N.'s perspective Tewodros was a "fanatic savage" (RubActa II, 60). In both letters N. announced his acceptance of the Catholic bishop Justin de ↗Jacobis, in 1858 stressing his willingness to accept the authority of the Pope and adopt ↗Catholicism after having consolidated his power. He sent his two letters of 1858 with a delegation to Rome and France, under the leadership of his cousin *ləğ* Ṭaqaye (son of his mother's sister, shipwrecked 1859 on return journey) and the Catholic convert *abba* ↗Ǝmnätu (seemingly another relative; RubActa II, 89). N. knew that he needed military assistance in order to successfully challenge Tewodros.

N.'s ambitions were encouraged by French government officials and missionaries, who saw in him a great potential for the establishment of the Catholic faith and French interests in Ethiopia and at the coast. Apart from de Jacobis, the French involved were Auguste Chauvin-Beillard (vice-consul of France at Massawa from 1856–59), and Chauvin-Beillard's successor, Théodore Gilbert (vice-consul 1859–61). They tried to create a Franco-Ethiopian alliance through N. that would protect Catholic missionaries, establish a protectorate relationship (at least over Təgray), and possibly cede territory to France, such as "the port of this country". N. also invited France to send a consul to Ethiopia itself (not only to Massawa), to "occupy another, neighbouring country" (Zaylaᶜ?) and acquire "some place near the sea". He wanted the future bishop of Ethiopia be Catholic (for N.'s oral message to Napoléon III through Ǝmnätu, s. Rub Acta II, 83).

The French responded by sending an exploratory mission led by Stanislas Russel, which arrived in Massawa at the end of 1859. N. now offered them ↗Zula at the coast (RubActa II, 89). On 29 December N. ceded the whole plain of Zula below Mount Gädam, together with the islands of Wuda and Däse, and offered the whole coast up to Zaylaᶜ for "protection" by the French. A second treaty of 9 January 1860 provided for the inviolability of a French consulate in his territory, among others (RubActa II, 94–97). In January 1860, however, Tewodros arrived in Təgray with his army. N.'s seat of government was in that time Ḫawzen in Ḫaramat, but he temporarily retreated to Ǝnčätkab in the Səmen mountains to avoid battle (later returning to his capital Ḫawzen). Russel withdrew, bearing the two treaties (RubInd 202–06). Shortly thereafter, Tewodros's enemy and relative, *ləğ* ↗Garäd

Kənfu, appointed by N. as a local governor seated in Armačəho, killed ↗Plowden, Tewodros's British advisor, in a skirmish near Gondär.

In 1859 N. also negotiated, through Capuchin missionaries such as ↗Massaja and Léon des ↗Avanchers, with the kingdom of Sardinia. N.'s aim was the establishment of commercial contacts; he seems to have been ready to cede territory in exchange for military assistance. A treaty of friendship between him and king Vittorio Emanuele of Sardinia, providing for commercial exchange and protection for the Catholic mission, was prepared (RubActa II, 70f.) but never ratified. Counterfactually, however, in Europe it was regarded as a valid treaty between "Ethiopia and Sardinia" (ibid.).

N. also sought alliances with Ethiopian chiefs against Tewodros, such as ↗Tädla Gʷalu of Goğğam, *ras* ↗Ali Alula of Yäğğu (re-emerging briefly from oblivion), *imām* ↗Amäde Bäšir of Wällo and Wärrä Himano (all of them said to be allied to him in 1860, RubActa II 128f.); within his own territory N. appointed governors from local leading families, such as ↗Arägawi Säbagadis for ᶜAgamä (who had first resisted against N.) and his brother Täsämma over Səmen and Wäggära.

A year after his first expedition to Təgray, in January 1861,Tewodros returned to Təgray. This time he captured and executed N. and his brother after a battle in Tämben – a deed which does not seem to have had a lasting impact on Ethio-European relations. It was only then that the north came under full control of Tewodros, who lost it again in about 1867. Later, France claimed Zula from time to time, which it had "got from N.", but without ever establishing a post there; it had to give up this claim in 1887, when Italy made this region its "protettorato" ignoring French protestations.

Src.: BTafA 578f., 955; FusTeo 92f.; LUIGI FUSELLA, "L'ambasciata francese a Neguse", *RSE* 7, 1948, 176–91; *Annales de la Congrégation de la Mission* 23, 1858, 444–49; *ibid.* 24, 1859, 72–89; *ibid.* 26, 1861, 46–88, 118–26; EDWARD HERTSLET, *The Map of Africa by Treaty*, vol. 2, London 1967, 446; KolTrad II, s. index; STANISLAS RUSSEL, *Une mission en Abyssinie et dans la mer Rouge, 23 octobre, 1859–7 mai, 1860*, Paris 1884; RubActa I, 58, II, 23, 56–62, 69–83, 86–90, 92–97, 101–05, 108–13, 124, 128ff., 141; interview with elders, Bäraqit ᶜAbay, Akkälä Guzay, Eritrea, July 2000; MINISTÈRE DES AFFAIRES ÉTRANGÈRES, *Correspondance Politique: Égypte. Massaouah*, II, fols. 104ff., 172–80, 244, 246ff., 274, 283–86, 328, 331f., 340ff., III, 94, 96; Public Record Office, Foreign Office 1, 401, 523, 537, 538, 550, 603, 692.

Lit.: CrumMis 101–09; MunSt 43ff., 47f., 170; RubInd 189–206; SVEN RUBENSON, "Neguse Walda Mikael", in: *EncAfr* vol. 1, 118.

Donald Crummey – Wolbert Smidt

Neqemte ↗Naqamtee

Nerazzini, Cesare

N. (b. 29 May 1849, Montepulciano, Siena, d. 4 February 1912, Montepulciano) was an Italian officer and diplomat. In 1873, he earned degrees in medicine and surgery from the University of Florence and in 1878 joined the Italian Navy as a medical officer. Being fluent in Arabic, Amharic and Somali, in December 1882 he was engaged by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and destined to the Bay of ᶜAsäb (↗Colonia di Assab).

Hereafter, N. had an intense diplomatic career in Ethiopia. In February 1884, he was sent on a diplomatic mission to *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV; in November 1885, with Vincenzo Ferrari, envoy of King ↗Umberto I, he went to reassure Yoḥannəs about Italy's occupation of ↗Massawa. In 1886, he was an envoy to ↗Awsa, then to ↗Harär and Šäwa. With the breach of diplomatic relations between Italy and Ethiopia, he went back to Italy. In November 1887, he was appointed colonial adviser for the expedition of General di ↗San Marzano. In October 1888, he was again sent on a mission to Harär; in November 1889, he was made an Italian political agent. He accompanied *däğğazmač* ↗Mäkʷännən Wäldä Mikaʾel on the latter's visit to Italy.

In October 1891, N. was sent to Təgray to prepare the meeting at the ↗Märäb with local dignitaries, between *ras* ↗Mängäša Yoḥannəs and the governor of ↗Eritrea, General Antonio Gandolfi, resulting in a friendship agreement between Italy and Mängäša. In September 1892, N. was involved in a mission to Harär; between May 1893 and January 1894, he negotiated to smooth the tension caused by the Treaty of Wəčale (↗Italo-Ethiopian Treaty of Friendship and Commerce).

After being promoted to major, in July 1895, in agreement with England, N. was sent on a private mission to ↗Zaylaᶜ to organize an information service for ↗Djibouti, whence *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II was being furnished with weapons, and to exert his influence on Mäkʷännən Wäldä Mikaʾel, while pressing Mənilək with the threat of a possible Italian invasion of Harär. On 9 November 1895, he informed Rome that the army of Mənilək was heading to Təgray to help Mängäša Yoḥannəs.

In June 1896, after the battle of ↗ᶜAdwa, N. signed two conventions in Šäwa with Mənilək concerning peace agreements and the restitution of Italian war prisoners; on 26 October, he signed the peace treaty between the two coun-

tries (↗Treaties). Again in Šäwa, in March 1897, he failed to successfuly end the discussions about the settlement of the border between Eritrea and Ethiopia, and went back to Italy. Having formally joined the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in 1900 he was appointed Consul General of Italy to Calcutta, in 1901 to Shanghai. In 1906, he became the minister plenipotentiary of Italy in Tanger; in 1910 he was transferred to Bangkok. The same year he returned to Italy, there closing his controversial career.

Src.: VINCENZO FERRARI, *Impressioni generali sull'Abissinia*, Roma 1885; ID., *Notizie sul massacro Bianchi, Diana, Monari*, Roma 1885; ID., *Riepilogo della Missione presso il negus Giovanni d'Abissinia*, Roma 1885; CESARE NERAZZINI, "Osservazioni mediche sulla Baia di Assab (Affrica Orientale)", *Giornale di Medicina Militare* 1, 1884, 22–44; *ibid.* 6, 1884, 503–32; *ibid.* 3, 1885, 243–81; ID., *Le relazioni vicendevoli fra l'Abissinia, i popoli adiacenti e l'Italia dall'epoca del primo stabilimento in Assab fino ad oggi*, Roma 1887; ID., *Progressi politici e territoriali dei Francesi in Mar Rosso in rapporto coi nostri possedimenti in Assab e Massaua*, Roma 1888; ID., *Missione all'Harrar*, Roma, 1889; ID., "Itinerario in Etiopia – 1885", *Bollettino della Società Geografica Italiana* 26, 1889, 968–90 and 27, 1890, 54–81, 140–72; ID., *Questioni riguardanti l'Harrar da trattarsi all'arrivo della missione scioana in Italia*, Roma 1889; ID., *La conquista mussulmana dell'Etiopia nel sec. XVI ...*, Roma 1891; ID., *Rapporto sul sistema tributario di Harrar*, Roma [1891]; ID., *Storia del Concilio di Calcedonia e analisi delle differenze dogmatiche fra la Chiesa russa e la Chiesa etiopica*, Roma 1895; ID., *Missione in Etiopia per la liberazione dei prigionieri italiani e per la stipulazione della pace. Giugno–dicembre 1896*, Roma 1897, 58; AGATA POMA – LORELLA VALENTI, "Le carte di Cesare Nerazzini nell'Archivio di Stato di Siena", *Bullettino Senese di Storia Patria* 48, 1991, 310–22.

Lit.: ANDREA FRANCIONI, *Medicina e diplomazia. Italia ed Etiopia nell'esperienza africana di Cesare Nerazzini (1883–1897)*, Siena 1999 (Lit.); ERMINIO IACONA, "Cesare Nerazzini, un ufficiale medico al servizio della diplomazia italiana in Africa (1883–1897)", in: *Fonti e problemi della politica coloniale italiana. Atti del convegno di Taormina–Messina del 23–29 ottobre 1989*, Roma 1996, vol. 1, 113–48 (Lit.); ErDizBio; UNIVERSITÀ DEGLI STUDI DI LECCE. DIPARTIMENTO DI SCIENZE STORICHE E SOCIALI, *La formazione della diplomazia nazionale (1861–1915): Repertorio bio-bibliografico dei funzionari del Ministero degli Affari Esteri*, Roma 1987, s.v.; CARLO ZAGHI, "L'Italia e l'Harar in un rapporto riservato di Cesare Nerazzini (del 1889)", *Rassegna politica internazionale* 1, 1940, 68–78; ID., "Italia, Francia e Inghilterra nel Mar Rosso, dal 1880 al 1888 in una memoria inedita di Cesare Nerazzini a Francesco Crispi", *Gli Annali dell'Africa Italiana* 4, 1940, 377–400; ID., "Zeila e la mancata occupazione dell'Harar", *Storia e politica internazione* 1, 1941, 67–136.

Gian Carlo Stella

Nesbitt, Ludovico Mariano

N. (b. 1891, Rome, d. 19 July 1935, Switzerland) was an Anglo-Italian mining engineer (born of a British father and an Italian mother) who in 1928 undertook a notable expedition in the ↗ᶜAfar area of Ethiopia.

N. undertook exploration for gold in South Africa in 1912 (s. Nesbitt 1933). Later, in 1927, he investigated platinum deposits in western Ethiopia, after which he proceeded in 1928 to Addis Abäba. Thence in the company of Tullio Pastori and Giuseppe Rosina, he carried out a journey northwards through the ᶜAfar country from the ↗Awaš river to Marsā Faṭma. The expedition was the more memorable in that the three previous ones, by Werner ↗Munzinger in 1875, Giuseppe ↗Giulietti in 1881 and Gustavo ↗Bianchi in 1884 had been annihilated by the local ᶜAfar. In three and a half months N. travelled 600 miles and made compass traverses of 20,000 square miles.

N. duly reported his findings to the Royal Geographical Society's *Geographical Journal* for 1930, and described his journey in a widely reprinted monograph (Italian ed. 1930, repr. 1935, abbreviated but indexed English ed. 1934, American and German ed. 1935).

N., who later worked in Venezuela, died when the aeroplane in which he was flying from Milan to Amsterdam crashed in the Swiss Alps.

Src.: LUDOVICO MARIANO NESBITT, *La Dancalia esplorata. Narrazione della prima e sola spedizione che abbia finora percorso la Dancalia nell'intera sua lunghezza*, Firenze 1930 (= *La Dancalia esplorata [Etiopia Orientale]. Narrazione della prima e sola spedizione che ha percorso la Dancalia nell'intera sua lunghezza*, Firenze ²1935); ID., "Danakil Traversed from South to North", *Geographical Journal* 76, 1930, 298–315, 391–414, 545–57 and maps; ID., *La febbre dell'oro. La tragica vita dei minatori del Transvaal*, Firenze 1933 (= *Gold Fever*, London 1936); ID., *Desert and Forest: the Exploration of Abyssinian Danakil*, London 1934 (= *Hell-hole of Creation, The Exploration of Abyssinian Danakil*, New York 1935, = *Abyssinia Unveiled: Desert and Forest*, Hamburg – Paris – Bologna 1935); ID., "Prefazione", in: CARLO ZAGHI, *L'ultima spedizione affricane di Gustavo Bianchi*, Milano 1930, vol. 2; ID., *Orenoco*, Varese 1938.

Lit.: ErDizBio 220; GABRIELE GREGOLETTO, *Pianeta Terra. Dizionario di navigatori, esploratori, scienziati e viaggiatori che, con le loro azioni o imprese piccole e grandi, contribuirono principalmente alla conoscenza geografica della Terra*, Cornedo Vicentino 2004, 32f.; ANGELO UMILTÀ, *Gli Italiani in Africa. Con appendici monografiche su esploratori e personaggi che calcarono il suolo africano dal 1800 al 1943*, ed. by GIORGIO BARANI – MANLIO BONATI, Reggio Emilia 2004, 527–30; SILVIO ZAVATTI, *Gli esploratori nel mondo*, Forlì 1943, 109; ID., *Uomini verso l'ignoto. Gli esploratori del mondo*, Ancona 1979, 289.

Richard Pankhurst

Nestorius

The Syrian priest and monk N. (b. ca. 381, Germanicia, Syria, d. after 451, Panopolis/Aḫmīm, Egypt) was bishop of Constantinople from 428 to 431. His teachings aroused one of the harshest religious controversies of early Christian times, and are still open to scholarly debate as to their Orthodoxy (s., e.g., Anastos 1962 and Jouassard 1979).

He is likely to have been a (mediated?) student of Theodore of Mopsuestia, the head of the Antiochene theological school, who had attacked the Apollinarian Christological formula "one incarnate *phýsis* (Gr. φύσις) of God the Word", and was to be, together with his master Diodore of Tarsus, a constant source of inspiration to N. Yet, a proper understanding of the latter's thought is difficult, for most of his literary works – arguably marked by inadequate theological skill and language – were destroyed as a result of the staunch opposition he met already in his lifetime. Besides the so called *Nestoriana*, i.e. a collection of quotations from sermons and epistles by him found in different sources (assembled in Loof 1905), only a Syriac translation and a few fragments (in the original Greek, etc.) of his apology, the *Bazaar of Herakleides* (last ed. by Driver – Hodgson 1925), are extant.

It appears, nonetheless, that in his opinion the human and divine "natures" (*phýseis*) of Christ, i.e. of the man Jesus and of the divine Logos or Word, are inseparable and unconfused, as they retain their own properties, faculties and operations, the Logos being the Son of God who perfectly indwelt the man after the Incarnation, making him Son of God "by grace" (χάριτι, *cháriti*). God passed through the Virgin as a channel, but was not begotten by her in flesh as her own son; therefore, she is not the "Mother of God" (Θεοτόκος, *Theotókos*, lit. 'Giver of birth to God': cp. Gəʿəz *wäladitä amlak*), an impious title for a mortal woman, but just the "Mother of Christ(-the-man)" (Χριστοτόκος, *Christotókos*, lit. 'Giver of birth to Christ') or even, with the appropriate reservations, the "God-receiving" (Θεοδόχος, *Theodóchos*).

Likewise, in order to designate the relationship between the two natures of Christ not as "united in one substance (ὑπόστασις, *hypóstasis*) and one person (πρόσοπον, *prósopon*)", according to the formula to be definitely established at the Council of ↗Chalcedon in 451, but rather as "two substances (*hypostáseis*)" morally or accidentally "joined in one person", N. preferred the term *synápheia* (συνάφεια, 'conjunction') to the Orthodox *hénōsis* (ἕνωσις, 'union'), thus turning the hypostatic into a prosopic union.

This view, implying a severe threatening to the Atonement, was denounced at the Council of ↗Ephesus in 431, where ↗Cyril of Alexandria – not really interested in Christological issues so characteristic, instead, of the Antiochene tradition – cut the question off by simply resuming the Apollinarian formula above (in which *phýsis*, however, was understood by him as "person", not in the later sense of "nature"), and holding that the Logos was born as a man, while by the Incarnation the perfect union of Jesus's two *phýseis* took place. Condemned with his fellows, N. was deposed and exiled to Antioch, then to Petra in Arabia, and eventually to (the) Oasis (Wāḥat al-Ḫāriğa) in Upper Egypt, where he wrote his apology.

In spite of the more pro-Alexandrian union formula agreed upon in 433 by Cyril and the patriarch of Antioch John I, the conflict that ensued over N.'s underscoring the human principle in ↗Christology, with repeated charges of Judaizing in respect to the denial of Christ's godhead (Fiaccadori 1985a:136 and nn. 11–17), led in time to the so called Nestorian schism, definitely separating the (Assyrian [Apostolic] or Chaldaean) Church of the East – i.e. the Church of Persia (↗Iran), which had already seceded in 424, before the rise of the Nestorian controversy (cp. Jullien 2005:57ff.) – from the Byzantine Church. The reaction to that triggered theological developments bringing about ↗Monophysitism.

The Church of the East, with a central administration under the authority of a bishop called Katholikós (ranking as patriarch since 410), declared the teachings of N. its official doctrine at the Synod of Bêṯ Lapat in 484, received its form and name at the Synod of Seleucia in 486, and had its tenets defined, as incompatible with those of Chalcedonia, at the bishops' assembly gathered in 612 "at gate of the (Persian) Kingdom". Chiefly popular among merchants and traders (like ↗Cosmas Indicopleustes), the Church gained a firm foothold in Persia, where it became a national Church (being granted protection by the Sasanian kings, as later on by the caliphs), and in some regions of Syria, like Mesopotamia, with the famous theological school of Edessa (closed by the Byzantine emperor Zeno in 489, and moved since to the Persian town of Nisibis).

Punishment of Nestorius the "heretic"; mural on canvas (detail), 1940-44, eastern wall of *mäqdäs*, church of St. George at ʿAddi Məsno, Təgray; photo 2002, courtesy of Michael Gervers

It spread also to Arabia and Soqoṭra (in which "Nestorians" stayed well into the 14th and 16th cent., resp.), and then, further east, to India, Central Asia and China (Toepel 2005).

As a result of the Christianization process renewed in the 5th–6th cent. by such missionaries as the ↗Nine Saints, Alexandrian Christology, i.e. ↗Monophysitism, was introduced into the kingdom of ↗Aksum (Fiaccadori 2006:59f., n. 74). The translation from Greek into Ethiopic of several Cyrillian or pro-Cyrillian homilies and treatises, collected under the title of ↗*Qərəllos*, is the best evidence of this new confessional leaning – with a strong anti-Nestorian bias.

On account of that, no appreciative trace of N.'s theological positions can be detected in ↗Gəʿəz literature, where the names Nasṭoryos (ናስጦርዮስ) or Nəsṭəros (ንስጥሮስ) and the relative adjective *nəsṭərosawi* (pl. *nəsṭərosawiyan*) are more often derogatory terms for "heretic(s)". An extensive refutation of N. and his doctrines can be found, conversely, in the *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*məśṭir* by Giyorgis of Sägla, written ca. 1424 (YaqMist 72–104, cp. Colin 1984) and based on ancient, no longer available, Aksumite sources (Bausi in PICES 15, 536 and 2006:50f. and n. 14). Negative hints at N. and the Council of Ephesus are then significantly included in works mirroring discussions with the ↗Jesuits over grounding theological points such as the ↗*Mäzgäbä haymanot*, composed between 1555 and 1559 (ed. Cerulli 1960:8ff.).

Such a clearly anti-Nestorian orientation – as already indirectly attested for the Aksumite age – has been explained either with an overall Monophysite, i.e. anti-Diophysite, original attitude of the Ethiopian Church (Guidi 1924:138f.; GuiSLett 17f.), or, more specifically, with its anti-Arian reaction (↗Arius) triggered by ↗Theophilus the Indian's missionary journey to Aksum and ↗Ḥimyar between 341 and 346 (Rodinson in PICES 1, 387f., 395). This rather "archaic" feature of Ethiopian Christendom could, however, be also due to the imposing presence of Nestorian communities in Yemen since the 5th cent. (Fiaccadori 1985b:196 and nn. 31ff., 204f.), if not to the prejudices arisen during the 6th-cent. Ethiopian war(s) against Ḥimyar (↗Nağrān), when Nestorians had been siding with the Jewish king ↗Yūsuf Asʾar Yaṯʾar (Id. 2006:58f. and n. 70, 61f. and n. 88).

Indeed, Nestorians were also in Egypt (Meinardus 1967:112–22, cp. Marrassini 2005:143f.), as well as in ↗Jerusalem (Meinardus 1967:123–29), where the Ethiopians had their own settlements since the Aksumite times. Therefore, it is not unlikely that Nestorianism from Egypt and/or Palestine, or better from South Arabia, soon reached ↗Aksum via the ↗Red Sea and the port of ↗Adulis. A Nestorian connection has been suggested for the ancient ruins of the so called *Kanīsat al-Furs*, 'Church of the Persians', in ↗Dahlak (al-)Kabīr (Fiaccadori 1992:XI and n. 52); and an early impact of Nestorian elements – a problem to a certain degree interconnected with that of the ↗Syrian influences (s. also Marrassini 1999:333 and n. 31) – should better vindicate the negative traces they left in Ethiopian tradition. In later times, though, a certain idea of Nestorianism may well have been fostered by contacts and relationships within and among the Oriental communities of Jerusalem, as well as of Cyprus, where Nestorians and Ethiopians alike have been established since the 14th cent. at least (Coureas 2001:350–53, 358f., and Fiaccadori 1993:157f., n. 158).

Src.: CPG 5665–76 and Suppl. 368; NESTORIUS, *The Bazaar of Herakleides*, ed., tr. G.R. DRIVER – L. HODGSON, Oxford 1925; ID., *Nestoriana: Die Fragmente des Nestorius*, ed., tr. by FRIEDERICH LOOFS, Halle 1905; YaqMist 72–104 (text) = 44–62 (tr.); ENRICO CERULLI (ed., tr.), *Scritti teologici etiopici dei secoli XVI–XVII*, II. *La Storia dei quattro concili ed altri opuscoli monofisiti*, Città del Vaticano 1960 (Studi e Testi 204), 1–33 (text) = 67–101 (tr.), here 8ff. = 76–80.

Lit.: MILTON V. ANASTOS, "Nestorios was Orthodox", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 16, 1962, 119–40; BrakKirche 165f.; ALESSANDRO BAUSI, "The Aksumite Background of the Ethiopic «Corpus Canonum»", in: *PICES* 15, 532–41,

here 536; ID., "La *Collezione aksumita* canonico-liturgica", *Adamantius* 12, 2006, 43–70, here 50f. and n. 14; SEBASTIAN BROCK, "The Christology of the Church of the East in the Synods of the Fifth to Early Seventh Centuries: Preliminary Considerations and Materials", in: *Aksum-Thyateira: a Festschrift for Archbishop Methodius of Thyateira and Great Britain*, Athens 1985, 125–42, here 140ff.; PETER BRUNS, "Das sogenannte »Nestorianum« und verwandte Symbole", *OrChr* 89, 2005, 43–62; GÉRARD COLIN, "La notice sur Nestorius du *Maṣḥafa Meṣtir* de Georges de Sagla", *OrChrP* 50, 1984, 107–25; NICHOLAS COUREAS, "Non-Chalcedonian Christians on Latin Cyprus", in: *Dei gesta per Francos: Études sur les croisades dédiées à Jean Richard*, Aldershot 2001, 349–60; GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, "Cassiodorus and the School of Nisibis", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 39, 1985a, 135–37, here 136 and nn. 11–17; ID., "Yemen nestoriano", in: *Studi in onore di Edda Bresciani*, Pisa 1985b, 195–212, here 196 and 204f., nn. 31ff.; ID., *Teofilo Indiano*, Ravenna 1992 (Biblioteca di «Felix Ravenna» 7), XI and n. 52, 8ff. and n. 19; ID., "Aethiopica minima", *Quaderni utinensi* 7 [13–14], 1989 [1993], 145–64, here 157f., n. 158; ID., "Gregentios in the Land of the Homerites", in: ALBRECHT BERGER (ed., tr.), *Life and Works of St. Gregentios, Archbishop of Taphar*, Berlin 2006 (Millennium-Studien 7), 48–82, here 58f. and n. 70, 61f. and n. 88; TIMOTHY E. GREGORY, "Nestorios", in: *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, Oxford – New York 1991, vol. 3, 1460; IGNAZIO GUIDI, "Bisanzio e il Regno di Aksum", *Studi bizantini* 1, 1924, 137–39; GuiSLett 17f.; GEORGE JOUASSARD, "Le cas de Nestorius", *Revue d'histoire des religions* 74, 1979, 346–48; CHRISTELLE JULLIEN – FLORENCE JULLIEN, *Aux origines de l'Église de Perse. Les Actes de Mar Mari*, Louvain 2005 (CSCO 604, Subsidia 14), 57ff.; ROBERT MACINA, "L'homme à l'École de Dieu: d'Antioche à Nisibe. Profile herméneutique, théologique et kérygmatique du mouvement scoliaste nestorien", *Proche Orient chrétien* 32, 1985, 86–124, 266–301; PAOLO MARRASSINI, "Ancora sul problema degli influssi siriaci in età aksumita", in: LUIGI CAGNI (ed.), *Biblica et Semitica. Studi in memoria di Francesco Vattioni*, Napoli 1999 (IUO Dipartimento di Studi Asiatici – Series minor 59), 325–37, here 333 and n. 31; ID., "La letteratura etiopica", in: PAOLO SINISCALCO (ed.), *Le antiche Chiese orientali. Storia e letteratura*, Roma 2005, 137–50, here 143f.; OTTO MEINARDUS, "The Nestorians in Egypt", *OrChr* 4, 51, 1967, 112–29; T. MOUSALIMAS, "The Consequences of Nestorius' Metaphysics", *The Greek Orthodox Theological Revue* 32, 1987, 279–84; FRANCISCO-MARIA ESTEVES PEREIRA, "La Chrétienté de l'île de Socotra", *Aethiops* 2, 1923, 1–4; ECKHARD REICHERT, "Nestorius", in: *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon*, vol. 6, Hamm 1993, 629–33 (Lit.); MAXIME RODINSON, "L'homélie sur la foi en la Trinité de Sévérien de Gabala", in: *PICES* 1, 387–96, here 387f., 395; NIKOLAJ SELEZNEV, *Assirijskaja cerkov' vostoka. Istoričeskij očerk* ('The Assyrian Church of the East. A Historical Outline'), Moskva 2001; PAOLO SINISCALCO, "La Chiesa assira o siro-orientale", in: ID. (ed.), *Le antiche Chiese orientali* ..., Roma 2005, 216–35; ALEXANDER TOEPEL, "Traces of Nestorianism in Manchuria and Korea", *OrChr* 89, 2005, 77–88; EMIDIO VERGANI – SABINO CHIALÀ, *Storia, cristologia e tradizioni della Chiesa Siro-Orientale. Atti del 3° Incontro sull'Oriente Cristiano di tradizione siriaca (Biblioteca Ambrosiana, 14 maggio 2004)*, Milano 2006.

Gianfranco Fiaccadori

Neugebauer, Otto E.

N. (b. 26 May 1899, Innsbruck, d. 19 February 1990, Lawrenceville, NJ) was an important mathematical historian, who is known in ↗Ethiopian studies for his fundamental research on Ethiopian ↗calendar calculations.

After having studied mathematics and physics in Graz, Munich and Göttingen, where he also became engaged in Ancient Egyptian studies, in 1926, N. received his Ph.D. with the dissertation entitled *Die Grundlagen der ägyptischen Bruchrechnung*. In 1932 he was appointed extraordinary Professor. In 1933 N. left Nazi Germany and became Guest Professor at the Mathematical Institute of Copenhagen University. From 1939 till 1969 he held the chair at Brown University in Providence (Rhode Island, USA). After his retirement in 1984 he went to Princeton, New Jersey, and worked there at the Institute for Advanced Study till shortly before his death.

N. founded two mathematical journals that have not lost their leading position till today: the *Zentralblatt für Mathematik* in 1931 (edited by N. until 1938) and the *Mathematical Reviews* in 1940 (edited by N. until 1948).

Early in his scholarly career N. became interested in Oriental mathematical history. He published important monographs and editions on Egyptian and Hellenistic mathematics, astronomy and chronography, such as *Mathematische Keilschrift-Texte* (1935), *Mathematical Cuneiform Texts* (1945 in co-operation with A. Sachs) and *A History of Ancient Mathematical Astronomy* (1975, three volumes).

From the 1960s on, N. focused on Ethiopian studies. He completed works of lasting importance. His *Ethiopic Astronomy and Computus*, a reference book with charts, calculation formulas and examples; *Chronography in Ethiopic Sources*, where different parameters, terms and periods occurring in Ethiopian manuscripts are compared and explained; *Abu Shaker's 'Chronography'*, a 13th-cent. text indirectly relevant to the Ethiopian computus; and the translated and commented *Astronomical Chapters of the Ethiopic Book of Enoch* are among the most prominent examples.

N. still remains one of the few scholars who have dealt with Ethiopian astronomy and computus. He was member of many academies, e.g., the Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften (ÖAW), which published some of his important Ethiopia-related works. For his scholarly achievements he received honorary doctorates

from the Universities of St. Andrews, Scotland (1938), Princeton (1955) and Brown (1971) and other awards.

↗Abušakər; ↗Chronology; ↗Computus

Src.: N.'s autobiography, 1970, from the ÖAW archives; N.'s bibliography in *Centaurus* 22, 1979, 257–80 (until 1979) and in *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 137, 1993, 139–65; OTTO NEUGEBAUER, *Ethiopic Astronomy and Computus,* Wien 1979 (ÖAW, philosophisch-historische Klasse 347); ID. (ed., tr.), *The 'Astronomical' Chapters of the Ethiopic Book of Enoch (72 to 82): Translation and Commentary,* København 1981 (Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, Matematisk-fysiske Meddelelser XL 10); ID., *Abu Shaker's "Chronography": a Treatise of the 13th Century on Chronological, Calendrical, and Astronomical Matters, written by a Christian Arab, preserved in Ethiopic,* Wien 1988 (ÖAW, Philosophisch-historische Klasse 498); ID., *Chronography in Ethiopic Sources,* Wien 1989 (ÖAW, Philosophisch-historische Klasse 512).

Lit.: HERMANN HUNGER, "Otto Neugebauer", in: *Almanach der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften,* Wien 1990, 381–86; MENSO FOLKERTS – FELIX SCHMEIDLER, "Neugebauer, Otto", in: *Neue deutsche Biographie* vol. 19, Berlin 1999, 121–22; NOEL M. SWERDLOW, "Otto E. Neugebauer", *Biographical Memoirs* 75, 1998, 214–39.

Luam Tesfalidet – Siegbert Uhlig

New Testament

Like all parts of the Gəᶜəz ↗Bible, the N.T. (*ሐዲስ፡ ኪዳን, Ḥaddis kidan*) has been transmitted in ↗manuscripts written between the 12th and the 20th cent. Although biblical manuscripts are among the earliest and most diffused, very few dating back to 12th–14th cent. have survived.

The Gəᶜəz text of the N.T. was edited several times (s. ↗Bible: Gəᶜəz Bible editions). The earliest printed edition was prepared by ↗Täsfa Ṣəyon ("Petrus Ethyops") in Rome in 1548 and 1549; the text was copied, with many mistakes, from ms. Vat. Aeth. 51 (s. Zuurmond 1989:224f.). In some early exemplars, the Pauline ↗Epistles are lacking; they were added later (↗Incunabula). The Roman edition was copied in Walton's Polyglot. The most commonly used edition was prepared by Platt for the ↗British and Foreign Bible Society in 1830. The N.T. was also published as part of a complete Bible by Francesco da ↗Bassano and Edoardo Grason in Asmära for the Catholic Mission in 1919. Many more editions, either of the whole N.T. or of parts of it, exist, European as well as Ethiopian.

From a text-critical point of view, the Roman edition was the best, although beset with many mistakes. Platt's and Bassano's editions are eclectic, the text has sometimes been adapted to the Greek or Latin text of the N.T. rendering them useless for textual criticism of the Greek N.T. More recently, text-critical editions of several parts of the N.T. have appeared: Mt, Mk, Jn, Rom, "Prison Epistles" (Eph, Col, Phil, Phlm), Heb, Catholic Epistles, Rev.

Biblical books have traditionally been grouped together, the N.T. in manuscripts of the Four ↗Gospels, the Pauline Epistles (including Hebrews) and the Catholic Epistles, always with one or more introductions. Although various combinations of those groups exist, combinations with the Four Gospels are extremely rare. The *Acts of the ↗Apostles* and the ↗*Revelation* appear either in separate manuscripts or combined with some other group. The complete text of Rev is also found as a part of the Liturgy for the Passion Week (↗*Gəbrä ḥəmamat*). Separate Gospels or Epistles are rare, with one noticeable exception: the market is flooded with manuscripts of the Gospel of John, mostly of the 19th or 20th cent.

Large fragments of Gospels and Epistles can be found in Lectionaries for Festivals (↗Feasts), the Canonical Hours (↗*Säᶜatat*) and ↗Funerals. Most of these lectionaries have been translated from Arabic, and biblical quotations may have been translated together with the bulk of the text. Lectionaries are therefore generally not a reliable source for the early text of the Ethiopic Version of the N.T.

The Canon of biblical books accepted by the Ethiopian Church has never been as strict as the Canon in Western Churches, and a list of canonical books of the N.T. may occasionally contain books like *Clemens Romanus* and the ↗*Senodos*. Apart from the odd addition, the canon of the N.T. is basically identical with the canon of the Western and Eastern Orthodox churches.

A growing consensus among scholars is that the original Gəᶜəz translation (*Versio Antiqua*) was made from manuscripts of the Greek N.T., probably in bits and pieces, somewhere between the 4th and 6th cent. At least from the 13th cent. onward, this text has been in an ongoing process of revision, mainly on the basis of Arabic translations. This accounts for indirect influence from the Coptic as well as the Syriac Bible (↗Bible translation; cp. ↗Old Testament).

Retrieving the original Gəᶜəz Version from a multitude of sometimes wildly varying manuscripts is difficult, not only because very few manuscripts exist that more or less escaped the influence of Arabic revisions, but also because there is a gap of about half a millennium between the "autograph" and the earliest extant manuscripts.

We know practically nothing of the history of the text during that period. The only quotation of some length from the N.T. on an ↗inscription is in the "Ham inscription" dated from the 7th/8th to the 11th/12th cent. Combining Jn 6:54 with 8:52, it is an indication of the use of the N.T. rather than a witness to its textual content.

Consequently, the value of the Ethiopic Version for the purpose of textual criticism of the Greek N.T. is limited, but since recent editions are based on manuscripts earlier than those used in the traditional ones (1584, 1830, 1919), it should no longer be underestimated either (the oldest known mss. are Abba Gärima 1 and 3, originating from the 13th cent. or earlier; cp. also Zuurmond 1989:44–77). The Ethiopic Gospel of John, e.g., omitting the *Pericope Adulterae* (Jn 7:53–8:11), must have been based on a relatively early Greek text.

Src.: BRIAN WALTON (ed.), *Biblia polyglotta complectentia textus originales Hebraicos cum Pentat. Samarit., Chaldaicos, Graecos versionumque antiquarum Samarit., Graec. Sept., Chaldaic., Syriacae, Lat. Vulg., Arabicae, Aethiopic., Persicae*, Londini 1653–57 [repr. Graz 1963–65]; THOMAS PELL PLATT (ed.), ወንጌል፡ ቅዱስ፡ ዘእግዚእነ፡ ወመድኀኒነ፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ ወመጻሕፍቲሆሙ፡ ለሐዋርያቲሁ፡ ቅዱሳን። *Novum Testamentum Domini Nostri et Servatoris Jesu Christi Aethiopice*, London 1830; PETRUS ETHYOPS [= TÄSFA ṢƎYON] (ed.), *Testamentum Novum, cum Epistola ad Hebraeos tantum, cum concordantiis Evangelistarum Eusebii ...*, Romae 1548 [I] and 1549 [II]; FRANCESCO DA BASSANO (ed.), ሐዲስ፡ ኪዳን (*Ḥaddis kidan*, 'The New Testament'), Aśmära 1919; ROCHUS ZUURMOND (ed.), *Novum Testamentum Aethiopice: the Synoptic Gospels. General Introduction. Edition of the Gospel of Mark*, Stuttgart 1989 (AeF 27); ID. (ed.), *Novum Testamentum Aethiopice*, Part III: *The Gospel of Matthew*, Wiesbaden 2001 (AeF 55); JOSEF HOFMANN – SIEGBERT UHLIG (eds.), *Novum Testamentum Aethiopice: die katholischen Briefe*, Stuttgart 1993 (AeF29); SIEGBERT UHLIG – HELGE MAEHLUM (eds.), *Novum Testamentum Aethiopice: die Gefangenschaftsbriefe*, Stuttgart 1993 (AeF 33); TEDROS ABRAHA (ed.), *La lettera ai Romani. Testo e commentari della versione Etiopica*, Wiesbaden 2001 (AeF 57); ID., *The Ethiopic Version of the Letter to the Hebrews*, Città del Vaticano 2004 (Studi e Testi 419); MICHAEL G. WECHSLER, *Evangelium Iohannis Aethiopicum*, Louvain 2005 (CSCO 617 [SAe 109]).

Lit.: MICHEL VAN ESBROECK, "Les versions orientales de la Bible: une orientation bibliographique", in: J. KRAŠOVEC (ed.), *(The) Interpretation of the Bible. The International Symposium in Slovenia (17-20 September 1996)*, Ljubljana 1998 (JSOT. Suppl. Ser., 289), 399-507, here 451–63 (4. "La Bible éthiopienne"); IGNAZIO GUIDI, "La prima stampa del Nuovo Testamento in etiopico, fatta in Roma nel 1548–1549", *Archivio della Reale Società di Storia Patria* 9, 1886, 273–78; OSVALDO RAINERI, "Pietro Bembo e la prima stampa delle lettere di San Paolo in etiopico", *RRALm* ser. 8ª, 35, 1980, 395–98; VALENTINO ROMANI, "La stampa del N.T. in etiopico (1548-49). Figure e temi del Cinquecento romano", in: GIORGIO DE GREGORI – MARIA VALENTI (eds.), *Studi di biblioteconomia e storia del libro in onore di Francesco Barberi*, Roma 1976, 481–98; ROCHUS ZUURMOND, "The Ethiopic Version of the New Testament", in: BART D. EHRMAN – MICHAEL W. HOLMES (eds.), *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research*, Grand Rapids, MI 1995, 142–56 (Lit.).

Rochus Zuurmond

New Times and Ethiopia News

N.T. was a pro-Ethiopian weekly newspaper published in England between May 1936 and May 1956. Its founder and editor, the ex-British suffragette and anti-Fascist Sylvia ↗Pankhurst, established it to espouse the Ethiopian cause in the context of anti-Fascism and support for the ↗League of Nations. Early issues of the paper contained articles by the then Ethiopian Minister in London, Dr. Charles Martin (↗Wärqənäh Ǝšäte Martin), as well as interviews with *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I and Empress ↗Mänän, reports on the activities of the Ethiopian Patriots (↗Resistance), and contributions on various subjects by Italian and other anti-Fascist refugees. The paper, which always included articles on Ethiopian history and culture, agitated against the abandonment of League of Nations Sanctions in 1936, drew attention to the ↗Graziani Massacre of 1937, and denounced the British Government's recognition of the Italian "conquest" of Ethiopia in 1938. It also supported the Republicans in the Spanish Civil War and attacked the so-called Appeasement policies of the Western Powers. After the outbreak of the European war in 1939, N.T. continued to denounce Mussolini, thereby causing its export to neutral countries to be prohibited by the British Government. This ban was, however, lifted after Italy's declaration of war on Britain and France in 1940. The paper, which published an Amharic supplement, then urged British support for the Ethiopian Patriots, and full recognition of Ethiopia as an Ally. N.T. subsequently opposed the return of ↗Italy to its former African colonies, and of the continued British occupation of the ↗Ogaden and Reserved Area, and supported as well the "reunion" of Eritrea with Ethiopia. The paper also launched the campaign for the establishment of Ethiopia's first teaching hospital, called after the Emperor's daughter ↗Ṣähay, Princess Tsehai Memorial Hospital.

The first part of the paper's name "New Times" was adopted after Ethiopia's liberation in 1941, as the title of the Amharic newspaper ↗*Addis Zämän*. On the termination of N.T. in 1956 its editor established a sequel, ↗*Ethiopia Observer*,

which was published in Addis Abäba, first as a weekly, and later as a quarterly journal.

Lit.: RICHARD PANKHURST, "Sylvia [Pankhurst] and *New Times and Ethiopia News*", in: IAN BULLOCK – RICHARD PANKHURST (ed.), *Sylvia Pankhurst: from Artist to Anti-Fascist*, London 1992, 149–91.

Richard Pankhurst

New Year

The Christian N.Y. (Amh. አዲስ፡ ዓመት, *addis ʿamät* or እንቁጣጣሽ, *ənqʷəṭaṭaš*, Tgn. ሓዲሽ፡ ዓመት, *ḥaddiš ʿamät*) in Ethiopia reveals several layers of history and meaning. 1 *Mäskäräm* which falls on 11 or 12 September (in the year of John), is closely linked to the end of the rainy season (*kərämt*). Moreover, a fall N.Y. is also an important feature of the Jewish calendar in which *Rōš haš-šānāh* falls on the first day of the seventh month (*Tišrī*). The Ethiopian N.Y. coincides with the Coptic *Nayrūz* and the ancient Egyptian N.Y., which was fixed in relation to the flood of the Nile and the apparition in the sky of the planet Sirius. In the Ethiopian calendar the day of the commemoration of St. ↗John the Baptist has been fixed on N.Y.'s day, to liturgically express that he prepared the way for the Messiah to be encountered during the new liturgical year. It is closely linked to the celebration of ↗*Mäsqäl*, which takes place on 17 *Mäskäräm*, and shares many symbols and rituals with the N.Y., specifically the custom to light fires (s. ↗*Dämära*).

On the eve of the N.Y., people light a fire in front of their doorways and children run around with torches (cp. ↗Euphorbia). These torches, which symbolize the light that overcomes darkness and, some say, are a sign of purity, welcome in the holiday. In yet another ceremony with connotations of purity, people rise early in the morning and go down to a nearby river to wash. This purification ceremony, in which the model of John the Baptist is invoked, is said to prepare people to greet the coming year because it represents a new chance given by God.

Folk etymology derives the second name for the N.Y. festival, *Ǝnqʷəṭaṭaš*, from the legend that King ↗Solomon presented a jewel to ↗Makəddа with the words *ənqʷ läṭaṭəš* (Amh. 'jewel for your finger'; cp. BezKebr 26 [text], 21f. [tr.]). Another folk tradition relates the feast to the waters of the Flood (Gen 6:8). It claims that the N.Y. was celebrated for the first time when the dove with the olive twig came to Noah to indicate that the diluge had abated. In his gratefulness, Noah is said to have offered aromatic flowers to God. To commemorate this offering, *Ǝnqʷəṭaṭaš* is celebrated yearly after the rainy season. Accordingly, *Ǝnqʷəṭaṭaš* is one of the names given to the yellow flowers (*Delphinium dasycaulon*) which are prominent during this time of the year. Bouquets of these flowers together with the fragrant *əngəčča* grass (*Hemichlaena bulbosa*) are given in exchange for gifts of food, clothing and money. The day is celebrated with festivity and merry-making. The N.Y. marks not only the end of the rainy season, but is heavy with symbolism of fertility including marriage. Many matches are made as a consequence of meetings which take place at this time of year.

N.Y.'s day and especially the eve is of particular importance for spirit possession cults, esp. the *zar*. According to Hyatt (1928:1163), the day is notable for attempts to exorcise the chronically possessed. A sheep or fowl is sacrificed at a crossroad; the animal is abandoned for the *zar*. This secular sacrifice, known as *dänqara*, will not be disturbed by passers-by. Other traditions report that an entire banquet of chicken, sorghum, sesame cakes, *basso* (roasted barley flour to be mixed with water), *arriti* (*Artemisia afora*) and *qiṭṭa* ('bread') is prepared for the *zar* spirits.

The period between N.Y and ↗*Mäsqäl* is largely occupied with preparations for the latter holiday. The spread of Christianity into southern Ethiopia was often accompanied by the imposition of the Christian calendar and the celebration of a N.Y. upon the subjugated people, many of whom did not practice such a holiday previously.

Among the ↗Betä Ǝsraʾel the N.Y. is known as *Bərhan śäräqä* ('the light appeared') and also as *Täzkarä Abrəham* ('the commemoration of Abraham'). Both names appear in the Betä Ǝsraʾel liturgy suggesting that they are of considerable antiquity. The former would appear to associate the holiday with Christian ideas of light and fire during the N.Y. and *Mäsqäl*. Light (*bərhan*) has major Christological connotations in Church literature. The second name evokes Abraham, who figures prominently in the Jewish N.Y., in such themes as the sacrifice of Isaac and the blowing of a ram's horn (Hebrew *šofār*, which was also sounded among the Betä Ǝsraʾel), and is mentioned in their literature. (cf. Leslau 1951:151, n. 202). During the 20th cent. the association with the Jewish N.Y. intensified as a result of contact with outside Jewish groups.

Src.: BezKebr 26 (text), 21f. (tr.); KaneDic 1218; WOLF LESLAU – THOMAS L. KANE (eds.), *Amharic Cultural*

Reader, Wiesbaden 2001, 146–49; UllBibl 113; WOLF LESLAU, *Falasha Anthology*, New Haven – London 1951 (Yale Judaica Series 6), XXXII, 151 n. 202.

Lit.: MARIUS CHAÎNE, *La chronologie des temps chrétiens de l'Egypte et de l'Ethiopie*, Paris 1925; GEORGES DECLERQ, *Anno Domini: Les origenes de l'ère chrétienne*, Brepols 2000; HARRY MIDDLETON HYATT, *The Church of Abyssinia*, London 1928, 163ff.; KAY KAUFMANN SHELEMAY, *Music, Ritual and Falasha History*, East Lansing, MI 1986, 47.

Steven Kaplan

Nəwayä Krəstos ↗Sayfä Arᶜad

Nəwayä Maryam

Aṣe N.M. (**ንዋየ፡ ማርያም**, regnal name Wədəm Asfäre, also Gərma Asfäre, r. 1371–1379/80) was a son and the successor of *aṣe* ↗Säyfä Arᶜad. Some of the "short chronicles" report that he reigned ten years and refer to his reign with the words: **ጠፍ፡ ውእቱ**, *ṭäf wəʾətu*, which seems to indicate that he had no children or direct descendants (Kropp 1981:269f.). This sentence is probably linked with the struggle opposing N.M. to his own brother ↗Dawit (II). According to the *History of the Patriarchs of Alexandria* and the notice on Matewos in the ↗*Sənkəssar*, the patriarch Matewos prophesized that Dawit would reign while N.M. was still emperor. The struggle for power between N.M. and Dawit is also attested by the Vita of *abunä* Abrəham (Däbrä Ṣəyon, Gärᶜalta), where Dawit recalls that, while he was a prisoner, God placed him on the throne of his fathers (Schneider 1983:107). This apparently came true in ca. 1379, when Dawit ascended the throne after deposing his own brother.

Little is known concerning the period of reign of N.M. Local oral tradition credits him with the foundation of the church of Däbrä Täklä Haymanot in Dawənt. The ruins of the church present many similarities with royal churches of the 14th and 15th cent., and references to N.M. are rare enough to attach some value to this tradition.

N.M. died probably shortly after he was deposed by Dawit. The *Liber Axumae* (*Mäṣḥafä* ↗*Aksum*) recorded N.M.'s death in the 32nd year of mercy, i.e. 1379/80.

Src.: BassÉt I, 325 (text) = II, 94 (tr.); BegCron 5, 10; BudSaint 454; CRAxum 81 (tr.); DombrChr 154 (tr.); SawHist² vol. 3, 249–52.

Lit.: STANISŁAW CHOJNACKI, "New Discoveries in Ethiopian Archaeology. Dabr Takla Hāymānot in Dāwnt and Enṣo Gabreʾēl in Lāstā", in: *AfrHorn*, 44–59; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Su due frasi della Cronaca Abbreviata dei re d'Etiopia", *Annali IUO* nuova ser. 3, 1949, 283–90, esp. 283f.; MANFRED KROPP, "'Ṭäf we'etu' und 'täf naccäw' in äthiopischen Chroniken", *JSS* 26, 1981, 267–71; ROGER SCHNEIDER, "Notes éthiopiennes", *JES* 16, 1983, 105–14, here 106ff.; SALVATORE TEDESCHI, "Les fils du négus Sayfa Arᶜād d'après un document arabo-chrétien", *Africa* 29, 1974, 573–87; TADDESSE TAMRAT, "Problems of Royal Succession in 15th Century Ethiopia: a Presentation of the Documents", in: *PICES* 4, vol. 1, 501–35, here 505–08.

Marie-Laure Derat

Newspapers ↗Press

Nicaea, Council of

N. (Eth. **ኒቅያ**, Niqəya, **ኒቂያ**, Niqiya or **ነቅያ**, Näqəya) is a town in Bithynia in Asia Minor (today: Iznik), where Emperor Constantine (306–37), who had residence in nearby Nicomedia, convoked the First Ecumenical Council in 325.

The Nicene Council was convened to settle the problem of subordinationism, called Arianism (↗Arius), which regarded Christ to be created and thus subordinate to the Father. The formula of the faith agreed upon (the *Symbolum Nicaenum*, Nicene Creed) was reached after protracted and intense discussions, whilst at least two bishops did not approve of it (whereupon they were excommunicated and exiled). The theological key term used in the Creed was *homoousios* – Greek for "consubstantial", "of the same substance", which defines the relation of the Son to the Father in the ↗Trinity. Notwithstanding the N. agreement, the controversy with the followers of Arius continued for over half a century and was finally settled only at the Second Ecumentical Council in 381 at Constantinople. Later in the history of the church, the Council of N. has always been regarded as the touchstone of Orthodoxy.

The Council was attended by 220–250 bishops (an Ethiopic list has been published, Cowley 1973; cp. also Bausi 2006:62, no. 12), but the traditional number by which the council is known, also in Ethiopia, is "the Synod of the 318 Fathers". The latter comes from Gen 14:14, where it is the number of Abraham's servants.

The Council resolved an old controversy concerning the date of the celebration of Easter, to the effect that the whole of Christendom should celebrate it on the same day, namely the Sunday after the Jewish Passover, in accordance with the custom and calculation of Alexandria.

The Council also passed 20 disciplinary canons which have been preserved (contrary to the acts of the council; ed. Tanner 1990:1–19). In Ethiopia they are part of the ↗*Senodos*, e.g., in ms. BritLib Orient. 794 (fols. 132r–51r), together with another, apocryphal, set of 84 canons (ed.,

tr. da Leonessa 1942) and a *Discourse of the 318 Fathers on the Trinity* (ed., tr. Bausi 2004).

The Ethiopic version of the Nicene Creed is extant in both older and newer mss., e.g. in EMML 4493 (of the year 1528) and EMML 4248 (19th cent.). An Amharic translation also exists, e.g., in ms. EMML 3557 (20th cent.), which has it in addition to a Gəᶜəz version. The Creed has been commented upon, and a commentary in Amharic is extant (ed., tr. Appleyard 2003). It is also included in the ↗*Haymanotä abäw*. Some other texts related to the Nicene Council are extant in Gəᶜəz (Bausi 2006:62f., nos. 13–15).

Contrary to the Council of ↗Chalcedon, the Council of N. has no particular theological consequence for the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church (EOTC), notwithstanding the fact that it is officially accepted (s. EOTC 1996:120–23). However, in its paradigmatic value as the symbol of Orthodoxy, it is discussed in theological literature.

It features already in the ↗*Qerəllos*, although the short fragment "On the 318 Bishops of Nicaea" (Weischer 1969:143f., 153) is concerned only with the number of bishops being really 317, whereas the 318th was the Son of God himself, in the shape of a bishop. Another, much more elaborate account of the Council of N. reached Ethiopia with a translation of the Arabic treatise of ↗Severus of Ašmunayn, *History of the Councils* (composed ca. 950, the earliest Ethiopic text seems to be extant in the ms. EMML 1833, 14th cent.). In the treatise, which in fact concerns only the Nicene Council (the other councils are mentioned when the theological discussion requires argumentation based on their decisions), Severus discusses *inter alia* the date and the number of the bishops: he provides the names, very garbled, of some of the bishops of the Council. After imputing the doctrine of three gods to Arius, of which two were "created" (ed. Leroy 1911:28), Severus reports his excommunication (as well as his infamous way of death), and continues his report on the Arian controversy after the Council of N.

The Nicene Council resurfaces in the 16th cent. when the discussions with the European Catholics made it necessary for the EOTC to review its arguments. Thus, it is dealt with in polemic works, such as the ↗*Mäzgäbä haymanot*, composed 1555–59. Here a refutation of Arius is provided, and the doctrine of the Trinity is affirmed by such arguments that the angels sing the *Trishagion* three times (and not 2 or 4), and that Jesus himself said after his resurrection to the apostles to baptize new disciples "in the name of the Father, and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit" (Mt 28:19).

The *Chronicle* of ↗Giyorgis Wäldäᶜ Amid contains *The History of the Councils of the Church*, as a separate part, e.g., in ms. BritLib Orient. 814, fols. 145r–54r.

There is an ↗Anaphora attributed to the 318 Fathers of N.

The importance of the Nicene Council in Ethiopia is perhaps best seen in the fact that the ↗*Kəbrä nägäśt* is introduced as an "Interpretation and story of 318 Orthodox (Fathers of N.)" (ፍካሬ፡ ወዜና፡ ዘ፫፻፲፰፡ ርቱዓን፡ ሃይማኖት, *Fəkkare wäzena zä-318 rətuᶜanä haymanot*), although the Nicene Council itself is not named (BezKebr 1a).

There are also literary pieces of miraculous character describing how Christ (EMML 788 fol. 157) or the Holy Trinity (EMML 3938, fols. 61v–64r: *Dərsanä ab wäwäld wämänfäs qəddus*) attended the Nicene Council. In the ↗*Sənkəssar*, the Council is commemorated on the 9th of *Ḫədar* (= 15 November, s. ColSyn VIII, 276–79; BudSaint 225f.). It is sometimes depicted in Ethiopian ↗painting.

Src.: DAVID L. APPLEYARD, "An 'Old Amharic' Commentary on the Nicene Creed", *Aethiopica* 6, 2003, 111–30; ALESSANDRO BAUSI (ed., tr.), "La versione etiopica della *Didascalia dei 318 niceni* sulla retta della fede e la vita monastica", in: UGO ZANETTI – ENZO LUCCHESI (eds.), *Aegyptus Christiana. Mélanges d'hagiographie égyptienne et orientale dédiés à la mémoire du Père Paul Devos, Bollandiste*, Genève 2005 (Cahiers d'orientalisme 25), 225–48 (Lit.); BezKebr 1a (text) = 1 (tr.); BudSaint 225f.; ENRICO CERULLI (ed., tr.), *Scritti teologici etiopici dei secoli XVI–XVII*, II: *La Storia dei Quattro Concili ed altri opuscoli monofisiti*, Città del Vaticano 1960 (Studi e testi 204); ColSyn VIII, 276–79; ROGER W. COWLEY (ed., tr.), "An Ethiopian List of the Nicene Fathers", *Abba Salama* 4, 1973, 40–57; EMML nos. 788, 1833, 3557, 3938, 4248, 4493; MAURO DA LEONESSA, "La versione etiopica dei canoni apocrifi del concilio di Nicea secondo i codici vaticani ed il fiorentino", *RSE* 2, 1, 1942, 29–89; NORMAN P. TANNER (ed.), *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, vol. 1: *Nicaea I to Lateran V*, London – Washington DC 1990, 1–19; SÉVÈRE IBN AL-MOQAFFA, évêque d'Aschmounaïn, *Histoire des conciles* (*seconde livre*), I: Arab. text ed., tr. by L. LEROY; II: Eth. version ed. by SYLVAIN GRÉBAUT, Paris 1911 (PO 6, 4 [= 29]), 465–640, [1–176]; BERND MANUEL WEISCHER (ed., tr.), "Die äthiopische Psalmen- und Qerlosfragmente in Erevan / Armenien", *OrChr* 53, 1969, 113–58; WrBrMus 268, no. 359 [ms. Orient. 794], fols. 132r–51r; 293, no. 388 [ms. Orient. 814], fols. 145r–54r.

Lit.: ALESSANDRO BAUSI, "La collezione aksumita canonico-liturgica", *Adamantius* 12, 2006, 43–70; HANS CHRISTOF BRENNECKE, "Nicäa: Ökumenische Synoden, I: Ökumenische Synode von 325", in: *Theologische Realenzyklopädie* vol. 24, 1994, 429–41; EOTC (ed.), የኢትዮጵያ፡

ኦርቶዶክስ፡ ተዋሕዶ፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ አምልኮትና፡ የውጭ፡ ግንኙነት (*Yä'ityopya ortodoks täwaḥədo betä krəstiyan amləkotənna yäwəčč gənəñňunnät*, 'The Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church: Faith, Order of Worship and Ecumenical Relations'), Addis Abäba ²1996, 120–23; GuiSLett 77ff., 115; FRIEDRICH HEYER, *Die Kirche Äthiopiens: eine Bestandsaufnahme*, Berlin – New York 1971 (Theologische Bibliothek Töpelmann 22); KAREN TORJESEN, "Nicaea, Council of", "Nicene Creed", in: *CE* vol. 6, 1790–93.

Witold Witakowski

Niebuhr, Carsten

N. (b. 17 March 1733, Lüdingworth, Land Hadeln, d. 26 April 1815, Meldorf, Dithmarschen) was a Danish-German explorer in Arabia, who also collected data on Ethiopia, then still quite closed to the outside world.

N. had studied mathematics and engineering at Göttingen University, entered into the services of the Danish king in 1760 (as an engineering lieutenant), and in 1761 was nominated as a member of the Danish Royal expedition to Arabia, the first scientific expedition to that region. Its members were – except one servant – a Semitist, a biologist, a medical doctor, a painter and N. as the expedition's cartographer. After a journey through the Sinai and Egypt, where N. drew the first detailed map of the ↗Red Sea, the expedition reached the Yemen in 1763, also cartographed by N. From al-Muḫā N. went to Bombay in 1764, from where he, now the only survivor, returned via Persia and the Ottoman Empire to Denmark.

The expedition had been initiated by the Semitist Johann David Michaelis in Göttingen (grandnephew of the Ethiopianist Johann Heinrich ↗Michaelis), and had the primary aim to collect empirical data to be used for exegesis and critical research on the Bible. N., however, quickly diverted from the original questionnaires and did his own research, especially on local cultures of the Arabs and their current way of living, including commerce. N. had quickly understood the necessity to adapt to local conditions, both to climate and culture, by imitating the locals, entertaining close contacts with those "studied" by him, and learning their languages and dialects.

N. reported on Ethiopian missionary history (e.g., on a failed Protestant Herrnhut mission), on the establishment of a Greek merchant group in Ethiopia, on Ethiopian culture and commerce (e.g., on ↗circumcision, ↗coffee) and on the "*nəguś*" ↗Iyasu II, ↗Iyoʾas and the regent queen ↗Bərhan Mogäsa, with details about court intrigues. N. included information on the coastal regions, dominated by Muslim ↗Təgre and ᶜAfar, whom he described as virtually independent from the Ethiopian ruler, and also on ↗Sawākin, ↗Massawa, ↗Baylūl, ↗Zaylaᶜ, ↗Berbera and the Somalis. N.'s reports on Ethiopia were based on interviews with merchants and Egyptian Copts.

Back in Copenhagen, N. was soon promoted. He assumed a high administrative post and lived most of the years to come in Meldorf, somewhat isolated from scholarly life. Michaelis in Göttingen had not appreciated N.'s research failing to confirm the facts reported in the Bible. However, N.'s works, translated into several languages, greatly animated Orientalist scholarship, due to his exact documentation and observations. They are also of some importance for Ethiopian studies, as they contain data on the Horn of Africa and the Red Sea commerce from a scarcely documented period. His map of the Red Sea, making use of modern scientific measuring methods, enabled British navigation from India to Suez via the Red Sea starting in the 1770s.

Src.: CARSTEN NIEBUHR, *Beschreibung von Arabien*, Kopenhagen 1772; ID., *Reisebeschreibung nach Arabien und anderen umliegenden Ländern*, 2 vols., Kopenhagen 1774–78; ID., *Reisen durch Syrien und Palästina*, Hamburg 1837.
Lit.: BARTHOLD GEORG NIEBUHR, "Carsten Niebuhr", *Kieler Blätter* 1816; *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, vol. 23, 661f.; STEPHAN CONERMANN – JOSEF WIESEHÖFER (eds.), *Carsten Niebuhr und seine Zeit. Beiträge eines interdisziplinären Symposiums vom 7.–10. Oktober 1999 in Eutin*, Stuttgart 2002 (Oriens et Occidens 5); "Michaelis, Johann David", in: *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, vol. 18, London ¹¹1911, 361.

Wolbert Smidt

Nile

The N. (Arab. an-Nīl, Gr. Νεῖλος) appears under different names in Ethiopia, depending on the context. The term **ኒል** (Nil) exists, but appears rather rarely, mostly in the context of foreign influence (e.g., Arab., cp. CerMaria 207). It is usually referring to the N. in Egypt but sometimes also used for the Blue N. (e.g., in BTafA 204f.: here the term ↗Abbay designates the whole N., and – contrary to the normal practice – Nil stands for the Blue N. only). The word is not to be confused with Amh./Tgn. *nil* or Arab. *nīl*, 'indigo', a loanword from Sanskrit. The Blue N., the tributary of the N. proper originating in Lake ↗Ṭana, is most frequently referred to as the ᶜAbbay (**ዓባይ/አባይ**, also **አባዊ**, Abbawi, **ዓባይ፡ ጣና** ᶜAbbay Ṭana, **ጥቁር፡ አባይ** Ṭəqur Abbay, 'Black N.'; Tgn. **አባይ** Abbay).

17th-cent. map of the sources of the Nile in Ethiopia; collection of Volker Matthies

The N. is not referred to by name in the Bible. Where the Greek Bible speaks of it as ὕδωρ 'water' or ποταμός 'river' (e.g., Ex 7:15, Is 19:7–8), the Gəᶜəz Bible has the corresponding terms **ማይ** (*may*) and **ተክዜ** (*täkkäze, or täkkäzi*), resp., often combined, however, to **ማይ ተክዜ** (lit. 'water river'; this seems to document a semantic change and can also be interpreted as 'river Täkkäze', the N. now taking *täkkäze* as a name). The ↗*Täʾammərä Maryam*, when using the (Arabic-influenced) designation **ኒል** for the N. in Upper Egypt, explains it for the readers as "meaning the May Täkkäze" (CerMaria 207). The Greek Bible's χειμάρρος Αἰγύπτου, 'the stream/brook of Egypt' (2 Chr 7:8) corresponds to *täkkäze* Gəbṣi in Gəᶜəz (cp. in the same passage, e.g., the *täkkäze* Ṭəgris, 'River Tigris'; s. DillmLex 568).

The earliest mention of the Blue N. in Ethiopian sources is the 4th-cent. inscription of ↗ᶜEzana, reporting on his war against the ↗Noba (RIÉ 189). After having fought with them at the "Täkkäze" (the word could be interpreted as simply "the river", but it seems an early mention of the present-day river Täkkäze, or rather its lower course ↗Setit or the ↗Atbara), ᶜEzana attacked the ↗Kasu at its confluence with the "Sida" (Seda). This, according to the context, means the Blue N. in the Sudanese lowlands (HuntGeogr 57f.).

The name itself of the river Täkkäze reveals that in ancient times it was identified with the N., being, in fact, the most important affluent of the N.-tributary Atbara. In the Greek inscription of the ↗Monumentum Adulitanum the anonymous king is reported to have crossed the Νείλος and then reached mountains covered by snow (i.e., the ↗Səmen), which suggests that this river was the Täkkäze (HuntGeogr 42, 45f.; RIÉ 277). Still in the 15th cent. the Täkkäze was identified with the N. (s. CrawItin 93, 123, 141, 165, ↗Waldəbba and ↗Aksum being situated close to the "N."). Only the later expansion of the Ethiopian kingdom to the Abbay allowed its identification with the N. (cp. already CrawItin 153, 179) The White N., unknown to older Ethiopian historiography and literature, is now commonly called **ነጭ፡ አባይ** (Näčč Abbay, Ambh. 'White Abbay'; cp. BTafA 204f.; KaneDic 1203).

The Nile in history: imagination and exploration

The N. has played a crucial role in the geographical imagination of mediterranean populations since ancient times. This, from their perspective, gave Ethiopia a most important position as the keeper of the sources of the N. From Ethiopia's perspective, the N. river is crucial for her identification with the country ↗Aithiopía mentioned in the Bible. The biblical river "↗Gihon" (Gen 2:13), one of the rivers of Paradise, flows around the land of ↗Kush (i.e. Aithiopía), and was identified by Ethiopians with the Blue N. (as reported, for example, by Alvares; HuntGeogr 119). Through this identification Ethiopia becomes one of the biblical lands. This is reflected by a number of Ethiopian texts, especially those depending on an Arabic Vorlage, such as, e.g., the *Täʾammərä Maryam* or the apocryphal *Apocalypse of ↗Mary* (Six 1999).

An ancient belief, contained both in Ethiopian and Egyptian traditions, states that Ethiopia had the power to divert the course of the N., so that it would flow into the ↗Red Sea instead of crossing the Sudan to Egypt. This was used by Ethiopian rulers throughout history (e.g., *aṣe* ↗Dawit II) to threaten Egypt during their long and difficult history of diplomatic and religious

relations (cp. UllBibl 2,5; Perruchon 1898; Pankhurst 1999; Kaplan 2002:73). Tradition relates that *aṣe* ↗Lalibäla dug a channel at the confluence of the Blue and the White N. at Khartoum to divert the course "towards the Sahara desert, in order to harm the Muslims" (BTafA 204f.; cp. Guidi 1926:360f.). ↗Näʾakkʷəto Läʾab is even said to have stopped the flow of the N. (Conti Rossini 1943:228; ill. s. CerPal 118f.). The idea was finally taken over by the Portuguese, the Viceroy of India de ↗Albuquerque in the 16th cent. discussing the diversion of the N. as a possible way of bringing drought to the Muslims (Ludolf 1691:12, 598; LudHist L. I. c. 8, 76ff.).

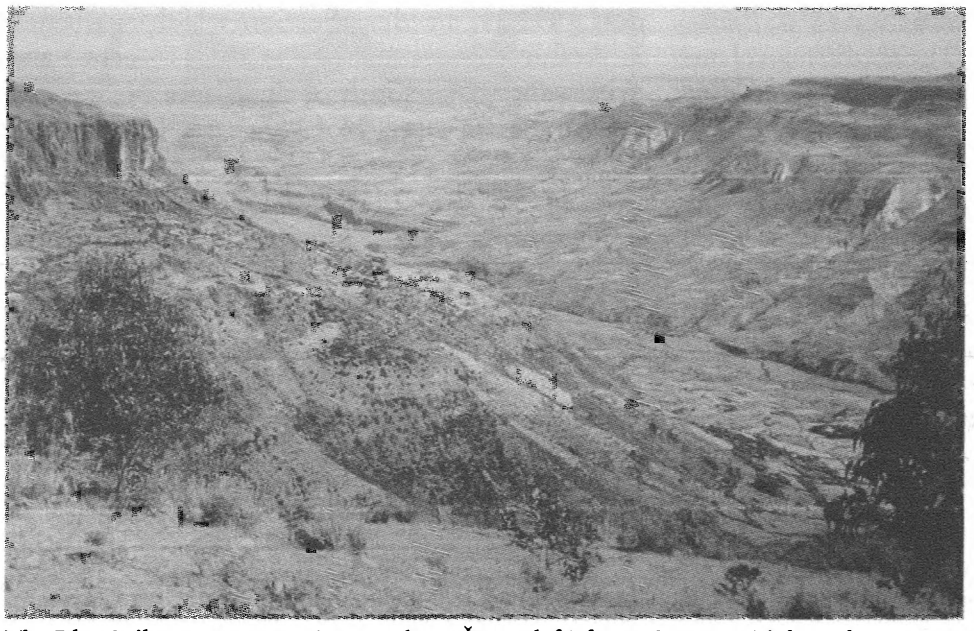
Since early times, Egypt, totally dependent on the yearly N. floods, regarded the countries at the sources of the N. as the grantors of its well-being. Not only were the waters of the N. necessary for the agriculture, it was also the most important trade route – and cultural link – connecting Egypt with Kush, and later with the Nubian kingdoms along the N. (Nobatia, Makuria [↗Dongola], ʿAlwā/Alodia [↗Soba Noba]).

The Egyptian tradition of the N. as the source for their ancient civilization was transmitted to Europe, through ancient Rome. Reports from ancient Egypt and later from Rome, after it had started to dominate Egypt, mention expeditions southwards, along the N. river, which were supposed to discover the sources of the N. (Pliny, *Nat. hist.* V § 51, ed. Rakham 1947:256f.). The N. was then regarded as the boundary between Africa and "Aithiopía" (i.e. Kush; ibid. § 53, 258f.).

Ancient geographers (↗Ptolemy, s. Fiaccadori 1992:31; s. also al-↗Idrīsī) claimed that the N. originated in the ice-covered Montes Lunae, the 'Mountains of the Moon'. According to this tradition this range of very high mountains lies far south of the "island" of ↗Meroë and beyond a range of very huge lakes. This in fact might really reflect local knowledge, as it roughly corresponds to reality. However, the two main tributaries of the N., the White N., reaching deep into inner Africa, and the Blue N., were represented only very roughly. The third important tributary, the Black N. or Atbara corresponds to Ptolemy's "Astaboras" (or "Astoboras" as in Pliny, *Nat. hist.* V § 53, ed. Rakham 1947:258f., where this name, however, designates another N. tributary). The identity of the "Mountains of the Moon" remained a subject of discussion, some identifying them with the Kilimanjaro (Arab. *Ǧibāl al-Qamar*, 'Mountains of the Moon', Fiaccadori 1992:31, an identification which is attested in Arabic sources as early as the 11th cent.) and other mountains south of the White N., such as the Ruwenzori Range of Uganda – identified as such by the N. explorer Henry Morton Stanley in 1888 (Stanley 1890). Others identified it with the Ethiopian highlands (e.g., Mount Abunä Yosef [4194 m A.S.L.] in the Lasta Massif, from which the Täkkäze drains; Crawford 1949:17ff., CrawItin 88, 197). If the legend is based on real knowledge, an identification with the Səmen Mountains (also feeding the Täkkäze), or possibly even the Guna Massif (from which the Abbay drains) cannot be excluded either.

The Renaissance re-discovered interest in the N. as the "father of Egypt" and reanimated the ancient interest in the unknown sources of the N., which were reported to lie deep inland in Africa or even in "India" (s. ↗"India" as a name for Ethiopia). The first to travel to the sources of the Blue N. were members of the Portuguese community. At least starting from that time the source of the ግልገል፡ ዓባይ (Gəlgäl Abbay, also ትንሽ፡ ዓባይ, Tənnəš ʿAbbay, 'Little Abbay', or ግሽ፡ ዓባይ, Gəš ʿAbbay), a river flowing into the Lake Ṭana, was regarded as the true source of the N. (Duchesne-Fournet 1909:106). João ↗Gabriel, captain of the Portuguese military corps in Təgray in around 1600, undertook the first "discovery" expedition to the sources of the N. (Conti Rossini 1941). On 21 April 1618, Pedro ↗Paez visited the source of the Little Abbay near a church in the mountains of Agäw Mədər, long before ↗Bruce's visit on 4 November 1770 (BruNile; Moorehead ²1983:34). There are several reports that this source of the N. was a revered place of cult. The first to give a detailed account of it was James Bruce, who mentioned a local priest called Kəflä Abbay, supposedly the guardian of the source. Still in the 20th cent. the swamps around the source were regarded by the local population as a holy area, the source itself being protected by fences. It is also a place of pilgrimage (Osgood 1928:166, 170). *Nəguś* ↗Täklä Haymanot of Goğğam himself visited the place every year (Duchesne-Fournet 1909:105, ill.).

During the 19th cent., the "century of exploration", the N. was again a great attraction for explorers (↗Expeditions). In 1862 Samuel and Florence Baker crossed the Sudan, following the course of the N., reached the Blue N., exploring the Ethiopian border regions, and then continued to follow the White N. to its sources. Shortly



The Blue Nile gorge separating northern Šäwa (left) from Goǧǧam (right); photo 1995, courtesy of Heinz F. Berger

before, Richard ↗Burton, James Grant and John Speke were the first Europeans to visit the Great Lakes in inner Africa, and describe them as the sources of the White N. (Burton 1860; Speke 1863; Stanley 1878; cp. Garstin 1909:122–27). The course of the Blue N., however, remained largely unknown. Between 1925 and 1934 Cheesman explored for the first time its upper course (s. ChTana).

Already the first of these explorations were undertaken within a framework of political expansion. The upper course of the N. in the Sudan had been annexed by Egypt starting from the 1820s; subsequently, the "discovery" of the sources of the N. had a decisive impact on Egyptian politics – *ḫidīw* ↗Ismāʿīl's expansion aimed at the "unification of all the countries of the N." under his rule, instead of focusing on Arabian countries as his predecessors had done (↗Egyptian–Ethiopian war of 1875–76). After the British had established their control over the Sudan, they inherited the "N. question" and aimed at some sort of control over its waters. The Upper Basin of the Abbay was the subject of the Ethio–British boundary treaty of 1902 (↗Boundaries; ↗Treaties; s. ZerEth 323). In the ↗Tripartite Treaty of 1906 the Abbay Basin was recognized by the powers as belonging to the British "sphere of influence", and consequently even a British consulate was established in Goǧǧam (↗Dangəla). Dam projects have been a subject of diplomatic difficulties since then (McCann 1981; s. also the article on the Abbay). A British enclave existed at ↗Gambella town's port on the ↗Baro, from where regular boat services assured contact between Gambella and the N. at Khartoum via the Sobat (ZerEth 370f.).

Src.: FRANCESCO DA BASSANO, *Vocabulario Tigray-Italiano e Repertorio Italiano–Tigray*, Roma 1918, 521; BruNile; BTafA 204f.; RICHARD FRANCIS BURTON, *The Lake Regions of Central Africa, a Picture of Exploration*, New York 1860; [ID. (ed.)], *The Nile Basin*, part 2: JAMES MACQUEEN, *Captain Speke's Discovery of the Source of the Nile*, London 1864, repr. New York 1967; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI (ed., tr.), "Gli Atti di Re Naʾakuěto La-ʾAb", in: *Scritti dedicati alla memoria di Francesco Gallina*, Roma 1943 (= *Annali IUO* nuova ser. 2), 105–232; CrawItin 88–93; DillmLex 568, 759; IGNAZIO GUIDI, "Due nuovi manoscritti della Cronaca Abbreviata di Abissinia", *RRALm* ser. 6ª, 2, 1926, 357–421, here 360f.; HuntGeogr 42f., 45f., 56–58, 119; KaneDic 1203; KaneTDic 1303; HIOB LUDOLF, *Ad suam Historiam Aethiopicam antehac editam Commentarius* ..., Frankfurt 1691, 12, 598; LudHist L.I c.8 31ff., 76ff.; PLINY, *Natural History*, II: *Lb. III–VII*, ed., tr. by HARRIS RACKHAM, Cambridge, MA – London ²1947 [repr. ³1968] (The Loeb Classical Library 352), 256f.; RIÉ 189, 277; JOHN HANNING SPEKE, *Journal of the Discovery of the Source of the Nile*, Edinburgh – London 1863; HENRY MORTON STANLEY, *Through the Dark Continent, or the Sources of the Nile* ..., London 1878; ID., *In Darkest Africa: Or the Quest, Rescue, and Retreat of Emin, Governor of Equatoria*, London 1890.

Lit.: BAIRU TAFLA, "The Father of Rivers: The Nile in Ethiopian Literature", in: HAGGAI ERLICH – ISRAEL GERSHONI (eds.), *The Nile – Histories, Cultures, Myths*, Boulder, CO 1999, 153–70; CerPal 118f. (pl. VIII); CerMaria 207; OSBERT GUY STANHOPE CRAWFORD, "Some Medieval Theories about the Nile", *The Geographical Journal* 114, 1/3, July – September 1949, 6–29; ChTana; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Le sorgenti del Nilo Azzurro e Giovanni Gabriel", *Bollettino della Società Geografica Italiana* ser. 7ª, 6, 1941, 38–47; JEAN DUCHESNE-FOURNET, *Mission en Ethiopie (1901–1903)*, vol. 1, Paris 1909, 105f.; HAGGAI ERLICH, *The Cross and the River: Ethiopia, Egypt, and the Nile*, Boulder, CO 2001 (Lit.); GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, *Teofilo Indiano*, Ravenna 1992, 30f. (Lit.); WILLIAM GARSTIN, "Fifty Years of Nile Exploration, and Some of its Results", *The Geographical Journal* 33, 2, February 1909, 117–42; GIANNI GUADALUPI, *The Discovery of the Nile*, New York 1997; STEVEN KAPLAN, "Notes Towards a History of Aṣe Dawit I (1382–1413)", *Aethiopica* 5, 2002, 71–88, here 73, 76; JAMES MCCANN, "Ethiopia, Britain, and Negotiations for the Lake Tana Dam, 1922–1935", *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 14, 4, 1981, 667–99; ALAN MOOREHEAD, *The Blue Nile*, London ²1983; WILFRED H. OSGOOD, "Nature and Man in Ethiopia", *The National Geographic Magazine* 54, 2, 1928, 166, 170; RICHARD PANK-

HURST, "Ethiopia's Alleged Control of the Nile", in: ERLICH – GERSHONI 1999, 17–24; JULES PERRUCHON, "Légendes relatives à Dawit II (Lebna-Dengel), roi d'Ethiopie", *RevSem* 6, 1898, 157–71; VERONIKA SIX, "Water – the Nile – and the *Tä'amrä Maryam*, Miracles of the Virgin Mary in the Ethiopian Version", *Aethiopica* 2, 1999, 53–68, here 65f.; TadTChurch 17, 254, 256; J. OLIVER THOMPSON, *History of Ancient Geography*, Cambridge 1948; UllBibl 2, 5; YACOB ARSANO, *Ethiopia and the Nile, Dilemmas of National and Regional Hydropolitics*, Zürich 2007; ZerEth 322f., 326.

Wolbert Smidt

Nile geography

The basin of the River N. extends over the north-western third of Ethiopia and the south of the Eritrean territory. It comes second in area, 198,508 km² (National Atlas) or 178,700 km² (Guida 382), after the basin of the ↗Wabi Šäbälle.

The Little Abbay, its course interrupted by waterfalls, runs 75 km northwards into Lake ↗Ṭana (ca. 1,840 m A.S.L.). From its south-western shore the Blue N. (↗Abbay) leaves the lake to the south-east. After the ↗Ṭis əsat Falls (45 m high) it runs down through a more than 800-km-long canyon from which it flows out into the Ethio–Sudanese lowlands. In the first third of its course, it runs southwards, then it turns westwards to bend to the north-west after its confluence with the perennial ↗Didessa. The Blue N. separates the highlands of Goğğam from the plateaux of Wällo and Šäwa, from where the left-bank tributaries (the Bašällo, the Mugär, the Gudär) take their sources. From the wet heights of Wälläga the ↗Finčaʾa, the Didessa and the Dabbus flow. Right-bank affluents are smaller except the ↗Bäläs river which comes from the mountains west of Lake Ṭana. An important affluent in the east of the N. is the ↗Atbara, by some called the "Black N.", whose affluent is the ↗Setit (in its upper course ↗Täkkäze); in July it brings a large addition to the N. north of Khartoum, at the same time as the Blue N. (and the Sobat to the White N. in the south). In August the Blue N. attains a volume about ten times as great as the volume brought down from the White N., until the Blue N. sinks down again in September (Garstin 1909:141).

At the Däğän bridge, where the high plateaux made lower cenozoic basaltic traps, the Blue N. flows more than 1,000 m deep. Under the lavas, the limestone and sandstone strata (Anṭalo and ᶜAddigrat series) form high cliffs. Limestone is quarried by the Mugär Cement Factory. At the bottom of the canyon the river has eroded the precambrian strata. The course of the N. and its affluents is guided by a north-south and west-east fault grid which is parallel and perpendicular, resp., to the ↗Rift Valley.

Most of the valleys are in the ↗*qʷälla* zone and exposed to malaria. Peasants living on the plateaux (↗Amhara and ↗Oromo) try to avoid these wet and hot gullies. Agro-pastoralists, the Oromo in the middle valley and the ↗Gumuz to the west, keep cattle and practise shifting and slash and burn agriculture. During *kərämt*, the flow of the N. increases from a monthly average of 10 m³/sec (minimum) to 400 m³ (maximum) in Baḥər Dar, resulting in a monthly average of 119 m³ (minimum) to 5,590 m³ (maximum) in Roseires, a town just beyond the Sudanese border.

In Ethiopia the N. is not navigable; only a few sportsmen have sailed down the canyon with inflatable rafts. Until the end of the 1950s crossing the course of the Abbay was only possible by fords, which became very perilous during the rainy season. On the outlet of Lake Ṭana, a now-ruined Portuguese bridge linked the two banks near present-day Baḥər Dar. The people were apprehensive of the consequences of unlocking Goğğam when the Däğän-Goha Ṣəyon bridge was completed. Goğğam rulers benefited from their isolation which helped them keep a strong autonomy against the central authorities.

The region then took advantage of the bridge to export its surpluses of cereal production to the capital. The *Därg* regime (↗Provisional Military Administrative Council) established a new link between Bure and Naqamtee across the valley of the N. While Mängəśtu had not yet unveiled the bridge, the Tigray People's Liberation Front took it to attack Addis Abäba from the west.

Since the 1991 federal reform, the Abbay, in its upper course, has belonged to the Amara *kəllәl*. Its middle course separates the Amara *kəllәl* from Oromiyaa and its lower basin flows through the Beni Šangul – Gumuz *kəllәl*. The hydroelectric resources of the N. are scarcely operated: the Ṭis əsat power plant is planned to be enlarged, following the example of the Finčaʾa equipments which were built 30 years ago to feed the capital. One effect of the power plant is that the impressiveness of the once great Ṭis əsat waterfall has been greatly reduced. Hydroelectric power plants and irrigation are planned on the Täkkäze course in the Təgray *kəllәl*.

Other projects are in place on the N. tributaries. Financed by Libya under *Därg*, the irrigated sugar cane plantation in Finčaʾa was completed in the year 2000. The Ṭana-Bäläs project was planned to

divert a part of the water of the lake westwards by a tunnel through a mountainous range. After electricity is generated, water should irrigate the plateaux and flow into the Bäläs. Planned by the Italian co-operation for the development, this programme was attacked by the fronts fighting against the *Därg*. The fall of the regime, protestations from the side of ecologists and the reluctance of international donors lead to its abandonment. The Ṭana-Bäläs Project is now planned again with a better control of the Lake Ṭana level (2006). Sudanese and Egyptians had shown, as usual, their opposition against any equipment disrupting the flow. The Blue N. contributes more than 85 % to the total flow of the N. in Aswan.

The importance of the Ethiopian arm of the N. for the regular N. floods in Egypt is a major subject in the political relations between Egypt and Ethiopia. Differences have appeared between Egypt and Sudan, downstream, and Ethiopia, upstream, within the Council of the Riverine States of the N. Egypt and Sudan are still afraid that Ethiopia, by building future dams, may try to divert the flow of the Abbay (for details on this s. articles Abbay and ↗Egypt: Modern Egyptian–Ethiopian relations). Currently, Norway helps Ethiopia to implement a huge dam in the middle of Abbay canyon to provide hydro-electricity for Addis Abäba which is in great need. The great Roseires Reservoir lies immediately behind the Ethiopian border in the Sudan.

Lit.: JACQUES BESANÇON, *L'homme et le Nil*, Paris 1957 (Géographie Humaine 28); JACQUES BÉTHEMONT, *Les grands fleuves. Entre nature et société*, Paris 1999; EMAtlas; MARC FONTRIER, *La chute de la junte militaire éthiopienne (1987–1991)*, Paris 1999 (Bibliothèque Peiresc 13); WILLIAM GARSTIN, "Fifty Years of Nile Exploration, and Some of its Results", *The Geographical Journal* 33, 2, February 1909, 117–42; ALAIN GASCON, "Les enjeux des aménagements hydro-agricoles en Éthiopie et en Érythrée", *Les Cahiers de la Recherche-Développement* [*Dossier: systèmes irrigués*] n° 38, 1994, 33–48; GasEth; *Guida*; MesfGeogr; TESFAYE TAFESSE, "Moves Towards Nile Basin Cooperation and Institution-Building: Breaking the Stalemate?", in: *PICES* 15, 991–98; YEHENEW TSEGAYE, "Past Confrontation and Recent Developments in the Nile Basin", *ibid.* 999–1007.

Alain Gascon

Nilo-Saharan

N.-S., one of the four major phyla on the African continent according to Greenberg (1963), is found in an area covering major parts south-east, east and north of Lake Victoria in East Africa, with a westward extension as far as the Niger Valley in Mali. The easternmost members of N.-S. are situated in the western and northern regions of Ethiopia and Eritrea. The following N.-S. subgroups (in alphabetical order) are represented in these latter countries: 1. ↗Berta; 2. ↗Koman and ↗Gumuz; 3. ↗Kunama; 4. ↗Nara; 5. ↗Nilotic; 6. ↗Surmic.

There is no general agreement amongst scholars on the subclassification of N.-S., but there is consensus on the genetic unity of lower-level groupings such as those mentioned above. Scholars agree that Nilotic and Surmic are closely related members of a N.-S. subgroup called Eastern Sudanic by Greenberg (1963) and Eastern Sahelian by Ehret (2001); similarly, Nara is usually included within this latter N.-S. subgroup. Whether Kunama and Berta are most closely related to the Eastern Sudanic group, or more distantly related members of the N.-S. family, is a matter of dispute. Whereas Greenberg (1963) and Ehret (2001:88) treat the Koman group (with Gumuz as one of its members) as a primary branch of N.-S. only distantly related to Eastern Sudanic, Bender (2000) argues that the Gumuz language forms a separate branch next to the Koman group; moreover, according to the same author, Koman and Gumuz are most closely related to Eastern Sudanic; s. also Bender 1996a for a survey of the various classifications proposed for the N.-S. phylum. Each of the lower-level subgroups of N.-S. represented in Ethiopia or Eritrea is discussed next.

The Nilotic branch is usually divided into Eastern, Western and Southern Nilotic. The majority of Nilotic languages are spoken in southern Sudan, north-eastern Congo (ex-Zaire), Uganda, Kenya and Tanzania. But starting in Ethiopia's south-western corner, we find a number of representatives from this major group (in terms of number of languages): two Eastern Nilotic languages called ↗Ñaŋatom (or Bume) and Turkana, and north of these languages two Western Nilotic languages, ↗Añwaa and ↗Nuer.

Nilotic's closest relatives, the Surmic branch within N.-S., consists of a group of languages spoken in south-western Ethiopia as well as in neighbouring areas across the border in Sudan. The Surmic family consists of South Surmic, which again is divided into a South-western and a South-eastern Surmic branch, and Northern Surmic. Representatives of South-western Surmic in Ethiopia are ↗Baale and ↗Murle. All South-eastern Surmic languages are spoken in Ethio-

pia: ↗Čai-Tirma-Mursi, ↗Kʷegu-Muguği, and ↗Meʾen (the latter consisting of Bodi and Tišena dialects). The Northern Surmic branch consists of one language only, ↗Mağaŋgir. The name ↗Suri (or Surma) does not refer to a Surmic language or language group, but rather is an ethnonym.

The Koman languages ↗Kwama, ↗Komo, ↗Opuuo, and Uduk (↗Ṭwampa) are spoken north of the Surmic group in the border area between Ethiopia and Sudan. In the same area, another N.-S. language, Gumuz, is spoken. According to Bender (s.v. Koman), Gumuz should not be considered a member of the Koman group, but rather as an independent member of the N.-S. phylum most closely related to the Koman group and the Eastern Sudanic branch.

Berta is also situated in western Ethiopia, more specifically between Gumuz and the Koman languages, with an extension into eastern Sudan.

Kunama is a cluster of dialects spoken in western and northern Eritrea as well as around Barentu in Ethiopia. It consists of a number of closely related lects, Aimasa, Barka, Marda and Tika, and the more distantly related dialects Bitaama and Ilit (s. ↗Ilit and Sokodas).

Nara (also known as Nera or "Barya") is spoken in an area adjacent to the Kunama cluster mainly in western Eritrea, and adjoins the Kunama area to the south.

Whereas speakers of the various languages and language groups listed above are known to have had their home base in western Ethiopia for several generations, the civil war in Sudan during the second part of the 20th cent. may have resulted in an influx of speakers of other N.-S. languages from this neighbouring country. More specifically, there may now be speakers in Ethiopia of Burun (Nilotic language group), and of languages like Gaam, which belongs to the Eastern Jebel group within Eastern Sudanic. The number of speakers of Koman languages like Komo and Uduk in Ethiopia may also have increased.

The Ethiopian highlands appear to have functioned as a refugium for humans during drier periods over the past millennia, when survival in the arid savannah areas became more hazardous. This may be one reason for the linguistic diversity in this region. In addition to the N.-S. languages listed above, there are two languages which may belong to this phylum or to Afro-Asiatic: Birale (also known as ↗Ongota), whose speakers live along the Wäyto river among the Cushitic ↗Ṣamakko, and ↗Šabo (or Mekeyer), spoken by a small ethnic group among the Surmic Mağaŋgir and the Omotic Moča (↗Šakačo); alternatively, these two languages may each constitute a linguistic isolate.

The brilliant intuitions of Greenberg (1963), leading to the identification of the phylum now known as N.-S., were based on a judicious evaluation of lexical and, more importantly, grammatical properties which are widespread across the approximately 130 languages belonging to this genetic grouping. Amongst the set of grammatical properties involving (presumably) cognate morphemes are a verbal causative (transitivizer) prefix *ɪ-/i-*, a set of bound pronominal forms *(k)a-* for first person singular, *(y)i* for second person singular; a [logophoric] third person marker *ɛ-* occurring in dependent clauses); negation markers reconstructed as **kᵇɔ* and **ɓa* by Ehret (2001:218); nominal number markers (plural in *i*, *in*, and *k*; singulative markers in *i*, and *k*); a noun particularizing prefix *k-* (s. ibid. 181–84); nominal specifiers or referential markers (singular *-t*; plural *-k*). Also, a number of case markers appear to be cognate (accusative in *k*, genitive in *ŋ*); with respect to other widespread grammatical markers, cognate forms may be identified whose morphosyntactic function has been modified in individual language groups over time. Thus, the widespread location marker *ta* is found as an adposition in Nilotic and Surmic, and as a case marker in, e.g., Kunama. Similarly, a form in *-yɛ/-ye* occurs as an enclitic instrumental case marker in noun phrases in the Tama group within N.-S., as an agent marker *-ye* (or *-(y)i*) in the Saharan group within N.-S., and as an ergative case marker on nouns in Nilotic and Surmic. Moreover, the widespread lexical root for 'body' involving initial *r* is found as a verbal reflexive marker in, e.g., Nilotic. A rather remarkable grammatical property which is widespread across N.-S., as pointed out already by Greenberg (1963:131f.), is the recurrence of the word for 'name' as a syntactic plural.

From a typological point of view, northern N.-S. language groups like Kunama and, to a lesser extent, Nara share structural properties with Afro-Asiatic languages in Ethiopia and Eritrea, more specifically with Cushitic and Omotic languages, as well as with N.-S. languages in northern Sudan with an extension into Chad and Nigeria (more specifically with Nubian languages, Nyimang and Dinik, Tama, For and Amdang, Maban, and Saharan). These common typological features include a basic constituent order whereby the verb

occurs in final position, a rather extensive case-marking system, verbal compounding with 'say' or 'do', as well as the use of converbs as dependent verb forms in complex sentences (Azeb Amha – Dimmendaal 2006; s. also Bender 1996a for Kunama; s. also ↗Ethiopian Language Area).

Such common typological features cutting across genetic boundaries (N.-S. and Afro-Asiatic in this case) are usually due to areal diffusion, itself resulting from longterm cultural contacts and corresponding patterns of multilingualism between neighbouring speech communities. The Wadi Howar, also known as the Yellow Nile, a former river sanctuary and tributary to the Nile over 1200 km long which connected the mountainous area in eastern Chad with the Nile Valley between the third and fourth cataract until about 1000 B.C., may have constituted an important geographical condition for this cultural and linguistic diffusion (cf. Keding 2000 for a discussion of the geomorphological and archaeological background). The gradual extinction of this riverine system in northern Sudan consequently may have resulted in the dispersion of speakers of N.-S. languages from the Wadi Howar region in what is now Sudan in an eastern direction (towards Ethiopia and Eritrea), as well as southern and western directions. The presence of the powerful Meroitic Kingdom (↗Meroë) may have resulted in a further displacement of the ancestors of the modern Nara towards the east (cp. Rilly 2003). The current location of N.-S. groups along the Nile and regions west, south and east of this river, suggests a migration and expansion for these linguistic groups, more specifically for the ancestors of Berta, Nilotic and Surmic from the Wadi Howar region into western and southern Ethiopia. From a typological point of view, these latter N.-S. groups also differ from northern N.-S. representatives in Ethiopia and Eritrea such as Kunama or Nara. Instead of a verb-final syntax, as in these latter groups, we find a verb-second or verb-initial structure. Thus, languages like Berta have a basic Topic-verb order; alternatively, S[ubject]-V[erb]-O[bject] or VSO occurs (Andersen 1993, 1995). Moreover, contrary to N.-S. varieties like Kunama further towards the north, languages like Berta or Nilotic languages like Aňwaa or Nuer also use a less extensive case-marking system at the clausal level, instead expressing information on argument structure and semantic roles such as instrument or location on the verb. In addition, these latter languages have so-called "marked Nominative" or (alternatively) Ergative case systems, whereby postverbal subjects are inflected for case, with the corresponding object lacking case inflection, and occurring in the so-called Absolutive form; s. Reh (1996:294ff.) for a detailed description of the Nilotic language Aňwaa in this respect. Similar case-marking systems are found in Surmic languages in Ethiopia as well as southern Sudan; s. Dimmendaal and Last (1998).

One particular morphological feature common to many Eastern Sudanic languages in Ethiopia is shared with various Cushitic, and to some extent, Semitic languages. This typological property involves a tripartite distinction for number marking with nouns between singulatives marking, plural marking, and a system of replacement whereby both the singular and the plural are marked (Dimmendaal 2000). Nouns referring to items usually occurring in pairs or in larger numbers like 'ear' or 'fly', or ethnonyms, tend to be morphologically unmarked in the plural, with the corresponding singular form being marked with a singulative suffix in these languages. Alternatively, nouns may be morphologically unmarked in the singular, as is common in many Indo-European languages, with a corresponding plural marker. Replacement is common with nouns derived from verbs or some other major category and involves a marker for singular as well as a marker for plural number.

Gender distinction occurs in Eastern Nilotic languages. As derivational property, gender marking is used in Western Nilotic languages like Aňwaa and Nuer. In addition, gender distinctions occur in the Koman group. Apart from this property, Koman (and Gumuz) seem to share very few significant morphological features either with N.-S. language groups such as Kunama or Nara, or with N.-S. subgroups further towards the south, such as Berta, Jebel, Nilotic or Surmic, possibly as a result of longterm geographical isolation of the former.

Whereas N.-S. languages of Ethiopia and Eritrea thus vary considerably from a morphological and syntactic point of view, several of them do share specific phonological properties, e.g. prosodic features such as vowel harmony. Since these features are common across Africa south of the Sahara in an area ranging from Ethiopia towards Senegal, they probably constitute ancient instances of areal diffusion. N.-S. languages in Ethiopia and Eritrea all appear to be tonal; s., for instance, Connell – Hayward – John Abraha Ashkaba (2000) for a description of the tonal intricacies of

a Kunama variety. Another areal feature found in a range of languages from Senegal towards Ethiopia is vowel harmony involving the position of the tongue root. In a classic system of this type, all vowels within a word belong to either of two harmony sets; one set involves so-called [-advanced tongue root] (or [-ATR]) vowels *ɪ*, *ɛ*, *a*, *ɔ*, and *ʊ*; alternatively, all vowels within a word belong to the so-called [+advanced tongue root] (or [+ATR]) set, usually involving the vowels *i*, *e*, *ʌ*, *o*, *u*. Vowel harmony of this type is attested apparently in Koman languages such as Opuuo, Nilotic languages such as Ñaŋatom, and Surmic languages such as Baale. Alternatively, one finds more reduced vowel systems without vowel harmony, as in Nara, which has five vowels.

N.-S. languages in Ethiopia tend to be characterized by relatively many consonantal distinctions. A distinction between plosives and implosives is common across N.-S., but Berta, Surmic, and Koman languages in addition have ejective consonants. It remains to be determined to what extent the latter consonant types in these N.-S. groups are the result of areal contact with Afro-Asiatic languages in Ethiopia.

Many N.-S. languages in Ethiopia and Eritrea, in particular the Koman and Surmic languages, are still poorly explored. Although for several of the languages writing systems (either in Latin or in *fidäl* script [s. ↗Script, Ethiopic]) have been developed, published texts in these languages are scanty. As a result of the domination of neighbouring languages and urbanization, a number of N.-S. languages are endangered, e.g., Surmic languages like Kʷegu.

Lit.: TORBEN ANDERSEN, "Aspects of Berta Phonology", *AuÜ* 76, 1993, 41–80; ID., "Absolutive and Nominative in Berta", in: ROBERT NICOLAÏ – FRANZ ROTTLAND (eds.), *Proceedings of the Fifth Nilo-Saharan Linguistics Colloquium*, Köln 1995, 39–69; AZEB AMHA – GERRIT J. DIMMENDAAL, "Converbs in an African Perspective", in: FELIX K. AMEKA – ALAN DENCH – NICHOLAS EVANS (eds.), *Catching Language: the Standing Challenge of Grammar Writing*, Berlin – New York 2006 (Trends in Linguistics: Studies and Monographs 167), 393–440; M. LIONEL BENDER, *The Nilo-Saharan Languages: a Comparative Essay*, München 1996a (LINCOM Handbooks in Linguistics 06); ID., *Kunama*, München 1996b (Languages of the World: Materials 59); ID., "Nilo-Saharan", in: BERND HEINE – DEREK NURSE (eds.), *African Languages: an Introduction*, Cambridge 2000, 43–73; BRUCE A. CONNELL – RICHARD J. HAYWARD – JOHN ABRAHA ASHKABA, "Observations on Kunama Tone", *Studies in African Linguistics* 29, 1, 2000, 1–42; GERRIT J. DIMMENDAAL, "Number Marking and Noun Categorization in Nilo-Saharan Languages", *Anthropological Linguistics* 42, 2000, 214–61; ID. – MARCO LAST (eds.), *Surmic Languages and Cultures*, Köln 1998; CHRISTOPHER EHRET, *A Historical-Comparative Reconstruction of Nilo-Saharan*, Köln 2001; JOSEPH H. GREENBERG, *The Languages of Africa*, Bloomington 1963; BIRGIT KEDING, "New Data on the Holocene Occupation of the Wadi Howar Region (Eastern Sahara/Sudan)", *Studies in African Archaeology* 7, 2000, 89–104; MECHTHILD REH, *Anywa Language: Description and Internal Reconstructions*, Köln 1996 (Nilo-Saharan 11); CLAUDE RILLY, *Le méroïtique: données grammaticales, lexicales. Position linguistique*, Thèse de doctorat, École Pratique des Hautes Études, Paris 2003.

Gerrit J. Dimmendaal

Nilotic

The N. language family is a branch of the ↗Nilo-Saharan phylum. N. languages are spread over southern Sudan and neighbouring zones of north-eastern Congo, Uganda, Kenya plus northern Tanzania, as well as south-western Ethiopia.

N. is usually divided into three branches: Eastern (Bari, Lotuko, Maa [Maasai], Ongamo [Ngasa], Teso-Turkana cluster), Southern (Omotik, Datooga, Kalenjin), and Western (Burun [consisting of Jumjum, Mabaan, Ulu, Mayak], Lwoo cluster, Dinka, ↗Nuer, Atuot).

Only Eastern and Western Nilotic have representatives in Ethiopia. The Eastern Nilotic language ↗Ñaŋatom is spoken in the south-western part of the country, and forms part of the Teso-Turkana dialect continuum stretching westward across southern Sudan, northern Kenya and northern Uganda, and including Toposa, Turkana, Karimojong, Teso. There may also be speakers of Turkana in the same area. Further towards the north in Ethiopia, also along the border with Sudan, the Western Nilotic languages ↗Añwaa and Nuer are found. Añwaa is part of the Lwoo cluster (which includes Shilluk, Jur Luo, Turi, Bor, Acoli, Kumam, Adola, Luo of Kenya [or Kavirondo Luo]). Nuer forms a different subgroup within Western Nilotic to which also Atuot and Dinka belong. There may also be speakers of another Western Nilotic subgroup, Burun, in the border area between Ethiopia and Sudan.

Reconstruction of the Proto-Nilotic consonantal system was proposed in Dimmendaal 1988:7: voiceless *p*, *t̲*, *t*, *č*, *k*; voiced *b*, *d̲*, *d*, (*ǧ*), *g*; implosives *ɓ*, *ɗ*, *'y* (*q*); trill *r*, lateral *l*, fricatives *s*, *ġ*, nasals *m*, *n*, *ñ*, *ŋ*, and glides *y*, *w*. The following vowels can be reconstructed for Proto-Nilotic: *i*, *ɪ*, *e*, *ɛ*, *a*, *ɔ*, *o*, *ʊ*, *u*, and, with a less certainty, *ʌ* (ibid. 12).

The widespread African phenomenon of Advanced-Tongue-Root (ATR) harmony is present in N. (e.g., in Añwaa and Ñaŋatom) and can be reconstructed for Proto-Nilotic (Dimmendaal

1988). In such a system vowels belong to either an unadvanced tongue root or [-ATR] set (usually *ɪ*, *ɛ*, *a*, *ɔ*, and *ʊ*) or a corresponding advanced tongue root or [+ATR] set (usually *i*, *e*, *ʌ*, *o*, and *u*), with vowels within a word usually belonging to one of the two harmony sets. In Ñaŋatom the [+ATR] vowel *ʌ* is lacking from the system. In Nuer, we find a system of seven breathy and seven creaky-voice vowels which appear to have developed out of an earlier 10-vowel system with ATR contrasts.

Tone distinctions existed undoubtedly in Proto-Nilotic. Western Nilotic languages like Añwaa and Nuer appear to distinguish between three tonal registers, high, mid, and low; Eastern Nilotic Ñaŋatom has a two-two system (high vs. low) with downstep and downdrift.

Gender distinctions among masculine, feminine and neuter is a common inflectional property of Eastern Nilotic languages like Ñaŋatom (cp. entry for this language). Gender marking is also manifested in nominal modifiers, e.g. demonstratives. But contrary to neighbouring ↗Afro-Asiatic languages, gender marking is not shown in the pronominal system or verbal morphology. Gender marking occurs as a derivational property for nouns in Western Nilotic languages like Añwaa and Nuer.

Rich number marking systems are characteristic for N. languages (except for southern Lwoo languages, where they are considerably reduced) in general and for Añwaa, Nuer, and Ñaŋatom, in particular (Dimmendaal 2000). Three strategies are used: plural marker; singulative marker (for most nouns referring to items usually occurring in pairs, such as 'ear', or in larger numbers, such as 'egg(s)' as well as for ethnonyms); and replacement (i.e. inflection of the singular as well as the plural; with the nouns derived from verbs or adjectives). The root-internal change (sometimes in combination with suffixation) occurs in Western Nilotic languages, including Nuer and, to a lesser extent, Añwaa. The following example with singulative marking shows how internal change in Nuer may have developed from suffixation, as still found in Añwaa:

	singular	plural	
Añwaa	*tɔ̀ŋ-ɔ̄*	*tɔ̀ŋ*	'egg(s)'
Nuer	*tuò̲ŋ*	*to̲ŋ*	'egg(s)'

Verbs in Añwaa, Nuer and Ñaŋatom tend to have complex internal structures, taking pronominal subject markers (and pronominal object markers in the case of Ñaŋatom), as well as markers for aspect, mood, voice, and also a range of derivational markers. Whereas Eastern Nilotic languages like Ñaŋatom tend to be verb-initial, constituent order in Western Nilotic Añwaa and Nuer is more variable.

All three N. languages share post-verbal subject marking as a morphosyntactic property. In Añwaa, where this order only appears to be possible with transitive clauses, this post-verbal subject is marked by way of a suffix *-ɛ* or *-i*. Again (as with number inflection), case inflection for post-verbal subjects (both of transitive and intransitive predications) is expressed by way of root-internal changes in Nuer (Tucker – Bryan 1966:417). In Ñaŋatom, where postverbal subject marking occurs with both transitive and intransitive verbs, this so-called Nominative is marked by way of tonal inflection of the subject noun (or pronoun, if it occurs). Pre-verbal subjects, objects (regardless of their position within a clause), and predicative nouns (or pronouns) are not inflected for case in these and other N. languages with case, and occur in the so-called Absolutive (case) form, which is also the citation form for nouns (or independent pronouns).

In contrast to Ñaŋatom and Añwaa, which tend to use prepositions to introduce peripheral semantic roles such as location, Nuer uses Locative case marking (Tucker and Bryan 1966:417). This feature is probably an archaism, as extensive case systems are found in the closely related Surmic languages as well as more distantly related Nilo-Saharan groups such as Taman, Nubian, etc.

Some lexemes of the ten-word list have been reconstructed by Dimmendaal (1988): 'two' **aġyɛw*, 'three' **dʌk*, 'fire' **ma(-č)*, 'water' **pi(-ġ)*, 'tooth' **kɛ-la(-č)*, 'tongue' **ŋa-lyɛp*.

The discourse structure of N. languages is still poorly understood, with the exception of Añwaa, for which the pioneering study by Reh (1996) shows that information structure can be manipulated through the combination of a range of strategies, including constituent order, case (or definiteness marking), as well as aspect.

Lit.: GERRIT J. DIMMENDAAL, "Proto-Nilotic Lexical Reconstructions", *AAP* 16, 1988, 5–67; ID., "Number Marking and Noun Categorization in Nilo-Saharan Languages", *Anthropological Linguistics* 42, 2000, 214–61; MECHTHILD REH, *Anywa Language: Description and Internal Reconstructions*, Köln 1996 (Nilo-Saharan 11); ARCHIBALD NORMAN TUCKER – MARGARET A. BRYAN, *Linguistic Analyses: the Non-Bantu Languages of North-Eastern Africa. With a Supplement on the Ethiopic Languages by* WOLF LESLAU, London – New York – Cape Town 1966 (Handbook of African Languages 3).

Gerrit J. Dimmendaal

Nimr

Šayḫ al-makk N. (نمر, in European lit. also "Mek Nimmur") was a son of *al-makk* Muḥammad Saᶜd, chief of the Ǧaᶜālīyīn group of "Sudan Arabs" of the Nile. His residence was Šandī, a village under ↗Funǧ influence. Charged by ↗Ismāᶜīl *bāšā* with supplying provisions and camels to the Egyptian army against Sinnār, he attacked the Egyptian camp at night, carried out a massacre and killed Ismāᶜīl in 1822. Passing through the ↗Säbdärat, the Barka and Täsänäy, he took refuge in al-Sofi on the ↗Atbara with the remains of his men. After an attack by the Egyptians he moved towards the high plains where he obtained a territory from *aṣe* Tewodros II to the north of ↗Wälqayt and resisted against assaults from the Sudan.

He was attacked by the Säbdärat, who killed one of his sons in battle, and was driven back into Wälqayt, where he died. His son *al-makk* ᶜUmara *wad* Nimr (ᶜUmar), his successor in function and title, survived him. This ephemeral kingdom of 40 years between father and son was characterized by continuous fighting and raids, and there was no administration of justice in these territories. The remembrances left by N. among the Ǧaᶜālīyīn are in fact those of a warrior. There is an excellent memory of him in Qaftä.

Src.: GIOVANNI ELLERO, mss., Dipartimento di discipline storiche, University of Bologna, fasc. 16, "Su una tradizione di Cafta" and "Storia di Nofara" [catalogued in UOLDELUL CHELATI DIRAR – GIOVANNI DORE, *Carte Coloniali: i documenti italiani del Fondo Ellero*, Torino 2000].

Al-makk Nimr of Šandī, portrait by Linant de Bellefonts; from Douin 1944:391

Lit.: CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Documenti per lo studio della lingua tigré", *Giornale della società asiatica italiana* 16, 1903, 1–32; SAMUEL W. BAKER, *The Nile Tributaries of Abyssinia and the Sword Hunters of the Hamran Arabs*, London 1867, 139f; GEORGES DOUIN, *Histoire du Soudan Egyptien*, vol. 1, *La pénétration 1820–1822*, Le Caire 1944, 44, 389ff. (Lit.), 391 (ill.); PETER MALCOLM HOLT – M. W. DALY, *A History of the Sudan: from the Coming of Islam to the Present Day*, Harlow – New York ⁵2000.

Irma Taddia

Nimrāb

The N. (lit. 'sons of Nimr', also Awlād Nimr, Beni Nimr) were the outlawed followers of the Šandī king *al-makk* ↗Nimr, who lived in an Ethio–Sudanese border region from the 1820s to 1860s. Ethnically the N. belonged to the Arabophone Ǧaᶜālīyīn subgroup of "Sudan Arabs", a branch of the ancient Nubians of Northern Sudan, having given up their language. After the 1820s they were also joined, in the course of time, by other Sudanese fugitives and outlaws of different ethnic origins.

After the assassination of ↗Ismāᶜīl *bāšā*, the first governor of the Egyptian ↗Sudan, in 1822 by *al-makk* Nimr, the N. had fled from Šandī to an uninhabited border region near the Setit river, which was claimed by both Ethiopia and Egypt, below the ↗Wälqayt highlands. Here they came under Ethiopian protection, and Nimr's son married the daughter of the local Ethiopian chief and was given the rank of ↗*däǧǧazmač*. The N. formed the large settlement of May Gubba, in Wälqayt. Many of them, however, returned to the Sudan, when in 1829 the Governor-General Ḫuršīd *bāšā* issued a pardon for the Ǧaᶜālīyīn, excluding *al-makk* Nimr and his family.

In this period they became protegés of *ras* ↗Wəbe Ḫaylä Maryam of Təgray. Wəbe gave Nimr the governorship of vast border regions up to ↗Sinnār; this strategic support was linked with the idea not only to check Egyptian expansion by the N. but even to prepare Ethiopian expansion into Sinnār even up to Šandī, and weaken the "Turks" wherever possible (as reported by the French envoys Aubert and Dufey, s. Aubert-Roche 1844:172). Nimr's son *al-makk* ᶜUmara *wad* Nimr (ᶜUmar) was his father's successor in 1845 and pursued the raiding of Sudanese border regions energetically. At May Gubba the N. were well placed for raids on the Sudan, successively becoming little more than frontier bandits (Cumming 1937:35, 38). Another son, Abū Bakr Nimr, was the chief of a settlement of "Takruri"

(cp. ↗Tukrīr), situated near May Gubba, which was composed mostly of Muslim pilgrims of western and central African origin (today the ↗Ṣällim Bet; Parkyns 1853:349f.).

Politically the presence of the N. in northern Ethiopia was of far-reaching importance. When in 1850 *al-makk* ʿUmara raided the ↗Kassala region with some Ethiopian followers, he claimed ↗Qadarif (with the settlement Suq Abu Sin) as territory of the *ras* of Təgray. Later, in an exchange of letters with Egypt, the new Emperor of Ethiopia, ↗Tewodros II, even went so far to claim Šandī itself and thus the whole area west of the ↗Atbara river (Ǧazīrat al-Luban), as this was *al-makk* Nimr's original territory.

The N. dominated all the border area east of the Atbara up to Wälqayt. ʿUmar *wad* Nimr now acted as Tewodros's governor of this region, which was a hiding place for outlaws (RubInd 217). *Aṣe* Tewodros's tax records note that ʿUmar (here listed as Wäd Näbər, Amh. *näbər*, 'leopard', as *nimr* in Arab.; from "*wad* Nimr") paid 2,000 thalers toll for his region, which were counted as part of the provincial revenues of Bägemdər (Pankhurst 1979:10).

In order to calm the conflict and settle the border dispute, the ruler of Egypt Saʿīd *bāšā* pardoned all N. in 1857. They, however, attacked the Doka post around the same time, crossing the Atbara between ↗Mätämma and Qadarif, before receiving this message. ʿUmara was again outlawed by the Egyptians and died in 1863 after an Egyptian attack on May Gubba (Cumming 1937:38). After the outbreak of an open conflict between *aṣe* Tewodros and the Egyptian Governor-General of the Sudan, Mūsā *bāšā* Ḥamdī, the latter heavily raided May Gubba in 1862 (Lejean 1865:130). This led to the deportation to Qallābāt (↗Mätämma) of most remaining N. who were finally allowed to return to Šandī after an appeal by Ḥasan Nimr to the Egyptian ruler (Cumming 1937:38).

Src.: LOUIS RÉMY AUBERT-ROCHE, "Abyssinie. Le dedjas Oubié, chef du Tigré", *Revue de l'Orient* 5, 1844, 164–75, here 172; SAMUEL BAKER, *The Nile Tributaries of Abyssinia and the Sword Hunters of the Hamran Arabs*, London 1867, 140f., 277–80, 444, 459, 559; CHARLES T. BEKE, *The British Captives in Abyssinia*, London 1867, 1 (map); GUILLAUME LEJEAN, *Voyage aux Deux Nils*, Paris 1865, 130; RICHARD PANKHURST (ed., tr.), *Tax Records and Inventories of Emperor Téwodros of Ethiopia (1855–1868)*, London 1978/79 (Fontes Historiae Africanae, Series Aethiopica 1), 10, 21; MANSFIELD PARKYNS, *Life in Abyssinia: Being Notes Collected During Three Years' Residence and Travels in that Country*, London 1853, 349f.

Lit.: DUNCAN C. CUMMING, "The History of Kassala and the Province of Taka", *SNR* 20, 1, 1937, 1–45, here 35, 37f.; DouinIsm III; MunSt 566f.; ARTHUR E. ROBINSON, "Nimr, the last King of Shendi", *SNR* 8, 1925; RubInd 217f.

Wolbert Smidt

Nine Saints

According to tradition, the N.S. are a group of foreign ("Roman") monks who came to the Kingdom of ↗Aksum between the end of the 5th and the beginning of the 6th cent. A.D. This period, in which Christianity starts to spread all over the northern region of Ethiopia, is also known among scholars as "the second Christianization" (the first one having been accomplished by *abba* ↗Sälama Käśate Bərhan), and concerns the coming of a few foreign monks (↗Mäṭaʿ, ↗*Ṣadəqan*), among whom, however, the N.S. play a central role. The tradition underlines their role as missionaries who propagated the faith and imported monasticism into Ethiopia. Though varying according to different sources (mostly, their Vitae), the group of the N.S. is usually considered to be composed of: ↗Alef (commemorated in the ↗*Sənkəssar* on 11 *Mäggabit*), ↗Afṣe (29 *Gənbot*), ↗Zämikaʾel Arägawi (or Arägawi, 14 *Ṭəqəmt*), ↗Gärima (17 *Säne*), ↗Guba (29 *Gənbot*), ↗Liqanos (28 *Ḫədar*), ↗Ṗänṭälewon (6 *Ṭəqəmt*), ↗Ṣəḥma (16 *Ṭərr*) and ↗Yəmʾata (18 *Ṭəqəmt*). A tenth name, ↗Oṣ (4 *Taḫśaś*) is also sometimes attested.

As suggested by scholars, the arrival of the N.S. in Ethiopia in the late 5th/early 6th cent. was connected with the decisions of the Council of ↗Chalcedon, in 451, the condemnation of the Monophysite belief (↗Monophysitism) and the ensuing persecutions; and, in particular, with the monastic reaction to the *Henotikon*, a decree promulgated in 482 by the emperor Zenon in order to reconcile the Chalcedonian and Monophysite positions (Fiaccadori 2006:65 and n. 105).

No contemporary writing could provide reliable evidence as to either the real aims of the coming of the N.S. or their identity (a problem already pointed out in CRStor 161f.). A series of works of ↗hagiography (*gädlat* or *dərsanat*), written in Ethiopic from the 14th cent. onward, i.e. long after the events described therein, provides a much later interpretations of the facts, transmitted through a medieval cultural background. The oldest hagiographies are the *Gädlä (G.) Ṗänṭälewon* (14th cent., Conti Rossini 1904), the *G. Gärima* (15th cent., Conti Rossini 1897),

the *G. Zämikaʾel Arägawi* (16th cent., Guidi 1896; van den Oudenrijn 1939), and perhaps the *G. Afṣe* in the version seen by Conti Rossini in 1937 (now disappeared, and only known from Conti Rossini 1939). The texts of *G. Afṣe*, as available today (Schneider 1985; Sergew Hable Sellasse 1964), *G. Guba* (recently found, closely linked to the *G. Afṣe*), *G. Alef*, *G. Liqanos*, *G. Ṣəḥma*, and *G. Yəmʾata* (unpublished, s. Brita in preparation) belong all to a later period (probably 19th–20th cent.).

Ethiopian saints, including some of the "Nine Saints", detail showing Gärima, Abib, Latṣun, Abunafər, Ṗälamon [Ṗänṭälewon?] / Alef, Ṣəḥma, Afṣe, Zämikaʾel, Yəmʾata, Guba; mural, 17th cent., Däbrä Sina Maryam, Gorgora; photo courtesy of Alberto Vascon

The names of the authors of some Acts are pseudoepigraphical (↗Yared for *G. Arägawi*, *G. Ṣəḥma* and *G. Yəmʾata*; ↗Athanasius for *G. Afṣe* and *G. Guba*); other Acts are attributed to allegedly historical personalities: *Yoḥannəs ṗaṗas zäʾaksum* ('Yoḥannəs, bishop of Aksum'), for *G. Gärima*; ↗Rətuᶜa Haymanot (who "was appointed bishop of Aksum") or ↗Yəsḥaq (not attested in ms. EMML 1479) for *G. Ṗänṭälewon*.

Nearly all N.S. in the oldest Acts are referred to by epithets or descriptive nicknames: Arägawi ('the Elder') for Zämikaʾel; Gärima for Yəsḥaq; *Zäṣomaᶜət* (lit. 'the one from the cave/cell') for Ṗänṭälewon. In the more recent Acts, *Bərhanä ᶜaläm* ('light of the world') is used for Afṣe and Guba; *Kokäbä gädam* ('star of the desert') for Liqanos; *Somson bänuḫatä ṣəgʷəru* ('Samson by the length of his hair') for Ṣəḥma.

The issue of the origin of the N.S. is connected with the more general problem of the origins and nature of early Aksumite ↗Christianity, and has long been a matter of debate. According to their Vitae, the N.S. came from different eastern provinces of the ↗Byzantine Empire: Zämikaʾel Arägawi, Gärima and Ṗänṭälewon from Rom (Rome), Afṣe from Ǝsya, Liqanos from Qʷəsṭənṭəya (Constantinople), Guba from Qilqəya (Cilicia) Ṣəḥma from Anṣokya (Antioch), Alef from Qisarya (Caesarea) and Yəmʾata from Qosyat or Qosya (Qusyā, in Egypt?). It was generally accepted that they came from Syria. This suggestion, mostly based on a number of Syriac loan-words in Gəᶜəz (Conti Rossini 1897:140, 174f., 1939:151–56, CRStor 155f., 161f.; Guidi 1888:33f.; GuiSLett 13ff. and others), seems to be no longer valid (s. Polotsky 1964 and Marrassini 1990, 1999; cp. ↗Syrian influences).

Several Aksumite kings alternate in the historical setting of the Acts of the N.S. Säᶜaldoba appears in some of the Acts as the father of ↗Ǝllä ᶜAmida, during whose reign the N.S. arrived. Ǝllä ᶜAmida was succeeded by ↗Tazena, reigning for a long period (*G. Afṣe*, *G. Guba*), during which the saints decided to separate; after his death ↗Kaleb ascends to the throne. A different version is found in the *G. Gärima*, where the arrival of the N.S. is dated back to the time of mythical snake-king ↗*Arwe* (whose miraculous death at the hand of God is also described by the *G. Afṣe* and *G. Guba*), immediately succeeded by Kaleb. The latter's role within the cycle is strictly tied to the description of his military expeditions to South Arabia (↗Nağrān), blessed by the saints (*G. Afṣe*, *G. Arägawi*, *G. Guba*, *G. Liqanos*, *G. Ṗänṭälewon*), as well as to ↗Bur (*G. Afṣe*, *G. Arägawi*, *G. Guba*). The reign of Kaleb's successor ↗Gäbrä Mäsqäl is described as peaceful and prosperous, and he appears as a great church builder (*G. Afṣe*, *G. Arägawi*, *G. Gärima*). Landgrants made by Gäbrä Mäsqäl are transmitted in the *G. Afṣe*, *G. Arägawi*, *G. Gärima*.

The Acts of the N.S. include a considerable number of episodes possibly drawn from ↗oral tradition, such as, e.g., the story of *Arwe*, killed

thanks to the prayers of the N.S.; the legend of a monk Məlkiyanos plaiting women's hair; Arägawi's ascension the top of the mount on the snake's tail; the governor Abtinasər and his army, hostile to Guba and killed by their own lances; the ↗Soba and Noba reigning over Ethiopia.

The influence of written tradition on the hagiography of the N.S. can be recognized on different levels, i.e. in terms of: a) patterns also peculiar to the Vitae of other (foreign) saints (the *G. Arägawi* is at times inspired by the Vita of St. ↗Alexis; the *G. Liqanos*, by the Vita of St. ↗Anthony); b) the use of quotations, *in primis* from the ↗Bible; c) the inclusion of data extracted from chronological lists (Getatchew Haile 1981:28f.), as well as information on Kaleb's South Arabian campaign(s). The Nağrān episode as narrated in the *G. Ṗänṭälewon* shares certain features with a tradition different from that of the Gəᶜəz version of the *Martyrdom of ↗Arethas* and closer to the latter's older Greek text (Nosnitsin 2004; Fiaccadori 2006:65f. and n. 108; Bausi 2006:5, 106–10, 244–91). The same episode is mentioned, with fewer details, in the *G. Arägawi*, where it is somewhat confused with the expedition to Bur. The events are only hinted at in the *G. Liqanos*.

A large part of the Acts of each of the N.S. is devoted to their miracles (↗*Täʾammər*). The wondrous episodes are usually scattered along the plot, but in the more recent pieces the Vita is usually followed by a collection of (posthumous) miracles. The collection of miracles of Afṣe seems to have circulated as a work on its own. Sometimes the same miracle, narrated with slight variations, occurs in several Acts. Typically, these miracles testify to the sway of the saint over nature (e.g., the wheat or the plant that fulfils its life cycle in a few hours, the power to displace trees and stones, etc.), and describe his healing power, but also present conversions of Muslims (presented as wealthy men and "pagans", as in the *G. Guba*), recovery of stolen gold and punishments of thieves, as well as births of sons to barren couples etc.

An interesting motif is the disappearance of the saint's corpse immediately after his death (*G. Afṣe*, *G. Arägawi*, *G. Gärima*), usually concealing the most general theme of the theft of ↗relics.

The lists of the names of the N.S. are often unstable. E.g., in the *G. Gärima*, Alef and Arägawi replace Mäṭaᶜ and Oṣ. In two recent manuscripts of the *G. Liqanos*, Oṣ replaces Ṣəḥma. The omission of Arägawi in the *G. Gärima* was seen by Conti Rossini as a clue to a likely hostile relationship between ↗Däbrä Damo and the clergy of Däbrä Mädära (↗Ǝnda Abba Gärima, s. Conti Rossini 1897:174, l. 109). The inconsistencies in the name-list indicate the presence of separate traditions merged together in later times.

The expression "N.S." for this group is present only in the more recent Acts. In the *G. Gärima* the expression "nine brothers" occurs on two occasions, but in a general context. In the *G. Arägawi*, "eight saints" and "eight brothers" are mentioned before the coming of Gärima.

Despite its uncertainties, the Ethiopian tradition has indeed a notion of the N.S. (*təsᶜattu qəddusan*; DombrChr 148; Conti Rossini 1917:705), called also "Romans", *Romawəyan* (Conti Rossini 1942:167, 201). While references to their exact number seem to appear later, the 'saints from Rome' (*qəddusanä Rom*) are already mentioned by Giyorgis of ↗Sägla in the *Mäṣḥafä ↗məṣtir*, as holy monks who came during the reign of Allamida (↗Ǝllä ᶜAmida); this work also provides a summary of their miracles (YaqMist I, 122-25).

The hagiographic lore on the N.S. is supported by local traditions on their veneration, usually (but not exclusively) linked to churches claiming foundation from them: Betä (or Ǝnda) Ṗänṭälewon (near Aksum), from Ṗänṭälewon, Däbrä Qʷänaṣəl (also near Aksum), from Liqanos; the church near the ancient Sabaean temple at ↗Yəḥa, from Afṣe; Ǝnda Abba Gärima, from Gärima; Däbrä Damo from Zämikaʾel Arägawi. The church of Guba is near May Čäw, in the area called Taqara; Ǝnda Abba Ṣəḥma is a church on a small mountain near ᶜAdwa; another church dedicated to Ṣəḥma can be found on a in the neighbourhood of ᶜƎdäga Arbi; the foundation of Alef is located on the top of an *amba* near the village of Ahsäʾa.

Src.: CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "L'Omilia di Yohannes, vescovo di Aksum, in onore di Garimā", in: *Actes du XI Congrès des Orientalistes. Section Sémitique*, Paris 1897, 139–77; ID., *Acta Yārēd et Ṗanṭalēwon*, Paris 1904, repr. Lovanii 1961 (CSCO 26, 27 [SAe 9, 10]); ID., "La leggenda di Abbā Afṣē in Etiopia", in: *Mélanges syriens offerts à M.R. Dussaud*, Paris 1939, 151–56; BRUNO DUCATI (tr.), *La grande impresa di Amda Sion re d'Etiopia, romanzo storico del XIV secolo. I miracoli di Abbā Garimā omelia del XV secolo*, Milano 1939, 97–154; IGNAZIO GUIDI, "Il Gadla 'Aragāwi", *RRALm* ser. 5ª, 2, 1896, 54–96; M.-A. VAN DEN OUDENRIJN (ed., tr.), *La vie de saint Mikāʾēl 'Aragāwi*, Friburg 1939; ROGER SCHNEIDER, "Les Actes d'Abba Afṣē de Yeha", *AE* 13, 1985, 105–18; SERGEW HABLE SELLASSE, "New Historical Elements in the 'Gadla Afṣē'", *JSS* 9, 1, 1964, 200–03; BudSaint 116ff., 155, 198,

299f., 321f., 505, 688, 944f., 1009f.; ColSyn VII, 23ff., 84f., 154f.; VIII, 390f., IX, 118f., XI, 340f., XIII, 346f.; GréSyn 46; GuiSyn 626ff.

Lit.: ALESSANDRO BAUSI, "Introduzione", "La versione etiopica", in: ID. – ALESSANDRO GORI (ed., tr.), *Tradizioni orientali del «Martirio di Areta»*, Firenze 2006 (Quaderni di Semitistica 27), 1–18, 91–306; BrakAksum; ANTONELLA BRITA, *I racconti tradizionali della cristianizzazione dell'Etiopia: il* Gädlä Liqanos *e il* Gädlä Ṗänṭälewon, Ph.D. thesis, Università di Napoli l'"Orientale" 2007, forthcoming; CRStor; DicEthBio: "'Afṣé" 14, "'Aléf" 18, "Gärima or Yesḥaq" 70, "Gubā" 75f., "Ṗänṭäléwon" 130f. (ARTHUR K. IRVINE – SEIFU METAFERIA), "Liqanos" 104, "Ṣäḥma" 142, "Yämᶜata" 178 (SEIFU METAFERIA), "'Oṣ" 128 (ARTHUR K. IRVINE), "Zä-Mika'él 'Arägawi" 209f. (ARTUR K. IRVINE – OTTO F.A. MEINARDUS – SEIFU METAFERIA); AUGUST DILLMANN, "Zur Geschichte des axumitischen Reiches im vierten bis sechsten Jahrhundert", *Abhandlungen der Königl. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin. Phil.-hist. Klasse*, 1880, 3–51; GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, "Gregentios in the Land of the Homerites", in: ALBRECHT BERGER (ed., tr.), *Life and Works of Saint Gregentios, Archbishop of Taphar*, Berlin – New York 2006 (Millennium-Studien 7), 48–79; EMML IV, 594; GETATCHEW HAILE, "An Anonymous Homily in Honor of king Ellä Aṣbäḥa of Axum, EMML 1763, ff. 34v–35v", *NEASt* 3, 2, 1981, 25–37; ID., "The Homily of Luleyanos, Bishop of Aksum, on the Holy Fathers", *ABoll* 103, 1985, 385–91; ID., "Ethiopian Saints", in: *CE* vol. 4, 1044–56, here 1045ff.; IGNAZIO GUIDI, "Le traduzioni degli Evangelii in arabo e in etiopico", *RRALm* ser. 4ª, 4, 1888, 5–37; GuiSLett 13ff.; PAOLO MARRASSINI, "Some Consideration on the Problem of the 'Syriac Influences' on Aksumite Ethiopia", *JES* 23, 1990, 35–46; ID., "Ancora sul problema degli influssi siriaci in età aksumita", in: LUIGI CAGNI (ed.), *Biblica et Semitica. Studi in memoria di Francesco Vattioni*, Napoli 1999 (Series Minor 59), 325–37; ID., "The «Egyptian Saints» of the Abyssinian Hagiography", *Aethiopica* 8, 2005, 112–29; KinBibl 10, 13, 19, 70, 92, 124, 141, 171; STUART MUNRO-HAY, "Saintly Shadows", in: *AfrHorn* 137–68; DENIS NOSNITSIN, "*Gädlä Ṗänṭälēwon*: die literarische Verwandlug einer Episode aus dem aksumitisch-ḥimyaritischen Krieg", in: *StudAeth* 91–108; HANS JAKOB POLOTSKY, "Aramaic, Syriac and Geᶜez", in *PICES* 2, 1–10; OSVALDO RAINERI, in: *EncSan*: "Afṣē" 67, "Alēf" 75, "Garimā" 971f., "Gubā" 142, "Liqānos" 330, "Oṣ" 725f., "Ṗanṭalēwon" 764, "Ṣeḥmā" 919, "Yemᶜātā" 1351, "Zamikā'ēl Aragāwi" 1382; WITOLD WITAKOWSKY, "Syrian Influences in Ethiopian Culture", *Orientalia Suecana* 38–39, 1989–90, 191–202.

Antonella Brita

Niqolawos

Ras N. (d. December 1732) was an important figure in the early 18th-cent. ↗Gondärine kingdom of the Qʷaräññä family. The main sources of information about his life are the chronicle of ↗Bäkaffa until January 1727 and the chronicle of ↗Iyasu II. As stated in the Qʷaräññä genealogies placed in the beginning of the latter text, N. was a son of princess Krəstosawit and a brother of Məntəwwab's powerful grandmother Yolyana (GuiIyas 9); he was thus a grand-uncle of ↗Bərhan Mogäsa (Məntəwwab).

N. possibly received his first military title in 1726, when ↗Bäkaffa appointed a person of this name *šaläqa* of Ṭänqäña (GuiIohan 336). N. undoubtedly played a major role in Məntəwwab's maternal family's accession to power. In June 1730, N., already *azzač* by that time, was made *grazmač* by Bäkaffa. According to Iyasu's chronicle, in September 1730, on his death-bed, Bäkaffa revealed to N. that he had chosen his son Iyasu as successor. N. rapidly gathered some dignitaries, most of them from his family, and crowned the young king. After burying Bäkaffa and giving the new king his royal ↗name, N. also crowned his great-niece and Iyasus's mother, Məntəwwab. In October N. was promoted *däğğazmač* of Səmen and Waña ta, in July 1731 he became *ras*, and, finally, in October 1732 *ras bitwäddäd*, a position that make him second in power to the regent queen.

N. died in December 1732, a few months after his sister Yolyana, and was buried in the Gondärine church of Lədäta. Following his death, the anti-Qʷaräññä dignitaries unsuccessfully attempted to challenge the royal mother-and-son couple, and Məntəwwab's brother ↗Wäldä Ləᶜul became *ras bitwäddäd*.

While the chronicle of Iyasu II emphasizes the role of N. and Yolyana in Məntəwwab's rise to power, neither ↗Prutky, present in Gondär in 1752, nor, some 25 years later, ↗Bruce, mention N. or his sister.

Src.: GuiIohan 336 (tr.); GuiIyas 9, 27–30, 33, 35, 39, 51, 53 (tr.).

Lit.: CLAIRE BOSC-TIESSÉ, "'How Beautiful she is!' in her Mirror: Polysemic Images and Reflections of Power of an Eighteenth-Century Ethiopian Queen", *Journal of Early Modern History* 8, 3–4, 2004, 294–318; CrumLand 95, 99, 102.

Anaïs Wion

Nissel, Johann Georg

N. (b. 1623 or 1624, Pfalz, d. 6 or 16 December 1662, Leiden) was a German Orientalist. Little is known about his life. He started out as a scholar of Syriac around 1646, when he went to Leiden to study theology and Oriental subjects; there he remained until his death. N. became known for developing Ethiopian typographic glyphs and for his publications.

In the 16th and 17th cent., besides N.'s own, six

others typefaces were employed, the best known being those by Johannes ↗Potken, ↗Täsfa Ṣəyon, the London Polyglot (1657) and ↗Hiob Ludolf. N. acquired his letters from the Leidener printer Johannes Elsevier in 1655. The latter had bought them from the Orientalist Thomas Erpenius (d. 1624), who had them cut after those used by Täsfa Ṣəyon for his ↗New Testament. After N.'s death the material went to his friend and colleague Theodor Petraeus (d. 1672), who had travelled to the Orient, coming back with ↗manuscripts. Petraeus's widow sold the letters to Paul Kray from Hamburg. With these same glyphs Christoph ↗Schlichtings's works were printed.

Between 1654 and 1660, N., alone and in collaboration with Petraeus, produced six small Ethiopian versions of ↗Bible texts, extending between 24 and 40 pp.: Jas, 1–3 Jn, Jew, Song, Ruth, Zeph. Sources for the N.T. and O.T. (but the *Song of Songs* [↗Wisdom books] is also printed after Potken) texts were the editions of Potken (1513) and Täsfa Ṣəyon (1548–49) and, resp., the mss. Petraeus brought from the East and from Rome (↗Santo Stefano dei Mori), today at the ↗British Library.

↗Bible: Gəᶜəz editions; ↗Incunabula

Src.: JOHANNES GEORGIUS NISSELIUS – THEODORUS PETRAEUS, *S. Jacobi Apostoli Epistolae Catholicae ...*, Lugduni Batavorum 1654; ID., *S. Johannis Apostoli & Evangelistae Epistolae Catholicae tres, Arabicè & Aethiopicè ...*, Lugdvni Batavorum 1654; ID., *S. Judae Apostoli Epistolae Catholicae ...*, Lugduni Batavorum 1654; JOHANNES GEORGIUS NISSELIUS, *[Shîr ha-shîrîm], sive Canticum Canticorum Schelemonis Aethiopicè ...*, ibid. 1656; ID., *Prophetia Jonae ...*, ibid. 1660; ID., *Liber Ruth, Aethiopice ...*, ibid. 1660; ID., *Prophetia Sophoniae ...*, ibid. 1660 (s. Lockot I, 279).

Lit.: ALFRED RAHLFS, "Nissel und Petraeus, ihre äthiopischen Textausgaben und Typen", *Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philologisch-historische Klasse* 1917, 267–348; RIJK SMITSKAMP, *Philologia orientalis: a Description of Books Illustrating the Study and Printing of Oriental Languages in Europe*, vol. 3: *Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, Leiden 1991, 305–09, nos. 331–41.

Siegbert Uhlig

Nob

Abba N. (ፍኑ) was a monk from the monastery of Däbrä Bäkʷər who was appointed ↗*nəburä əd* of Däbrä Damo and held office in 1450. According to the Acts of *abba* ↗Yonas "of Bur", when *aṣe* ↗Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob invited *abba* Yonas and his disciples to a council at ↗Däbrä Məṭmaq to address the question of ↗Sabbath observance, N. added his personal message to this invitation urging these monks to come because the Emperor was favourable to their cause (s. Conti Rossini 1903:180, 199; CerMaria 112).

Conti Rossini (1950:424) identified the *nəburä əd* N. with *abba* N. who, soon after 1450, fell out of favour with the Emperor for reasons that are still not entirely clear. One possibility concerns his associates: in the Chronicle of Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob, N. is affiliated with *bitwäddäd* ↗ᶜAmdä Mäsqäl, who was suspected of being a heretic plotting against the Emperor; consequently, he was deported to Gʷašaro (PerrZarY 11f.). N.'s association with the *bitwäddäd* may have influenced the Emperor's attitude. Alternatively, N. himself may also have been considered an heretic because he refused to accept the cult of ↗Mary (CerMaria 107–12).

Two more persons bearing the same name appear in sources from the same period. In 1426, the Ethiopic community of ↗Jerusalem was ruled by a *rays* (Arab. *raᵓīs*, 'chief') named *abba* N., as testified by a note in the ms. St. Petersburg Or. 612 (Conti Rossini 1948:195). This N. was probably the same for whom different homilies, particularly the ↗*dərsan* in honour of the archangel Afnin, were copied in the 15th-cent. manuscript originating from ↗Daga Ǝsṭifanos (BN d'Abbadie 94, fols. 57–62; s. Fiaccadori 1997:48).

Another N. is associated with the ↗Rema community. According to the tradition, he was the founder of the monastery and the brother of *aṣe* Yəsḥaq (1414–30). Both facts are supported by the Rema archives recently pointed out (CrumLand 30, 41, 329, 368; mf. Illinois/IES 88.XXXVII n° 22, 17, 16 and 14).

Although all figures by the name N. were active between 1419 and 1450, it is impossible to say with certainty whether they can be identified as one person, two, or more.

Src.: mf. Illinois/IES 88.XXXVII n°22, 17, 16, 14; CerMaria 107–12; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Gli Atti di Abbā Yonās", *RRALm* ser. 5ª, 12, 1903, 177–201, 239–55, here 180, 199; ID., "L'arcangelo Afnin nella letteratura etiopica", *ABoll* 68, 1950, 424–35; CRAbb 182, no. 170 [ms. Abbadie 94]; HamTana I, 65, 84–91; HamTana II, 117–21, 121–25; PerrZarY 11f.

Lit.: CLAIRE BOSC TIESSÉ, *Art, Église et royauté aux XVIIᵉ et XVIIIᵉ siècles: écriture de l'histoire et fabrique des images dans les églises du lac Ṭana*, Ph.D. thesis, Université Paris-I 2001, 43f.; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Pergamene di Debra Dammo", *RSO*, 19, 1940, 45–80, here 55; ID., [review of CerPal], *RSE*, 7, 1948, 192–200, here 195; CrumLand 30, 41, 329, 368; GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, "Ripristino dell'omelia etiopica sull'arcangelo Afnin", *Miscellanea marciana* 12, 1997 [1998], 45–51 (Lit.); LusStud 119f.; TadTChurch 129, 241.

Claire Bosc Tiessé – Marie-Laure Derat

Noba

The N. are mentioned in several Aksumite ↗inscriptions between the middle of the 4th and the first half of the 5th cent. The name probably refers to Nubian speakers (s. ↗Nubia in EAE vol. 5) who appeared during this period in the Middle Nile Valley and in central Sudan.

Already mentioned by the Greek geographer Eratosthenes (ca. 200 B.C.), quoted by Strabo, the "people" (*ethnos*) known as the *Nubai* are vaguely situated west of the river, "from ↗Meroë to the bends of the ↗Nile" (FHN 109). He describes them as nomads divided into several political units, but not subjects to the kings of Meroë. This western localization is confirmed about 100 B.C. by a Meroitic inscription (REM 0075). This situation is to be related to the recent linguistic works that confirm the thesis of the linguist Zylharz (1949/50), who identified the homeland of the Nubian languages with the Darfur and Kordofan regions (cp. Thelwall 1982).

Some representations of captives, identified by inscriptions as N., i.e. "Nubians" (Török 1989:204, fig. 311f.), reveal the confrontations between the Meroites and the N., from the end of the 1st cent. B.C. and specially during the 1st cent. A.D. even though they still had not at this time mass migrated towards the Valley.

The settling of these people on the banks of the river really began in the 4th cent. A.D. This process is slightly better documented for Lower Nubia where the Nubians are known, in Greek sources, as the Nobades or Noubades. On the other hand, the interpretation of this transition period for regions situated South of the third cataract is still a matter of debates closely linked to the wider problem of the "end of Meroë" (Lenoble 1999; Török 1999).

The Nubians' migration and the Aksumite campaigns have long been considered as the only causes of the "fall" of Meroë. The actual interpretations, more subtle, continue however to give a decisive importance to these external operations even if the chronology and the respective role of the N. and Aksumites cannot be determined exactly.

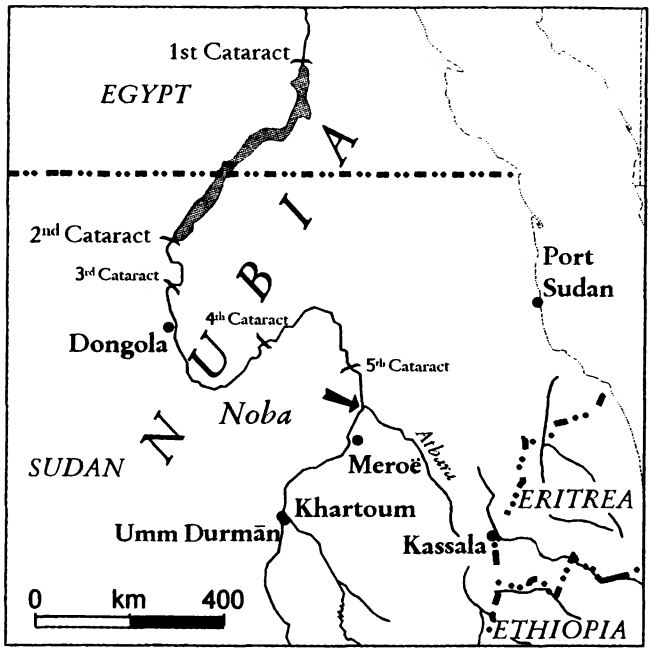
Two Aksumite ↗stelae, one inscribed in Greek (FHN 299 = RIÉ 271) and the other in Gəᶜəz (RIÉ 189 = DAE 11), mention the military activities of King ↗ᶜEzana (mid-4th cent.) against the N. The two versions show, however, considerable differences, to such an extent that according to certain scholars, these documents would refer to two distinct campaigns (Dinkler 1977). In the opening formulae it is stated that the "↗Kasu" (generally identified with Kushites, i.e. Meroites), and the "Bougaites" (identified with the ↗Beğa) were already under Aksumite domination. These titles may nevertheless turn out to be anachronistic, and perhaps express the hegemonic ambition of the kingdom rather than a real subjection.

According to RIÉ 189 = DAE 11, the N. were already settled somewhere around the Nile and ↗Atbara confluence, where they seemed to have taken several Meroitic cities. Yet they did not drive the Kushites away from their heartlands since the inscription states that the Aksumites fought them at the junction of the two rivers. Also mentioned in the document are mysterious "red N." against whom an expedition was carried out. This people seems to be settled further north and may be identical with the "other Nobades" of the triumphal inscription of the Nobade king Silko carved on the wall of the temple of Mandulis in Kalabsha (FHN 317).

The N. figure with the "Kasu" and the "Bougaites" amongst the peoples subjugated to the powerful king ↗Kaleb, around 525 (RIÉ 191). Perhaps this is the sign of the imposition of political control on these populations between the reign of ᶜEzana and the first quarter of the 5th cent. However, this ethnonym does not occur anymore in the title of his son and successor ↗WᶜZB (RIÉ 192) while the Kasu and the Bougaites are still mentioned.

For some archaeologists, these attempts to reconstruct narratives around the "end of Meroë" and the Nubian migrations are based on the outdated model of the "barbarians' invasions". Lenoble (1999) prefers to insist on the continuity of Meroitic culture, in particular in the funerary customs, whilst Edwards (1989) conceives these changes as a slow and complex process of cultural integration. Other specialists even contest the identification of the ethnonyms quoted in the ᶜEzana stelae with the populations of the Middle Nile Valley. According to their readings, the document could actually refer to a more local campaign on the borders of Aksum (Behrens 1986; Bechhaus-Gerst 1991).

The ethnonym N. is also mentioned several centuries later in the 15th-cent. Vita of the famous 13-14th cent. saint ↗Ewosṭatewos. While travelling to Egypt in order to meet the Coptic patriarch Benjamin II (1327–39) he spent some time in the land of the N. where he was, according



to the Vita, received by a king named Säbᵓa Nol. This king, who is said to be at war at the moment of the arrival of Ewostatewos, was helped by the miraculous intervention of the holy man to defeat his infidel enemies.

Although no such name is attested yet for a Nubian ruler, it seems that the land of the N. stands here for one of the two Christian kingdoms still in activity at this time in the Middle Nile Valley, i.e. the kingdom of Makuria (capital in ↗Dongola), or its southern neighbour, the kingdom of Alodia (ᶜAlwa, capital Soba).

Src.: DAE IV, 32–42, no. 11; FHN II, no. 109, III, nos. 285f., 298f.; REM 0075 (JEAN LECLANT et al., *Répertoire d'épigraphie méroïtique*, vol. 1, Paris, 2000, 164f.); RIÉ nos. 189, 192, 271, 286, 286a; BORYSSUS TURAIEV, *Monumenta aethiopiae hagiologica*, vol. 3, *Vita et Miracula Eustathii, ad fidem codd. Or. 704 et Or. 705 Musei Britannici edita*, Saint Petersburg 1902, 83ff. (text) = ID., *Vitae sanctorum indiginarum.* I. *Acta s. Eustathii*, Lovanii 1955, (CSCO 32 [SAe 15]), 43f. (tr.).

Lit.: WILLIAM Y. ADAMS, *Nubia. Corridor to Africa*, Londres, 1977, 382–90, 424–29; PETER BEHRENS, "The 'Noba' of Nubia and the 'Noba' of Ezana, a Matter of Confusion", *AAP* 8, 1986, 117–26; MARIANNE BECHHAUS-GERST, "'Noba Puzzles': Miscellaneous Notes on the Ezana Inscriptions: a Matter of Confusion", in: DANIELA MENDEL – ULRIKE CLAUDI (eds.), *Ägypten im afro-orientalischen Kontext*, Köln 1991, 17–25; STANLEY M. BURSTEIN, "The Axumite Inscription from Meroe and Late Meroitic Chronology", in: FRITZ HINTZE (ed.), *Meroitische Forschungen 1980. Akten der 4. Internationalen Tagung fur meroitische Forschungen*, Berlin 1984 (Meroitica 7), 220–21; ERICH DINKLER, "König Ezana von Aksum und das Chistentum. Ein Randproblem der Geschichte Nubiens", in: ERIKA ENDESFELDER et al. (eds.), *Ägypten und Kusch. Schriften zur Geschichte und Kultur des Alten Orients*, Berlin 1977, 121–32; DAVID N. EDWARDS, *Archaeology and Settlement in Upper Nubia in the 1st Millennium A.D.*, Oxford 1989 (BAR International Series 537), 218f.; FRIEDRICH JOACHIM, "Zum 'Noba'-Problem", in: KARL-HEINZ PRIESE – WALTER FRIEDRICH REINEKE – STEFFEN WENIG (eds.), *Begegnungen. Antike Kulturen im Niltal. Festgabe für Erika Endesfelder*, Leipzig 2001, 221–31; LAWRENCE P. KIRWAN, "Tanqasi and the Noba", *Kush* 5, 1957, 37–41; ID., "The Decline and Fall of Meroe", *ibid.* 8, 1972, 162–73; ID., "An Ethiopian–Sudanese Frontier Zone in Ancient History", *The Geographical Journal* 138, 4, 1972, 457–65; ID., "Nubia and Nubians Origins", *ibid.* 140, 1, 1974, 43–51; PATRICE LENOBLE, "The Division of the Meroitic Empire and the End of Pyramid Building in the 4th Century AD: an Introduction to Further Excavations of Imperial Mounds in the Sudan", in: DEREK A. WELSBY (ed.), *Recent Research in Kushite History and Archaeology, Proceedings of the 8th International Conference for Meroitic Studies*, London 1999 (British Museum Occasional Paper 131), 157–86; ENNO LITTMANN, "Äthiopische Inschriften", *Miscellanea Academica Berolinensia* 2, 2, 1950, 97–127, here 114–27; MHAksum 54, 79, 96, 161, 159, 205f., 227–31; LÁSZLÓ TÖRÖK, "Kush and the External World", in: SERGIO DONADONI – STEFFEN WENIG, *Studia Meroitica 1984. Proceedings of the Fifth International Conference for Meroitic Studies, Rome 1984*, Berlin 1989 (Meroitica 10), 47–215, here 113, 204; ID., *Late Antique Nubia*, Budapest 1988, 27f., 33–45, 196ff., 208–26; ID., "The End of Meroe", in: Welsby op. cit. 1999, 133–56, here 142–47; ROBIN THELWALL, "Linguistic Aspects of Greater Nubian History", in: CHRISTOPHER EHRET – MERRICK POSNANSKY (eds.), *The Archaeological and Linguistic Reconstruction of African History*, Berkeley – Los Angeles 1982, 39–52; MICHAEL ZACH, "Aksum and the End of Meroe", paper presented at the *10e Conférence Internationale d'Études Méroïtiques*, Paris, September 2004; ERNST ZYHLARZ, "Die Lautverschiebung des Nubischen", *Zeitschrift für Eingeborene Sprachen* 35, 1949/50, 1–20, 128–46, 280–313.

Robin Seignobos

Nogueira, Bernardo

N. (b. ca. 1605, Fəremona, d. 1653, Goǧǧam) was a ↗Jesuit missionary. The grandson or great-grandson of Francisco Nogueira, who was a veteran of Christovão da ↗Gama's 1541 expedition, N. grew up in ↗Fəremona, where he attended the seminary organized by the Jesuit missionaries. He was fluent in Amharic and Portuguese and knew Latin. In 1625, the visitor Manoel de ↗Almeida thought him talented and took him to the residence of ↗Gorgora, where N. served as his interpreter and assisted him in his journeys.

After ↗Fasilädäs's Orthodox restoration, when the Jesuit mission was disrupted and most of the fathers left the kingdom, N. was appointed vicar general of the mission by Patriarch Afonso ↗Mendez (BecRASO XIII, 363) and asked to stay in Ethiopia to take care of the Catholics there. In 1635, he was one of only eight Catholic priests left in the country, four of them of Portuguese origin (ibid. 102). Subsequently, he lived near Fəremona

and in "Tacussa" (Teqʷesa), west of Lake Ṭana. He officiated secretly, kept the Jesuits in ↗Goa informed about events in Ethiopia and visited ↗Śəᶜəlä Krəstos on one occasion, then in exile in "Coara" (Kʷara, also Təwodros Kätäma). In 1652 he went to ↗Massawa. There he met a Jesuit envoy from India, Jorge da Crus, who confirmed N. as Jesuit (his admission into the order had been already accepted some ten years earlier by the Superio-General Mutio Vitelleschi) and gave him instructions and funding. Towards the end of 1653, while on his way back to Goǧǧam, he was discovered and the governor of Goǧǧam had him executed.

Src.: BecRASO XIII, 64, 286, 363, 366, 404, 412ff., 433.

Andreu Martínez

Nöldeke, Theodor

N. (b. 2 March 1836, Harburg, d. 25 December 1930, Karlsruhe) was a scholar of Oriental studies. Being well grounded in both the classical languages and Hebrew from his school days, N. enrolled in classical philology and Oriental studies at Göttingen in 1853. It was thanks to the eminent Orientalist and theologian Heinrich von ↗Ewald that N. fully committed himself to Oriental studies. He submitted his doctoral dissertation in 1856, written in Latin, on the Qurʾān; an enlarged German version of it was published in 1860. This study, revised and updated by Schwally (²1909–38), has remained a standard work to this day.

Between 1856 and 1860, N. studied Oriental manuscripts in Leipzig, Vienna, Leiden, Gotha and Berlin. After his "Habilitation" in Göttingen in 1861, he obtained a professorship at Kiel University. In 1872, N. accepted a professorship at Strasbourg (Germany at that time), where he taught until he became emeritus in 1906. He chose to reside there until 1920. He spent the remaining years of his life in Karlsruhe.

N. had many students destined to become distinguished scholars, such as ↗Brockelmann and ↗Littmann (who was also his grandson-in-law). Several of N.'s works are still of great value today. His fields of interest were: Arabic poetry (1890), history and grammar, Persian history (1879) and literature, and comparative history of Oriental literature (1890). In Semitic studies his grammars of Neo-Syriac (1868), Mandaic (1875), Arabic (1897), and Classical Syriac (²1898) have remained authoritative. He also published a survey of the ↗Semitic language group (²1899).

N.'s publications on ↗Ethio-Semitic languages predominantly lie in his two volumes of collected essays (1904, 1910), and include a number of important reviews, showing his uninterrupted interest in the field. His comparative observations on subjects such as the names of the letters of the alphabet, certain nominal forms, as well as word formations, are still important works. Similarly, his fundamental study of loan words into and from ↗Gəᶜəz (1910:31–66) has not been superseded.

Src.: Lockot I, s. index; THEODOR NÖLDEKE, *De origine et compositione Surarum Qoranicarum ipsiusque Qorani*, Göttingen 1856; ID., *Geschichte des Qorâns*, Göttingen 1860; ID. – FRIEDRICH SCHWALLY, *Geschichte des Qorâns*, vols. 1–3, Leipzig ²1909–38; ID., *Grammatik der neusyrischen Sprache vom Urmia-See und in Kurdistan*, Leipzig 1868; ID., *Mandäische Grammatik. Mit einer lithographirten Tafel der mandäischen Schriftzeichen*, Halle an der Saale ²1875, Darmstadt ³1964; ID., *Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden*, Leyden 1879; ID., *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Alexanderromane*, Wien 1890; ID., *Delectus veterum carminorum orientalium*, Berlin 1890; ID., *Zur Grammatik des classischen Arabisch*, Wien 1897, Darmstadt ²1963; ID., *Kurzgefaßte syrische Grammatik*, Leipzig ²1898, Darmstadt ³1966; ID., *Die semitischen Sprachen*, Leipzig 1899; ID., *Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft*, Straßburg 1904; ID., *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft*, Straßburg 1910, esp. 31–66 ["Lehnwörter in und aus dem Äthiopischen"].

Lit.: CARL BEZOLD (ed.), *Orientalische Studien – Theodor Nöldeke zum 70. Geburtstag*, vols. 1–2, Gieszen 1906–07 (Lit.); HARTMUT BOBZIN, "Theodor Nöldeke", in: *Neue Deutsche Biographie* vol. 19, 1999, 311–12; ID., "Theodor Nöldekes Biographische Blätter aus dem Jahr 1917", in: WERNER ARNOLD – HARTMUT BOBZIN (eds.), *"Sprich doch mit deinen Knechten Aramäisch, wir verstehen es!" 60 Beiträge zur Semitistik: Festschrift für Otto Jastrow*, Wiesbaden 2002, 91–104; *Festgabe für Theodor Nöldeke zum achtzigsten Geburtstage*, Göttingen 1916 (Nachrichten von der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Philologisch-Historische Klasse); CHRISTIAN SNOUCK HURGRONJE, "Theodor Nöldeke", *ZDMG* 85, 1931, 239–81; ENNO LITTMANN, "Theodor Nöldeke", in: RUDI PARET – ANTON SCHALL (eds.), *Ein Jahrhundert Orientalistik. Lebensbilder aus der Feder von Enno Littmann und Verzeichnis seiner Schriften: Zum achtzigsten Geburtstage am 16. September 1955*, Wiesbaden 1955, 52–62.

Rainer Voigt

Nole ↗Qottu

Nomadic pastoralism ↗Pastoralism

Non-Aligned Movement

The N.A.M. is an international organization of over 100 states which are not formally aligned with or against any major power bloc. The foundations of the N.A.M. were laid by Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of India, who wished to

separate the two military blocs with an "area of peace" represented by the newly independent countries of Asia and Africa. The Afro-Asian Conference of Bandung (April 1955) approved the guidelines of the N.A.M., encompassing the principles of peaceful coexistence without formally endorsing neutralism since some of the participants were actually members of bilateral or multilateral alliances with one of the superpowers.

The first diplomatic event of the N.A.M. was the meeting in July 1956 on the resort island of Brioni between President Josip Broz Tito of Yugoslavia, President Ǧamāl ʿAbdannāṣir of ↗Egypt and Nehru. In September 1961 Tito convened the first Conference of Non-Aligned Countries in Belgrade. During the Cold War (ca. 1955–90), it preached both active neutrality between East and West and a militant role for accelerating the emancipation of the colonial territories and a reform of the world order. The principles of the N.A.M. were incorporated into the Charter of the ↗Organization of African Unity founded in May 1963 in Addis Abäba.

Ethiopia joined the N.A.M. from the very beginning, in spite of its military collaboration with the ↗United States – hosting a foreign military base was considered antithetic to the principles of N.A.M. Ethiopia participated at the Bandung and successive summits in Belgrade, Cairo (1964), Lusaka (1970), Algiers (1973). Somalia too attended the N.A.M. conferences from 1961 onwards. In the golden age of the movement, *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I was a sponsor of the N.A.M. in Africa and was able to keep good relations, with the U.S.A., the U.S.S.R. (↗Russia) and ↗China as a guarantee of Ethiopia's autonomy and territorial integrity. After the 1974 Revolution, the *Därg* (↗Provisional Military Administrative Council) regime shifted towards the U.S.S.R. and the Communist bloc.

Lit.: LEO MATES, *Non-Alignment: Theory and Current Policy*, New York 1972; GEORGE W. SHEPHERD, *Non-aligned Black Africa: an International Subsystem*, Lexington 1970.

Giampaolo Calchi Novati

Nonno

The N. (also Nunnu, Wärra Nonno) are part of the Wäräbo branch of the eastern Sibuu section of the ↗Mäčča Oromo. Their territory on the northern and eastern shores of the Limmu ↗Gibe and Lagamara Gibe (also called Nonno Gibe) rivers is surrounded mainly by those of other Oromo groups, like the ↗Čaboo and Amayya in the East, the Šora, ↗Botor and Ḍaḍalle in the south, the ↗Leeqaa Billo in the west and the Čalya in the north. In the administrative structure of ↗Wälläga province, the N. were part of the ↗Ǧimma Leeqaa (later Nunnu Qumba) *wäräda* of Arǧo *awraǧǧa*. Today the N. belong to the Ǧimma zone of Oromiyaa.

Before the migration of Mäčča groups into the region at the end of the 16th cent., the area had been associated with ↗Ǝnnarya. This kingdom became an ally of the Ethiopian empire and was formally Christianized at the end of the 16th cent. Antoine d'Abbadie (quoted in TrIslam 109f., n. 3) found that "the Christians [were] very numerous" in N. country and explained this with early Christian influences. Today the majority of the N. is Muslim.

The pastoralist N. were frequently attacked by the kings of ↗Limmu Ǝnnarya, ↗Abbaa Gomol I and his successor ↗Abbaa Bagiboo I. The N. are described as their "bitterest enemies". Limmu Ǝnnarya mainly raided for slaves and cattle. Under Abbaa Bagiboo I, a large part of the N. territory was annexed to the kingdom as part of the *mogga*, the outermost defence circle. Two conditions influenced Limmu Ǝnnarya's strong interest in controlling N. country: (1) the threat of the Šäwan king Śahlä Śəllase (r. 1807–47), who in the last five years of his reign had begun to expand his influence into the region and (2) the fact that the important trade route between Šäwa and Limmu Ǝnnarya's greatest competitor, the kingdom of ↗Ǧimma Abbaa Ǧifaar, went through N. country (AbPrince 78, n. 3, 81, 90, 92; MHasOr 103, 106, 175; HarAeth vol. 3, 54).

The region of eastern Sibuu was divided mainly among two alliances, one led by the N. and one of the rival Sibuu Amuma. Through their good relation with the Leeqaa, the N. were able to hold a dominant position including the control of the important market of Ṭalo near Sire. Constant raids by the Ǧimma Oromo drove away the N., under their leader Nagawo, from the Ṭalo area. The market then was taken over by Bušan, the leader of the Sibuu Amuma (Berhanu Mulugeta 1984:12, 15).

In the conflict between *nəguś* ↗Mənilək of Šäwa and *nəguś* ↗Täklä Haymanot of Goǧǧam over the hegemony over the south-western Oromo countries, the N., led by *abbaa muudaa* Dambi Giga, joined, together with the Leeqaa,

the pro-Goğğame coalition. Before the decisive battle of ↗Ǝmbabo in 1882, the armies of *ras* ↗Däräso Ṭabo of Goğğam and *ras* ↗Gobäna Daĉi of Šäwa had met in the short battle of Dilalo in N. country (CerFolk 29, 35).

The Sibuu Amuma under Gända Bušan for some time refused to surrender to any of the invaders. After the battle of Ǝmbabo, Gända was taken captive by Mənilək's army. Later he participated in Mənilək's campaign in Wälaytta (Berhanu Mulugeta 1984:15, 34f.; Tessema Ta'a 1980:59, 77).

When Gobäna returned from Limmu Ǝnnarya, which he had taken over from Däräso, the N. tried to block his way back to Šäwa. With the help of *mooti* ↗Moroda Bakaree, who had temporarily turned to the Šäwan party, Gobäna defeated the N. and Dambi Giga was taken prisoner. The N., under *mooti* ↗Fatansa Illuu, joined another coalition with the Leeqaa against Mənilək but they were unable to prevent their forced integration into his empire after the battle of ↗Ǝmbabo (CerFolk 43ff., 58). While Moroda Bakaree could stay in power under Šäwan rule, the N. and the Sibuu region in general were controlled by a *šäläqa* ('commander of thousand [soldiers]'). In the late 1890s the ↗*kätäma* of N., Nonno Migra, was founded. It was administrated by a *fitawrari* (Berhanu Mulugeta 1984:34–38; Tessema Ta'a 1980:72, 77f., 81; PankHist II, 202).

Comparing the N. of his time with their Oromo neighbours, such as the ↗Botor, Haberland (VSAe II, 554) qualifies the N. culture as "still unadulterated Galla-ness". Like other Oromo groups the N. were traditionally divided into two status categories, the privileged "pure" ↗*boorana* and the ↗*gabaro*. Haberland reports that despite a recent Christian Orthodox mission and a fast-growing rate of Muslims the N. were strongly related to the traditional Oromo socio-religious system, observing the feast of ↗*ateetee*, carrying out the ↗*buuna qallaa* sacrifices and following their local form of the ↗*gadaa* system (VSAe II, 15, 554ff.). The N. maintained their *gadaa* system longer than their neighbours, the Leeqaa, who developed a more centralized political system under the rule of a ↗*mooti* (Berhanu Mulugeta 1984:17f.).

Src.: CSA 1964, 202; CSA 1970, 23; BERHANU MULUGETA, *The Warra Nonno of the Sibu Oromo*, B.A. thesis, Department of History, Addis Ababa University 1984, 11f., 15, 34–38; JULES BORELLI, *Éthiopie méridionale: journal de mon voyage aux pays Amhara, Oromo et Sidama, septembre 1885 à novembre 1888*, Paris 1890, 272ff.; TESSEMA TA'A, *The Oromo of Wollega: Historical Survey to 1910*, M.A. thesis, School of Graduate Studies, Addis Ababa 1980, 59, 72, 77f., 81.

Lit.: AbPrince, s. index; LAMBERT BARTELS, "Studies of the Galla in Wälläga", *JES* 8, 1, 1970, 135–60, here 149ff.; BTafA 705, 709; CerEt vol. 1, 24f., 103, vol. 2, 218; CerFolk 21, 24, 29, 35, 39, 43ff., 58; GueCopMen, s. index; HarAeth vol. 3, 54; MHasOr 103, 106, 175; PankHist II, 202; TrIslam, s. index; ALESSANDRO TRIULZI, "The Gudru Oromo and their Neighbours in the Two Generations before the Battle of Embabo", *JES* 13, 1, 1975, 46–63; VSAe II, 553–56.

Dirk Bustorf

Norway, relations with s. vol. 5

Notation system ↗Məlәkkət

Nuer

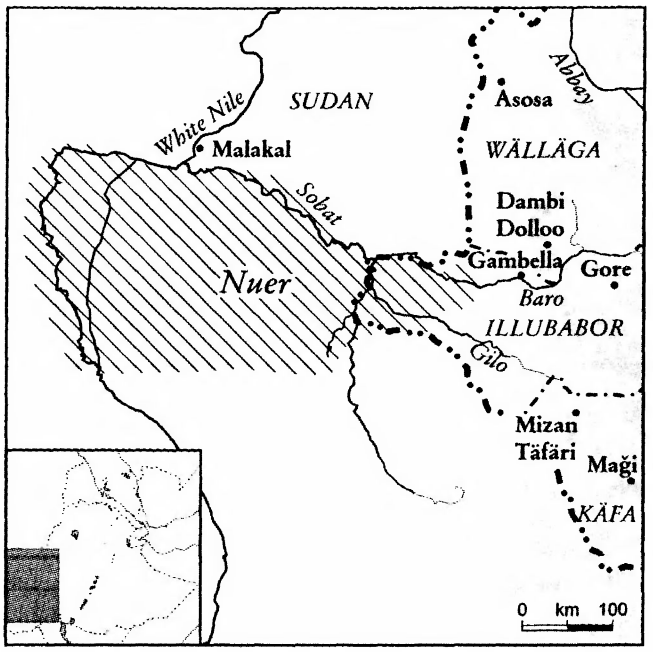
Nuer language

N. (self-name: Naadh), one of the major ↗Nilotic (↗Nilo-Saharan) languages, is spoken by some 850,000 people in southern Sudan, and by approximately 65,000 people in Ethiopia. N. consists of a number of dialects (Dor, Eastern Jikäany, Western Jikäany, Cien, Thognaath, Lou, Nyuong, and Thiang). In Ethiopia predominantly the Jikäany [*Ğikääñ*] dialect (also known as Abigar) is spoken, which is the most deviant dialect of N. The languages N., Atuot, and Dinka together form a genetic unit (Dinka-Nuer) within the Western Nilotic branch of Nilotic. Atuot, a language spoken by some 25,000 people mainly in an enclave among the Dinka some 60 miles west of the White Nile in Sudan, apparently is mutually intelligible with western varieties of N.

Giuseppe Pasquale Crazzolara, a pioneer of African linguistics, published a grammar (1933), which to date remains the main reference work on this language.

As is common with a number of other Western Nilotic languages, there are five points of articulation for stops and nasals at the phonological level in N. The consonants are: labials *p*, *b*, *m*, *w*; dentals *ṯ*, *ḏ*, *ṉ*; alveolars *t*, *d*, *n*, *l*, *r*; palatals *č*, *ǧ*, *ñ*, *y*; velars *k*, *g*, *ŋ*. Crazzolara (1933:6f.) as well as Tucker and Bryan (1966:406) report the presence of a uvular (post-velar) fricative *ɣ* with phonemic status in a few lexical items in Dinka-Nuer. This sound unit presumably corresponds to the glottal *h* reported for Ethiopian N. by Moges Yigezu (1995:159), who further observes that "[t]he glottal consonant *h* is marginal; it is found only in twelve words in a corpus of around six hundred basic words".

N. distinguishes between seven points of articulation in its vowel system. For each of these



positions, a contrast occurs between breathy and creaky voice quality, whereas vowel length is also distinctive, except for the breathy high back vowel, since short breathy *u* is lacking from the system. The vowel system is thus: (short breathy) *i̤*, *e̤*, *ɛ̤*, *a̤*, *ɔ̤*, *o̤*; (short creaky) *ḭ*, *ḛ*, *ɛ̰*, *a̰*, *ɔ̰*, *o̰*, *ṵ*; (long breathy) *i̤i̤*, *e̤e̤*, *ɛ̤ɛ̤*, *a̤a̤*, *ɔ̤ɔ̤*, *o̤o̤*, *ṳṳ*; (long creaky) *ḭḭ*, *ḛḛ*, *ɛ̰ɛ̰*, *a̰a̰*, *ɔ̰ɔ̰*, *o̰o̰*, *ṵṵ*. According to Moges Yigezu (1995:164), there are three additional (centralized) breathy vowels with phonemic status in Ethiopian N.: *ë̤*, *ä̤*, and *ö̤*. Interestingly, the binary distinction between breathy and creaky vowel types in N. corresponds to a distinction between [-Advanced Tongue Root] and [+Advanced Tongue Root] vowels in Western Nilotic languages like Anywa (↗Añwaa). The five original Western Nilotic [-Advanced Tongue Root] vowels *ɪ*, *ɛ*, *a*, *ɔ* and *ʊ* seem to have developed into seven creaky voice vowels, whereas the corresponding five [+Advanced Tongue Root] vowels have developed into seven breathy vowels in N. N. distinguishes between three tone levels, high (◌́), mid (◌̄) and low (◌̀).

The segmental structure of a word in the N. essentially conforms to the formula -C(w)V(V)(C), preceded by (C)V- prefixes or proclitics and followed by -(C)V suffixes or enclitics. Apart from affixation, there is also a considerable degree of word-internal alternation accompanying inflectional or derivational processes in major categories such as the noun or the verb. As is common with other Nilotic languages, the basic form of a noun in N. may either be inherently plural (with marked singular form, as in *le̤i* [sg.], *le̤č* [pl.] 'tooth'), singular (with marked plural, as in *le̤p* [sg.], *le̤ef* [pl.] 'tongue'), or both the singular and the plural may be explicitly marked (as in *ǧwe̤i* [sg.], *ǧṳa̤t* [pl.] 'disease').

The verb (including auxiliary) in N. is inflected for pronominal subject by way of suffixation. Shortened forms of the independent pronouns are used for objects or the complement of the preposition *ke* 'with, against, to, for etc.'. Independent pronouns are used, for example, as predicates in non-verbal sentences, or when a pronominal subject is topicalized. Compare the three realizations for the third person singular: *-e̤* (pronominal subject suffix), *ǧe̤/e̤* (clitical elements called "middle sized forms" in Crazzolara 1933:62), and the "full-sized" independent pronoun *ǧê̤n*. In 1st pers. pl. pronominal suffixes, N. makes a universally rare distinction between 'I and (s)he/they' exclusive *-kɔ̀*, 'I and you (sg.)' dual exclusive *-nè*, and 'we and you (pl.)' plural inclusive *-ne̤* (Crazzolara 1933:62). This distinction between the latter two is neutralized in the corresponding middle-sized and independent pronoun forms. Mood or modality is expressed by way of a combination of verbal inflection and the use of separate particles.

Whereas Crazzolara (1933:143ff.) and Tucker and Bryan (1966:430) describe the particles *či* and *bi* preceding the verb in N. as past and future tense markers, respectively, these possibly should be interpreted as completive and change of state or activity markers, i.e. as aspectual morphemes. Since the same position may be occupied by a number of other inflectional elements, including negation markers, they are simply referred to as "auxiliaries" for the present purpose.

Derived verb forms in N. may express a range of semantic notions, such as movement towards or away from the deictic centre, dative, or pluractionality. A distinction between active, passive, and antipassive (or "qualitative") can also be expressed on the verb.

N. may be characterized as a verb-second language, since the common constituent order is Topic-Verb-X, whereby the topic position can be filled by the subject or any other syntactic constituent, e.g. an object or adverb, and X may be filled by a syntactic subject or object, or by both constituents in that order. Alternatively, the topic position may be empty, thus resulting in a verb-initial structure. If an Aux(iliary) verb occurs, it occupies the place of the main verb, which then appears at the end of the phrase: Topic-Aux-X-Verb.

Post-verbal (but not pre-verbal) subject nouns are inflected for nominative case, a property which N. shares with a range of other Nilotic (and Surmic) languages. Pre-verbal subject nouns, or object nouns regardless of their syntactic position, occur in the absolutive. (Auxiliaries behave like verbs in that they also require a following subject to be in nominative.) In addition, N. nouns have genitive and locative cases. Case is expressed by way of tonal inflection and/or stem-final consonant alternation. Compare:

ǧɛ́n	*à*	*kɛ̀*	*yâŋ*
(s)he.ABS	is	with	cow.LOC

'(s)he has a cow'

yáŋ	*à*	*kɛ̀-ǧɛ̀*
cow.ABS	is	with-him/her.LOC

'the cow is his/hers'

The ten-word list is as follows: 'one' *kɛ̱ɛ̱l*, 'two' *rɛ̱w*, 'three' *dyɔ̱k*, 'fire' *mɑ̱ɑ̱č*, 'water' *p̣i*, 'sun' *čɑ̱ŋ*, 'moon' *pɑ̣i*, 'blood' *ri̱ɛ̱m*, 'tongue' *lɛ̱p*, 'tooth' *l̤ei*.

Lit.: JOSEPH PASCAL CRAZZOLARA, *Outlines of a Nuer Grammar*, Wien 1933; J. KIGGEN, *Nuer-English Dictionary*, London 1948; GATWICH P. KULANG – GATLUAK PAL, *Nuer-English Dictionary*, Nairobi 1999; ARCHIBALD NORMAN TUCKER – MARGARET A. BRYAN, *Linguistic Analyses: the Non-Bantu Languages of North-Eastern Africa. With a Supplement on the Ethiopic Languages by* WOLF LESLAU, London – New York – Cape Town 1966 (Handbook of African Languages 3), 406, 430; MOGES YIGEZU, "The Nuer Vowel System", *Journal of African Languages and Linguistics* 16, 1995, 157–70.

Gerrit J. Dimmendaal

Nuer ethnography

The N. are agro-pastoralist cattle herders and cultivators, predominantly grow maize and a small variety of vegetables on the fertile soil of the river banks and in the upland savannah. Agricultural products constitute around 60 % and diary products 40 % of their staple diet. During the dry season the N. settle as large groups in dry-season cattle camps (*weč*) along the Baro Gilo rivers and their tributaries while during the rainy season, when the river area is flooded, they move uplands into settlements of nuclear families (*toč*). Fishing and hunting also form important parts of their subsistence economy, though hunting is decreasing as most of the wildlife has been destroyed by the Sudan Peoples Liberation Movement (SPLM).

The overwhelming majority of the N. live in southern Sudan, which by estimating growth figures from the 1956 Census (war-related deaths not considered) might have reached 1,2 Mio today. According to the 1994 Census, the number of N. living in the Gambella regional state of Ethiopia is estimated at 64,473.

The main N. tribes in Ethiopia are the Eastern Ǧikañ, particularly Gaǧaak, followed by the Gaǧiok sections Kuek and Lang as well as Gaagwang. Neighbouring the N. to the West live the Dinka and to the East the ↗Añwaa. To the South, they are bordering the ↗Murle and to the North the two small ethnic groups, Maban and ↗Komo.

The N. started to expand from the area north of the Baḥr al-Ġazal river which by then was under control of the Anglo–Egyptian Condominium towards imperial Ethiopia at the end of the 19th cent. With the signing of the boundary agreement in 1902 between colonial Sudan and imperial Ethiopia, some sections of the Eastern Ǧikañ officially became part of Ethiopia. Some N. leaders entered the state scene as imperial agents in the 1930s and during the *Därg* era, were further integrated into the Ethiopian state system with their assumption of two of the key administrative and political posts. Although the first generation of N. already graduated from schools in Gambella in the 1960s, education became an issue for larger sections of the society in the 1980s when the refugee camps which were opened in the area offered access to schools. With the introduction of ethnic federalism by the EPRDF regime and the establishment of the Gambella regional state in the 1990s a substantial part of the first generation of educated N. have been further incorporated into the Ethiopian state as administrators.

In academic circles the N. are known for their segmentary lineage system which consists of lineages that nest into larger tribes. Their political system was admired for the maintenance of order despite a lack of centralized leadership. It was thereby assumed that external threat produced by the feud created a balanced opposition based on an "internal logic" of alliances between segmentary lineage segments. Today we know that the significance of leadership was underestimated as well as that processes of alliance formation are not only shaped by kinship structures. They are also induced by individual actors who apply strategies of inclusion and exclusion related to competition over resources. The globalising forces of colonialism, missionary activities and the civil war in Sudan have dramatically changed the N. political and cultural

Nuer refugees from Bentiu during a clan festival in the Funyido Refugee Camp, south-western Ethiopia; photo 2002, courtesy of the author

system. During the *Därg* they suffered under the presence of the government supported SPLA in Itang. In addition to the negative effects Gagaak N. experienced due to large population movements and marauding soldiers in their areas, the SPLA launched a devastating war against them (1985 – 1988). Deteriorating their fighting restraining ethics by basically changing the concept of pollution (*nueer*) the war caused an escalation of violence in the Ethiopian N. areas, resulting in the flight of many of them into the refugee camps that were established in the region. These refugee camps became urban centres where the N. gained access to education and converted to Christianity as a coping strategy against war and violence. Here, they also established their first modern institution in Ethiopia – the Western Bethel Mekane Yesus church.

After the fall of the *Därg* in 1991 the N. were highly fragmented by the divide and rule policy by the SPLA and their formerly flexible lineage system had rigidified. The outbreak of intertribal war and suppressed feuds immediately followed the SPLA's departure also involved their neighbours the Anywaa and Murle. This armed struggles over resources was further enforced by an overflow of the area with guns that were partly left behind by the SPLA and partly flowing in from the civil war in Sudan. While most refugees had returned to Sudan, in 1992 the young generation of Ethiopian N. returned to the Ethiopian and newly opened Kenyan refugee camps from where they were resettled to North America, Australia and European countries. From those countries the N. started forming a transnational lineage network connecting churches and political groups with those in the homeland and other receiving countries facilitating a transnational flow of remittances, ideas and people. This network affected the N. in Gambella by increasing the number of churches, bridewealth rates and raising the level of education. Currently, as Christianity flourishes all over their areas, young N. are at the forefront of churches, embodying the expectations and promises of Western capitalist ideals.

Lit.: EDWARD EVANS-PRITCHARD, *The Nuer*, Oxford 1940; CHRISTIANE FALGE, *The Global Nuer Transnational Modes of Livelihoods*, Ph.D. thesis, Universität Halle Wittenberg 2007; EAD., "We are No Longer the Nuer of before", in: *PICES* 15, 2006, 75–84; DEREJE FEYISSA, *Ethnic Groups and Conflict: the Case of Anywaa-Nuer Relations in the Gambella Region, Ethiopia*, Ph.D. thesis, Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg 2003; NINA GLICK SCHILLER, "Transnationality", in: DAVID NUGENT – JOAN VINCENT (ed.), *A Companion to Anthropology of Politics*, Oxford 2004, 448–1039; SHARON E. HUTCHINSON, *Nuer Dilemmas: Coping with Money, War, and the State*, Berkeley, CA – Los Angeles, CA 1996; DOUGLAS H. JOHNSON, *Nuer Prophets: a History of Prophecy from the Upper Nile in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, Oxford 1994; ADAM KUPER, *The Invention of Primitive Society*, London – New York 1988; MARSHALL SAHLINS, "The Segmentary Lineage: an Organization of Predatory Expansion", in: *American Anthropologist* 63, 1961, 322–44; EISEI KURIMOTO, "Politicisation of Ethnicity in Gambella", in: *PICES* 13, 2, 1997, 798–815.

Christiane Falge

Nug

N. (*Guizotia abyssinica*, nook, nuk, niger seed; Amh. ኑግ, *nug*, Tgn. ኒሁግ, *nihug*; Orom. *nuga*, *nuugii*) is cultivated as an oil seed crop in the north-central highlands of Ethiopia, especially in Goğğam, Bägemdər, Səmen and western Təgray. It remains doubtful whether it was ever found outside agricultural fields (Asmamaw Haile Michael 1973:3). It has been grown as an important oil crop for generations, as, e.g., references by Bruce indicate (s. Murray 1808:461f.). Today, Ethiopia has the largest production and exportation of N. seed in the world. Over the years, the amount produced has always been higher than that of safflower, sesame, groundnut, and linseed (Chiovenda 1911:128; 1923:49).

N. is a herbaceous annual that within Ethiopia displays a large phenotypic variation between regions of cultivation, and thus differences in branching, size and form of leaves and stem pigmentation (Buzi 1938:211). Usually, the flower is yellow and the plant has three branches. A single plant bears 20–40 heads, a good head producing about 30 ripe seeds. It tolerates disease, drought, grazing, insects, poor soil and slope, and stores for a year or more without deterioration (Baldrati 1950:403; Seegeler 1983:125). N. is grown at altitudes between 1,700 m and 2,500 m A.S.L., where the average daily temperature ranges between 16°C and 20° C during the rainy season. It is often cultivated on hilly slopes where fertility is low due to erosion. It is adapted to tropical and temperate regions where the highest seed yields are obtained with moderate rainfall (Baldrati 1950:410; Seegeler 1983:124). Even if N. is adapted to a wide range of soils, the best are the moderately light but deep soils. It is more salt tolerant than linseed or sesame.

Sowing season is between May and July at a rate of 5 kg per ha (Buzi 1938:221; Asmamaw Haile Michael 1973:14). Many Ethiopian N. cultivators do not manure the land. Thinning of seedlings, weeding and soil cultivation are not traditionally practiced (Chiovenda 1923:67). N. sometimes is used for rotation with ↗maize or wheat. In some areas it is also planted with pulses and spices (Baldrati 1950:407). N. is mostly harvested 4–5 months after planting. It is allowed to stand until flowers have withered. Further delay causes heavy loss of seed through shedding (Seegeler 1983:129). When harvested by hand, the crop is cut with sickles, tied into bundles and dried in the sun for around a week. The whole plant is cut near the base and then heaped for final drying. For threshing, the dried stalks are beaten on a threshing floor. In commercial farms, harvesting and threshing are done mechanically (Asmamaw Haile Michael 1973:23).

N. is cultivated in both family farms and state or cooperative farms. Yields of seed vary from 300 to 1,500 kg per ha depending on the diversity of habitats. Traditionally, the N. oil (trade names: niger seed-oil, ramtil oil) is prepared from roasted seed, which is pounded or ground. The soft mass is placed in hot water and squeezed. By this process, the oil is liberated and begins floating. It is then skimmed off the water and is ready for cooking (Seegeler 1983:129). Traditional processing yields a very low amount of oil. By some estimates, seeds containing about 300 g per kg only yield 180–200 g per kg, while commercial mill extraction would give close to 300 g (Asmamaw Haile Michael 1973:27). Today, Ethiopia produces 100,000–200,000 tons of N. oil annually (CSA).

N. oil is mainly used for cooking: the seed is, like most other oil seeds, mixed with pulses and used to prepare vegetarian stews (*wät*). Slightly roasted seeds may be salted to prepare *lətlət*, which is sometimes given to children with voracious appetites, to keep them from eating too much (Chiovenda 1923:64). Such kinds of seeds may also be boiled in water, which imbibes its flavour. People drink it particularly during Lent (Buzi 1938:212). It is also used for anointing the body, for adulterating more valuable oils, and medicinally for treating diseases such as rheumatism and arthritis, and for the treatment of some sexually transmitted diseases (Griaule 1930:56).

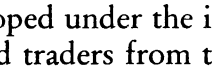
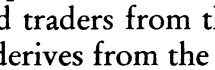
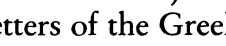
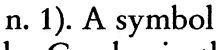
Lit.: ASMAMAW HAILE MICHAEL, *Nug Production in Northwestern Ethiopia*, fourth-year essay, Department of Plant Science, Alemaya College of Agriculture, Haile Selassie I University 1973 (ms.), 3, 14, 27; ISAIA BALDRATI, *Trattato delle coltivazioni tropicali e subtropicali*, Milano 1950, 407; VINCENTE CAROCCI BUZI, *Agricoltura tropicale e sub-tropicale con particolare referimento all'Africa Italiana*, Firenze 1938, 211f.; EMILIO CHIOVENDA, "Plantae novae vel minus notae e regione Aethiopica", *Annali di botanica* 9, 2, 1911, 125–52, here 64, 128f.; ID., *Le Piante Alimentari delle Nostre Colonie*, Torino 1923, 49, 64; SUE EDWARDS et al. (eds.), *Flora of Ethiopia and Eritrea*, Uppsala 2003; MARCEL GRIAULE, *Le livre de recettes d'un dabtara abyssin*, Paris 1930, 56; CORNELIS JACOBUS PETER SEEGELER, *Oil Plants of Ethiopia. Their Taxonomy and Agricultural Significance*, Wageningen 1983, 129; STEFAN STRELCYN, *Médicine et plantes d'Éthiopie*, vol. 2: *Enquete sur les noms et l'emploi des plantes en Èthiopie*, Napoli 1973, 93, 202f.; ALEXANDER MURRAY, *Account of the Life and Writings of James Bruce ...*, Edinburgh 1808, 461f.; WOLDE MICHAEL KELECHA, *A Glossary of Ethiopian Plant Names*, Addis Ababa 1980.

Abbebe Kifleyesus

Numbers, numerals, numeric systems

N. represent quantitative classificatory systems, based on mnemonic devices that link basic cognitive digits to higher units. From the perspective of comparative anthropology and ethno-mathematics, the use of numbers/numeric systems gives access to deep cognitive structures of societies. A cognitive linkage is assumed between numeric systems and patterned art, games and chance, music, dance, poetry, measurement, time and money (Zaslawsky 1973; Crump 1990; Gerdes 2005).

The written Ethiopic system of N. was documented as early as the 4th cent. A.D. (DAE IV

nos. 7, 10, 11). It developed under the influence of Greek merchants and traders from the Eastern Mediterranian and derives from the classical Greek system of expressing figures with letters: numerical signs for 1–10 () and the units 20–100 () mostly derive from the first 19 letters of the Greek alphabet (Dillmann 1907:33, n. 1). A symbol for zero was unknown. While the Greeks, in their turn influenced by such Semitic language systems as Hebrew and Arabic, also used their alphabet to represent the 200–900 units, the Ethiopian system developed from 200 onwards into a "hybrid" system of multiplicatory and additive representations (Ifrah 1987:380f., 402). Thus 199 is  (100 + 90 + 9), whereas 211 is  (2 x 100 + 10 + 1). Units from 1,000 appear as multiplications of 10 x 100, and units from 10,000 onwards appear as multiplications of 100 x 100, i.e. 20,000 would be 2 x 100 x 100.

The decimal system dominates the numeric systems currently used in Ethiopia. However, philological and anthropological studies since the second part of the 19th cent. have found traces of binary, quinary and vigesimal codes. Mnenomic devices often use body parts to express higher units. A quinary code uses five fingers or "one hand", a vigesimal code recalls a full person with two hands and two feets, i.e. 20 "fingers". Binary codes operate with additions to primary oppositions like 1 and 2. For speakers of Cushitic languages quinary codes, with basic digits 1–4, and 5 as a primary summarizing unit, are assumed (Prätorius 1870; Paulitschke 1896:91; Plazikowsky-Brauner 1963; Dombrowski 1992). Quinary and vigesimal codes also appear in the Ethio-Sudanese borderlands towards the Nile-Sudan, among Nilo-Saharan and Omotic speakers. A quinary code was found for the ↗Berta of Bela Šangul (↗Beni Šangul; Cerulli 1947:162f.). The ↗Kwama combine features of a quinary and vigesimal code with borrowings from Oromo. The Kwama have single numerical names for the digits 1–5, but digits 6–9 are expressed as compounds of the verb "take/lend/bring" (*kuba*) extended by the numbers 1–4. 10 is expressed as "fingers" (*qunya*). To express 20, the idea of "one body" or "pair of limbs" is used. From 30 onwards, either loans from the Oromo decimal system are used, or a vigesemal code is possible. 30 could be expressed as *saddoma*, derived from Oromo, or "one person and fingers", 40 as *afurtama* or as "two persons" (Zelealem Leyew 2005:22f.). Similar systems are found, e.g., in ↗Komo and ↗Mao of Bambasi. An original binary code is assumed for the Beğa. Likewise, a historical transition from binary to quinary codes is assumed for some speakers of Cushitic languages (Dombrowski 1992:101). For the southern Sudan a fully functioning binary system that links ownership in cattle to kinship classification, has been analyzed for the Didinga and Longarim (Kronenberg 1972). Its possible relation to ancient Egyptian mathematics (ibid. 31f.) might also be relevant for a comparative mathematical perspective on ancient Ethiopian numeric systems.

The symbolic, metaphorical and cosmological use of numbers is widespread. Sometimes expressions are fully idiomatic, i.e. the quantitative value of a number has no relation to the contents of the expression. Thus the juridical clause in Amharic "he let his 80 down" means "he divorced his wife" (Bairu Tafla 1987:74). Within the Ethiopian Orthodox tradition such N. as 1 (God, an angel sent by God, a saint, a demon), 2 (the archangels Michael and Gabriel, Saint Susənyos and the demon Wərzəlya), 3 (the ↗Trinity), 4 (the four directions; the four ↗Evangelists; the four church walls; the Four Living Beings, the four elements, the four nails of the cross), 7 (days of the week) and 12 (angels sent by God to protect Eve; ↗Apostles; stars of the zodiac) are highly valued or feared (Bairu Tafla 1987:76f.; Mercier 1979:78; 1992:155). Within the Oromo tradition a gendered dualism of 3 (male) and 4 (female) is widespread (VSAe II, 121, 326, 376, 401). Among the Arsi-Oromo 5 and 4 indicate a related opposition (VSAe II, 482). Structurally related gendered dualisms expressed in N. were also found among the ↗Maale, ↗Sidaama and Därasa (↗Gideʾo; VSAe I, 285f.). The Boorana-Oromo age- and generation grading ↗*gadaa* system links social order with a strong sense of serial numbering and temporality (VSAe II, 170ff.). Different Oromo calendary systems link N. and fortune (ibid. 586–89). Among the Boorana, N. appear as mnemonic devices to memorize oral ↗law (ibid. 477).

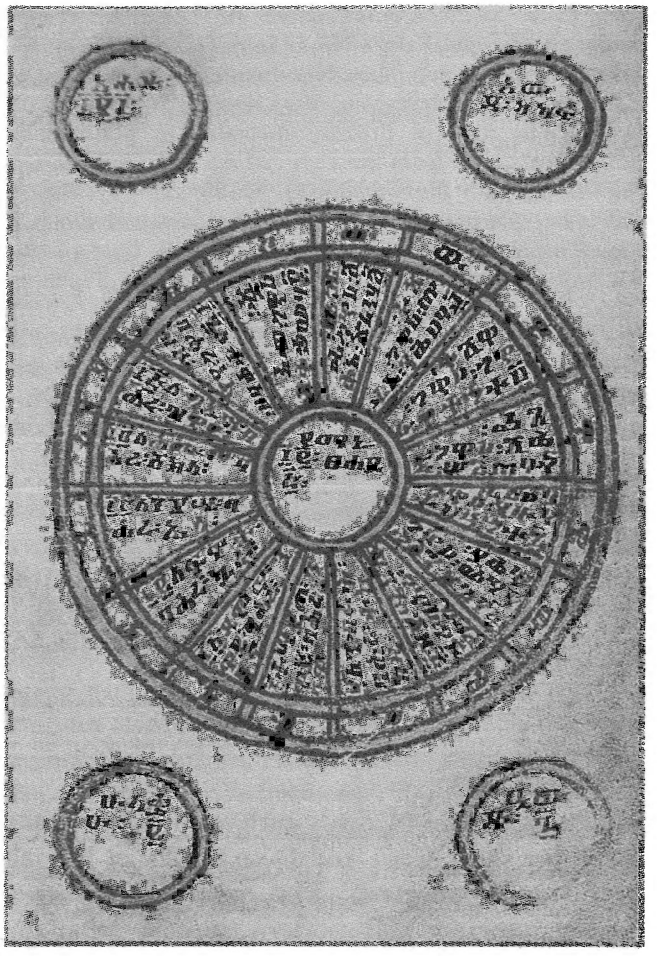
Within the church tradition, the institution of the ↗*däbtära* contains a linkage between different cognitive fields (art, music) linked to numbers. As an expert for ↗oracles and the art of divination, the *däbtära* provides his clients information from magic scrolls or talismans through arithmetical calculations of ↗names, dates and directions which receive numerical values (Shele-

may 1992:154). A talisman (↗*Ṭälsäm*) always has multiple readings and interpretations, linked to a multi-interpretative commemorative oral poetry (Mercier 1992:154). The Christian practice is based on graphic adaptions from Islamic-Arabic sources, notably the Šams al-Maᶜārif (Sun of Recognition) of al-Būnī (early 13th cent.). What appeared in the Islamic tradition as quadruples, as N., as the name of god, the angels, the seal, become transformed into a wickerwork of lines, letters, faces and eyes that indicate a sense of looking behind the surface of the visible. This abstract cognitive pattern is deliberately produced to indicate a superiority of Christian protection and healing over the Islamic symbols (Mercier 1979:11f., 27; Kropp 1992:125).

On the idiomatic level of secular traditions several higher N., such as 40 or 44 in northern Ethiopia, are synonymous for "many" and for "wholeness" (Bairu Tafla 1987:78ff). Among the western Oromo the number 90 has a related function to indicate magnitude (VSAe II, 130; Bairu Tafla 1987:88f.). Among the Boorana-Oromo the idea of a thousand head of cattle indicated the highest degree of growth and wealth. This was strongly linked with a strict refusal of exact counting of cattle (VSAe II, 59, 96). The use of 1,000 (*əlf*) as a symbol for an indefinite N. is also attested for northern Ethiopia (Bairu Tafla 1987:90f.). Thinking in terms of "thousand" also appeared as a boundary among the ᶜAfar and the Somali (Paulitschke 1896:222f.). But mathematical notions such as the sum of series, infinity and limits are found to be contained in folk-tales (Jama Musse Jama 1999:94). Widespread games, based on the dropping of pebbles into holes (Amh. ገበጣ, ↗*gäbäṭa*; ᶜAfar, Orom. *saddeeqa*), unite strategies based on N. to logical patterns (Townshend 1979:294; Pankhurst 1980–81). Also practised with pebbles and holes is "Ethiopian multiplication" (also known as "Egyptian", "Russian" or "peasant" multiplication), which reduces multiplier and multiplicand to sets of opposed binary series of algorithms, classified as "good" and "evil houses", whereby a serial summary of the "good houses" forms the arithmetic result (Currie 1985:50ff.).

Src.: DAE IV, nos. 7, 10, 11.

Lit.: BAIRU TAFLA, "Some Notes on Numerical Idioms Recurring in Ethiopian History", *AuÜ* 70, 1987, 73–98; ERNESTA CERULLI, "Three Berta Dialects in Western Ethiopia", *Africa* 17, 3, 1947, 157–69; THOMAS CRUMP, *The Anthropology of Numbers*, Cambridge, MA 1990; WILLIAM CURRIE, "Binary in the Stone Age", *Geophysics: the*



Numbers in a magic text: page from a ᶜ*Awdä nägäśt* ms.: seventh table, called "circle of Kaf", consisting of several numbered sections which contain prophecies; in order to get a divination, a name of a person is combined with numbers according to a stringent system, leading the user to the relevant section; photo by Guy Vivien, from Mercier 1997:44, fig. 36

Leading Edge of Exploration 4, 3, 1985, 50–52; PAULUS GERDES, "Ethnomathematics as a New Research Filed, Illustrated by Studies of Mathematical Ideas in African History", *Philosophica Mathematica* 13, 1, 2005, 135–61; AUGUST DILLMANN, *Ethiopic Grammar: Orthography and Phonology, Morphology and Syntax of the Ethiopic Language* ..., ed. by CARL BEZOLD, tr. by JAMES A. CRICHTON, Amsterdam 1907, 33, n. 1; FRANZ AMADEUS DOMBROWSKI, "Die Zahlen in kuschitischen Sprachen. System und Analyse", in: ERWIN EBERMANN – ERICH R. SOMMERAUER – KARL É. THOMANEK (eds.), *Komparative Afrikanistik: Sprach-, geschichts- und literaturwissenschaftliche Aufsätze zu Ehren von Hans G. Mukarowsky anlässlich seines 70. Geburtstag*, Wien 1992, 95–111; ROBERT HETZRON, "Innovations in the Semitic Numeral System", *JSS* 22, 2, 1977, 167–201; GEORGES IFRAH, *Universalgeschichte der Zahlen*, Frankfurt a.M. – New York 1987; KAY KAUFMAN SHELEMAY, "The Musician and the Transmissions of Religious Tradition: the Multiple Roles of the Ethiopian Däbtärä", *Journal of Religion in Africa* 22, 3, 1992, 242–60; ANDREAS KRONENBERG, *Logik und Leben: Kulturelle Relevanz der Didinga und Longarim, Sudan*, Wiesbaden 1972; MANFRED KROPP, "La littérature des rouleaux et son histoire", in: JACQUES MERCIER

(ed.), *Le roi Salomon et les maîtres du regard: Art et médecine en Éthiopie*, Paris 1992, 124–25; JACQUES MERCIER, "De l'interpétation", "Les Nombres", *ibid.* 152–55; ID., *Zauberrollen aus Äthiopien*, München 1979; JAMA MUSSE JAMA, "The Role of Ethnomathematics in Mathematic Education. Cases from the Horn of Africa", *Zentralblatt für Didaktik der Mathematik* 31, 3, 1999, 92–95; PHILIPP PAULITSCHKE, *Ethnographie Nordost-Afrikas*, II: *Die geistige Kultur der Danâkil, Galla und Somâl*, Berlin 1896; RICHARD PANKHURST, "Board-Games of the Horn of Africa", *Horn of Africa* 3, 4, 1980–81, 41–45; HERMINE PLAZIKOWSKY-BRAUNER, "Zahlen und Zahlensysteme in den sogenannten kuschitischen Sprachen", *Mitt. d. Institut für Orientforschung* 1963, 466–83; FRANZ PRÄTORIUS, "Die Zählmethode in der äthiopischen Gruppe der hamitischen Sprache", *ZDMG* 24, 1870, 415–24; PHILIP TOWNSHEND, "African Mankalla in Anthropological Perspective", *Current Anthropology* 20, 4, 1979, 794–96; CLAUDIA ZASLAVSKY, *Africa Counts: Number and Pattern in African Culture*, Westport, CT 1973; ZELEALEM LEYEW, "Gwama: a Little-Known Endangered Language of Ethiopia", *Ethiopian Languages Research Center Working Papers* 1, no. 1, 2005, 1–52; VSAe I; II.

Thomas Zitelmann

Numismatics

The discipline of N. deals with monetary history in its broadest sense and is an auxiliary branch of historical research. The main aspects vary between ancient and modern times, so that the evidence of the Aksumite coinage is obviously to be seen on another level than that of the modern coinages (↗Coinage; ↗Currency).

Aksumite numismatics

The coins of the Aksumite period (struck ca. 290–ca. 640?) are of primary source value. They became known to Western historians only in the 1830s (↗Rüppell, Eduard) and caused fanciful interpretations amongst contemporary scholars such as Friedrich v. Kenner, Antoine d'↗Abbadie and Adrien de Longperier. Aksumite coins were also brought from Ethiopia by Theodor v. ↗Heuglin, and by the ↗Napier expedition of 1868. Francis William Prideaux, one of the captives held by *aṣe* Tewodros II and later a British agent in Aden, collected Aksumite coins too. But the systematic study began as late as 1926 with a first attempt of estalishing a corpus made by the Italian amateur Arturo Anzani (1879–1946?; for his letters see West 2007) who had to withstand the malevolent critique of Carlo Conti Rossini. Since then a considerable body has been assembled in the course of excavations and casual surface finds, most of the latter flowing into the coin trade. Numismatic literature has substantially developed since ca. 1980 when the British archaeologist Stuart ↗Munro-Hay started writing his numerous contributions on the subject.

International numismatic research is interested in Aksumite coins for two reasons: they are authentic documents struck by one of the empires of late antiquity, and they had a certain amount of international circulation. For a full understanding and exhaustive interpretation of the coinage, co-operation with neighbouring disciplines (↗archaeology, epigraphics, philology, metallurgy and others) is indispensable.

The numismatic material, most of which emerges in trade, is kept in public and private collections. Of the larger collections only a few are published in full (cp. Hahn in AfrHorn). The main locations are:

a) in Ethiopia: the collections of the National Museum Addis Abäba (consisting mainly of the coins excavated by the French Archaeological Mission of 1954–72; a catalogue is included in the unpublished thesis of Eric Godet, Paris 2003), the Institute of Ethiopian Studies Addis Abäba (acquisitions from the local market), the Museum of Aksum (coins from later, mainly British, excavations);

b) outside Ethiopia: the collections of the ↗British Museum London (published by Munro-Hay 1999), and the collections in Cambridge (Fitzwilliam Museum, published by West 2003), Oxford (published by West 2002), Paris (↗Bibliothèque Nationale), Berlin (Bodemuseum), Vienna (Kunsthistorisches Museum), and New York (the American Numismatic Society). The museums in Italy have but modest holdings (the Museo Africano in Rome having been robbed); nothing is known regarding the Asmära Museum.

Some private collections have been catalogued (i.e. by Walburg 1983; Munro-Hay 1986; Pedroni 2000).

A comprehensive documentation of the Aksumite coins, especially those observed circulating on the coin market (British, German, Swiss and US sale catalogues and internet auctions), is currently being undertaken at Vienna University, Department for N. The registration of modern forgeries (which began to be manufactured from the 1950s, either copying known types or even inventing new ones) – some of which threaten to undermine the collections and confuse collectors and even scholars – is also a desideratum in N. (Metlich 2006). If documented before dispersal, the analysis of mixed collections is also of key importance for reconstructing the chronology of the issues. The only one registered from an excavation is the Adulis collection of 1907.

The compilation of as much material as possible has to meet the requirements of N. meth-

odology. The main types are well attested, but the optimum would be a corpus of all specimens together with the identification of the different dies involved in their striking. This can be achieved, with approximation, for the gold and silver coins, but not for the far too numerous and, to a large extent, badly preserved copper coins. Counting the number of dies allows the application of statistical formulas by which the volume of output may be estimated. Compared to other coin-striking empires of the time, Rome and Persia, this was, of course, on a much lower scale. The investigation of the coins' metrology and metallurgy yields insights into the highly developed mint techniques applied in Aksum, but also discloses their subjection to Roman standards.

A major contribution to the political and religious history of Aksum can be made by analysing the typological concept underlying the appearance of the coins. The genuineness and reliable chronology of the names of kings as attested on coins contrast the sometimes fanciful "king lists" (s. EAE vol. 5) compiled in medieval times (cp. ↗Chronography). Ethiopian N. is a source that has stimulated onomastic studies regarding the choice and significance of certain regnal ↗names (Hahn 2001; cp. Bausi 2003). The information one can gain from the titulary, partly expressed in the coin legends and partly by pictorial symbols, can be compared with the palaeographic evidence one finds in monumental inscriptions, e.g. the occurrence of vocalization (Hahn 1987). Religious mottoes found on some issues are of special interest for the history of Christianity in Ethiopia (Hahn 1999; Bausi 2006).

The representation of the king accompanied by religious symbols which were used on the coins before and after conversion to Christianity is of special subtlety and can be elucidated in the larger context of artefacts produced in Aksum or imported from the surrounding world (Hahn 1999). As a contribution to economic history the spread of Aksumite coins can be registered and interpreted as follows: finds in ↗India show the direction of trade, whilst those in ↗Yemen can be connected with trade or military presence and those in Palestine with ↗pilgrimage (Hahn 1999; Metlich 2006; cp. ↗Jerusalem).

Numismatic research on Islamic minting

The coins struck in Mogadishu between the 14th and the 17th cent., and in ↗Harär between 1782 and 1887 represent tiny branches of the Islamic minting tradition. As they only have the character of small change (*maḥallaq*) limited to the local market, they have not attracted the attention of international research and are more or less left to regional interest (Freeman-Grenville 1963; Ahmed Zekaria 1991). N. could not yet develop a method to date the Mogadishu coins because the names of the *sulṭān*s are only known from the coins themselves. In Harär, the year of issue was written on the mostly anonymous coins, but documentation may still be incomplete.

Numismatic research on modern coinage

N. preoccupation with modern coinage in the Horn of Africa started only recently. The modern coinage of Ethiopia was initiated under Mənilək II in 1893/94 as a vehicle of his imperialistic ambitions. Starting with the first issues ordered from the Paris mint, they have attracted the interest of collectors and are all very well known (Gill 1991), but not all mintage figures have survived, especially not those of the Addis Abäba mint which was sporadically active between 1904 and 1936 (Hahn 2001/02). More of the financial background still has to be elucidated by written material in the relevant archives of Paris, Vienna, Rome and, especially for later time, those in Addis Abäba which have not been exhaustively studied (cp. Hahn 2006). The Addis Abäba mint also needs photographic documentation. The coins of this period as well as the banknotes mainly serve to illustrate the monetary policy of the government which is, of course, largely known from written documents (Pankhurst 1964).

Numismatics and foreign currencies

In the past N. research focused rather on "original" coinage and not so much on the occurrence of "imported" coins, but this has now also been discovered as a research field important for the historical study of international connections. Collecting reports of foreign coins locally found in excavations and of chance finds is becoming one of the methods for tracing long-distance trade routes. Money from abroad has circulated in Eastern Africa as a means of accumulating wealth (Pankhurst 1964) from time immemorial. The observation of crucial stray finds (floating into the antiquities market) is, however, difficult and for their exact identification the expertise of several specialists is necessary due to the diversity of coins in both time and origin; there are South Arabian and Roman coins from late antiq-

uity (Hahn 2006), Yemenite issues of the middle ages, Venetian ducats, Spanish pesos (↗Spain), Austrian talers (↗Maria Theresa thaler) and Indian rupees (Pankhurst 1964).

Colonial currencies in numismatics

The background of both special coins and banknotes produced in Italy for her East African colonies, as well as the mintage figures are well documented (Pankhurst 1964; Gill 1991); the same applies to the British East Africa shillings introduced into Ethiopia in 1941 (Pankhurst 1970). The exact distribution of colonial coins and their effects on local attitudes to money is, however, not yet a focus of the study of N.

Src.: STUART C. H. MUNRO-HAY, *The Munro-Hay Collection of Aksumite Coins*, Naples 1986 (*Annali IUO*, Supplemento 48); ID., *Catalogue of the Aksumite Coins in the British Museum*, London 1999; ID. – BENT JUEL-JENSEN, *Aksumite Coinage*, London 1995; LUIGI PEDRONI, "Una collezione di monete aksumite", *Bollettino di Numismatica* ser. I 15, I–II [28–29], 1997 [1998, but 2000], 7–147; REINHOLD WALBURG, "Die Sammlung Altheim-Stiehl", *Paideuma* 29, 1983, 223–86; VINCENT WEST, "The Ashmolean Museum Collection of Aksumite Coins", *Oriental Numismatic Society Newsletter* 171, Spring 2002, 9–11, 172; *ibid.*, Summer 2002, 27–29; ID., "The Aksumite Coins in the Fitzwilliam Musem Cambridge", *Oriental Numismatic Society Newsletter* 175, Spring 2003, 31–32; ID., "Letters from Arturo Anzani", *Journal of the Oriental Numismatic Society* 190, Winter 2007, 4–7.

Lit.: ARTURO ANZANI, "Numismatica axumita", *Rivista Italiana di Numismatica* 1926, 5–110; *ibid.*, 1928-29, 5–69; *ibid.*, 1941, 49–73, 81–99, 113–29; ALESSANDRO BAUSI, "Numismatica aksumita, linguistica e filologia", *Annali del Istituto Italiano di Numismatica* 50, 2003, 157–75; ID., "Il *denarius* in Etiopia", in: FEDERICO DE ROMANIS – SARA SORDA (eds.), *Dal* denarius *al* dinar: *l'Oriente e la moneta romana. Atti dell'incontro di studio, Roma 2004*, Roma 2006, 83–97; GREVILLE STUART PARKER FREEMAN-GRENVILLE, "Coins from Mogadishu, c. 1300 to c. 1700", *Numismatic Chronicle* 123, 1963, 179–200; DENNIS GILL, *The Coinage of Ethiopia, Eritrea and Italian Somalia*, Garden City, NY 1991; GIUSEPPE GIRGOLA, "Monete aksumite: bilancio italiano", *Rivista Italiana di Numismatica* 107, 2006, 473–85; ERIC GODET, *Le monnayage de l'Ethiopie ancienne*, Ph.D. thesis, Université de Paris 1, 2003; WOLFGANG HAHN, "Die Vokalisierung axumitischer Münzaufschriften als Datierungselement", *Litterae Numismaticae Vindobonenses* 3, 1987, 217–24; ID., "Touto arese te chora – St. Cyril's Holy Cross Cult in Jerusalem and Aksumite Coin Typology", *Israel Numismatic Journal* 13, 1999, 103–17; ID., "Aksumite Numismatics – a Critical Survey of Numismatic Research", *Revue numismatique* 155, 2000, 281–311; ID., "Noe, Israel und andere Könige mit biblischen Namen auf axumitischen Münzen – der Gottesbund als Legitimation der christlichen Königsherrschaft im alten Äthiopien", *Money Trend* 33, 12, 2001, 124–28; ID., "Zur Geschichte der Münzstätte Addis-Abeba", [part 1] *Money Trend* 33, 2, 2001, 66–70, [part 2] 7/8, 54–59, [part 3] 34, 12, 2002, 118–21, [part 4], 38, 4, 2006, 140–46 and [part 5], 5, 144–50; ID., "Äthiopische Münz- und Geldgeschichte von Endubis bis Haile Selassie", *Mitteilungen der Österreichischen Numismatischen Gesellschaft* 42, 2002, 61–70, 128–35; ID., "Zur Geschichte der Materialerfassung in der aksumitischen Münzkunde", in: *AfrHorn* 61–70; ID., "Auf den Spuren des spätantiken Geldverkehrs in Aksum", *Money Trend* 38, 3, 2006, 192–95; MICHAEL METLICH, "Aksumite Gold Coins and their Relation to the Roman-Indian Trade", in: Romanis - Sorda 2006, 99–103; RICHARD PANKHURST, "The History of Currency and Banking in Ethiopia and the Horn of Africa from the Middle Ages to 1935", *EthObs* 8, 1964, 358–408; ID., "Ethiopian Monetary History in the Phase of Post-war Reconstruction 1941–45", *ibid.* 17, 1974, 228–303; AHMED ZEKARIA, "Härär Coins: a Preliminary Study", *JES* 24, 1991, 23–46.

Wolfgang Hahn

Nunneries

Female ↗monasticism in Ethiopia finds direct inspiration in the ↗Gospels (36 women followers of Christ accompanying the Apostles and disciples, cp. Mt 27:55–56, Mark 15:40–41, Acts 1:12–15). Ethiopian tradition claims that from the early period of ↗Christianity in Ethiopia there were flourishing women's communities. However, the sources only occasionally refer to N. only during the medieval period (for an early references, s., e.g., CRDLib 186, no. 6), mostly associating them with male monastic leaders and their ↗monasteries. In these sources, the N. appears as a developed phenomenon.

In the Ethiopian context, the use of the term N. is somewhat misleading, because it implies a complete separation between men and women or gendered *clausura* as in the Latin tradition. There are monasteries where entry is strictly forbidden to women. However, there are no female communities forbidden to men. This is because the presence of deacons and priests is required for liturgical functions, and men were often involved in administration and some other duties. Most historical N. became mixed communities, as men in adjoining houses, or in a nearby areas took over administrative authority. The (re-)emergence of vigorous nuns' communities administered by an እመ፡ ምኔት (*əmmä mənet*, 'abbess') is a relatively recent phenomenon.

Ethiopian sources described monasteries as a mimesis of the Garden of Eden before the fall. Monks and nuns together constitute a "holy gender" in which biological sex is ultimately of little importance. Ethiopian Orthodox monks and nuns follow the same ideals and practices, divesting secular gender roles. The common word for monk and nun in Amharic are *mänäkosawit*

and *mänäkosayit*, resp. (only distinguished by the gender ending), although there is another (Gəᶜəz) term for nuns, *mäbällät(at)*, lit. 'widow'. Normally the same word was used for men and women's communities, i.e. ↗*gädam*, although N. could be distinguished using such expressions as *betä dänagəl*, 'house of virgins'.

It seems that one of the early form of organization was indeed the coexistence of nuns with monks in the premises of one monastic community. Different versions of the Vita of *abunä* ↗Täklä Haimanot tell of monastic men and women living together platonically, "without sin" (cp. GuiSyn I, 378–83; cp. Nosnitsin 2007:165 and n. 65). Reportedly, it was only after the death of Täklä Haymanot that the monks and nuns became susceptible to sexual temptation and began to live in separate communities (Wright 2002:27). Elsewhere, the separation of monks and nuns in ↗Däbrä Libanos of Šäwa is said to have been carried out by *abunä* ↗Anorewos, who established two separate communities bringing the organization of the monastery closer to the requirements of the Canon ↗law and such sources as the *Rules of* ↗*Pachomius*. However, the practice of the mixed communities was not completely rooted out. The liturgical and sacramental aspects of the religious life of nuns were determined by the establishment of special rites connected with nuns, such as a special ritual of taking the monastic vow (cp. ↗*Śərᶜatä mənkʷəsənna*) or funeral rite as described in *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*gənzät*.

Church administrators have traditionally paid less attention to women than men, and a higher percentage of nuns live under the idiorhythmic (*qʷərit*) system whereby they are obliged to provide for their own livelihood. Thus, in Däbrä Libanos of Šäwa only a small community of mainly elderly women lives according to the common (*andənnät*) rule, whereas the majority of younger nuns follow the *qʷərit* system. At ↗Amba Gəšän there are approximately 200 nuns whose main income comes from providing hospitality to thousands of pilgrims who attend ceremonies on the cross-shaped mountain. At ↗Zəqʷala there is a historical separate women's community practising common life and inhabiting a clearly delineated part of the holy mountain.

The movement of the ↗Ewoṣṭateans in northern Ethiopia once had numerous N. In the mid-15th cent., ↗Däbrä Bizän is reported to have administered three N., and ↗Däbrä Maryam

Nuns producing textiles at Asir Mätira, Wəmbärta, Təgray, photo 2006, courtesy of Joachim Persoon

(Qʷäḥayn), 23 N. (CRRicBerhan II, 150), with a total of 1,146 nuns. In today's Eritrea, a remarkable female convent is Däbrä Abunä Bəṣuᶜa Amlak (↗Kodadu).

Within the Orthodox theology, the female body is identified as being the most impure and demanding alteration. Under an endocentric theology, nuns seem to move towards masculinity (like the early Syrian Church mothers), beyond a gendered body, into that neutral space where holiness is found. The concept of a transformation of self in early Christianity allowed women to cross boundaries and radically change their identity. The order of widows permitted a group of women to suspend their ↗sexuality and transcend the domestic sphere. This pattern of women adopting asceticism later in life was common in Ethiopia, as exemplified by such female saints as ↗Krəstos Śämra. In a patriarchal society where women were married at an early age, the choice of vocation was often only possible later in life. Periods of national emergency were particularly conductive to women overcoming restrictions: during the attempted imposition of ↗Catholicism under *aṣe* Susənyos, ↗Wälättä Ṗeṭros preached fearlessly in defence of the Orthodox faith.

Women's communities flourished when they had clear social and religious functions and government support. Links with ruling elites (as in the cases of Krəstos Śämra and Wälättä Ṗeṭros)

enabled women's monasteries to become centres of power and influence. However, after an initial period of flourishing, there was a gradual decline of female monasticism. During times of political instability such as the *Zämänä mäsafənt*, women's monastic communities were very vulnerable. Locals claimed their fertile lands; young women were customarily abducted for ↗marriage. According to the local tradition, young nun (reputedly of royal lineage) from Däbrä Qʷäyäṣa of *abunä* Samuʾel (Šire) was taken as wife by one of the commanders of ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī. She became one of the ancestors of the local Muslim community (the place being known to this day as ᶜAddi Aytay, the name explained as 'the village of the nun', Tgn. *itay*).

When the instability gave way to the government of *aṣe* ↗Mənəlik II, women's communities such as Gašola Qəddus Giyorgis (in West Goğğam, established by *abunä* Täṭämqä Mädhən in the second half of the 18th cent.) were re-founded. The new political stability saw an increase in female influence from the end of the 19th cent. due to the ↗education of women, and nuns getting a more active social role to play.

The idea of an active socially constructive lifestyle for nuns, more common in other Orthodox countries, had an impact upon Ethiopia. When Empress ↗Mänän decided to give a royal palace to a women's community she stipulated that incumbent nuns be trained in socially useful activities. The N. now known as Säbbäta Betä Dänagəl struggled to survive the *Därg* period and has now become a model institution, with a school-orphanage, and production from handicrafts and modernized agriculture. It has recently opened a branch in ↗Dərre Dawa. Likewise, the nuns of Mäkanä Qəddusan (also known as Abunä Gärima), established at ↗Baḥər Dar, adopted a socialist work ethic after the ↗Revolution and even plough the agricultural land.

Traditionally, nuns have two functions: they devote themselves to a life of prayer, and they do social work attending to the aged, invalids and orphans. They help the weak and poor, and engage in physical labour. Nuns traditionally live in church compounds and ground the grain for the communion bread (before the introduction of grinding mills, by hand). They fetch water, wash clothes and prepare food. Elderly nuns living with local communities have special social functions such as reconciling disputes and extending hospitality, and are entitled to collect alms. The exigencies of the post-1974 period swept aside previous restrictions. Women, including nuns, were enabled to take on activities beyond their traditional roles. In the newly created parish councils (*Säbäka guba'e*) they became responsible for administering certain churches, creating means of income, and act as secretaries collecting money.

In Ethiopia, the number of nuns has recently increased, esp. in Təgray, where they have adopted the saffron robes (yellow habit) of the Waldəbba nuns. There is an ongoing project to establish a communal women's community in Aksum (under the auspices of *abba* Śäräqä Bərhan of the Patriarchate Youth Catechetical Department). Most of them live in small scattered communities, without their own *əmmä mənet*. They constitute the majority of ca. 60 members of the newly re-established monastery of Asir Mätira near Aṣbi, today one of the most flourishing communities in Təgray. Meanwhile, the once numerous order of ↗Betä Ǝsraʾel nuns has disappeared.

Nuns are now qualified as teachers of various branches of traditional ↗education (cp. the famous *qəne* teacher *əmmahoy* ↗Gälanäš Ḥaddis). They are inspired by the ascetic ideal and they distinguish themselves by greater dedication and willingness to sacrifice than men. Whereas many monks entered monasteries aspiring an ecclesiastical career, and consequently disappeared to towns, nuns display more stability, and so do their communities, which are becoming an increasingly important economic and religious factor gradually taking over former male establishments.

Both asceticism in widowhood and virginal monasticism thrive in Ethiopia. The Ethiopian Orthodox Church Development and Interchurch Aid Commission (EOC/DICAC) has a special division for "gender and development" (since 1989) which works to support women's communities.

Src.: CRDLib 186, no. 6; CRRicBerhan II, 150 (text) = 84 (tr.); EOC/DICAC, *Gender and Development*, Addis Ababa 2006 [available online from *http://ethotc.org*]; GuiSyn I, 378–83.

Lit.: *Ar-Rahbana al-Ḥabašīya* ('The Ethiopian Monasticism'), Dayr Al-Baramus 1999; ASRES YAYEH, *Traditions of the Ethiopian Jews*, Ontario 1995, 53–64; AYMRO WONDMAGEGNEHU – JOACHIM MOTOVU (eds.), *The Ethiopian Orthodox Church*, Addis Ababa 1970, 22–30; ALESSANDRO BAUSI – GIANFRANCESCO LUSINI, "Appunti in margine a una nuova ricerca sui conventi eritrei", *RSE* 36, 1992 [1994], 5–36, pls. 1–8; Dr. Fr. MARIO DA ABIY-ADDIʾ, "Il monachesimo femminile nella tradizione della Chiesa in Etiopia", *Claretianum Commentaria Theologica* 19, 1979, 213–26; DENIS NOSNITSIN, "The Ethiopic Synaxarion: Text-Critical Observations on Täklä Hayman-

ot's Commemoration (24 *Näḥase*)", *OrChrP* 73–1, 2007, 141–83; KIRSTEN STOFFREGEN-PEDERSEN, *Les Éthiopiens*, Paris 1990, 161–64; EAD., *The Ethiopian Church and its Community in Jerusalem*, Jerusalem 1994, 16–24; MARTA CAMILLA WRIGHT, "At the Limits of Sexuality. The Femininity of Ethiopian Orthodox Nuns", *JES* 35, 1, 2002, 27–42.

Marina Fluche – Joachim Persoon

Nūr b. Ibrāhīm

Kōšim gärad N. (نور بن ابراهيم, fl. 1st half of 16th cent.) received the title of *wazīr* after he participated in ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī's ("Grañ") conquests. He is first mentioned in the ↗*Futūḥ al-Ḥabaša* before the campaign against ↗Ifat in 1529, when Aḥmad Grañ honoured N. with a white banner and the command of 100 cavalrymen. Aḥmad Grañ placed the right wing corps of the army under N.'s command while the left wing side was commanded by the *wazīr* ᶜAddalī (Addole in Christian sources) and the central one by Grañ himself. The three corps invaded Ifat through different routes and met in ↗Anṣokiya. N.'s corps arrived with much booty.

Before the battle of ↗Šəmbəra Kʷäre N. received a red-and-yellow flag and the command over the troops from ↗Šäwa and Hargāya (100 cavalrymen and 2,000 infantry soldiers). During the different skirmishes which were connected with that battle, N. distinguished himself with bravery. In the ensuing invasion of ↗Däwaro, N. commanded one of the armies while Aḥmad Grañ led the other.

When Aḥmad Grañ and the ↗Walašmaᶜ *sulṭān* ↗ᶜUmardīn b. Muḥammad b. Aẓharaddīn quarrelled over the distribution of the taxes in 1530, N. sided with the *sulṭān*. This implies that he must have been a member of the old nobility of ↗Harär who did not want to give up their privileges in favour of the ↗*ǧihād*.

After the reconciliation between Aḥmad Grañ and the *sulṭān*, N. again played an important role in Grañ's army. He participated in the battle of Anṣokiya (23 February 1531), and pillaged ↗Šarḫa together with the *wazīr* ᶜAddalī. After the attack on Wāṣil (27 October 1531), which opened up the way into Amhara, N. was ordered to plunder the church of ↗Atronsä Maryam. He killed the monks because they refused to bring out their treasures. After the Muslims found a house full of gold and other treasures, they took as much as they could carry and burnt the rest together with the church.

In later battles N. usually was left behind to watch the camp.

Src.: BassHist 23, 99 and passim (text) = 49, with n. 2, 173 and passim (tr.), index.

Ewald Wagner

Nūr b. Muǧāhid

N.M. (نور بن مجاهد; d. 6. September 1567) was the ruler of ↗Harär from 1551 to 1567. He was the son of *wazīr* Muǧāhid b. ᶜAlī Sūḫa b. ᶜAbdallāh, one of the most influential generals of ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī (Grañ).

N.M. started his career when, after Grañ's death, some generals tried to save at least parts of the dissolving Muslim empire. The *wazīr* ᶜAbbās b. Abūñ b. Ibrāhīm took control over ↗Bale, ↗Fäṭägar and ↗Däwaro, but already in October 1544 he was defeated and killed by *aṣe* ↗Gälawdewos. Grañ's widow, ↗Bati Dəl Wämbära, undertook the next attempt to assume the power with the help of her new husband, N.M. According to the "short chronicles", N.M. had to promise her to avenge Grañ's death before he could marry her. The Arabic *History of N.M.* contains another legend of how N.M. became the ruler of Harär: the son of the *sulṭān* of Harär (possibly Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr b. ↗Muḥammad b. Aẓhar[addīn]) once accidentally killed a child of an old woman who refused to accept the blood money and demanded death of the *sulṭān*'s son instead. N.M., who at that time was leading a God-desired life in a cave near Harär, agreed to help her and killed the *sulṭān* and, later, his son. The inhabitants of Harär asked him then to become their new ruler, and he accepted provided they would follow him in the ↗*ǧihād* against the Christians. This legend is indicative of the antagonism between the secular rulers of the ↗Walašmaᶜ dynasty on the one hand and religious leaders (such as *imām* ↗Maḥfūẓ b. Muḥammad and Aḥmad Grañ) propagating the holy war on the other.

According to the Chronicle of *aṣe* ↗Gälawdewos, one year after the Ethiopian general ↗Fanuʾel plundered Harär (March 1550), the Emperor himself marched against Barr Saᶜdaddīn, to Harär and its surroundings, deposed the *sulṭān* and made N.M. leave his lands. The *sulṭān* may have been the Walašmaᶜ ruler ↗ᶜUmardīn b. Muḥammad b. Aẓharaddīn, installed by Aḥmad Grañ back in 1527. The defeats of the Muslims could have been among the reasons for N.M. to arise as ruler of Harär in 1551–52, whether through marriage to Bati Dəl Wämbära or through killing the rul-

ing *sulṭān* and his son. Both traditions may in fact be true if one presumes that, leaving Harär, Gälawdewos installed there a new *sulṭān*, possibly Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr, later killed by N.M. who then married Bati Dəl Wämbära. According to a marginal note in a copy of the Walašmaᶜ chronicle made known by Cerulli, ᶜAlī b. ᶜUmardīn b. Muḥammad became *sulṭān* of Harär on 24 December 1552. This seems to imply that N.M. installed a new puppet *sulṭān*.

N.M. had to fight not only Christian Ethiopians but also the ↗Oromo who after Grañ's death expanded into Ethiopia and by mid-16th cent. had reached the Harär area. At the very beginning of his rule N.M. had to campaign against the Nole (a part of Afran Qallu Oromo, s. ↗Qottu) who today inhabit the region north-west of Harär, and at that time probably lived further south. Though N.M. defeated many Nole and destroyed their villages, the Oromo undertook more raids into the area.

In March 1559 N.M., with his army reportedly consisting of ca. 1,800 ↗cavalry, ca. 500 musketeers and thousands traditionally armed soldiers (↗Infantry), left Harär for a campaign in Fäṭägar. Gälawdewos with his considerably weaker armed troops met his adversary at Näč Śar, on the border of Wällo, on 23 March 1559. The Muslims were victorious; N.M. is said to have exhibited the defeated Christian emperor's head in Harär for three more years.

In the meanwhile another Ethiopian army, headed by *ras* ↗Ḥamälmal, used the opportunity of Harär being left without troops and attacked the town, plundering it and killing *sulṭān* Ḥabīb b. ᶜUmardīn. On his way to rescue his city, N.M. was stopped by the Oromo at the foot of Mount ↗Azälo near Awaš. In the bloody battle that followed, the Oromo had more casualties than in any raid before; N.M. lost many soldiers and won at a narrow margin. Back in Harär he found the city devastated. Afraid of further attacks, he ordered the erection of the famous city wall. It seems that shortly after *aṣe* ↗Minas ascended to the throne, Ḥamälmal undertook another attempt to attack N.M.; the outcome of this campaign is not known. Possibly as a result of the wars and Oromo raids, the country had to face a severe ↗famine. Prices rose high and the population was close to starvation with reported cases of cannibalism. N.M. tried to relieve the situation: with his help the prices started to fall. After another attack of the Oromo, who devastated Šäwa, Nogob, ↗Gidāya, ↗Dakar and Hargāyā, however, the famine returned, followed by a plague ↗epidemic that took N.M.'s life. He was succeeded by the renegade ↗ᶜUṯmān b. Badlāy.

Though N.M. was not always successful during the period of his reign he became very popular in Harär, mostly thanks to his victory over Gälawdewos and the construction of the city wall. Following Grañ, he was nicknamed *ṣāḥib al-fatḥ aṯ-ṯānī* ('the lord of the second conquest') and achieved the status of a national saint; his ↗grave in Harär is venerated (↗Pilgrimages; ↗*zāwiya*). He is also celebrated in religious songs (↗*Manẓūma*).

Src.: BassÉt 21, 113; BTafA 144–47, 849–53; ENRICO CERULLI, "Documenti arabi per la storia dell'Etiopia", *MRALm* ser. 6, 4, 2, 1931, 39–96, here 52f., 63f., 89 (text) = 56ff., 65f., 69, 90f. (tr.) [repr. in: *CerIslam* 135–206, here 151f., 164–67, 197f. (text) = 156ff., 168f., 172, 198ff. (tr.)]; ConzGal 39, 43, 96ff., 101 (text) = 145, 147, 175f., 178 (tr.); CRHist 226 (text) = 199 (tr.); FotiCr 103ff.; GETATCHEW HAILE – EWALD WAGNER, "Die Geschichte Nūr b. Muǧāhids von Harar oder The History of Aẓe Zär'a Yaᶜqob", *ZDMG* 139, 1989, 43–92; KrLebD 31f., 53 (text) = 35f., 54 (tr.); FRANCISCO MARIA ESTEVES PEREIRA, "Zēnā Minās, Historia de Minás, 'Además Sagad, rei de Ethiopia", *Boletin da Sociedade de Geographia de Lisboa* sér. 7, 12, 1887, 741–827, here 767 (text) = 786 (tr.); JULES PERRUCHON, "Notes sur l'histoire d'Éthiopie, le règne de Galāwdēwos (Claudius) ou Asnāf-Sagad", *RevSem* 2, 1894, 155–66 (text) = 263–70 (tr.), here 163–66 = 267ff.; ADOLF WALTER SCHLEICHER, *Geschichte der Galla (Zēnāhū la-Gāllā). Bericht eines abessinischen Mönches über die Invasion der Galla im sechzehnten Jahrhundert*, Berlin 1893, 18ff.; KURT WENDT, "Amharische Geschichte eines Emirs von Harar im XVI. Jahrhundert", *Orientalia* nova ser. 4, 1935, 484–501.

Lit.: BruNile II, 200–04; BudHist 343, 349f.; CerStud I, 35f., 46ff. [repr. in: *CerIslam* 281–327, here 309f., 319ff.]; BrHad 117ff., 151; EMILE FOUCHER, "Names of Mussulmans Venerated in Harar and its Surroundings, a List", *ZDMG* 138, 1988, 263–82, here 277; PÊRO PAIS, *História da Ethiópia*, Porto 1945, vol. 2, 260–64; PHILIPP PAULITSCHKE, *Harar*, Leipzig 1888, 513, 515; TrIslam 91–94; EWALD WAGNER, "Eine Liste der Heiligen von Harar", *ZDMG* 123, 1973, 269–92, here 279; ID., "Arabische Heiligenlieder aus Harar", *ibid.* 125, 1975, 28–65, here 58–63; ID., "Imamat und Sultanat in Harar, ein Beitrag zur Auseinandersetzung zwischen religiösem und weltlichem Herrschaftsanspruch in islamischen Randgebieten", *Saeculum* 26, 1975, 283–92, here 290; ID., "The Genealogy of the Later Walashmaᶜ Sultans of Adal and Harar", *ZDMG* 141, 1991, 376–86, here 377, 383 [repr. in: *PICES* 11, vol. 1, 135–42]; WagHar, s. index.

Franz-Christoph Muth

Nuro ↗Añwaa

Nuzaze: Mäṣḥafä nuzaze

The M.n. (መጽሐፈ ኑዛዜ, 'Book of Confession') is an Ethiopian printed penitential, ultimately depending, perhaps, upon similar documents from Coptic tradition. It is found under other names

too, notably መጽሐፈ: ንስሐ (*Mäṣḥafä nəssəḥa*, 'Book of Penitence', cp. ms. Paris, BN éth. 206 [ChMonV no. 20], fols. 60–74), the title of which can lead to confusion with the *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*qedər*, also sometimes called *Mäṣḥafä nəssəḥa*.

The M.n. is a manual for the penitent, meant to help him to confess. It clearly states that, if the penitent is a priest, he will read it himself; if he is a lay person, the priest will read it for him, apparently because a lay person was deemed to be unable to manage it. In this it is distinct from the ↗*Anqäṣä nəssəḥa*. Just like this work, the M.n. is presented as taken from the Bible ("the 81 books"), from which the list of sins was extracted. After each sin (whenever relevant) the penitent admits saying ገበርኩ (*gäbärku*, 'I did [it]'). At the end, the penitent asks for a penance to be imposed on him by the priest (usually his regular confessor; cp. ↗*näfs abbat*) according to the penitential canons, but also taking into account the particular circumstances. Having finished his penance, the penitent returns to his confessor to receive the absolution, administered to him by pronouncing the *Prayer of the Absolution of the Son* (↗*Fəṭḥat zäwäld*). It seems, however, that the priest may use other formulae, in particular the *Prayer of the Absolution of the Father* (ፍትሐት: ዘአብ, *Fəṭḥat zäʾab*), and that he has the possibility of immediately granting absolution without waiting for the penance completion.

The M.n. evidently draws from such canonical and legal texts as the ↗*Senodos* (including penitential canons published by Guerrier 1918–19), the ↗*Fəṭḥa nägäśt*, the ↗*Qälemənṭos* and the *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*ḥawi*.

The M.n. is quite frequently attested in manuscripts and seems to circulate in a variety of recensions. Some manuscripts only have a list of sins, some combine it with the absolution prayer. The former type represents the more ancient layer of the text. The oldest known witness is probably ms. BritLib Add. 16215, fols. 81a–98a; it only contains the list of sins and, like several other mss., does not bear the title M.n. Other old manuscripts are the 15th-cent. BritLib Add. 16222, fols. 28–35 (this copy including both the prayer and the title), the 16th-cent. mss. BritLib Add. 16198, fols. 93b–95b, 118–20, Vat. aeth. 18 and Vat. Borg. aeth. 22, fols. 2a–8b (all these with the absolution prayer following the list of sins). The 19th-cent. ms. Vat. aeth. 238, fols.1–4, contains the list of sins, without the prayer or the title, in Amharic.

An Amharic translation of one of the versions is found as the first part of a booklet published in 1981, under the general title of *Anqäṣä nəssəḥa məslä śərʿatä qännona*. The Roman edition of 1975, entitled *Śərʿatä məśṭirä nəssəḥa* (*nuzaze*), contains on pages 91–95 only an adaptation of "the rite of the sacrament of penance". The only work which critically deals with M.n. is the thesis of the late *abba* Gäbrä Maryam Eman (1964).

Src.: BauSen; ChMonV 11, no. 20 [éth. 206], fols. 60–73; DillmLond nos. 9, 18, 48, 57; GréTisVat I 619, 826; EMML 4190; መጽሐፈ: ቀንዲል: ወንስሐ: (ኑዛዜ:) ወሥርዓተ: ውሂቦተ: ቊርባን: ለሕሙማን (*Mäṣḥafä qändil wänəssəḥa* [*nuzaze*] *wäśərʿatä wəhibotä qʷərban läḥəmuman*, 'Book of the Anointment of the Sick and of Penitence [Confession], and the Order for Giving Communion to the Sick'), Roma 1967 A.M. [1975 A.D.], 91–95; TÄSFA GÄBRÄ ŚƎLLASE (ed.), አንቀጸ: ንስሐ: ምስለ: ሥርዓተ: ቀኖና (*Anqäṣä nəssəḥa məslä śərʿatä qännona*, 'The Gate of Penitence, together with the Order of Canon'), Addis Abäba 1974 A.M. [1981 A.D.]; WrBriMus nos. 113, 128, 270.

Lit.: *abba* GHEBRÈ-MARIÀM EMAN, *Il rito del sacramento della penitenza nella Chiesa etiopica*, Ph.D. thesis, Roma 1964; LOUIS GUERRIER, "Canons pénitentiels", *ROC* 21, 1918–19, 5–24 and 345–55.

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